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F. Lauriston Bullard as a Lincoln Scholar

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Introduction

1909. The centennial anniversary of Lincoln's birth.

As early as 1907 writers and editors were calling attention to the significance of the year 1909; and when that year had ended, two hundred and fifty-seven different books and countless magazine and newspaper articles on the subject of Abraham Lincoln had been published. This was a record in the field of Lincoln bibliography never before or since matched. But, as Jay Monaghan, an authority on this branch of the Lincoln theme concluded, among those books published in 1909, not one was of any great importance of influence.¹

(A few of the magazine articles, especially those containing reminiscences -- Clara E. Laughlin's and Dr. Charles A. Leale's, for example --

were of some value.)

Although there appeared in this centennial year of Lincoln's anniversary sermons about Lincoln's "frail but heroic little mother," poetry emphasizing that "None heeded of his birth. Only a star burned over Bethlehem," and high school history notes claiming that "Abe had two girls -- one was a red headed girl and the other was a Lulu," the year also saw the beginning of the career of F. Lauriston Bullard as a Lincoln scholar. And even though Bullard from the beginning admired and respected the subject of his researches, he never contributed to the apotheosis of Lincoln.

In one of his first contributions to the Lincoln field, Bullard had a "new" item to offer to students, an original Lincoln letter never before published, one written by Lincoln while in Congress in answer to inquiries by Solomon Lincoln of Hingham, Massachusetts. This contribution was an article dealing with the New England ancestry of Lincoln and appeared in the New England Magazine. Modestly,

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Bullard later described the articles as "valueless," and as a "bit of hack work." But Bullard was overly severe with himself. Louis A. Warren, distinguished student of Lincoln's parentage, was well aware of Bullard's study and respected it.

The study (Bullard's "hack work") was written for a popular magazine of the early 1900's, and in it Bullard summarized briefly the public careers, or at least the meager known facts, of several of Lincoln's early New England ancestors. Other than the Lincoln letter, he offered no new material to the body of known information on Lincoln's ancestors, but he legitimately presented to his readers a "popularized" summary of the lives of these New England Lincolns and Hankses. His presentation was accurate and well written.

Lincoln's letter, which indicated his interest in his family background, deserved a better fate than was accorded it. "Nobody seems to know about it," Bullard once complained, and it remained obscure until finally published in Hertz's collection.

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5 Bullard to Louis A. Warren, Oct. 14, 1926. Photostat. Manuscript material cited in this work, unless specifically noted to the contrary, is in the Bullard Collection of Boston University.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.
of Lincoln writings in 1931. Reproduced in the Bullard article, the letter, dated Washington, March 6, 1848, read, in part, as follows:

I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My father's name is Thomas. My grandfather's was Abraham, the same as my own. My grandfather went from Rockingham County in Virginia to Kentucky about the year 1782; and two years afterwards he was killed by the Indians. We have a vague tradition that my great-grandfather went from Pennsylvania to Virginia and that he was a Quaker. Further back than this I have never heard anything... Owing to my father being left an orphan at the age of six years, in poverty, and in a new country, he became a wholly uneducated man; which I suppose is the reason why I know so little of our family history.

With the publication of this article in that centennial anniversary year of Lincoln's birth (two other articles were also published in 1909 and will be discussed below), Bullard began his career as a Lincoln scholar, a career which would last for a period of more than forty years, until his death in 1952, and a career that was perhaps best described by Roy P. Basler, former editor of the


Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, who defined it as one dedicated to the "cause of correct history" in the field of Lincolniana.\(^{10}\)

\(^{10}\) Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, VI (Mar., 1950), 52.
Chapter I

A Biographical Sketch of Bullard

Dr. Bullard was not a man who enjoyed boasting of his own accomplishments, and as a result the answer to the question of how he first became interested in Lincoln is not as clear as one would like it to be. But, nevertheless, there are three known incidents which indicate the influences on Bullard at the turn of the century that steered him into a long and distinguished career as a Lincoln scholar.

A long-time Boston Herald associate, Robert Lincoln O'Brien, provided the first clue, recalling an incident that he believed was the occasion that specifically turned Bullard toward the study of Lincoln. O'Brien noted that while Bullard's interest was of gradual growth, the original impetus was a remark by the noted historian, James Ford Rhodes, a friend of both O'Brien and Bullard. Rhodes' remark was to the effect that he often felt that in looking back over

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1 The obituaries appearing in the Boston Herald and the New York Times were disappointing not only in respect to his early career but also regarding his entire life. The notice in the Times, although a little longer than that in the Herald, even listed Bullard's last work, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, as "Lincoln in Marble and Stone." This carelessness was particularly unfortunate because Bullard had served as an editorial correspondent for the Times. New York Times, August 4, 1952. The Herald obituary appeared on the same date.
over his long career as an historian of the Civil War period, he became convinced that he should have instead given the same amount of time and energy to the two most prominent men of the period, Lincoln and Lee. Rhodes concluded that the most critical period of American history could best be pictured in the lives of these two great men.  

The next two items Bullard himself supplied. The first one was Bullard's reading of an address by Jacob Gould Schurmann, President of Cornell University, delivered originally on November 13, 1895:

I wish to say, deliberately, after reading many lives of Lincoln and trying to understand the history of the Civil War, that in my opinion the Union could not have been restored without the unseen, but none the less, real power that came to the nation through Lincoln's belief in God and confidence in his moral government of the World.  

Bullard wrote that he well remembered "the tingle of surprise with which he read these words for the first time."  

The third item that influenced Bullard was a book on Lincoln. Robert L. Kincaid, who visited Bullard in his study -- "The Lincoln Annex" -- in 1943, reported that on that occasion Dr. Bullard handed him a small volume, with the comment that it was his first Lincoln volume and that he purchased it in 1899. The book was by no means

2 "F. Lauriston Bullard: 1866-1952, "Lincoln Herald, LIV (Winter, 1952), 18. Due to a typographical error, the Winter, 1951, issue of this magazine (Vol. LIII) was incorrectly given as Winter, 1952.


4 Ibid.
one which Lincoln scholars would define as basic, or even important in Lincoln bibliography. The volume (it is only about two hundred pages long) contains Carl Schurz's well-known essay on Lincoln, testimonials by Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell, some letters and speeches of Lincoln, and a biographical sketch of Schurz. "That set me going," Bullard explained, referring to Emerson's tribute. Bullard added that Emerson's comments on the Gettysburg Address, particularly, made him feel that there was something in the Civil War President worth further study. The specific passage from Emerson is stimulating:

He is the author of a multitude of good sayings, so disguised as pleasantries that it is certain they had no reputation at first but as jests; and only later, by the very acceptance and adoption they find in the mouths of millions, turn out to be the wisdom of the hour. I am sure if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a very few years, like Aesop or Pilpay, or one of the Seven Wise Masters, by his fables and proverbs. But the weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined hereafter to wide fame. What pregnant definitions; what unerring common sense; what foresight; and, on great occasions, what lofty, and more than national, what humane tone! His brief speech at Gettysburg will not easily be surpassed by words on any


recorded occasion. This, and one other American speech, that of John Brown to the court that tried him, and a part of Kossuth's speech at Birmingham, can only be compared with each other, and with no fourth."

It is not difficult to assume that Rhodes' remark about the significance of the roles of Lincoln and Lee in the Civil War, President Schurmann's remarks about Lincoln's greatness, and Emerson's discourse on Lincoln's ability as a speaker, together with Bullard's own family background, combined to steer him toward the study of Lincoln.

Originally of English stock, Bullard's paternal ancestors, during the time of his grandfather, migrated from Massachusetts to the Western Reserve area of Ohio. His mother, Helen Maria Bullard, was born in Ohio, but of New England ancestry. She was a descendant of John Strong, a founder of Dorchester, Massachusetts, and also the grandchild of another Strong who migrated from Lee, Massachusetts, eventually to Lyme, Ohio, where he conducted a temperance tavern which also served as a station in the underground railroad running through Sandusky, Ohio, and crossing Lake Erie into Canada.

Born in the northwest corner of Ohio (at Wauseon), on May 13, 1866, Bullard grew up in this small town, platted only twelve years before his birth. He later enrolled at Wooster College, Ohio, graduating in 1891, after being elected to Phi Beta Kappa. After Wooster, Bullard attended the Divinity School at Yale University, receiving his Bachelor of Divinity

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degree in 1893, magna cum laude.

For a period of fourteen years following his graduation from Yale, Dr. Bullard preached in several Congregational and Presbyterian pulpits. Then in 1907, he began his career as a newspaperman, his profession for the remainder of his active life. In 1915 he was appointed editor of the Boston Sunday Herald, and four years later was named chief editorial writer of the Herald. 8

During his long career with the Herald (he retired in 1943), Bullard maintained his interest in the subject of Lincoln -- although as an extra-curricular activity. Because of the heavy pressure from newspaper work -- "the strain of working every day against a deadline"9-- Bullard chose to become a specialist who at one time or another delved into almost every subject in the Lincoln field and who in time became such a mine of Lincoln information that he could justifiably describe himself as "something of a bureau [of information]."10

The range of this specialist's knowledge and examples of his significant contributions to the Lincoln field will be noted in the following chapters.

8 Lincoln Herald, LIV (Winter, 1952), 47-49.
10 Bullard to Warren, [Mar., 1946?]. Photostat.
Chapter II

Bullard's Career as a Lincoln Scholar:

A Chronology

1

In the year 1909 Bullard also published (almost simultaneously with his study of Lincoln's New England ancestors) another article. In it Bullard discussed Lincoln's religion, and, although he offered no new document on that controversial subject, his article presented a well-balanced approach to the problem of Lincoln's religious views. He noted that as the Civil War progressed, and even before the war, for that matter, Lincoln outgrew the skepticism of his early life, surrounded as it was by crude frontier evangelism, and that even though he did not join any church or accept any creed, Lincoln became a sincerely religious person. Bullard concluded:

As the war progressed Mr. Lincoln learned to lean more and more heavily upon the divine arm and to see more and more clearly in the unfolding of events the mysterious movements of God, and at length he came to think of himself, as we think of him today, as an implement in the hands of the


2 The Bullard Collection of Boston University includes several notebooks containing newspaper and magazine clippings and various notes taken by Bullard on such subjects as "Was Lincoln a Quaker?" "Was Lincoln a Jew?" "Did Lincoln say, 'I Love Jesus?'", etc. See particularly Notebook 25, and also Notebooks 40, 84, and 85.
Sovereign of the universe... Out of that confidence in the righteousness of the cause of the North as the cause of a righteous God, and out of his daily companioning with that God in prayer, came the devotion and vision that saved the nation.  

In addition to the article on Lincoln's ancestors and the one dealing with his religion, Bullard also published in 1909 a newspaper article dealing with "Lincoln and the London Punch." Here Bullard demonstrated the effectiveness of Punch in its vicious lampooning of Lincoln, both by cartoons and poems.

Three published studies in one year in such diverse subdivisions of Lincolniana as his ancestry, his religion, and the harsh treatment he received from the London Punch naturally suggest that the following years would be as equally, if not more, productive of published studies on Lincoln. But such was not the case. Bullard published only a few Lincoln articles or monographs from 1909 until the end of the 1930's. However, this does not mean that he had little interest in the field during this period. As will be shown below, he continued his interest in Lincoln during this time; but it is reasonable to assume that the meticulous scholar was serving his time as an apprentice during the period. Also, it was in the years between 1912 and 1926 that Bullard published several studies, not dealing with the Lincoln...
theme: Historic Summer Haunts from Newport to Portland, in 1912; Famous War Correspondents, in 1914; and The Public Refuses to Pay, in 1921. His Boston Herald editorial of October 26, 1926, "We Submit," dealing with the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, earned him a Pulitzer prize.

The record of Bullard's activities during these twenty-five years or so does contain, nevertheless, some significant achievements in the Lincoln field. Notable in this respect is Bullard's work on John Wilkes Booth, and Booth's visit to Boston immediately before the assassination of the President. (This subject, as will be noted below, was one that commanded Bullard's attention during all the years he was interested in the study of Lincoln. Just two years before his death, Bullard published a brief study on the problem of the report that Lincoln's assassin was in Paris shortly before the tragedy at Ford's Theatre.) Bullard's early researches on the Booth story were useful in two respects: they enabled him to acquire

5 Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
6 Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
7 Boston: Marshall Jones Co.
a knowledge of John Wilkes Booth, his brother Edwin, and their history just prior to, during, and following the assassination, and they also served as the basis of a fascinating article which was featured in the Boston *Sunday Herald* of April 11, 1915.

Perhaps the best way to show Bullard's preparation for this article is to refer to his notes made at that time.

From a personal interview with Mrs. Rachel France, who in 1865 was a young actress known as Rachel Noah (he did not note the exact date of this interview), Bullard learned that Miss Noah had a strange meeting with John Wilkes Booth on April 5, 1865. Edwin Booth was playing in the leading role of Hamlet on that evening, and Miss Noah (who had been married in February of that year and was now really Mrs. France) was to play Ophelia opposite him. On that evening of April 5, while Miss Noah was waiting in the wings for her cue to enter, the handsome John Wilkes Booth suddenly appeared and began to chat with her.

"Well, little girl, I hear you've gone and got married," Booth jested. Miss Noah asked him if he intended to go on the stage during the current season, to which he replied airily, "0, perhaps, a few engagements in New York and Philadelphia." Her cue followed almost immediately, and the meeting was ended. One week later, Booth was on the stage of Ford's Theatre, Washington. Bullard also learned that Miss Noah was really an understudy who took the leading lady's part that evening because Rose Eytinge was indisposed. And, he uncovered the interesting bit of information that Miss Noah
had played Ophelia opposite John Wilkes Booth a year or so earlier in Cleveland, Providence, and Boston. At the time of her interview with Bullard, Rachel Noah France was seventy-two years old and teaching elocution at the Leland Powers School of 108 Hemenway Street, Boston.9

Edwin Booth appeared on the stage in Boston during the fateful second week of April, 1865, and Bullard's researches on the assassin's older brother's engagement are both fascinating and complete. Searching through old playbills and the Boston newspaper files of the period, Bullard discovered that Edwin Booth was scheduled to perform at the Boston Theatre from March 27 through April 15. His roles included "Othello," "Macbeth," "Richelieu," Brutus in "Julius Caesar," the "Merchant of Venice," "Richard III," and "Don Caesar de Bezan" among others.10 In Bullard's notes on this engagement, he included an item that the newspapers at the time were "full of news from Richmond." The critics, in general, again according to Bullard's notes, found Booth's supporting players "pretty consistently bad."11

On the Monday and Wednesday of that fateful week in April, 1865, Bullard found that "Hamlet" was performed. It was also the play chosen to conclude the engagement. (Of course on that Saturday, April 15, the play was never performed.) The schedule for the rest

10 Ibid., pp. 10-12
11 Ibid., pp. 11.
of the week included "Othello" on Tuesday, "Richard III" on Thursday (a day of fasting and prayer in the North), and a double bill of "The Iron Chest" and "Don Caesar de Bezan" on Good Friday, April 14, 1865. According to the newspaper critics (as faithfully recorded by Bullard), Edwin Booth was excellent as Othello, and Miss Noah as Desdemona was found in parts "very true and tender." Charles Barrow, in the role of Iago, was not pleasing to the critics who considered his performance "waterish." His interpretation of the difficult role "was suggestive of Wilkes Booth whom he constantly and foolishly imitates in voice, attitude, gesture, and carriage."12

The newspapers of April 15 announced that Edwin Booth's farewell performance would be given that afternoon in "Hamlet." But on the following Monday the press printed the note that the Boston Theatre would be closed, as of the previous Saturday, April 15. Bullard also found that while the Boston Museum also announced on Monday that it would hold no Monday evening engagement, out of respect to the murdered president, the other Boston theaters were open as scheduled.13

Bullard's discoveries concerning Edwin's Good Friday performance at the Boston Theatre are extraordinarily interesting. While brother John was making his final preparations, his "one mad act," and his flight from the Capital city, Edwin was performing in "The Iron Chest", as Sir Edward Mortimer, and in the title role of "Don Caesar de Bezan." Bullard was even able to discover the gross receipts for the evening! The total was $1070.10. More than that, Bullard's notes contain an

12 Ibid., p. 12.
13 Ibid.
itemized account of this total: three private boxes, $26.00; 172 balcony seats (first two rows of the balcony only), $172.00; 1,273 parquette seats @ 50¢ (whole lower floor and last four rows in the balcony, $646.50; 364 seats in the family circle @ 30¢, $109.20; 232 standees, $116.00; ten chairs (beside the orchestra, five on each side), $10.00; and two exchanges, 40¢. On the previous evening (the Fast Day) with "Richard III" as the attraction, the receipts totalled $1197.60, while the Wednesday "Hamlet" performance brought in only $784.00. Bullard even went to the trouble of learning that there was "fine weather" in Boston on the evening of April 14.11

Bullard also discovered in his research on the Booths an incident during the time of the assassination which suggests the sense of tragedy felt by Edwin Booth who was overwhelmed by what his brother had done in Washington. The Rev. George H. Hepworth of Boston who was one of the speakers on Monday, April 17, at the Faneuil Hall meeting held to take "appropriate notice of the death of President Lincoln," inserted a card in the Boston Transcript, dated Saturday, April 15, 1865;

To the Editor of the Transcript:

As a personal friend of Mr. Edwin Booth, I am glad of the opportunity to give the Boston public some idea of his present condition. I need not say that he has won the respect and esteem of all who have had the pleasure of knowing him; and I am glad to inform the public that after a thorough search of his trunks and correspondence nothing has been found which in the slightest degree indicates his knowledge that such an act was contemplated.

11 Ibid., p. 13.
He has always been a firm and unflinching supporter of the administration, casting the only vote of his life last November for Mr. Lincoln, and standing conspicuously in his profession as a man loyal to the idea and cause of the North.

I have seen him this morning and find him overwhelmed by the greatness of his affliction. The Boston people will give him their sympathy in this his hour of trial, and cheerfully as I, unasked, offer my testimony in his behalf.15

How different was the character of Edwin Booth from that of his brother!

Bullard's interests during this early period also extended to writing a short monograph on Lincoln and his son Ted, a volume that was popular enough to have several printings and which made Bullard an expert in this field also.16 An examination of this volume appears in Chapter Four.

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Later, as Bullard's investigations in the story of Lincoln became more detailed, and as his general knowledge of the field became more extensive, Bullard earned the reputation of being a watchdog among Lincoln scholars, one who would not permit the record to be cluttered with writings based on careless or inaccurate research. As his interests developed, he assumed the role of an important clearing house of information and a severe critic of doubtful Lincolniana.

Beginning in the late 1930's and continuing until his last illness, Bullard gained a wide reputation as a stern judge of all who

15 Ibid., pp. 14-15
would produce inaccurate works on Lincoln. His most famous objections were leveled at the writings of Emanuel Hertz and Carl Sandburg. There was no malice involved in Bullard's attempts to keep the Lincoln record accurate. He simply demanded accuracy. "There is no occasion," he once wrote Hertz, "for you to refer to me as an 'enemy.' I am however a stickler for exactitude in writing about Lincoln." And, when this stickler for exactitude found one hundred and eighty errors in sixteen of the documents used by Hertz, he concluded that "That ain't the way real scholars do things," and he followed the advice of historian Worthington C. Ford who suggested that Bullard "give 'em Hell!"

A decade before the period of Bullard's sharp criticism of Hertz and Sandburg, a controversy broke out in Boston about a series of articles dealing with alleged Lincoln material never before published. Although Boston played a significant role in this controversy over the validity of the "original" Lincoln documents in the Atlantic,

1 Bullard to Emanuel Hertz, Feb. 24, 1938. Copy. Inserted in Notebook 58.


Bullard himself did not become one of the principal members, either of the defense or the prosecution in the case. Worthington C. Ford challenged the Atlantic editors, and eventually the documents were demonstrated to be forgeries. In 1928 Bullard perhaps was not ready to play his dominant role in this area of the Lincoln field. However, this does not indicate that he was not interested in the controversy as it developed in the late 1920's.

One of Bullard's notebooks is almost entirely devoted to the Atlantic forgeries, containing news clippings of the statements issued by various scholars, as well as editorials and press releases. Also, Bullard himself suggested that his role was somewhat more than passive. In an editorial titled "The Atlantic Owns Up," Bullard noted that "the Herald confesses to some gratification in having contributed to the finale by mobilizing critical opinion upon the ... documents."

When, however, Hertz's work on the William H. Herndon papers was published in 1938 and Sandburg's long study of Lincoln presidential years was printed in 1939, Bullard did more than use the Herald

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4 See Ford's signed editorial in the Boston Herald, Dec. 3, 1928.
5 Notebook 15.
6 Boston Herald, Jan., 22, 1929.
to mobilize critical opinion against these works. He personally led the attack of the few critics who were willing to condemn certain short-comings of the books.

In a press notice dated February 7, 1938, the Viking Press of New York City announced the publication of a book by Emanuel Hertz, titled The Hidden Lincoln, which included secret and sensational documents belonging to Lincoln's law partner, William H. Herndon. The news release further tempted readers to buy the book which would include "facts" about Lincoln's "parentage, health, courtship, early life, law practice, and religion." And, if this were not enough to induce the public to purchase the book, the publishers also added that "earlier biographers ignored or suppressed this controversial material: some still object to its publication."8

The book included the complete texts of a large number of Lincoln documents accumulated by Herndon. Following a 24-page introduction by the author, the Hertz work contains about four hundred pages of letters and statements presented without comment. In these four hundred pages are twenty letters from Herndon to C.F. Hart, ten to Ward Hill Lamon (written between 1866 and 1870), twenty to Truman H. Bartlett, five to Henry C. Whitney, and eighty-nine to Jesse W. Weik, all dated between 1881 and 1891; and also eleven letters to various other persons — in all one hundred and fifty-five letters. Then there is a selection of thirty-one letters to Herndon, including some of major importance. Twenty-three of these are statements by contemporaries

8 A copy of this news release is inserted in Notebook 58.
of Lincoln.  

The author, Hertz, clearly defined his object in publishing the book; "The main object of this book is to let the American people know what Herndon wrote about Lincoln. That has never been done until I reproduced the papers and included them in 'The Hidden Lincoln,' as they were written by Herndon."  

For his efforts, Hertz received generous praise from many historians. Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University, according to Hertz, was most ample in his commendation of the book:  

Let me say that I have almost finished your new book on Lincoln, and I am delighted with it. It is a courageous piece of work, but I do not think you need fear a hornet's nest. The truth-speaking is too plainly in the highest interests of history, and in the last analysis, in the interest of Lincoln's own fame. What a striking story these letters unfold, and how much evidence they give upon Lincoln's character! I congratulate you upon the book, which will remain a landmark in the literature of the subject...  

Others, again according to Hertz, also commended him for his publication: Nicholas Murray Butler, Paul H. Buck, Henry Steele Commager, and Ida M. Tarbell, among others.  

A book containing such extraordinary material as the publishers

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9 This compilation was made by Bullard. Notebook 58.

10 Hertz to Bullard, Jan. 18, 1938. Inserted in Notebook 58.


claimed for this one and receiving such critical acclaim from the distinguished persons mentioned above could scarcely escape the notice, or better still, the scrutiny, of as conscientious a student of Lincoln as F. Lauriston Bullard. Bullard promptly initiated a correspondence with the author; and the letters he received from Hertz and several statements in The Hidden Lincoln itself induced Bullard to challenge many statements in the volume and to question the overall importance of the book, letters of commendation from distinguished authors notwithstanding.

Hertz considered a favorable reaction to The Hidden Lincoln by a scholar of Bullard's stature as desirable, and therefore informed Bullard of the "extraordinary" items he had published:

The burning of Lincoln papers; falsification of Nicolay & Hay's manuscript; the conspiracy of silence in reference to Herndon's letters; the oblivion which seemed to have covered four series of his letters to Hart, Lamon, Arnold and Whitney in Huntington; the explosion of the myth that Lincoln never told shady stories; the arrangement between [sic] Beveridge, Ford and Greenslet to prevent Barton or anybody else from examining [sic] the Herndon papers in Weik's possession; the systematic abuse of Herndon while his manuscripts were being used all over the country; the concerted efforts of everyone to discredit Herndon excepting only men like Horace White; a poem of Lincoln's which appears at the conclusion of my book has never been published in full and such stanzas as have been published were inaccurately done because the original poem was never seen by anyone. The Lincoln portrait taken by Gardner a few days before his assassination which is in all likelihood the last picture of Lincoln notwithstanding Frederick Meserve's opinion to the contrary; ... the elimination of the term "when the time is ripe" in the actual publishing of these items in my book. We don't have to wait for the
pleasure of [Oliver R.] Barrett or [Paul M.] Angle and have them decide when, in their opinion, it would be proper to publish it, or them. For once, we hear Herndon tell the story of Lincoln, the early days, the early poems, the voice of Lincoln's stepmother, of his step-brother, etc., etc. ... When you shall have finished reading my book, I am convinced that Lincoln minded as you are, Lincoln author as you have been, that your verdict will be in favor of Herndon, and of the crying need of the publishing of all this material now — lest it be destroyed or lost by "accident." 13

Hertz was right in describing his correspondent as "Lincoln minded"; but when the Lincoln-minded Bullard finished his own investigation of The Hidden Lincoln, he had so upset the author that Hertz was obliged to inform Bullard that he could no longer "see any reason for continuing this correspondence." He described some of Bullard's investigations as "unfair," and "uncalled for," and concluded: "I can take care of my enemies but God help me against my friends." 14 What had happened to bring about these complaints was Bullard's scrutiny of Hertz's elaborate claims of the significance of the material included in The Hidden Lincoln. Ignoring the fact that many Lincoln students had praised the Hertz volume, Bullard decided to study carefully the statements made by Hertz and to subject them to critical analysis. The Bullard correspondence on this question indicates clearly that he painstakingly investigated whatever in The Hidden Lincoln appearing as of dubious authenticity.

13 Hertz to Bullard, Jan. 21, 1938. Inserted in Notebook 58.
Bullard found much in the book that was upsetting. Even the Foreword, written by Nicholas Murray Butler, troubled Bullard. Butler wrote:

One would think that to say anything new about Lincoln had long since become impossible, but it certainly is practicable, as Mr. Hertz has shown to discover and to interpret new material concerning one of the best-known personalities in modern public life.\textsuperscript{15}

Apparently, Bullard was not even satisfied with Butler's Foreword, and began a correspondence with Dr. Butler to learn of his connection with the Hertz book. As a result, Bullard was able to write later that he could state "on the highest authority . . . that President Nicholas Murray Butler did not know all the book contains when he wrote the foreword."\textsuperscript{16}

Unfortunately, the present writer has been unable to find in Bullard's files exactly what Bullard's highest authority for this statement was. But there is a letter from Butler to Bullard which certainly suggests that President Butler was not aware of all the contents of the book. "I have your letter of the 3rd," wrote Dr. Butler, "and shall do my best to look carefully into Mr. Hertz' book at an early opportunity. I have no doubt that the field covered is full of disputatious incidents, but on the whole it seems desirable in the case of a man like Lincoln to let the whole story be told, particularly as so many years have elapsed since his death."\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{15} Hertz, Hidden Lincoln, p. vii.
\textsuperscript{17} Nicholas Murray Butler to Bullard, Feb. 4, 1938. Inserted in Notebook 58. Underscoring supplied.
This Butler wrote more than two months after writing the Foreword.

Beginning with the Introduction, Bullard scrutinized the Hertz book carefully, and discovered many statements that he could show were not true.

Not too modestly Hertz stated that he had published in 1931, 1,250 Lincoln documents hitherto "unknown" and documents which "have played a part in the reappraisal of Lincoln." But in his copy of The Hidden Lincoln, Bullard jotted in the margin a note to the effect that Hertz's statement was not exact: that many of Hertz's "hitherto unknown" Lincoln documents had appeared in the Nicolay and Hay, Tracy, and Angle editions of Lincoln's writings.

Hertz next explained that after 1933 he "went to the Huntington Library to examine for myself the greatest collection of unused Herndon material in existence." This, of course, implies that The Hidden Lincoln would contain material not seen or used by recent Lincoln biographers, and therefore make the Hertz book all the more significant. After a brief investigation, Bullard was easily able to demonstrate the falsity of this statement on "unused" material at the Huntington Library. Bullard simply wrote to the Library to learn if the material there had

19 Hertz, Hidden Lincoln, p. 20.
21 Hertz, Hidden Lincoln, p. 20.
been used by other scholars. R.B. Haselden, Curator of Manuscripts, replied: "From my own personal knowledge I can state very definitely that the late Dr. William E. Barton did have access to all our manuscript Lincoln material. Of course I cannot guarantee that he read all this material, but he certainly had it all on his desk during the time he was working at this library, which was many years ago." 22

Another statement in Hertz's Introduction that annoyed Bullard was the one indicating that although Albert J. Beveridge 23 had access to the material formerly in the possession of Jesse Weik -- much of which is published in The Hidden Lincoln, he did no more than lift "a corner of the veil over Herndon's researches." 24 This statement was sheer nonsense. Bullard conclusively indicated in his notes that Beveridge was very familiar with the manuscripts presented by Hertz; in a half hour he had jotted down many examples cited in Beveridge's work:

Gurley Statement (Beveridge, I:501) (Hertz, p. 352).
Mrs. E. Edwards statement (Beveridge, I:333) (Hertz, p. 373).
Gillespie to Herndon (Beveridge, I:300) (Hertz, p. 321).
Herndon to Weik, 1/15/1866 (Beveridge, I:304) (Hertz, p. 134).
Herndon to Weik, 1/16/1866 (Beveridge, I:308) (Hertz, p. 137).
Rutledge statement (Beveridge, I:147) (Hertz, p. 310).

Rutledge to Herndon, 11/21/1886 (Beveridge, I:148) (Hertz, p. 318).

Elizabeth Crawford, 9/16/1865 (Beveridge, I:76) (Hertz, p. 365).

This work of one-half duration would scarcely justify describing Beveridge's use of the material as lifting a corner of the veil. Concerning the "new" material in the Hertz book Bullard concluded:

"Beveridge used all that ought to be used. So did Barton. After all there is relatively little that is new in the book." The Hertz volume, as Bullard described it, was a bare presentation of documents while the works of Beveridge and Barton were ones in which the authors used standard methods of biography, "citing authorities and weaving quotations into their texts." Bullard was willing to concede that in its place The Hidden Lincoln was of some value (in that it represented a publication of the documents), but Bullard concluded that "by no means is this 'the most important Lincoln publication since the Herndon-Weik of 1880.'"

Bullard's notes appear in Notebook 58.

Bullard here is quoting the press release put out by the publishers of The Hidden Lincoln. Notebook 58. As a matter of fact Bullard was even able to draw on his magnificent pamphlet file to discover an earlier statement by Hertz that shows that four years before the publication of The Hidden Lincoln, Hertz did not believe that Beveridge had simply "lifted the veil" obscuring the Weik material. Hertz wrote in 1934: "Why should Beveridge have traveled to California when ... Jesse W. Weik gave him anything he wanted from an original collection... Whereas the Huntington Library 3000 miles away had only copies in longhand of matter which was available in 1871... One need but read the hundred odd letters of Beveridge to Weik to see why Beveridge did not have to go to California when Weik and his collection were so near at hand." Emanuel Hertz, Notes on the Herndon-Weik Collection of Original Lincoln Manuscripts, Documents, and Other Papers (Privately printed by the author, 1934), p. 20.
Before *The Hidden Lincoln* was published, scholars and the general reading public itself, through the work of such biographers as Beveridge and Barton, had learned of the facts of Lincoln's domestic life, his religious opinions, his reading and story-telling, and his courtships. And, as Bullard pointed out, even Herndon's analyses of Lincoln's character have several times been printed.27

In Bullard's eyes the saddest feature of the Hertz book was that it contained certain data that never should have been published, and a few that, if published, "should have been accompanied by evaluatory analyses,"28 Nine times, according to Bullard's count, Hertz included references to Thomas Lincoln's incapacity and also some hints that the father of Abraham Lincoln was one Abraham Enloe. One example will suffice here of this type of "sensational" revelations. In a letter to Truman H. Bartlett of Boston, dated September 30, 1887, Herndon wrote, in part:

Now I wish to explain the facts some-what of Lincoln's origin, the doubt of it, etc. It is said to me that Thomas Lincoln, Abraham's father was castrated and there is not much doubt of it, but the material question is: When was he castrated? Nancy Hanks, Abraham's mother, married Thomas Lincoln when she was about twenty-two years of age. She had three children by Thomas Lincoln -- at least the three children were born when or after Thomas and Nancy were married...29

27 Notebook 58.
28 Ibid.
This material, Bullard believed, if published at all should have been accompanied by some kind of editorial comment. He included in his notes the reference to Dr. Barton who previously had investigated this "evidence" and had concluded that, among other things, "Thomas Lincoln was the father of Abraham Lincoln." Paul M. Angle agreed with Bullard about the lack of propriety in publishing this material without any kind of editorial comment. Angle agreed that with such editorial comment citing Barton's "disproof of Lincoln's illegitimacy and similar refutations," there could be no valid objection to publishing the documents because they would "then serve as a valuable basis for a critique of Herndon's general accuracy." 

The inclusion of the question of Lincoln's paternity and the problem of the legitimacy of Nancy Hanks without any kind of "editorial analyses" annoyed Bullard, but far more disturbing were two passages that to Bullard (Angle also agreed with Bullard on this) should never have been published. The less obnoxious of the two appears here.

