

Reference notes for Michael Burlingame, *An American Marriage: The Untold Story of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2021).

p. vii - withheld the pardon

David R. Locke in Alexander Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York: North American Review, 1888), 449-450.

p. viii - into disgrace

Browning interviewed by John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln: John G. Nicolay's Interviews and Essays* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 3.

p. viii - of Christ

Alexander W. Pearson (1828-1903) to the editor of the *Philadelphia Times*, n.d., *Philadelphia Times*, 17 January 1887.

p. ix – every woman

Sedgwick, *The Happy Profession* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1946), 162.

p. ix – American romance

Ruth Painter Randall, *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953), 64.

p. ix – pioneer feminist

Emerson, “New Mary Lincoln Letter Discovered,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 101 (2008): 315.

p. ix – legend of the happy marriage

Simon, “Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 11 (1990): 33.

p. ix – apologists for Mary Lincoln

Michael Burkheimer, “The Reports of the Lincolns’ Political Partnership Have Been Greatly Exaggerated,” in *The Mary Lincoln Enigma: Historians on America’s Most Controversial First Lady*, ed. Michael Burkheimer and Frank J. Williams (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 229.

p. ix – he deserved it

Lincoln Lore, no. 15 (February 1937).

p. ix – gloomy as the grave

Herndon to C. O. Poole, Springfield, 5 January 1886, Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln, vol. 1: Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, 2016), 185; Herndon to Truman Bartlett, Springfield, 22 September 1887, *ibid.*, 261; Herndon’s 1865 Lecture, “Analysis of the Character of Abraham Lincoln,” *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 1 (1941): 419n.

p. ix – wicked woman

Herndon to Caroline H. Dall, Springfield, 28 January 1862, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln, Letters*, 20.

p. ix – of Springfield generally

Wilson, *Lincoln before Washington: New Perspectives on the Illinois Years* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 21.

p. xi – other contemporaries is too overwhelming

"Editor's Preface," in Paul M. Angle, ed., *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* (New York: A. & C. Boni, 1930), xli.

p. x – best to Say nothing

Harriet Ann Hanks Chapman to Herndon, Charleston, Illinois, 21 November 1866, *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 407.

p. x- declined to commit himself

Treat's interview with Jesse Weik, 1883, *ibid.*, 725.

p. x – she was a Todd

Mary Nash Stuart quoted by Elliott Danforth, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 10 February 1901, p. 19.

p. x – refused to do so

Mrs. Simeon Francis to Herndon, Portland, Oregon, 10 August 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 624.

p. x – Lincoln's life miserable

Marietta Francis told this to her grandson, Allen F. Edgar. Edgar to Ida Tarbell, West Brighton, Staten Island, N.Y., 12 May 1927, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College. Marietta Francis was the daughter of Lincoln's good friend, Allen Francis, brother of Simeon Francis, editor of the Springfield paper which regularly published anonymous and pseudonymous pieces by Lincoln. In 1843 she was born in Springfield, where she lived until 1861, when she moved with her family to British Columbia. There her father served as a consul.

p. xi – Sympathize with her

Herndon to Isaac N. Arnold, Springfield, 20 November 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 37. "I have always sympathized with Mrs. Lincoln. The world does not know what she bore, or how ill-adapted she was to bear it." William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (originally published in 1889; Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, 2006), 263.

p. xi – hate her

Elizabeth Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-66], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 444.

p. xi – of character

Chicago correspondence by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1 March 1869, *The Revolution* (New York), 11 March 1869.

p. xi – expressed the least

Mary Lincoln to Josiah G. Holland, Chicago, 4 December 1865, and to James Smith, [Marienbad, 8 June 1870], Justin G. Turner and Linda Leavitt Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 293, 566.

p. xii - no affection

Elizabeth Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 443.

p. 3 – John Todd Stuart

On Mary Todd, see Jason Emerson's annotated bibliography, *Mary Lincoln for the Ages* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2019); Stephen Berry, *House of Abraham: Lincoln and the Todds, A Family Divided by War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007); W. A. Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln: A Study of Her Personality and Her Influence on Lincoln* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932); Jennifer Fleischner, *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly: The Remarkable Story of the Friendship between a First Lady and a Former Slave* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003); Jean H. Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987); Ruth Painter Randall, *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953); Ishbel Ross, *The President's Wife: Mary Todd Lincoln, a Biography* (New York: Putnam, 1973); Frank J. Williams and Michael Burkholder, eds., *The Mary Lincoln Enigma: Historians on America's Most Controversial First Lady* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012).

p. 3 – dearth of eligible young women

Kenneth J. Winkle, *The Young Eagle: The Rise of Abraham Lincoln* (Dallas: Taylor, 2001), 62. A matron there recalled that in the 1830s and 1840s, "Girls were in the minority and even those in their early teens were in demand." Catherine Bergen Jones quoted in Octavia Roberts Corneau (Mrs. Barton Corneau), "My Townsman – Abraham Lincoln," 9, typescript of a talk given to the Lincoln Group of Boston, 18 November 1939, Lincoln Reference Files, "Reminiscences," folder 5, Lincoln Presidential Library. This version of Mrs. Corneau's paper is fuller than the one published as "'We All Knew Abr'ham'" in the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 4 (1946): 17-29. It is not clear when Mrs. Corneau conducted her interviews. It may have been as early as 1894 or as late as 1902. Margaret A. Flint to Mrs. James G. Randall, Springfield, 21 March 1950, Randall Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 4 – schoolmate recalled

Recollections of Mary Ballenger Jones, Evansville, Indiana, *Courier and Press*, 24 September 1905. Her features, according to a cousin, "were not regularly beautiful." E[lizabeth] Humphreys Norris to Emilie [Todd Helm], Garden City, Kansas, 28 September 1895, Norris Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Nor did she have an attractive figure; at the age of twenty-two,

she described herself as a “ruddy *pineknot*” with “an exuberance of flesh.” Mary Todd to Mercy Levering, Springfield, [15?] December 1840, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 22.

p. 4 - a company of merry friends

James C. Conkling to Mercy Levering, Springfield, 21 September 1840, Conkling Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 4 – in his mid-twenties

Two years earlier, Speed had befriended Lincoln immediately upon the latter’s arrival in Springfield from the nearby village of New Salem.

p. 4 – as husband and wife

Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interviews with William Herndon, [1865-1866] and 27 July 1887, *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 443-444, 623.

p. 4 – to polish

Katherine Helm, *The True Story of Mary, Wife of Lincoln* (New York: Harper, 1928), 80-81.

p. 5 – awkward and shy

Ninian W. Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 446; Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 62-63; Ida Tarbell’s undated notes of an interview with a Mrs. [no name given] and with Mary Nash Stuart (Mrs. John Todd Stuart), Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College, in Fleischner, *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly*, 96, 338 n.16.

p. 5 – how to behave myself

Lincoln to Mary Owens, Springfield, 7 May 1837, Roy P. Basler et al., eds., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (8 vols. plus index; New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953-1955), 1:78.

p. 5 – “How clean these women look!”

Herndon to Ward Hill Lamon, Springfield, 6 March 1870, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 102.

p. 5 – woman[’]s happiness

Mary Owens Vineyard to Herndon, Weston, Missouri, 23 May 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 256.

p. 5 – Samuel H. Treat

Reminiscences of Catherine Bergen Jones, daughter of the Reverend Mr. John G. Bergen, who founded the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield, in Eugenia Jones Hunt, *My Personal Recollections of Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln*, ed. Helen A. Moser (Peoria, Illinois: Helen A. Moser, 1966), 5.

p. 5 – in Springfield, she said

Frances Todd Wallace in the *Chicago Sunday Times-Herald*, 25 August 1895, copied in the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 2 September 1895.

p. 5 – lacking in polish

An unidentified woman interviewed by Ida Tarbell in 1895, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 5 - too green

Clara Stillwell, "A Few Lincoln-in-Indiana Stories," typescript, 3, Lincoln Papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

p. 5 - tall and gawky

Polly Richardson Egnew's recollections in J. Edward Murr, "Lincoln in Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 14 (1918): 57.

p. 5 - much for books

Eli Grigsby, second interview with Francis Marion Van Natter, Gentryville, Indiana, 12 December 1935, Van Natter Papers, Vincennes University.

p. 6 – not much of a beau

Mrs. [Henry K.] Rule (née Mary J. Godbey) of Tallula, Illinois, quoted in George A. Pierce's dispatch datelined "on the cars," 15 April, *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 16 April 1881.

p. 6 – very bashful

Interview with Susan Reid Boyce, Calistoga, California, correspondence, 22 May 1897, *San Francisco Call*, n.d., copied in the *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), 6 June 1897.

p. 6 – cut up

Havana correspondence, 14 December 1865, *Chicago Republican*, n.d., copied in the *Belleville Advocate*, 5 January 1866. He remained bashful into middle age, admitting in 1858 that "women are the only things that cannot hurt me that I am afraid of." Fred R. Jeliff, "The Lincoln-Douglas Debate," *Galesburg Republican-Register*, 10 October 1896.

p. 6 – worst way possible

Reminiscences of Elizabeth Harmon in Donald G. Richter, *Lincoln: Twenty Years on the Eastern Prairie* (Mattoon, Illinois: United Graphics, 1999), 225; Mrs. Charles Ridgely in Caroline Owsley Brown, "Springfield Society before the Civil War," a paper written in 1914 for the Anti-Rust Club of Springfield, in [Edwards Brown, Jr.], *Rewarding Years Recalled* (privately printed, 1973), 35-36.

p. 6 – of hers with Mr. Lincoln

Orville H. Browning, interview with John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, Michael Burlingame, ed., *An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln: John G. Nicolay's Interviews and Essays* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 2.

p. 6 – whether or no

Sarah Rickard interviewed by Nellie Crandall Sanford, Kansas City, Missouri, *Star*, 10 February 1907.

p. 7 – wanted L. terribly

William Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 11 January 1889, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 299.

p. 7 – Springfield elite

Ida Tarbell's notes of a conversation with Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards, 1895, "Lincoln Marriage" folder, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 7 - of the town

speech by Clinton L. Conkling, 12 February 1919, *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 13 February 1919.

p. 7 – to sharp rejoinder

Octavia Roberts, "'We All Knew Abr'ham,'" *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 4 (1946): 26.

p. 7 – rather pleasant

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 16 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 201, 202; William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, 2006), 134.

p. 7 – to young gentlemen

William Jayne to Herndon, Springfield, 17 August 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 624-625

p. 7 – just what he needed

Laura Catherine Redden Searing, writing under the pen name Howard Glyndon, "The Truth about Mrs. Lincoln," *The Independent* (New York), 10 August 1882. Another female journalist also found her essentially childish. Mary Clemmer [Ames], *Ten Years in Washington; or, Inside Life and Scenes in Our National Capital as a Woman Sees Them* (Hartford: Hartford Publishing Company, 1882), 236-242.

p. 7 – under his protection

Helen Nicolay, *Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Century, 1912), 205. See John and Ann Marie Maguire, *Lincoln's Secretary's Secretary: Helen Nicolay, Artist and Author* (Swan's Island, Maine: Atlantic Road Books, 2017).

p. 8 – in his makeup

Randall, *The Courtship of Mr. Lincoln* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957), 40.

p. 8 – his 'child wife'

Ibid., 88, 40, 193, 22; Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 22, 119, 303, 217.

p. 8 – if I consent

Lincoln to his wife, Washington, 12 June 1848, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:478

p. 8 – always “a father” to her

Mary Lincoln to Sally Orne, n.p., 12 December 1869, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 534.

p. 8 – acts of a child

Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes; or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* (New York: G. W. Carleton, 1868), 235-236.

p. 8 – so trivial

Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 83, 80-81.

p. 8 – wrote him

Speed, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 474.

p. 9 – wanted him to do so

He was remarkably passive in his dealings with women. Burlingame, *Inner World of Lincoln*, 123-146.

p. 9 – and rejected

Mary Todd Lincoln to Eliza Stuart Steele, Chicago, May [23, 1871], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 588; Berry, *House of Abraham*, 9-11.

p. 9 – unloved and unlovable

Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 24, 28-32, 330-333; Charles B. Strozier, *Lincoln's Quest for Union: Public and Private Meanings* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 72-73; Stephen Berry, “There's Something About Mary: Mary Lincoln and Her Siblings,” in Williams and Burkholder, eds., *Mary Lincoln Enigma*, 14-35. Her biographer Ruth Randall wrote: “If we find Mary in adult life resentful of criticism and always struggling with a fundamental sense of insecurity, such maladjustment may well have had its beginning in the tragedy of her childhood.” Her biographer Ruth Randall wrote: “If we find Mary in adult life resentful of criticism and always struggling with a fundamental sense of insecurity, such maladjustment may well have had its beginning in the tragedy of her childhood.” Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 22.

p. 9 – benevolent father

“Surrogate Father Abraham,” in Burlingame, *Inner World of Lincoln*, 73-91.

p. 9 – going on below

James C. Conkling to Mercy Levering, Springfield, 7 March 1841, Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle, *Mary Lincoln: Wife and Widow* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1932), 180-181.

p. 10 - hysterical outbursts

Linda Schierse Leonard, *The Wounded Woman: Healing the Father-Daughter Relationship* (Boston: Shambala, 1983), 127-128.

p. 10 – did not agree

Herndon and Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, ed. Wilson and Davis, 133, quoting a statement given by Mrs. Edwards to Herndon on 3 August 1887; Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 443.

p. 10 – Mentelle's Academy

Mary Lincoln to Elizabeth Keckly, Chicago, 29 October [1867], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 447; Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 40-45. During her final years there, Mary avoided Betsey Humphreys by spending weekdays living with the family of a good friend. Margaret Wickliffe Preston told her grandson Preston Davie that "Mary Todd spent several of her girlhood years" with her "at 'Wickliffe Place' in Lexington, while both girls were attending Madame Charlotte Mentelle's school there." Preston Davie to Louis A. Warren, New York, 19 November 1952, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Mary returned home on weekends. Cf. Randolph Paul Runyon, *The Mentelles: Mary Todd Lincoln, Henry Clay, and the Immigrant Family that Educated Antebellum Kentucky* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2018).

p. 10 – of a stepmother

deposition in the case of George R. C. Todd v. Elizabeth L. Todd et al., regarding the estate of Robert S. Todd, in William H. Townsend, *Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1929), 229.

p. 10 – very dull lives

E[lizabeth] Humphreys Norris to Emilie [Todd Helm], Garden City, Kansas, 28 September 1895, Norris Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; Berry, *House of Abraham*, 20-21.

p. 11 – with their stepmother

Jessie Palmer Weber to Albert J. Beveridge, Springfield, 23 March 1925, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 11 – conventional young stepmother

Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 17.

p. 11 – freely on the subject

E[lizabeth] Humphreys Norris to Emilie [Todd Helm], Garden City, Kansas, 28 September 1895, Norris Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. The hooped skirt was less elaborate than the hoop skirts of the Civil War era.

p. 11 – battle of Shiloh

Noyes W. Miner, "Mrs. Abraham Lincoln: A Vindication," 2-3, manuscript, Small Collection 1052, folder 1, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. This document, dated New York, 1 April 1888, appeared in the *New York Tribune*, 15 April 1888.

p. 11 – mourn his death

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 135-136.

p. 12 – bipolar disorder

Brust, “A Psychiatrist Looks at Mary Lincoln,” in Williams and Burkholder, eds., *Mary Lincoln Enigma*, 237. See also Jennifer Bach, “Was Mary Todd Lincoln Bipolar?” *Journal of Illinois History* 8 (2005): 281-294.

p. 12 – heart would break –

Mary Stuart Woodrow, interview in the Lexington, Kentucky, *Herald*, 14 February 1909. “Perhaps her most intimate friend, outside of Elizabeth Humphreys, was her cousin Margaret Stuart (Mrs. Woodrow).” Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 31.

p. 12 – garret or cellar

Browning, interview with John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 1.

p. 12 – tearful voice

Fred I. Dean to Ida M. Tarbell, Washington, 7 January 1900, Tarbell Papers, Smith College.

p. 12 – launch me away

Mary Lincoln to her husband, [New York], 2 November [1862], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 140.

p. 12 – borderline personality disorder

On her narcissism, see James A. Brussel, “Mary Todd Lincoln: A Psychiatric Study,” *Psychiatric Quarterly* 15, 16 (1941): 14; Berry, *House of Abraham*, 99-100; Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 330-332.

p. 12 – demented

Browning, interview with John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 1.

p. 13 – “slightly insane.”

