Did the Lincoln Family Employ a Slave in 1849–1850?

by Allen C. Guelzo

Four times in his great debates with Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln fended off Douglas’s accusation that the abolition of slavery would lead to the wholesale social and sexual mixing of the races. Few white Americans in the mid-nineteenth century were free from the obsession that race, color, and racial boundaries were uncrossable, and Douglas knew how much damage he could do by implicating Lincoln’s opposition to slavery with that fear. But Lincoln disarmed Douglas with a simple logic that anyone could grasp: “I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes.”

It was an important point to make in the undecided racial climate of Illinois, since it damped down the anxieties of white Illinoisans that abolition was only the beginning of a path that led to the racist bogeyman of racial miscegenation. But was Lincoln being entirely forthright when he claimed, “I certainly never have had a black woman for . . . a slave”? The answer to that question may hang on the uncertain status of a black woman only eight years in Lincoln’s past, a domestic named Ruth Stanton.

Over the years, many critics of Lincoln have pointed out that his anti-slavery convictions, at least before 1854 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, were certainly less public, and perhaps less fervent, than they were afterwards. Beside Lincoln’s early 1837 protest (with Judge Daniel Stone) against the “injustice and bad policy” of slavery sits Lincoln’s apparent indifference to the fate of Jane Bryant and her children in Matson v. Rutherford (1847). Beside his friendship for individual Springfield blacks like William Florville sits his noncommittal attitude toward the attempts of Springfield blacks to organize for abolition. At their most acerbic, critics of Lincoln blame him for actually condoning slavery while in the midst of abolishing it, by offering to pay Kentucky Judge George Robertson “any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars” for a slave who was at the center of a politically contentious tug-of-war between Kentucky’s civil and military authorities, so that the slaves could then be legally freed. No one yet, however, has actually been able to pin on Lincoln the accusation that he actually owned slaves or used the labor of slaves.

But that may depend on the case of Ruth Stanton, and the unusual autobiographical interview she gave in 1894 to a reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch (“She Nursed Bob Lincoln. Aunt Ruth Stanton Took Him to School When a Boy. She is a Janitress Here Now,” St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 25, 1894). Stanton was one of at least two black domestics employed by the Lincoln family in the 1840s, but little is known about her, in contrast to Maria Vance, who had a sensational set of memoirs ghost-written for her. In the 1894 interview, Stanton claimed to have been born as Ruth Burns in 1835 or 1836 “in Madison County, Ills.” She originally worked for the family of John Bradford in Springfield. “Mrs. Lincoln belonged to the Episcopal Church, and so did the Bradfords,” and eventually “Mrs. Bradford sent me over to help Mrs. Lincoln every Saturday, for she had no servant and had to do her own housework.” Then, in 1849, at age fourteen, Ruth Burns was sent by the Bradfords “to live with the Lincolns.” It could not have been a difficult transition. John Bradford’s bindery business had retained Lincoln as its attor-
ALA Endowment Reestablished and Past President Honored

by Robert Eckley

Donors have reestablished the Abraham Lincoln Association Endowment during the last two years. Several have made more than one gift. Together with future donations, these contributions should enable the ALA to continue to play a role in essential Lincoln scholarship.

Initial donors include members of the family of Dr. Floyd S. Barringer, president of the Association from 1969 to 1983, who made gifts in his honor. In addition to his service to the Association, which entailed reviving its publication program, Dr. Barringer enjoyed a long and significant career in the field of neurosurgery. During World War II, Dr. Barringer was a medical volunteer in Birmingham, England, serving both civilian and military patients from 1941 to 1945. As a pioneer neurosurgeon in Springfield, his practice spanned thirty-five years beginning in 1947.

Gifts like these will make it possible for the Abraham Lincoln Association to enrich the studies begun at the instigation of Logan Hay in the 1920s. Recently, efforts of the ALA have assisted in sponsoring the development of instructional materials to bring the many fascinating aspects of the Lincoln Legal Papers to schoolchildren throughout America. Surprisingly, the availability of the results of the project together with the rediscovery of the richness and relevance of the long-neglected Lincoln reminiscence literature make it apparent that the years leading up to and following the bicentennial of Lincoln’s birth in 2009 will be very active ones in the field of Lincoln scholarship.

