In Shakespeare’s play, “Julius Caesar,” a soothsayer warns Caesar of impending treachery declaring, “Beware the Ides of March.” Lincoln’s assassination by the treacherous hands of John Wilkes Booth was preceded by similar warnings. The warnings were so numerous throughout his entire presidency that, to modern observers, it is easy to dismiss them as idle threats. Moreover, several recent studies argue that Lincoln did not take the death threats very seriously and that his personal secretaries did not show him the offending letters, even destroying them upon receipt. As William O. Stoddard, one of Lincoln’s secretaries, claimed: “I was forbidden to show him any of the many threatening epistles.” This contradicts the testimony of others who claim that Lincoln had a folder marked “Assassination” with over eighty letters in it. Some of these letters were removed by officials and submitted as evidence at the trial of the assassins. The file has never been found among Lincoln's papers or those of his Cabinet members or military leaders.

One of Lincoln’s other private secretaries, John George Nicolay, provided a more detailed explanation of how death threats were handled: “Mr. Lincoln was shown every letter of this character containing any threat or intimation of such against his life. And on one occasion at least, where a definite name and address of a person was given, who professed to have knowledge of some such design the writer of the letter was summoned to Washington, and was personally examined and cross questioned both by the private Secretary and by Secretary Stanton and the result communicated to the president. The result indeed proved nothing; the replies of the witness were only such vague and shadowy allusions to things he professes to have heard as furnished no possible clue to any person or place which could be pursued further, and which showed only a mind in such agitation or disorder as to be incapable of receiving or conveying trustworthy evidence . . . Mr. Lincoln’s uniform summing up of the matter was, that since both friends and strangers did and must have personal access to him daily and in all manner of places, his life was within the reach of any man sane or mad who might be ready to commit murder. That he could not possible guard himself against all danger unless he were to shut himself perpetually in [an] iron box in which condition he would scarcely be able to perform the necessary duties of a President of the United States.”

Certainly, Lincoln was no fool when it came to personal safety. He accepted the advice as President-elect that danger awaited him in Baltimore, causing Lincoln to quietly change his travel plans. When he entered his room at Willard’s Hotel as president-elect, he was greeted with a threatening note on the nightstand. General Winfield Scott, commander of the fed-

continued on next page
For the People: A Newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association

President’s Column

By Donald R. Tracy

The 1999 Lincoln Banquet was a great time. Our speaker, James B. Stewart, hit just the right note in analyzing the historical significance of the independent counsel investigation of President Clinton on the very day the Senate agreed to acquit Clinton. As the photographs on pages five and eight of this Newsletter show, the banquet hall was splendidly decorated. The presentation of the colors by the 114th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry (Reactivated) and the music by the 33rd Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry Civil War Band were equally spectacular. As usual, we concluded by singing all four stanzas of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” en masse.

If you haven’t attended our banquet in recent years, we promise you an excellent time next February 12 when presidential historian, Doris Kearns Goodwin, will be our keynote speaker. There is, however, a change in venue. Next year’s banquet will be in the atrium lobby of National City Bank, which is just across Washington Street from the Old State Capitol. Please save the date of February 12, 2000, and begin making plans to attend. If you need a hotel room call the Renaissance Hotel, which will remain our lodging headquarters.

Tom Schwartz, Cullom Davis, Bob Willard, and I attended the Abraham Lincoln Institute Conference in Washington, D.C., at the National Archives in March. Mark Steiner gave a very entertaining speech on the Lincoln Legal Papers Project. Tom Schwartz made an excellent presentation of our own Virtual Lincoln Library Project.

We are currently in the midst of a membership drive. Our goal is one thousand members by February 12, 2000. Since the beginning of this year, we have gained over one hundred new members. Please help by encouraging your Lincoln friends and relatives to join. An application is on page seven of this newsletter.

We are pleased to have several new directors. Please see the separate article describing the Board changes. Individual profiles of new and old Board members will appear in this and future issues.