Mrs. Norman B. Judd, undated interview with Ida Tarbell, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 13 – was insane on the subject of money

Mrs. Stone paraphrased in the diary of John Meredith Read Jr., U.S. minister to Greece, quoted in an undated catalogue of the Old Hickory Book Shop (New York), clipping in the Lincoln Files, “Wife” folder, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee.

p. 13 – her own death

Albert S. Edwards to S. M. Inglis, Springfield, 20 February 1897, Small Collection 923, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 13 – for the insane

Sandburg and Angle, *Mary Lincoln*, 143.

p. 13 – eccentric and unmanageable

On 19 May 1875, she was adjudged insane. The following day she was taken to the Bellevue Place sanitarium in Batavia, Illinois, which advertised itself as a “Hospital for the Insane of the Private Class.” She was released in the following September. See Mark E. Neely, Jr., and R. Gerald McMurtry, *The Insanity File: The Case of Mary Todd Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986); Jason Emerson, *The Madness of Mary Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007).

p. 13 – her right mind

Alexander W. Pearson to the editor, n.d., *Philadelphia Times*, 17 January 1887, p. 4. Pearson studied law with Browning, a good friend of Pearson’s father.

p. 13 – hospital long since

Gideon Welles to [Robert Todd Lincoln], Hartford, 5 July 1875, enclosed in Robert Todd Lincoln to John G. Nicolay, Chicago, 11 November 1876, Nicolay-Hay Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Welles’s wife was one of Mary Lincoln’s closest friends and confidantes in Washington.

p. 13 – Willy in 1862

Illinois State Journal (Springfield), 22 May 1875 .p. 13 -

p. 13 – are well known

Pomeroy’s Democrat (New York), 29 May 1875.

p. 14 - Mrs. Lincoln was insane

Chicago Times, n.d., copied in the *Detroit Free Press*, 18 July 1882.

p. 14 - during his life

Davis to Adeline Burr, 19 July 1882, Adeline Ellery Burr Davis Green Papers, Duke University. Davis added: “The selling of her clothes [in 1867] was an act of insanity – On my remonstrance to her she pled that she had to do so as she was in danger of becoming a pauper – She really had the insane delusion that poverty stared her in the face & this too in the face of owning \$75000. in Govt Bonds.” I am grateful to Jason Emerson for calling this document to my attention.

p. 14 – than she used to be

French to his sister-in-law Pamela French, Washington, 21 May 1865, French Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 14 – for several years

Illinois State Journal (Springfield), 10 October 1867.

p. 14 – reimburse merchants

Lulu Robinson, “Childhood and Girlhood Recollections about Lincoln,” enclosed in Lulu Robinson to a Miss Warner, Bloomington, Indiana, 17 October 1950, Lincoln Collection,

Indiana University. Lulu J. Robinson was the granddaughter of James C. Robinson, a prominent Democrat in Lincoln's day who served in Congress during the Civil War. She heard stories from her grandfather about the Lincolns. He moved to Springfield in 1868, when residents were speaking often about the Lincoln family.

p. 14 – was a sort of insanity

Davis told this to Orville Hickman Browning. Browning diary, 3 July 1873, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side: John Hay's Civil War Correspondence and Selected Writings* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 187.

p. 14 – saddest events occurred

Elizabeth Edwards to Robert Todd Lincoln, Springfield, 12 August 1875, Insanity File, Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 14 – her husband's death

Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 614.

p. 14 – species of madness

Mrs. John A. Logan, *Thirty Years in Washington; or, Life and Scenes in Our National Capital* (Hartford: A. D. Worthington, 1901), 646.

p. 14 – verged on insanity

Mary Clemmer Ames in the *New York Independent*, n.d., copied in the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 8 August 1882.

p. 15 – crazy streak

Undated memo, "Diller," interview with Isaac Diller, Ida Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 15 – clung to them

Berry, *House of Abraham*, xi.

p. 15 – of the family

For a sketch of Dr. Todd's life and character, see Berry, *House of Abraham*, 41-43, 189-190.

p. 15 – of deep melancholy

Evans, *Mrs. Lincoln*, 47-50.

p. 15 – under his care

Testimony of Captain C. W. Brant, in *Report on the Treatment of Prisoners of War by the Rebel Authorities during the War of the Rebellion*, Serial Set # 1391, House Report # 45, Fortieth Congress, Third Session (Washington, 1869), 1086. See also testimony by H. A. Coats, *ibid.*, 1005, 1008.

p. 15 – to a sanitarium

Robert Todd Lincoln to Ben [Helm], Chicago, 11 January 1909, R. T. Lincoln Papers, Chicago History Museum. Mattie Dee Todd was born in 1858 and died in 1909.

p. 15 – prisoners-of-war

Berry, *House of Abraham*, 44-45.

p. 15 – went to War

Washington correspondence, 1 October, *New York Times*, 2 October 1861; testimony of Charles S. Cooper, *Report on the Treatment of Prisoners of War*, 862; Berry, *House of Abraham*, 83-98.

p. 16 – inhuman manner

Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 44-48; Berry, *House of Abraham*, 173-174; Wayne C. Temple, *Abraham Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet* (Mahomet, Illinois: Mayhaven, 1995), 421.

p. 16 – want and destitution

Emilie Todd Helm to Lincoln, Lexington, 30 October 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 16 – age of eighteen

Emilie Todd Helm to Lincoln, Lexington, 30 October 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 16 – committed suicide at the age of 18

Sacramento Daily Union, 27 May 1885.

p. 16 – various asylums

Elizabeth Todd Edwards to Emilie Todd Helm, Springfield, 22 June [no year indicated], Emilie Todd Helm Papers, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort.

p. 16 – in a temper

Jessie Palmer Weber to Albert J. Beveridge, Springfield, 23 March 1925, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress; Albert J. Beveridge to [William E. Barton], Beverly Farms, Massachusetts, 4 January 1926, Lincoln Collection, Brown University. In his letter, Beveridge cited as his source Mrs. Weber, who remembered Ann well.

p. 16 – to her vindictiveness

Mary Lincoln to Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, Washington, 29 September 1861, in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 105. This was a classic example of the psychological mechanism of projection, for, as a Springfield resident who read that letter observed with some justice: “Mary was writing about herself.” Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 46.

p. 16 – not quite crazy

W. A. Evans to William E. Barton, Chicago, 24 July 1929, Barton Papers, University of Chicago.

p.16 – such terrible afflictions.

Elizabeth Edwards to Robert Todd Lincoln, Springfield, 13 August 1875, Insanity File, Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Julia at eighteen married Edward

Lewis Baker, co-owner of the Springfield *Illinois State Journal*. A good friend of hers – the wife of her husband’s business partner – recalled that Julia “was a wayward girl and a very attractive woman to the great sorrow of her family and friends.” In 1872, there “was a scandal connected with her,” and her husband “was sent as Consul to the Argentine Republic,” where he and Julia remained until his death in 1897. The “blow to her mother and father, was one they never recovered from.” Mrs. William H. Bailhache (née Ada Brayman) to Truman Bartlett, Coronado, Colorado, 4 July 1912, Truman Bartlett Papers, Boston University. Bailhache and Baker, who had owned the Alton *Telegraph*, bought the Springfield newspaper in 1855. In 1869, Baker (1829-1897) was appointed U.S. Assessor, a post he held until its abolition in 1873, when President Grant named him U.S. Consul in Buenos Aires. Upon his death, Julia Edwards Baker (1837-1908) settled in Chicago. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 31 July 1908. The scandal involved the Rev. Mr. Gilbert H. Robertson, minister of Springfield’s Second Presbyterian Church, whom she evidently seduced. He apparently was not the only clergyman she waylaid. Chicago correspondence, n.d., in the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, n.d., copied in the Leavenworth, Kansas, *Daily Times*, 15 December 1872. According to the author of this dispatch, “she ‘has a devil’ and the particularity of this devil is that it goes out after ministers -- pastors of the church to which she belongs. She has been in the habit of sending for them in the absence of her husband to ‘administer spiritual consolation;’ and Mr. Robertson is the third minister who has left the church in Springfield which she attends on her account.”

p. 16 – created a scandal

Mary Lincoln to Mercy Levering Conkling, 19 November [1864], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 187-188.

p. 16 – always been eccentric

Octavia Roberts Corneau, “My Townsman – Abraham Lincoln,” 17; Octavia Roberts, “We All Knew Abr’ham,” 29. Born in 1843, she married Eugene C. Clover, who became rector of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Springfield. After he was killed in the Civil War, she lived with her parents in Springfield.

p. 17 – Nervous and Mental Disorders

Temple, *Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet*, 384.

p. 17 – than speak to them

Elodie Todd to Nathaniel Dawson, 23 May, 24 July, 13 June 1861, Stephen Berry and Angela Esco Elder, eds., *Practical Strangers: The Courtship Correspondence of Nathaniel Dawson and Elodie Todd, Sister of Mary Todd* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017), 65, 140, 85.

p. 17 – away from business

R. T. Lincoln to Emilie Todd Helm, Chicago, 25 January 1906, R. T. Lincoln Papers, Chicago History Museum.

p. 17 – nervous breakdown

R. T. Lincoln to George N. Black, Augusta, Georgia, 20 March 1906, Temple, *Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet*, 85.

p. 17 – resembled depression

Jason Emerson, *Giant in the Shadows: The Life of Robert T. Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 354, 369, 389, 409.

p. 19 – the very opposite

Reminiscences of Howard M. Powel, Taylorville, Illinois, *Semi-Weekly Breeze*, 12 February 1909.

p. 19 – in everything

Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Lincoln*, 134.

p. 19 – discussing their marriage

Mary Lincoln to Abram Wakeman, Washington, 30 January [1865], in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 200.

p. 19 – manners, taste, and everything else.

Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (2 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 1:312.

p. 20 – violent contrast –

Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 20. Another biographer, Jean H. Baker, observed that “clearly Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln were an oddly matched couple.” Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 83.

p. 20 – “undistinguished”

Autobiography written for Jesse W. Fell, 20 December 1859, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 3:511; Berry, *House of Abraham*, 2-9.

p. 20 – former governor

Mary Todd Lincoln, interview with William H. Herndon, [September 1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 357; Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 1-5.

p. 20 – not to marry

“Brief account of Lincoln’s courtship & marriage,” typescript marked “From Ms. in [Oliver] Barrett Collection – S[amuel] C. Parks,” Carl Sandburg Papers, University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana.

p. 21 – heart to me

Speed to Herndon, Louisville, 30 November 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 430.

p. 21 – Ninian Edwards

On Matilda Edwards and Lincoln, see Douglas L. Wilson, *Honor's Voice: The Transformation of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 219-242, and “Abraham Lincoln and ‘That Fatal First of January,’” in Douglas L. Wilson, *Lincoln Before Washington: New Perspectives on the Illinois Years* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 99-132; J. Bennett Nolan, “Of a Tomb in the Reading Cemetery and the Long Shadow of Abraham Lincoln,” *Pennsylvania History* 19 (1952): 262-306; Orville H. Browning, interview with Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875,

Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 1; Harry O. Knerr, two essays, both titled “Abraham Lincoln and Matilda Edwards,” enclosed in Knerr to Ida M. Tarbell, Allentown, 26 October 1936, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College; Allentown (Pennsylvania) *Morning Call*, 9 February 1936; Herndon to Ward Hill Lamon, Springfield, 25 February 1870, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 85-86; Jane D. Bell to Anne Bell, Springfield, 27 January 1841, copy, Lincoln files, “Wife” folder, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee; Albert S. Edwards in Walter B. Stevens, *A Reporter’s Lincoln*, ed. Michael Burlingame (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 113; Octavia Roberts, “We All Knew Abr’ham,” 27; William O. Stoddard, *Abraham Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* (New York: Ford, Howard, & Hulbert, 1884), 122; Horace Green, “Love Affairs of Abraham Lincoln: A Study of Suppressed Episodes,” *New York Times*, 12 March 1922.

p. 21 – to bring them

Brown, “Springfield Society before the Civil War,” 33-34.

p. 21 – classes at Alton

Alice Edwards Quigley, a niece of Matilda Edwards, to “Dear Sir,” Alton, Illinois, 22 March 1935, Allentown, Pennsylvania, *Morning Call*, 9 February 1936; Virginia Quigley to [Octavia Roberts] Corneau, Alton, Illinois, 13 July [1939?], F. Lauriston Bullard Papers, Boston University; Orville H. Browning, interview with John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 1; Albert S. Edwards, in Stevens, *A Reporter’s Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 113.

p. 21 – who knew her

Berks and Schuylkill Journal (Reading, Pennsylvania), 8 February 1851, quoted in Nolan, “Of a Tomb in the Reading Cemetery,” 292.

p. 21 – one young lady

Joshua Speed to Mary L. Speed, Springfield, 2 February 1841, Speed Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; Joshua Speed to Eliza Speed, Springfield, 12 March 1841, copy, William H. Townsend Papers, University of Kentucky, Lexington. Charles B. Strozier notes that neither of these letters specifically mentions Matilda. Strozier, *Your Friend Forever, A. Lincoln: The Enduring Friendship of Abraham Lincoln and Joshua Speed* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 109-110. While that is so, the context and timing suggest that both letters do in fact refer to her. Joshua Wolf Shenk, *Lincoln’s Melancholy: How Depression Challenged a President and Fueled his Greatness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 54.

p. 21 – in love with her

Browning, interview with John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 2.

p. 22 – was the case

Octavia Roberts Corneau, “My Townsman – Abraham Lincoln,” 11; Octavia Roberts Corneau, “The Road of Remembrance,” unpublished manuscript, 119, Corneau Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Mrs. Ridgely was the former Jane Huntington.

p. 22 – in love with her

Virginia Quigley to [Octavia Roberts] Corneau, Alton, Illinois, 13 July [1939?], F. Lauriston Bullard Papers, Boston University.

p. 22 – with Matilda Edwards

Helen Dodge [Mr. Benjamin S.] Edwards to Ida M. Tarbell, Springfield, 8 October 1895, copy, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 22 – in love with her

Jane Hamilton Daviess Bell to Anne Bell, Springfield, 27 January 1841, copy, Lincoln files, “Wife” folder, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee. That winter, Matilda Edwards and Mary Todd “seemed to form the grand centre of attraction,” James C. Conkling told his future wife. “Swarms of strangers who had little else to engage their attention hovered around them, to catch a passing smile.” James C. Conkling to Mercy Levering, Springfield, 7 March 1841, Sandburg and Angle, *Mary Lincoln*, 180. Many men in addition to Lincoln and Speed fell for Matilda, who allegedly received twenty-two marriage proposals before she finally wed Newton D. Strong in 1843. Jennie Edwards Nisbet to William E. Barton, La Jolla, California, 8 January 1927, Barton Papers, University of Chicago.

p. 22 – me a Compliment

Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 444. Improbable as that may seem, such reticence can even affect men less bashful than Lincoln. In his seventies, the famed German literary lion and statesman Johann Wolfgang von Goethe fell in love with a beautiful teenager but did not court her. Instead, he had a friend unsuccessfully propose marriage on his behalf. Richard Friedenthal, *Goethe: His Life and Times* (Cleveland: World, 1965), 465.

p. 22 – he married her

Interview with Mrs. Alexander R. McKee (Hardin’s sister Martinette, 1824-1902), “A Romance of Lincoln,” clipping identified as “Indianapolis, January 1896,” Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana. As president, Lincoln appointed Alexander McKee consul in Panama.

p. 22 – of Mary’s cousins

Lucy Jane’s son-in-law told a journalist that “some have questioned whether he [Lincoln] ever wanted to marry Mary Todd. He was in love with her cousin,” Matilda Edwards. Judge Daniel H. Solomon of Iowa, in the Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, 11 January 1919. His wife (née Elizabeth Hardin at Jacksonville in 1839) was John J. Hardin’s niece.

p. 22 - an early love

Elizabeth Grimsley to Ida Tarbell, Springfield, 9 March 1895, copy, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 22 - marry Mary Todd

William J. Butler, grandson of William Butler, in the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 28 February 1937; Sarah Rickard, sister of Mrs. Butler, interviewed by Nellie Crandall Sanford, Kansas City, Missouri, *Star*, 10 February 1907.

p. 23 – from the Contract

Ninian W. Edwards, interview with Herndon, 22 September 1865, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 133. Edwards' wife Elizabeth explained: "The world had it that Mr L backed out, and this placed Mary in a peculiar Situation & to set herself right and to free Mr Lincoln's mind She wrote a letter to Mr L Stating that She would release him from his Engagements." Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], *ibid.*, 444.

p. 23 – released him

Speed, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], *ibid.*, 474-475.

p. 23 – of character

Mary Lincoln to Josiah G. Holland, Chicago, 4 December 1865, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 293. She also expressed regret that she did not have the opportunity to apologize to her husband "for any inadvertent moments of pain, I may have caused him." Mary Lincoln to Charles Sumner, Chicago, 10 April 1866, *ibid.*, 356.

p. 24 – as always

Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 444.

p. 24 – as a loon

Ninian Edwards, interview with Herndon, 22 September 1865; Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], *ibid.*, 133, 443.

p. 24 – Duck fit

Letter from Jacksonville, 22 January 1841, quoted in Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:229n. Basler mistakenly identifies the author as "Martin McKee" instead of Martinette Hardin McKee.

p. 24 – same person

Jane D. Bell to Anne Bell, Springfield, 27 January 1841, copy, Lincoln files, "Wife" folder, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee.

p. 24 – William Butler

James H. Matheny, interview with Herndon, 3 May 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 251; Sarah Rickard, sister of Mrs. Butler, interviewed by Nellie Crandall Sanford, Kansas City, Missouri, *Star*, 10 February 1907.

p. 24 – he had committed

Orville H. Browning, interview with John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 1. Browning added that Lincoln's "insanity was but an exaggerated attack of the fits of despondency or melancholy to which he was subject. . . . his greater trials and

embarrassments pressed him down to a lower point than at other times.” In January 1841, legal business took Browning to Springfield from his home in Quincy.

p. 24 – agony of remorse

Sarah Rickard interviewed by Nellie Crandall Sanford, Kansas City, Missouri, *Star*, 10 February 1907.

p. 24 – as he thought

Jane D. Bell to Anne Bell, Springfield, 27 January 1841, copy, Lincoln files, “Wife” folder, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee.

p. 24 – for his life

Joshua F. Speed, *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln and Notes of a Visit to California: Two Lectures* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1884), 39.

p. 24 – it was terrible

James H. Matheny, interview with Herndon, 3 May 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 251; Speed, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], *ibid.*, 474-475.

p. 25 – lived in it

Ibid.; Speed to Herndon, Louisville, 7 February and 13 September 1866, *ibid.*, 197, 337.

p. 25 – water baths

Shenk, *Lincoln’s Melancholy*, 58-59.

p. 25 – appears to me

Lincoln to Stuart, Springfield, 20, 23 January 1841, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:228-29. In search of a second opinion, Lincoln wrote to Daniel Drake, an eminent Cincinnati physician, describing his symptoms and requesting advice. The doctor replied that he could not recommend a treatment without interviewing the patient. Lincoln read parts of this letter, which is not extant, to Joshua Speed. Speed to Herndon, Louisville, 30 November 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 431.

p. 25 – criticized him

Remarks in the legislature, 8 January 1841, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:226.

p. 25 – discovered it

Speech in the Illinois legislature, [9 January 1841?], *ibid.*, 1:227-228.

p. 25 – voting regularly

House Journal, 1840-1841, 216-262. Lincoln had previously been conscientious, missing only 180 of 1334 roll calls during his four terms in the General Assembly. More than half of those absences occurred during the 1840-1841 session.

p. 25 - loved again

James C. Conkling to Mercy Levering, Springfield, 24 January 1841, Conkling Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 26 – ever knew
Chicago *Tribune*, 12 February 1900.

p. 26 – disappointed indeed
Sarah Hardin to John J. Hardin, [Jacksonville], 26 January 1841, Hardin Family Papers, Chicago History Museum.

p. 26 – if he could
Turner R. King, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 464.

p. 26 – of the law
Conkling to Mercy Levering, Springfield, 7 March 1841, Sandburg and Angle, *Mary Lincoln*, 180.

p. 26 – South America
Stuart to Daniel Webster, Washington, 5 March 1841, color photo, in John A. Lupton, “An Equatorial Change of Climate for Lincoln?” *Lincoln Editor: The Quarterly Newsletter of The Papers of Abraham Lincoln* vol. 5, no. 1 (January-March 2005), 2-3; F. Lauriston Bullard, “When John T. Stuart Sought to Send Lincoln to South America,” *Lincoln Herald* 47 (1945): 21.

p. 26 – afford me
Mary Todd to Mercy Levering, Springfield, June 1841, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Lincoln*, 27. The quote about Richard is from Colley Cibber's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Richard III*.

p. 26 – very sad
Undated notes of an interview Ida Tarbell conducted with Mary Nash Stuart (Mrs. John Todd Stuart), in Wilson, *Honor's Voice*, 285.

p. 26 – so situated
Sarah Edwards to her cousin Milton in Alton, Springfield, [spring 1842], in Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 50.