We hope that many Association members and friends will join in meeting the challenge of underwriting an endowment that will make it possible for the ALA to continue its leading role in Lincoln research and publication. To do so, please contact the Endowment Committee, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1 Old State Capitol Plaza, Springfield, Illinois 62701.

Below we proudly present the names of our initial contributors since the reestablishment of the Endowment in the autumn of 1999.

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New Book Titles

Autumn is a time for raking leaves, drinking apple cider, roasting hot dogs and marshmallows over an evening bonfire, and weekend hayrides. It is also a time to sit down and enjoy a good book. Several recent publications are offered for your reading pleasure. Board member Mark Plummer’s biography of Richard Oglesby, the man who created the image of the “rail-splitter,” is now available. Mark Washburne’s study of his ancestor, Elihu Benjamin Washburne, provides a needed study of this significant political figure.

Please make all checks out to “IHP A.” Illinois residents must add sales tax to their totals.

Mark A. Plummer, Lincoln’s Rail-Splitter: Governor Richard J. Oglesby
Retail: $34.95 ALA: $27.95 IL Sales Tax: $2.03

Mark Washburne, A Biography of Elihu Benjamin Washburne: Congressman Secretary of State, Envoy Extraordinary
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A Student’s (and Parent’s) Lament

by Thomas F. Schwartz

Many parents loaded up the family car or minivan to partake of the annual ritual of taking their sons and daughters to college. With college enrollments at record levels, it is also common for parents to receive urgent requests for money. A letter of Robert Todd Lincoln to his mother recently surfaced reflecting this timeless plea. Another interesting part of the letter concerns George Latham. Both Robert and his friend failed the Harvard entrance exams. Both attended Phillips Exeter for a year. Robert was successful in his second attempt at entering Harvard. George Latham, however, decided to enroll at Yale University. The text is provided in full.

My dear Mother

Cambridge April

Member News

Donald Winkler has completed The Women in Lincoln’s Life, which will be published by Rutledge Hill Press. Winkler is a writer, editor, and retired university administrator who currently resides in Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

Wayne C. Temple, chief deputy director of the Illinois State Archives, received a “Life-Time Achievement Award” from the Abraham Lincoln Museum for his numerous contributions to our understanding of Lincoln and his times.

John Daly, director of the Illinois State Archives, is back at work having fully recovered from his heart attack.

Norbert Hirschhorn created a stir with his article on “Lincoln’s Blue Pills,” published in the summer issue of Perspectives in Biology and Medicine, published by Johns Hopkins University. Hirschhorn argues that Lincoln’s use of blue mass to treat his depression actually resulted in mercury poisoning. Mercury, a heavy metal, was a basic ingredient of the popular remedy used for worms, constipation, depression and a variety of other maladies.

Larry Mensch is under contract with McFarland Publishers to write a Lincoln book.

Congratulations go out to Senator Richard Durbin, Congressman Ray LaHood, and Harold Holzer who will head the Lincoln Bicentennial Commission.

Lincoln books being published and promised in February 2002 are William Gienapp’s biography of Lincoln, Ronald White’s study of Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address, and William Lee Miller’s study of Lincoln’s political virtues.
A Letter from the South

Doctor L.W. Johnson, a surgeon with the Louisiana State University Medical Center, sent us his letter to the editor, defending Abraham Lincoln against a number of detractors. It is published in full:

“Dear Editor:

It has taken me several months to regain my composure and collect my thoughts following reading the scathing appraisal of Abraham Lincoln in your letters to the Editor Section. Anyone who has studied Lincoln certainly knows that such an attack does not merit a response. Without responding to the particulars of the previous letter I personally felt that I must give another Southern perspective.

July 4, 1865 11 AM
Joint Session of Congress
Washington, D.C.

It is with mixed emotions that I address you this morning. I must relay to you a profound sense of relief for the outcome of the recent troubles. We now witness a time of great happiness for those of us Americans who feel that we have won, but a time of unimaginable sadness for those Americans who feel, for now, that we have lost.

I had planned a much different address this morning. One to celebrate the birthday of our great nation, July 4. My mind is capable of such an emotion but I have no conviction for it in my heart.