Please do not hesitate to write to me or to any of the directors if you have any suggestions for this newsletter or any of our other projects. All of us can be reached at 1 Old State Capitol Plaza, Springfield, Illinois 62701, or via email at: tschwartz@hpa084r1.state.il.us or dontracy@dotfoods.com

Letters

Your Volume1/Number 1 issue is very good. Keep going please. Enclosed is a little help.

Sincerely,
Marjorie Rogers
Carlinville, IL

Dear Mr. Tracy:

Last week I received a copy of the new newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association. I found it to be an excellent publication and I was very happy to receive it.

In answer to your question regarding the cost of this endeavor let me say this; I would be very glad to pay an additional ten dollars per year over and above my twenty-five dollar membership. I wish that I could do more but now that I am retired I need to watch my expenditures.

Many thanks for a fine job!
James C. Mould
Mishawaka, IN

continued from previous page

everal forces, took no chances when it came to the Inaugural parade and ceremonies. Crack riflemen lined the length of Pennsylvania Avenue to protect the carriage carrying President James Buchanan and President-elect Lincoln. A moment of comic relief occurred when a sharp noise similar to a rifle shot was determined to be nothing more than a tree branch giving way to the weight of a young boy seeking a better view of events. Later, when Lincoln made late night trips to the War Department from the Executive Mansion, he carried with him a “thick oaken stick” fashioned from timber salvaged from a sunken man-of-war at Hampton Roads. This version of the Lincoln “peacemaker” contained pieces of metal from both the ironclad Monitor and Merrimac.

Despite these apparent cautions, most people think of Lincoln as indifferent to his own security. While the 150th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry provided visible security at the Executive Mansion, individuals still had ready access to the Executive Mansion and the President. Lincoln placed himself among the throngs at many public functions without the benefit of bodyguards. When he was returning from the Soldier’s Home, a mysterious gunshot was fired, sparing Lincoln’s life but taking as its casualty Lincoln’s top hat. And an equally mysterious carriage accident that resulted in an almost fatal injury to Mrs. Lincoln, was probably intended for her husband.

continued on page 6
**Old Friends Leave the Board of Directors While New Friends Join**

It was with a certain sadness to witness the departure from the Board of Directors of five individuals who have faithfully served the Association for over one hundred years of combined service. The Association gave its heartfelt thanks to the contributions of John Chapin, Esq., Dr. Cullom Davis, Justice Benjamin Miller, Sally Schanbacher, and Admiral R. N. Thunman. Replacing them on the board are Dr. John Daly, Director of the Illinois State Archives, Dr. Robert Eckley, President Emeritus at Illinois Wesleyan University, Lewis Lehrman, businessman and collector of Americana, Dr. Gerald J. Prokopowicz, Lincoln Scholar at the Lincoln Museum in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and James A. Rawley, Carl Adolph Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Nebraska. Individual profiles of these new board members as well as all of the board will be featured in future issues.

**Profile of a Board Member**

James A. Rawley is the Carl Adolph Budd Professor of History, Emeritus at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln. His professional career has spanned over four decades of teaching and publishing. A prolific scholar and writer, Rawley is the author of such works as *Edwin D. Morgan: 1811-1883* (Columbia University Press, 1955); *Turning Points of the Civil War* (Lippincott, 1966); *Race and Politics: “Bleeding Kansas” and the Coming of the Civil War* (Lippincott, 1969); *Secession: The Disruption of the American Republic, 1844-1861* (Krieger, 1990); and *Abraham Lincoln and A Nation Worth Fighting For* (Harlan Davidson, 1996). He established the James A. Rawley Prize which is awarded through the Organization of American Historians.

When asked what led him to the study of Abraham Lincoln, Rawley replied:

“My interest in Lincoln reaches back to boyhood when I was growing up in Indiana, the state where Lincoln came to manhood. The interest rose when I wrote a biography of Edwin D. Morgan, national chairman of the Republican Party in 1860, governor of New York 1859-1862, United States Senator during the remaining Civil War years. The passage of time, as I continued to study and teach the Civil War, further developed my interest. One step led to another: writing an article, editing a volume, writing a biography, and then agreeing to do still another book on Lincoln. A complex man, of remarkable profundity, Lincoln is endlessly interesting.”