p. 27 – society world
Sarah A. Rickard Barret (Mrs. Charles Ridgely) to Herndon, Connors, Kansas, 3, 12 August 1888, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 663-664, 665; Anna Miles Herndon, interview with William Herndon, [13 September 1887], *ibid.*, 640; Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 8 August 1888, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 278; interview with Sarah Rickard Barrett by Nellie Crandall Sanford, Kansas City, Missouri, *Star*, 10 February 1907. Jesse W. Weik interviewed Sarah Rickard about the courtship and was told that her elder sister had opposed the match because of the girl's youth. Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 66-68. She “liked him as a big brother” but not as a potential husband. Mrs. Charles Ridgely said that Sarah Rickard (her sister-in-law) “told me Lincoln proposed to her. But she did not take it

very seriously. . . . when he came to be famous she spoke jokingly of it without regret. Held him in high honor but no real affection, and she was very young.” William E. Barton, memorandum of a conversation in Springfield with Mrs. Charles Ridgely, [1921], Barton Papers, University of Chicago.

p. 27 – Louisville, Kentucky

He especially enjoyed conversing with Speed’s brother James, who later recalled: “I saw him daily; he sat in my office, read my books, and talked with me about his life, his reading, his studies, his aspirations.” Address by James Speed at Cincinnati, 4 May 1887, Speed Family Papers, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky.

p. 27 – for the ‘Blues’

Lincoln to Mary Speed, Bloomington, Illinois, 27 September 1841, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:261.

p. 27 – clear of the hypo

Joshua Speed to Mary L. Speed, Springfield, 31 October 1841, Speed Family Papers, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky.

p. 27 – really love her

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 3 February 1842, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:268.

p. 27 – about Speed’s

Speed recalled, “[i]n the summer of 1841 I became engaged to my wife – He [Lincoln] was here on a visit when I courted her – and strange to say something of the same feeling which I regarded as so foolish in him – took possession of me – and kept me very unhappy from the time of my engagement until I was married.” Speed to Herndon, Louisville, 30 November 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 430. “I fancy he [Lincoln] has described his own case in the advice to Speed,” wrote John G. Nicolay, Lincoln’s personal White House secretary and biographer. Nicolay to John Hay, Washington, 24 January 1879, Hay Papers, Brown University.

p. 28 – on the subject

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 5 October 1842, *ibid.*, 1:303; Robert Lee Kincaid, *Joshua Speed, Lincoln’s Most Intimate Friend* (Harrogate, Tennessee: Lincoln Memorial University, 1943), 16.

p. 28 – am upon it

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 3 February 1842, *ibid.*, 1:268.

p. 29 – preparations for it

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 13 February 1842, *ibid.*, 1:269-270.

p. 29 – any effort, picture

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 25 February 1842, *ibid.*, 1:280.

p. 30 – she is otherwise

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 27 March 1842, *ibid.*, 1:282. January 1 is customarily thought to be the day on which Lincoln broke his engagement to Mary Todd, but Douglas L. Wilson has shown that this is most improbable. Wilson, *Honor's Voice*, 231-255.

p. 30 – of the Lord

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 4 July 1842, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:289. In the Book of Exodus (14:13), Moses tells the Israelites as Pharaoh's army closed in on them: "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will show to you today."

p. 31 – been insulted

For a brief account of this episode, see Niall O'Dowd, *Lincoln and the Irish: The Untold Story of How the Irish Helped Abraham Lincoln Save the Union* (New York: Skyhorse, 2018), 17-22.

p. 31 – so interesting

The "Rebecca" Letter, 27 August 1842, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:295-296.

p. 32 – butt of jokes

Article by Shields' widow, Mary Carr Shields, *Boston Post*, 10 February 1929.

p. 32 – in his life

Shields "was a young man who had his reputation for honesty at stake; and to have in addition his personal features and peculiar habits ridiculed in a small but select society in which he daily moved was more than even a saint could have borne." Koerner, undated letter to *The Century Magazine* 33 (October 1887): 974. Mark E. Neely, Jr., observed that it "must be said that the 'Rebecca' letter was abusive enough to provoke Shields' challenge." Neely, *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1982), 181. See also William H. Condon, *Life of Major-General James Shields* (Chicago: Blakely, 1900), 48-49, and Ward Hill Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston: Osgood, 1872), 259.

p. 32 – marriage

Mary Todd Lincoln to Mary Jane Welles, Chicago, 6 December 1865, and to Francis B. Carpenter, Chicago, 8 December 1865, in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 295-296, 299.

p. 32 – accurate

Wilson, *Honor's Voice*, 265-283. To be sure, after the first two "Aunt Rebecca" letters had appeared and Lincoln had owned up to his authorship of the second one, Mary Todd and her friend Julia Jayne may have composed a third letter and definitely did write some satirical poetry signed "Cathleen" that the *Sangamo Journal* ran later. But Julia Jayne's husband "never understood that the Shields duel had any thing to do with hastening the marriage" of Lincoln and Mary Todd. Lyman Trumbull to Jesse W. Weik, Chicago, 17 April 1895, Jesse W. Weik, *The Real Lincoln: A Portrait*, ed. Michael Burlingame (1922; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 378.

p. 32 – friend of Lincoln

Mary Virginia Nash Stuart, undated interview with Ida Tarbell, Tarbell Papers, quoted in Wilson, *Honor's Voice*, 285-286; reminiscences of Christopher C. Brown, *Chicago Times-Herald*, 25 August 1895.

p. 32 – got them together

Mary Todd's words paraphrased by Elizabeth Edwards, interview with Herndon, 27 July 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 623. She added that Anson G. Henry, "who admired and loved Mr. Lincoln," played a key role "in getting Mary and Lincoln together again." *Ibid.* In keeping with Mrs. Edwards's account, most biographers have credited Simeon Francis and his wife with facilitating the rapprochement, but Douglas L. Wilson has shown that John J. Hardin and his wife, who considered herself a "maker of matrimony," played a more important role in that drama. Sarah Hardin to John J. Hardin, Princeton, Mississippi, 17 January 1842, Hardin Family Papers, Chicago History Museum; Wilson, *Honor's Voice*, 281-284. Sarah Rickard offered another version of the event at Jacksonville: "I sat next to Mr. Lincoln at the wedding dinner" just across from Mary Todd. In order not to "bring constraint upon the company," she and Lincoln "spoke to each other and that was the beginning of the reconciliation." Sarah Rickard interviewed by Nellie Crandall Sanford, Kansas City, Missouri, *Star*, 10 February 1907.

p. 32 - Eyes & Ears

Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 444.

p. 33 – impatient to know

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 5 October 1842, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:303.

p. 33 – happily married

Speed told Herndon that "One thing is plainly discernable – If I had not been married & happy – far more happy than I ever expected to be – He would not have married." Speed to Herndon, Louisville, 30 November 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 431.

p. 33 – each other's keeping

William Henry McKnight, a leading Louisville merchant and close friend of Joshua Speed, reporting what Speed had told him, in McKnight to Ida M. Tarbell, Louisville, 1 February 1909, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 4 February 1909.

p. 33 – married that night

Caroline Owsley Brown, quoting Elizabeth Todd Edwards, in "Springfield Society before the Civil War," 34. See also Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 94.

p. 33 – hitched tonight

Betsey Davis, a relative of Dr. Dresser, in Corneau, "Road of Remembrance," 120.

p. 33 – at my house

Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 94; Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards's reminiscences, *Chicago Tribune*, 12 February 1900; Albert S. Edwards in Stevens, *A Reporter's Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 117;

Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 60-61. According to Albert S. Edwards, Lincoln said that he and Mary planned to wed at the home of Simeon Francis.

p. 33 – of my house

Frances Todd Wallace, quoted in Hunt, *My Personal Recollections*, 8.

p. 33 – Ann Rodney

James H. Matheny, interview with Jesse W. Weik, 21 August 1888, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 665; Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 59. Julia Jayne, a long-time friend of Mary's, later wed U.S. Senator Lyman Trumbull. Delaware-born Ann Rodney (d. 1888) was the sister-in-law of Congressman William L. May and the granddaughter of Caesar Rodney, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. In 1843, she married Col. W. H. W. Cushman of Ottawa. Ottawa, Illinois, *Free Trader*, 6 October 1888; Ottawa, Illinois, *Republican Times*, 2 February 1957; George Pasfield to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 13 November 1914, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 378. Beverly Powell, according to William Jayne, clerked in Speed's store, "was very popular, and was regarded as the best dressed man in Springfield." Jacob C. Thompson to Albert J. Beveridge, Springfield, 23 May 1925, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress. In 1911, James A. Connolly, assistant superintendent of schools in Springfield, informed Jesse W. Weik that "I have made such inquiries as I could from the few old persons here who would be likely to remember anything about your man Beverly Powell. Mr E H Thayer, p[a]st 96 years old, who is a merchant here now, and has been since the late 30s, remembers Powell as a clerk in the store of Speed & Bell. He was a neat dresser, quite a popular fellow with the ladies, attended all the balls and parties, and he remembers one occasion when he and Powell got a team and carriage and went three miles in the country for two sisters whom they escorted to a ball and back home next morning after the ball. Mr Thayer says Powell went back to Kentucky, from whence he came. He probably returned there when the Speed & Bell [store] closed out here, for Speed then returned to Kentucky and likely Powell did too. Nobody else here remembers anything about him. The memory of Mr Thayer is wonderful considering his great age, and everybody here goes to him for authentic information about very ancient Springfield matters Mr Thayer also says: 'He was a handsome fellow, tall and straight.'" James A. Connolly to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 20 November 1911, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 347-348.

p. 34 – man and wife

James H. Matheny, quoted in Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 61; Usher F. Linder, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago: Chicago Legal News Company, 1879), 73; James H. Matheny, interview with Jesse W. Weik, 21 August 1888, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 665; John Dean Caton, *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago: Chicago Legal News, 1893), 173-174. A few weeks after the wedding, the Illinois House of Representatives conducted an investigation of Browne, who had been accused of intellectual incompetence, deficient legal learning, and general unfitness for his post. Lincoln helped conduct his defense in a two-day hearing, which resulted in the dismissal of the charges. Harry E. Pratt, "In Defense of Mr. Justice Browne," *Bulletin of the Abraham Lincoln Association* no. 56 (June 1939): 3-8

p. 34 – a love affair

Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards to Ida Tarbell, Springfield, 8 October 1895, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 34 – of the words

Ida Tarbell to T. A. Frank Jones, n.p., 12 December 1922, copy, *ibid.* (Tarbell considered Mary “very foolish” and deplored “her uncontrolled impulses and her inability to discipline herself properly” as well as her “indiscretions and her hysteria.” Tarbell considered Mary “very foolish” and deplored “her uncontrolled impulses and her inability to discipline herself properly” as well as her “indiscretions and her hysteria.” Tarbell to Mrs. Clifford Ireland, n.p., 3 November 1927, copy; to T. A. Frank Jones, n.p., 12 December 1922, copy; and to Charles Rollinson Lamb, n.p., 28 February 1938, copy, *ibid.*

p. 35 – his troubled soul

Eleanor Gridley to W. A. Evans, n.p., 4 June 1932, copy, Gridley Papers, Chicago History Museum.

p. 35 – a slave state

John S. Bradford, in Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 99.

p. 35 – *shall be rich*

Mary Lincoln to Emilie Todd Helm, Springfield, 20 September [1857], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 50.

p. 35 – abandon the idea

Elodie Todd to Nathaniel Dawson, Selma, Alabama, 26 May 1861, Stephen Berry and Angela Esco Elder, eds., *Practical Strangers: The Courtship Correspondence of Nathaniel Dawson and Elodie Todd, Sister of Mary Todd* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017), 69.

p. 35 – well done by

Remarks at Bloomington, 21 November 1860, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:143-144.

p. 35 – satisfactorily replaced

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 8 December 1860.

p. 35 - cannot be answered

Corneau, “The Road of Remembrance,” 118.

p. 35 – doubted that he “really ‘loved’” Mary Todd

Beveridge to William E. Barton, Indianapolis, 24 January 1927, Lincoln Collection, Brown University.

p. 36 – appearing in his discredited book

Intimate Character Sketches of Abraham Lincoln (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1924), 162-163. Rankin’s equally unreliable work, *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, also presents a rosy view of the marriage. Michael Burlingame, “A Hard-Hearted Conscious Liar and an *Oily*

Hypocrite: Henry B. Rankin's Reliability as a Lincoln Informant," in Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 389-398. With justice, William E. Barton, who wrote extensively about Lincoln, aptly called Rankin "a hard-hearted, conscious liar and an oily hypocrite." Rankin's memoirs appeared after the death of Lincoln's friends and acquaintances who might have challenged him. As historians Don E. Fehrenbacher and Virginia Fehrenbacher noted, Rankin's "books about Lincoln have been accepted at face value by some biographers, but a majority of scholars consider them unreliable." *Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher and Virginia Fehrenbacher (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 374.

p. 36 – would permit

Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, ed. Angle, 97, 98.

p. 36 – domestic relations

Whitney to Herndon, Chicago, 4 July 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 621.

p. 36 – as he was

Whitney to Herndon, Chicago, 23 June 1887, *ibid.*, 617.

p. 36 – Mary's sisters

Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 113.

p. 37 – referred to

Emily Todd Helm, "Mary Todd Lincoln: Reminiscences and Letters of the Wife of President Lincoln," *McClure's Magazine*, September 1898, 479.

p. 37 – love this man

Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 110-111. In later life, Mrs. Helm's family pride led her to begin writing a sugarcoated history of the Todds; she burned her diary because, she explained, "there's too much bitterness in it." The sugarcoating masked the bitterness. Stuart W. Sanders, *Lincoln's Confederate "Little Sister": Emilie Todd Helm* (longform essay, ebook, 2015), location 18.

p. 37 – Emilie wanted remembered

Angela Esco Elder, "Emilie Todd Helm (1836-1930) and Mary Todd Lincoln (1818-1882): 'We Weep Over Our Dead Together,'" in *Kentucky Women: Their Lives and Times*, ed. Melissa A. McEuen and Thomas H. Appleton, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 93.

p. 38 – woman at all

Illinois State Journal (Springfield), 2 September 1895.

p. 38 – mother to them both

Berry, *House of Abraham*, 30. Just after Lincoln's assassination, Elizabeth sent a telegram to Mary inviting her to come to Springfield: "I will welcome you to my house as a sister & mother." Elizabeth T[odd] Edwards to Mary Lincoln, telegram, Springfield, 18 April 1865, Telegrams Collected by the Office of the Secretary of War (Bound) 1861-1882, roll 225, vol. 464, p. 57, National Archives Microcopy 473, Record Group 107, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War. I am grateful to Mark Johnson for providing me with a transcript of this item.

p. 38 – husband and wife

Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interview with William Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 443-444.

p. 38 – out of the way

Stevens, *A Reporter's Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 116.

p. 39 - fallen out

“A Kindly Word for Abraham Lincoln’s Widow” by C. E. L., *Christian Register* (Boston), 7 September 1872, in Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 219-220 and Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 196.

p. 39 - deceive another

Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 228, citing Elbert Smith, *Francis Preston Blair* (New York: Free Press, 1980), 313. Smith’s footnote refers to a letter by Elizabeth Blair Lee to her husband, dated 20 April 1865. Smith, *Francis Preston Blair*, 457 n. 5. In fact, he refers to a letter written on April 19, not April 20, which he garbles.

p. 39 – life like theirs

Elizabeth Blair Lee to Samuel Phillips Lee, Washington, 19 April 1865, Virginia Jeans Laas, ed., *Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 497.

p. 39 – in Springfield

Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 228. As noted above, Frances Todd Wallace’s testimony about the happiness of the Lincolns’ marriage is highly suspect.

p. 39 – domestic happiness

Herndon, “Lincoln and Mary Todd,” manuscript, Herndon-Weik Papers, Library of Congress. See also Wilson, *Honor's Voice*, 289-291, 317-321.

p. 40 – bound to her

Speed, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 475.

p. 40 – to Miss Todd

Browning, interview with John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 2.

p. 40 – match all around

John Todd Stuart, interview with Herndon, [late June 1865], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 64.

p. 40 – her family power

Note by Jesse W. Weik, n.d., memo book no. 2, box 2, Weik Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. In Herndon and Weik’s biography of Lincoln, it is speculated that because

“Lincoln was inordinately ambitious,” it was therefore “natural that he should seek by marriage in an influential family to establish strong connections and at the same time foster his political fortunes.” Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Lincoln*, 132.

p. 40 – family distinction

Lincoln to Martin S. Morris, Springfield, 26 March 1843, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:320.

p. 40 – quick and sudden

Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 444.

p. 41 – of its time

Albert S. Edwards, in Stevens, *A Reporter’s Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 116.

p. 41 – a big wedding

Chicago *Times Herald*, 25 August 1895. On 12 May 1839, Frances married William S. Wallace.

p. 41 – to marry her

Matheny, interview with Herndon, 3 May 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 251.

p. 41 – to hell

Lincoln allegedly told this to Speed Butler, son of William Butler. William J. Butler, grandson of William Butler, *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 28 February 1937. See also Salome Butler, daughter of William Butler, in Roberts, “We All Knew Abr’ham,” 28, and in Hunt, *My Personal Recollections*, 10; statement by Speed Butler to Lincoln Dubois, in a questionnaire filled out by Dubois, 15 June 1924, enclosed in Lincoln Dubois to Albert J. Beveridge, 15 June 1924, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress. Douglas Wilson noted that Lincoln may have been alluding to one of his favorite poems, Lord Byron’s *Don Juan*. The poet explained: “I had not quite fixed whether to make him [Don Juan] end in Hell, or in an unhappy marriage, not knowing which would be the severest. The Spanish tradition says Hell: but it is probably only an Allegory of the other state.” Wilson, *Honor’s Voice*, 292.

p. 41 – the shy Lincoln

Temple, *Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet*, 27-28.

p. 41 – a respectable woman

Lawrence M. Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 218. Mary could even have threatened to bring suit against Lincoln for seduction, a felony offense punishable by up to five years in prison or, alternatively, at least five years of marriage to the plaintiff. Brian Donovan, “Gender Inequality and Criminal Seduction: Prosecuting Sexual Coercion in the Early-20th Century,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 30 (2005): 61-88; Melissa Murray, “Marriage as Punishment,” *Columbia Law Review* 112 (2012): 1-65; Jon Miltimore, “How 19th-Century Women Used Seduction Laws to Rope Husbands,” *Intellectual Takeout* website, 20 April 2016.

p. 42 – charged with dishonor

Herndon to Charles H. Hart, Springfield, 12 December 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 55.

p. 42 – shady activities

Michael Burlingame, “Mary Todd Lincoln’s Unethical Conduct as First Lady,” in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln’s Side*, 185-203.

p. 42 – was nineteen

Kenneth J. Winkle, *The Young Eagle: The Rise of Abraham Lincoln* (Dallas: Taylor Trade, 2001), 62; John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 88.

p. 42 – marry at all

Hodder to Albert J. Beveridge, Lawrence, Kansas, 30 May 1925, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress. In this letter, Hodder speculated “that Mary captured him and that he finally married her from an exaggerated sense of justice.”

p. 42 – at her prediction

Margaret Wickliffe (Mrs. William Preston), interview, dispatch datelined White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, 17 July 1882, *Philadelphia Times*, 20 July 1882.