In a letter to Weik, dated January, 1891, Herndon wrote:

When I was in Greencastle in 1887 I said to you that Lincoln had, when a mere boy, the syphilis, and now let me explain the matter in full, which I have never done before. About the year 1835-36 Mr. Lincoln


32 Notebook 58; Angle to Bullard, Jan. 29, 1938. Inserted in Notebook 58.
went to Beardstown and during a devilish passion had connection with a girl and caught the disease.33

Herndon, Bullard noted, was writing shortly before his death in 1891 about something alleged to have happened fifty-years before. To a scholar of Bullard's calibre the only justification for printing such statements would be conclusive proof. But, as Bullard pointed out, "There is no proof of them." Hertz, in publishing these documents, was not actually producing anything that was unknown. Beveridge had dealt with the matter previously with what Bullard described as "proper restraint."34 Bullard himself, as early as 1935, was aware of the report of Lincoln's supposed contraction of a venereal disease, and, as Bullard suggested, many Lincoln scholars knew of the report. In 1935 Angle wrote to Bullard about this Herndon allegation:

Beveridge talked to me about the matter which troubles you. In fact, in his book there is an allusion to it which is innocent enough to the unsuspecting reader, but full of meaning to anyone who has been forewarned. I can't give you the citation, but I think you can find it by studying the index a little. Try Drake, Daniel. That was the physician's name.

My talk with Beveridge on this subject took place at least seven or eight years ago, so I don't trust completely my recollection of it. But what I recall is this -- that among the Weik papers Beveridge found either a letter or memorandum by Herndon to the effect that Lincoln as a young man had contracted a venereal disease, and that it was the real cause of his worry about his marriage. Personally, I agree with [Oliver R.] Barrett in not taking much stock in the story.35

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33 Hertz, Hidden Lincoln, p. 259
34 Notebook 58; Beveridge, Lincoln, I, 312-13.
Bullard complained that although Hertz contends that the whole truth should be told, "Is he sure what the truth is?"36

In an editorial for Lincoln's Birthday, 1938, Bullard put the results of his investigations and extensive correspondence to good use by dealing with the Hertz book. The editorial was titled "Lincoln Defamed". After listing the many objections he had to The Hidden Lincoln, Bullard concluded: "Well, let no lover of Lincoln worry overmuch. Washington's memory was attacked and his fame survives unimpaired. So will Lincoln's."37 Letters commending this editorial were forwarded to Bullard from such people as Professor Henry Steele Commager and Jewell F. Stevens, Vice-chairman of the Chicago Historical Society.38

Bullard's role in condemning Hertz's volume simply represented an attempt on his part to keep the Lincoln story accurate. While Hertz apparently did not appreciate Bullard's labors in this field (he wrote that Bullard was one of the two outstanding exceptions to the favorable reviewers of his book),39 Bullard in a magnificent understatement informed Hertz that "there is nothing unusual in my thus examining a book in which I am intensely interested; I have done this many times."40

36 Notebook 58.
37 Boston Herald, Feb. 12, 1938.
38 Commager to Bullard, Feb. 16, 1938; Stevens to Bullard, Feb. 15, 1938. Both letters inserted in Notebook 58.
39 Oliver R. Barrett of Chicago was the other. Virginia Maier (Secretary to Otto Eisenschiml) to Bullard, Mar. 1, 1938. Inserted in Notebook 58.
40 Bullard to Hertz, Feb. 24, 1938, Copy. Inserted in Notebook 58.
A year after the publication of the Hertz volume, Carl Sandburg's four volume study of Lincoln's Presidency was released. As Sandburg himself described it, his War Years was a book "written about a man whose mother could not write by a man whose father could not write."\(^1\) But of course, the War Years was much more than that.

In his review appearing in the New York Times, playwright Robert E. Sherwood concluded that "the people of this nation and the human race may well salute and thank Carl Sandburg for the magnitude of his contribution to our common heritage."\(^2\) The book was an immediate success and received excellent notices in the press by such distinguished writers as Sherwood, Lloyd Lewis, Otto Eisenschiml, Charles Poore, Max Lerner, and L.E. Robinson.\(^3\) These laudatory notices bothered Bullard. He was convinced that these reviewers obviously did not do one thing that he had done: "to go behind the returns," as he explained it.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Harry E. Pratt to Bullard, April 26, 1950.


\(^3\) Lewis's review appeared in the New York Herald Tribune Books, Dec. 3, 1939, p. 3; Eisenschiml's in the New York Sun, Dec. 1, 1939; Poore's in the New York Times, Dec. 1, 1939; the reviews by Lerner and Robinson are in unidentified clippings inserted in Bullard's copy of the Sandburg work.

\(^4\) Bullard, "Notes on Carl Sandburg's War Years," typescript, 1940.
I read all four volumes with care -- every line. With 2500 Lincoln items about me I was able in my home to do a lot of checking. I trust I manifested no ungenerous spirit in doing so. But here is the longest Lincoln biography ever written, the four War Years volumes are more than equivalent to all of Nicolay and Hay plus one more volume the same size.

Reading Sandburg's Foreword, Bullard was surprised by the last paragraph in which Sandburg noted that he often regretted using the "three dots of elision" in omitting unimportant material from a quotation, but that he nevertheless used the device in his book.5 Bullard wondered, "Why insert that?" Then, Bullard came to page 92 of the first volume and a quotation from "The Diary of a Public Man," "had a hunch," and acted upon it. Fourteen lines were omitted, without marks of elision. Now Bullard checked on some other matters and began to read and to check together as much as he could during off hours.6

After this careful examination of the War Years, Bullard concluded that there were three important facts that, in his opinion, greatly damaged Sandburg's work: (1) the total absence of footnotes and postnotes, (2) the absence of a critical evaluation of sources, and (3) the lack of discussion of Lincoln's statecraft. The third item Bullard particularly regretted. He believed that Sandburg should have covered such subjects as Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation -- Was it a war measure? Why? He was also disappointed that there was no discussion of Lincoln's secret pledge to join with McClellan to

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5 Sandburg, War Years, I, xxii.
save the Union in case of his own defeat in the election of 1864. What were Lincoln's views as to his rights under the Constitution to assume dictatorial powers in the time of war? What was the ratio of politician to statesman in Lincoln's character and career? Bullard felt that the student of Lincoln and the Civil War era would greatly miss the absence of a discussion of these points.

Along with these three serious defects in the book, Bullard discovered many errors of a less significant nature. He counted and noted one hundred such errors, and indicated that there were many others dealing with less important matters. It will suffice in this paper to note a few of the instances in which Bullard was dissatisfied with the material Sandburg used in his study.

Sandburg included the story concerning the allegation that Mrs. Lincoln was disloyal to the Union cause. According to this report the rumors reached the point where Senate members of the Committee on the Conduct of the War had "set a secret morning session for attention to reports that Mrs. Lincoln was a disloyalist." Just as the meeting was called to order by the chairman, the President suddenly entered the room, to the surprise of all the Senators present. Then, he spoke, "slowly, with control, through a depth of sorrow in the tone of voice: 'I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, appear of my own volition before this Committee of the Senate to say that I, of my own

7 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
9 Sandburg, War Years, II, 199.
knowledge, know that it is untrue that any of my family hold treasonable communication with the enemy.\footnote{10}

As far as Bullard could determine, this incident was first mentioned publicly by Thomas L. James in an article by William Hayes Ward in the Lincoln number of the New York \textit{Independent} of 1895.\footnote{11} James was Post-master General in President Garfield's Cabinet from 1881 to 1882, and the story was told him as an illustration of Lincoln's solitude by a member of the Senate Committee on the Conduct of the War.\footnote{12}

Bullard, however, refused to accept a second hand reference given thirty years after the event took place. Although he believed the report was not impossible, he did consider it improbable. "Anyhow," Bullard concluded, "the author ought not -- if I may so say -- state the incident as a fact unless he has absolute evidence. There should be a statement in addition to the present text to satisfy the reasonable doubts of any careful reader.\footnote{13}

Not only did Bullard check the record of this strange item, but he also wrote T. Harry Williams, the outstanding authority on Lincoln's relations with the Radicals in Congress. Williams replied that he had not seen the James account, but had found in his own studies of the official records of the Committee and of the papers of its members "nothing to uphold the story in any way." On the contrary, Williams was

\footnote{10}{Ibid., II, 200.}
\footnote{11}{Notebook 76, note inserted following p. 11.}
\footnote{12}{Ibid.}
\footnote{13}{Bullard, "Notes on Sandburg's War Years," pp. 7-8.}
convincing that the Committee Radicals and Mrs. Lincoln were on fairly friendly terms. He concluded that of the interviews between Lincoln and the Committee that he knew of, "the Committee went to Lincoln. He would hardly go to them. The Washington correspondents would have known and talked."\(^{14}\)

This indiscriminate use of sources annoyed Bullard. He complained: "Mr. Sandburg is too prone to use everything, whatever may be its origin, and at times he accepts material which he admits in the context not to be above suspicion." Too often, Bullard believed, Sandburg presented his readers "no clue to follow," and thus the reader could not "guess very closely as to the reliability" of the author's sources.\(^{15}\)

Bullard cited as another instance of Sandburg's careless evaluation of sources the story that at a Cabinet meeting of September 2, 1862, Lincoln for the first time declared that he was ready to resign. It was at this Cabinet meeting that the President announced he was again placing General George B. McClellan in command of the Union army near Washington, D.C. This news resulted in sharp criticism both by the Secretary of War, Stanton, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Chase. At this point, according to Sandburg, Lincoln "for the first time told his advisers that he was ready to quit his job; he would gladly resign." "The President said it distressed him

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\(^{14}\) Williams to Bullard, June 4, 1940. Inserted in Notebook 76.

\(^{15}\) Bullard, "Notes on Sandburg's War Years," p. 3.
exceedingly to find himself differing on such a point from the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury; that he would gladly resign his place; but he could not see who could do the work wanted as well as McClellan. As Bullard pointed out, "place" is the crucial word in this passage. Did Lincoln express a willingness to "quit the Presidency"?

Carefully, Bullard investigated the sources of Chase's diary (from which Sandburg obtained the bulk of the material used in his passage). When Chase's diary was published in 1874, the editor used the word "place," and it appears that Sandburg was quoting from this version when he included the account in The War Years. However, the American Historical Association published in 1903 a collection of Chase letters and his diary. The work was edited by a committee of American scholars. In this publication, Bullard found that the "crucial line" was rendered: "The President said... that he would gladly resign his plan." Was Lincoln willing to give up his "plan" or his "place"?

16 Sandburg, War Years, I, 543, 544. Underlining supplied.
17 Bullard, "Notes on Sandburg's War Year," p. 5.
To solve the problem Bullard turned to the original manuscript that was used both by Warden and the American Historical Association. He obtained a photostatic copy of the original which is in the possession of the Library of Congress. According to the Chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, the original document is the work of a copyist, probably Chase's private secretary. The same handwriting appears in the body of Chase's letters which were then signed by the Secretary of the Treasury. In studying the photostat, Bullard found that he could not perfectly transcribe the crucial word. He found that it seemed to be the word "plan" with a horizontal line just above the letter "n", or "something like that." The best suggestion Bullard could receive from the Library of Congress was a guess that the horizontal line might have been used by the copyist of the Diary to denote a correction, "so that what may originally have been "ce" became 'n'." "Resign his plan," concluded the Chief of the Division of Manuscripts at the Congressional Library, "is not idiomatic, but seems to suit the context better.... We could find nothing else in the Chase Papers bearing on the question." Bullard indicated that he preferred "plan" to "place", and gave three reasons for his preference. (1) It fits the context better;

20 The photostat used by Bullard is in Photostats, Box A.

21 Bullard, "Notes on Sandburg's War Years," p. 5.

22 Thomas P. Martin (Acting chief, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress) to Bullard, Feb. 16, 1940. The letter is attached to the photostat from Chase's Diary. Photostat, Box A.
(2) it is more consonant with Lincoln's character; and (3) there is a lack of corroborating contemporary evidence to indicate Lincoln was willing to resign his office.\(^{23}\) Attorney General Bates, although present at the cabinet meeting, left no account of it in his Diary;\(^ {24}\) and Secretary of the Navy Welles, "while otherwise agreeing quite fully with Chase,"\(^ {25}\) made no mention of such a statement by Lincoln.\(^ {26}\) Bullard suggested that "it seems hardly possible that he would have omitted any mention of a proposed resignation by the President had there been any such hint."\(^ {27}\)

\(^{23}\) Bullard, "Notes on Sandburg's War Years," p. 6.


\(^{25}\) Bullard, "Notes on Sandburg's War Years," p. 6.


\(^{27}\) Bullard, "Notes on Sandburg's War Years," p. 6.
To as cautious a scholar as Bullard, the uncertainty surrounding the word "place" or "plan", and the failure of any of the men at the meeting to agree that Lincoln hinted he would be willing to resign appeared to be adequate justification for Sandburg to mention very carefully the "fact of doubt." "His statement," concluded Bullard, "is too absolute and positive." 28

Although the present writer agrees with Bullard that Sandburg's statement was too positive, he is not too certain about reading the word "plan" for "place". Professor Randall cautiously noted that although both Warden and Sandburg adopted the word "place," "the best published text of the diary," the one published by the American Historical Association in its Annual Report of 1902, reads "resign his plan." 29 A more recent editor of the Chase papers has concluded: "But the word -- which, after all, is in a copyist's handwriting -- is not clear and seems more like 'plan.'" 30 This statement is not convincing to the writer who, in studying the same photostat Bullard used, was left with the impression that "place", with a horizontal line above the "ce," is the more logical reading of the crucial word. Even Secretary Welles, who, as Bullard pointed out, did not note specifically that Lincoln indicated his willingness to resign his office, did write in his Diary what seems to suggest that Lincoln might have used strong words: "When the President came in," wrote

28 Ibid.


welles, "and heard the subject matter of our conversation, he said he had done what seemed to him best and would be responsible for what he had done to the country."  

But perhaps this long digression is unnecessary and unimportant. What is significant, however, is Bullard's legitimate contention that although Sandburg may have accepted the word "place" instead of the word "plan," he should have indicated his reasons for doing so, and he should have noted the fact that his interpretation was not widely accepted. As Bullard insisted: "One may concede uncertainty and consistently hold that the fact of doubt ought to have careful mention in such a work."  

Another instance of Bullard's dissatisfaction with Sandburg's lack of critical evaluation of sources concerns the information Sandburg used (in his book) based on what Bullard discovered to be the "Putman's Magazine Article." The biographer devoted an entire section of his work to the particular magazine article in question. The writer (the article was simply signed "M. Wentworth," and the editors assured the readers of the good faith of the author) claims to have been present at the White House and to have attended many of the interviews between

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31 Welles, Diary, I, 104-105. Underscoring supplied.
32 Bullard, "Notes on Sandburg's War Years," p. 6.
33 Sandburg, War Years, III, 546-559.
Lincoln and applicants for various presidential favors.

The author, according to the Putnam article, had asked the President, sometime during the later years of the Civil War, to have discharged from military service her brother who had entered the service at fifteen years of age. Not only was Lincoln supposed to have granted the petition but he also reputedly asked M. Wentworth if he could do anything more for her. Her reply: that she might be present at Lincoln's public interviews and that she be permitted to write notes of them for publication. The amiable President allowed her to do so. For this article she selected only a few of several hundred petitions "to present a faithful record of what she actually saw and heard on the occasions described."35 One of the incidents in the article is as follows:

All day long President Lincoln had received petitioners, and still they came. He could hear the murmur of voices in the outer rooms, as they were anxious to be admitted; he must rest for a few moments.

"Tad, my dear son, go to your mother; you must be tired here."

"No, no, papa; I don't want to go now -- I want to stay and see the people." And he forced his hands down deep into his pockets, threw himself on the floor under a writing-desk which stood near his father, and, settling his head on a cushion, continued: "Ain't you tired of folks, pa?"36

One petitioner, according to the account, was able to induce the President to grant her request. This interview is supposed to have

36 Ibid. The passage is quoted in Sandburg, War Years, III, 547.
ended in the following manner:

"Oh, President Lincoln! I believe you are a Christian. I thank God for it. I will pray for you every day with me whole heart."
"I have need of your prayers; I have need of all the prayers that can be offered for me."
"Oh, Mr. Lincoln, that is the Christian spirit -- that is faith in Jesus! Oh, let me hear you say that you believe in Him!"
"I do" was the solemn answer. I believe in my Saviour."

To a man of Bullard's experience as a Lincoln scholar the unquestioned acceptance of this article was unwarranted. Such remarks by Lincoln as "I believe in my Saviour," to Bullard, anyway, made "queer reading." While Lincoln was not technically a Christian, he was one of the most religious men of his time; but, "he didn't talk that way, nor as he is made to talk in other places in this article."

Because Governor Horatio Seymour of New York is mentioned in the article, Bullard was able to conclude that the time of the events in the article was after January, 1863. (Governor Seymour assumed his post at this time after being out of office for eight years.) Miss Wentworth's article was not printed, however, until the end of 1870. This led Bullard to pose two questions which Sandburg, in using the account, had not answered: (1) Had the article appeared before in some other form? (2) Why the delay? Bullard concluded: "Nothing is

37 Wentworth, Putnam's Magazine, VI, 530. Sandburg quoted from this account, War Years, III, 550-51.
proved, of course. But, Mr. Sandburg practically vouches for its full credibility by using it in toto. It seems to me that an explanatory paragraph is very desirable, unless there are pertinent facts with which I am not acquainted. 39

Another questionable source used by Sandburg and challenged by Bullard is interesting not so much as an illustration of Bullard's research, but as an indication of his wide knowledge in the field of Lincoln bibliography. Sandburg in one paragraph told of a wedding at the White House during the Lincoln Administration:

A Virginia county girl and a farm hand from Kentucky sent up word that they were at the White House to be married. Lincoln came down. "So you children want to be married? Come right in and we'll get at the marryin." The President stood up while they were pronounced man and wife, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Chandler, the bride saying later: "I don't remember so much about Mr. Lincoln, except that I wished Henry's coat was long like his. And I remember thinking Henry was a lot handsomer." According to the bride, Lincoln had asked her, "If I help you to be married, will you be willing to give your husband to fight for his country?" She had answered Yes and her man later went into Company A, 1st New Jersey Cavalry. 40

Apparently the first mention of this story appeared in the Washington Evening Star of February 11, 1923. The article was more than three columns long and had the rather impressive headline:

BRIDE OF 1862 GIVEN IN MARRIAGE BY LINCOLN TELLS OF ELOPEMENT AND WHITE HOUSE VISIT. Indiana Woman, Former Virginian, Says She and Her Lover, Unable to Wed at Harper's Ferry, Went to Executive Mansion Because They " Didn't Know Any Better." President

40 Sandburg, War Years, II, 218.

The story is completely false! A four-page pamphlet published in 1926\textsuperscript{41} totally demolished the account. Bullard's collection contained a copy of this rare pamphlet, and even though it was rare and not generally known, Bullard felt that Sandburg should have checked the story with Lincoln scholars, some of whom were familiar with the pamphlet. To Bullard this was merely another example of Sandburg's method — "accumulate, copy, classify, and use all." This habit of Sandburg's Bullard described as "disquieting." A scholar "must check everything."\textsuperscript{42}

The real story of this "White House Wedding" is interesting. The wedding actually took place at the White House Hotel in Georgetown, and the wedding return is dated October 31, 1859, a full year before Lincoln was elected, and more than a year before Lincoln came to Washington! Mrs. Chandler was never in Washington during the war, but rather remained behind the Confederate lines. Her husband served in the Confederate army, was captured, later spent some time in Old Capitol prison, took the loyalty oath, and finally, receiving a considerable bounty, enlisted in the Union army under an assumed name. He did not return to his wife until 1870.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{41} L.D. Carman, The Other White House: An Illustration of the Unreliability of History Concerning Abraham Lincoln (Washington: privately printed, 1926).

\textsuperscript{42} Notebook 76, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{43} Carman, Other White House, passim.
Bullard collected in a lengthy memorandum his findings of dubious material in Sandburg's work. Eight copies were typed and sent to Lincolnians who would find them useful. Professor James G. Randall of the University of Illinois, who received a copy, found it a "fine, thorough job, a substantial and impressive piece of research and criticism." Another copy was sent to Sandburg's publishers who in turn forwarded the typescript to the author. The criticisms were written without any intention of malice and were accepted in the same spirit. After reading Bullard's memorandum slowly and carefully, the author wrote the critic a generous note: "I appreciate the labor and the care which you gave this and the spirit of thoroughness, even anxiety, which pervades it. Several of the errors you note were corrected in the second printing. Others have gone to the printer this week and will appear corrected in the fourth and subsequent printings." These letters from Sandburg and Randall pleased Bullard very much and provided adequate compensation for the time he used in making his investigation. He was especially proud that Professor Randall, whom he considered "the best Lincoln-Presidency-authority in the United States," had agreed with him that the critics in general had been "astonishingly lax in examining the book." 

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44 Randall to Bullard, Mar. 28, 1940. Inserted in Notebook 76.

45 Sandburg to Bullard, Mar. 28, 1940. Inserted in Notebook 76.

Besides his rather important role as critic at this time, from the late 1930's through the 1940's, Bullard was also the author of many studies on Lincoln. Thirty-eight articles of varying importance and three books on the Lincoln theme bear adequate testimony to the fact that Bullard spent such a great amount of time during this period studying and writing on the Lincoln theme. The scope of his interests is clearly demonstrated by the wide variety of his writings, ranging from the one extreme of important contributions in the Lincoln field to the other extreme of items dealing with minor incidents in Lincoln's life.

Of considerable importance to the Lincoln story was Bullard's study of "Lincoln and the Courts of the District of Columbia,"¹ a distinguished contribution which Worthington C. Ford described as "a new item in Lincolniana."²

On March 5, 1863, Congress passed a bill reorganizing the courts of the District of Columbia. The Republicans in Congress felt that such action was necessary because the justices of the court were in the main pro-Southern in sympathy. Speaking of the Chief Judge of the Circuit Court of the District, Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts complained: "I believe his heart is sweltering with treason."³

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¹ American Bar Association Journal, XXIV (Feb., 1938), 117-120.
³ Bullard, American Bar Association Journal, XXIV, 117.
result of the anti-Union feeling among the judges, a bill abolishing the court and creating an entirely new tribunal was jammed through both houses in the closing days of the thirty-seventh Congress, despite the spirited opposition of the entire Bar and the formal protest of several thousand citizens of the District. Bullard, noting that none of Lincoln's biographers had dealt with this episode in his life, asserted that Lincoln could have blocked the legislation or he could have vetoed the bill.

But Lincoln "as in other instances in his life assented to the use of the shortest and surest means of reaching a desired end." Bullard reasoned that the situation was unprecedented and that therefore Lincoln chose to act in an unprecedented manner. By signing the bill Lincoln would "ensure the existence of a court that would command the full confidence of the leaders of his party and the loyalists everywhere...."

While this study of Lincoln's role in the reorganization of the courts of the District of Columbia was not an especially long article, it was certainly, as Ford wrote, "a new item in Lincolniana," and also a valuable addition to the story of Lincoln as a politician and as a President. The Chicago Lincoln Group considered it important enough to have one of its members, an attorney, review the work at one of the Group's meetings. Several other Lincolnians throughout the country also

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4 Ibid., p. 120.
5 Beverly W. Howe to Bullard, Mar. 30, 1938. Inserted in Notebook 58.
congratulated Bullard for his valuable contribution.\(^6\)

That the length of the final product (the article as it appeared in the American Bar Association Journal) was brief is actually no indication of the extent of Bullard's efforts to uncover the sequence of events as they occurred and the motives of the several persons involved in the incident. His research for the article covers ninety-five hand-written pages in one of his Notebooks.\(^7\) The table of contents alone illustrates the amount of preparation for the study, and also Bullard's sources. The following is a direct reproduction of the table of contents of Bullard's Notebook 61:

Lincoln and the District of Columbia Courts

1. Notes from H.B. Caemmerer, Washington, the National Capital (1932).
2. Notes from Washington Daily Record, Oct. 8, 1934. Article\(^3\) by F. Regis Noel.
3. Notes from A History of the National Capital by Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan (1916).\(^7\)

\(^6\) See, for example, Angle to Bullard, April 12, 1938; Barrett to Bullard, April 16, 1938. Both inserted in Notebook 58.

\(^7\) Notebook 61.

\(^8\) "The Supreme Court of the District of Columbia."

8. The notes in Welles' Diary.
12. The oath required of practitioners before the Court.
13. Item from Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm.
15. Notes from article by Barnard in Records, Columbia Historical Society.
16. Item from article by Walter S. Cox.
17. What Sumner said.
18. Editorial from National Intelligencer.

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10 Underscoring here appears in Bullard's Notebook. The underscoring in the other items has been supplied by the present writer.


As the table of contents suggests, the pages of Bullard's "District of Columbia" notebook contain some rather fascinating notes that formed the basis of his article. Most of these notes, of course, Bullard was unable to include. But they provided him an extraordinarily comprehensive background: so much so that Bullard's study would safely meet the most exacting standards of modern scholarship.

Many of these notes are extraordinarily interesting. For example, Bullard carefully compiled a chart indicating how each of the Senators voted (the vote in the Upper House was close, 19-16). Every one of the nineteen Senators voting for the bill was a Republican. Of the sixteen Senators who voted against the bill to abolish the court, six were Democrats; five, Republicans who refused to vote with their party leaders included relatively uninfluential men: Henry B. Anthony of Rhode Island, Lafayette S. Foster of Connecticut, Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland, Timothy C. Howe of Wisconsin, and John C. Ten Eyck of New Jersey. The "old-line Whig" voting against the measure was Garrett Davis of Kentucky.

Among the items Bullard culled from the Diary of Secretary of the Navy Welles was one under the entry of March 6, 1863, in which Welles noted that on that day the Cabinet considered the problem of appointments to the soon to be created Court. He observed that "unfortunately, the hearts and sympathies of the present judges are with the Rebels." 15

Bullard was interested in the names, backgrounds, and the

15 Welles, Diary, I. 245.
subsequent careers of the men Lincoln appointed to the new tribunal. Lincoln appointed as presiding judge of the new Court, David Kellogg Cartter. Cartter was born in Jefferson County, New York, June 22, 1812, and was admitted to the bar in 1832, after studying law in Rochester. He later moved to Ohio, from where he was elected as a Democrat to the 31st and 32nd Congresses. He served as a member of Congress from March 4, 1849, to March 3, 1853. Like so many other politicians, Cartter changed his politics in the mid-1850's and was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1860, the Convention that nominated Lincoln as the Republican candidate.

Lincoln appointed Cartter minister to Bolivia, and the Ohio politician served in this capacity from March 27, 1861, to March 10, 1862. He retained his post as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia from the time of his appointment by President Lincoln in 1863 until his death, April 16, 1887.16

A study of Welles' Diary provided Bullard some interesting information about Chief Justice Cartter. During the period of Reconstruction, Cartter was apparently in sympathy with the Radicals, or so Welles, not an especially impartial observer, reported. On August 5, 1867, Welles complained that Judge Cartter "is a creature of Stanton, and his court is under subjection to the same influence."17

Following President Andrew Johnson's difficulties with Secretary of War Stanton, and the President's attempt to dismiss the Secretary,
Welles complained that Lincoln's choice for presiding judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, "in this whole proceeding from its inception to its close, showed himself a most unfit judge. He has secretly visited Stanton in the War Department..." Although one naturally hesitates to accept Welles' views, especially during the period of Johnson's battle with the Radicals, there is an earlier entry in his Diary (August 12, 1865) that is revealing and which Bullard included in his notes for reference. Welles explained that he went to see President Johnson on business relating to:

the dismissal of Cartter, a marine whose father is presiding judge in this District, -- a coarse, vulgar, strong-minded man, who will not be willing that his son should leave the service, however undeserving. His son ran away and enlisted in the marines as a private, was made an officer on his father's importunity, has been no honor to the service at any time, and cannot be retained. Wants self-respect and decent deportment. Undoubtedly I shall incur the resentment of the judge, who has a vigorous as well as a vulgar intellect, and can make himself felt. Still there is a duty to perform which I must not evade.19

In the files of the New York Tribune, Bullard was able to trace the daily reports from Washington dealing with the progress of the efforts to reorganize the Court, and ultimately the establishment of the new court. On March 24, 1863, the Tribune reported that the new court was organized the preceding day. Many members of the bar were in attendance and Judge Cartter delivered an address regarding new rules

18 Ibid., III, 294.
19 Ibid., II, 359.
and regulations. In his talk the judge announced that his colleagues agreed with him, after due consultation, to require the oath of loyalty as enacted by Congress in July, 1862 (Bullard copied the wording of the oath in his notebook), to be taken by all practitioners in that court -- not, as the judge explained, because of doubt of their allegiance to the Union cause, but because it had been subscribed to by Senators and Judges. 20

Despite the obvious hard work involved in accumulating his notes, tracking down isolated names and facts, and compressing the results of his work into a highly-praised article, Bullard apparently was able to retain some slight sense of humor during his labors. In copying some sections from an editorial in a Washington newspaper that opposed the reorganization of the court, Bullard wrote in the margin, "long sentence," along side a passage that might possibly serve as a guide for writers of present-day official government literature. The "long sentence":

It is no part of our purpose to insinuate that any Senator was influenced by his personal objection to any incumbent of the bench, though the reflections cast upon one of their number were of a nature which, if they could be sustained, would have seemed to dispense with the necessity of making a change so sweeping under circumstances open to grace exception, on the ground of the principle which is violated whenever a judge who holds office under the tenure of "good behavior" is "legislated out" on suspicion, instead of being impeached as the Constitution directs, if there be any charges seriously affecting his judicial integrity. 21

20 Notebook 61.

Another of Bullard's studies that proved to be of some significance was his study of the role played by Goldwin Smith, an Englishman, in winning support for the Northern cause during the American Civil War.\(^1\) While the efforts to defend the Northern point of view in their home country of such Britishers as John Bright, Richard Cobden, William Ernest Forster, Thomas B. Potter, and Newton Hall (among others) are fairly well known, Bullard suggested that one name often overlooked is Goldwin Smith. The purpose of his study was to reappraise Smith's role during the Civil War and to demonstrate that "in some respects he was, perhaps, the most influential of them all."\(^2\)

Perhaps one of the reasons why Smith never received the public acclaim awarded to the other men was, as Bullard intimated, that there was nothing spectacular in his career. But, nevertheless, he "stated his views with such fairness and balance and infused his writings with so judicial a quality, that he won and held the attention of the men who were making the history of the 1860's and of all students of public affairs."\(^3\)

Born in 1823, Smith was already well known by the time of the outbreak of the Civil War, and in 1858 had been appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University. As a result of his profound interests in a wide variety of subjects, Smith was on fairly

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2 Ibid., p. 21.
3 Ibid.
intimate terms with many of his nation's most noted statesmen, churchmen, lawyers, and writers, and was "received" in many of the "great houses" as a social equal.  

When the Civil War broke out, Smith used his ability as a pamphleteer and also his influence with many of the British aristocracy who were sympathetic to the Southern cause, as well as his effectiveness on the platform to argue that the British should in no way support the Southern Confederacy. It was at a great meeting in Free Trade Hall at Manchester, England, that Smith, protesting against the fitting out of such raiders for the South as the "Alabama," declared: "The duties of nations towards each other were not bound by technical rules of law. They were as wide as the rules of morality and honor. No nation ever inflicted upon another a more flagrant and maddening wrong." 

In the opinion of Professor E.D. Adams, Smith issued in 1864 "probably the strongest presentation of the Northern side and the most severe castigation of Southern sympathizers throughout the whole war." This severe castigation was leveled at an English organization, known as the Southern Independence Association, which had as its avowed purpose the aim of cultivating "kindly feeling between the people of Great Britain and of the Confederate States." This group clearly appealed

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6 E.D. Adams, Great Britain and the American Civil War (London: Longmans, Green, 1925), II, 299-300.
to the elite rather than to "the people," and its constitution clearly
intimated the necessity of denouncing the American Emancipation
program. 7

To offset this type of pro-Confederate propaganda, Goldwin
Smith, in what he called "A Letter to a Whig Member of the Southern
Independence Association" (Bullard had a copy of this rare document in
his pamphlet collection), showed that the workers of Great Britain were
solidly with the North in their sympathies. He also appealed "to Old
Whig ideas of political liberty," attacked "the aristocracy and the
Church of England," and finally attempted "to make the Radicals of
England feel that the Northern cause was their cause. 8 It was this
type of activity on the part of Smith that induced John Murray Forbes
of Boston, who knew Smith, to note while in England in 1863 that the
Englishman was providing the Northern cause "logical and scholarly
support." As a result, when Smith came to America in 1864, Forbes
made it a point to "bring him into contact with such men as would
best post him as to the true state of affairs." 9

While in the United States Smith met Lincoln on one occasion.
Bullard was able to locate two references to this meeting: both based

7 Bullard, Lincoln Herald, LII (Dec., 1950), 23.
8 Goldwin Smith, A Letter to a Whig Member of the Southern Independence
Association (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1864), p. 33; Adams,
Great Britain and the Civil War, II, 303-304.
9 Sarah Forbes Hughes (ed.), Letters and Recollections of John Murray
on the same report — an item in the New York Sun, February 12, 1909.

While in Washington, in 1864, Smith was for a time the guest of Secretary of State Seward. Through Seward he was able to obtain his interview with Lincoln. Lincoln, to Smith, was "ungainly and grotesque" of figure, while "melancholy and care" were noticeable on his face. Apparently Smith was aware of the President's reputation as a story-teller. He noted that Lincoln illustrated a remark by relating a characteristic story, but, "he did not let fall a single coarse or vulgar phrase."10

As Bullard explained,11 the article on Smith is the result of an idea "that for a long time had lurked in my mind." Interestingly, what prompted Bullard to delve into Smith's role (resulting in this article) was an item that came to light with the publication of some of the documents in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection. The item referred to concerns the origin and history of the charming personal note Queen Victoria sent to Mary Todd Lincoln following the assassination of the President.

Robert Todd Lincoln had decided that this "long letter of four pages" would not be released for publication because "it was obviously written with no idea of publicity." The President's son did not know how wrong he was. The letter was specifically intended to be made public.

Twelve days after Lincoln's death, Smith wrote: "The murder

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10 The Sun article was used in Rufus Rockwell Wilson (comp.), Lincoln among His Friends: A Sheaf of Intimate Memories (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1942), pp. 494-502; and Smith, Reminiscences pp. 319-356.