**Welcome New Members!**

The Abraham Lincoln Association is pleased to welcome the following new members: Brian Buckley, Mark Tomaw, The Honorable Kurt M. Granberg, The Honorable Daniel W. Hynes, Richard W. Renner, Lawrence A. Bussard, Daniel Ray Dunham, Nancy M. Hahn, Clete McLaughlin, Frederick T. Russo, Jr., Dr. and Mrs. James McCarthy, Michael and Cathleen Synder, Dr. R. Bruce McMillan, Bill Ressegue, Thomas Rosenbaum, Mary K. Peer, David Milling, Dr. Gerald Gutek, Dr. John E. Daly, Dr. Jack Mills, The Honorable George Ryan, The Honorable James continued on next page
In the movie *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, a mysterious hand poisons a bowl of dates that was the source of snacking by the hero, Indiana Jones. The viewer, knowing that the date in Jones’s hand will be fatal if eaten, watches as the hero periodically brings the poisonous fruit to his lips, only to withdraw it at the last minute when he needs to express a new thought to his companion. Finally, when Jones thinks he has solved the problem, he tosses the date into the air, opening his mouth wide to catch it as it descends. His friend catches the date before it hits Jones’s mouth and squeezes it between his fingers as both view the body of a dead monkey who had eaten the poisonous dates. With classic deadpan understatement, his companion declares, “bad dates.”

In a newly discovered letter from the Louise and Barry Taper Collection, a similar incident is described by Joshua Allen, the editor of the Lacon *Journal* from 1858 through 1866. This newspaper first supported the Whig party and later the Republican party. According to Allen, he traveled to Springfield with Greenbury L. Fort, also of Lacon. Fort was active in Whig politics and married Clara E. Boal, the daughter of Dr. Robert Boal, who was an early friend and supporter of Abraham Lincoln. Fort was an attorney, eventually being elected as a county judge in 1857, hence Allen’s reference to “Judge Fort.”

It is likely that both Allen and Fort were close enough to President-elect Lincoln to obtain a ready audience. The letter describes an unusual encounter between Lincoln and some extreme states’ rights Southern “fire eaters.” It also provides one of the earliest descriptions of attempts to kill Lincoln through poisoned food. The letter contains the racist language common for the time. While offensive to modern readers, the racism that permeated Lincoln’s era only reflect how difficult it was to deal with the issue. It is reproduced fully as written and with the kind permission of Louise and Barry Taper.

---

**Bad Dates**

Springfield Jan 26/61

Dear Mother

I arrived here, at the Capitol of the great Prairie State of Illinois this morning after an all night ride in the cars.

The Legislature is at work which brings a great many people from all parts of the state to the city; and not only that but I suppose you know that Old Abe Lincoln lives here, and his visitors alone are enough to eat up any ordinary sort of a city.

Judge Fort of Lacon (you probably know him) came down with me; he and our representative to the Legislature together with two wild fire eaters from the very blackest part of the South went with me (or I with them) to see “Old Abe”—A Nigger came to the door and showed me in. “Abe,” who, seated besides a huge pile of letters as high as a mountain (I presume all from curs after office) rose and welcomed us with a good jolly shake hands. We stayed about half an hour, during all of which the old fellow went on talking so that one of us could hardly get a word in edge ways. I think he almost converted the “fire eaters” into Black Republicans; however their opinion of him was very much altered. You would explode with laughter to hear him tell about the Southerners trying to assassinate him. He has got stacks of preserved fruit and all sorts of such trash which he is daily receiving from various parts of the South sent to him as presents. He had several packages opened and examined by medical men who found them to be all poisoned.

Not time to write more this evening. Will likely go to Jacksonville the first of next week.

If I cant hear from you I think I take revenge by making you read lots of my scratching.