p. 42 – be defeated

Interview with Mrs. Alexander R. McKee (née Martinette Hardin), Marietta Holdstock Brown, “A Romance of Lincoln,” clipping identified as “Indianapolis, January 1896,” Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

p. 43 – rather aristocratic

Linder, *Reminiscences*, 266-267; Joseph Gillespie, annotation on verso of Webb to Gillespie, Carmi, Illinois, 6 December 1854, Gillespie Papers, Chicago History Museum. In early 1842, he confided to a friend: “I wish I was married to some quiet sensible body who would love me a little & my children a great deal. I would enter into [a] compact to stay at home & obey orders the balance of my days.” E. B. Webb to John J. Hardin, Springfield, 6 January 1842, Hardin Family Papers, Chicago History Museum. Webb’s wife had died in 1839.

p. 43 – little objections

Mary Todd to Mercy Ann Levering, Springfield, [15?] December 1840 and June 1841, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 20, 26.

p. 43 – that was all

Mary Edwards Raymond, *Some Incidents in the Life of Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards* (n.p.: n.p., 1909), 16.

p. 43 – that of friendship

Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 73.

p. 43 – sensual woman

Herndon told this to Caroline Dall in the fall of 1866, according to Dall's "Journal of a tour through Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio, Oct. & Nov. 1866," entry for 29 October 1866, Dall Papers, Bryn Mawr College. Helen R. Deese, who is editing Dall's journal for publication, believes that its entries are not contemporary but were written three decades later, based on notes taken in 1866 and no longer extant. Douglas L. Wilson, "Keeping Lincoln's Secrets," *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 2000, 84.

p. 43 – strong passions

William Jayne to Herndon, Springfield, 17 August 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 624-625.

p. 43 – his prayers

Helm, *Mary Wife of Lincoln*, 84, 80-81.

p. 43 – to Kiss her

James Gourley, interview with Herndon, [1865-66], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 453.

p. 43 – indicated as much

Wilson, "Keeping Lincoln's Secrets," 88.

p. 43 – many a woman

David Davis, interview with Herndon, 20 September 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 350.

p. 43 – approach of women

Herndon to James H. Wilson, n.p., 23 September 1889, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 307.

p. 44 – BUT I WON'T

Lincoln told this to James A. Briggs, a Cleveland attorney and businessman who served as the Ohio state agent in New York and was a Republican party leader and orator. Cincinnati *Commercial*, n.d., copied in the Hartford *Courant*, 26 May 1866. Lincoln commended Briggs to the attention of William Henry Seward, saying "I know James A. Briggs, and believe him to be an excellent man." Lincoln to Seward, Washington, 11 August 1862, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 5:367.

p. 44 – devilish passion

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 23 January 1890 and January 1891, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 311, 334. Herndon went on to say that Lincoln suspected that he had contracted syphilis from her. Some writers have speculated that Mary Todd Lincoln contracted that disease from her husband and died of it. The best evidence suggests, however, that she died of diabetes, and that he did not have that venereal disease. Norbert Hirschhorn and

Robert G. Feldman, "Mary Lincoln's Final Illness: A Medical and Historical Reappraisal," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 54 (1999): 511-542.

p. 44 – what had happened

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 5 January 1889, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln, Letters*, 296. Douglas Wilson sensibly observed that these "stories of overnight encounters on the road with young women" were "probably based on real incidents," though they "may have been colored by the familiar genre of stories about 'the farmer's daughter.'" Wilson, "Keeping Lincoln's Secrets," 81.

p. 44 – the thing ended

N. W. Branson to Herndon, Petersburg, Illinois, 3 August 1865, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 90.

p. 44 – thousand strings

Henry C. Whitney to Herndon, 23 June 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 617. The phrase comes from the text of a hymn by Isaac Watts: "Let Others Boast How Strong They Be," the third stanza of which reads:

Our life contains a thousand springs;
And dies if one be wrong;
Strange, that a harp of thousand strings
Should keep in tune so long.

p. 45 – sexual matters

Henry C. Whitney to Herndon, 23 June 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 617.

p. 45 – the head in

C. C. Brown, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], *ibid.*, 438. Lincoln had attended Brown's wedding. "Autobiography of Christopher C. Brown," in [Brown], *Rewarding Years Recalled*, 14.

p. 45 – damned old fiddle

Carl Sandburg's notes of an interview with Joseph Fifer, [1924], Sandburg-Barrett Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Leonard Swett was Fifer's informant.

p. 45 – serviced Lincoln

Caroline Dall, "Journal of a tour through Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio, Oct. & Nov. 1866," entry for 30 October 1866, Dall Papers, Bryn Mawr College.

p. 45 – in Galena

John Todd Stuart, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 481.

p. 45 – in that way

A. Y. Ellis, statement for Herndon, enclosed in Ellis to Herndon, Moro, Illinois, 23 January 1866, *ibid.*, 171.

p. 45 – of his neighborhood

Herndon's account in Caroline Dall, "Journal of a tour through Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio, Oct. & Nov. 1866," entry for 29 October 1866, Dall Papers, Bryn Mawr College.

p. 45 – with the women

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 10 December 1885, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 174.

p. 46 – woman alone

Adam Badeau, *Grant in Peace: From Appomattox to Mount McGregor; A Personal Memoir* (Hartford: S. S. Scranton, 1887), 356-357.

p. 46 – lady's chamber

Battle Axe, and Political Reformer (Winchester, Illinois), 19 November 1842, in Thomas F. Schwartz, "'—in short, he is married!': A Contemporary Newspaper Account," *For the People: A Newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association* (winter 1999), 4. The quoted verse is from Shakespeare's Richard III.

p. 46 – profound wonder

Lincoln to Samuel D. Marshall, Springfield, 11 November 1842, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:305.

p. 49 – connubial felicity

Shelby v. Shelby, bill for divorce in Lincoln's hand, 8 March 1841, File ID:L04525, Martha L. Benner and Cullom Davis et al., eds., *The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln: Complete Documentary Edition*, 2nd edition (Springfield: Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, 2009), <http://www.lawpracticeofabrahamlincoln.org> (hereafter cited as *LPAL*).

p. 49 – William Wallace

Reminiscences of Frances Todd Wallace, *Chicago Times Herald*, 25 August 1895; Caroline Owsley Brown, "Springfield Society before the Civil War," in [Edwards Brown Jr.], *Rewarding Years Recalled* (privately printed, 1973), 33.

p. 50 – in this line

This is Herndon's annotation on the notes of an interview he conducted with Elizabeth Todd Edwards and her husband Ninian Edwards, 27 July 1887, Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 623.

p. 50 – bite at all

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 16 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 202.

p. 50 – being sour

S. Bledsoe Herrick, "Personal Recollections of My Father and Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Davis," *Methodist Quarterly Review* (Nashville) 64 (October 1915): 667; Mrs. David Davis to Mrs. David R. Williams, Springfield, 23 February 1846, photostatic copy, Davis Papers, Chicago History Museum.

p. 51 – were assembling \$\$\$

Reminiscences of Mrs. George Chatterton (née Margaret Lanphier) in Octavia Roberts, "We All Knew Abr'ham," *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 4 (1946): 28; Octavia Roberts Corneau, "My Townsman – Abraham Lincoln," typescript of a talk given to the Lincoln Group of Boston, 18 November 1939, p. 14, Lincoln Reference Vertical Files, "Reminiscences," folder 5, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. The latter document is an expanded version of the author's

p. 51 – from the room

Mrs. Jacob M. Early observed this scene. Judith Peterson, "Secret of an Unhappy Incident," *Illinois Junior Historian* 5 (February 1952): 91. The author heard this story from her grandmother's cousin, Beulah Miles Wood, a descendant of Mrs. Early, who married George Miles after Jacob Early died.

p. 51 - humiliation and silence

Mrs. Early often told this story to her nephew Jimmy Miles, who in turn related it to Dale Carnegie. Carnegie, *Lincoln the Unknown* (New York: Perma Giants, 1932), 71-72. Carnegie spent a summer in Petersburg and Springfield, writing and interviewing people whose ancestors had known Lincoln. *Ibid.*, ix.

p. 51 – out of the room

Thurlow Weed observed this outburst. Alvan F. Sanborn, ed., *Reminiscences of Richard Lathers: Sixty Years of a Busy Life in South Carolina, Massachusetts and New York* (New York: Grafton Press, 1907), 184.

p. 51 – ignored for hours

Reminiscences of William Gabriel Beck (1819-1901), son of James Beck (d. 1828) and Sarah Evans Beck (1792-1877), proprietress of the Globe Tavern, in Effie Sparks, "Stories of Abraham Lincoln," 20-21, manuscript, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College. The author, Mrs. Ralph S. Sparks, lived in Newton, Iowa. According to an obituary of William Gabriel Beck, who also lived in Iowa, there "was a warm intimacy between the family of the great statesman and that of his landlady, and the Becks were very familiar with the domestic life of the Lincolns and with the peculiarities of Mr. Lincoln. On Mr. Beck's mind, of course, the drolleries of Mr. Lincoln made the greatest impression, and he always had a fund of Lincoln stories at his command, many of which have never found their way into print." Fairfield, Iowa, *Ledger*, 30 January 1901. On Sarah Beck, see Boyd B. Stutler, "Mr. Lincoln's Landlady," *American Legion Magazine* 36 (February 1944): 20, 46-47.

p. 51 – irritate her husband

Caroline Dall, "Journal of a tour through Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio, Oct. & Nov. 1866," entry for 29 October 1866, Dall Papers, Bryn Mawr College. Dall's sources were documents gathered by William Herndon and conversations she had with people in Springfield. Among those

documents were two small notebooks with highly sensitive material; in 1869 Herndon lent them to Ward Hill Lamon, who never returned them. They have evidently disappeared. Douglas L. Wilson, "Keeping Lincoln's Secrets," *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 2000, 78-88.

p. 52 – any damage

Herrick, "Personal Recollections," 667-668; statement of Elizabeth McMurtrie Bledsoe Wayland, 16 August 1927, Carl Sandburg Papers, University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana; Sophia's own daughter later said that because Lincoln "was unable to secure a nurse for his wife, my mother bathed the baby every morning for her." Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, Bledsoe Family History, typescript of excerpts made by David Rankin Barbee, Albert Taylor Bledsoe Papers, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

p. 52 – to bed herself

Sparks, "Stories of Abraham Lincoln," 22.

p. 52 – put him down

Ibid., 23-24.

p. 53 – his wife Maria

On the Biddles, see Richard E. Hart, *Lincoln's Springfield: Benjamin Robert Biddle: Abraham Lincoln's Tailor and Friend* (privately printed, Spring Creek Series, 2018), and Esther Moreland Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage* (Woodland, Calif.: n.p., 1944).

p. 53 – far into the night

Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 56. Lincoln also paid cash for a suit Biddle made him: "On May 16, 1843 his largest single day's purchase at [John] Irwin's [store] was made. The \$45.37 total included \$32.50 for cloth, \$3.87 for trimmings and \$9 to tailor Benjamin R. Biddle for making a suit for Mr. Lincoln." Harry E. Pratt, "The Lincolns Go Shopping," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 48 (1955): 66.

p. 53 – his latest story

Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 80.

p. 53 – otherwise have been

Ibid., 61. The Biddles were Mrs. Leithold's grandparents, who raised her because her mother did not like her. Mrs. Leithold had access to family diaries and letters dating from that period and often heard her grandparents talk about the Lincolns.

p. 53 – on every occasion

Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 80, 82.

p. 53 – look like somebody

Mrs. John Lyman Child (née Mary Ellen Anderson), *Central New Jersey Home News* (New Brunswick), 12 February 1920; reminiscences of Page Eaton, *Utica Herald*, n.d., copied in the *Chicago Tribune*, 4 February 1868.

p. 54 – head too small

Carnegie, *Lincoln the Unknown*, 71.

p. 54 - annoyed his wife

Harriet Hanks (Mrs. A. Chapman), interview with Jesse W. Weik, [1886-1887], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 646.

p. 54 – merry war

Emilie Todd Helm, interview with Jesse W. Weik, 22 March 1887, *ibid.*, 612.

p. 54 – to complain of

Norman F. Boas, “Unpublished Manuscripts: Recollections of Mary Todd Lincoln by Her Sister Emilie Todd Helm; An Invitation to a Lincoln Party,” *Manuscripts* 43 (Winter 1991): 25.

p. 54 - sake of her husband

Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 80.

p. 54 – we were acquainted

Lincoln to his wife, Washington, 16 April 1848, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:466.

p. 54 – severe headache

Mary Lincoln to her husband, New York, 6 December 1863, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 159.

p. 54 – they leave you

Mary Lincoln to Mary Jane Welles, Washington, 27 May 1864, *ibid.*, 176.

p. 54 – of the day

Mary Lincoln to George D. Ramsay, Washington, 20 July 1864, *ibid.*, 177.

p. 54 – bilious headaches

Lincoln to Robert K. Stone, Washington, 26 May 1864, in Thomas F. Schwartz, ed., “Whither the Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln?: More Unpublished Lincoln Letters,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 13 (1992): 55.

p. 55 – things in general

John E. Washington, *They Knew Lincoln*, ed. Kate Masur (1942; New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 133.

p. 55 – nervousness and irritability

Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 81. Baptist minister William Miller of Vermont predicted that Christ's second coming was imminent.

p. 55 – practice or politics

Ibid., 82.

p. 55 – good nurse

William G. Greene interviewed by George A. Pierson, “on the cars,” 16 April 1881, Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, n.d., copied in the Washington *National Republican*, 26 April 1881.

p. 55 – home all day

Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 82.

p. 55 - many lonely hours

Gibson William Harris, “My Recollections of Abraham Lincoln,” *Woman’s Home Companion*, February 1904, 11.

p. 57 – kind of work

Harriet Hanks Chapman, interviewed by Jesse W. Weik, Charleston, Illinois, 16 October 1914, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 328.

p. 57 – and his wife

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 1 December 1885, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 172.

p. 57 – to her home

Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 54.

p. 57 – she might choose

“Anecdotes of Mrs. Lincoln,” by “a neighbor of the family at the time of President Lincoln’s funeral,” quoted in *The News* (Springfield), ca. 17 July 1882, clipping, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana. In 1860, a visitor to the Lincoln home heard her cry out: “Abraham! Abraham! Come and put this child to bed.”

p. 57 – all the day

Mrs. Sina Wilbourn, interviewed by Bond P. Geddes, Omaha *Daily News*, 24 January 1909. In 1842, Kentucky-born Sina Henderson wed Robert W. Wilbourn in Sangamon County. According to the 1850 census, she was twenty-nine years old; her husband, a farmer born in Kentucky, was then thirty-eight. She alleged that her husband knew Lincoln in New Salem.

p. 57 – he said: “I promised.”

Paraphrased remarks of Mrs. John S. Bradford, a Springfield neighbor of the Lincolns, to Ida Tarbell, memo in “Mary Todd Lincoln” folder, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College; Mrs. John S. Bradford, quoted by Judith Bradner, in Walter B. Stevens, *A Reporter’s Lincoln*, ed. Michael Burlingame (1916; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 94.

p. 58 – philosophically -

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 19 November 1885, Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln, vol. 1: Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, 2016), 167.

p. 58 – of the babies

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 19 November 1885, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 167.

p. 58 – of the ballroom

Thomas S. Dowling quoted in the Charleston, Illinois, correspondence, 4 January, St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, 6 January 1887, in Stevens, *A Reporter's Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 160.

p. 58 – there a minute

Mary Todd Melvin Dewing, a neighbor and friend of the Lincolns, *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 February 1935.

p. 58 – breakfast meat

“Anecdotes of Mrs. Lincoln,” by “a neighbor of the family at the time of President Lincoln’s funeral,” quoted in *The News* (Springfield), ca. 17 July 1882, unidentified clipping, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana; Herndon to Isaac N. Arnold, Springfield, 24 October [18]83, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 155.

p. 58 – basket on his arm

Reminiscences of Page Eaton, Utica *Herald*, n.d., copied in the Chicago *Tribune*, 4 February 1868.

p. 59 – caring for them

Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, “Six Months in the White House,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 19 (Oct.-Jan., 1926-1927): 54.

p. 59 – about her children

Julia Sprigg quoted in Carlos W. Goltz, *Incidents in the Life of Mary Todd Lincoln* (Sioux City, Iowa: Press of Deitch & Lamar, 1928), 50.

p. 59 – you get back

Elizabeth Lushbaugh Capps (1842-1936), “Early Recollections of Abraham Lincoln,” Lincoln Reference Vertical Files, “Reminiscences,” folder 1, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 59 – of the neighborhood

Elizabeth Lushbaugh Capps, interview with Hannah Hinsdale, clipping dated Yakima, Washington, 2 February [1929?], Lincoln Shrine, A. K. Smiley Library, Redlands, California.

p. 59 – half crazy

Margaret Ryan, interview with Jesse W. Weik, 27 October 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 597.

p. 60 – her some sense

Reminiscences of Mrs. Cecelia McConnell (née Welch) (1838-1938), who in 1856, at the age of eighteen, went to Springfield to live with her aunt and uncle. Buffalo *Courier-Express*, 11 August 1929, section 9, p. 2. Her uncle witnessed the peddler telling the story to Lincoln.

p. 60 – to do anything

John B. Weber, interview with Herndon, Pawnee, Illinois, [ca. 1 November 1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 389-390; Elizabeth Capps, "My Early Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," Lincoln Reference Vertical Files, "Reminiscences," folder 1, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 60 – storm was over

Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 120.

p. 60 – times of trial

Grimsley, "Six Months in the White House," 67.

p. 60 – cook stove

Elizabeth Capps, "My Early Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," Lincoln Reference Vertical Files, "Reminiscences," folder 1, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 60 – yes, Mary

Archibald L. Bowen, "A. Lincoln: His House," *Lincoln Centennial Association Papers*, 1925, 63.

p. 60 – calm her down

Fred I. Dean to Ida M. Tarbell, Washington, 7 January 1900, Tarbell Papers, Smith College.

p. 61 – will take him

Lincoln to Johnston, Shelbyville, 9 November 1851, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 2:112.

p. 61 – caused hard feelings

Thomas L. D. Johnston, interview with Herndon, [1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 532.

p. 61 – a boy around

Memories of Charles Henry Dickey (pamphlet; Oakland, California: Bennett and Morehouse, 1926), 7.

p. 61 – church member

Interview with Mrs. Stanton, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, 25 November 1894.

p. 62 – household duties

Recollections of Dr. William G. Ralston of Evansville, Indiana, who tended to Mrs. Brown shortly after the Civil War, Evansville, Indiana, *Courier and Press*, 19 September 1909, p. 6.

p. 62 – submissive as possible

Mary Lincoln to Hannah Shearer, Springfield, 2 October 1859, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 59.

p. 62 – with little Tad

Recollections of Mrs. Mary Gaughan of 146 Cornelia Street, Springfield, quoted in “Lincoln’s Domestic Life,” Chicago *Times-Herald*, 30 August 1896.