11 Bullard, Lincoln Herald, LII (Dec., 1950), 25, 41.
of the President who was the ministry not only of clemency at home, but of moderation abroad, so greatly increases the danger to the peace of the world... that I feel it almost a duty to let you [a member of the British Cabinet] know how much good might be done... by a personal expression of sympathy from the Queen." Two days later Queen Victoria noted in her journal: "Wrote to Mrs. Lincoln... and was quite touched by a letter from Mr. Goldwin Smith... who was so anxious that I should write, saying it would do more good than anything else..."\textsuperscript{12} While the Queen hoped her letter would contribute toward friendlier relations between the two countries, Robert Lincoln's gallantry prevented themissive from playing its role until 1927 when his widow presented it to the Library of Congress.

Less important, but nevertheless, equally as fascinating as his studies of the District of Columbia Courts and Goldwin Smith was Bullard's articles, "When Lincoln Was Taken for 'A Western Clergyman.'\textsuperscript{13} Bullard was able to show conclusively that Lincoln did appear at a Sunday School meeting of children in the slum area of New York City when he visited the city in 1860 to deliver his Cooper Institute Address. Lincoln was invited, at the meeting, to speak to the children. He first told them that he was not accustomed to speaking at religious meetings, and then, in a five minute talk, spoke

\textsuperscript{12} David C. Mears, The Lincoln Papers (Garden City: Doubleday, 1948), I, 52-53.

\textsuperscript{13} Lincoln Herald, XLVI (Dec., 1944), 23-25.
to the effect that in the United States and under the American form of government there was nothing to hinder the poorest person from reaching any position for which he was qualified.\textsuperscript{14}

While preparing his study on the Andrew Boyd Lincoln Bibliography,\textsuperscript{15} Bullard noted an item described as "Monthly Record of the Five Points House of Industry, New York, May, 1865. (A notice of Mr. Lincoln's Death and recalls his visit in February, 1860.)" While Bullard was aware that many Lincolnians tended to discount the story, he also knew that there was a bit of evidence which tended to substantiate the validity of this report. In a letter of James A. Briggs to Salmon P. Chase, dated March 17, 1860, the writer mentioned the fact of the visit without including any account of what happened during the visit: "Mr. Barney went with Lincoln to the 'House of Industry' at the five Points, and then took him home..."\textsuperscript{16} The Barney mentioned is Hiram Barney who received from Lincoln "one of the biggest patronage gifts in his control," the Collectorship of the Port of New York. In 1860 Barney was one of the incorporators of the mission house, and this would explain his taking the mid-Western visitor to New York to the House of Industry.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 25.
\textsuperscript{16} Chase, Diary, II, 481-83.
\textsuperscript{17} Bullard, \textit{Lincoln Herald}, XLVI (Dec., 1944), 23-24.
One of Lincoln's biographers included an account of Lincoln's visit, explaining that the information was supplied by the Superintendent of the Sunday School in the House of Industry, Edward Eggleston. But in this version a "Mr. Washburne" conducted Lincoln to the institution and Lincoln also spoke to the children. Then, when Lincoln returned to Springfield, again according to this story, he not only told about this experience but produced a little book containing the songs sung by the children, and recited one of them "with great blinding tears in his eyes so that he could not possibly see the pages."  

Not too long after the event, the New York Tribune published an account of the visit, which was reprinted on June 7, 1860, in The Independent. In this version, which is supposed to have been based on an account by a teacher in the school, Lincoln came alone, listened with "fixed attention" to the exercises, and accepted "with evident pleasure" an invitation to speak. He fascinated his audience with a simple address, tried to stop, but was obliged to continue. He later courteously replied to a question that his name was "Abra'm Lincoln from Illinois." 

Bullard located a pamphlet written in 1893 by William F. Barnard


20 William F. Barnard, Forty Years at Five Points (New York: privately printed, 1893).
in which the author, for many years superintendent of the mission, included "an interesting account of the event." The account, Bullard found to be identical with that of "the teacher" in the Tribune story. But in an appendix to the pamphlet, Mr. S.B. Halliday, up to 1870 the financial agent for the institution, challenged the Tribune account. Lincoln, whom Halliday had mistaken to be a "western clergyman," came to the school, as Halliday maintained, with one of the trustees, Mr. Barney. Lincoln spoke for five minutes to the effect that the poorest person in America could reach any position for which he was qualified. The Halliday version also added that when Barney went to Chicago for the Republican convention, he also went to Springfield to congratulate Mr. Lincoln. The Republican nominee at this point alluded to the visit to Five Points and the book "which Mr. Halliday gave me," and how the reading of the stories in it always "made him cry." 21

Finally, Bullard was able to obtain a photostat of the pages in the Boyd item containing the story of the visit to Five Points "on a Sabbath afternoon five years ago." Halliday's name appeared as the superintendent of the institution. When he received the photostat (which he had hunted "with some diligence"), Bullard found that the Boyd item was exactly the same as that contained in the appendix to the Barnard Pamphlet. 22 Halliday was, after all in an excellent position to question the reports conflicting with his. He must have

21 Ibid., appendix.
22 Bullard, Lincoln Herald, XLVI (Dec., 1944), 25.
been there.

Perhaps the entire episode is not basically important. One could argue that little of any significance is brought out in Bullard’s study. But, besides his obvious desire to keep the Lincoln record accurate (and all phases of the Lincoln story at that), Bullard in this article teaches historians a valuable lesson:

My search verifies abundantly the fact of the visit and indicates conclusively that Lincoln that day made an address to Sunday School children precisely of the character that might have been expected from him. The results serve also to warn us against the too hasty rejection of incidents which for various reasons might be considered apochryphal.23

Another one of those delightful small studies on relatively unimportant aspects of Lincoln’s life and career (that is, not as significant historically as Bullard’s work on the Courts of the District of Columbia, or on Goldwin Smith) is a brief article Bullard wrote on the subject of Lincoln’s birthdays.24 In this study Bullard related that he searched in vain for any account of a birthday celebration during Lincoln’s life. He noted that Lincoln spent many birthdays in the legislature at Vandalia and Springfield, Illinois, and also appeared in Supreme Court cases in Illinois. But, "there is no indication that he himself noticed these anniversaries."

While travelling to Washington in 1861, the President-elect, according to Bullard’s researches, had breakfast with Governor Morton

23 Ibid. Underscoring supplied.

24 F. Lauriston Bullard, "Abraham Lincoln’s Birthdays," Zions Herald, CXXII (Feb. 9, 1944), 82.
at Indianapolis. However, "it is a fair guess," Bullard concluded, "that his host did not know that the President-elect was fifty-two years old that day." Lincoln's last birthday fell on a Sunday, and Bullard expressed the wish that February 12, 1865 was a quiet and restful day at the White House. "Probably he occupied his regular pew in the Presbyterian Church."25

Congress was not in session when the President was assassinated, and therefore it was not until December 6, 1865, that a resolution was offered in the lower House (by Elihu Washburne of Illinois) to establish a joint committee to report appropriate measures for the expression of the Congress' "respect and affection" for the martyred Lincoln. The committee recommended that February 12, 1866, be set aside for the ceremony, and that Secretary of War Stanton should deliver the address on the "life and character" of the former President. Stanton was obliged to decline the honor, and George Bancroft was named in his place. Thus was born the first official Lincoln's Birthday celebration.26

In searching for contemporary accounts of the celebration Bullard discovered an item in the Diary of Orville H. Browning, then Secretary of the Interior, and an old friend of Lincoln. Browning's note on the occasion, Bullard found "singularly casual and detached":

Today being the anniversary of Mr. Lincoln's birth has been set apart by Congress for ceremonies commemorative of his death.... The ceremonies took place in the Representatives' Hall. I attended, and remained until

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
I had heard the introductory part of the address, but the crowd was very great, and I was not comfortably situated and left at 1 o'clock P.M. I afterwards read the address.27

President Lincoln's birthdays, candidate Lincoln's 1860 visit to Five Points, and Goldwin Smith's propaganda efforts for the Northern cause, -- the study of these reflects the breadth of Bullard's interests and investigation of minor, but interesting sidelights in the career of Abraham Lincoln. The books that Bullard published during this decade (1938-1948), while not discussed in this chapter, will be treated separately below. An annotated bibliography of Bullard's Lincoln writings appears in Appendix I.

Toward the end of 1949 Bullard suffered the first of several illnesses that would plague him until his death in August of 1952. One would expect that as a result Bullard's active interest in the Lincoln field would wane. Such was not the case.

As early as January, 1950, the octogenarian noted that he could not use the typewriter -- "machine", as he called it.1 But,


nevertheless, his record for this period is impressive. In 1950 he sent off to Springfield, Illinois, a manuscript which was published in the Abraham Lincoln Quarterly and which destroyed the myth that Adelina Patti, the noted opera singer, sang for Lincoln in the White House during the Civil War.\(^2\) The next year he was able to publish a study on the report that John Wilkes Booth was in Paris shortly before Lincoln's assassination.\(^3\) (Both these topics will be discussed in detail below.)

Also in 1951 Bullard found the time and energy to write a review of Allan Nevin's The Emergence of Lincoln.\(^4\) All during his career Bullard had written reviews for newspapers and journals, and honest authors would admit that when Bullard wrote the review they "all know that a Lincoln scholar is handling the material."\(^5\)

In studying Nevins's work Bullard was particularly impressed with two features of the book: (1) the inclusion of social history with the political narration, and (2) Nevins's repudiation of the contention that a few reckless, scheming politicians brought about the rebellion.


\(^3\) F. Lauriston Bullard, "A Plausible Solution of the Mystery of John Wilkes Booth's Alleged Visit to Paris," Lincoln Herald, LII (Oct., 1950), 41-43. The magazine was somewhat behind in its publication schedule.

\(^4\) Lincoln Herald, LII (Oct., 1950), 52-54.

\(^5\) Jay Monaghan to Bullard, July 25, 1945.
Regarding the importance of social history, Bullard quoted the admonition of John Richard Green that "political history, to be intelligible and just, must be based on social history, in its largest sense." Nevins heeded well the British historian's warning. "The canvas is as big as before," reported Bullard. Nevins dealt with general social conditions in the four sections of the country -- describing them in terms of "population, prosperity, and panic, industry and agriculture, literature and general culture, education and social life." Bullard was glad to note that Nevins properly stressed the slavery question: "it hovers over the country, and the possibility of disunion is in the minds of all..."6

Regarding Nevins's refusal to accept the needless war theory, Bullard had as early as 1934 accepted the view that the war "was sure to come -- sometime. Slavery extension would have produced other Kansas collisions."7 Bullard was willing to agree with Nevins that faith in States Rights, concern for the future of slavery and the vision of a prosperous Southern republic had "diluted and sapped the old devotion to the Republic."8

The most significant work of Bullard during his last illnesses was his final editing of his study of Lincoln in Marble and Bronze.9 This also will be dealt with in a later chapter.

6 Lincoln Herald, LII (Oct., 1950), 52.
7 Bullard to Angle, July 2, 1934. Photostat.
8 Lincoln Herald, LII (Oct., 1950), 54.
Chapter III
The Scholar's Methods in Research

1

A syndicated feature article appearing in many newspapers on Lincoln's birthday, 1911, described one of the most poignant and tender incidents (if true) in the life of Lincoln ever brought before the public.

Copyrighted by the Associated Literary Press, 1911, the article dealt with the famous opera singer of the Nineteenth Century, Adelina Patti, her supposed visit to the Lincolns in the White House, and her singing, at the request of the President, John Howard Payne's "Home, Sweet Home."

According to the account, Mme. Patti related the story to an American woman, "a fellow-singer, also retired." Lincoln, so the story goes, is supposed to have seen the singer for the first time in 1853, at a concert in Washington while he was in the capital on professional business. Mme. Patti was a ten-year-old child prodigy at that time, and the coloratura selection she rendered so impressed the future president that when he returned to Springfield he spoke of the child's ability and predicted to his wife that the child prodigy was destined for a distinguished career in the musical theater.

Miss Patti did not know of Lincoln's commendation of her singing at that time; she learned of it later, during the Civil War, when she sang at the White House. It was in the fall of 1862 (not too long after the death of Lincoln's son, Willie), while Miss Patti was appearing on
the Washington stage, that she received an invitation to appear at the White House. With her accompanist, Maurice Strakosch, the opera singer visited the Lincolns, was received by her hosts most cordially, and invited to sing. After a number of "florid" selections, Mme. Patti sang, to her own accompaniment, "The Last Rose of Summer," from the opera, Marta. Miss Patti continued her account of the visit:

When I had finished the last long-drawn-out note of the song, I turned to have a look at my audience. Mrs. Lincoln had risen from her seat and was standing at a window in the back part of the room, with her back to me. Of course, I couldn't see her face, but I knew she was weeping — the melancholy strains of the ballad had recalled the sense of deprivation and set her heart aching with renewed bitterness. I reproached myself that I had made such an awkward choice and was about to attempt to remedy my mistake by ending the performance with a rollicking bolero when Mr. Lincoln, who had been sitting motionless on a sofa nearby, his eyes shaded by his left hand, asked without removing his fingers from his face:

"Will you please sing 'Home, Sweet Home'?"

Strakosch gave me to understand in an undertone that he was unfamiliar with the air, but, fortunately for me, I knew it well enough, although I had never sung it. I didn't know the words, though, and while I was wondering how I should manage it, the president rose from his seat, went quickly to a small stand at the foot of the piano, took from it a small music book with a vivid green cover, and placed it on the piano rack, opened to the music of "Home, Sweet Home." Then he returned to his seat without a word and resumed his former posture.

Well, I sang the song the very best I could do it, and when Mr. Lincoln thanked me his voice was husky and his eyes were full of tears. By that time I was so wrought up that I actually blubbered when we were taking leave of the recently bereaved parents.¹

¹ Boston Herald, Feb. 12, 1911.
This remarkable story was to play a significant part in the career of F. Lauriston Bullard throughout his entire active life as a Lincoln scholar. He at first hesitatingly accepted the story, later proved it to be totally false, and then many years later was obliged again to publish his findings on the falsity of the account: all seemingly to no avail. For, as will be shown below, after his death the report was again circulated that Mme. Patti sang for Lincoln in the White House.

Bullard was Sunday Editor of the Boston Herald in 1911, and it was by his advice that the Patti story was run — with many portraits. The following year, Bullard spent a great deal of time collecting material about John Howard Payne, the composer of "Home, Sweet Home," for an article that would appear in a musical trade magazine. At the same time Bullard met a writer who asked him to write an article on Patti singing "Home, Sweet Home," at the White House, to be included in a volume the writer was preparing on the early life of Payne. Bullard used his materials on Patti and the

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3 Bullard to Basler, Jan. 18, 1950. Photostat.
5 Willis T. Hanson, Jr., The Early Life Of John Howard Payne (Boston: privately printed, 1913).
song in both the magazine article and in a separate insert, signed by him, appearing in the *Early Life of John Howard Payne*. In both cases, however, Bullard carefully prefaced his remarks about Mme. Patti singing the song in the White House by "it is said that..."

When asked if he had any doubts about the Patti incident, Bullard replied that he "preferred nothing more definite." 6

As a matter of fact Bullard was not completely satisfied with the Patti account. While doing his research on John Howard Payne, shortly after he ran the story in the *Herald*, Bullard began to wonder about the authenticity of the report and made up his mind (he had a "hunch") that the whole story might have been a fraud. Although he sent letters to both the syndicate and the writer of the article, neither would answer his questions "explicitly." All he could get from these sources was that some "old opera singer of high standing remembered." 7

In an attempt to obtain confirmation of the story for his own writings, Bullard searched through the Washington newspapers for the four war years, but none contained any announcement of Patti having been in Washington in Lincoln's time. Her young sister, Carlotta, a young pianist, had appeared at Ford's theatre in 1861, and at Willard's

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6 Bullard to Basler, Jan. 18, 1950. Photostat.
7 Bullard to Basler, Jan. 11, 1950. Photostat.
in 1862, but Adelina never. In the various biographies of Adelina Patti, Bullard could find no such reference, nor could several managers and retired veterans of the stage whom Bullard personally interviewed recall such a visit.

Finally, Bullard did "what in the first place I should have done, I wrote to Madame Patti, then the Baroness Cederstrone, at her castle in Wales." The reply to Bullard's inquiry was as precise as it could possibly be, and also it should have settled the matter.

Craig-y-Nos Castle,
Penycase, S.O.
Breconshire.
1st February 1913

Dear Sir:

The Baroness Cederstrom (Madam Adelina Patti) is in receipt of your communication of the 12th. Jan and in reply to same desires me to say that the story therein mentioned is quite untrue and that she was in Europe at that time.

Craig-y-Nos Castle,
Penycase, S.O.
Breconshire.
1st February 1913

Dear Sir:

The Baroness Cederstrom (Madam Adelina Patti) is in receipt of your communication of the 12th. Jan and in reply to same desires me to say that the story therein mentioned is quite untrue and that she was in Europe at that time.

I am, Dear Sir
Yours faithfully
H.J.D. Alcock
Secry.

F.L. Bullard, Esqre
The Boston Herald
Mass.
U.S.A.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 The original is in the Bullard Collection. The text was published in the Boston Herald, Feb. 11, 1934; Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, VI (Mar., 1950), 3E.
Unfortunately, Bullard had already written his articles on John Howard Payne before receiving the letter informing him clearly that Adelina Patti was never in Washington during the Civil War. He was unable to have the changes made in his printed material, and they appeared, containing essentially the spurious facts as they had appeared in the 1911 syndicated article. But, Bullard did the best he could after the stories were published. In 1912 he was not an especially important person on the Herald staff and "could not order things in." He did, however, write to a few newspapers — letters to the editor — trying to play down the story. He hoped the whole incident would die down, so much so that he did not even bother to keep the many letters written to him and asking for information about the Patti story. He later was to regret not having kept these notes. "I wish I had kept them." Then, in 1934, Honore Willsie Morrow wrote in Good Housekeeping the old story with many embellishments. The essential facts used by Mrs. Morrow are the same as those appearing in the 1911 syndicated article, but the details vary greatly. In Mrs. Morrow's treatment

13 Ibid.
14 Honore Willsie Morrow, "Dearer Than All: A New and True Lincoln Story," Good Housekeeping, XCVIII (Feb., 1934), 34-37, 136, 140, 143-44.
Patti's visit to the White House occurred in March, not in the autumn of 1862. Willie Lincoln had died only a fortnight before Miss Patti's visit, and both President and Mrs. Lincoln "were almost distraught with grief." At the same time news reached the capital of the great havoc wrought by the Confederate ironclad, Merrimac, at Hampton Roads. The Cabinet members were frightened and furious, particularly Stanton.

They ridiculed the foolish faith of the Secretary of the Navy in his "cheesebox on a raft," known as the Monitor. They feared that at that very moment the Merrimac might be steaming up the Potomac toward Washington.

News of the fearful Confederate ironclad, still according to Mrs. Morrow's account, caused many excited people to gather about the White House, John Hay was in despair because he had asked Miss Patti to appear that afternoon on a surprise visit to the White House. The President was about to send his secretary downstairs to "head her off," when they heard her singing, "Home, Sweet Home." The crowd had recognized her and demanded a song. Her singing reduced them to silence, and they quietly moved away. Then Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln came down to receive her. She sang a number of airs, and finally, at the President's request, "Home, Sweet Home."\(^{15}\)

In 1934 Bullard was prepared to challenge the story more effectively than back in 1912, when he was a "mere sub" on the newspaper.\(^{16}\)

\(^{15}\) Ibid.

\(^{16}\) Bullard to Basler, Jan. 23, 1950. Photostat.
A couple of weeks after the *Good Housekeeping* issue first reached the newsstands, Bullard wrote an article for the *Herald*, refuting the entire story appearing in Mrs. Morrow's article (which had been hailed by the editors of *Good Housekeeping* as a "new" and "true" Lincoln story).

Even without knowing of the letter sent to Bullard by Miss Patti's secretary in 1913, anybody interested enough could easily (by the time Mrs. Morrow was writing her study) conclude that the story was false: that Adelina Patti was not even in America during the Civil War. Certainly, Bullard could demonstrate this fact without recourse to the letter:

In the biography of Patti published in 1920, the author carefully (and in a thoroughly documentary manner) traces Miss Patti's movements during the 1861-1865 era and shows that she was either in London or on the continent during the Civil War. (He does not even allude to a supposed visit to the White House.) Bullard systematically traced her movements in his notes, and included the item that she did

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18 Morrow, *Good Housekeeping*, XCVIII (Feb., 1934), 34.
20 Ibid., passim.
not return to America until 1881; "she had been away from America rather more than twenty years." 21 He also included the note that in December of 1894, in a command performance at Windsor Castle, she sang "Home, Sweet Home," for Queen Victoria and that her rendition brought tears to the eyes of the Queen. 22 But she did not sing before the Lincolns.

In Bullard's article in 1934, he admitted that when he first saw the syndicated article he "was delighted with the story. It seemed to open an utterly new glimpse into the private lives of the Lincolns." But his doubts ("How had the tale managed to keep out of sight for so long a time?" 23) led to an investigation which culminated in the receipt of the communication from Miss Patti. Miss Morrow's account made it possible for Bullard to date exactly the time Miss Patti appeared at the White House (assuming the Morrow story to be accurate). The battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac was staged on Sunday, March 9, 1862. Therefore Miss Patti would have had to appear at the White House on that day. But, as Bullard wrote, a search of the Washington newspapers turned up no notice of Miss Patti in Washington at that time (or, for that matter, at any other time during the war). 24

Actually, in 1934, when Bullard wrote his study showing that Miss Patti did not sing for the President, he had accumulated enough

21 Notebook 77.
22 Ibid.
23 Boston Herald, Feb. 11, 1934.
24 Ibid.
information to show that the report was nothing more than a yarn, without even having to produce his own letter from Patti.

He cited the Klein biography of Patti which demonstrated that she was not in America during the war, and he carefully compiled in his notes an impressive list of the outstanding actors and the dates of their engagements in Washington during the war. There is no mention of Adelina Patti in this compilation. Bullard inspected an unpublished copy of the John Hay Diary at the Massachusetts Historical Society on October 22, 1932 (the Dennett edition of the Diary had not been published at that date), and "gleaned that on November 9, 1863, Lincoln saw John Wilkes Booth in The Marble Heart; but it does not say what theatre." He also noted that on December 15, and 17, 1863, the President saw Hackett in "Falstaff" and "The Merry Wives of Windsor." But there was no information available concerning Miss Patti. All these facts Bullard was able to include in his article, and even without the supplementary evidence of Miss Patti's letter, they impressively demonstrate that Adelina Patti could not have sung at the White House during the Civil War.

In 1934 Bullard was able to refer to letters from the writer of the original 1911 syndicated article which indicated that the sources

25 Notebook 77.
26 Ibid.
for the original were anything but reliable. Such phrases as "I had the Patti story from an old lady of my acquaintance who once sang under contract with Sir Jules Benedict. I have no reason to doubt the correctness of her account — unless ... you should establish an alibi," and "the story was told to me at least thirty years ago," are in themselves sufficient justification for an historian to treat the document in a highly skeptical fashion.

After marshalling all his facts and including them in his Herald article, Bullard made certain that the Good Housekeeping Magazine would be informed of his investigation and conclusion. The managing editor of the magazine assured Bullard that Mrs. Morrow, who was after all, "supposedly one of our foremost Lincoln authorities," had asserted to the editors that "all the facts," she used "were authentic." After Bullard sent the magazine his version of what the facts should be, he received a second letter admitting that "you are undoubtedly right," that the whole story was obviously "a pleasant but untrue bit of fiction," and that Mrs. Morrow had "specifically stated that 'all the facts in her story were authentic.' But the magazine never printed a retraction.

The Patti yarn was the most sensational portion of the 1911 syndicated article; but also included in it were accounts of several other artists who also, supposedly, visited the Lincolns at the White House.

Teresa Carreno, a pianist who was also a child prodigy, was supposed to have, according to the 1911 story, a "lively recollection of an afternoon spent at the White House to which she was taken by her father in response to a pressing invitation from the President and Mrs. Lincoln." Bullard, in searching through the files of the Washington newspapers for the war years, did learn that Miss Carreno was in the city in 1864, but he was again able to prove conclusively that she did not play, "Listen to the Mocking Bird" at the request of Abraham Lincoln. As he reported in 1934, Bullard visited the distinguished pianist when she made her final appearance in Boston at Symphony Hall, February 10, 1916. "I called upon her and put the question definitely to her." Miss Carreno expressed the ardent hope, in her reply to Bullard, that the story were true, but she "had no recollection whatever of having seen either of the Lincolns or of having visited the White House."

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32 Boston Herald, Feb. 12, 1911.
33 Notebook 77.
34 Boston Herald, Feb. 11, 1934; Bullard to Basler, Jan. 11, 1950. Photostat.
Charlotte Crabtree, the famous "Lotta" -- a popular actress of the Civil War era, also was mentioned in the 1911 article as having visited the Lincolns in the White House. "Nothing in her memory was more sacred to her than her recollections of many pleasant hours spent in the companionship of the Lincolns at the White House."35 "It was necessary for me," Bullard related, "only to walk a block to call upon her in her hotel room in Boston to ascertain whether in fact she ever met either of the Lincolns."36 Her statement, as told by Bullard: "I can only say I never met President Lincoln."37

Bullard had performed a remarkable service to the Lincoln story by destroying these myths. By writing to the author of the original report, by tracing in old newspapers the movements of the artists in Washington during the Civil War, by carefully checking in standard biographies the activities of these artists, by corresponding with other writers using the same report appearing in the original article, by writing directly to one of the performers mentioned in the syndicated article, and by personally interviewing the others, -- by all these methods of proper historical investigation, Bullard was to demolish completely the falsity of the report that Patti and the others met the Lincolns in the White House. Other than answering queries of various Lincoln students concerning the original report,

35 Boston Herald, Feb. 12, 1911.
36 Ibid., Feb. 11, 1934.
37 Ibid.
Bullard's work in this particular incident was over: or, at least, it should have been.

But the original story was too good; it possessed precisely those qualities which the reading public of the mid-twentieth century would find touching, and moving, and fitting exactly into their pre-conceived notions of Abraham Lincoln and the Lincoln story, just as the poignancy of the fable had charmed and entertained an earlier generation. Bullard's work was not yet done.

Late in 1949, in what according to the editor's opinion was a "distinctive contribution to Lincolniana,\(^{38}\) a study of Lincoln and music appeared in the Abraham Lincoln Quarterly.\(^{39}\) The author included in this "distinctive contribution" both the Patti and Carreno yarns,\(^{40}\) basing his accounts on an article appearing in the Montgomery Advertiser of February 12, 1911. Unfortunately, this was the very same syndicated article that also had appeared in the Boston Herald and many other newspapers across the country on the same day.

As soon as Bullard received his copy of the Quarterly, he wrote the editor a "confidential" note explaining in some detail that the "Patti story is an invention" and that he hoped the Quarterly "will publish my statement." He concluded: "Ought that not be done? It seems to me simple justice to Lincolnians everywhere and to the

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38 Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, V (Dec., 1949), 481.
40 Ibid., pp. 437-39; 443-45.
Quarterly subscribers. Not that I want to humiliate the people who make the magazine — far from it. As an old editor I have some memories.\footnote{41}

In its brief period of existence the Quarterly was always known not only for its outstanding contributions in the Lincoln field but also for the fairness and integrity of its editorial staff. Very promptly (in the very next issue of the Quarterly, as a matter of fact) the journal printed a rejoinder to the latest use of the old syndicated material, in which Bullard offered a guess that the original report was possibly "the dream of an enterprising minion of the press."

His closing line was perhaps one that most Lincolnsians will agree with: "'Tis true; 'tis pity; and pity 'tis 'tis true.\footnote{42}

But even this rejoinder of Bullard's, his final statement on the matter, has not ended the recurrence of the fake report! The story is so good that it will probably be accepted as long as there is an interest in the life and personality of Abraham Lincoln. In a volume published as recently as 1957, the yarn was repeated,\footnote{43} and what makes this ironic is that the author cited as her authority for the incident, F. Lauriston Bullard! She did not use his Boston Herald article of 1934 nor his rejoinder in the Abraham Lincoln Quarterly of 1950; she quoted from his old 1913 article!\footnote{44}

\footnote{41} Bullard to Basler, Jan., 11, 1950. Photostat.
\footnote{44} Ibid., p. 414.
Another of the themes dealing with the Lincoln story that Bullard was interested in, almost from the beginning of his work until his death, was the question of whether or not John Wilkes Booth was in Paris in 1864 or early 1865 -- just before the assassination. Here again, Bullard's relentless investigations in tracing Booth's movements during the period in question and his correspondence with many individuals who were in a position to assist him finally led to a clarification of the problem.

The whole question arose originally in 1910 with the publication of a Diary of a French actor, Edmond Got.¹ One particular passage in the Diary referred to Lincoln's assassin; and referred to him in a rather tantalizing fashion in that it said so much and so little at the same time:

April 30, 1865 -- The assassination of President Lincoln -- a few days after the taking of Richmond, practically ending to the profit of the Northern States the interminable War of Secession -- and I knew the principal actor in it.

Actor, that is the word. For it is just three months ago that Fechter [Charles Albert Fechter, the famous Anglo-French actor] sent me with an urgent letter of introduction to a celebrated tragedian of New York, Booth, who was desirous of passing some time in Paris.

He was a tall, handsome bachelor of energetic appearance, of distinguished manners, well educated, but scarcely speaking French. I courteously received him and aided him in renting an apartment and a carriage by the month, for he acted like a gentleman.

He lived for three days at my house, seeking through me to place himself au courant with the art and the fashions here. I remember that while smoking, he several times spoke to me of Julius Caesar, of Shakespeare and of Brutus, particularly of Brutus. Once he asked me:

"What do you think of Brutus, in France?"

"We admire him at college, in the Greek version as imparted by Plutarch. Still, what was Brutus, at the bottom, but an ungrateful and sinister dreamer, a sophist even in his blood? Does he not so decree himself in his role, in his last cry? "Virtue, thou art but a name."

And Booth, thus questioned, nervously changed the conversation. I remember that now. After he left my house I saw him quite often. He ran about the theatres, the town, and made rapid progress in Parisian civilization. On one occasion, at his request, I presented him to the beautiful daughter of one of my women friends, whom he had noticed at the Porte-Saint-Martin, in Les Fillibustiers de la Sonora. But what was my surprise one morning to hear the girl, who was, nevertheless, hardly timid, telling me, all époustouflée, that he was a madman; that he arose at night in his sleep in order to converse with spirits, and that she was so afraid that she was fleeing to Nice without saying good-bye... Bon voyage.

Soon after this Booth came to take leave of me, the sanest man in the world, at least in appearance, and started back for America.

"I must return!" he exclaimed.

And that is the man who during a play at Washington fired on President Lincoln before any one could prevent him. He is a fellow that they will never take alive. I answer for it. For I understand: he had his idea fixed, even in France. He fought against it in vain. On his return he succumbed to it.²

₂ Ibid., II, 40-42. This translation is taken from an account printed in the New York Times, July 12, 1936. The Bullard Collection has both the Got Journal and a translation of the above passage in Pamphlet File, 6 Series I, no. 3.
If John Wilkes Booth was in Paris shortly before April 15, 1865, what was he doing there? Was he contracting any Confederate agents there? Were Confederate spies in Paris plotting with Booth the abortive attempt to kidnap Lincoln, or the successful assassination? Were important officials of the Confederate government in any way implicated in the murder of the Northern war leader? Is this why Booth tore out several pages of his diary before he was captured? One's imagination can run away with itself in attempting to answer the question: Why, if true, was John Wilkes Booth in Paris a few months before the assassination?

The portion of Got's Diary relating to Booth's visit soon became known in the United States. Bullard, who was particularly interested in the Booth story (several of his notebooks deal exclusively with Booth)\(^3\) became interested in the Got passage as early as 1915. A newspaper clipping in the Bullard Collection, dated in Bullard's handwriting, April 12, 1915, includes a letter to the editor, in which the writer disputes the contention that Booth was in Paris at the time Got said he was there. That correspondent was F. Lauriston Bullard.\(^4\)

There is no indication which newspaper it was that carried the story, but Bullard's arguments even in 1915 strongly indicated that the incident could not have happened exactly in the manner recorded by Got.

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\(^3\) See Notebooks 23, 23a, 23b, 23c, 23d, 23e, 46, 78 and 106.

\(^4\) Notebook 23c.
Basing his argument on "old notes" that he had prepared before this time, Bullard maintained that in September, 1864, Booth was in Baltimore; on September 27, he was in the Pennsylvania oil regions; on October 27, he was in Montreal; and on November 9, he was in Washington, D.C. On November 16 he began a month's stay in New York which was highlighted by the famous appearance of the three Booth brothers on November 25 in "Julius Caesar." From December 12 to December 17, he was in Washington. He spent the next three days in Maryland and returned to the Capital on the 22nd of December, where he spent the Christmas and New Years holidays. From January 28 to February 21 he was in New York, and was in Washington on the 22nd. On February 28 he was in Baltimore, and then spent the first three weeks of March in Washington. From March 21 to March 26, 1865, he was in New York. He left New York on a brief journey, went up to Boston, and from there back to Washington, where, a few days later, he committed his crime. The Got story was impossible.5

In 1929, Philip Hale, drama critic and long-time friend and associate of Bullard, wrote an editorial in the Boston Herald6 treating the story of Got, but offering no corroborative evidence or refutation. Hale and Bullard were close friends (Bullard later was to obtain Hale's copy of Got's Diary),7 and one suspects that the editorial was written

5 Ibid.
6 Feb. 7, 1929.
7 Lincoln Herald, LII (Oct., 1950), 50.
specifically to reactivate interest in the problem of Got's report and to permit Bullard to offer a reply based on his researches. On the day Hale's editorial was printed, Bullard, who was also on the staff of the Herald, wrote a "letter to the Editor of the Herald," in which he repeated his previous findings, but in a more specific manner.