Your affectionate Son

Joshua Allen

The newspaper eventually passed on to the editorial direction of Allen N. Ford, the only person to file a claim against the estate of Abraham Lincoln. In a letter to Judge David Davis dated January 12, 1867, Ford claims that Lincoln was a continuous subscriber to the *Illinois Gazette* for twenty years. However, Ford had not received payment for the last four, amounting to a debt of eleven dollars owed him. Davis allowed Ford’s claim to be paid.

Welcome New Members!

continued from previous page


Membership dues support most of the Association’s publications, events and research efforts. Since the Abraham Lincoln Association is completely dependent upon volunteer efforts to organize and carry out its programs, members are all the more appreciated for their time and talents as well as their financial contributions. Thanks to all.
A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words

Those of you who were unable to attend the February 12 symposium and banquet missed a wonderful time. C-SPAN taped the symposium to air the week of June 28 as part of their Presidential Series. The following pictures (this page and page eight) offer a brief glimpse into the grand banquet festivities. The 114th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry ( Reactivated) presented the colors while one of the Association's oldest members, Judge Abraham Lincoln Marovitz, gave both the invocation and benediction. Donald R. Tracy presided over his first banquet as president of the Association. Near the end of the dinner, attendees were treated to period music by the 33rd Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry Band. Noted author James B. Stewart offered thoughtful insights into the Clinton presidency. Earlier that day, the Senate voted to acquit President Clinton on all articles of impeachment. Stewart offered some brief and appropriate comments on how the country might begin to heal in the aftermath of the Senate vote. Keeping with the tradition of the Abraham Lincoln Association, the audience stood and sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic before taking a moment of silence to receive Judge Marovitz's benediction.

Make your plans now to attend next year's events. The theme of the symposium will be “Abraham Lincoln Reputation,” and feature Hans Trefousse, Bruce Tap, Bryon Andreasen with comments by John R. Sellers. We are privileged to have Doris Kearns Goodwin as the banquet speaker.

Lincoln Never Said That

The much touted “information revolution” has undoubtedly changed the way we conduct business and personal communication. It has allowed for fast access to information databases and the ability to sort through large quantities of information to pinpoint material of specific interest to us. The downside to online information is that the quality control of the database may not be consistent. We are all too familiar with recent reports about President Clinton's personal life that appeared as a story online, repeated endlessly in newspaper columns, radio reports, and television and cable networks only to be ques-

News of Members

John T. Trutter, board member, suffered a heart attack earlier this year but is recovering nicely. He was honored by the Illinois and Michigan Canal Corridor Association for his long years of service, especially his recent tenure as chairman of the Association, with the Canal Boat Captain's Award. Lincoln College honored Cullom Davis, former president of the Abraham Lincoln Association, at its May graduation, receiving the honorary Doctor of Humane Letters. Douglas L. Wilson, board member, received the prestigious Lincoln Prize for his book, Honor's Voice: The Transformation of Abraham Lincoln. The Lincoln Prize is endowed by the Gilder Lehrman Foundation and is given annually through Gettysburg College. Gordon Leidner compiled a collection of Lincoln quotes tentatively titled, Commitment to Honor: A Unique Portrait of Abraham Lincoln in His Own Words, to be published by Rutledge Hill Press. Allen Guelzo has just completed a manuscript, Redeemer President: Abraham Lincoln and the Ideas of Americans, that will be published this autumn by William Eerdmans Company.

A long time member and friend, Dr. Robert Jess Patton, died on December 7, 1998. A special professorship is being established in his honor by the Memorial Medical Center Foundation and the Southern Illinois University School of Medicine. Memorial gifts may be sent to: The Robert Jess Patton Memorial Fund, Memorial Medical Center Foundation, 1 Memorial Plaza, Springfield, Illinois 62701. In early April, Vesta Angle, wife of the late Lincoln scholar Paul M. Angle, died in Chicago. Sally Thomas, wife of the late Lincoln scholar Benjamin P. Thomas, died on April 20 in Springfield.