p. 62 – she was tyrannical

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 19 November 1885, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 167.

p. 62 – servant troubles are founded on truth

Julia Isabel Sprigg interviewed in the Omaha *World Herald*, 19 February 1927, p. 7.

p. 62 – hot tempered

Mary Lincoln to Emilie Todd Helm, Springfield, 23 November 1856, in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 46; Paul M. Angle, “Notes of Interview with Mrs. Fanny Grimsley, July 27, 1926,” enclosed in Angle to William E. Barton, Springfield, 10 January 1927, William E. Barton Papers, University of Chicago. Many American housewives complained about colleens in their service. Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

p. 62 – often struck servants

Obituary of Barbara Voepel (Mrs. John) (b. 1833), *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 25 January 1913, p. 9; *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 25 January 1913, p. 1; Margaret Ryan, interviewed by Jesse W. Weik, 27 October 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 597.

p. 63 – leave his employ

Mrs. Thomas Hill (née Ellen Matthews, 1841-1930), interviewed in articles datelined 26 August (Wichita *Daily Eagle*, 28 August 1926) and 28 August (Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, 29 August 1926).

p. 63 – her earlobe

Mrs. Thomas Witherspoon (Wilma) to the Superintendent of the Lincoln Home National Historic Site, Fort Scott, Kansas, 7 September 1992, copied in an unpublished report by Francis O. Krupka, the Historical Architect for Lincoln Home from 1987 to 1998, 15 March 1993, files of the Lincoln Home National Historic Site, Springfield, Illinois. I am grateful to Mark Johnson for calling Krupka’s work to my attention, and to Susan Haake for providing copies of his reports.

p. 63 – girl’s arm

Obituary of Mary M. Knudson Jensen in the Hoopston, Illinois, *Chronicle*, 25 July 1912, copied *ibid*. Francis O. Krupka, historical architect of *Lincoln Home* National Historical Site, conducted extensive research about the Knudson family and noted that “no documentary record of either Knudsen sister working in the Lincolns’ Springfield home as a young girl (ca. 1849-1860/61) is known to survive.” He added that such a lack of documentation “is not unusual,” but that his research made it seem plausible that they had done so. *Ibid.*, 18.

p. 63 – wed her

James M. Guinan to whom it may concern, Petersburg, Illinois, 27 April 1995, in “Mary (Molly) Hogan Kelly,” an unpublished report by Francis O. Krupka, *ibid.* Guinan shared what he had been told by Honore McMurray, a granddaughter of Mary Hogan Kelly. He himself was a great great grandson of Mrs. Kelly.

p. 63 – Jean Baker

Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 107.

p. 63 – window after him

Paul M. Angle, “Notes of Interview with Mrs. Fanny Grimsley, July 27, 1926,” enclosed in Angle to William E. Barton, Springfield, 10 January 1927, William E. Barton Papers, University of Chicago; Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 107. “Philip Dingle,” age five, appears in the 1850 census of Sangamon County, and the 1860 census lists Phillip Dinkell living in the Lincoln household, perhaps as a servant, though the census taker left blank the box where his status could have been entered. Just above his entry is a listing for M. Johnson, identified as a servant. According to his brother, Phillip studied for the ministry in Chicago. George J. Dinkel to Lincoln, Memphis, 28 May 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress. Military records show German-born Philip Dinkle, age 18, on the rolls of the Union Army in 1862-1863. He died of consumption in 1865. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 27 October 1865. His widowed mother lived a block away from the Lincolns on South Edwards Street between Eighth and Ninth, according to the 1860 Springfield city directory. Wayne Temple, “The Dinkles and the Lincolns” (pamphlet; Springfield: Abraham Lincoln Association, 2020).

p. 63 – of the street

Corneau, “My Townsman – Abraham Lincoln,” 14.

p. 64 – fifteen years

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 19 November 1885, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 226-228. Cf. Roland W. Diller’s recollections in Paul Hull, “Lincoln in Springfield,” *New York Mail and Express*, 8 February 1896, p. 15.

p. 64 – did her good

Agnes Mischler, daughter of Philip Mischler Jr. (1848-1924), recalling what was told to her by her grandmother Elizabeth, who braided Mrs. Lincoln’s hair. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 15 December 1963. The Mischlers lived at 800 East Edwards Street, at the intersection of Eighth Street, a block from the Lincoln home. Phillip Mischler Jr. played with Willie and Tad Lincoln. Janice A. Petterchak, *John Thomas Trutter: A Profile of Legacy and Leadership* (Rochester, Illinois: Legacy Press, 1997), 3-4.

p. 64 – good drubbing

Atchison, Kansas, correspondence, 29 October, *Topeka Daily Capital*, 30 October 1895.

p. 64 – she was too

Reminiscences of the Rev. Mr. Albert N. See, McCracken (Kansas) *Enterprise*, 13 April 1923. See had been a member of the 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers, known as the Bucktails

p. 65 – over two years

Weik's interview of Margaret Ryan, 27 October 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 596-597; Weik, *Real Lincoln*, 100; Weik, "More Stories of Lincoln," Decatur, Illinois, correspondence, 19 August [no year indicated], *Indianapolis Times*, n.d., clipping, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Cf. William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (1889; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 260. Weik refers to the servant only as Maria, but it is clear that the person in question was Margaret Ryan. Weik was somewhat careless about people's names. For example, he referred to the miller Jacob Tiger as "Taggart."

p. 65 – ashamed of myself

Elizabeth Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 445.

p. 65 – increased their pay

Justina De Crastos's son Edward told this to V. Y. Dallman (Dallman, "Lighter Vein," *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 21 January 1947, p. 6); Mary M. Harris, *Lincoln Memoirs: From the Log Cabin to the White House* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., 1908), caption beneath a photo of Norsis Donnegan on an unnumbered page. Narcisa Donnegan is listed in the 1870 Sangamon County census as a 36-year-old living with Leana Knox, evidently her mother.

p. 66 – short of expectations

Eugene Genovese, *In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and AfroAmerican History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), 118.

p. 66 – in everyday life

Eugene Genovese, *In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and AfroAmerican History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), 118.

p. 66 – and girls too

Anna King to Thomas Butler King, 8 June 1849, in Elizabeth Fox Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 365.

p. 66 – the very cradle

Cary, *Letters on Female Character: Addressed to a Young Lady, on the Death of Her Mother* (Richmond: A. Works, 1828), 203-204. Thomas Jefferson made a similar point in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 288.

p. 67 – and more too

John F. Mendosa to James R. B. Van Cleve, Springfield, 2 July 1908, Lincoln Reference Vertical Files, "Reminiscences," folder 3, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 21 January 1909.

p. 67 – he laughed

Kent's statement in Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 124.

p. 67 – get ice again

Statement of Josiah P. Kent, 21 November 1916, *ibid.*, 362-363.

p. 67 – them unsellable

Isaac R. Diller interview with Weik Springfield, 21 November 1916, *ibid.*, 351. See also *ibid.*, 93-94.

p. 67 - overparticular customer

Malden Jones, "Afterglow," *Illinois State Journal*, (Springfield), 13 February 1930, p. 8. Jones' unidentified informant was perhaps John Thomas Trutter, grandson of Philip Mischler Jr., who was born ca. 1850 and played with the Lincoln children.

p. 67 – pronounced Stingy

Harriet A. [Hanks] Chapman to Herndon, Charleston, Illinois, 10 December 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 512. She added that Mary Lincoln "loved to put on *Style*."

p. 68 – very saving habits

Josiah P. Kent, interview with Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 21 November 1916, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 363; Milton Hay, interview with Jesse Weik, [1883-1888], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 729.

p. 68 – sugar bowl

Ida Tarbell, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1924), 254-255.

p. 68 – collect \$25

James Henry Haynie, *The Captains and the Kings: Intimate Reminiscences of Notabilities* (London: T. Werner Laurie, n.d.), 78.

p. 68 – goodly amount

Reminiscences of Page Eaton, *Utica Herald*, n.d., copied in the *Chicago Tribune*, 4 February 1868.

p. 68 – needs it badly

Herndon quoted in Gibson William Harris, "My Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," *Woman's Home Companion*, January 1904, 15.

p. 69 – feed the babies with

Reminiscences of Page Eaton, *Utica Herald*, n.d., copied in the *Chicago Tribune*, 4 February 1868.

p. 69 – would not take it

Cogdal told this story to Josiah G. Holland. Holland, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. Bill, 1866), 93.

p. 69 – would be paid for

Unidentified interview with Mrs. Charlotte Rodrigues De Souza, in Eileen Lynch Gochanour, *The Gathering of the Portuguese* (Springfield: Wanda Watkins Allers, 1984), 161; Mrs. Charlotte Rodrigues De Souza, photocopy of an unidentified clipping from a Springfield newspaper, [ca. April 1930], folder marked “Servants,” Lincoln Research Vertical Files, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; Marcia Brainerd Odam, “Abraham Lincoln’s Cook,” *Denver Post*, 16 August 1910.

p. 69 – from the Lincolns

Illinois State Journal (Springfield), 10 May 1892.

p. 69 – sent it over

Reminiscences of Olivia Leidig Whiteman (Mrs. James M.), Vandalia, Illinois, correspondence, 4 February, New York *Herald*, 10 February 1929, section 3, p. 4.

p. 69 – cold, aristocratic blood

Herndon to Isaac N. Arnold, Springfield, 24 October [18]83, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 154.

p. 70 – a savage

Herndon to Weik, Springfield, 9 January 1886, *ibid.*, 193-194. Herndon thought the young man’s name was Charles Lewis who was “somehow a nephew of Mrs. Lincoln or probably other relative.”

p. 70 – from a party

Harriet Hanks Chapman interview with Jesse Weik, 16 October 1914, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 329; Harriet Hanks Chapman, interview with Jesse W. Weik, [1886-1887], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 646.

p. 70 – in a huff

Reminiscences of James H. Scheel, Chicago *Daily News*, 18 January 1909. Scheel reports what Mrs. Robert K. Stone, wife of the White House physician during Lincoln’s administration, told his mother, who in turn told him.

p. 70 – claim upon you

Emily Todd Helm to Lincoln, Lexington, Kentucky, 30 October 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 70 – returned unopened

Emilie told this to a friend, who in turn told to someone who told it to Donna McCreary. Post by Donna McCreary, <https://rogerjnorton.com/LincolnDiscussionSymposium/thread-2146.html>.

p. 70 – insulting remarks

Elizabeth Edwards interview, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 444.

p. 71 – from his wife

Statement of Robert Williams, Bloomington, Illinois, 9 February 1923, William E. Barton Papers, University of Chicago.

p. 71 – retreated into town

Jesse K. Dubois, undated interview with Jesse W. Weik, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 692.

p. 71 – evasive reply

Margaret Ryan, interview with Jesse W. Weik, 27 October 1886, *ibid.*, 597; Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 27 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 207. Daniel Mark Epstein dates this episode January 28, 1857, citing the facts that on the following day Lincoln bought some gelatin, a key ingredient in a plaster bandage, and that he appeared in court that day. Daniel Mark Epstein, *The Lincolns: Portrait of a Marriage* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2008), 190.

p. 71 – cursed him

Thomas Stackpole reported this to Ward Hill Lamon. Lamon, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 467.

p. 71 – with a broomstick

Mrs. Hillary A. Gobin (née Clara Leaton) to Albert J. Beveridge, South Bend, Indiana, 17 May 1923, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 71 – with [a] broom

Margaret Ryan, interview with Jesse W. Weik, 27 October 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 597.

p. 71 - returned to work

Reminiscences of Mrs. Benjamin C. McQuesten (née Emily Matheny), sister of Lincoln's friend and groomsman James Matheny. Chanute, Kansas, *Tribune*, 16 February 1920.

p. 71 – kitchen with a broom

Mrs. E. S. Weatherby (née Katherine Rindhart), paraphrased in the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 26 July 1927, p. 6. She was the daughter of the man so described.

p. 72 - pitched potatoes

Mrs. George Carleton Beal (née Lizzie De Crastos) in the *New York Times*, 6 February 1938, section 2, p. 1. Mrs. De Crastos related this story “only with reluctance.”

p. 72 – hurled out

Christiana Bertram, letter to the editor of the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, Tenafly, N.J., n.d., issue of 5 March 1950.

p. 72 - upset the ink

Letter by an unidentified woman whose husband received the desk, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), 24 January 1909.

p. 72 – male partners physically

Cathy Young, “When Wives Beat Their Husbands, No One Wants to Believe It,” *Los Angeles Times*, 22 February 2018.

p. 72 – violence in 2015

Sharon G. Smith et al., *National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2015 Data Brief – Updated Release* (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, November 2018), tables 9, 11. The data in those tables refer to physical violence (slapped, pushed, shoved, or any severe physical violence) committed by husbands and wives (or unmarried man-and-woman partners) during the previous twelve months.

p. 72 – men were victims

Martin S. Fiebert, *References Examining Assaults by Women on Their Spouses or Male Partners: An Annotated Bibliography* <https://web.csulb.edu/~mfiebert/assault.htm>.

p. 72 – wives feel guilty

Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Joseph S. Lucca, “Husband Battering,” in Alan S. Bellack, Michael Hersen, R. L. Morrison, Vincent B. Van Hasselt, eds., *Handbook of Family Violence* (New York: Plenum Press, 1988), 243.

p. 72 – I am meek

William Henry Crook, *Through Five Administrations: Reminiscences of Colonel William H. Crook, Bodyguard to President Lincoln*, ed. Margarita Spalding Gerry (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1910), 16.

p. 73 – things move lively

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 8 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 190.

p. 73 – eyes of the world

Stephen Whitehurst, interview with Herndon, [1885-1889], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 722-723. In a different account of this episode, Lincoln reportedly said: “You make this house intolerable, damn you, get out of it!” Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle, *Mary Lincoln: Wife and Widow* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1932), 70-71.

p. 73 – done and said

Judge George W. Murray heard this story from Herndon, his law partner in 1878. Murray's statement for William E. Barton, 21 April 1920, Barton Papers, University of Chicago. See also G. W. Murray to Albert J. Beveridge, Springfield, 9 June 1923, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress; *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 19 December 1920, p. 11.

p. 73 – attend to mine

Judge Charles J. Searle, recalling what his father, Elhanan J. Searle (who worked in Lincoln's law office from 1858 to 1861) heard Lincoln say, as recounted in an interview that Joseph B. Oakleaf conducted with Charles Searle, memo dated 14 February 1925, Oakleaf Papers, Indiana University.

p. 73 – when he returned

Undated statement by Gourley in Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 121-122; Gourley, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 453.

p. 73 – most likely exaggerated

Richard Lawrence Miller, *Lincoln and His World: The Rise to National Prominence, 1843-1853* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2011), 126.

p. 74 – unguarded moments

Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes, or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* (New York: G. W. Carlton, 1868), 146-147 (emphasis added).

p. 74 – office seekers

New York *World*, 16 October 1867 (emphasis added).

p. 74 – short tempered and bitter tongued

Reminiscences of Mrs. Mary Virginia Pinkerton Thompson, in Frazier Hunt, "The Little Girl Who Sat on Lincoln's Lap," *Good Housekeeping*, February 1931, 17 (emphasis added).

p. 74 – often & often

Turner R. King, interview with Herndon, McLain Station, Illinois, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 465 (emphasis added).

p. 74 – better of her

Undated statement by Gourley in Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 121 (emphasis added).

p. 74 – without his breakfast

"Memo. of John Bunn's Recollections of Lincoln," typescript dated 8 April 1909, Ida Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College (emphasis added). This document is based on what Dr. Henry S. Pritchett told Tarbell about Bunn's recollections. Bunn said that Lincoln often stopped by his store in the morning en route to work. On 12 January 1905, Bunn wrote a letter to Dr. Pritchett containing his recollections of Lincoln, particularly about his political activities in the early days of the Republican Party. Lincoln Collection, Hugh Thomas Miller Rare Book Room, Irwin Library, Butler University, Indianapolis.

p. 74 – with a broomstick

Mrs. Hillary A. Gobin (née Clara Leaton) to Albert J. Beveridge, South Bend, Indiana, 17 May 1923, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 74 – did often happen

Herndon to Isaac N. Arnold, Springfield, 24 October [18]83, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 154. The term “curtain lecture” describes a “private reprimand given to a husband by his wife, so called because it was originally given in a curtained bed.”

p. 74 – Hell in general

James H. Matheny, interview with Herndon, 3 May 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 251. Matheny had heard stories about Mrs. Lincoln from the “Baker girls,” presumably Julia Edwards and Mary Wallace, Mrs. Lincoln’s nieces who married Edward L. Baker and John P. Baker respectively. *Ibid.*

p. 74 – in the Lincoln family

Malden Jones, “Afterglow,” *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 13 February 1930, p. 8. Jones’ unidentified informant was probably John Thomas Trutter (1920-2007), grandson of Philip Mischler Jr. (1847-1924), who worked as an apprentice in a dry goods store and played with the Lincoln children. Philip is probably the ultimate source of this account.

p. 74 – shall be rich

Mary Lincoln to Emilie Todd Helm, Springfield, 20 September [1857], in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 50 (emphasis added).

p. 74 – be sorry for

Reminiscences of Page Eaton, *Utica Herald*, n.d., copied in the *Chicago Tribune*, 4 February 1868 (emphasis added).

p. 74 – times and oft

Mary Todd Lincoln, interview with Herndon, [September 1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 359.

p. 74 – their married life

Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 68 (emphasis added).

p. 75 – devotion to business

Robert Todd Lincoln to Josiah G. Holland, Chicago, 6 June 1865, Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 75 – to its parents

Mary Todd Lincoln, interview with Herndon, [September 1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 359.

p. 75 – get pokey

John Hay, “Tad Lincoln,” *New York Tribune*, 19 July 1871, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side: John Hay's Civil War Correspondence and Selected Writings* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 112.

p. 76 – passed out

Treat's interview with Jesse Weik, 1883, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 725-726. He added: "Of course I refrained from any comment, but I can assure you of one thing: if that little rascal had been a boy of mine he never would have applied his boots to another chessboard."

p. 76 – too indulgent

Mary Lincoln to Alexander Williamson, Chicago, 25 June 1865, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 251.

p. 76 – throughout life

Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 9.

p. 76 – usually regretted

Josiah P. Kent, interview with Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 21 November 1916, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 362-363; reminiscences of Olivia Leidig Whiteman (Mrs. James M.), Vandalia, Illinois, correspondence, 4 February, New York *Herald*, 10 February 1929, section 3, p. 4.

p. 76 – had him whipped

Lincoln to Speed, Springfield, 22 October 1846, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:391.

p. 76 – to a servant

Margaret Ryan, interview with Jesse W. Weik, 27 October 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 597.

p. 76 – away from home

Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 105.

p. 76 – go to the door

Reminiscences of Charles Rollin Post, Colorado Springs, Colorado, *Gazette*, 1 December 1912.