I have just returned last evening from a wasteland. Our armies have accomplished what I asked of them. The whirlwind of war and the magnificence of a foe asked no quarter has allowed the greatest force ever assembled on this earth to decimate a region which we all thought enough of, to die for.

The Southern region of our country, for better or worse, has nothing left but a sense of pride. Its property is destroyed, its young men are dead, and it is utterly defeated. Its inhabitant’s very sense of self worth is in doubt.

Why did we go to war if not to keep them? Why did young men from the North sacrifice their lives if Southern Americans are not still their needed brothers, and America’s prodigal sons?

Let us understand that their Red, White, and Blue flag was not torn from their great Captain at Appomattox but was freely surrendered when the last ditch had been defended and honor had been served. How hard must it be to suffer defeat. How hard must it be for Americans to accept defeat. We in the North have never lost a war. We have won a great physical battle. It is now time for all, North and South, to win the emotional and spiritual battle of reconciliation and forgiveness. No American of any section of our country can be subdued by martial force alone, they must be swayed and inspired by ideas and ideals.

I am the one human being who can and must shoulder the blame for these vicissitudes. I hold primary responsibility for a time when the rule of law was broken, a time when government was no longer able to afford a forum for debate. I must bear the guilt for a martial decision of a civil matter, and for the greatest failure thus far witnessed on our continent.

Please take the hand of a flawed man and allow me to walk with you this morning into a new dawn for our Country. Let there occur a springtime in our hearts and allow understanding, tolerance, and forgiveness to rule this day. If intolerance, sanctimony, and judgment hold sway then I fear a century of tribulation for this country accentuated by continued loss of precious time wasted upon the pettiness of racism and sectionalism. I ask you citizens in the South, you who along with me risked everything on a martial decision to be fairly decided on a field of battle to rise like the Phoenix from the ashes of the past and allow a man who was not capable of averting war, to, with the help of God almighty win the peace, and be granted the forgiveness of those of you both North and South who have suffered most.

There are those among you who say that it is too soon for forgiveness. That now is a time for punishment and reconstruction of the Southern States in your conceived image. I say that the time for forgiveness and reconciliation is now. It cannot be postponed even until the sun sets this evening. As the sun sets so does a window and moment of opportunity for the exhibition of mercy. A merciful rain rains on all men and blesses both giver and receiver. This moment, for this great nation, and experiment in the democratic process, must not be squandered. Our house divided must be reconstructed and placed upon a foundation of rock for I foresee a time when freedom and independence so dear to all in this American nation will be tested throughout the world. A time when the dark side of humanity will rise and launch forth in an effort to conquer and destroy all that our forefathers have stood for. A time when the malignity of racism will be taken to new depths and a self proclaimed master race will attempt to enslave us all. It will be time gentlemen when this United States will fear not. Our nation will not cower before an evil giant. Our nation will stand, because, we have endured worse. We, both North and South, will have faced a worthier adversary. We will know that our nation North and South will stand for what we believe, the sanctity and independence of the individual and the human spirit. Before the indivisible union of all our regions any power should take pause, and be hesitant, to
arouse the martial spirit of such a people.

Timidity, reticence, and gradualism are not avenues that we may afford. Today is a time for great thoughts and great deeds, a time to paint with wide strokes.

Gentlemen, you may have noticed the four persons who have just entered our chamber. Two of them are of course readily identifiable. The other two perhaps not. The men are the two great generals of the recent troubles. The women dressed in black are cousins and are an example of victims of the recent struggle. One came from my home state of Illinois, the other from the great state of Tennessee. Both lost sons on opposite sides of the low stone wall of Gettysburg. In these four persons we see both victors and vanquished. If you had not been a party to the recent struggle could you pick the one for the other? Does one man look prouder or more triumphant than the other? Does one woman look less saddened than the other? No, gentlemen, I say that they are as one, unidentifiable, and inseparable as victims in our national tragedy.

As God as my witness I will atone from my mistakes and shortcomings. Therefore, with greatest humility on behalf of Americans of all colors, creeds, and sections I am commanding General Grant to send another U.S. Army into the Southern States. This army's mission will be to rebuild what the last destroyed. I will without reservation, due to his actions of the last 40 years and his actions to promote healing and goodwill during the last three months suggest to this Congress and to General Grant that Robert E. Lee of Virginia be recommissioned a General in the United States Army with primary responsibilities for the Army in the Southern States.