Please send member news to Thomas F. Schwartz, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1 Old State Capitol Plaza, Springfield, Illinois 62701. All submissions will be edited to fit space limitations.
continued from page 2

Given the overwhelming evidence that Lincoln knew he was a marked man, why did he continue to behave in ways that appear reckless? Almost everything we know about Lincoln's views on this subject comes from various published recollections by his associates. The earliest and most frequently quoted treatment is found in Francis Bicknell Carpenter's, *Six Months at the White House*, first published in 1866. In it, Carpenter describes several different explanations that Lincoln gave for not taking more precautions against assassination threats, such as contemplated placing security personnel at the White House in garb similar to the Papal Swiss Guard, it was met with public laughter and ridicule.

Many of the security proposals advanced by Lincoln's military and political advisors were viewed as extreme or offering unintended consequences. Lincoln liked to joke that Southerners would never assassinate him because Hannibal Hamlin, his vice president, was more outspoken in his views on slavery's abolition than Lincoln. “In that one alternative,” Lincoln allegedly quipped, “I have an insurance on my life worth half the prairie land of Illinois.” In a similar jocular vein, Lincoln supposedly complained that a cavalry detachment sent to guard him was not necessary. Previously, when he and Mrs. Lincoln were riding in a carriage with cavalry guards, he is recorded as stating they “couldn’t hear themselves talk, for the clatter of their sabres and spurs; and that, as many of them appeared new hands and very awkward, he [Lincoln] was more afraid of being shot by the accidental discharge of one of their carbines or revolvers, than of any attempt upon his life or for his capture by the roving squads of Jeb Stuart's cavalry, then hovering all round the exterior works of the city.”

Just as Lincoln was leery of visible legions of armed men protecting him, individual bodyguards were also a comical sight. Ward Hill Lamon, Marshall of the District of Columbia and a legal crony from Danville, Illinois, professed to be Lincoln's bodyguard. Despite his notable absence at Ford's Theatre on April 14, 1865, Lamon often accompanied the President to events armed for the occasion. John Hay provides one such description about election night on November 8, 1864. After Lincoln retired for the evening, Lamon “took a glass of whiskey and then, refusing my offer of a bed, went out &; rolling himself up in his cloak, lay down at the President's door; passing the night in that attitude of touching and dumb fidelity, with a small arsenal of pistols &; bowie knives around him. In the morning he went away leaving my blankets at my door, before I or the President were awake.”

Ultimately, Lincoln’s greatest fear, according to Carpenter, was providing his enemies cause to believe that he feared for his life. Carpenter recalled Lincoln telling him that: “To betray fear of this, by placing guards or so forth, would only be to put the idea into their heads, and perhaps lead to the very result it was intended to prevent.” Lincoln also understood that many of his potential enemies were mentally unbalanced. He thought that for these “crazy folks . . . why I must only take my chances,—the worst crazy people at present, I fear being some of my dangers as you and many others have suggested to me, is quite possible; but I guess it wouldn’t improve things any to publish that we were afraid of them in advance.” Perhaps it was this fear of showing fear that reinforced Lincoln’s predestinarian fatalism that permeates so much of Lincoln’s writing.

The word death appears far more frequently in Lincoln’s writings than assassination. The few allusions to the possibility of his assassination appear in speeches as president-elect. In his famous “Farewell Address,” Lincoln said: “I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington.” At the flag raising in Philadelphia at Independence Hall, Lincoln spoke in bolder language: “But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle [equality], I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.” Throughout his pronouncements, Lincoln balanced the personal threats directed towards him against the larger goals of Union and emancipation. Had Lincoln acted with cautious timidity, he would have fallen victim to the fears that threatened him daily. Lincoln’s knowledge of the threats did not prevent him from mingling with people and making his frequent late evening visits to the War Department’s telegram office. After all, martyrdom, while not desired, was preferable to the alternative of being paralyzed by fear.
Lincoln Never Said That
continued from page 5

tioned later. Some were demonstrated to be all too true while many others were simply idle gossip. The question becomes: “What can you trust to be true online?”