p. 77 – whipped them

Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards in Stevens, *A Reporter's Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 162.

p. 77 – mud puddle

Frank Edwards, "A Few Facts along the Lincoln Way," typescript enclosed in Mrs. Jacob H. Stoner to William E. Barton, Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, 21 July 1930, uncatalogued material, box 10, folder 180, Barton Papers, University of Chicago.

p. 77 – affectionate treatment

Undated interview with Elizabeth Edwards by Jesse W. Weik, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 355.

p. 77 – burned some of her eldest son's toys

Ida M. Tarbell, notes of an interview with DeWitt Smith, Springfield, 17 October 1927, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 77 – no reply

Anna Eastman Johnson, quoted in A. Longfellow Fiske, “A Neighbor of Lincoln,” *Commonweal*, 2 March 1932, 494.

p. 78 – as it now stands

Thomas Stackpole’s interview with an army correspondent, *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 20 June 1865.

p. 78 – severe woman

Reminiscences of Mrs. Mary Virginia Pinkerton Thompson, in Frazier Hunt, “The Little Girl Who Sat on Lincoln’s Lap,” *Good Housekeeping*, February 1931, 17; Mrs. Mary Virginia Pinkerton Thompson interviewed, Columbus, Ohio, *Dispatch*, 9 February 1931, clipping, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

p. 78 - horrid woman

William E. Walter to Carl Sandburg, New York, 11 January 1940, Sandburg Papers, University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana. Born in England in 1847, Jane King was the daughter of the merchant William King (b. 1818), who settled in Springfield in the 1850s, residing at Seventh and Jackson Streets, one block from the Lincolns. Her son said her hatred of Mrs. Lincoln “lived with her until her death” in 1917. She is referred to in the 1860 census as Jennie. All this testimony belies an assertion by one of Mary Lincoln’s more defensive biographers: “There is no evidence that Mary Lincoln ever lost her temper with her children, or treated a child with anything but tenderness and consideration.” Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 100. It casts similar doubt on a feminist biographer’s claim that Mrs. Lincoln’s “anger had other targets [than her sons]. Some women berated their children in unseen outbursts of temper inside their homes, but Mary Lincoln’s fury appeared in unladylike public displays against hired girls and greengrocers.” Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 122. Cf. Richard Lawrence Miller: “Corporal punishment of the boys seems rare. Mary occasionally resorted to it.” Miller, *Lincoln and His World: Rise to National Prominence*, 126.

p. 78 – administer discipline

Walter Graves to Ida M. Tarbell, Salina, Kansas, 18 August 1929, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College. In the 1840s and early 1850s, Samuel Lynn Graves’ family evidently lived near the Lincolns, and Walter’s older half-brother, Chauncey Hobart (b. 1845), played with the Lincolns’ sons. Chauncey was the source of this story, which Walter Graves related to Tarbell at length. Chauncey also told a brief version of the story to a journalist. *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 11 February 1934. See also Wichita *Beacon*, 12 February 1921, and Chauncey Hobart Graves’ reminiscences in an undated clipping, “Across the Editor’s Desk,” *Better Homes and Gardens*, Lincoln Financial Collection, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

p. 79 – to his wife

Harriet Hanks Chapman to Herndon, Charleston, Illinois, 21 November 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 407.

p. 79 – rots as quickly

Herndon to Weik, Springfield, 8 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 189.

p. 79 - DeWitt Smith

“Mary Todd Lincoln,” Ida Tarbell’s notes of an interview with DeWitt Wickliffe Smith (1844-1929), Springfield, 17 October 1927, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 79 – terrible nuisances

Reminiscences of Mrs. W. O. Wirt (*née* Maggie Blaine), Council Bluffs, Iowa, *Nonpareil*, 26 July 1936, partial typescript, Lincoln Research Vertical Files, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 79 – to theirs

Elizabeth Capps, interview with Hannah Hinsdale, clipping dated Yakima, Washington, 2 February [1929?], Lincoln Shrine, A. K. Smiley Library, Redlands, California.

p. 79 – own home

Petterchak, *John Thomas Trutter*, 3-4.

p. 79 – like her very well

Agnes Mischler, recalling what she was told by her grandmother Elizabeth, who braided Mrs. Lincoln’s hair. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 15 December 1963. On the close connections between the Lincolns and the Mischlers, see Petterchak, *John Thomas Trutter*, 3-4. The Mischlers’ house was at Eighth and Edwards Streets, a block south of the Lincolns.

p. 80 – attracted to her

Julia Isabel Sprigg, interview with Carlos W. Goltz, 8 January 1928, in Goltz, *Incidents in the Life of Mary Lincoln*, 55-56.

p. 80 – her husband had

Article by Fred T. Dubois, Great Falls, Montana, *Tribune*, 13 February 1927, p. 13.

p. 80 – visit in 1864

Julia Taft Bayne, *Tad Lincoln’s Father* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1931), 3, 83-84, 200-202.

p. 80 – to pets

See Matthew Algeo, *Abe & Fido: Lincoln’s Love of Animals and the Touching Story of his Favorite Canine Companion* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2015).

p. 80 – called his hobby

Mary Lincoln to Lincoln, Lexington, May 1848 (no day of the month indicated), Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 37.

p. 80 – petted, fondled &c

Herndon to Isaac N. Arnold, Springfield, 24 October [18]83, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 155.

p. 80 – for an hour

Maunsell B. Field, *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, 1874), 313.

p. 80 – treated kindly

Horace Porter, *Campaigning with Grant* (New York: Century, 1897), 410.

p. 81 – to Elizabeth Keckly

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 81.

p. 81 – enough for Tabby

Reminiscences of Mary Miner Hill, p. 11, Small Collection 1985, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 81 – to go to Washington

Reminiscences of William G. Beck in Effie Sparks, “Stories of Abraham Lincoln,” 30-31, manuscript, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College. The Illinois Congressional elections scheduled for 1842 had been postponed a year because of delays in carrying out the reapportionment necessitated by the 1840 census.

p. 81 – writhed under it

Herndon, “Lincoln’s Ambition,” Herndon-Weik Papers, Library of Congress. See also Burlingame, “The Most Ambitious Man in the World,” in Burlingame, *Inner World of Lincoln*, 236-267. Cf. William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon’s Lincoln*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (1989; Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, 2006), 231.

p. 81 – to obtain one

Lyman Trumbull to his son Walter, n.p., n.d., in Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 429.

p. 81 – their esteem

Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:8.

p. 82 - delicately & indirectly

Herndon to Ward Hill Lamon, Springfield, 25 February 1870, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 88.

p. 82 - wife some day

Mary’s childhood friend Frances Dallam told this to her daughter Joanna, who in turn told Elizabeth Norton. Elizabeth Norton to William E. Barton, Lexington, 16 April 1920, Barton Papers, University of Chicago.

p. 82 – the President’s wife

Margaret Wickliffe (Mrs. William Preston), interview, dispatch datelined White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, 17 July 1882, *Philadelphia Times*, 20 July 1882. The *Cincinnati Gazette* reported that the “story of Mrs. Lincoln writing, when a young girl, a letter in which she expressed a determination to become the wife of a President, is confirmed by the production of the document, now in the possession of General Preston, of Lexington, Ky. It was addressed to a daughter [Margaret] of Governor Wickliffe, and contained a playful description of the gawky young Lincoln, to whom she was betrothed.” *Cincinnati Gazette*, n.d., copied in *The Interior Journal* (Stanford, Kentucky), 4 August 1882. Lincoln wrote Mrs. Preston in 1862, saying: “Your despatch to Mrs. L. received yesterday. She is not well. Owing to her early and strong friendship for you, I would gladly oblige you.” Lincoln to Mrs. Margaret Preston, Washington, 21 August 1862, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 5:386.

p. 82 – is not pretty

Ward Hill Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*, ed. Dorothy Lamon Teillard (2nd ed.; Washington, D.C.: n. p., 1911), 21.

p. 82 – seize his opportunities

Statements of Elizabeth Todd Edwards, 27 July 1887 and [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 623, 443. See also Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 3, and Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 228-229.

p. 82 – he got that

James Quay Howard’s notes of an interview with Stuart [May 1860], Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress; Stuart, interview with Herndon, [late June 1865], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 63.

p. 82 – she was very ambitious

Interview with John H. Littlefield, *Brooklyn Eagle*, 20 January 1887.

p. 82 – on in his ambition

Bradwell’s statement to Ida Tarbell, memo marked “Lincoln – Items,” folder “Mary Todd Lincoln,” Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 83 – “kept nagging her husband on.”

Charles Arnold, quoted by Benjamin Franklin Stoneberger (1852-1939), in Evans, *Mrs. Lincoln*, 155.

p. 83 – hands of Providence

Sparks, “Stories of Abraham Lincoln,” 30-32.

p. 83 – objected to this

Reminiscences of Olivia Leidig Whiteman, Vandalia, Illinois, correspondence, 4 February, *New York Herald*, 10 February 1929, section 3, p. 4.

p. 83 - his wife makes him

Democratic Congressman Thomas L. Harris of Petersburg to Charles Lanphier, Washington, 7 March [1856], Lanphier Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Cf. Thomas J. Pickett in the Peoria *Weekly Republican*, 22 February 1856.

p. 83 – knew no rest

William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (1989; Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, 2006), 231.

p. 83 – distant concerns

Milton Hay, interview with George Alfred Townsend, Cincinnati *Enquirer*, 26 August 1883; Hay quoted in Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 91.

p. 84 – and happy home

Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 90. See also Herndon quoted by Hardin W. Masters, Portland, Maine, *Sunday Telegram*, 16 July 1922, p. 30, and Le Grand Cannon to Herndon, near Burlington, Vermont, 7 October [1889], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 678-679. Davis reported that a “lady friend of mine in Springfield once told me that Mr Lincoln would never have been President if he had not had such a wife.” He was “a domestic man” but his “wife’s disposition drove him fr[om] home and into politics.” David Davis to Adeline E. Burr, Washington, 19 July 1882, Adeline Ellery Burr Davis Green Papers, Duke University. I am grateful to Jason Emerson for calling this item to my attention.

p. 84 – domestic man

Speed told this to John Todd Stuart. Stuart, interview with Herndon, [late June 1865], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 63.

p. 84 – instead of his own

Sparks, “Stories of Abraham Lincoln,” 30-32.

p. 84 – bucketsful of tears

Ibid.

p. 85 – except at meals

Samuel C. Busey, *Personal Reminiscences* (Philadelphia: Dornan, 1895), 28.

p. 85 – others say nothing

Lincoln to Mary Todd Lincoln, Washington 16 April 1848, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:465.

p. 85 – Tompkins long since

Giddings to Lincoln, Jefferson, Ohio, 2 July 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 85 – lost to history

Daniel Mark Epstein, *The Lincolns: Portrait of a Marriage* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2008), 135.

p. 85 – room by myself

Lincoln to Mary Todd Lincoln, Washington 16 April 1848, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:465.

p. 85 – miss her companionship

Morse to Albert J. Beveridge, Boston, 12 August 1925, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 85 - our dear Bobby

Lincoln to Mary Lincoln, Washington, 12 June 1848, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:478.

p. 86 – consent to go

Stuart interview with Nicolay, Springfield, 24 June 1875, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History*, 15.

p. 86 – territorial governorship

Noah Brooks, *Lincoln and the Downfall of American Slavery* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894), 116. Brooks thought that Mrs. Lincoln, whom he admired, “had had enough of frontier life.”

p. 87 – the early 1850s

Daniel Mark Epstein, *The Lincolns: Portrait of a Marriage* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2008), 190-196; Richard Lawrence Miller, *Lincoln and His World: Rise to National Prominence, 1843-1853* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2011), 126.

p. 87 – tirades against her husband

Jennifer Fleischner, *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly: The Remarkable Story of the Friendship between a First Lady and a Former Slave* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003), 171, 181.

p. 88 - and “hen pecked”

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 8 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 189-190; Milton Hay to his wife, Springfield, 6 April [1862], Stuart-Hay Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 88 – gloomy as the grave

William H. Herndon to Truman Bartlett, Springfield, 23 September 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 261; Herndon’s 1865 lecture, “Analysis of the Character of Abraham Lincoln,” *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 1 (1941): 419n.

p. 88 – conduct to L.

James H. Matheny, interview with Herndon, 3 May 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 251.

p. 88 – to hear it

Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 91; Hay to his wife, Springfield, 9 April 1862, Stuart-Hay Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 88 – perfect termagant

Mrs. J. K. C. Forrest, interviewed by Ida Tarbell, “Lincoln – Items,” undated memo about Springfield residents, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 88 – almost a shrew

Decatur, Illinois, *Herald*, 7 February 1909.

p. 89 - not at all commendable

Ida M. Andrews to Jesse W. Weik, Indianapolis, 8 January 1917, *ibid.*, 317-318. See also her letter to Weik, Springfield, 23 August 1916, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame., 317.

p. 89 -- as if in hysterics

Judge Anthony Thornton heard Peter Van Bergen state this. Thornton interviewed by Jesse W. Weik, Shelbyville, 18 June 1895, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 374-375.

p. 89 – an awful temper

Bradwell’s undated statement to Ida Tarbell, memo marked “Lincoln – Items,” folder “Mary Todd Lincoln,” Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 89 – of marital strife

Josiah P. Kent, interview with Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 21 November 1916, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 363; Kent’s statement, *ibid.*, 126.

p. 89 – well nigh distracted

Eleanor Gridley to Honore Morrow, n.p., 30 January 1932, copy, Gridley Papers, Chicago History Museum.

p. 89 – some example of it

Octavia Roberts Corneau, “The Road of Remembrance,” unpublished manuscript, 118, Corneau Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Cf. Octavia Roberts, *Lincoln in Illinois* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 53.

p. 90 – many times

Recollections of Lyde Sims Estill (Mrs. Robert H.) in Fred L. Holcomb, M.D., to Dr. Walter H. Graves, Coldwater, Kansas, 9 July 1929, enclosed in Walter Graves to Ida Tarbell, Wichita, Kansas, 17 July 1929, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 90 - meals for him

Reminiscences of Page Eaton, Utica *Herald*, n.d., copied in the Chicago *Tribune*, 4 February 1868; Turner R. King, interview with Herndon, McLean Station, Illinois, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 465.

p. 90 – crackers & cheese

Herndon told this to Caroline Dall in the fall of 1866, according to Dall's "Journal of a tour through Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio, Oct. & Nov. 1866," entry for 29 October 1866, Dall Papers, Bryn Mawr College.

p. 90 – regain his composure

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 16 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 201-202.

p. 90 – here all summer

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 16 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 201-202.

p. 90 – hate to go home

Pascal P. Enos, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 449.

p. 90 – have her way

John Jay Janney, "Talking with President Lincoln: Four Interviews with Abraham Lincoln," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 26 (September 1987): 33.

p. 90 – immediate surrender

Harriet Hanks interviewed by [Jesse] W[eik], *Indianapolis Journal*, 14 November 1886, p. 3.

p. 91 – your dress there

Frances Affonso interview, in Marcia Brainerd Odam, "Abraham Lincoln's Cook," *Denver Post*, 16 August 1910. I have regularized the broken English that Mrs. Affonso is quoted as using.

p. 91 – he did uncomplainingly

Reminiscences of Mary Scott Uda, New York *Herald Tribune*, 7 February 1916.

p. 91 – softly after him

Harriet Hanks interviewed by [Jesse] W[eik], *Indianapolis Journal*, 14 November 1886, p. 3.

p. 91 – paper to be left

Lincoln to Rosette, Springfield, 20 February 1857, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 2:389-390.

p. 92 - was his heaven

Herndon to Isaac N. Arnold, Springfield, 24 October [18]83, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 154.

p. 92 – towards the south

Conkling to Mercy Levering Conkling, Bloomington, 18 [and 19] April 1843, Conkling Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 92 – term in course

Henry C. Whitney, *Lincoln the Citizen*, vol. 1 of *A Life of Lincoln*, ed. Marion Mills Miller (2 vols.; New York: Baker & Taylor, 1908), 1:189.

p. 92 – six (6) weeks

Davis to his wife, Pekin, 8 May 1854, transcribed by Patricia Kasbohm Schley, David and Sarah Davis Family Correspondence, Illinois Wesleyan University, accessed 16 June 2019, http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm/ref/collection/iwu_davis/id/877.

p. 93 – sympathy for him

Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Lincoln*, 257.

p. 93 – no other place

Davis interview with Herndon, 20 September 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 349. See also Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 90. Herndon likewise remembered that “while all other lawyers, Every Saturday night after court hours, would start for home to see wife & babies,” Lincoln “would see us start home and know that we were bound to see the good wife and the children. Lincoln, poor soul[,] would grow terribly sad at the sight – as much as to say – ‘I have no wife and no home.’ None of us on starting home would say to Lincoln – ‘Come, Lincoln, let’s go home,’ for we knew the terrors of home to him.” Herndon to Jesse Weik, Springfield, 24 February 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 240.

p. 93 – throughout its entire term

Herndon to Isaac N. Arnold, Springfield, 24 October [18]83, *ibid.*, 156; reminiscences of Judge Lawrence Weldon, *Springfield News*, 12 February 1902; John M. Palmer, *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer: The Story of an Earnest Life* (Cincinnati: R. Clarke, 1901), 40; Henry C. Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, ed. Paul M. Angle (1892; Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1940), 62; Willard L. King, *Lincoln's Manager: David Davis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 87.

p. 93 – old 8th circuit

[John M. Scott], “Lincoln on the Stump and at the Bar,” typescript, p. 9, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College. In 1860, Leonard Swett asserted that “for perhaps five years Lincoln and myself have been the only ones [i.e., lawyers] who have habitually passed over the whole circuit. Leonard Swett to Josiah H. Drummond, 27 May 1860, Portland, Maine, *Evening Express*, n.d., copied in the *New York Sun*, 26 July 1891. Years later, Swett said that in addition to Lincoln and himself, only Ward Hill Lamon and David Davis attended all sessions on the circuit. Swett, lecture on Lincoln, *Chicago Times*, 21 February 1876.

p. 93 – occasionally remembered

Mary Lincoln to her husband, [New York], 2 November [1862], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 139-140.

p. 93 – to write letters

“You say it is harder to get one of Mr Lincoln’s autographs than Washington’s. Washington loved to write. Lincoln hated to do so.” Herndon to Weik, Springfield, 7 December 1875, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 121.

p. 93 - poor correspondent

Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 121.