I can think of no better way for the South to be healed in body, and we all, Americans, North and South, black and white to begin the healing of our souls. What greater apology can we make to each other and to our forefathers? What greater gift may we impart to our children, than to rebuild together, that which we together, destroyed?

May God almighty guide you in your coming deliberations and show you the way to mercy and understanding.

I thank you.

President Lincoln was of course never afforded the opportunity to make such an address. A drunken coward assassinated him in late April 1865. Every American since that fatal event has wondered what Lincoln’s course of action would have been to heal the wounds of the great Civil War. There are many opinions. Perhaps Carl Sandburg Lincoln’s greatest biographer described him best: “Not often in the story of mankind does a man arrive on earth who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and as soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace, unspeakable and perfect.” As a Southerner who has two sons named for confederate generals present upon the field at Gettysburg it is my right to believe that this is the less traveled road that the greatest of all OUR American Presidents would have chosen and that our beloved South would have felt the soft and healing caress of a drifting fog.”

Unless otherwise indicated, photographs are courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield

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Newsletter design and layout by William B. Tubbs wbt60@earthlink.net

*Bray is the Colwell Professor of English at Illinois Wesleyan University. Lines 3-5 are adapted from the text in Henry C. Whitney’s Life on the Circuit with Lincoln (1892), and the italicized portion of the last line is from a Sacred Harp hymn.
Did the Lincoln Family Employ a Slave in 1849–1850?

continued from page 1

series of picturesque views of the Lincoln household in the year after Abraham Lincoln returned from his solitary term in Congress, including a surprisingly sunny view of Mary Lincoln.

I scrubbed the floors and waited on the table and helped Mrs. Lincoln to clean the dishes and do the washing. She did all the upstairs work, made clothes for the boys, Robert and Willie (since William Wallace Lincoln was not born until December, 1850, Stanton may have been remembering Edward Baker Lincoln, who died in 1850, as “Willie”) and cooked the meals. Mr. Lincoln was a very good and kind man, but I don’t remember anything particular about him, for I was very young. He was a very tall man. That’s all I can remember of him. He used to be at his office all the day long and I did not see much of him, but I never expected to see him the President of the United States.

Mrs. Lincoln was a very nice lady. She worked hard and was a good church member. Every Thursday the Sewing Society of the Episcopal Church would meet at Mrs. Lincoln’s house and make clothes for the very poor people. She was very plain in her ways, and I remember that she used to go to church wearing a cheap calico dress and a sun-bonnet. She didn’t have silk or satin dresses. The children, Robert 6 years old, and Willie a few years younger, were very good boys. I used to take care of them, for they were too small to go to school. We would play around the street of Springfield, and the white children would throw stones at the colored children. I was as bad as any of the white children at throwing, because I lived so much with white people I thought I was white.

Sometimes Mrs. Lincoln would catch me and the boys throwing at colored children, then she would call ‘Ruth!’

‘Mam,’ I would say.

‘What are you throwing at those children for, aren’t you colored?’

‘Yes, mam, but I am not black like them!’

Ruth Stanton stayed with the Lincolns “about a year.” The presumption has been that she was a free person of color. But there are circumstances concerning her arrival and her departure from the Lincolns that raise some questions about this status.

In her interview, Ruth Stanton claimed, “my parents were free.” But Ruth herself was “bound out to General James] Semple’s family, for my mother used to belong to them.” Indeed they did. James Semple had been born in Kentucky in 1798, where he practiced law and was commissioned in the Kentucky militia. He moved permanently to Edwardsville, Illinois in 1827, and served in the Illinois House of Representatives from 1826 until 1833 (putting in a brief stint as an officer in the Black Hawk War). Semple was appointed as a Democrat to fill the vacant United States Senate seat of Samuel McRoberts in 1843, and it was at that point, “when Gen. Semple became a Senator,” that Ruth Burns “was sent to Springfield to live with the family of John Bradford, who was married to Gen. Semple’s sister.” John S. Bradford, in fact, did marry Adaline M. Semple on July 14, 1841, and it was while working for the Bradfords after 1843 that Ruth Burns “first got to know the Lincolns.”