Searching through the official records of the trial of the conspirators, the Washington, New York, and Boston newspaper files of 1864 and 1865, and old playbills of the 1860's, Bullard was able to account for Booth's activities during the period in question rather competently. As far back as September, 1864, Booth was in Baltimore, laying his plans to abduct Lincoln and to carry him off to the Confederate lines. At the end of September, Booth visited the oil regions of Pennsylvania where he invested $6000 of his savings. In October he was in Montreal, at St. Lawrence Hall, a hotel frequented by actors and Southern sympathizers. While in Montreal, on October 27, 1864, he bought a bill of exchange on London, "informing the teller of the bank that he intended to run the blockade." This bill was found, unused, on his body when he was shot at the Garrett barn.

On November 9, 1864, Booth registered at the National Hotel in Washington. Then he moved to Charles County, Maryland, ostensibly to invest in land, and where he made the acquaintance of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd.

8 Boston Herald, Feb. 10, 1929.
It was toward the end of the month that Booth in New York appeared with his brothers Edwin and Junius Brutus in Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar." In early January he was in Washington, and toward the end of the month was in New York. Then on March 18 he appeared at Ford's Theatre, Washington. Then he went back to New York; from there he went briefly to Boston and from there to Washington and infamy. 9

During this entire period the only possible time that Booth could have been in Paris was from the end of January until March 18. But, as Bullard pointed out, Booth was present at Lincoln's Second Inaugural. Of this fact Bullard was positive after examining a "small notebook" in the William E. Barton Collection of Lincolniana which contained affidavits (signed in 1876) of six persons who saw Booth on the platform on March 4, 1865. 10 Thus Bullard concluded that the period between the end of January and March 4 was "insufficient for a sojourn in Paris" as described by Got. 11

On July 12, 1946, an unsigned article in the New York Times made reference to the Got Diary and Booth's alleged visit to Paris. This prompted Bullard to write to this newspaper a week later and to trace again Booth's movements during the period, indicating that he could not possibly have been in Paris at that time. 12

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9 Ibid.
10 Notebook 23c.
11 Boston Herald, Feb. 10, 1929.
The issue of the veracity of Got's Diary remained dormant for the next decade, only to be brought to the notice of Lincolnians as a result of a brief printed item by David Rankin Barbee in 1947. In a two-page notice attempting to refute Bullard's contention that Lincoln did in fact write the Bixby letter, Barbee added the following paragraph:

By the way, this famous scholar (Bulard), who writes with all the authority of the Most High, once wrote a letter to the New York Times in which he said that Edmond Got, the famous French comedian, reputedly an honest man, was in error when he wrote in his diary that John Wilkes Booth had been his guest in Paris in the summer of 1864. It couldn't be, said he, for Booth never was in Europe! Of course he did not know that Charlotte Cushman, the noted Boston actress, saw John Wilkes and Edwin Booth in Paris that summer and so wrote her niece in St. Louis. Just how many other "facts" of history Mr. Bullard has overturned in his scholarly life the record saith not.

Barbee's reference prompted Bullard to write again about the movements of John Wilkes Booth. Without attempting to indulge in any personal vendetta with Barbee, Bullard noted that he was misquoted in what he said in his New York Times letter: that he had not said that Got "was in error when he wrote in his diary that John Wilkes Booth had been his guest in Paris in the summer of 1864." Bullard was well aware

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13 To be discussed below.
16 Ibid., p. 29. Bullard here is quoting Barbee.
of the precise wording of Got's Diary, and had referred in the *Times* to "the autumn of 1864." After reviewing the evidence that he had previously published regarding Booth's movements in late 1864 and early 1865, Bullard continued that he was thoroughly satisfied with the integrity of Got. All evidence indicated that W. Got's reputation as an honest and honorable man made it impossible for him to include such a passage in his Diary dishonestly. Furthermore, the account itself, reasoned Bullard, was remarkable in that "it reflects the habits and the style of Wilkes Booth in every detail." 17

But, to indicate the impossibility of the facts as suggested by Got, Bullard presented additional information which illustrates his methods as a scholar. He asked himself the question: How many days shall we allow for the ocean voyage in those years? He was able to answer that question rather effectively. John Lothrop Motley in September, 1861, noted that "with no bad weather, smooth seas and fair winds the whole way, we reached Liverpool in exactly eleven days." 18

In 1868 the Cunard Liner Cuba, racing against the Inman Liner, *City of Paris*, made the trip in eight days, fourteen hours and thirty minutes. In March, 1865, Cyrus W. Field arrived in London, from New York in thirteen days. 19

17 Ibid., p. 34.
18 Ibid., p. 33.
19 Ibid., pp. 33-34. Bullard searched through old newspaper files to obtain these statistics.
As a result of this investigation Bullard reasoned that Booth could not have made a round trip to Europe in less than twenty-two days, twenty at the very least. When Bullard allowed for time in London and then time in Paris, he concluded that Booth would have had to be gone from America for at least thirty-six days. This, Bullard insisted, was not possible. Got's Diary could not have been correct.

As for Barbee's statement that Charlotte Cushman saw both John Wilkes and his brother Edwin Booth in Paris in the summer of 1864, Bullard could only write Barbee and ask for information, "the date and the text of the letters, or, what would be most acceptable, a photostat." No such information was forthcoming from Barbee.

Finally, in 1950, an apparent solution to the problem was made public, and this fully supported Bullard's point that Booth was not in Paris during the time Got's Diary mentioned that he was there. The report also indicated that Got was not basically at fault, that he had simply, and understandably, gotten his dates mixed up.

In this case Bullard did not alone solve the riddle of Got's Diary; he was ably assisted by a Frenchman writing a history of France during the reign of Napoleon III.

In 1948 Bullard had received an air mail letter from M. Jules Gesztesi of Paris, dated February 4, 1948.

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20 Ibid., p. 34.
22 Bullard, Lincoln Herald, L (June, 1950), 34.
Dear Sir:

In my research work as historian of the French Second Empire, I came across the diary of Edmond Cot in which, on April 30th, 1865, he mentions the stay in France of Lincoln's murderer, J.W. Booth. During the last two years, I have tried without success to find confirmation of this fact. In so doing, I have come across your article, published on this subject in the New York Times in 1936, but it still does not give me the required data.

Therefore, I am taking the liberty to write to you to ask if, since you wrote your article in 1936, any new fact or information has come to your knowledge. If so, I would greatly appreciate it if you would communicate same to me.23

Bullard promptly sent Gesztesi a detailed chronology of the known activities of John Wilkes Booth during late 1864 and early 1865, which was very useful to the French historian.24 And then, within two years, Bullard received from his Paris correspondent a copy of a French magazine wherein Gesztesi appears as the author of a long article on Lincoln's assassination in which he included a good deal of familiar material about John Wilkes Booth and much of the information of Booth's movements, sent him by Bullard.25 But also in the article there appeared "a new testimony which up until now has been completely unknown, hidden away in a magazine article."26

23 Inserted in Notebook 106.
That Got was an honorable man Gesztesi was convinced: he even quoted Bullard’s description that "Edmond Got was a man of great character, serious, and worthy." But Got was wrong as to time -- not as to the actual meeting with Booth. The year was most probably 1863!

One of the points made by Gesztesi was that "diary" was not a good translation for Got's "journal." Actually Got did not keep a diary in the sense that he jotted his daily happenings each night before retiring, in the manner of Samuel Pepys. Checking with Robert Got, son of the diarist, Gesztesi learned that Got did not record events each day but rather weeks after their occurrence. Bullard concluded that "recollections" would possibly better indicate the character of these volumes.

But the most important part of Gesztesi's article was the passage quoting the new material on the subject that Gesztesi had found in the March 28, 1868 issue of L'Illustration. A Nineteenth Century precursor of the modern gossip columnist (M. Jules Claretie) had written in this issue the following:

There was once a most charming actress, for whom M. Capefigue (an author) would have been able to make a place in his series of "Reines de la main gauche."

Not quite five years ago, she was playing the role of some fairy in a fantasy which was a great success... Mile. H. ... I was about to give her name -- was

27 The writer here is using a typescript in the Bullard Collection in which Bullard had translated the entire article.

28 Ibid.

29 Lincoln Herald, LII (Oct., 1950), 42.
interested by the attentiveness of a handsome stranger at each performance, listening to the "low jests of madcap kings with the serious manner of a man at a sermon."

As the account continued, Mlle. H. became acquainted with the handsome stranger -- intimately. The stranger would speak violently of love and passion, and then suddenly he would be striding about the boudoir, with rage, and waving his right arm as if he were brandishing a dagger. Mlle. H. became alarmed and left him. Later she learned of his disappearance from Paris.

Now one evening, Mlle. H. leafing through an album of photographs, became pale upon seeing one of the pictures. When told that her handsome stranger was the assassin of President Lincoln, "The poor Fairy" almost fainted.  

M. Claretie indicated that the visit took place in 1863 or in early 1864. Using his own early notes and also the reliable studies by George S. Bryan and Stanley Kimmel, Bullard found that Booth could easily have been out of the country for five or six weeks in the autumn of 1863. Bullard was able to trace Booth's movements in 1863 for most of the year. But, after his run in the Washington theaters, which included The Marble Heart, the play attended by President and Mrs. Lincoln, Booth is unaccounted for from mid-November, 1863, until January 12, 1864. To Bullard it appeared more than likely that he did, in effect go abroad.  

30 Gesztesi, Miroir De L'Histoire, Mar., 1950, pp. 92-94; Bullard, of course, quoted this in his study, Lincoln Herald, LII (Oct., 1950), 42.

31 Ibid., p. 42; George S. Bryan, The Great American Myth (New York: Carrick and Swans, 1940), passim.; Stanley Kimmel, The Mad Booths of Maryland (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1940), passim.
The two separate French references were close enough to establish that fact. Gesztessi surmised that perhaps Booth was in Paris on official business for the Confederacy, perhaps even to discuss plans about the abduction of Lincoln, if not the actual assassination. Bullard would not even try to guess Booth's motives for his Paris visit. There simply was not enough evidence for that. Nevertheless, both Bullard and Gesztessi deserve thanks for their labors: Gesztessi for his probing that eventually led to the discovery of the item in L'Illustration, and Bullard for his patient compilation of all the known facts of Booth's movements. Bullard's notes were compiled over a period of almost forty years, but they eventually led to Gesztessi's discovery. Got was a reliable person, not the type to fabricate such a story as Booth's visit to Paris. But Bullard's notes indicated he could not have been accurate in this instance. As a result Got's story could not be accepted by itself, and it was only authenticated when the objections posed by Bullard were answered.

Bullard's detective work in the Patti affair and his work concerning the Got Diary entry lasted throughout his active career as a Lincoln scholar. Besides illustrating the man's remarkable methods

in investigating these statements until he could get a satisfactory explanation for their veracity or fabrication, this work shows the "Lincoln sleuth" acting as a watchdog, seeing to it that these items were not subsequently used without full explanation of their histories.

For example, after establishing that the Patti story was a myth, and nothing else, he was able to "shoo away" Sandburg from using the story in his *War Years*, through the influence of Oliver R. Barrett of Chicago. Similarly, Bullard also did some rather remarkable work in investigating spurious quotations attributed to Lincoln. Although this work was perhaps not as significant or as startling as his labors through the years in keeping the record accurate regarding Patti and Got, it does speak eloquently for Bullard's methods, his untiring efforts to keep the Lincoln story free of any false and unnecessary errors.

In an address before the Lincoln Group of Boston on November 28, 1942, Bullard noted that perhaps nobody in American history has been misquoted more often than Abraham Lincoln:

Innocent persons, (Bullard said,) in good faith, use his supposed remarks in support of their views on public questions. Men with axes to grind grab whatever comes to hand, from his assumed authorship that conceivably might help their cause. Debaters violate all the rules of probability in order to cite against an opponent passages of highly questionable authenticity which they attribute to the Civil War President. Sentences torn from their settings are made to mean what he never intended them to mean.... At times I have dallied with the idea that there might be a fabrications factory

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1 Bullard to Basler, Jan. 18, 1950. Photostat.

somewhere, ready to provide Lincolnisms for all applicants and for all purposes at any time. Abraham Lincoln himself was not excelled by any man in the extraordinary caution with which he labored to make sure that his facts were right and that he misrepresented nobody. He never took a chance on getting by with unreliable affirmations. Anybody who reads with care his debates with Douglas, the Cooper Institute speech, and various of his state papers must agree that this is true.³

Bullard then continued to cite several examples in which quotations attributed to Lincoln were demonstrated by several historians to be spurious.⁴ He also related an incident involving dubious quotations that he was able to investigate and prove to be a fabrication. This concerned what Bullard termed the "Greenbacks Quotation."⁵

In March, 1942, Frederick H. Meserve of New York City, unable to satisfy himself completely on the problem, wrote to his friend, Bullard, asking his assistance in tracking down the source of a quotation claimed to be derived from Lincoln’s writings. Meserve had been originally requested to assist Major Ivan Firth, a Britisher at that time in New York City as representative of the Incorporated Sales Managers Association of the United Kingdom. Major Firth was seeking to find the origin of the alleged quotation and had sought the assistance of Mr. Meserve.⁶ The statement in question, which appeared in a British

³ Bullard, "Fabricated Lincoln 'Quotations,'" Typescript, p. 1. Inserted in Notebook 52.
⁴ Ibid., passim.
⁵ Ibid., p. 2
⁶ Notebook 52. Bullard originally did not bother to save the correspondence on this issue, but as the problem became more involved, he wrote to Major Firth who sent him a resume of the correspondence up to that point. Notes on that resume are in Notebook 52.
trade journal with which Major Firth was connected, read:

Money is the creature of law and the creation of the original issue of money should be maintained as an exclusive monopoly of national government. The monetary needs of increasing numbers of people advancing towards higher standards of living can and should be met by the Government. The circulation of a medium of exchange issued and backed by the Government can be properly regulated and redundancy avoided by withdrawing from circulation such amounts as may be necessary by taxation, redeposit, and otherwise. The privilege of creating and issuing is not only the supreme prerogative of the Government, but it is the Government's greatest creative opportunity.

Money will cease to be master and become the servant of humanity. Democracy will rise superior to money power. 7

Bullard refused to believe that Lincoln ever said or wrote what was in this "quotation." It did not sound like Lincoln. "There are numbers of Lincolnians," wrote Bullard, "who react to fake quotations much as a money expert reacts to counterfeit currency." 8 Bullard, of course, was one of those Lincolnians.

Actually, while searching for the origin of a similar quotation, several years before 1942, 9 Bullard had accumulated some evidence that to him justified the opinion that the passage was spurious. Bullard originally was attempting to discover the origin of what he called the "enthronement of corporations" fake, and suggested to Major Firth that there was

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7 Bullard, "Fabricated Lincoln 'Quotations!'," p. 2.
8 Ibid., p. 3.
9 In 1930. Notebook 52.
some similarity in the two quotations.

The text of the "enthronement of corporations" letter is as follows:

Yes, we can all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is drawing to a close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The best blood of the flower of American youth has been freely offered upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has been a trying hour for the republic, but I see in the near future a crisis which unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this time more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of the war. God grant that my fears may prove groundless:¹⁰

Bullard could find nothing on this item until he finally came upon a huge paper-bound volume published in 1896 by George Henry Shibley as a campaign document in the interest of the presidential campaign of William J. Bryan.¹¹ The volume contained such references as "the hireling press," "the hired-man professors," "the Great Conspiracy," and others. "By no means," declared Bullard, "would such a book command the respect of any serious and informed reader."¹²

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¹² Bullard, "Fabricated Lincoln 'Quotations,'" p. 3.
Shibley quoted a "letter" in which Lincoln is supposed to have written in 1864 to William F. Elkin, one of the "Long Nine from Sangamon," that "the money power will try to prolong its reign... until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic is destroyed:"¹³ — the passage quoted above. Of course, as Bullard emphatically pointed out, the letter has never been found.¹⁴

Helen Nicolay noted that although her father, Lincoln's secretary, John G. Nicolay, once made a list of "a dozen or more spurious quotations and allegations concerning Lincoln," this quotation about the "money power of the country" was the one he was called upon most to deny. She added that this alleged quotation apparently made its first appearance in the presidential campaign of 1888, and "it has returned with planetary regularity ever since."¹⁵

John G. Nicolay had been unable to trace the origin of this obviously false quotation, and Bullard after a long, exhaustive search could find nothing more reliable than the Shibley book for its origin. Bullard noted that "few Lincoln writers or speakers have ventured to use as authority either Shibley's book or the letter to Elkin."¹⁶

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¹⁴ Bullard, "Fabricated Lincoln 'Quotations,'" p. 4.
¹⁵ Nicolay, Personal Traits of Lincoln, pp. 380-81.
¹⁶ Bullard, "Fabricated Lincoln 'Quotations,'" p. 4. Bullard wrote in his notes: "Any intelligent person who examines Shibley will agree that no historian or public speaker with a reputation to protect would dream of citing Shibley as an authority." Notebook 52.
However, a few writers did accept the Shibley story.

In a small pamphlet, *Little Sermons in Socialism* by Abraham Lincoln, the compiler, Burke McCarty, used the story and cited Shibley as his source. Whether or not McCarty made an honest mistake is difficult to determine. In his Introduction he wrote:

> We do not claim that ... Lincoln was a Socialist, for the word had not been coined in his day. We do not claim that he would, if he had lived, been a Socialist today...

> We do claim, and know, to the hour of his death, a class conscious working man, that his sympathies were with that class...  

Emanuel Hertz, in his collection of the writings of Abraham Lincoln also included the letter, without naming Elkin or mentioning any authority. When Bullard asked Hertz to name his authority, the writer informed Bullard that he had obtained it from Shibley. The letter also appeared in a campaign book for 1900, and it eventually

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17 No publisher, [c. 1910].

18 McCarty, p. 1.


20 Hertz to Bullard, Dec. 11, 1931: Dec. 22, 1931; Dec. 28, 1931. Inserted in Notebook 14a. Hertz was in error about Shibley's title. It was not "Life of Elkin," but Hertz cited the exact page number (282) in which the quotation appears in Shibley.

even got into the Congressional Record! Bullard was able to obtain a clipping of the Congressional Record for February 14, 1938, in which a report of an "extension of remarks by Representative Charles G. Binderup of Nebraska," quoted this same item, identifying it as from Lincoln's message to Congress -- in 1865! Then, on August 19, 1940, Representative Jerry Voorhis of California used a portion of the Major Firth version! Bullard attempted to learn from Representative Voorhis what his source for the quotation was. Congressman Voorhis would only, albeit politely, reply that he had taken his remarks "from another man's writings," and that a careful "research in the Library of Congress and elsewhere has failed to reveal the quotation in question." 

Finally, Bullard was able to identify the probable origin of the money problem! G.W. Van Buren, in his Abraham Lincoln's Pen and Voice, had published a letter from Lincoln to Colonel Edmund "Dick" Taylor, of Chicago, in which "Dick" Taylor was credited by Lincoln with being the father of the greenbacks: the originator of the suggestion that treasury notes should be issued, "bearing no interest

22 The clipping is inserted in Notebook l4a.
24 Voorhis to Bullard, Oct. 4, 1940. Inserted in Notebook l4a.
printed on the best banking paper... and... to be legal tender."\(^{26}\)

These words are similar to the utterances of the previous quotations, and Bullard asserted that "we may be almost positive in pronouncing the Taylor letter to be spurious."\(^{27}\)

This "Dick" Taylor was once described by William H. Herndon as a "showy, bombastic man," and as a man who "resorted to many... artful tricks of a demagogue."\(^{28}\)

An obituary notice in the *New York Tribune* of December 6, 1891, further indicated to Bullard of the unreliability of "Dick" Taylor.

According to this account, Taylor first met Lincoln (or claimed that he had) in New Salem at which time he suggested to Lincoln that he take up the study of law. When Lincoln responded that he had no money and therefore could buy no books, Taylor invited him to come to Springfield, adding: "I'll see you are supplied." Lincoln came, and for a long time lived with Colonel and Mrs. Taylor. Furthermore, Taylor's influence got Lincoln into Logan's law office where he tended the fire and swept the office, but where he also began to read the books in the office: \(^{29}\)


\(^{27}\) Bullard, "Fabricated Lincoln 'Quotations,'" p. 5.


\(^{29}\) Notes on this article appear in Notebook 52.
It would not be difficult for a man with such an imagination to perpe-
trate the myth that Lincoln called him "the father of the ... green-
back." 30

Major Firth himself was able to get at the origin of his
version of the spurious quotation. The Firth version appeared in Mayer
McGreer's Conquest of Poverty, published in 1935, 31 following a particu-
larly provoking introductory statement:

In the following synopsis I have scrupulously
maintained Lincoln's ideas. His words and phrase-
ology are used except where the change has been
necessary to extend Lincoln's conclusions to bank
credit, now used through the cheque system which was
not in common vogue in his time, and to make his
observations applicable to monetary practices that
have since developed, and were not in operation in
his day, but to which his ideas, nevertheless, apply. 32

After reading this statement, Bullard's comment was: "Such
effrontery is beneath the contempt of Lincoln students." 33 And for his
detailed investigations and his findings, Bullard received a note from
Meserve: "You have proved true to me my belief that nothing either great

30 New York Tribune, Dec. 6, 1891. This also appears in a clipping
of the Sharon (Mass.) Advocate, Oct. 23, 1943. Inserted in
Notebook 52.

31 Gardenvale, Que.: Garden City Press, 1935.

32 Bullard has a note that this passage was "certified as correct by
the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress."
Notebook 52.

or small in our history escapes your mind and pen."  

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34 Reserve to Bullard, Mar., 26, 1942, Inserted in Notebook 52.
Chapter IV

Bullard's Books

During his career as a Lincoln scholar, F. Lauriston Bullard wrote four books on the Lincoln theme. Each of these in its own way represents a valuable contribution to the Lincoln field, and each is today considered as authoritative. Bullard, in these books, dealt with (1) Lincoln and his son Tad, (2) the Gettysburg Address, (3) Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixby, and (4) Lincoln statues in marble and bronze.

The first of the four books to be published was Bullard's *Tad and His Father*, the first edition of which was dated 1915. A small book of a hundred and two pages, this could best be described as a brief sketch touching on the relations of the war-time President and his youngest son. Historically, the Bullard study is significant because, excluding personal reminiscences by Lincoln's contemporaries, this was the first book published on Lincoln and his children; and it remained the only book dealing exclusively with this subject until the publication of Mrs. Randall's volume in 1955.

Brief as Bullard's volume was, it nevertheless captured the spirit of the close companionship between the care-worn President and his young son. What little diversion Lincoln could enjoy while in the

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1. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.,
White House was supplied in large measure by the presence of his spoiled son whose mischief would amuse the President who could find so little that was amusing during the Civil War. The need for diversion and the loss of two other sons combined to make Lincoln a most tolerant parent regarding his youngest son's antics. The President even described Tad as the "tyrant of the White House," and the liberty enjoyed by the boy was "almost a scandal in the eyes of some very 'proper' persons."³

Tad was once given a box of carpentry tools which he not only used in the stables and kitchen but in the "show rooms" of the White House also. Once or twice the big table in the Cabinet Room became a workbench; he drove nails into the old-fashioned mahogany desk used by John Hay; and he even carried on experiments in the small room where his father slept! It was not until he attacked the chairs in the "showy" East Room, that "the tools disappeared overnight, and no one seemed to know what had become of them."⁴

One September day in 1862 was the liveliest day for "mischievous, impulsive, imperious, sensitive, boisterous, big-hearted Tad." Nobody connected with the White House would soon forget it. On that day the President was busy studying charts and papers in his office, the

³ Bullard, Tad and His Father, p. 20.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 21-22.
secretaries, John G. Nicolay, John Hay, and William O. Stoddard, were in their places doing their routine work; and below stairs visitors were strolling about that part of the White House open to public view and inspection. Suddenly the bell near the desk of Secretary Stoddard jangled violently. Startled, the young assistant jumped up and turned toward the President's office, alarmed because the President had never before rung so vehemently. As he neared the President's door, Stoddard noted that both senior secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, were also hurriedly moving toward Lincoln's room. And along the hall, almost running, came most of the White House staff toward the President's room. Even Edward, the ancient White House doorkeeper who had served every President since Zachary Taylor, was painfully moving up the stairs. Even the bell in the President's room was ringing, and when they were about to open the door, it swung open and the President stood before them, with that well-known sad smile on his face.

"Maybe you'd better look for Tad," he said.

James Halliday, the White House carpenter, acted upon Lincoln's hint, and found the young boy, up in the attic, pulling with all his might at the yoke which formed the connecting link for all the bells in the White House system. As soon as Tad saw the carpenter coming toward him, he gave the yoke "one final swing and plunged for the stairs, down which he ran pell-mell and charged into the sure refuge of his father's room."\(^5\)

\(^5\) Ibid., pp. 23-26.
There were other devices used by this "tyrant of the White House" to annoy both White House personnel and visitors. One day while several ladies from Boston were inspecting the presidential residence, they came into the East Room and looked with reverence upon the velvet carpet, the plush upholstery, the frescoed ceiling, the glittering chandeliers, and the mahogany furniture. Suddenly a door opened and closed noisily, and the "solemn stillness" was distractingly and rudely shattered "by a frightful racket." The Boston ladies were shocked!

As Bullard described the scene, Tad was the cause of their horror:

Charging through the hall came a shouting boy, flourishing a long whip and driving a pair of goats, hitched tandem fashion to a kitchen chair. The party of visitors watched him guide the horned team into the sacred precincts of the great East Room. They heard him yell: "Look out there!" and their staring eyes followed his course around the big apartment and through the doorway, and they knew from what they then heard that he must have driven those goats through the vestibule and down the front steps of the presidential mansion. They gazed aghast at one another, and it was only after an interval of shocked silence that they achieved a sufficient recovery to make a hasty and rather stealthy departure as from a sanctuary profaned.

Whenever Tad got into trouble of this kind, he always could rely on his father not to punish him and to protect him from anybody else that might. One day the President allowed Tad to accompany him on one of his many visits to the War Department building to see if any news had come in over the telegraph lines from the war front. While Lincoln

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6 Ibid., pp. 29-30
7 Ibid., pp. 30-31
and the operators of the telegraph lines were in conversation, little
Tad promptly got into trouble. The telegraph instruments were set
upon marble-topped tables, and Tad, while nobody was looking dipped
his fingers into an ink-well and smeared the white table-tops with
black ink. One of the operators finally noticed what the boy was up
to, seized him, and led him -- at arm's length -- to his father. Every-
body in the room was somewhat embarrassed when the boy faced his father,
holding up his ink-blackened fingers. The President looked at the
smeared table-tops and then smiled embarrassedly at the operator who
still clutched Tad's shoulder. Finally Lincoln gathered his son up into
his arms, "careless of the damage the inky hands might do to his linen." Lin-
coln then quietly said to his son, "Well, Tad, we'll go; I'm afraid
they're abusing you."8

Nevertheless, although the boy was a terror to all others at
the White House, he served his father, as Bullard pointed out, as an
important antidote to the many vexing problems that remained with the
President during his four years in Washington. One night, after spending
a long day reading the piles of papers that were always on his desk,
Lincoln settled down in his bedroom with a slender volume of the poems
of Thomas Hood. Hardly had he settled down into his chair when he heard
three dots and two dashed rapped on the door, a special signal indicating

8 Ibid., pp. 33-34.
that Tad wanted to enter the room. Instantly, the face of the President lost its look of weariness, and "with a smile that made the homely countenance wonderfully handsome," Lincoln opened the door and admitted his son. Tad "bounced in" dressed in his white nightgown. As Bullard concluded:

Many a night upon waking he had crossed the hall and crept into his father's bed. And to-night again the President and Tad, the lonely man who bore in his heart the sorrows of the nation and the lad in whose comradeship he found relief from the awful ordeal which it was his duty to endure, the father and the boy together entered the peaceful refuge of sleep.9

Even little "Tadpole," the young lad who led such a life free of any cares or worries, would have to grow up one day. Tad Lincoln grew up, and learned the meaning of sadness on an April day in 1865. That day was perhaps a nightmare to the innocent, young Lincoln who had enjoyed so much his life in the White House.

It all began on the evening of April 14, 1865. Washington, D.C., was in festive attire. Business houses, government buildings, private residences, all were decorated with flags and bunting and all were lighted with many candles. General Lee's armies had surrendered. Torchlight processions filled the streets and martial music was heard in every square. The theaters were a mass of bright lights with announcements posted to attract crowds who would be seeking amusement on such a gala occasion.

9 Ibid., pp. 35-36.
Both the leading theaters of Washington had sent invitations to the President to occupy that night the special box at each theater always reserved for him. Mrs. Lincoln wrote to the manager of Grover's that the President could not comply with his invitation because he already had accepted an invitation to Ford's. However, Tad and his tutor would be happy to come to the National. All the boxes were sold out, and the boy and his escort were given seats well at the front of the house. Thus while the father was watching the comedy, "Our American Cousin," the son was enjoying the "great Oriental Spectacle of Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp," with "magnificent scenery, wonderful mechanical effects, grand ballets, beautiful tableaus," and between acts, a patriotic poem composed for the occasion, "The Flag of Sumter."¹⁰

During the performance, a messenger hurriedly came to Tad's tutor and whispered something to him. Although surprised and bewildered, the tutor turned to Tad and said that Mr. Lincoln was ill and that they ought to return to the White House. As soon as they retired, the manager of the theater came before the curtain and to a suddenly surprised audience "made his terrible announcement": the President had been assassinated.¹¹

When, a couple of days later, Tad's father was laid out in the White House while thousands of people waited in line all day to obtain one last look upon his face, the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles,

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 93-94.
¹¹ Ibid., p. 95.
came upon Tad, in the White House. When the young boy recognized the Navy Secretary, he burst into tears and asked: "Oh, Mr. Welles, who killed my papa—day, and why did he have to die?" Gideon Welles was unable to answer the second part of that question. Bullard, in the concluding paragraph of his book, tried to:

How many thousands have asked your question since then, Tad! How many, indeed! "Why?" Had he not always "plucked a thistle and planted a flower wherever he thought a flower would grow?" Was he not a man of the plain people who never forgot his kind? Did not the whole nation, South as well as North, need him? Why might he not have had a little of the gladness of the morning after the purgatorial darkness of the night of suffering? He had grown old so frightfully fast; could he not have had a few years to grow young again? How can either reason or conscience include the death of Lincoln within any reasonable ideal of a moral universe? Yes, Tad, your question touches upon the mysteries of time and eternity. It involves the problems over which the greatest minds and hearts of the world have wrestled and prayed. But when you went away a few years later and joined your father, then, Tad, I think — although I cannot be quite sure — I think that then you found an answer.12

Bullard's brief "sketch" (as James F. Rhodes described Tad and His Father)13 proved popular enough to have four separate printings, the last one as late as 1933. The book was well received, both by contemporaries of Tad and by historians as well. Bullard had written to Tad's older brother, Robert Todd Lincoln, before he published his volume, asking for a description of Tad and received a brief note describing Tad

12 Ibid., pp. 101-102.
as a "hearty, merry lad," with "dark hair rather than light," and with
gray eyes of which there was "nothing remarkable." When Lincoln's
oldest son finished reading Bullard's volume, he sent the author a
gracious note complimenting him on his success in recapturing the spirit
of the young boy who meant so much to the Civil War President:

It has been a most delightful reminder to me of a
time which is far gone by, but which had many pleasures,
as well as troubles; you have given me an affecting
sketch of the mischievous, charmingly affectionate little
boy who was such a comfort to my father.

William O. Stoddard, the same one who had to endure so many
of Tad's pranks while working in the White House many years before, wrote
to Bullard in praise of the book that had successfully "brought me a
panorama of memories of Lincoln, the White House, and my little friend
Tad." Among the writers on the Lincoln and Civil War themes, Ida M.
Tarbell wrote of her enjoyment of the book which she found sympathetic
and which she believed "no one could read ... without being very sincerely
touched." James F. Rhodes found himself "touched" by Bullard's "graphic
recital of the relations between the great Lincoln and his son Tad."

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14 R.T. Lincoln to Bullard, Nov. 25, 1914. Box, Autographs.
16 W.O. Stoddard to Bullard, Sept. 11, 1915. Box, Autographs.
17 Adam Tarbell to Bullard, Sept. 7, 1921. Box, Autographs.
To Rhodes, the work was not only "well worth doing" but was also "well done." Rhodes concluded by predicting that Bullard's volume would have a long life because nobody "ought to write of Lincoln without reading it."\(^{18}\)

As a fitting testimonial of the regard with which Bullard's "sketch" was held, one need only cite the communication Bullard received in 1930, asking for his opinion of a forthcoming volume, Tad Lincoln's Father, by Julia Taft Byrne.\(^{19}\) The publishers wanted Bullard to judge the relative merits of the various anecdotes included in the volume. They selected him because as author of Tad and His Father, Bullard was probably "more familiar with stories involving Tad Lincoln than any other authority on Lincoln..."\(^{20}\)

The second of Bullard's four books is also a slender volume of seventy-seven pages in which the author presents the facts about Lincoln's greatest speech (the Gettysburg Address), and the circumstances of its composition and delivery: "A Few Appropriate Remarks": Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.\(^1\) Fourteen years before the appearance of Bullard's

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\(^{19}\) Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1931.

\(^{20}\) F.M. Clouter to Bullard, Dec. 31, 1930.

\(^1\) Harrogate, Tenn.: Lincoln Memorial University Press, 1944, Hereafter cited as Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.
volume, William E. Barton published in 1930 a work on the same subject with a rather definitive-sounding title: *Lincoln at Gettysburg: What He Intended to Say; What He Said; What He Was Reported to Have Said; What He Wished He Had Said.* Although in this work Barton may have "adorned" his facts "with verbiage," he nevertheless treated the subject authoritatively, and thus Bullard's later work represented basically a summary of the same material used by Barton.