Lincoln to Joshua Speed, Springfield, 24 August 1855; to E. B. Washburne, Urbana, Illinois, 26 April 1858; and to N. P. Banks, Washington, 5 August 1863, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 2:320, 2:443, and 6:364.

p. 93 – are extant

While it is true that Robert Todd Lincoln destroyed some family correspondence, it seems that those missives were not written by his father but rather by his mother, denouncing Robert. See Thomas F. Schwartz, “Roasting Lincoln’s Letters: What Did Robert T. Lincoln Burn?” *Lincoln Newsletter* 9 (fall 1990): 45, and James T. Hickey, “Robert Todd Lincoln and the ‘Purely Private’ Letters of the Lincoln Family,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 74 (1981): 59-79. In 1913, Robert admitted that hundreds of letters shedding light on “the distressing mental disorder of my mother” had “been kindly sent me for destruction and I am quite sure that there exist still other hundreds. All that I have known of are of the same tenor; many have been printed in newspapers and catalogues; and I long ago came to the conclusion that one could not imagine a more hopeless work than an effort to collect them or even a large fraction of them.” Robert Todd Lincoln to Le Grant Van Valkenburgh, Manchester, Vermont, 26 May 1913, Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Carl Sandburg heard a Springfield manuscript dealer, Harry E. Barker, “say that Robert Lincoln sought the letters of his mother for the purpose of destroying them.” Barker apparently had a standing order to acquire her letters and sell them to Robert. Sandburg to David Mearns, Flat Rock, N.C., 27 June 1947, Mearns Papers, Library of Congress. Mrs. John Todd Stuart said that her husband “had been requested by Robert Todd Lincoln to destroy all family and confidential or business letters, appertaining to either Mr. or Mrs. Lincoln.” Emily Huntington Stuart, daughter-in-law of Mrs. John T. Stuart, “Some Recollections of the Early Days of Springfield and Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln and Other Celebrities who Lived in that Little Town in My Youth,” typescript bound in *Daughters of the American Revolution, State of Illinois, Genealogical Records, 1940-1941*, 3:118, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Jesse W. Weik “discovered a lot of Mrs. Lincoln’s letters in Washington, but incautiously told Nicolay, who told Robert Lincoln, and the letters were bought and disappeared.” Albert J. Beveridge told this to William E. Barton. Barton to a Mr. Bradford, n.p., 31 May 1924, copy, Barton Papers, University of Chicago. Probably most of the letters that were destroyed had been written after 1875, the year when Robert had arranged to have his mother committed to a mental hospital.

p. 93 – to her missives

Mary Lincoln to Emilie Todd Helm, Springfield, 23 November 1856, 16 February and 20 September 1857, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 45, 48-50.

p. 93 – for seven weeks

“Lincoln is still with us. Has not heard from his wife, since he left Springfield [ca. April 3], but has no doubt they are all well or he would have heard.” Davis to his wife, Shelbyville, 20 May 1850, David Davis Papers, Chicago History Museum.

p. 93 – for six weeks

Davis to his wife, Shelbyville, 17, 20 May 1852, King, *Lincoln’s Manager*, 94.

p. 94 – Mary would write

Mrs. Norman B. Judd, undated interview with Ida Tarbell, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 94 – at home

Mary Lincoln to Ozias Hatch, Springfield, 28 February 1859, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 53.

p. 94 – my own dear wife

Norman B. Judd to Adeline Judd, Keokuk, Iowa, 9 October 1859, Norman Judd Letters, Small Collection 839, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 94 – not my case

Lyman Trumbull to Julia Jayne Trumbull, Alton, Illinois, 17 October 1857, Trumbull Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 94 – my own dear wife

Palmer to his wife, Carrollton, Illinois, 16 April 1852, Palmer Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 94 – in love with you

Yates to his wife, Washington, 1 January 1852, Richard Yates and Catharine Yates Pickering, *Richard Yates: Civil War Governor*, ed. John H. Krenkel (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers, 1966), 77. Cf. same to same, Washington, 25 January and 17 July 1852, 18 and 19 December 1853, *ibid.*, 79, 83, 88-90.

p. 94 – kindness and affection

Browning to Eliza Caldwell Browning, Lower Blue Licks, Kentucky, 24 July 1844, Ricks Collection, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. See also Maurice G. Baxter, *Orville H. Browning: Lincoln’s Friend and Critic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 12-13, 52-53.

p. 94 – kind of thing

Eliza Browning to Ann Browning, 9 October 1838, in Baxter, *Browning*, 13.

p. 95 – by my side

Jesse W. Fell to Hester V. Fell, Washington, 22 June 1841, Fell Papers, Library of Congress. From New York eleven years later, he wrote her: “How often have I realized since I left home how desolate I was without you. How frequently when wrapt in the contemplation of some

beautiful scene have I exclaimed, ‘Oh! If Hester and our little ones were here how happy I should be!’” Jesse W. Fell to Hester V. Fell, Washington, New York, 26 September 1852, *ibid.*

p. 95 – frequently and affectionately

Mary Nash Stuart (Mrs. John Todd Stuart) to her daughter Betty, Springfield, 11 January 1855, Stuart Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 95 – to my happiness

Stuart W. Sanders, *Lincoln’s Confederate “Little Sister:” Emilie Todd Helm* (longform essay, ebook, 2015), location 144.

https://www.amazon.com/LincolnsConfederateLittleSisterEmilieebook/dp/B00S8SPGWS/ref=as_ap_bc?ie=UTF8.

p. 95 – we have risen

Joshua F. Speed, *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln and Notes of a Visit to California: Two Lectures* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1884), 12.

p. 95 – half my time

Lincoln to Samuel Caldwell, Springfield, 27 May 1858, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln: Second Supplement, 1848-1865*, ed. Roy P. Basler and Christian O. Basler (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 14. In 1860, a Springfield minister reported that Lincoln was frequently absent on Sundays because “for the last 3 or 4 years he has been away from home much of the time and engaged in very exhausting labors.” Albert Hale to [Theron Baldwin], Springfield, 31 May 1860, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 95. *Lincoln Day by Day: A Chronology, 1809-1865*, ed. Earl Schenck Miers et al. (3 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, 1960), indicates that he spent 175 days away in 1850, 192 in 1851, 196 in 1852, 129 in 1853, 126 in 1854, and 125 in 1855. See also Richard Friend Lufkin’s series of articles, “Mr. Lincoln’s Light from under a Bushel,” *Lincoln Herald* 52 (1950): 220; 53 (1951): 225; 54 (1952): 226; 55 (1953): 214; 56 (1954): 324.

p. 95 – lunch on time

Reminiscences of John Billington in an unidentified clipping, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

p. 96 – midnight or one o’clock

Herndon to Weik, Springfield, 10 July 1888, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 276-277.

p. 96 – happier spirits

Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 208.

p. 96 – read widely

Reminiscences of McCoy, Wichita, Kansas, *Daily Eagle*, 12 February 1901, p. 3.

p. 96 – for his dinner

Carl Sandburg's notes of an interview with Joseph Fifer, [1924], Sandburg-Barrett Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

p. 96 – renders life desirable

Mary Lincoln to Hannah Shearer, Springfield, 26 June 1859, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 57.

p. 97 – less lonely

Mary Lincoln to Hannah Shearer, Springfield, 10 July 1859, Thomas F. Schwartz and Anne V. Shaughnessy, eds., “Unpublished Mary Lincoln Letters,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 11 (1990): 2.

p. 97 - Bob and I

Statement of James Gourley, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 452-453.

p. 97 – neighbors' boys

Fred I. Dean to Ida M. Tarbell, Washington, D.C., 7 January 1900, Tarbell Papers, Smith College.

p. 97 – out of town

Omaha *World Herald*, 19 February 1927, p. 7.

p. 97 – Robert had occupied

Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 123.

p. 97 – promptly fainted

Taylorville, Illinois, *Semiweekly Breeze*, 12 February 1909.

p. 98 – a day or two

A. Longfellow Fiske, “A Neighbor of Lincoln,” *Commonweal*, 2 March 1932, 494.

p. 98 – not well today

In 1950, Christiana Bertram said that “many years ago I met two people who had been neighbors of the Lincolns in Springfield” who shared this story with her. Christiana Bertram, letter to the editor of the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, Tenafly, N.J., n.d., issue of 5 March 1950. Lincoln's step-nephew John J. Hall recollected that during one summer in the mid-to-late 1840s his uncle Abraham visited Coles County, evidently to get away from his wife. Eleanor Gridley, *The Story of Abraham Lincoln; or, The Journey from the Log Cabin to the White House* (Chicago: Monarch, 1902), 167.

p. 98 – hurt and envious

Charles Arnold told this to Benjamin Franklin Stoneberger, who in turn told it to W. A. Evans. Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 130.

p. 98 – better looking than Mrs. Lincoln

Elizabeth Blair Lee to Samuel Phillips Lee, Washington, 1 March 1862, Virginia Jeans Laas, ed., *Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 104.

p. 98 – unpleasant to him

Reminiscences of McCoy, Wichita, Kansas, *Daily Eagle*, 12 February 1901, p. 3.

p. 98 – but Lincoln crazy

Reminiscences of William T. Baker, a nephew of John Hanks, *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 18 January 1909; Mrs. W. H. George (daughter of W. T. Baker) in the *Denver Post*, 10 February 1909.

p. 99 – take him home

Preston H. Bailhache, “Recollections of a Springfield Doctor,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 47 (1954): 60. According to James Gourley, Lincoln “scolded his wife for running him in debt” because she and Gourley had conspired to purchase an expensive carriage without Lincoln’s knowledge. Gourley interview, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 452. This recollection casts doubt on Mrs. Lincoln’s later claim that her husband always said, whenever she asked for anything, “You know what you want, go and get it.” Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Lincoln*, 306.

p. 99 – handsome residence than hers

An unidentified middle-aged resident of Springfield, *Pittsburg Press*, n.d., copied in the *Indianapolis Journal*, 2 November 1890. In 1854, Abner Wilkinson, a merchant-tailor, moved into a house directly across the street from the Lincolns. Bonnie E. Paull and Richard E. Hart, *Lincoln’s Springfield Neighborhood* (Charleston, South Carolina: History Press, 2015), 139-140; Temple, *By Square & Compass*, 279-285.

p. 99 –justified a more pretentious house

Reminiscences of John E. Roll, Chicago *Tribune*, 12 February 1900.

p. 99 - half story to a full one

Reminiscences of Charles Rollin Post, Colorado Springs, Colorado, *Gazette*, 1 December 1912.

p. 99 - adjoining dwellings

Springfield correspondence, 3 November, New York *World*, n.d., copied in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, 8 November 1860; dispatch by [Henry J.] R[aymond], Auburn, New York, 22 May, New York *Times*, 24 May 1860.

p. 99 - pretentious residences of Springfield

Albert Stevenson Edwards, “The Lincoln Home,” *Blue Book of the State of Illinois*, ed. James A. Rose (Springfield: Phillips Bros., 1908), 510.

p. 100 - uses what she has

Mrs. John Todd Stuart to her daughter Bettie, [Springfield], 3 April [1856], Stuart-Hay Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 100 – was my portion

Mary Lincoln to Emilie Todd Helm, Springfield, 20 September [1857], in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 50.

p. 100 – a year's sowing

Lincoln to Joshua Speed, Springfield, 4 July 1842, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:289.

p. 100 – or wastefulness

Swett to Herndon, Chicago, 15 January 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 159. A fellow Whig campaigner recalled that in 1848 Lincoln "was very poor." William Pickney Whyte told this to Allen C. Clark. Clark, *Abraham Lincoln in the National Capital* (Washington: W. F. Roberts, 1925), 6.

p. 100 – real estate speculation

Undated memorandum by Gillespie, Gillespie Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; Gillespie to Herndon, Edwardsville, 31 January 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 181. According to Gillespie, the only "use Mr Lincoln had for wealth was to enable him to appear respectable. He never hoarded nor wasted but used money as he needed it and gave himself little or no concern about laying it up." During his presidency, Lincoln told Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase: "Money, I don't know anything about *money*. I never had enough of my own to fret me, and I have no opinion about it any way." Carpenter, *Six Months in the White House*, 252.

p. 100 – household purposes

Lincoln to N. B. Judd, Springfield, 16 November 1858, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 3:337.

p. 100 – as well as last

Lincoln to Hawkins Taylor, Springfield, 6 September 1859, *ibid.*, 3:400.

p. 101 – money for luxuries

Undated interview with Elizabeth Edwards by Jesse W. Weik, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 355.

p. 101 – dress like hers

Philip Mischler Jr., grandfather of John Thomas Trutter, was the merchant who sold the silk to Mary Lincoln. Petterchak, *John Thomas Trutter*, 4.

p. 101 – praised the good

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 5 February 1887 and 10 October 1888, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 229, 280; Herndon to Isaac N. Arnold, Springfield, 24 October [18]83, *ibid.*, 155-156.

p. 101 – had few attractions

John Hay, "Life in the White House in the Time of Lincoln," 1890, in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 134.

p. 101 – seem well pleased

Reminiscences of Charles M. Derickson, 15 December 1897, Ida Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 102 – utter confusion

Speech at Peoria, 16 October 1854, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 2:282.

p. 103 – and that's enough

Statement by Jayne, 15 August 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 266.

p. 104 – for the Legislature

Whitney, *Lincoln the Citizen*, 150. Hawkins Taylor also observed that Mrs. Lincoln thought "it disgraced" her husband "after being a member of congress to be elected to the legislature." Hawkins Taylor to the editor, Washington, 25 July 1882, Council Bluffs (Iowa) *Nonpareil*, 3 August 1882. Fellow attorney Thomas Dent, a friend of Lincoln, agreed with Whitney and Taylor: "Mrs. Lincoln was understood to wish to have Mr. Lincoln stand for a *higher office*." Thomas Dent to William E. Barton, Chicago, 15 and 31 December 1921, Barton Papers, University of Chicago.

p. 104 – have the second –

Hawkins Taylor to the editor, Washington, 25 July 1882, Council Bluffs, Iowa, *Nonpareil*, 3 August 1882.

p. 104 – power of her will –

Louisville *Courier Journal*, 19 July, copied in the Memphis *Public Ledger*, 21 July 1882.

p. 104 – my friend Trumbull –

Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 45.

p. 104 – organizer we have –

T. J. Pickett, "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," *Nebraska State Journal* (Lincoln), 15 April 1881. Judd explained why "Lincoln never joined in that clamor" against him and the other Democratic holdouts: "He had the good sense to see that our course was the result of political sagacity. If we had voted for him, we should simply have been denounced by our own papers as renegades who had deserted the democrats and gone over to the Whigs." But as events unfolded, "that charge couldn't be maintained a moment against us." To the contrary, "we could maintain our entire consistency as anti-Nebraska Democrats, and that enabled us to carry over a fraction of the Democratic party sufficiently large to give us control of the State." Norman B. Judd interviewed by John G. Nicolay, Washington, 28 February 1876, Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 45-46.

p. 104 – Man I ever knew –

Oglesby to Herndon, Springfield, 5 January 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 153.

p. 105 – and “unpopular”

Mary Lincoln to Leonard Swett, n.p., 12 January [1867], to David Davis, Chicago, 12 September 1865, to Elizabeth Blair Lee, Chicago, 11 July 1865, and to Hannah Shearer, Springfield, 26 June 1859, in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 406, 274, 258, 56-57; Anson G. Henry to his wife, [Washington], [18?] February 1863, in Charles B. Strozier, *Lincoln's Quest for Union: Public and Private Meanings* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 76.

p. 105 - she was embarrassed

Julia Jayne Trumbull to her husband, Springfield, 14 April and 5 May 1856, Trumbull Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 105 – know this lady

Julia Trumbull to Lyman Trumbull, Chicago, 6 April 1856, in Fleischner, *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly*, 180.

p. 106 – how did she do it

Mrs. Norman B. Judd, undated interview with Ida Tarbell, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 106 – upon the old terms

Julia Trumbull to Lyman Trumbull, Chicago, 12 August 1860, Trumbull Family Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

p. 106 – to please the Lady [Mrs. Lincoln]

Mrs. Norman B. Judd to Francis P. Blair, Sr., Chicago, 13 February 1861, Blair and Lee Family Papers, Princeton University. A son of Mrs. Judd was known to make unfavorable remarks about Mrs. Lincoln based “on stories told him by his father.” King Dykeman to W. E. Barton, Seattle, 11 December 1923, William E. Barton Papers, University of Chicago.

p. 106 - this way in your house

Mrs. Norman B. Judd, undated interview with Ida Tarbell, Ida M. Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 107 - yours was not honorable

Julia Trumbull to Lyman Trumbull, Kingston, N.Y., 26 September 1861, Trumbull Family Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

p. 107 – i.e., dead to me

Mary Lincoln to Anson G. Henry, Chicago, 26 July 1865, Justin G. Turner and Linda Levitt Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 264.

p. 107 - controversial bill granting Mrs. Lincoln a pension

Mark M. Krug, *Lyman Trumbull: Conservative Radical* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1965), 153, 156.

p. 107 - her as "a dangerous element."

Missouri Democrat (St. Louis), 9 and 30 September 1858, in Edwin Erle Sparks, ed., *Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Springfield: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1908), 573; Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 655.

p. 107 - very helpful to Judge Douglas

White in Herndon and Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, 2:103-104.

p. 107 - much prospect of such a residence very soon

Reminiscences of John Hitt, in Stevens, *A Reporter's Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 58.

p. 108 - of such a sucker [i.e., Illinoisan] as me as President

Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:96-97.

p. 108 - Chicago convention nominated than her husband

John H. Littlefield, "Abe Lincoln's Wisdom," *New York Mail and Express*, n.d., copied in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, 24 December 1866. Lincoln remarked to his friends when they received word of his nomination: "Well boys, there is a little woman down at our house who is interested in this business." *Central Illinois Gazette* (Champaign), 23 May 1860, copied in "Lincolniana Notes," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 48 (1955): 322.

p. 108 - secured against bursting with iron hoops

Albert Hale to Theron Baldwin, Springfield, 31 May 1860, in Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 155-156 n. 31.

p. 108 - ambition may be fully gratified in November

Elizabeth Edwards to Julia Edwards Baker, Andover, Massachusetts, 20 May 1860, Elizabeth Edwards Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 109 - Go up and tell her yourself

Henry J. Raymond's dispatch, Auburn, 22 May, *New York Times*, 24 May 1860; interviews with John Bunn, [15 October 1914?] and 21 November 1916, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 319, 322. Cf. Bunn's reminiscences in the *Chicago Tribune*, 12 February 1900. According to Bailey S. Dawson, Bunn arranged to have the event catered by Edward Doull, proprietor of the St. Louis Exchange Restaurant. *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 12 February 1911.

p. 109 - some may stay and have a good time

McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 2:93-94. Norman B. Judd recalled that after the convention, "myself and — [the name omitted was perhaps George Ashmun] came down to Springfield with the Committee sent to notify Lincoln. While the Committee went on to the hotel to brush off the dust we jumped off at the junction and ran across to Mr. Lincoln's house where we found that Mrs. L. had spread out a lunch with champagne and liquors &c. I tell you I made

her hustle those liquors out of there mighty fast.” Judd’s interview with John G. Nicolay, Washington, 28 February 1876, in Burlingame, ed., *Oral History of Lincoln*, 46.

p. 109 - came sweeping into the parlor

Interview with John Bunn, [15 October 1914?], Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 319.

p. 109 - described her as “very ladylike.”