The question is, what was the eight-year-old Ruth Burns’s legal status at the time that she arrived in Springfield? The Bradfords did not move to Springfield until December 1840, just missing the 1840 census, and therefore giving us no glimpse of Ruth Stanton or (as the census-taker would have) her legal status. But if we suppose that her parents, who “were free,” originally arrived in Illinois from Kentucky with James Semple as slaves in 1827, then Ruth Burns (who did not, significantly, claim to have been born free) may have been born under provisions of Article 6, section 3, of the Illinois Public and General Statute Laws (1836) which bound her as an “indentured servant” until age eighteen. Until that time, the Semples or Bradfords could hire her out to families such as the Lincolns (Lincoln’s in-laws, the Edwards and Todds both em-
no mention of any African-Americans in these households, either). What we do know is that Ruth Burns returned to work for the Semple family, and moved with Semple’s son-in-law, Napoleon Mulligan, to St. Louis. There, she married William Stanton, and appears as William Stanton’s widow in the 1888 St. Louis city directory.

This does not, by any stretch of the imagination, make Abraham Lincoln into a slavholder, nor does it even necessarily prove that, in the case of at least one black woman, Lincoln repeatedly told an untruth about not wanting a black woman for a slave. Rather, it underscores the uncertain fluidity of Illinois law concerning people of color. Although Illinois was technically a free state, it had nearly adopted a slave code with the proposed state constitution of 1821, and it continued to make generous provision for transient use of slaves by slave owners who happened to own land or businesses in Illinois, something the Matson slave case in 1847 dramatically underscores. Not until 1848 did the Illinois Constitution abolish all forms of slavery outright; but even that did not touch the other forms of semi-slavery that persisted until the eve of the Civil War, including “apprenticeships” and (according to an 1853 statue) sale to the highest bidder “for the shortest period” in lieu of fines. That the Lincoln family might, for a brief time, have hired from a neighbor family the services of a young black women who lived somewhere in the legal limbo short of freedom is more a testimony to the ambiguity of “free” Illinois rather than a Lincolnian hypocrisy.

*Allen C. Guelzo is a professor of American history at Eastern College in St. Davids, Pennsylvania.

**“That Government of the People, By the People, For the People, Shall Not Perish From the Earth”**

Americans were shocked and terribly saddened by the September 11 terrorist attacks. Targeting civilians and using commercial jets as guided missiles, terrorists have forced Americans to rethink national security measures. As Americans adjust to the new realities and challenges posed by terrorists, we would do well to remember Lincoln’s warning in his January 27, 1838, “Young Men’s Lyceum Address.” In it Lincoln discussed the threats to American political institutions: “At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be out lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher.” Clearly, Lincoln’s point was that as long as Americans remained united and committed to defending the ideals that were expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, they could overcome any danger posed by foreign powers. Terrorists may pose new difficulties when devising an appropriate military response, but terrorists cannot triumph as long as Americans remain committed to the ideals that express their political aspirations and values.
“A Lincoln Evening”

On Wednesday, November 14, 2001, the Abraham Lincoln Association in cooperation with the McLean County Museum of History and the David Davis Mansion will host “A Lincoln Evening,” in Bloomington, Illinois. The evening will begin at 5:00 p.m. where participants will be treated to an enhanced tour of the David Davis Mansion at 1000 E. Monroe Drive. David Davis was the presiding judge of the Eighth Judicial District and one of the key individuals responsible for Lincoln’s election in 1860. Tours will be conducted until 6:30 p.m. From 6:30 until 7:30 p.m. a stand-up buffet dinner will be held at the McLean County Museum of History at 200 N. Main Street. During this time, tours of the museum’s new exhibit, “To Sustain the Union: Central Illinois and the Civil War,” will be offered. Beginning at 7:45, guests will then be treated to a lecture by Michael Burlingame, Professor Emeritus of History at Connecticut College. The evening’s festivities should conclude at 9:15 p.m. Those interested in attending should phone 309.828.1084. The cost of the evening is $25 per person, which includes tours and dinner. All checks should be made payable to “The Abraham Lincoln Association.” This event is part of a continuing series of luncheon and dinner programs hosted at Lincoln sites throughout Central Illinois. The Association wishes to thank State Farm Insurance Company for their generosity in underwriting some of the costs associated with this event.