However, because of "his keen sense of historical skepticism," Bullard was able to offer some contributions of his own, and these contributions combine with his less adorned presentation of the facts to make Dr. Bullard's book the place where "one may find, authoritatively presented, all one needs to know about Lincoln's greatest speech." Bullard's contributions may be divided into two categories, negative and positive.

On the negative side Bullard challenged the account of Clark E. Carr on Carr's role in the extension of the invitation to Lincoln to be present at the exercises. Clark E. Carr was the Illinois member of the Gettysburg Commission, the youngest of them all, and the only member who personally knew the President. Furthermore, he was a "devoted admirer of Lincoln." In 1906, almost a half-century after the event, Carr published

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4 Ibid.
a volume on Lincoln and Gettysburg in which he explained that all invitations and arrangements for the dedication exercises were considered and decided upon by the Board of Commissioners. The author further added that the other Commissioners were doubtful about the expediency of inviting Lincoln to speak and about his ability to deliver a suitable address on such a solemn occasion. Carr continued to explain how Lincoln came to be invited to speak:

The proposition to ask Mr. Lincoln to speak at the Gettysburg ceremonies was an afterthought. The President of the United States had, like the other distinguished personages, been invited to be present, but Mr. Lincoln was not, at that time, invited to speak. In fact, it did not seem to occur to any that he could speak on such an occasion.

Scarcely any member of the Board, excepting the member representing Illinois [Carr], had ever heard him speak at all, and no other member had ever heard, or read from him, anything except political discussions. When the suggestion was made that he be invited to speak, while all expressed high appreciation of his great abilities as a political speaker, as shown in his debate with Stephen A. Douglas, and in his Cooper Institute Address, the question was raised as to his ability to speak upon such a grave and solemn occasion as that of the memorial services. Besides, it was said that ... he could not possibly have the leisure to prepare an address for such an occasion...

It was finally decided to ask President Lincoln "after the oration" (that is to say, after Mr. Everett's oration) as chief executive of the nation, "to set apart formally these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks." 7

Beside intimating it in his book, Carr also in private conversation claimed that it was he who proposed that Lincoln speak and that he guaranteed


7 Ibid., pp. 21-25.
the President's fitness for something other than a political speech.\textsuperscript{8} All the claims made by Carr, as Bullard pointed out, may be true, but whatever consultation took place must have been by mail. Bullard uncovered a "careful and extended statement sent out to his fellow Commissioners in 1874 by the Secretary of the Commission, a Mr. Bartlett, who ought to have had the records before him, saying that the 'Commissioners from the several States met for the first time ... on December 17."\textsuperscript{9} In the light of this statement Carr's claims may still be correct, but it must have required a rather heavy correspondence to convince the other members of the Commission that Lincoln was qualified to make his "appropriate remarks" at Gettysburg!

The second "negative" contribution of Bullard to the story of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address concerns the account of Andrew G. Curtin, wartime Governor of Pennsylvania. Curtin's story appeared in a History of the United States, published in 1896, by William A. Mowry:

There is conclusive evidence that the words of the address were not written out until the Presidential party arrived on the ground.... The following account of how the address was written was received directly from ex-Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, who was present on the occasion and knew whereof he affirmed. Governor Curtin said that after the arrival of

\textsuperscript{8} Bullard, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, p. 13. Barton, a personal friend of Carr, wrote that the Illinois member of the Commissioner made these claims in private to his acquaintances, including Barton. According to Barton's account Carr's suggestion that Lincoln speak at the exercises "was not received with marked enthusiasm." Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, p. 49.

\textsuperscript{9} Quoted in Bullard, Few Appropriate Remarks, p. 13.
the party from Washington, while the President and his Cabinet, Edward Everett, the orator of the day, Governor Curtin, and others were sitting in the parlor of the hotel, the President remarked that he understood that the committee expected him to say something. He would, therefore, if they would excuse him, retire to the next room and see if he could write out something. He was absent some time, and upon returning to the company had in his hand a large-sized yellow envelope. The President sat down, and remarked that he had written something, and with their permission would like to read it to them, and invited them to criticize it. After reading what he had written upon the envelope, he asked for any suggestions they might make; Secretary Seward volunteered one or two comments, which Mr. Lincoln accepted and incorporated. Then he said, "Now, gentlemen, if you will excuse me again, I will copy this off," and returning again made a fresh copy to read from.

Barton, who had included this passage in his work on Gettysburg, attested to the reliability of Mr. Mowry, whom he knew, and noted that Mowry had told him the same story that he published in his History.

Also, in 1895, Horatio King, former Postmaster-General of the United States, "with pencil in hand to make sure of his exact words," called on Curtin, sometime that year and asked the former Governor of Pennsylvania to give his account. King published Curtin's story in his Turning on the Light. This King version varied only slightly from the Mowry account quoted above. In both cases Lincoln wrote the speech the night before "on a yellow envelope," and in both cases Curtin was with Lincoln on the evening before the address.

10 Quoted in Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, pp. 172-173.
11 Ibid., p. 172.
12 The King version appears in Horatio King. Turning on the Light. A Survey of President Buchanan's Administration, from 1860 to Its Close. Including a Biographical Sketch of the Author, Eight Letters from
Bullard discovered "one bit of evidence" that discredits Curtin's testimony altogether. The orator of the day, Edward Everett, carefully kept a journal. In an entry, "At Mr. Wills's" Everett noted that the Governor of Pennsylvania did not arrive at Gettysburg until 11 o'clock on the night before the dedication. The town by now was so crowded with visitors that it was difficult to find adequate lodgings for the Governor. "At first," Everett noted, "it was proposed to put the Governor in my bed with me." However, Curtin "kindly went out and found a lodging elsewhere." Bullard concluded: "I fancy that this Everett evidence exposes the serious errors in the recollections of the able and energetic War Governor of the Keystone State."

Bullard's positive contribution to the story of the Gettysburg Address was the discovery of commendatory remarks on the beauty of the speech by two of the most distinguished of Lincoln's contemporaries: Henry W. Longfellow and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The day following the exercises at Gettysburg, Longfellow wrote his friend, George William Curtis, editor of Harper's Weekly, that he had

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13 Bullard, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, p. 51.
15 Bullard, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, p. 51.
just finished reading Lincoln's remarks and that they seemed "admirable" to Longfellow.16

Four days after Lincoln's death, Emerson delivered his famous address at the memorial services in Concord, Massachusetts. In his tribute Emerson made the following allusion to the Gettysburg Address:

... His brief speech at Gettysburg will not easily be surpassed by words on any recorded occasion. This, and one other American speech, that of John Brown to the court that tried him, and a part of Kossuth's speech at Birmingham, can only be compared with each other, and with no fourth...17

These positive and negative contributions to the study of Lincoln and Gettysburg that Barton had previously explored fairly thoroughly earned for Bullard the note in the biography of Lincoln by Benjamin P. Thomas to the effect that the Bullard and Barton volumes on Gettysburg represent the standard authorities on the subject.18

16 Ibid., p. 66.
17 Ibid., p. 67. The passage also appears in Bullard's article "Lincoln, John Brown, Kossuth; As Compared by Emerson," Lincoln Herald, XLV (Dec., 1943), 21-24. The speeches of Brown and Kossuth referred to by Emerson, are also included in the Lincoln Herald article.
18 Benjamin P. Thomas, Abraham Lincoln: A Biography (New York: Knopf, 1952), p. 544. Bullard also received other commendations for this contribution. William H. Townsend wrote: "I do not know when I have found so much information packed in so small a space and so delightfully related." Townsend to Bullard, Nov. 27, 1944. Ralph G. Lindstrom of Los Angeles thanked Bullard for "this fine contribution to Lincolnia." "You have rendered," he added, "a real service in throwing the light of careful historical research on many of the fairy-tales..." Lindstrom to Bullard, Oct. 16, 1944. Frederick Tilberg, Historian at Gettysburg National Park, described Bullard's book as a "splendid summarization of the various issues involved." Tilberg to Bullard, Oct. 20, 1944. All three letters inserted in Notebook 12a.
Bullard's third published volume dealt with another of Lincoln's great literary accomplishments, his letter to Mrs. Lydia Bixby of Boston, dated November 21, 1864. In his Introduction, which he titled "In Conference with Our Readers," Bullard described his book as a "detective story," one in which the author attempts to clear up the mystery surrounding the question of authorship of the letter, -- or, to show that Lincoln and not John Hay was the author of the letter.

The original letter has never been seen by any Lincoln scholar since the time of its publication in the Boston Evening Transcript, November 25, 1864, but its inclusion in that newspaper proves that the letter did once exist. According to the Transcript, the letter read:

Executive Mansion
Washington, Nov. 21, 1864

Dear Madam,

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle.

I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save.

I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours, to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of Freedom.

1 Abraham Lincoln and the Widow Bixby (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1946).

2 Ibid., p. vii.
Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

Mrs. Bixby.

A. Lincoln.³

Although many fake copies of the letter have appeared from time to time⁴ and although the original letter has never been found, the origin of the spurious copies and the present whereabouts of the letter itself are not of primary importance, according to Bullard. The real mystery connected with the letter — the reason why Bullard wrote his "detective story" — is the question of the authorship of the letter.

Did Abraham Lincoln write the Bixby Letter?

Since the turn of the century Lincoln scholars had been aware of rumors to the effect that Lincoln really was not the author of the Bixby letter, but that his secretary, John Hay, wrote the words accredited to the President.⁵ These rumors finally became a formal charge with the publication of the following passage in the autobiography of Nicholas Murray Butler in 1939:

One morning during his visit to Washington [John] Morley called on John Hay, [then Secretary of State under President Theodore Roosevelt] ... Morley expressed to Hay his great admiration for the Bixby letter, to which Hay listened with a quizzical look upon his face. After a brief silence Hay told Morley that he had himself written the Bixby letter and this was the reason why it could not be found among Lincoln's

³ Boston Evening Transcript, Nov. 25, 1864. A photostat appears in Bullard, Lincoln and the Widow Bixby, opposite p. 46.

⁴ For a study of the variances in the spurious versions of the letter see Ibid, pp. 146–47.

⁵ Ibid., p. viii.
papers and why no original copy of it had ever been forthcoming. Hay asked Morley to treat this information as strictly confidential until after his (Hay's) death. Morley did so, and told me that he had never repeated it to any one until he told it to me during a quiet talk in London at the Athenaeum on July 9, 1912. He then asked me, in my turn, to preserve this confidence of his until he, Morley, should be no longer living.6

In the same year, 1939, along with Butler's challenge to Lincoln's authorship, based on what John Hay had supposedly stated to the Englishman Morley many years before, there appeared in print another attack on the validity of the letter to Mrs. Bixby, this one based on internal evidence in the document itself.

Sherman Day Wakefield, writing in Hobbies, February, 1939, first of all noted that all the facsimiles of the Bixby letter then in circulation were demonstrably fakes7 and suggested that the original was never seen because Lincoln did not write the letter! He added that John Hay probably wrote it and that it was simply signed by the President. The letter itself, Wakefield felt, was not at all similar to what Wakefield described as "the only one letter of condolence which can be definitely attributed to Lincoln," his letter of December 23, 1862, to Miss Fanny McCullough of Bloomington, Illinois, whose father was killed in action on December 5 of that year. In this letter Lincoln wrote:


7 William E. Barton was perhaps the first writer to show that the many reproductions of the letter were spurious. See his A Beautiful Blunder: The True Story of Lincoln's Letter to Mrs. Lydia A. Bixby (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1926), pp. 44-63.
It is with deep grief that I learn of the death of your kind and brave father; and especially, that it is affecting your young heart beyond what is common in such cases. In this sad world of ours sorrow comes to all; and, to the young, it comes with bitterest agony, because it takes them unawares. The older have learned to ever expect it. I am anxious to afford some alleviation of your present distress. Perfect relief is not possible, except with time. You can not realize that you will ever feel better. Is not this so. And yet it is a mistake. You are sure to be happy again. To know this, which is certainly true, will make you some less miserable now. I have had experience enough to know what I say; and you need only to believe it, to feel better at once. The memory of your dear father, instead of agony, will yet be a sad, sweet feeling in your heart, or a purer, and holier sort than you have known before.  

Wakefield points out, after quoting the McCullough letter, that if Lincoln believed in a "Heavenly Father," he would not have failed to offer the consolation of religion to his close friend as he did in his letter to a stranger (Mrs. Bixby). The McCullough letter, to Wakefield, was like the first draft of the Gettysburg Address (which did not contain the phrase "under God") — a beautiful human document, with no appeal to God or reference to immortality.  

Bullard's "detective story" is a book in which he attempts first of all to show that Hay did not write the Bixby Letter and secondly that the Bixby Letter was as much an expression of Lincoln's literary style and true sentiments as was the McCullough Letter.

8 *Lincoln, Collected Works*, VI, 16-17.

In attempting to show that John Hay did not write the Bixby letter, Bullard first dealt with the evidence usually cited by Hay's supporters: Hay's letter to William H. Herndon in 1866. The murdered President's secretary, in this letter, said of Lincoln:

He wrote very few letters. He did not read one in fifty that he received. At first we [the secretarial staff] tried to bring them to his notice, but at last he gave the whole thing over to me, and signed without reading them the letters I wrote in his name. He wrote perhaps half a dozen a week himself — not more... I opened and read the letters, answered them, looked over the newspapers, supervised the clerks who kept the records and in Nicolay's absence did his work also...  

Wakefield took this statement of Hay and, according to Bullard, made it mean "what it does not say." Wakefield insisted that the reader must accept the evidence that "Hay wrote the letters in Lincoln's name and handwriting." Very properly, Bullard maintained that according to the evidence Hay simply wrote letters in Lincoln's name and that the President signed them. (Hay said nothing about writing in imitation of Lincoln's handwriting.) Bullard also noted that Hay's statement — "He wrote perhaps half a dozen a week himself — not more," — was open to serious question. The statement simply did not make sense in light of the investigations of the careful Lincoln authority, William H. Townsend. In a careful investigation of Lincoln letters for the four Novembers of...
the Presidential years, Townsend found that (making allowances for future discoveries) there were no more letters than Hay said Lincoln himself wrote. A count of the Aprils of those years produced the same conclusion, that "Hay's average would amply cover all the real Lincoln letters in the years that Hay served him." To Bullard, Townsend's conclusion was sound: that "all Hay's statement to Herndon can possibly mean is that in many routine, inconsequential, unimportant matters, Hay wrote letters for Lincoln in Hay's own distinctive, undisguised handwriting to which Lincoln affixed his own signature."13

A second point made by those who attempted to credit John Hay as the author of the Bixby Letter is the testimony of President Butler of Columbia University that Hay could imitate Lincoln's handwriting: "As a matter of fact," noted Butler, "Abraham Lincoln wrote very few letters that bore his signature. John G. Nicolay wrote almost all of those which were official, while John Hay wrote almost all of those which were personal. Hay was able to imitate Lincoln's handwriting and signature in well-nigh perfect fashion."14 Bullard refused to accept this statement without finding specific cases. He made a careful examination in an attempt to bring to light any possible letter that Hay wrote in a style imitating Lincoln.

Inquiry among Lincoln scholars produced this opinion of Roy P. Basler: "I have searched a long while without finding more than one instance of what might be considered an imitation, and I have found no one who knows anything much about Lincoln manuscripts who can suggest where to look.

13 Bullard, Lincoln and the Widow Bixby, p. 66. pp. 66-67. For Townsend's statements and researches, see Notebook 2a.

14 Butler, Across the Busy Years, II, 390.
beyond the many photostats and manuscripts which I have examined."  

The only case in which Hay apparently attempted to copy Lincoln's signature was in a telegram sent to Mrs. Lincoln, on December 21, 1862, advising her not to come on the night train, because of the cold weather, and suggesting that she come instead in the morning. The body of the telegram is in Hay's handwriting while the signature, A. Lincoln, is in what appears to be a "forged" handwriting of Lincoln. Bullard wisely concluded that an imitation of a signature is not a difficult accomplishment, but that the imitation of the handwriting in the body of a letter or document is something else together. Bullard felt that "we can find neither examples nor arguments which justify the opinion that 'Hay was able to imitate Lincoln's handwriting and signature in well-nigh perfect fashion.'"  

For his most telling bit of evidence showing that Lincoln and not John Hay was the author of the Bixby Letter, Bullard was able to include in his volume a statement by Hay himself which should constitute fairly strong evidence. Bullard discovered in the New Hampshire Historical Society at Concord a document which purports to be a copy of a letter sent from John Hay to William E. Chandler, and dated January 19, 1904. The note read:

15 Bullard, Lincoln and the Widow Bixby, p. 80.

The letter of Mr. Lincoln to Mrs. Bixby is genuine, is printed in our edition of his Works, and has been frequently republished; but the engraved copy of Mr. Lincoln's alleged manuscript, which is extensively sold, is, in my opinion, a very ingenious forgery.17

Below this note are the words: "Aug. 6, 1909 -- gave original of above to W.D. Chandler." While the original letter has never been found, Bullard was able to receive from several prominent New Hampshire historians, and also the biographer of William E. Chandler, assurances that the handwriting of the notation at the bottom of the document was unquestionably that of Senator Chandler and that his notation was sufficient justification to accept the document as a true copy of the original letter.18

Clearly, Bullard would not accept the unsupported assertions that John Hay was in reality the author of the Bixby Letter. Butler's testimony about John Hay's assertion that he wrote the letter was secondhand; evidence that Hay could imitate Lincoln's handwriting is wanting; and the Chandler letter strongly points to Lincoln as the author, according to Hay himself, whose later career demonstrated the man's integrity and honestly.

While all these reasons tended to invalidate the charge that Hay did write the letter, Bullard was able to produce more compelling reasons to justify the belief that Lincoln was in fact the author of the famous letter. From the standpoint of style, few people could have written the letter. But President Lincoln was in fact the author of several other documents -- the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural Address, for

example — containing sentiments as beautifully expressed as those in the brief note to the Boston widow.

Wakefield's charges that the expression "heavenly father," found in the Bixby Letter, and that the lack of any reference to the deity in Lincoln's "only one letter of condolence" can be easily dismissed. Bullard noted that in the proclamations issued from the White House at the initiative of the President during the war, frequent references to "Almighty God" and "Heavenly Father" were used. On October 20, 1864, for example, Lincoln issued his proclamation setting aside the last Thursday in November as "a day of Thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God, the beneficent Creator and Ruler of the Universe." The proclamation also noted that "It has pleased our Heavenly Father to favor as well our citizens in their homes as our soldiers in their camps." 19

In a more personal letter to his half-brother, John D. Johnston, Lincoln wrote on January 12, 1851, (after being informed his father was ill and would "hardly recover") that he wished he would "confide in our great and good and merciful Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him." 20 As Bullard concluded, these sentiments represent more than "a conventional expression of superficial emotions." 21

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19 Ibid., pp. 98-99.
21 Bullard, Lincoln and the Widow Bixby, p. 101. For more examples cited by Bullard, see pp. 102-105.
The other charge made by Wakefield, that the McCullough Letter was the only letter of condolence sent by Lincoln, was also easily refuted by Bullard who simply quoted in full Lincoln's beautiful letter to the parents of Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth, a particularly close friend of Lincoln who was killed early in the war. In this letter, dated May 25, 1861, Lincoln's last paragraph read:

In the hope that it may be no intrusion upon the sacredness of your sorrow, I have ventured to address you this tribute to the memory of my young friend, and your brave and early fallen child. May God give you that consolation which is beyond all earthly power.  

Once Bullard showed that Lincoln was completely capable of writing beautiful, religious sentiments, he next argued that from the standpoint of style John Hay, despite his later literary merits, could not possibly have written during his early formative years the words that are "universal" in their significance and that may "ease the pain and uplift the hearts of war-stricken mothers in all generations." Young John Hay of the 1860's, Bullard felt, was unequal to appreciate fully Lincoln's magnificent words at Gettysburg. Although he was present at the dedication ceremonies for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Hay's description of Lincoln's Address does not indicate that he fully appreciated the significance or beauty of the President's words. "The President," noted Hay in his diary, "in a fine, free way, with more grace than is his wont, said

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his half dozen words of consecration, and the music wailed and we went home... 24

To Bullard's way of thinking the Bixby Letter was written by the person who wrote Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address. "The similarities in the style cannot be missed — the measured flow of the lines, the cadence as of lyrics in prose, the nobility of sentiment and the simplicity of structure." 25 Having indicated the source of his facts, the files of the War Department, Lincoln "rose to the heights," and "infused his prose with the poetic quality which gave the world an enduring masterpiece." As Bullard suggested, one should read the words aloud, as Lincoln often did while he was composing: testing words for their sound. Unmistakably, Bullard found the "magic of the master" 26 in these sentences:

... I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming... I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

At the conclusion of his "mystery story," Bullard properly and modestly noted that while he did not claim to have demonstrated absolutely


25 Bullard, Lincoln and the Widow Bixby, p. 142.

26 Ibid., p. 143.
that Lincoln composed the letter to Mrs. Bixby, he did insist that those who challenged Lincoln's authorship have fallen "far short of demonstrating that he did not write it." 27 While of course it is possible that Lincoln's authorship will never be proven conclusively (unless perhaps the original letter should turn up and be identified as in Lincoln's handwriting), on the basis of what Bullard had available to use as evidence his point is proved "almost beyond a reasonable doubt." 28

The fourth and final volume published by F. Lauriston Bullard was a study of Lincoln as he has been depicted by sculptors from the time of his death to the present. 1 Eighty-seven statues of heroic size were treated, of which sixty-seven were originals and twenty replicas. The statues represent the works of fifty-six different sculptors. Bullard admitted in his introduction that he did not stay within the limits of

27 Ibid.

1 Lincoln in Marble and Bronze (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1952). In addition to the four books treated in this chapter Bullard also was the author of two pamphlets which are discussed in some detail in Chapter 6: The Other Lincoln (Harrogate, Tenn.: Lincoln Memorial University Press, 1941), and Was "Abe" Lincoln a Gentlemen? (Boston: Boston University Press, 1952). Two books for which Bullard wrote introductions are noted in Appendix 1: Harry F. Lake and George R. Farnum, The Great Debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 (Boston: The Lincoln Group of Boston, 1941), and The Diary of a Public Man: And a Page of Political Correspondence: Stanton to Buchanan, Forward by Carl Sandburg, Prefatory Notes by F. Lauriston Bullard (Chicago: Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, 1945).
his title. Although seventy-five of the statues are bronze, only five are marble. The others are granite, limestone and plaster. Bullard justified his title on the ground that he "wanted a simple, descriptive title for a book intended to be comprehensive."²

San Francisco, according to Bullard's study, has the honor of being the first locality to set up a Lincoln statue. In 1866 the city of 80,000 population was the scene of the dedication of the statue of Lincoln by the relatively unknown sculptor, Pietro Mezzara. Bullard was able to learn very little about Mezzara, who died in Paris, in 1883. He did note that San Francisco in the 1860's was not a likely spot for a sculptor of much ability; and his estimate of Mezzara's talents is not flattering. Judging by his "Lincoln," Bullard felt that Mezzara "cannot be ranked as an artist of more than mediocre gifts."³ Mezzara's statue was ultimately destroyed in the San Francisco disaster of 1906.⁴

The last statue, chronologically, was a creation by Charles Keck, unveiled in New York City on February 12, 1949. This work was placed in the center of the Abraham Lincoln Houses, a low-rent housing project in Harlem, providing homes for thirteen hundred families. Keck's study is a bronze bearded President seated on a boulder with one arm around a young Negro boy. The title is simply, "Lincoln and Boy."⁵

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² Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, p. 8.
³ Ibid., p. 9.
⁴ Ibid., p. 10.
⁵ Ibid., p. 300.
Bullard included descriptions of the statues and biographical data about the sculptors of all the statues he could locate which were unveiled from the time Mezzara completed his San Francisco Lincoln to the time the Harlem housing project received its "Lincoln and Boy."

In his evaluation of the controversial Barnard "Lincoln," the statue many Americans, including Robert Todd Lincoln, condemned as ugly, Bullard offered an excellent and valuable description:

George Grey Barnard turned away from the nice, smooth, smug idealizations which did exaggerate the backwoodsy aspect of the giant from the West; doubtless the feet are too big; but the stance is right... We question the correctness of Theodore Roosevelt's assertion that this is the man who debated with Douglas. No, this Lincoln is closer to New Salem, than to Galesburg or Freeport. The Adam's apple is too conspicuous. The hair is unkempt, swept as it was by the prairie winds and habitually tousled by Lincoln's fingers. The serious observer is drawn away from the hands, the feet, the clothes, to that face. Photographs can be taken from such a level and at such an angle as to make it ugly, almost hideous, devoid of the sadness, tenderness, and friendliness which we associate with Lincoln. But after all discounts have been levied, Barnard's "Lincoln" remains a work of remarkable power. That face! We forget the pose and the suit, and return to the eyes, studious and forbidding, to the cheeks lean with toil, to the chin set and solid. That delineation of the thinking, growing impenetrable Lincoln fascinates the open-minded student. This work, of right, must have a place among the great statues of Abraham Lincoln. 6

Concerning the most famous of all Lincoln statues, the Daniel Chester French "Lincoln" in the Washington, D.C. Lincoln Memorial, Bullard included in his study the criticisms of many Americans who were not pleased to have Lincoln surrounded by ancient Greece. "In heaven's

6 Ibid., p. 241.
name, in Abraham Lincoln's name," Gutzon Borglum is reported to have said in 1912, "don't ask the American people even to associate a Greek temple with the first great American." Other complaints about the proposed memorial included the suggestion that the proposed building was "a public confession of architectural insolvency," and that Lincoln's "forbears who built a log house were better architects than those who are now in control at Washington." But whether or not the Greek architecture was justified, to Bullard the French "Lincoln" was indeed something majestic and worthy of the admiration of Americans:

There he sits, a majestic figure, with the marks of a mighty struggle stamped on his face, and rests a little while. He looks out at the towering obelisk which expresses the veneration of the people for the Father of their Country. Beyond, he sees the great dome of the Capitol -- the dome which had been completed during the years of war. He had studied maps on which lines had been drawn between the North and South; now, that dome stands for an undivided country. He gazes beyond the dome into the future, thinking of his hopes and plans for uniting of hearts and hands that should follow upon the passing of the "mighty scourge of war." Did not both sections "read the same Bible and pray to the same God?" No longer must each "invoke his aid against the other." So much remained for him to do; he must "strive on..."

Thus did Bullard treat both the great statues of Lincoln, the Barnard and the French, for example, and those of lesser merit, the Mezzara, for example. This final work of Bullard's has been well received despite some complaints of critics that the publishers did not put the same care

7 Ibid., pp. 235-36.
8 Ibid., p. 344.
into the physical makeup of the book as the author did in the text.\(^9\)

As one writer who knew Bullard well suggested, the volume was not one of a few years work but rather one in which Bullard had labored for forty years. The writer continued that although all the facts are present in *Lincoln and Marble and Bronze* to justify describing the work as encyclopaedic and useful to one inspecting the various statues, Bullard's final volume was far more significant than that. "No, indeed, his life-work is by no means a mere guidebook. It is a book about Mr. Lincoln, about sculptors and sculptures, and [in the same manner that his personality is present in his preceding volumes on Tad, the Gettysburg Address, and the Bixby Letter] a book about an extremely interesting American, F. Lauriston Bullard.\(^10\)

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Chapter V

The Lincoln Collection of A Scholar

If, as has been suggested, Dr. Bullard's conclusions on any given controversy in the Lincoln field were "genuinely respected," and his data and evaluations "seldom challenged,\footnote{Robert L. Kincaid to the writer, May 1, 1958.} the tools Bullard used in pursuing his meticulous investigations were the various items that comprise his magnificent Lincoln Collection.

The most unusual feature, perhaps, of this Collection is the series of one hundred and thirty-one notebooks containing Bullard's own notes and literally hundreds of newspaper clippings and fragments from magazine articles on a wide variety of subjects, all dealing with the Lincoln theme. The preceding chapters have included selections from several of the notebooks that were devoted exclusively to such topics as Sandburg's War Years, Hertz's Hidden Lincoln, the Patti fake, and Bullard's published books. While a complete listing of subjects contained in the notebooks appears in the Appendix, it is possible here to note the various topics included in Bullard's notebooks.

Perhaps the most obvious grouping of notebooks is the series devoted to Bullard's published writings. Twenty-seven notebooks (several
of them already referred to in this work) deal specifically with the
notes Bullard assembled for his various publications. Three other
notebooks deal particularly with correspondence and notes regarding
the Lincoln Group of Boston, an organization of which Dr. Bullard served
as president from the date of its founding in 1938 until his death in
1952. Four other notebooks are devoted specifically to bibliographical
descriptions of his collection, and will be noted below.

The remainder of the notebooks includes some with notes on
specific subjects, and others that simply contain many miscellaneous
items. It is possible here to examine the contents of only a few of
these notebooks.

Notebook, number 30, is entitled: "They Knew Lincoln -- M
iscellaneous Reminiscences." Included here are such well known items
as the accounts by William H. Crook, Robert B. Stanton, the Marquis de
Chambrun, and Jesse W. Weik,\(^2\) and also many brief accounts by lesser-
known people who claimed to have met Lincoln at one time or other. Some
of these, although difficult to prove, provide interesting reading.

One such newspaper clipping in Notebook 30 offers an account
by a veteran of the Grand Army of the Republic, Captain Daniel A. O'Mara,

(Dec., 1906), 107-111; Robert Brewster Stanton, "Abraham Lincoln:
Personal Memories of the Man," Scribner's Magazine, LVIII (July,
1920), 32-41; Marquis de Chambrun [Charles Adolphe Pineton],
"Personal Recollections of Mr. Lincoln," ibid., XIII (Jan., 1893),
26-38; Jesse W. Weik, "Abraham Lincoln: Personal Recollections,"
who received a visit from President Lincoln while in a hospital recovering from a scalp wound inflicted by one of Moseby's guerillas. Recalling the incident, Captain O'Mara, a drummer boy during the war, related:

I remember first Mrs. Lincoln, wife of the President, visiting the hospital, ... and later the President came. I recognized him at once, and when he came and sat beside my cot my heart went up into my mouth I was that scared. But when I looked up into the kindly eyes of the great Lincoln I lost all my fear and timidity. It was a warm day and the President was dressed in his simple style. First of all he asked me if I had a mother, then he wanted to know if there was anything he could do for me. He remained at my cot conversing for about five minutes.

O'Mara's story was published when he was 84 years old, in 1931.3

Another such brief item concerning a meeting with Lincoln was the report of Thomas V. Johnson of Madison, New Jersey, who recalled being present when President Lincoln expressed his desire to hear the hymn, "Your Mission." According to Johnson's recollection, the occasion was a Christian Commission meeting at which Johnson sat within thirty feet of the President. Johnson recalled seeing Lincoln feeling in his pockets until he found a scrap of paper, probably an old envelope. Lincoln then scribbled something on the scrap of paper and passed it along quietly. Johnson later learned that Lincoln wrote on that scrap of paper the name of the hymn and a "beautiful expression of modesty,

'Do not say I asked for it.'

Another interesting reminiscence in this notebook contains perhaps more reliable information because it was a letter dated March 29, 1864. Bullard clipped the item from a newspaper account dated 1935. The letter was written by C.C. Parker, a chaplain in the Northern Army, apparently just a few days after he had attended a White House reception which he described.

From the Green Room Chaplain Parker could see in the Blue Room the "tall, gaunt, angular, unmistakable form and feature" of Lincoln, "with his deep, large eyes wide open toward us." After shaking hands with Lincoln, Parker next bowed to Mrs. Lincoln, sitting to the right and rear of the President. Parker's letter continued:

With all his homely features, Mr. Lincoln looked like Nature's noblemen, and when a smile came over his ordinar­ily intensely solemn face and he was about to make a funny speech, his face was singularly pleasant, every rough feature radiant with kindness and humor and geniality of his soul...

The President was dressed in full black with white kid gloves covering the extremities of his huge, long, ape-like arms and his collar low and turned down as you always see it in his pictures. Mrs. Lincoln was dressed very neatly and as described in the notice of the reception I cut out of the Republican of the next day and which I inclose. I think of nothing in addition but a gold comb in her hair.

Chaplain Parker noticed that the President continued shaking hands with the countless persons who attended the reception, often

\[4\) Ibid., June 26, 1921.\]
stopping an acquaintance and speaking to him in an apparently light, humorous mood. Finally, Major B.B. French, the "Master of Ceremonies," indicated to the President that the time had come for the final ceremony. The President rose, offered his arm to an elegant-looking (but not handsome) lady of middle age, and marched to the East Room, beginning the "promenade with which all such receptions close. Mrs. Lincoln followed three or four couples behind on the arm of General Schenck."5

Another clipping in Notebook 30, perhaps the most curious of all, is an obituary appearing in the New York Times in 1937, announcing the death of Mrs. Sarah C. Schoeffel. According to this account Mrs. Schoeffel, as a bride at twenty-five years of age, made her way across the Potomac River to her wounded husband fighting in the Union army. She not only devoted much time to hospital work and nursing soldiers in the war, but she was also, "as she liked to tell in years afterward," a friend of President Lincoln. She claimed that she went along with Lincoln on several flights over Fredericksburg to observe Confederate manoeuvres.6

These four items represent examples of sixty-odd clippings of reminiscences of Lincoln listed in Notebook 30. Another type of notebook in the Collection is devoted to a single subject in which Bullard collected as much material as he could from as varied a collection of sources as possible to reconstruct a particular incident of the Civil War, or the

5 Burlington Free Press, Feb. 12, 1935.
life of Lincoln, or an individual aspect of the Lincoln theme.

One such notebook is Notebook 47, titled "Grant's Terms to Lee, Sherman's Terms to Johnston: Inspired by Lincoln." Bullard assembled in this notebook one hundred and seventy-five pages of notes on the subject of the peace terms of Grant and Sherman as inspired by Lincoln. He carefully traced Lincoln's movements during the closing days of the Civil War while he was at City Point and during his conferences with Grant, Sherman, and Admiral Porter. In order to obtain a clear picture of Lincoln's movements during this period and also what happened at his conferences with his military commanders, Bullard carefully extracted items for this notebook from such varied sources as the Official Records of the Rebellion, the memoirs of the participants -- Grant, Sherman, and Porter, Welles' Diary, the biographies of Grant, the reminiscences of John Sherman, Carl Schurz, Charles A. Dana, the general histories of Nicolay and Hay, James F. Rhodes, and James G. Randall, among others. When his note-taking was concluded, Bullard was able to use the material he had collected to write a five-page memorandum on Lincoln's role in the negotiations with the Confederate armies.7

The memorandum was titled: "Lincoln at Appomattox." Of course, Bullard was well aware that Lincoln was not at the McLean farmhouse at the Virginia crossroads town on that historic occasion. Lincoln was aboard

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7 This memorandum is inserted in Notebook 87.
the River Queen on his way up the Potomac to Washington. Bullard noted that this was a day of relaxation for the President who spent much time talking with his guests on literary topics. It was on this occasion that he not only read passages from Shakespeare to Charles Sumner, but also "lingered upon" the famous lines in "Macbeth," how "after life's fitful fever" Duncan sleeps well, "beyond the reach of treason." The President, Bullard asserted, well knew that the final acts in the drama of the war were now at hand: he had spent two days in captured Richmond.