Senator Trent Lott appeared on Meet the Press, March 22, 1998, and proudly quoted Abraham Lincoln to make his point: “I’m a firm believer in the people. If given the truth, the people can be depended upon to meet any national crisis. The great point is to bring them the real facts.” Fine sentiments indeed. But did Lincoln make such a statement? Lott’s staff obtained the quote from a Lexus/Nexus search. It appeared on the database twenty-eight times and in each instance attributed the words to Lincoln. A search of Lincoln’s own words, however, failed to locate any of the three sentences.

Lincoln used the word “firm” eighty-five times in his writings, the word “people” 2,292 times, and the word “believer” two times. Yet there are no instances where the words “firm,” “believer,” and “people” appear in close proximity in any of Lincoln’s writings. When matches occurred with other key words in Lincoln’s writings such as “great” (1,751 times) and “point” (1,049 times), the phrase “great point” appeared only eight times. In all instances, none match or come close to the meaning expressed in the alleged quote.

If these words are not found in Lincoln’s letters and writings, couldn’t they be words attributed to him by others? The answer is obviously yes. But attributions pose their own set of difficulties. First, the only authorita-
tive and reliable reference source for Lincoln attributions is Don Fehrenbacher and Virginia Fehrenbacher, Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln, and Paul M. Zall, Abe Lincoln Laughing. Zall keeps his focus limited to the jokes and funny stories told by Lincoln, whereas the Fehrenbachers cast a wider net. The Fehrenbachers provide evaluations of every attribution, providing the reader with an informed judgment about the quotes’ authenticity. Most of the quotes in the volume, however, receive a C grade indicating that the words were recorded well after the actual date Lincoln allegedly uttered them. The other limitation of the volume is that it covers only those attributions that are most frequently cited in historical studies. The actual number of recollections and recorded interviews containing Lincoln attributions well exceeds those in the Fehrenbacher and Zall compilations.

Even if all the attributions could be collected onto a database, to what extent are they reflections of Lincoln’s philosophy? This is a major problem with recollected materials. The Fehrenbachers offer a thorough and thoughtful overview of the problems inherent in using attributions: “The distinction between direct and indirect discourse is useful in the case of contemporaneously recorded quotations because the one may well be verbatim recall or something close to it, while the other may well be nothing more than paraphrase or summary. But in the case of quotations recorded noncontemporaneously, the distinction is less appropriate because verbatim recall is much less likely, and the employment of direct discourse may well be misrepresentative.”

In comparing the Lincoln attribution cited by Senator Lott off
continued on next page

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Please enroll me as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Association in the category indicated:

___ Individual . . . . . . . . . $ 25.00
___ Patron . . . . . . . . . . . . $ 50.00
___ Sustaining . . . . . . . . $ 125.00
___ Benefactor . . . . . . . . $ 250.00
___ Corporate . . . . . . . . $ 500.00

Members residing outside the U.S. add $3.00

Mail this application (or a photocopy) and a check to:

The Abraham Lincoln Association
1 Old State Capitol Plaza
Springfield, Illinois
62701-1507

Name___________________________
Street ___________________________
City ____________________________
State ___________________________
Zip ____________________________

Website: www.alincolnassoc.com
Rev. Edward N. Kirk offers the closest match when he claimed that Lincoln told him, “I have faith in the people. They will not consent to disunion. The danger is, they are misled. Let them know the truth, and the county is safe” (Fehrenbacher, p. 278). Kirk recalled Lincoln saying this to him in July, 1864, and recounted these words to the Boston Journal, reprinted in the Liberator, May 19, 1865. When added to other expressions in the interview, such as Lincoln’s fear for the country’s future and premonitions of death that would prevent him from seeing a successful end to the war, the Fehrenbachers concluded that this “like all such talk, recalled after the assassination, should probably be viewed with a certain amount of skepticism.” They assigned Kirk’s recollections the grade of D.