Although Lincoln was aboard the River Queen, and although his "towering figure" was not visible amidst the group at Appomattox (Grant and Lee were the principal actors there), Bullard maintained that Lincoln's hand "guided the fingers with which Grant wrote the terms of the surrender," and that Lincoln's wishes "dominated the mind of the Union commander." The words were Grant's, but the ideas were Lincoln's. In his public utterances the President had lucidly expressed his wishes for generous peace negotiations. Only twelve days before Appomattox the President had in a private conference with Grant, Sherman, and Porter dealt with the problems of peace and reconstruction of the Union. As a result, "what Grant and Lee signed at Appomattox represented the President's purposes. So did the convention subsequently disallowed, to which Sherman and "Joe" Johnston agreed eight days after Appomattox."8

8 Bullard's underscoring.
It was not difficult for Bullard to ascertain what Lincoln's wishes were regarding peace and reconstruction. Only five weeks previously Lincoln had delivered his Second Inaugural Address, containing those "glowing sentences" in which "the President opened his innermost heart for all the world to see." "With malice toward none; with charity for all" Lincoln proposed to "strive on" until "this mighty scourge of war" should have passed away. Since 1862 the state of Louisiana had been occupied by Union troops and Lincoln had established there his "ten per cent plan," a liberal system of bringing the state back into the Union as quickly and as easily as possible. While a small group of Senators, led by Benjamin F. Wade and Charles Sumner, had staged a filibuster which defeated the plan, the public knew that this method of reconstruction had been devised by Lincoln.

Bullard also found other "impressive illustrations of the spirit with which Lincoln desired peace to be consummated." One such incident, according to Bullard's findings, was the Hampton Roads Conference aboard the River Queen, just nine weeks before Appomattox. At this meeting the President of the United States and his Secretary of State, William H. Seward, sat across the table from three representatives of the Confederacy, including the Vice-President, Alexander H. Stephens. At this session Lincoln simply insisted upon three indispensable conditions: (1) "the national authority must be restored throughout all the states," (2) "slavery must end", and (3) "all forces hostile to the Union must disband." The meeting produced no important results, but on February 19, 1865, the President sent all the facts of the meeting to Congress. Here again,
as Bullard pointed out, Lincoln's plan for generous peace terms were well known throughout the country.

Going back a couple of months, Bullard found the "straight and simple" statement that Lincoln included in his annual message to Congress on December 6, 1864, which read: "They can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution." And in addition to these instances of Lincoln's wishes for a generous peace, Bullard also referred to the amnesty proclamations of December 8, 1863, and March 26, 1864. In the 1863 proclamation Lincoln offered a full pardon to all persons (with certain exceptions) who had taken part in the rebellion, and all rights of property except as to slaves would be restored to them on condition that they take and maintain the oath to "support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the union of the states thereunder," and to support "all acts of Congress passed during the ... rebellion with reference to slaves." Among the specified exceptions were various Confederate civil officers, jurists, and members of Congress who had renounced the Union and aided the rebellion, and officers above the rank of colonel in the army or of lieutenant in the navy. In the second proclamation, that of 1864, the President further defined the application of the amnesty proclamation. While it would not include prisoners, it would apply to persons "at large and free from arrest" who might "voluntarily come forward and take the said oath with the purpose of restoring peace and establishing the national authority."
All these writings and actions of the President dealing with amnesty and peace convinced Bullard that Lincoln's spirit determined the actions of both General Grant and Sherman:

Plainly the President was determined that there should be a peace without penalty... To trace the development of Lincoln's policy step by step during the final years of the war is to see how he constantly kept in view the purpose of preventing retributory measures. How completely he may have opened his mind to Grant and Sherman and Porter there is no way for us to know. There is no record of the words he used. But there is abundant evidence that they understood his spirit and were acquainted with many of the details of his policy when they negotiated the terms of surrender with the Confederate armies which confronted them.9

In this manner, Bullard was able to use the material he had patiently collected on Lincoln's activities during the late stages of the war and the data on Generals Grant and Sherman and Admiral Porter to prepare a memorandum of this type which concisely defines Lincoln's position on the questions of peace terms and reconstruction.

Of the notebooks in Bullard's Collection, number 87 is particularly remarkable. Unlike Notebook 47, this one contains brief notes on a wide variety of subjects that Bullard had collected through the years: Notes which he apparently intended eventually to investigate and to enlarge upon, if possible. Over seventy-five different topics are listed, and they combine rather effectively to answer emphatically in the

9 The writer has spelled out the abbreviations used by Bullard in this memorandum.
negative the suggestion that the Lincoln theme might be exhausted. It is possible here to cite only a few of the problems, questions, and unexplained references, noted by Bullard and filed away for future investigation.

One such problem was the question of how effective Lincoln was in keeping the Republican Party united during his lifetime, and why several so-called "Lincoln men" deserted the Party after Lincoln's death. The item, which Bullard included in this notebook for future study, was inspired by a letter from Professor James G. Randall to Bullard:

... It is an interesting fact that a considerable number of what might be called "Lincoln men" detached themselves from the Republican party (or the main branch of it) in the period after Lincoln's death. Among those of whom this can be said (dodging the question as to who were Lincoln men) are David Davis, O.H. Browning, Lyman Trumbull, William H. Herndon, Montgomery Blair, Horace Greeley, and many others. Of course, the difficulty about this subject of inquiry is that in the case of many Republicans of the Civil War period it would be inappropriate to use the term "Lincoln men." The point is that a number of prominent men who went along with the Republican party while Lincoln was President refused to support the regular party in the post-Lincoln period. A great many more could be added to the examples I have given.10

While the subject suggested by Randall is one of primary importance and one that would obviously require a large amount of research, another item in the notebook which Bullard intended to check is of less importance. In a life of General G.M. Dodge, Bullard came across a note that "the Morrissey-Heenan fisticuff in Canada in October, 1858,

attracted more attention than the debates at Quincy and Alton the same month.\textsuperscript{11} If this reference is correct, how much concerned were the American people of that day with the battle of the giants out in Illinois? Another brief note that attracted Bullard's attention and which he jotted down for future investigation was an account by Dr. Walter G. Kendall, who wrote that his grandfather had persuaded Abraham Lincoln to visit Dorchester, Massachusetts, on one of his campaign tours. When Lincoln arrived he "was roughly greeted and even stoned."\textsuperscript{12} (Bullard placed an exclamation point and question mark after this unusual quotation.) It is unfortunate that a Lincoln sleuth of Bullard's ability died before he had the opportunity to trace these two items. They represent just that kind of incident associated with Lincoln's life that Bullard could so competently explore and confirm as accurate or denounce as spurious.

Still another topic listed in Bullard's Notebook 87 was a passage from David Homer Bates' reminiscences of Lincoln. After citing the particular selection, Bullard could only write: "Who was he?" (with the intention of eventually identifying the person in question). The passage in question refers to an incident that happened on the way back to Washington following the Hampton Roads "Peace Conference," of 1865.


\textsuperscript{12} Walter G. Kendall, \textit{Four Score Years of Sport} (Boston: Stratford Co., 1933), p. 5.
Major Eckert, connected with the War Department, met an acquaintance who not only wanted to learn what happened at the conference but who was also eager enough to hand Eckert an envelope containing a check for one hundred thousand dollars. Eckert opened the envelope in Lincoln's presence and returned it to the man as the train was starting for Washington. Lincoln saw Eckert return the check and thereby learned the identity of Eckert's acquaintance. Lincoln kept the secret, relating the incident only to Secretary of War Stanton. However, Lincoln did recognize the man "as one prominent in political affairs and who had held a responsible position in one of the western states." It is not difficult to understand why Bullard, after jotting down this note, wrote: "Who was he?"

Because of their uniqueness and general interest, three other brief items that Bullard included in this notebook are listed here. The first dealt with the last sentence of Lincoln's autobiography: "no other marks or brands recollected." Although not listing his source for this note, Bullard included in his Notebook 87 the interesting information that this ending was the "usual form in which legal notices of animals strayed or stolen appeared in the newspapers." The second short item Bullard titled "Fatalism," and was based on three quotations from the

14 Lincoln, Collected Works, III, 512.
15 Notebook 87.
volume written by Mary Lincoln's niece, Katherine Helm. Miss Helm noted that "Mary Todd had a strong belief in predestination, ingrained in the blood of our Scottish Presbyterian ancestors"; and that both President and Mrs. Lincoln were "fatalists." Regarding this fatalism, Miss Helm wrote that in the case of Lincoln's assassination he was "passive, accepting, but never taking of his own accord, measures to prevent what he considered might be a preordained destiny." His wife, on the other hand, "would fight fate to the last gasp." This item was of sufficient interest to Bullard that he underlined the passage.

The third item, as Bullard explained it, was taken from "an old note." According to this note Lincoln and Hay one night carried to Seward's house, sometime in 1864, a work entitled, "English as she is spoke," a Portuguese guide to English conversation. The President and his aide intended to read some amusing passages to Secretary Seward. To Bullard this was just the kind of item that might have behind it an interesting story, one that would add to the known facts of Lincoln's personality.

But Bullard never found the opportunity to run down any of the three items.

Two more of the topics listed in Notebook 87 will be noted here.


17 Notebook 87.
They deal with somewhat more important aspects of the Lincoln theme than the three cited immediately above, and they also illustrate Bullard's inquisitiveness and diligence whenever the subject of Abraham Lincoln is concerned.

The first is based on a reference in the Diary of Orville H. Browning who observed that on December 29, 1862, the President read a whole pamphlet to him saying it was the "best thing he had seen." (It must have taken the President a good deal of time to read aloud the pamphlet; it was thirty-nine pages long.) In any case, Bullard was just inquisitive enough about this reference to obtain a copy of the work, How a Free People Conduct a Long War. He received on July 27, 1943, a copy in "excellent condition," read it, and concluded that it was "easy to see why Abraham Lincoln rated it as he did."

The pamphlet attempts to show the similarities in the frustrating campaigns of the British army on the Iberian Peninsular during the Napoleonic wars and the unsuccessful Union efforts in Virginia during the first year of the Civil War. The author was mildly dissatisfied with McClellan and noted that American officers who were trained at West Point, while well versed in theoretical strategy, were wanting in experience and

\[\text{18} \text{ Browning, Diary, I, 605.} \]
\[\text{19} \text{ Charles J. Stille, How a Free People Conduct a Long War: A Chapter from English History (Philadelphia: Collins, 1862).} \]
\[\text{20} \text{ Notebook 87.} \]
background in dealing with the American volunteer soldier. They were only trained to deal with what usually went into an army -- the worst elements of a given society. "The system of discipline," the author explained, was one modelled "upon the English, which is, with the exception of that in use in Russia, the most brutal and demoralizing known in any army in Europe."21 The author suggested that the military officers must learn to place more confidence in their men.

Also, in an effort to combat the idea held by many in the North that the Southern rebels could never be subjugated, the author offered the suggestion that all that was necessary to put down the revolt was to destroy "the Southern armies in the East and in the West." Then there would be peace, "on our own terms."22 This, of course, was precisely the position held by Lincoln during the war: that the proper objective of the Federal armies was the destruction of the Confederate armed forces, not the capture of Southern cities.

The second item is also rather significant. Bullard made a brief note to the effect that the New York Times had in March, 1865, twice included editorials that were highly appreciative of Lincoln as a President, and on a third occasion mildly praised his Second Inaugural Address. Again it is unfortunate to note that Bullard never was able to make a detailed study of the growing respect of contemporaries for

21 Stille, How a Free People Conduct a Long War, p. 35.
22 Ibid., p. 38.
Lincoln's term as President. That he intended to is indicated by the references to these *Times* editorials.

The first editorial was titled "Close of the Presidential term." The editor felt that after the four year term it was now possible to judge Lincoln's administration "comprehensively and justly." The President was commended for his patience in dealing with General McClellan and for his refusal to be stampeded into issuing the Emancipation Proclamation prematurely. The editor believed that in these matters Lincoln moved no faster than popular support would firmly follow. The result was that his final policy of "exterminating not only the rebellion, but the institution out of which it grew," was ratified by the populace in his reelection.

The concluding paragraph of the editorial is one that most people today would readily accept:

> Nobody pretends that this... term has been without errors. To say this would be to say that Mr. Lincoln is more than human. In the thick darkness that has so often closed in upon all public counsels, it would be miraculous if the President, like all our public men, had not sometimes made a misstep. He has sometimes erred, yet has always been quick to retrieve himself. The historian will be astonished as he scans Mr. Lincoln's path through all the immense difficulties of this Presidential term, that he has traversed it with such forecast, such firmness and such success.23

The second editorial appeared on the following day and suggested that Lincoln, while not a great genius that was called on by the Republic to save it from itself, rather belonged to that class "whom revolutionary times educate in political greatness." The President, the *Times* maintained.

had learned while in office and was far wiser and greater in 1865, after four years of serving as President. 24

The Times was perhaps not very wide of the mark in its evaluation of Lincoln's term of office, but the editor (as Bullard noted when he described the editorial as "mildly appreciative") was not quick to grasp the literary beauty of the Second Inaugural Address. The best the Times could do was to acknowledge its "extreme simplicity," "its calmness," "its modesty," and "its reserve." The newspaper could not anticipate that future generations would value it as a rhetorical classic. 25

Many other such brief notes, or "Cues," as Bullard called them, are contained in Notebook 87. As the references in this work to the notebooks dealing with Bullard's published works, his miscellaneous clippings, and his "Cues" have indicated, the completeness of these one hundred and thirty-odd notebooks is what makes them such an outstanding feature of Bullard's Lincoln Collection. A perusal of the section of the Appendix, which includes a listing of these notebooks and the subjects therein, will further suggest the wide variety of subjects dealing with the Lincoln theme with which Bullard was interested and in which he was well informed.

Along with the series of notebooks, another impressive division of Bullard's Lincoln Collection is his pamphlet file. Nearly two thousand

24 Ibid., Mar. 5, 1865.
25 Ibid., Mar. 6, 1865.
The Bullard Collection contains 1.52 separate pamphlets that are carefully and individually bound and catalogued, readily available for instantaneous reference. The oldest pamphlets in the group were published in 1832 and 1848, and deal with the presidential elections of those years; the most recent are pamphlets published near the end of Bullard's life. As an example of the later pamphlets in the Collection, one could cite the 1948 publication by Emory University of the address of a Southerner in 1865, in which the writer insisted that the Confederate leaders had nothing to do with the conspiracy which involved the Assassination of President Lincoln. The intervening years are represented in the Bullard Collection with pamphlets on such subjects as Slavery, the Civil War, Lincoln, and personalities of the Civil War era.

In order to provide some indication of the scope of the pamphlet file, the writer has separated the individual items into some general categories. This division, it is felt, suggests the many different types of subjects represented by the pamphlets. In the list below, the numerals following each category refer to the total number of pamphlets in the Bullard file in the category.

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1 The House that Jonathan Built, or Political Primer for 1832 (Philadelphia: P. Banks, 1832); General Taylor and Taylorism Exposed!!! (Lowell: Massachusetts Era Office, 1848). The former is an anti-Democratic tract condemning some activities of Jackson's vice-presidential candidate, Martin Van Buren; the latter is an anti-Zachary Taylor pamphlet.

2 James Harvey Young (ed.), Address of Beverley Tucker, Esq., to the People of the United States, 1865 (Atlanta: Emory University, 1948).
1. Appreciations of Lincoln, Addresses. 356
2. Civil War, Reconstruction, the Confederacy. 214
3. Lincoln's Assassination, J. Wilkes Booth, the Conspirators, the conspiracy trial. 193
4. Election campaigns, 1832 to 1868. 178
5. Lincoln memorials, monuments, programs, statues, photographs, paintings. 149
6. Miscellaneous 127
7. Lincoln Collections, collectors, bibliography, special Lincoln publications. 88
8. Biographical material on Lincoln's friends, associates, Civil War personalities. 70
9. Lincoln's writings and speeches. 64
10. Slavery and Emancipation. 64
11. Lincoln's life to 1861. 50
12. Lincoln poems, plays, and songs. 47
13. Lincoln's religion, his relations with religious groups. 44
14. Lincoln the President. 38
15. Lincoln's characteristics, moods, humor, personality. 35
16. Lincoln's family, ancestors. 29

Total 1746

(This total, 1746, would be increased to almost two thousand when added to the Bullard pamphlets shelved in the stacks of the Chenery Library in Boston University.)

Category number 3, including the pamphlets on Lincoln's assassination and the incidents and people connected with that act, is perhaps one of the most important in the whole pamphlet file. Most of the pamphlets in
that category represent the original printings of sermons delivered throughout the country at the time of Lincoln's death. Robert L. Kincaid, when he inspected Bullard's Collection in 1943, was particularly impressed by the quality of these "Assassination Sermons" in their original pamphlet form. William E. Barton, in an impressive study of the sermons dealing with Lincoln's death, found that the overwhelming majority of them were remarkably severe in their expressions of desire for revenge against the South, which they held responsible for Booth's act at Ford's Theatre. Bullard, himself, using his collection of these sermons arrived at the same conclusion concerning the general tenor of the remarks of the preachers.

The pamphlets, as James F. Rhodes had suggested, tended in general to demonstrate that theology in America during the Civil War was still permeated with the harsh doctrines brought over to America by the Puritans of an earlier era. In attempting to explain the reasons for the prevalence among the clergy of the desire for revenge, Rhodes wrote:

The Calvinistic sentiment of the country was still strong. "God's will be done" was the consolation offered to a sorrowing people; and the speakers, mainly from the pulpit, suggested reverently a version why God had suffered Lincoln to be assassinated: he would have been too merciful to the "traitors"; a sterner hand was needed to visit upon the "leaders of the rebellion" the punishment justly their due.

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3 Kincaid, Lincoln Herald, XLV (Oct., 1943), 20.


Bullard was familiar with both Barton's work and the quotation from Rhodes; and when he used his excellent collection of "Assassination Pamphlets" to provide a large selection of notes on the assassination, he found the same general attitude on the part of those delivering the sermons.

While it is not necessary to reexamine the collection of sermons to indicate the widespread desire for revenge on the part of the Northern clergymen, it would be useful to cite one example. The author of one pamphlet is so very impassioned in his exhortation advocating a severe peace with the South that Bullard was led to note that it ought to be compared with Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address. Apparently Lincoln's admonition that Northerners look to their Southern brothers, in 1865, not with malice in their hearts, but with charity, was promptly forgotten after April 15, 1865. Certainly the Reverend Alonzo H. Quint of the North Congregational Church of New Bedford, Massachusetts, had forgotten. In a sermon on "Southern Chivalry, and What the Nation Ought To Do With It," delivered on Easter Sunday afternoon, April 16, 1865, the Rev. Mr. Quint, after blaming "Southern Chivalry" for most of the ills that had befallen the nation during the war, advanced his explanation of the lesson given the North by Booth's tragic act:

It tells you, you have always been too lenient. You were too kind. You have played at war. Barbarians respect only force. You have not treated them rightly. In the very beginning, when Baltimore fired on our troops, you should have made a street a mile wide through Baltimore. When they hung men in Tennessee, you should have hung men in Louisiana. When they shot McCook, you should have shot Buckner. When they burnt

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6 Notebood 63.
Chambersburg, you should have burned Huntsville. When they shot black prisoners at Pillow, you should have shot white prisoners in South Carolina. That is hard? It is war. War is not play; it is not for women; it is not a lullaby for your children.

It tells you to be the instrument in God's hand of cleansing the land of its pollution. You were willing to leave the freedman without a voice, to the cruelty of the old rebels, were you? You were going to leave the property and life of the arch traitors, were you? You were going to let those men come back to Congress, and you would take, in yours, the hand red with your brother's blood, would you? The voice of Providence says you must have no fellowship with iniquity. 7

Unfortunately, these sermons in Bullard's Collection anticipate only too clearly what was in store for the South during the period of Reconstruction, once Lincoln was dead.

The category listed above containing the largest number of entries is that one including appreciations of Lincoln and addresses on Lincoln (mostly addresses delivered in commemoration of the date of Lincoln's birth and mostly, to a varying degree, panegyric in nature). An idea of the historical importance of most of these can readily be ascertained simply by glancing at their titles — "Abraham Lincoln, How He Made the Most of Himself," or "A Sublime Parallel: Lincoln and Jesus," for example. 8

However, a number of the items in this category are revealing in that they demonstrate how the politicians have taken over Lincoln for their


8 Charles G. Ames, Abraham Lincoln, How He Made the Most of Himself (Boston: Hahn and Harmon Co., 1908); Lester O. Schrider, A Sublime Parallel: Lincoln and Jesus (Peoria; privately printed, 1945).
own uses. Bullard's pamphlet file contains address on Lincoln by Republican presidents McKinley, Taft, Coolidge, and Hoover. Theodore Roosevelt is also represented: his article on Lincoln appears in Bullard's periodical file.9

To the Republicans, it was natural to use Lincoln as an introduction to political speeches. He was not only the first Republican president, but he was also an outstanding national hero as dear to Americans as only George Washington could be. William McKinley, a few months before his nomination as the Republican presidential candidate in 1896, delivered a Lincoln Day Address to the members of the Marquette Club of Chicago, in which, after paying his respects to the memory of the Civil War leader, plunged into the main topic of the day -- a defense of the tariff policies of his party that would be an issue in the November campaign.10

William Howard Taft, faced with an impending bolt of mid-Western progressives from the Grand Old Party, used Lincoln as a springboard from which he could both praise the party regulars and defend the tariff policies of his own administration. In this Lincoln Day Address of 1910, he first

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9 President Roosevelt did not use the occasion of Lincoln's Birthday to defend his administration or to castigate the opposition. Instead, he used Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixby to emphasize the glory involved both in giving one's life for his country and in giving up a son for the same cause. Lydia Bixby and her five sons, to Theodore Roosevelt, typified "all that is best and highest in our natural existence;" [Theodore Roosevelt,] "President Roosevelt's Tribute to Lincoln," American Review of Reviews, XXXIX (Feb., 1909), 171.

assured his listeners that "I am glad to be here," and then complimented them on being "stalwart" Republicans, who believed "in party organization and party discipline," two qualities the western insurgents did not possess.

In 1924, President Coolidge also used the occasion of a Lincoln Day Address to defend his brief tenure as President up to that time, and to suggest the paths his Administration would follow in the future. President Hoover, in 1939, in his role as elder statesman of the Republican Party, used the customary Lincoln celebration as an occasion to remind his listeners that the New Deal did not originate with Abraham Lincoln, and then to condemn the record of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration.

However, by the time of the Twentieth Century, Lincoln could not be considered the private property of the Republican Party. His fame was by now so universally accepted in the United States that even the Democratic Party could invoke his name in defense of its partisan programs. Unfortunately, the Bullard Collection does not have any pamphlets on Lincoln by Wilson, F. D. Roosevelt, or Truman, but it does include speeches of other Democrats who could show that Lincoln was really a Democrat,

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12 [Calvin Coolidge,] Address of the President of the United States before the National Republican Club at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 12, 1924 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924).

underneath his Republican exterior! Both Alben W. Barkley and Vito Marcantonio were able to use Lincoln in this way to defend the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.14 Perhaps the most eloquent of the defenders of the second Roosevelt was Harold L. Ickes. In an address delivered in Lincoln's home town, Springfield, the Secretary of the Interior in the Roosevelt Administration argued that the criticisms of Franklin D. Roosevelt were as silly as those of an earlier day levelled at President Lincoln. He reminded his listeners that the very phrases used were the same: "squelch the judiciary," "now seeks to absorb the legislative department," "approaching executive dictatorship," and "administrative despotism."15 Ickes also quoted from the New York World of 1863, which bitterly condemned Lincoln's Administration, and asked his audience if the World's editorial were not similar to what contemporary newspapers were printing about the New Deal.

The World editorial was as follows:

The administration... borrows its ideas and its policy
... from these crazy radicals... By surrendering itself
to their wild and reckless guidance it is ruining the
country...16

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16 Ibid., p. 2000
Perhaps the fact that Lincoln is so widely used in the partisan literature of the modern political parties attests to the greatness of the man.

A category less numerous than this one including addresses on Lincoln, but certainly far more important and valuable to the historian, is the selection of pamphlets relating to Lincoln's characteristics, moods, humor, personality, etc. While only thirty-five of the Bullard pamphlets fall in this category, they are particularly significant because they are based primarily on reminiscences of people who knew Lincoln well or who had met him on one or more occasions. Reminiscences by William Jayne, who knew Lincoln in Illinois; Noah Brooks, a close friend of the President during the Civil War; the artist F.B. Carpenter, who spent several months as a guest of the Lincolns in the White House; and William A. Croffut, who knew Lincoln in Washington; all these are the raw materials from which History is in large part derived.17 These men, in contact with Lincoln at one time or other, were in an excellent position to observe the President's personality and character.

One of the best of these items dealing with Lincoln's personality and habits while in Washington is a privately printed (1939) pamphlet

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17 William Jayne, Personal Reminiscences of the Martyred President, Abraham Lincoln (Chicago: privately printed, 1903); Noah Brooks, The Character and Religion of President Lincoln (Champlain, III.: privately printed, 1919); Frank B. Carpenter, Abraham Lincoln. Personal Recollections and Incidents of a Six Months' Sojourn in the White House during the Lincoln Administration, extract from Peterson Magazine, n.s. VI (Mar., 1896), 234-242.
which includes a reproduction of a letter of John Hay, written in 1866, while he was attached to the American legation at Paris, to William H. Herndon. Lincoln's law partner had begun accumulating as much information as possible for his projected Life of Lincoln, and had requested of Hay, Lincoln's secretary, some intimate facts of Lincoln's daily life and routine in the White House. Hay's reply, the pamphlet in question, is particularly illuminating.

In delineating Lincoln's White House routine, Hay noted that generally Lincoln would retire from ten to eleven o'clock, unless detained by important news from the war front, on which occasions he would frequently remain at the War Department until one or two a.m., He almost always rose early, Even when he lived in the country during the hot summer months, the President would rise, dress, eat an extremely frugal breakfast of an egg, a piece of toast, and coffee, and ride into the Capital, all before eight o'clock. While in the White House during the winter, Lincoln was not quite so early in rising. He "did not sleep very well, but spent a good while in bed." The President's son, Tad, would usually sleep with him. The young son, according to Hay, would lie around the office until he fell asleep, and Lincoln would then "shoulder him" and "take him off to bed."

Business in the White House was officially supposed to begin at ten o'clock in the morning, but in reality, as Hay explains, "the anterooms and halls were full before that hour," — filled with people "anxious to get the first axe ground." Both Hay and Lincoln's other
secretary, John G. Nicolay, conducted a "four-year struggle" to break the President of his extremely unmethodical habits and to adopt some systematic rules. But the President "would break through every regulation as fast as it was made." He disapproved of anything that would keep the people away from him, even though they "nearly annoyed the life out of him by unreasonable complaints and requests."

All day long the White House would remain full of these people with their demands. At noon, however, Lincoln would stop his work for a light lunch — a biscuit, a glass of milk in winter, and some "fruit or grapes in summer." He dined at from five to six in the afternoon. Usually, even before dinner was over Congressmen and Senators would visit him and "take up the whole evening." On a few rare occasions, continued Hay, Lincoln would "shut himself up" and refuse to see anyone. On other occasions he would "run away" to a lecture or concert or the theater "for the sake of a little rest."

Hay marvelled at Lincoln's light diet: he ate "less than any one I know." Also the secretary noted that the President drank nothing but water, not because he was a prohibitionist of any kind, but because he "did not like wine or spirits." Once, in the rather dark days early in the Civil War (according to an anecdote Hay included in this account) a Temperance Committee paid a visit to the White House and explained to the President that the reason the Union forces were not winning was that the army drank so much whiskey "as to bring down the curse of the Lord." Lincoln replied "drily that it was unfair on the part of the aforesaid
curse, as the other side drank more and worse whiskey than ours did.\textsuperscript{18}

One such pamphlet referring to Lincoln's personal habits is worth more than any number of addresses used to identify Lincoln with a partisan program of another era!

The examples cited above represent a cross-section of the pamphlets in Bullard's Collection. The material in all the categories range from items of high merit (like the Hay pamphlet) to those of dubious authenticity, like the pamphlet containing the Reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Emerson of Rockford, Illinois, who in 1909 could recall that more than fifty years before, Lincoln had spoken to Mr. Emerson of the "Saviour" with "such depth of earnestness" never before or since heard by the Emersons.\textsuperscript{19}

But, as indicated by the examples here cited, they not only include pamphlets varying in importance from most significant to next to useless, but also (of special consideration to collectors) do they range chronologically from 1832 to the present day. And it is for these reasons that one can understand why Dr. Kincaid was so greatly impressed when he first viewed the Bullard pamphlet collection.

\textsuperscript{18} John Hay, \textit{Abraham Lincoln} (New York: privately printed, 1939). The letter may also be found in the Hertz, \textit{Hidden Lincoln}, pp. 307-308.

\textsuperscript{19} Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Emerson, \textit{Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln} (Rockford, Ill.: Wilson Bros., 1909), p. 11.
In the same way that the pamphlets cover all facets of Lincoln's life and career, and chronologically include items from Lincoln's day down to the death of Bullard, the magazine files in the Bullard Collection also cover the Lincoln theme comprehensively, both chronologically and subject-wise. Two viewers of the Bullard magazine files have written of this impressive feature of Dr. Bullard's library.\footnote{Kincaid, \textit{Lincoln Herald}, XLV (Oct., 1943), 20; Robert E. Moody, "The Lincoln Library of F. Lauriston Bullard," \textit{ibid.}, LVI (Fall, 1951), 11.} Approximately four thousand magazine articles dealing with the subjects of Lincoln and the Civil War are bound together in one hundred and twenty-five separate volumes. The articles were extracted from four hundred and twelve separate periodicals, three hundred and twenty of which are magazines of general circulation; seventy, publications issued by state, local and special historical societies; fourteen, law magazines; and eight college and school magazines.\footnote{Notebook 99.}

It is possible, in order to emphasize the scope of the magazine articles in the collection treating with the subject of Abraham Lincoln, to divide them by the years of their publication, and as a result, to observe if any special trends are noticeable in both the quantity and quality of Lincoln periodical literature.

Two thousand and five articles in the magazine files have been listed in a special bibliography of periodical literature on Lincoln.
In determining which articles should be placed in the category of "Lincoln" articles, the writer used as a guide the definition used by Jay Monaghan in his bibliography of Lincoln books.3

It was thus decided that the Lincoln magazine bibliography would include all articles dealing principally with (1) Abraham Lincoln (2) his ancestry, (3) his wife, children, stepmother, and sister, or (4) having the name of Lincoln prominently in their titles. Unlike the Monaghan bibliography, the magazine bibliography for the Bullard Collection included material on Lincoln's son Robert. This inclusion involved only the addition of a few articles.

Once Bullard's Lincoln articles are divided according to their dates of publication, one may then compare the trends in the printing of periodical literature on Lincoln to the trends Monaghan observed in the yearly publications of books on Lincoln. In his study, "The Growth of Abraham Lincoln's Influence in Literature since His Death"4 Monaghan was able to show the fluctuations during the decades since Lincoln's death in the number of Lincoln publications, and to advance some explanations for the rise and fall in the output of books dealing with President Lincoln. The same can be done with Lincoln articles.

3 Monaghan, Lincoln Bibliography, I, xxvi.

There are many parallels in the chart included in Monaghan's article and in the statistics dealing with the Bullard Collection magazine articles (the graph in the Appendix indicates this). The similarities are not too great in the early period (1865-1909), but this can be explained by noting that the Monaghan findings must be considered far more exhaustive than the total number of articles in Bullard's Collection. It was far easier for Dr. Bullard to accumulate Lincoln articles that were published during the period he was an active collector in the field of Lincolniana than it was to gather back numbers of magazines that were issued many years before. Therefore, the number of articles for each of the years before 1909 is probably greater than the Bullard Collection indicates; but nevertheless, it is not likely that the complete list of periodical literature on Lincoln for those earlier years would greatly alter the fluctuations in the number of items available from year to year.

Monaghan noted that in 1865 there were four hundred and sixty-two published volumes on Lincoln, but that the overwhelming majority of them were printed sermons at the time of Lincoln's assassination. Apparently those who could not have their sermons printed separately settled for having them included in various periodicals. In the May and June issues of *Hours at Home*, *The Eclectic Magazine*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The National Pioneer*, *The National Preacher*, and others, many assassination sermons were printed under such titles as "The
National Bereavement," "Personal Forgiveness and Public Justice," and "In Memoriam of President Lincoln," and written by such personages as Henry Ward Beecher and Phineas D. Gurley, among others. However, there were also printed during this time, as the Bullard Collection indicates, a few recollections of Lincoln, anticipating what would later appear in greater abundance. Frank B. Carpenter included some reminiscences of his stay at the White House in a published article, and Noah Brooks also released some of his personal recollections of Lincoln. Both would use these in their famous books on the same subject.

Interest in the Lincoln theme began to falter after the brief flurry after the time of the assassination, and the decade from 1866 to 1875 produced few works on Lincoln, both in the nature of books and magazine articles. The files of the Collection show that Dr. Bullard could only obtain one item each for the year 1867, 1868, and 1871. No items are listed for the years 1869 and 1874. Monaghan presented a possible explanation for this dearth of Lincoln interest during the period. He suggested that during these tumultuous times of Radical Reconstruction and Grantism idealists who would be expected to draw

inspiration from the life of Lincoln were repulsed by the political and moral corruption of the party associates of Lincoln who were now running the government.

In the period from 1875 to 1890, Monaghan found that the number of Lincoln books began to increase appreciably. President Garfield's assassination prompted writers to recall the earlier tragedy. Also it was during these fifteen years that many books of high quality were published. The magazine file in the Bullard Collection indicates the same tendencies in periodical literature, except that the upswing, according to Dr. Bullard's magazine collection, does not begin until about 1885. One strongly suspects that in this case the Bullard Collection lacks the articles for the period before 1885 that would show a closer correlation with Monaghan's findings. But the Bullard Collection does indicate not only that there was a sudden increase (at least after 1885) in production, but that also the articles themselves were of lasting importance. Gideon Welles began to refer to his famous Diary and to publish the results in highly significant pieces. In 1876 and 1877 Welles wrote in The Galaxy of Lincoln's policies in 1861 and of his willingness to cooperate with the Democrats in the interest of victory, once the war began. In the first article Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy observed that the President's policy regarding Fort Sumter indicated that Lincoln would take counsel with others (his Cabinet in this case), but that he would nevertheless make his own decisions. In the second Welles maintained that despite the fact that Lincoln received
no cooperation from the Democratic administration of President Buchanan in 1861, he was willing in 1864 to do his utmost to help General McClellan, in the event the Democrats should win control of the White House in the November election of that year.6 The noted sculptor, Leonard Volk, also during this era, published in 1881 the account of Lincoln's sitting for the famous Volk life mask, a study7 still frequently referred to.

Another important magazine item published in this period was Alexander T. Rice's "A Famous Diplomatic Dispatch," which appeared in the North American Review of April, 1886. For the first time, and apparently over the protest of the few people who were aware of its existence,8 Rice's article included a reproduction of the original dispatch of Secretary of State Seward to Ambassador Charles F. Adams in London, dealing with British intercourse with Confederate leaders and more commonly known today as "Despatch no. 10," or "Seward's bold remonstrance." The particular importance of the document was that its


8 Randall, Lincoln the President, II, 33-34.
publication in Rice's *North American Review* showed that Lincoln had read Seward's memorandum and had made a few pertinent changes, altering a bellicose document into a more moderate and restrained one.

Perhaps the most important incident in all Lincoln bibliography during this period was the publication in serialized version of Nicolay and Hay's biography of Lincoln, in *Century Magazine*, beginning in November of 1886, and appearing regularly until April, 1890. Monaghan listed this publication as a great impetus to the general interest in the Lincoln theme. What could also be added to this "official" biography are (1) Hay's account of the daily routine in the White House during the Civil War, dealing as it did with more intimate matters of Lincoln not included in the larger work, but delightfully complementing the biography, and (2) Nicolay's study of Lincoln's personal appearance, which was printed the following year.10

Nicolay and Hay, with their monumental study paved the way for the increased interest in Lincoln during the 1900-1910 decade, as evidenced by the sudden increase in Lincoln publications indicated by Monaghan's work. The magazine file in the Bullard Collection shows the same trend for the period. It was in this era that Ida M. Tarbell published her popular life of Lincoln in *McClure's*, running from November, 9

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1895, to October, 1899. Monaghan pointed out that publishers' records available for the period indicated that general book publishing suffered from the Panic of 1893, but that this did not seriously affect Lincoln publications. This was the generation that was not involved in the bloody Civil War and now looked back romantically at it as a gentleman's war. A glance at the chart in the Appendix will show that there was also no appreciable decline in magazine articles on Lincoln during this same era.

The most striking publishing fact of this 1900-1910 decade was the huge outpouring of both books and magazine articles on Lincoln during the year 1909. This, of course, was the Centennial Anniversary Year of Lincoln's birth, and more books and more magazine articles were published in this year than in any other one before or since. (It is not difficult to understand why this year marked the beginning of Bullard's venture into the publishing world of Lincolniana.) Unfortunately, as Monaghan pointed out, the writings in this period were less important historically and of less scholarly merit than those of the preceding decade. Too many of these works of 1909 were like the essay by George L. Knapp which praised Lincoln's human heart, his gentle patience, and his all-embracing sympathy, all of which combined with his great intellect (according to Knapp) to make him the ranking national hero.11

Following the Centennial Year with its exceptionally large number of writings on Lincoln, the year 1910 witnessed a sharp decline in Lincoln publications. This was true, according to the Bullard magazine files, in periodical literature as well as in books, as Monaghan had demonstrated. Nevertheless, despite an apparent reaction to Lincoln publications in 1910, the decade from 1910 to 1920 represented a rise in the number of books and articles on Lincoln. It was during this period that Woodrow Wilson made Lincoln a hero for all Americans — not just Republicans. In an article in *Current Opinion*, the President interpreted Lincoln as a "mysterious but reassuring product of democracy."

With Lincoln emerging as the popular figure of American history, the general public now became interested in many phases of his life — but, not exactly in the type of literature about Lincoln that would generally interest the historians. For example, during this period, there is widespread concern about the many monuments being erected in honor of Lincoln. In the years 1912, 1913, and 1914, there were many articles dealing particularly with the Lincoln Memorial being planned and constructed in the nation's capital. When people complained that the Lincoln of the Memorial in Washington was more of an anciet Greek statesman than a man of the American frontier, the defenders of the architectural design of the Memorial were quick to

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offer the rejoinder that the pillars of the Memorial -- the whole scheme of the Memorial, was designed to recall the "common heritage of civilization."\textsuperscript{13}

The year 1913 was also the fiftieth anniversary of the Address at Gettysburg, and as one would expect it produced a fair share of writings on Lincoln's "appropriate remarks"; but here again the quality of the writings was not especially great: they were mostly popular condensations of what was already known. Jesse W. Weik and James G. Wilson both wrote articles in 1913 with the same title, "Lincoln's Gettysburg Address." However, while the studies dealt with the sentiments of the Address and even contained handsome facsimiles, they fundamentally did not offer to the public any basically new information concerning Lincoln's immortal words.\textsuperscript{14}

Inevitably, the popularization of Lincoln during this period resulted in his becoming involved in the political questions of the day. Harper's Weekly, for example, in its Lincoln's Birthday issue of 1915, invited six writers (none of them known as outstanding Lincolnians) to answer the questions, "What Would Lincoln Say Today?" --

\textsuperscript{13} C. Grant La Farge, "Lincoln and Compulsory Greek," The Independent, LXXIV (Mar. 27, 1913), 693-94. The Feb. 6, 1913, edition of The Independent contained an unsigned article, "How Lincoln Would Have Laughed," condemning the proposed Lincoln Memorial which, it was felt contained nothing that would remind one of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 280-81.

\textsuperscript{14} Jesse W. Weik, "Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," The Outlook, CIV (July 12, 1913), 572-74; James Grant Wilson, "Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," The Independent, LXXIV (April 24, 1913), 910-12.
Would he be for or against President Wilson? Harper's also, in the same issue, used Lincoln's opposition to Polk's Mexican policy as a counter-balance to those Americans in 1916 who advocated intervention in the Mexican Revolution.

The popularity of Lincoln, if Monaghan's bibliography and Bullard's Lincoln magazine file represent true barometers, increased rapidly during the Twenties. Particularly significant concerning the publications in this decade was the fact that not only did the "popular" studies of Lincoln increase, but also critical works by competent historians now appear in ever increasing numbers. It was in this decade that Carl Sandburg published his two volumes on Lincoln's *Prairie Years*. While not strictly accurate, the volumes were written in that inimitable "poetic" prose that Sandburg knows how to write so well, and they captured the attention of the American public.

Sandburg's work was a distinct literary contribution of the first order, but what was more important, in the field of historiography, was the large number of contributions by scholars using a critical approach. In Springfield, Illinois, the Abraham Lincoln Association was established, under the competent leadership of Logan Hay, and also during the first five years of the decade William E. Barton published five books in rapid succession, all dealing in a scholarly manner with the Lincoln theme. During the same period Louis A. Warren began publishing his researches into the Lincoln ancestry theme. The Lincoln story, historically, had now "come of age."
As Monaghan indicates, Dr. Barton was busy during this period publishing his monographs on Lincoln, but the Bullard magazine files also indicate that he was contributing a number of items to the growing periodical literature on Abraham Lincoln. Thirty-one Barton articles are included in the Bullard Collection for this decade. These particular studies covered many facets of Lincoln's life. Many of them treated with various aspects of Lincoln's ancestry, a subject in which Barton had done an enormous amount of research. In one of these, Barton discusses the Catholic branch of the Lincoln family and clears the confused reports that Lincoln might have often, as a young lad, attended Roman Catholic services. The report was widely circulated in the 1920's, and was even referred to publicly by Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago. Dr. Barton explained that the confusion was perfectly understandable. There was a Catholic branch of the Lincoln family, and this branch had a boy, about Lincoln's age, with the identical name of Abraham Lincoln.15

Not only did Barton write of the ancestry and family life of Lincoln, but he also contributed items on such subjects as the Bixby letter, in which he advanced the opinion that the facsimiles of the letter being circulated were forgeries; photographs of Lincoln; and a study of how sculptors have treated Lincoln down through the

years. 16

Professional historians also made some important contributions to the Lincoln theme during this period. The Harvard Graduate Magazine, in its September, 1925, issue, included a study by James F. Rhodes on Lincoln in "Some Phases of the Civil War." Rhodes concluded that even with his weaknesses Lincoln was a greater benefactor of his country than was Caesar of the Roman Empire. Historian A.C. Cole in the following year published an article on Lincoln and civil liberties in which the historian found that Lincoln made an honest effort during his administration "to maintain the American tradition of civil liberty." 17 Carl Russel Fish had previously demonstrated to be a fake the Chiniquy story quoting Lincoln as an anti-papist and blaming popery as the cause of the Civil War. 18 In the field of the military history of the Civil War, the Britisher Frederick Maurice published two articles dealing with Lincoln's abilities as an outstanding war strategist. 19

The latter half of the decade, 1920-1930, also represented the beginning of the careers of two historians who would become


particularly prominent in the Lincoln field in a later period: James G. Randall and Paul M. Angle. The Bullard Collection has two studies by Randall, published during the Twenties, in which the author acknowledges that during the Civil War the "Rule of Law" broke down, that constitutional and legal restraints did not operate fully, but that basically Lincoln's unusually strong measures during this national emergency were used to preserve democracy. The emergence of Angle illustrates the growing interest of the professional historians in the Lincoln field and the implications of their work. It was at the end of 1928 that Wilma Frances Minor published in the Atlantic Monthly her account of Lincoln's life in New Salem and his love for Ann Rutledge. Using the critical methods expected of an historian, Angle was able to prove conclusively that Miss Minor's documents were outright forgeries and that they should never have been published in a responsible magazine as "authentic."

The twenty years following 1930 produced even more studies of Lincoln -- both in magazines and books. And, the general tendencies of the 1920's continued into the next period, or at least to 1945. Although Dr. Barton died during the early part of this period, the work by competent scholars was now carried on by a more numerous list of Lincoln


historians. The Lincoln Herald and the Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, beginning in this period, concentrated almost exclusively on studies by outstanding scholars on the Lincoln theme. The familiar names of Paul M. Angle, Louis A. Warren, Harry E. Pratt, F. Lauriston Bullard, Benjamin P. Thomas, R. Gerald McMurtry, and Jay Monaghan, to cite a few, contributed studies to various periodicals on a rather extensive scale, but always on a level consistent with the best historical standards.

At the same time there was obviously a growing number of laymen interested in collecting Lincolniana, and as a result the magazine printed a surprising number of articles devoted to descriptions of various private and public collections. Both the Lincoln Herald and the Abraham Lincoln Quarterly printed a series of articles describing some of the outstanding Lincoln collections either in private possession or deposited in public institutions. Over fifty different articles in this period described many of the more famous of these collections. The private collectors were represented by descriptions of the Lincoln Libraries of William H. Townsend, Henry M. Leland, Anthony L. Maresch, Henry Horner, M.L. Houser, F. Lauriston Bullard, F. Ray Risdon, among others. The well known public institutions possessing Lincoln collections — the Lincoln National Life Foundation, Illinois State Historical Society, Brown University, the Chicago Historical Society, — all were well represented.
Both the Monaghan findings and the Bullard Collection indicate that in the last five years of this period (1945-1950) there was an appreciable decline in the numbers of published books and articles on Lincoln. Monaghan properly pointed out that book publishing costs had become prohibitive after the Second World War, and as a result the number being published decreased. Just how much the post-war high cost of living curtailed the publication of magazines is not too easy to tell by looking at the graph for the Bullard Collection. The appended chart indicates clearly that the number of magazine articles in the Collection decreased sharply, but this was probably due in part to the fact that Bullard was becoming increasingly unable, physically, to conduct his visits to bookstores and magazine counters in search of articles on Lincoln. However, the high cost of living did result in the suspension of many magazines aimed at the tastes of the general public that would often include "popular" studies of Lincoln. These have been replaced by "pulp" magazines whose editors are not inclined to include "popular" studies of Lincoln: certainly not very frequently.

Nevertheless, as both the Monaghan bibliography and the Bullard magazine files show, this is not a serious blow to the study of Lincoln. Good books on Lincoln are being published, and the historical magazines and quarterlies continue to include outstanding studies dealing with the life of Lincoln.

In any case, Bullard's magazine file does show a remarkable similarity to the findings of Monaghan regarding Lincoln books. These
articles in the Bullard Collection, used in the preparation of this survey, it should be noted, are "actual articles, short or long, not paragraphs," as Bullard explained it. Bullard once was told that his Lincoln and Civil War magazine collection was the "largest collection in existence." Whether true or not, as Bullard wrote, "I do not know. I do know that it stands for a vast amount of labor and patient excavation in secondhand bookshops."\(^{22}\)

If one hundred and twenty-five notebooks filled with clippings and notes, two thousand pamphlets and four thousand magazine articles, covering the subjects of Lincoln and the Civil War, comprise the most interesting sections of his collection, the twenty-five hundred-odd books\(^1\) represent the most basic (if most prosaic) division of F. Lauriston Bullard's Lincoln Collection. Bullard was first of all a student of Lincoln, and only second, a collector. Nevertheless his Lincoln Library would compare favorably with that of most private collectors. Of the sixty-nine works listed as "Basic Lincolniana" by Paul M. Angle in 1936,\(^2\) Bullard had all except two -- Meserve's The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln and the Oakleaf Lincoln Bibliography.\(^3\)

\(^{22}\) Notebook 99, p. 35.

\(^1\) Moody, Lincoln Herald, LVI (Fall, 1954), 12.


\(^3\) Frederick H. Meserve, The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln (New York:
Of the eight hundred and seventeen titles listed in Professor Randall's *Civil War and Reconstruction* (exclusive of the seventy-one titles on Reconstruction), Bullard had in his collection five hundred and nine.

Also, among the necessary tools of any person working on the Lincoln theme, the issues of *Lincoln Lore* and the *Bulletin of the Abraham Lincoln Association* (no longer published) are basic. Bullard had a complete file of each of the two items. For sheer bulk, the Collection contained the complete file of the *Congressional Globe* from 1853 through 1874 (eighty-two volumes in all) and also the one hundred and thirty volumes of the *Official Records* of the Rebellion, together with the official, unbound maps that complement the *Official Records*. Bullard was also able to obtain the *Congressional Globe and the Journal* for the Congress in which Lincoln served his single term.

Most of the standard works on Lincoln are included in the Bullard Collection, including twenty-five Lives of Lincoln in twelve foreign languages.

One section of the Bullard Library is comprised of a limited number of relatively rare books that Bullard explained "are associated in important ways with Lincoln." One such book is *The Christian's Defense* by James Smith. Smith was pastor of the Presbyterian Church

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in Springfield which the Lincolns attended and contains a "powerful statement of the orthodox arguments against infidelity." Bullard explained in his notes that William E. Barton was particularly interested in this book and that Barton knew of only nine copies, "He did not know," Bullard wrote, "of the copy in Fort Wayne nor of mine." Copies of the same editions of books that Lincoln read included the George D. Prentice biography of Henry Clay; a first edition of William Grimshaw's *History of the United States*, a work which "powerfully influenced young 'Abe' Lincoln"; William Scott's *Lessons in Elocution; Playfair's Euclid*, and Gibson's *Surveying*, "the work which Lincoln said he studied."6

In the field of biography Bullard noted that he possessed biographies and reminiscences of "nearly all the public men" of influence, "both for and against Lincoln," during his period of prominence -- the last decade of his life. This list included biographies of Cabinet members, Senators and Congressmen, Governors, Editors, businessmen, and "agitators."7 In the Civil War section, the library includes nearly all the standard works on the battles and military leaders, as well as American relations with Europe during

5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 21.
the War.

Bullard called his library a "working collection," that is, one that would be used by a scholar in the Lincoln field. For that reason he included in his library "certain books no 'Collector' would include..." These books were in the Bullard Collection because they included small items about Lincoln, some "interesting, but not important," and others of some significance. One such book that Bullard considered worthy of inclusion in his collection is An Epistle to Posterity, by M.E.W. Sherwood, In this book there is an account stating that while Lincoln was in Congress the daughter of General James Wilson "once saw him, John Wentworth, Robert C. Winthrop, and my father talking together in the lobby, and my father, who was six feet four, was the shortest of the quartette." As Bullard noted, this was not very important but interesting, if only because Winthrop a Proper Bostonian, "the Speaker of the House, and Lincoln were separated by a great social gulf."

Among the books containing more important references to Lincoln was Lanes of Memory, by George S. Hellman. A single page in this work contains the statement that Lincoln wrote "some of his immortal words" on the way to Gettysburg, -- or "made some changes

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8 Ibid., p. 27.
10 Notebook 99, p. 29.
in his manuscript" on the train, using a pencil borrowed from young Andrew Carnegie. 12 This was an error. Andrew Carnegie was not on that train, as Bullard had demonstrated in his work on the Gettysburg Address. Another of these volumes Bullard obtained because of brief references to Lincoln was the autobiography of the famous geologist, Nathaniel Southgate. This work contains the "only account in existence of a visit made by Lincoln at his grandfather's house at Newport, Kentucky." Bullard further noted that this incident remained "unknown, apparently, until I discovered this." 13 Still another book Earl Curzon's Modern Parliamentary Eloquence 14 found a place for itself on Bullard's shelves because it contains Lord Curzon's choices of three masterpieces of speeches in the English language during the Nineteenth Century: Pitt's response to a toast after the Battle of Trafalgar, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and Lincoln's Second Inaugural.

Along with the published material on Lincoln, the Bullard Collection contains literally hundreds of letters sent to Bullard by various scholars at one time or other, discussing various aspects of the Lincoln theme, asking for particular information on a given subject, or offering Bullard some pertinent facts, as a result of the correspondents' researches. Throughout this paper the writer has included a

12 Notebook 19, p. 27.
13 Ibid.
14 London, 1913.
number of such communications which adequately demonstrate what the Bullard letter files contain. Bullard was not at all a wealthy man, and he could not, as a result, indulge in the luxury of collecting rare letters and manuscripts of Civil War personages. This is not especially a serious defect in the Lincoln Collection of a scholar. Bullard was a student first and a collector afterward. As such he was able to obtain photostats of many of the important documents necessary for the study of Lincoln and the Civil War. As a result, his lack of original manuscripts did not seriously hamper his work.

However, he was able to collect a few letters of Civil War people that represent an interesting, although small, section of his collection. His correspondence with Adelina Patti and Robert Todd Lincoln has been noted in preceding chapters. One other letter deserves special notice because it reflects the antipathy of the Northern Free Soilers to Daniel Webster after the Massachusetts Senator had made his famous "Seventh of March" speech in support of the Compromise of 1850. The letter in the Bullard Collection was written by John A. Andrew, later to become Governor of Massachusetts, and is dated March 16, 1850. It shows remarkably well the unbending attitude of Northern Abolitionists who would not compromise with the institution of slavery. Writing to a New York Free Soiler, Andrew gave full vent to his dislike of Webster:
... I want words for my sense of injury and disgust when I think of him. The Free Soilers have always treated him with great kindness and forbearance. They have hoped and expected that he would eventually help the cause of freedom... They have hoped that the day of his deliverance would come, when ambition and personal obligations and the votes of party and political connections would all lose their controlling power, or meet some counteracting current by means of which, through the action of disinterested convictions or else of a higher and cleaner interest, he would be found ranked as an open and effectual ally, of not a soldier in the same army. No man has received more charity -- and under circumstances, too, which hardly called for it. And now an act of uncalled for and unparalleled treachery to the cause of liberty has sunk him lower in the estimation of all men here of strong anti-slavery opinions, lower than any other man who walks or crawls the earth...

I hope this open defection from an apparent and supposed friendship for the Proviso of freedom, this open alliance with slave catchers, this open advocacy of extending slave representation by Mr. Webster and some of his friends will tend to unseal many blinded eyes...

When one reads of this intensity of feeling among Northerners, he is truly impressed by Lincoln's ability to remain a moderate all through the crises of mid-Nineteenth Century America.

Notebooks, pamphlets, magazine articles, books, letters, all combine to make Bullard's Lincoln Collection the means through which the watchdog who desired to keep the "Lincoln record accurate" could carry on his work. But a collection of this size could easily prove to be overwhelming; too many individual items could make it difficult for the student to remember a reference dealing with a given subject. Bullard was not only aware of this danger, but he also did something

15 Box, Autographs.
to avoid such a pitfall. How he found the time to do it must remain a "minor miracle," but Dr. Bullard catalogued every individual item in his Collection, both by author and subject, and in this manner tied together every possible loose end of his magnificent Lincoln library. One complete drawer of 3x5 cards is devoted, for example, to subject matter on "Lincoln and": "Lincoln and Fort Sumter," Lincoln and Anna Ella Carroll," "Lincoln and Prohibition," and several hundred others. The complete catalogue represents an index unsurpassed by any in a given published volume on Lincoln. Thus the value of Bullard's Lincoln Collection lies in its functional aspects. Dr. Bullard made certain that his library would be easy to use to its fullest advantage. It is to the credit of Boston University Library, where the Collection is now housed, that all efforts are being made to add to the Bullard Collection exactly in the same way that Dr. Bullard had done during the years that he devoted his "spare time (?)" to the study of Lincoln, and that Bullard's Collection is open to all qualified students interested in the subject of Abraham Lincoln.
In his fascinating study of Lincoln's biographers, Benjamin P. Thomas noted that two schools of thought emerge regarding the way to write about Lincoln. One school would depict him as the national hero possessing all the attributes a national hero is supposed to have. The other school insisted that Lincoln should be represented exactly as he was. While the reading public of the Nineteenth Century favored the former view, today "people want the facts." ¹ F. Lauriston Bullard, although he never wrote a full-length biography of Lincoln, and although he spent most of his time as a "watch dog" in the field, did contribute two important essays in which he attempted to follow the rule of showing Lincoln as he really was. In so doing Bullard produced an invaluable evaluation of Lincoln and one, even with "the facts," that does not tarnish the reputation of the Sixteenth President.

The first essay to be discussed here was published posthumously by the Boston University Press in 1952 and poses and attempts to answer the question: Was Lincoln a gentleman?²

To answer this question Bullard investigated the many charges of Lincoln's lack of gentility and the equally numerous reports of the Westerner's freedom from the usual crudities found in frontiersmen. That Lincoln was praised for being a gentleman and condemned for being "vulgar," "indecent," and "cruel," Bullard found fairly easy to document. In his Phi Beta Kappa poem in 1865 at Harvard University, George H. Boker proudly recited:

No king this man, by grace of God's intent;
No, something better, freemen, -- President!
A nature modelled on a higher plan,
Lord of himself, an inborn gentleman!³

But, by way of contrast, Bullard cited an item in the Confederate Veteran, in 1909, in which a lady commenting on the celebration of Lincoln's birthday, included these questions and opinions: "Was Mr. Lincoln a man of high ideals? Was he a

³ Quoted in ibid., p. 2.
Christian, a gentleman?" The writer then answered most emphatically her own question: "Facts compel us to say: 'He was a hypocrite in religion, a vulgar buffoon, indecent in his anecdotes, and cruel in his instincts.'"4

These accounts represent two seemingly irreconcilable contradictions. Perhaps, however, William Howard Russell, the celebrated correspondent of the *London Times*, was able to detect in the short period of time he was in Lincoln's presence the reasons that caused so many people to have such contradictory views of the President. Russell was introduced to Lincoln in the White House a few weeks after the first inauguration and described him rather vividly -- the "shambling" gait, the "extraordinary" dimensions of his hands and feet, the "thatch of wild republican hair," the "prodigious" mouth, "the eyes dark, full and deeply set, penetrating, but full of an expression which almost amounts to tenderness." The newspaperman also commented on the opinions of Lincoln held by Americans!

A person who met Mr. Lincoln in the street would not take him to be what -- according to the usages of European society -- is called a "gentleman"; and indeed, since I came to the United States, I have heard more disparaging allusions made by

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Russell also was able to appreciate the real significance of Lincoln's custom of indulging in broad humor. The reporter attended a dinner at the White House, along with the Vice-President, members of the cabinet and their ladies. While the party was awaiting the appearance of General Scott before going in to dinner, Russell "was amused to observe the manner in which Mr. Lincoln used the anecdotes for which he was famous. Where men bred in courts, accustomed to the world, or versed in diplomacy, would use some subterfuge, or would make a polite speech, or give a shrug of the shoulders as the means of getting out of an embarrassing position, Mr. Lincoln raised a laugh by some bold west-country anecdote, and moves off in the cloud of merriment produced by his joke." Russell added to this statement by telling how the President used the method of an anecdote to evade a reply to an embarrassing question of the Attorney General.

As to the nature of these anecdotes, Bullard is quite specific. With "regret," he concedes that both in the West and

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6 Ibid., pp. 43-44, Bullard, Was Lincoln a Gentleman, p. 3.
in Washington Lincoln "told broad stories." But what is significant is that these "broad stories" were never told simply because they were broad. Lincoln used them rather to emphasize a point. Bullard found excellent evidence to support this belief. In 1867, for example, George Alfred Townsend visited William H. Herndon and included this statement in his report of the interview: "'Some of those stories were more cogent than delicate,' said Mr. Herndon, 'yet in no single case was he ever remembered to have told an exceptional anecdote for the sake of that in which it was exceptional.'" Townsend added that Herndon remembered one person who so mistook Lincoln once as to tell a coarse story without a purpose. "During the recital," remarked Herndon, "Mr. Lincoln's face worked impatiently. When the man had gone he said: 'I had nearly put that fellow out of the office. He disgusts me.'"

On another occasion Herndon himself described Lincoln's storytelling in the following manner:

It has been denied as often as charged that Lincoln narrated vulgar stories; but the truth is he loved a story however extravagant of vulgar, if it had a good point. If it was merely a ribald recital and had no sting in

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7 Ibid., p. 6

the end, that is, if it exposed no weakness or pointed no moral, he had no use for it either in conversation or public speech; but if it had the necessary ingredients of mirth and moral he was unequalled...9

The best "short and comprehensive opinion" on Lincoln's storytelling that Bullard was able to find is contained in an address made in England in 1910 by the American ambassador, Whitelaw Reid. Bullard believed that Reid's account came closer to the truth than any other:

He probably told fewer stories during his whole stay in the White House than in any previous year of his adult life; and for every one he did tell a hundred poorer and coarser ones were fathered on him. Nor did his stories call for the unctuous and superfluous excuse that they afforded him a needed relief from the sadness of the time. No doubt he was sad in the White House, but had been all his life. The wit and humor with which his stories overflowed were an essential part of his strange frontier nature, as essential as his melancholy, his ready sympathies, or his ambition. He had no dissipations and no other amusements; instead of these he told stories from boyhood to admiring comrades; he told them uncommonly well, and in public they always illustrated his arguments and helped him carry his point.11

Well did Bullard wish that Lincoln had abandoned the telling of tales which provided his critics "with a certain

11 Whitelaw Reid, American and English Studies (New York, 1913), II, 7-8.
amount of justification for their strictures." But by no means would Bullard accept the charge (especially after citing the above evidence) that Lincoln was habitually "an indecent raconteur." 12

If Lincoln is absolved of the charges of vulgarity of speech, is he nevertheless guilty of the charge of being crude? In answering this question, Bullard found in the writings of an historian of "high honor," James Ford Rhodes, some pertinent selections on this point. 13 On one occasion Rhodes referred to Lincoln's lack of "the external graces of a gentleman." 14 Elsewhere Rhodes noted that on the way to Washington in 1861 when he was "the cynosure of all eyes," Lincoln lacked the "knack of saying the graceful nothings which are so well fitted for the occasions on which he spoke." His "ignorance of the ways of the fashionable world told against him in New York City, where the tendency of refined people is to judge new men at first rather by their manners than by their qualities, and his wearing black kid gloves to the opera on a gala night gave rise to sarcastic comment." Rhodes concluded that "Lincoln, ungainly in

12 Bullard, Was Lincoln a Gentleman, p. 10
13 Ibid., p. 11
appearance and movement, gave no thought to the graces of life, and lacked the accomplishments of a gentleman, as no one knew better than himself."\(^{15}\)

Only in so far as Lincoln knew how defective was his training in the "external graces" would Bullard concede that Rhodes was right.\(^{16}\) Bullard cited Lincoln's famous note to J. H. Hackett, the actor who had been ungentlemanly enough to release to the newspapers a note from the President in praise of Hackett's impersonation of Falstaff. Lincoln's rebuke appeared in a single clause: "My note to you I certainly did not expect to see in print." The newspaper comments had not "shocked" him much because they constituted "a fair specimen" of what had occurred to him "through life." Lincoln ended almost pathetically: "I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule."\(^{17}\) To Bullard the brief note to Hackett represents "one of the most pathetic things that Lincoln ever wrote." Lincoln understood the patronizing way in which he was treated by many who "considered themselves his social superiors," yet never was his sense of humor more valuable to him than when restraining...

\(^{15}\) Rhodes, History of the United States, III, 303-304; IV, 209.  
\(^{16}\) Bullard, Was Lincoln a Gentleman, p. 12.  
\(^{17}\) Lincoln's Collected Works, VI, 558-59.
the "bitter retorts" he might have been justified in making. "That restraint in itself," to Bullard, was one of gentility."18

Other marks of gentility, Bullard found in abundance. For example, that "master of ceremonious propriety," Edward Everett, attested to the excellence of Lincoln's table manners. Everett noted in his carefully kept diary that among the guests who dined with the President on the eve of the dedication ceremonies at Gettysburg, no one was Lincoln's superior "so far as manners, appearance and conversation were concerned."19 Chaplain Edward D. Neill, who became one of Lincoln's secretaries in 1864, wrote in 1887 that "Mr. Lincoln's manners were never repulsive." Neill noted that while Lincoln "could not grace a ballroom nor compete with the perfumed and spangled representatives of a foreign court in the knowledge of the laws of fashion; yet in his heart there was always kindly feeling for others, and thus, in the best sense, he was a gentleman."20

Bullard added to the testimony of Everett and Neill that of Goldwin Smith. Writing in an English periodical for an English public, Smith suggested that a man possessed with the native good taste to produce the Gettysburg Address could not

18 Bullard, Was Lincoln a Gentleman, p. 12.
19 Forthingham, Everett, p. 453.
Bullard's last witness was Emerson, who on more than one occasiondeprecated Lincoln's bad manners, but who finally judged that Lincoln "arrives, of course at a simplicity, which is the perfection of manners." 22

Bullard finally concludes that the answer to his question -- Was Lincoln a Gentleman? -- depends basically on the definition of the word "gentleman." In Bullard's judgment the fact that Lincoln may have presented an awkward appearance on a ballroom floor, or that his rustic appearance might be out of place in the courts of European royalty, did not prevent him from being a gentleman. He never failed to catch the other man's viewpoint. While he never faltered in his devotion to a cause, he never displayed "an iota of personal vindictiveness in his character." Despite the bitterness that was fostered by the Civil War, Lincoln never during the war years used a word or phrase about the Confederate leaders "that might have caused him remorse or have been resented by them." The "great qualities of the man overwhelm and submerge the defects..." The man whom Bryant described as "Gentle and merciful and just," was, in truth, "a great


22 Quoted in Bullard, Was Lincoln a Gentleman, p. 21.
Although this gangling Westerner with many characteristics that were deemed odd to more sophisticated Easterners may have passed Bullard's requirements for a gentleman, Lincoln nevertheless had something about his character not easy to penetrate. Bullard was inclined to agree with the many Lincoln biographers who had a "feeling of failure" when they tried "honestly to show ... Lincoln as he was."¹ Lincoln's life was a paradox, and this paradox caused biographers so much difficulty. He was a simple man who would call his wife "mother" and receive distinguished guests in shirtsleeves. But at the same time he was a complex human being.² Bullard was aware of this paradox. In his forty years of investigation in the Lincoln theme Bullard may have served as a watchdog insisting that the facts concerned with Lincoln's career be accurate, but as a result of his researches Bullard was able to acquire an appreciation of the complexity of the subject of his investigations. He concluded that there was another

²³ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

¹ Thomas, Portrait for Posterity, p. x.

Lincoln a Lincoln few people were aware existed, but a Lincoln as real as the one found in most biographies. This other Lincoln was responsible for the paradox mentioned above.

Bullard's concept of this complex Lincoln is found in two pamphlets appropriately titled The Other Lincoln and The Lincoln Nobody Knows.  The first mentioned work was originally a Baccalaureate Address delivered at Lincoln Memorial University on June 1, 1941, and the other was basically a condensation of The Other Lincoln that Bullard delivered before the Middlesex Club of Boston on February 12, 1944. By way of explaining the necessity of these two pamphlets, Bullard readily conceded that there is one Lincoln whom everybody knows:

We see him as "Honest Abe," the handy man of New Salem whom everybody liked and wanted to help. We see him as the leader of the "Long Nine," moving the Illinois capital from Vandalia to Springfield. We follow his career as a Lawyer, riding the circuit with his ramshackle buggy and rawboned horse, his cotton umbrella tied with a string, and his six feet four inches topped by a prodigious stovepipe hat. I suppose at some time that hat must have been new. It was an extraordinary combination of writing desk, filing cabinet and

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3 The former was published by Lincoln Memorial University Press in 1941, and the latter was privately printed by the Middlesex Club in Boston, 1944.
headgear. In the famous debate of 1858 he matches wit and logic with the mighty Douglas. In 1860, as the most available Republican candidate, he achieves the Presidency. We watch him as "Father Abraham" during the four years of war, and marvel at his caution and endurance, his shrewdness and magnanimity. He brings his stories with him from prairies, he infuriates the Secretary of War by his use of the pardoning power, and he astonishes the world by prose and the sweep of his vision in the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural. This Lincoln we all know and revere and love.4

This is the simple Lincoln, a Lincoln easy to understand and easy to love. But, there is another Lincoln, and "we shall not know the real man until we take due account of that other."5 In a speech delivered on August 1, 1862, Wendell Phillips might have exaggerated when he said, "I asked the lawyers of Illinois, who had practiced law with Mr. Lincoln for twenty years. 'Is he a man of decision, is he a man who can say 'No'." Their reply, according to Phillips: "If you had gone to the Illinois bar and selected the man least capable of saying 'No,' it would have been Abraham Lincoln." 6

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5 Bullard, The Other Lincoln, p. 4.
6 Quoted in ibid., pp. 16-17.
If those Illinois lawyers did say that, they also were not aware of the "other Lincoln," the Lincoln who not only could say "no" but who in fact did say "no" on many occasions!

While it is true that the picture of Lincoln with his heart "wrung with pity for the suffering caused by the war" is an accurate one, it is nevertheless subject to modification. John Hay on one occasion characterized Lincoln as a humane President seeking whenever possible to commute to life imprisonment, or even less, the death penalties inflicted by military courts on soldiers guilty of desertion.

In one day alone, according to Hay, Lincoln spent six hours reviewing court martial cases. Hay was "amused" to see "the eagerness with which the President caught at any fact which would justify him in saving the life of a condemned soldier."7

But at the same time, Lincoln did sign death warrants on many occasions. He put into a famous letter the statement that "long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death."8

When necessary, Lincoln could be, "and was, as firm as

7 Hay, Diaries and Letters, p. 68.
8 Lincoln, Collected Works, VI, 266.
Andrew Jackson.\textsuperscript{9} When a ship was captured on the high seas, early in the war, with a cargo of nine hundred Negroes from Africa on board, the slave-trader, Nathaniel P. Gordon, was tried and sentenced to death. The President read the evidence in this case, and also the petition for pardon which included the signature of many outstanding Northerners. Lincoln was unimpressed. Gordon hanged for the crime -- the first execution in America for that crime under American laws. The document containing the death sentence bears the names of Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward,\textsuperscript{10} On another occasion, when the wife of a condemned man made it known that she would visit Washington to plead for clemency in her husband's case, the President kept her away. "It would be useless," he explained, "the subject is a very painful one, but the case is settled."\textsuperscript{11}

Bullard was able to cite more instances in which Lincoln did not hesitate to let condemned men be executed. In the Indian outbreak in Minnesota in 1862, the Sioux ravaged the frontier for about two hundred miles, killing some five hundred persons and

\textsuperscript{9} Bullard, The Other Lincoln, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{10} Rhodes, History of the United States, IV, 66. A facsimile of the death warrant with Lincoln's signature appeals in Sandburg, War Years, III, 489.

\textsuperscript{11} Lincoln, Collected Works, VI, 522.
carrying away women and children as hostages. Troops were sent in and many of the Indians were tried by military commission and found guilty of murder, arson, and rape.

Feeling was running high in Minnesota with mobs threatening a wholesale lynching of the captured Indians. The records were ordered to Washington to be studied by the President. Lincoln, after close examination of the records, decided that those Indians who fought in battle against the Federal troops should be treated as prisoners of war. But thirty-eight Indians were hanged on Christmas Day, 1862, for criminal activities, by order of the President of the United States. 12

In 1865, John Yates Beall, well-educated Virginian, was imprisoned and sentenced to death for his part in the seizing of vessels in Lake Erie to attempt to liberate the Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island, and for becoming involved in a train-wrecking scheme near Buffalo. A petition asking the President for clemency in the case was signed by ninety-one Senators and Representatives, from twenty states. Furthermore

the petition was carried to the President by a Senator who had been almost a life-long friend. But Lincoln refused to intervene, and Beall was executed.\textsuperscript{13}

Not only does the image of Lincoln as a kindly man saving as many as possible from execution need revision, but so also do other popular notions of the Civil War President require like modifications. As Bullard readily admitted,\textsuperscript{14} there is no evidence that Lincoln indulged regularly or copiously in profanity, but he did swear on occasion. When a war-time governor of Tennessee wired the President demanding an immediate explanation of the seizure of a ship on the Mississippi, John Hay tells us that the "Tycoon" quietly observed, "He be d--d."

On another occasion Lincoln told Hay that when George Opdyke and D.D. Field came to him and demanded anew that he remove Secretary of State Seward, Lincoln told Hay that "for once in my life I rather gave my temper the rein and I talked to those men pretty damned plainly."\textsuperscript{15}

Lincoln has also enjoyed a reputation for being patient with the many bothersome office seekers who constantly hounded the White House and who squandered so much of his precious time. But at least

\textsuperscript{13} Browning, Diary, II, 7-8, 19.

\textsuperscript{14} Bullard, The Other Lincoln, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{15} Hay, Diaries and Letters, pp. 17-18, 112.
on one occasion, Bullard notes, he "officiated" as a "White House bouncer." F. B. Carpenter, who had a rare opportunity in 1864 to observe the President while at work, wrote that much had been written of Lincoln's "meekness and kindness of heart," but that sometimes there would be occasions when one strand of sand would break "even this camel's back." Carpenter cited an example of an army officer cashiered from the service who on three different occasions gained Mr. Lincoln's presence to recite the particulars of his case and to plead for reinstatement. The man was unsuccessful in his first two interviews and when he noted that the third would be also fruitless he bitterly complained to Lincoln: "Well, Mr. President, I see you are fully determined not to do me justice!" This remark, Carpenter noted, was too aggravating even for Lincoln.

Manifesting...no more feeling [wrote Carpenter] than that indicated by a slight compression of the lips, he very quietly arose, laid down a package of papers he held in his hand, and then suddenly seizing the defunct officer by the coat-collar, he marched him forcibly to the door, saying as he ejected him into the passage: "Sir, I give you fair warning never to show yourself in this room again. I can bear censure, but not insult!" In a whining tone the man begged for his papers, which he had dropped. "Begone, sir," said the President, "your papers will be sent you. I never wish to see your face again!"

16 Bullard, The Other Lincoln, p. 12

Carpenter's anecdote harmonizes well with the passage in the work by Helen Nicolay, daughter of Lincoln's senior secretary, who based her book on the records of her father. Miss Nicolay notes that "when at long intervals Lincoln's patience gave way, and he blazed forth in righteous wrath, men quailed before him."\(^{16}\)

Just as he found the popular views of Lincoln's characteristics sorely in need of revision Bullard also discovered that Lincoln's role as President could be reexamined with profit. Bullard noted that for a time, between Sunday, April 14, 1861, when Sumter fell, and July 4, 1861, when Congress met, Abraham Lincoln "was the sole and entire government of the United States." In effect, Lincoln was a dictator during this period, albeit a "benevolent" one.\(^{19}\) Bullard added that "no such astonishing [sic] assumption of authority ever had occurred in our history."\(^{20}\) Lincoln called the Congress into special session; but although he issued his call in April, 1861, he did not have the Congress assemble until two months later! Why?

Bullard admits that no conclusive answer is attainable but submits the "reasonable guess" that what was needed during the days immediately following the fall of Sumter was "swift decision," and

\(^{16}\) H. Nicolay, *Personal Traits of Lincoln*, p. 266.

\(^{19}\) Bullard, *The Other Lincoln*, pp. 23, 27.

\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 23.
not "debate." What did this "dictator" do during the intervening period? He called for 75,000 troops, proclaimed a blockade, issued orders for the buying of ships and the transportation of troops, and directed the Treasury to advance without security $2,000,000 of public funds to three private individuals to be used by them in their own discretion for necessary measures of defense. And most controversial of all (at that time), Lincoln ordered the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.\footnote{21}

Bullard's justification for these actions of Lincoln, actions belonging to that Lincoln not well known, reads as follows:

No doubt about it, the lines on which the Civil War was fought were laid down before Congress had a chance to cooperate with the President. Abraham Lincoln was the most benevolent autocrat the world ever knew, but for those eighty-one days at least he was the government of the United States, and to that extent he was a "dictator." Did he save the Union in those eleven weeks? Opinions may differ, but we may cite the reply of Marshall Joffre when he was asked who won the Battle of the Marne. He did not know -- but he did know who would have borne the blame had the battle been lost.\footnote{22}

The Lincoln found in the pages of Bullard's essays on his position as a gentleman and on the other Lincoln (the one nobody knows) represents the man who can escape basically untarnished from the most critical investigations of historians. This Lincoln must be combined with the Lincoln held in the popular mind. Together they form the

\footnote{21}{Ibid., pp. 25-26}
\footnote{22}{Ibid., pp. 27-28}
complex human being called upon to lead the country during the most trying era of its history.

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The Bullard writings discussed in the previous two sections of this chapter represent impressive evidence of the scholar's keen appreciation of Lincoln. His willingness to "revise" many of the popular notions regarding the Civil War President attest to the man's honesty and integrity as a student in the field of Lincolniana. But it should be added that in all his writings the meticulous writer never substituted what he liked to believe for what he knew was. From the very beginning of his career, back in 1909, until the days immediately preceding his death, Bullard's writings bear an authenticity that won for him the universal respect of other scholars in the field.

While it may be rash to attempt to evaluate at this time the enduring worth of his writings -- he died in 1952 -- it is possible to show the high regard in which he was held by several outstanding scholars in the field and to note the many honors awarded him for his writings.

His pamphlet, *The Other Lincoln*, was originally a commencement address at Lincoln Memorial University in 1941, at which time he was awarded the University's Diploma of Honor. *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* began as an address delivered at the Lincoln Night Dinner of the Middlesex Club of Boston in 1944, and was published by the Club. The
article, "Lincoln's 'Conquest' of New England," considered by Paul M. Angle as the most important of Bullard's writings, represented the main address at the Abraham Lincoln Association annual meeting for 1942. On two occasions editorials written by Bullard and appearing in the Boston Herald on Lincoln's birthday were reprinted in Lincoln Lore as the "Most Timely Editorials" for 1945 and 1947.

While the honors awarded Bullard during his lifetime were numerous, perhaps it is wiser to allow Time, the stern judge, to evaluate the importance of his contributions to the Lincoln field. But it is perhaps useful to end this work with a reference to what other Lincoln scholars -- Bullard's contemporaries -- thought of the man's work.

Although this "tall, suave, distinguished in appearance, genial, eloquent" individual "with white hair and goatee," who talked like the Bostonian he was, but looked like a Kentucky Colonel of ante-bellum vintage" (of course, this description was written by the noted Kentuckian William H. Townsend) might have been thought aloof by ordinary mortals, he was always considered genial and kind by the people who knew him best: Lincoln scholars throughout the country. Furthermore, these

1 Paul M. Angle to the writer, May 7, 1958.
2 "News and Comment," Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, II (June, 1942), 94.
3 Lincoln Lore, No. 837 (April 23, 1945); no. 937 (Mar. 24, 1947).
scholars found Bullard both genial in person and astute in his knowledge of Lincoln.

R. Gerald McMurtry, former editor of *Lincoln Herald* and present director of the Lincoln National Life Foundation, knew Dr. Bullard since the early 1930's. "Until his death," Dr. McMurtry observed, "we carried on an active correspondence concerning the life, career, and deeds of Abraham Lincoln. I always consider Dr. Bullard a cultured gentleman and an astute scholar. His contributions to Lincolniana were many and varied. Because of the variety of his interests in the Lincoln field he often called himself a 'wildcatter,' drilling here and drilling there, for unusual and little known facts pertaining to the Sixteenth President. I have always considered his published works to be authentic."  

To Paul M. Angle, Bullard's writings exhibited two outstanding characteristics: "careful, thorough research, and good writing." Angle noted that Bullard's ease as a writer is not surprising because of his background as a newspaperman. However, continued Angle, "too often training in journalism, with its insistence upon quick results, leads to hasty work when the journalist becomes historian," "Emphatically," noted Angle, "this was not Bullard's way."  

Other such testimonials to Bullard's importance as a Lincoln

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5 R. Gerald McMurtry to the writer, May 19, 1958.
6 Angle to the writer, May 7, 1958.
scholar could be cited here, but all of them would simply reiterate what McMurtry and Angle wrote. But here is one such testimonial too beautiful to be omitted and excellent as an appropriate ending to this work. Elmer Munson Hunt, writing shortly after Dr. Bullard's death, supplied the proper valedictory:

Mr. Bullard has now begun the great march of recession into the long, wide visits of human memory. He carried a staff, though his stature is such that, to us who knew him, there is little need for it. The staff is the accumulated greatness of his writing which we already know and by which the outer world shall know him best in the long years ahead.

The hardwood center of that staff, almost as if hewn from one of Mr. Lincoln's rails, is contrived largely from Mr. Bullard's long service as a great craftsman with Mr. Lincoln as his teacher. His official biographical account tells it simply -- "Lincoln Specialist." 

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7 See, for example, Elwin L. Page to the writer, April 1, 1958, and ibid., May 7, 1958; Robert L. Kincaid to the writer, May 1, 1958; David C. Mearns to the writer, May 12, 1958; and Louis A. Warren to the writer, May 19, 1958; all deposited in the Bullard Collection at Boston University. Also, the tributes by William H. Townsend and Harry E. Pratt in Lincoln Group of Boston Untitled Publication, pp. 11-12.

8 Ibid., p. 7
Appendix I

An annotated bibliography of Bullard's writings in the field of Lincolniana

A. Books


Discussed in Chapter Four of this work.

_The Other Lincoln._ Harrogate, Tenn.: Lincoln Memorial University Press, 1941.

Discussed in Chapter Six of this work.

_The Lincoln Nobody Knows._ Boston: privately printed, 1944.

Discussed in Chapter Six of this work.


Discussed in Chapter Four of this work.

Bullard's edition of the Diary was the first reprint of the work that appeared in the North American Review in 1879. Bullard included a detailed biographical sketch of Allen Thorndike Rice, editor of the Review, and brief sketches of the various Civil War personalities cited by the diarist.


Discussed in Chapter Four of this work.

'Discussed in Chapter Four of this work.


'Discussed in Chapter Six of this work.

B. Articles in periodicals

New England Magazine, XXXIX (Feb., 1909), 685-691.

Brief biographical notes on Lincoln's Massachusetts' ancestors. The article included the first printing of Lincoln's letter to Solomon Lincoln of Hingham, Massachusetts, March 6, 1848.


Lincoln's religious views deepened during the course of the Civil War.

Lincoln signed the bill passed by the Republican-controlled Congress in 1863, abolishing the pro-Southern courts of the District of Columbia.

"Lincoln's Gettysburg Address: Seventy-Fifth Anniversary," Zions Herald, CXVI (Nov. 16, 1938), 1351-53.

In discussing the writing of the Address, Bullard denied that it was written on paper borrowed from Seward and with a pencil supplied by Andrew Carnegie.


Lincoln, in 1863, pardoned Alfred Rubery, convicted of rebellious activities in California, at the request of John Bright.

A brief biographical note on Edward Dickinson Baker, Lincoln's close friend, and comments on the plans to remove Baker's body from Laurel Hill Cemetery, San Francisco, which was to be abandoned.

"Abraham Lincoln and the Statehood of Nevada,"
American Bar Association Journal, XXVI (Mar., April, 1940), 210-236, 314-17.

Lincoln promoted the admission of Nevada for three reasons, all war measures: to ensure the adoption of the abolition resolution by Congress, to get votes in the Electoral College for the 1864 election, and to help assure the ratification of the abolition amendment by the addition of one more "Republican" state.

Bullard's thoughts on the Lincoln theme while visiting Harrogate, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois.


A brief description of the Presidio, a military reservation in San Francisco, where the body of Lincoln's friend was placed for permanent burial.


Henry Adams, according to Bullard, found man only "a pawn in a cosmic chess game," while Lincoln, never pessimistic, never lost his respect for the dignity of man. Lincoln "looked into the cosmos for help, and found it."

"Abraham Lincoln -- Saviour of the Union,"
Behind Lincoln's struggle to save the Union was his determination to preserve "human freedom."


Abraham Lincoln as his New England contemporaries saw him.

"When Lincoln Visited Mount Vernon," Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, II (June, 1943), 281-83.

Lincoln's visit to the home of Washington, according to the recollections of Israel Washburne. Bullard found Washburne's memory to be fairly reliable and thus accepted the incident as authentic.

Emerson claimed that the Gettysburg Address could only be compared to John Brown's speech to the court that tried him, and to the speech of the Hungarian, Louis Kossuth, delivered in Birmingham, England, on November 12, 1851. The three speeches are here analyzed.

"'Our American Cousin' --Afterward," Lincoln Herald, XLVI (Feb., 1944), 14-16.

An account of the difficulties of Laura Keene, the possessor of the original right to the play, in her attempt to keep other companies from producing the comedy. Bullard noted that the play was performed in America for many years after Lincoln's death.

"Abraham Lincoln's Birthdays," Zions Herald, CXXII (Feb. 9, 1944), 82.

Bullard found no evidence that Lincoln's birthday was ever celebrated during his lifetime.
"Lincoln and the Quaker Woman," Lincoln Herald, XLVI (June, 1944), 9-12.

Bullard regretted that there is not much evidence to support the claim made by many Quakers that Lincoln had in his pocket the night he was assassinated a letter from the prominent Quaker, Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney.

"Calvinism Then! -- and Now?" Christian Leader, CXXVI (July 1-15, 1944), 401-414.

How Protestant ministers in their sermons on Lincoln's assassination explained the act on the basis of the Calvinist theological view of just punishment for sin.


A study of the work of the two early Lincoln bibliographers.
"When Lincoln Was Taken for "a Western Clergyman,'" *Lincoln Herald*, XLVI (Dec., 1944), 23-25.

Lincoln's 1860 visit to the Five Points House of Industry in the New York slum area.


Bullard discussed and traced the source of the statement that Lincoln was supposed to have made to General Meade that he should not allow General Lee to cross the Potomac (after the Battle of Gettysburg) and that the President would accept censure if Meade failed while the General would receive all the credit if he should destroy Lee's army. However, Bullard was not able to show that such a despatch was sent to Meade.

An account of Joseph Howard, Jr., and his bogus proclamation supposedly issued by Lincoln for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.


The story of John T. Stuart's attempt to get his law partner the post of charge d'affairs at Bogota, in 1841.


An account of the clipper ship, Stag Hound, which beat out a steam ship in the race to carry the first copy of Lincoln's first Inaugural Address to England in 1861; a theory as to why John Hay called Lincoln the "tycoon"; and the correspondence between Lincoln and Deacon John Phillips of Sturbridge, Massachusetts, who in his 105th year voted for Lincoln in 1864.

A description of an 1839 edition of Pope's Works, and five instances of Lincoln's quoting from this poet.


Ashmun's role in Congress in 1847, in the Republican Convention of 1860, and in wartime Washington during the Civil War, as critically examined by Bullard.

"Abraham Lincoln and Harriet Beecher Stowe,"
Lincoln Herald, XLVIII (June, 1946), 11-14.

Mrs. Stowe's visit to Lincoln in 1862, and her admiration for the President which resulted from her visit.

"Uncle Tom on the Stage," Lincoln Herald, XLVIII (June, 1946), 19-22.

The various stage adaptations of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel.

Shaw's praise of Barnard's statue of Lincoln despite the condemnation of the statue by many Americans.


Statistics showing the closeness of the votes in the critical presidential election of 1860.


Bullard discovered that the scene described as Lincoln lying in state in the rotunda of the Capitol, in April, 1865, as shown in Stefan Lorant's *Lincoln: His Life in Photographs* (1941), is actually a sketch of the lying in state of the body of Thaddeus Stevens in 1868.
"Mr. Bullard's Reply to Mr. Wakefield," *Lincoln Herald*, XLIX (June, 1947), 45-46.

An answer to the pamphlet by Sherman D. Wakefield which pointed out several alleged errors in Bullard's *Abraham Lincoln and the Widow Bixby*.


An account of the proceedings in Congress which resulted in the awarding of a pension to Lincoln's widow, in which Bullard attempts to correct several errors he found in Honore Willsie Morrow's *Mary Todd Lincoln: An Appreciation* (1928).


Bullard explained why it is highly improbable that Lincoln made a secret visit to Henry Ward Beecher during the Civil War, in order to have Beecher pray for divine guidance.
"It can Never Happen Again," Lincoln Herald, XLIX (Dec., 1947), 8-12.


Lincoln's first trip down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, which Bullard believes was made in 1828.

"To End the Discussion," Lincoln Herald, L (Feb., 1948), 36.

As a final defense of his volume on Lincoln and the Widow Bixby, Bullard answered charges made against him by Sherman D. Wakefield.


"When -- If Ever -- Was John Wilkes Booth in Paris?"

_The Lincoln Herald, L_ (June, 1948), 28-34.

Bullard would not accept the report that Booth was in Paris in 1864 or early 1865.

"Anna Ella Carroll and Her 'Modest' Claim,"

_The Lincoln Herald, L_ (Oct., 1948), 2-10, 47.

The claims made in behalf of Miss Carroll, that her writings were of enormous value to the Northern Cause during the Civil War and that her views as a military strategist actually "won the war and saved the union," were found to be "excessive."


Similarities in the political beliefs of the two Presidents.


President Lincoln's belief that "the Government could not undertake to run the churches."

The work of Edouard Laboulaye in defending the Northern cause in France, in close collaboration with John Bigelow, Consul-General in Paris and later Ambassador.


Garfield's dislike of Lincoln and partiality to Salmon P. Chase, attitudes not altered until after Lincoln's assassination.

"How Much Did Abraham Lincoln Owe to 'Luck'?" *Lincoln Herald*, LII (Feb., 1950), 44-45.

Bullard found a number of "lucky incidents" which helped advance Lincoln's career.


A refutation of the story that Adelina Patti sang for the Lincolns in the White House during the Civil War, as reported in an article by David Rankin Barbee in the December, 1949, issue of the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*. 
"One Star or Five for Texas," *Lincoln Herald*, LII (June, 1950), 2-5.

Bullard suspected that there was by implication an understanding in the 1840's and 1850's that Texas would be broken up into several slave states and that Lincoln as President would have felt the Republicans were obligated to permit this had not the war intervened.


Evidence is presented indicating that Booth might have been in Paris in 1863. In a previous article in the same journal, *L* (June, 1948), Bullard had tended to discount the theory that Lincoln's assassin was in Paris in 1864 or early 1865.


Smith's writings and speeches in support of the Northern cause and his interview with President Lincoln.

Bullard identified Oliver H. Barrett of Chicago as the supplier of a document used in Bullard's *Lincoln and the Widow Bixby*.


Lincoln's magnanimity is seen in his dealings with rivals, and enemies who were also his associates in government and in the army.
Appendix II

A Topical Guide to the Notebooks in the Bullard Collection

The notebooks in the Bullard Collection contain clippings, newspaper and magazine articles, some letters written to Bullard, and Bullard's own notes on a wide variety of subjects dealing with the careers of Bullard and Lincoln. To list the contents of each individual notebook would result in an appendix almost as long as the body of this work. The writer has therefore divided the contents of the notebooks into general subjects and indicated by use of the notebook numberings which ones refer to the particular topics.

A. F. Lauriston Bullard

2. Bullard's trip (1941) along the Lincoln ancestor trail. No. 73.
3. Bullard's trip to Lincoln Memorial University and Wooster College. No. 98.

4. Letters to Bullard in praise of his editorial work. No. 107.


6. Address lists. Includes names and addresses of people to whom Bullard sent copies of his published works. No. 97.

B. Bullard's Lincoln Collection


C. The Lincoln Group of Boston

1. Correspondence, programs, finances, notes, lists of members. Nos. 101, 102, 103.
D. Lincoln as President

1. Lincoln and the press: denounced as dishonest, bogus call for troops (1864), reporting the Gettysburg speech. No. 10a.

2. Lincoln as a dictator. Nos. 80, 81.


4. Grant and Lee. Lincoln inspires the generous peace terms offered by Grant and Sherman to Lee and Johnston. No. 47.

5. Notes on the suspension of Habeas Corpus; notes on the Merryman Case. No. 94.


7. Lincoln and Fremont in 1864. No. 95.

8. Lincoln's reconstruction policies. No. 68.

9. Notes on Bullard's *The Other Lincoln*: Lincoln issued Emancipation Proclamation without consulting anybody, signed many death warrants, did swear, could be angry, did eject callers. No. 62.


   Nos. 51, 54.

13. Lincoln and his cabinet; Lincoln and foreign affairs; Lincoln and arbitration. No. 20.


16. Lincoln's inaugurations; Lincoln as an executive; Lincoln and the saving of Tennessee. No. 10.

E. Lincoln Bibliography, Writers on Lincoln, Reminiscences

1. Lincoln Poems. No. 4.

2. Oakleaf Bibliography, Herndon's Lincoln, Beveridge on Weik's The Real Lincoln, W.E. Barton's early works, Masters, Lincoln the Man. No. 3.

3. Sandburg's The War Years. No. 76.


5. Writings by Hertz appearing in the New York Times. No. 82.


8. Stories by and about Lincoln: Lincoln on his own story telling; Ida Tarbell, He Knew Lincoln; Lincoln on votes for women; and a note on Dr. Gurley's Diary. No. 32.


11. Extensive notes on the Boyd-Hart Bibliography. No. 70.
12. *Diary of a Public Man*. Includes lengthy correspondence between Bullard and Frank M. Anderson. No. 64.


15. List of historical societies and a partial bibliography of Lincoln and Civil War items appearing in journals of these societies. No. 1f.

F. Lincoln Portraits, Statues, Memorials, Shrines


3. Portraits of persons associated with Lincoln. No. 1c.

G. Lincoln's Assassination, Conspirators, Trial of Conspirators, Ford's Theatre

1. Ford's Theatre, John T. Ford, actors in Washington theaters during the Civil War, notes on the Boston theaters during the Civil War. No. 46.

2. Booth's kidnap plot, Lincoln's last day, eyewitness accounts of the assassination. Nos. 23, 23a.

3. Death and funeral of Lincoln, attack on Seward. No. 23b.


5. Myths of Booth's escape; Booth escape trail through Maryland and Virginia. Nos. 23d, 78.


7. Notes from sermons on Lincoln's assassination. No. 63.
H. Lincoln's Family, Ancestors

2. Mary Todd Lincoln, Robert T. Lincoln, Tad.
   Nos. 17, 18, 8a.
3. Lincoln's parentage and ancestry. Nos. 8, 8a.
4. The Lincoln family in the White House. No. 28.

I. Lincoln's Friends, Associates, Contemporaries

2. George Ashmun. No. 66.
3. Arnold, Dana, Fell, Edwards, Hay, Lamon, Logan,
   Bishop McIlwaine, Nicolay, Seward, Stoddard.
   No. 27.
4. Sumner, Trumbull, Whittier, Winthrop, Stearns,
   Bowditch, Child, Conway, Dana, Ellis, Everett,
   Fessenden, Forbes, Hamlin, Hawthorne, Holmes,
   Howe, Lawrence, Lyman, Longfellow, Lowell,

J. Lincoln's Life to 1861

3. Lincoln's love affairs, including the Minor forgeries in the Atlantic Monthly. No. 15.

4. Lincoln in Congress and as a politician. Nos. 16, 93.


7. Lincoln's trip to New Orleans. No. 91.

8. Lincoln as a lawyer. No. 7.

K. Lincoln's Political, Philosophical, and Religious Views

1. Lincoln and the Quakers -- Mrs. Gurney. No. 89.

2. Lincoln and slavery. Nos. 21, 86.


4. Lincoln's religion. No. 25.

L. Lincoln's Writings, Speeches, Sayings; Spurious Lincoln Quotations

1. Did Lincoln say them: fool all the people all the time, law enforcement, irrepressible conflict,
the Lord must have loved the common people,
Grant's brand of whiskey. No. 31.

2. Spurious Lincoln quotations. Nos. 2f,
2ff, 14, 14a, 14b, 52.

3. Lincoln's authentic views on many topics.
Also, Lincoln as an orator and writer. No. 26.

4. Lincoln letters, documents, manuscripts.
Nos. 2, 2f, 2ff, 2a, 2af.

5. Gettysburg Address. Nos. 12, 12a, 48, 49.

6. First Inaugural Address. No. 60.

M. Miscellaneous

1. Brief notes on a wide variety of subjects
connected with the Lincoln theme. Nos. 22, 35,
40, 53, 56, 84, 85, 87, 90. (The reader should
refer to the table of contents in each of these
notebooks.)

2. Notes and newspaper clippings dealing with stage
plays based on Lincoln's life and career.
Nos. 4a, 4af.

3. Places associated with Lincoln: New Salem,
Nancy Hanks' birthplace, Pigeon Creek Church, and
others. Nos. 6, 6a.

4. Cartoons of Lincoln appearing in newspapers and
magazines. No. 33.

6. Observances of Lincoln's birthday, 1933-1942. No. 42.

7. Notes on a variety of Civil War items. No. 43.

8. Lincoln's character and physical qualities. Nos. 34, 71.

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Abstract

F. Lauriston Bullard (1866-1952), for forty years a student of the life of Abraham Lincoln, came to be regarded as an outstanding Lincoln scholar.

Born in Wauseon, Ohio, Bullard attended Wooster College, Ohio, and was graduated in 1891. After further study at Yale University Divinity School, followed by fourteen years in the ministry, Bullard, in 1907, entered the field of journalism. In 1915 he was appointed an editor of the Boston Herald, and four years later was named chief editorial writer of the Herald.

Influenced by his friend, James F. Rhodes (who attached great importance to Lincoln's life), and also by a volume of Lincoln's writings, Bullard began his career as a Lincoln scholar in 1909. In this year he had two articles published, one emphasizing Lincoln as a religious man, and the other dealing with Lincoln's New England ancestry. The latter included a previously unpublished Lincoln letter illustrating the Sixteenth President's interest in his ancestry.
From 1909 until 1938, Bullard did not publish many works on Lincoln. But, from 1938 until his death in 1952, Bullard's work gained him a wide reputation as a severe critic of inaccurate works on Lincoln and as a specialist interested in Lincoln's career.

As a critic Bullard reprimanded Emanuel Hertz for faulty editorial work in his publication of papers in the Herndon Collection, and he demonstrated that Carl Sandburg had incorporated material of doubtful value in his *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*.

Most of Bullard's writings dealt with brief, isolated incidents relating to the life of Lincoln, but there were a few items that commanded his attention almost continuously from the beginning to the end of his career. The report of Adelina Patti singing for the Lincolns in the White House is one such example. Bullard was able to prove the story false. Another was the report that John Wilkes Booth was in Paris in 1864 or early 1865. Bullard concluded that Booth was probably in
Paris, but in 1863.

While most of his writings appeared in magazine articles, numbering fifty in all, Bullard also published four books on Lincoln that are of some importance. *Tad and His Father* (1915) is the first work in the field dealing with Lincoln's sons; *A Few Appropriate Remarks*; *Gettysburg Address* (1944) presents an account of how the speech was written and received; *Lincoln and the Widow Bixby* (1946) offers a strong case for the authenticity of the Bixby Letter; and *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze* (1952) describes eighty-seven statues of heroic size.

Bullard's vast knowledge of the Lincoln field was based primarily on his magnificent Lincoln Collection. This Collection, accumulated during his lifetime, consists of one hundred and thirty-one notebooks filled with clippings and notes, two thousand pamphlets, four thousand magazine articles, twenty-five hundred books, and countless letters from scholars and students, all dealing with the Civil War and Lincoln.
Bullard's reputation does not rest exclusively on the many incidents in the career of the Sixteenth President that he uncovered. As a result of his forty years of study in the field, Bullard was able to see the real Lincoln—the Lincoln with weaknesses, but the Lincoln who nevertheless remains as one of the outstanding figures in American History.

His thoroughness as a Lincoln scholar earned Bullard the acclaim of his fellow workers in the Lincoln field. Paul M. Angle's estimate of Bullard's work provides a fitting conclusion: "Too often training in journalism, with its insistence upon quick results, leads to hasty work when the journalist becomes historian. Emphatically, this was not Bullard's way."
Autobiography

I was born in Bristol, Rhode Island, April 28, 1928, and attended the public schools of that town, graduating from Bristol Senior High School in 1946. In 1951, I received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the College of Liberal Arts, Boston University, and in the following year a Master of Arts degree from the Graduate School of Boston University.

During the second semester of 1955-56 academic year I was appointed Lecturer on History at West Liberty State College, West Virginia, a position I also held at Boston University during the 1956-57 and 1957-58 academic years. In September, 1958, I was appointed Instructor in History at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, State Teachers College.

J. G.