James G. Blaine to his family, Springfield, 20 May 1860, Blaine Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 109 - diffidence, that does them credit

Gideon Welles to his wife, Chicago, 20 May 1860, Welles Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 109 - bread under his arm through the streets

Reminiscences of an old settler in Springfield, unidentified newspaper clipping, quoted in a memo in the John J. Duff Papers, box 1, folder 5, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 110 - to the harsh winter weather

Recollections of Mrs. Mary Gaughan of 146 Cornelia Street, Springfield, quoted in “Lincoln’s Domestic Life,” Chicago *Times-Herald*, 30 August 1896.

p. 110 - more interested in this Matter than I am

Charles Zane’s statement, [1865-1866], in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 491. Allegedly he told her: “We are elected,” but the evidence that he spoke thus is not convincing. Henry C. Bowen recalled that in 1861 Lincoln described to him his reaction on election night the preceding year: “I told my wife to go to bed, as probably I should not be back before midnight. When at about twelve o’clock the news came informing me of my election I said: ‘Boys, I think I will go home now; for there is a little woman there who would like to hear the news.’ The Club gave me three rousing cheers, and then I left. On my arrival I went to my bedroom and found my wife sound asleep. I gently touched her shoulder and said, ‘Mary’; she made no answer. I spoke again, a little louder, saying, ‘Mary, Mary! we are elected!’” “Recollections of Henry C. Bowen,” in *Abraham Lincoln: Tributes from his Associates; Reminiscences of Soldiers, Statesmen, and Citizens*, ed. William Hayes Ward (New York: Thomas J. Crowell, 1895), 32. Don and Virginia Fehrenbacher doubt this account. Don E. Fehrenbacher and Virginia Fehrenbacher, eds., *Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 39. Bowen alleged that he heard Lincoln say this in 1861 at the Soldiers’ Home, in which the First Family did not stay before 1862. Even if he did say that, the statement should not be taken as evidence that she was Lincoln’s full-fledged political partner. In fact, it doubtless meant little more than that she shared his ambition and would be able to enjoy his fame. Michael Burkheimer, “The Reports of the Lincolns’ Political Partnership Have Been Greatly Exaggerated,” in *The Mary Lincoln Enigma: Historians on America’s Most Controversial First Lady*, ed. Frank J. Williams and Michael Burkheimer (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 232.

p. 110 - higher duties of the President’s wife at Washington

Springfield correspondence, 15 November, New York *Herald*, 16 November 1861, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *Sixteenth President-in-Waiting: Abraham Lincoln and the Springfield*

Dispatches of Henry Villard, 1860-1861 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018), 15.

p. 110 - make purchases for the White House –

Providence *Evening News*, 14 January 1861. Weeks earlier, Mrs. Donn Piatt had told her about the mansion's "miserably furnished rooms." Mary Lincoln to Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, Washington, 29 September 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 106.

p. 110 - the country in a sad condition

Mrs. James Conkling to her son Clinton, Springfield, 19 January 1861, copy, Randall Papers, Library of Congress. In late November, she had joined Lincoln on a brief political trip to Chicago "to afford her an opportunity to buy a few clothes suitable to her new position in Washington." Reminiscences of J. K. C. Forrest, Chicago *Tribune*, 10 February 1895.

p. 111 - but he did it very reluctantly

Herman Kreismann to Charles Henry Ray, Washington, 16 January 1861, Charles Henry Ray Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

p. 111 - do in my good husband's time

Mary Lincoln to Lewis Baker, Pau, France, 22 June 1879, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 683.

p. 111 - Seward in the Cabinet! *Never*

George B. Lincoln to Gideon Welles, Riverdale, N.J., 25 April 1874, in Mark Neely, "New Light on the Seward-Welles-Lincoln Controversy," *Lincoln Lore* no. 1718 (April 1981): 2-3.

p. 111 - that Abolition sneak Seward

Donn Piatt, *Memories of the Men Who Saved the Union* (New York: Belford, Clarke, 1887), 31.

p. 111 - invaded his capacious mouth

Donn Piatt in Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York: North American Publishing, 1886), 481.

p. 111 - when honesty in high places is so important

Mary Todd Lincoln to David Davis, New York, 7 January 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 71.

p. 111 - including female influence

Summary of a letter from William Butler, who had spoken with Lincoln, to Judd, n.p., n.d., in Judd to Lyman Trumbull, Chicago, 3 January 1861, Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 111 - excluding Judd of Chicago from the Cabinet - Howard K. Beale, ed., *Diary of Gideon Welles* (3 vols.; New York: W. W. Norton, 1960), 2:390 (entry for 3 December 1865)

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p. 112 - dislike that Mrs. Lincoln had for him

Kreismann interviewed by journalist, Berlin correspondence, 1 January, Detroit *Free Press*, 2 January 1910.

p. 112 - detract from her exclusive societary [sic] position
Forrest, "Old-Time Facts and Fancies," Chicago *Evening News*, 16 July 1891.

p. 112 - contempt for his manners
Mrs. J. K. C. Forrest told this to Ida Tarbell. "Lincoln -- Items," undated memo by Ida Tarbell, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 112 - pretty much in her own way
Henry B. Stanton, *Random Recollections* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887), 221. This statement casts doubt on Mrs. Lincoln's boast that she significantly influenced the president's appointments: "My husband placed great confidence in my knowledge of human nature," she claimed in 1866. Without evident irony, she added: "He had not much knowledge of men." Mary Lincoln, interview with William H. Herndon, [September 1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 359.

p. 112 - the threshold of the White House
Elizabeth Edwards to her daughter Julia, Andover, Massachusetts, 10 February [1861], Elizabeth Edwards Papers, Library of Congress. She added: "I have been very much in choice society, and never could cultivate the feeling, that fine, and elaborate dress, was indispensably necessary. An occasional thought, that it would be pleasant to visit M[ary] under such circumstances, has presented itself, but I have felt but little inclination, dreading somewhat the effort it would require to procure, and have made, such adornments as fitting for the occasion."

p. 113 - would go and attend to her
Rochester *Democrat*, n.d., copied in the Baltimore *Sun*, 22 February 1861.

p. 113 - for unexpectedly prolonging her absence
Springfield correspondence by Henry Villard, 26 January, New York *Herald*, 1 February 1861, in Burlingame, ed., *Sixteenth President-in-Waiting*, 237-238.

p. 113 - loves to show off
Miss R. C. Norbury to her sister Lizzie S. Norbury, Springfield, 11 February 1861, *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), 5 February 1909.

p. 114 - went to the station with Mr. Lincoln
Kreismann interview, Berlin correspondence, 1 January, Detroit *Free Press*, 2 January 1910. Kreismann described this event to Horace White, who in turn told it to William Herndon. White to Herndon, New York, 26 January 1891, Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 700-701. Carl Schurz was in Springfield that day and later offered a similar version of this episode: "The day Lincoln left Springfield for Washington he was at the hotel" where "his friends were waiting below to escort him to the train." They "had to wait many minutes" because "Mrs. Lincoln was lying on the floor in their room upstairs,

screaming and beating the floor with her hands and feet.” She was angry because her husband “would not promise to appoint to [a] valuable position here in New York a man who had promised her a diamond necklace if she would secure the appointment for him.” Henry Villard, a journalist aboard that inaugural train, provided yet another account of Mrs. Lincoln’s tantrum. Schurz, interview with Ida Tarbell, New York, typescript, 6 November 1897, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College; Villard, *Lincoln on the Eve of '61: A Journalist's Story*, ed. Harold G. & Oswald Garrison Villard (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941), 70-71.

p. 114 - Lincoln gave in
Ellery Sedgwick, *The Happy Profession* (Boston: Little Brown, 1946), 161-162.

pp. 114 - with Lincoln in Indianapolis
She had originally planned to leave several days later, but Winfield Scott, general in chief of the army, telegraphed stating that Lincoln would be safer if surrounded by his family. Mercy Levering Conkling to her son Clinton, Springfield, 12 February 1861, Conkling Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 115 – to do with her thereafter
A. K. McClure to Alonzo Rothschild, Philadelphia, 9 May 1907, Lincoln Contemporaries Collection, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Many years later, after an Illinois court had declared Mrs. Lincoln insane, McClure took a more charitable view of her: “I wronged her, for she was then not wholly responsible, and soon after Lincoln’s death the climax came, leaving her to grope out the remainder of her life in the starless midnight of insanity. With Lincoln’s many other sorrows, considering his love of home and family, it may be understood how keenly he suffered, and how he was clouded by shadows for which the world could give no relief.” Alexander K. McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1900), 200.

p. 115 - for the Confederacy
Michael Kline, *Baltimore Plot: The First Conspiracy to Assassinate Abraham Lincoln* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme, 2008), 287.

p. 115 - she felt at home in Baltimore
Washington correspondence, n.d., *Baltimore Sun*, n.d., copied in the *Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), 28 February 1861.

p. 115 - to pursue a conservative course
Washington correspondence, 27 February, *Cincinnati Gazette*, 28 February 1861.

p. 115 - her husband any trouble
David Davis to his wife Sarah, Clinton, 12 October 1860, Urbana, 15, 18 October 1860, Davis Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, and Springfield, 15 December 1861, Davis Papers, Chicago History Museum. In 1846, Davis had attended a party in Springfield where the Lincolns were in attendance. “Mrs Lincoln is not agreeable,” he wrote. Davis to his wife Sarah, Springfield, 2 August 1846, Davis Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 119 - annoyances in his home

Elizabeth Comstock to Mary Lincoln, Baltimore, 26 November 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 119 - assured of sympathy and help

William Henry Smith claimed that he heard Bishop Charles Gordon Ames tell this story at Washington's National Hotel in the wake of General Joseph Hooker's defeat at the battle of Chancellorsville in May 1863. "Lincoln as the Loneliest Man," *National Labor Tribune* (Pittsburgh), 6 February 1937.

p. 120 - bring him into disgrace

Browning, interview with Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, Michael Burlingame, ed., *An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln: John G. Nicolay's Interviews and Essays* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 3.

p. 120 - the selection of public officials

Henry B. Stanton, *Random Recollections* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887), 221.

p. 120 - the female president

Greeley to Beman Brockway, New York, 12 March 1861, Greeley Papers, Library of Congress. Unaccountably, James G. Randall transcribed "female President" as "Senate President." J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg* (2 vols.; New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945), 1:313.

p. 120 - assume the reins of government

Henry Quigley to John A. McClernand, Springfield, 8 December 1860, McClernand Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 120 - any of the Queens of the earth

New York *Herald*, 6 March 1861.

p. 120 - the minor affairs of the country

Washington correspondence by Emily Briggs, 6 February, Philadelphia *Times*, 9 February 1880.

p. 121 - her caprices and interference

St. Louis correspondence, 12 April, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 26 April 1861.

p. 121 - aspirations of office-seekers

Henry Villard, *Memoirs of Henry Villard, Journalist and Financier: 1838-1900* (2 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904), 1:147-148.

p. 121 - in the gift of the Executive

Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., entry for 10 March 1861, Adams Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915: An Autobiography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), 103.

p. 121 - finger in the government pie

Washington correspondence by Van [D. W. Bartlett], 8 October, Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, 11 October 1861.

p. 121 - conceited & ill-bred

Robert C. Winthrop Jr. to P. P. Ellis, Boston, 10 October 1861, Winthrop Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

p. 122 - difficult to refuse

New York *World*, 16 October 1867.

p. 122 - mean deference

Greeley to Beman Brockway, Washington, 12 March 1861, Greeley Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 122 - such places as she can give

Russell, *My Diary North and South* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), 23 (entry for 28 March 1861).

p. 122 - respectable private house in New York.

Ibid., 567 (entry for 3 November 1861).

p. 122 - more curious than suitable

Washington correspondence by I. C., February 1862 (no day of the month indicated), Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, 22 February 1862.

p. 122 - issues of war and peace

Harry J. Carman and Reinhard Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 53-139.

p. 122 - that fissiparous coalition

Richard N. Current, *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963), 187-213.

p. 123 - indefinite (or rather infinite) fees –

New York correspondence, n.d., Boston *Post*, n.d., copied in the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, 22 December 1860.

p. 123 - must ride and tie [i.e., cooperate with each other].

Dana in the New York *Sun*, 23 February 1869. Cf. Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War: With the Leaders at Washington and in the Field in the Sixties* (New York: D. Appleton, 1898), 2-4. “Ride and tie” was an endurance race, conducted on trails along which a team of one-horse-plus-two-humans raced other such teams. The humans acted as a kind of tag-team, one riding the horse for a mile or two, then tying it to a tree and running ahead while his tag-team partner caught up to the horse, loosened it, and rode past his partner, alternating thus for many miles.

p. 124 - fat salary and no work

Benjamin Brown French to Henry Flagg French, Washington, 14 March 1861, French Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 124 - for a Custom House appointment

John Bigelow diary, 19 January 1861, New York Public Library; Bryant to Lincoln, New York, 30 June 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 124 - interest in the *Post* to Godwin

John Bigelow to Chase, Buttermilk Falls, 9 March 1861, Chase Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Chase replied that New York appointments were only “very partially” under his control. Chase to Bigelow, Washington, 11 March 1861, John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (5 vols.; New York: Baker & Taylor, 1909-13), 1:348-349.

p. 124 - mercenary tastes

Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922), 426-430.

p. 124 - leading to his arrest and a public scandal

For an overview of the case, see Alan P. Mayer-Sommer, “So Many Controls, So Little Control: The Case of Isaac Henderson, Navy Agent at New York, 1861-1864,” *Accounting History* 15 (2010): 173-198.

p. 125 - committed great frauds

The Civil War Diary of Gideon Welles: Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, ed. Erica L. Gienapp and William E. Gienapp (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 427 (entry for 20 June 1864).

p. 125 - debauched by bribes

Congressional Globe, 38th Congress, 1st session, 2410-2411 (23 May 1864).

p. 125 - promoted by their removal

Bryant to Lincoln, New York, 25 June 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 126 - notwithstanding any newspaper assaults

Lincoln to Bryant, Washington, 27 June 1864, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7:409-410.

p. 126 - the righteous judgment of an honest public opinion

Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1865 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), xxvii.

p. 126 - vindication of the Department

Chandler to Welles, Washington, 2 June 1865, Welles Papers, New York Public Library.

p. 126 - much less than its real value

Nevins, *Evening Post*, 433.

p. 127 - to avoid another criminal prosecution
Bigelow diary, 30 January 1878, New York Public Library; Bigelow, *Retrospections*, 5:366. See also entries for 27 February and 1 April 1878, *ibid.*, 5:368-370.

p. 127 - shut down on it (to use his own phrase)
New York *World*, 16 October 1867.

p. 127 - friend and banker, Robert Irwin
On Marston, see Linda Garvert, "Lila Irwin Marston and Alaska Gold Rush: The Iles House Connection," *The Iles Files: The Newsletter of the Elijah Iles House Foundation*, fall 2002, 1-3; 397.

p. 127 - James's bank throughout Illinois
Lyman Horace Weeks, ed., *Prominent Families of New York* (New York: Historical Company, 1898), 397.

p. 127 - one of Frederick James's branches
Illinois State Journal (Springfield), 25 January 1892. Lincoln amazed Marston and James by charging much less than they had anticipated. Marston in the Exeter, New Hampshire, *News-Letter*, n.d., copied *ibid.*

p. 128 - anticipated government position
Agreement between Marston and Denison, 15 February 1861, George Denison Papers, Small Collection 395, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 128 - learned that it was worthless
Buffalo *Enquirer*, 5 August 1898, p. 5.

p. 128 - received or asked anything
Lincoln to Chase, Washington, 18 May 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:373.

p. 129 - appointed to a clerkship
Marston in "An Anecdote of Lincoln," *Hawaiian Star* (Honolulu), 12 August 1893, p. 6.

p. 129 - toiled for decades
Martha Gourley Gehlman to C. C. Lounsberry, Springfield, 31 October 1895, in Christian T. Heydecker, *Genealogy of Samuel Gourley and His Descendants, 1784-1909* (Waukegan, Illinois: n.p., 1909), 21-22. James Gourley told Herndon that "Lincoln was the best man I ever knew: he gave my boy a position in the navy." Gourelly interview, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 453.

p. 130 - more strongly recommended
Irwin to Lincoln, Springfield, 27 February 1861, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 130 - too arbitrary on my part

Lincoln to Irwin, Washington, 20 March 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:296. Cf. Francis P. Blair to Chase, Silver Spring, 26 March 1861, Chase Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

p. 130 - by appointing my friend

Robert Irwin to Lincoln, [Springfield, ca. February 1861], Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 130 - influential New Yorkers

Senator Preston King to Lincoln, Washington, 22 April 1861, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress; Francis P. Blair to Chase, Silver Spring, 26 March 1861, Chase Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Carman and Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage*, 63; Conkling, memorandum on New York patronage, [April 1861], Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress; brief pertaining to application of Henry Bennett for New York Naval Officer, [March 1861], *ibid.*

p. 130 - few backers and many critics

Memo by John Hay, [February 1861], *ibid.*

p. 131 - my name to the commission

Chase to Lincoln, Washington, 18 May 1861, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 131 - including Mr. [George] Opdyke

Lincoln to Chase, Washington, 18 May 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:373.

p. 131 - by no means pleasantly

Sycamore, Illinois, *Republican*, n. d., copied in the Racine, Wisconsin *Journal*, 18 June 1862. Denison had practiced law in DeKalb as late as 1858. Lewis M. Gross and H. W. Fay, *Past and Present of DeKalb County, Illinois* (2 vols.; Chicago: Pioneer, 1907), 1:115.

p. 131 - and other clients

St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, 23 February, copied in the Denison, Texas, *Daily Cresset*, 25 February 1876.

p. 131 - won her kind regards

Sycamore, Illinois, *Republican*, n.d., copied in the Racine, Wisconsin, *Journal*, 18 June 1862. Denison married Anna Catherine “Kate” Russell.

p. 131 - luxuriously fitted-up

Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 17 February 1876; New York *Evening Post*, 25 February 1861.

p. 131 - attentive to her ladyship

New York correspondence, n.d., Boston *Post*, n.d., copied in the Detroit *Free Press*, 25 May 1861. His official salary was \$4950 but reportedly with “‘pickings’ that amounted to twice as much more.” Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, 27 May 1861.

p. 132 - see that they are provided for

New York correspondence, 25 February, Charleston, South Carolina, *Daily Courier*, 28 February 1861. The coach was made by Brewster & Co., of New York City, whose account books (vol. 1, p. 331) contain the following entry for February 18, 1861: "sold — for hon. Abram Lincoln one h. coach — price \$1400." A. J. Wall Jr., "Lincoln's Purchase of a Coach," *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, vol. 26, no. 2 (April 1942): 38. The purchaser's identity is not revealed, but whoever it was paid in installments. Brewster and Co. wrote a recommendation for Denison on January 18, 1861, when Mrs. Lincoln was in New York.

p. 132 - surveyor in the New York Custom House

New York correspondence by "Manhattan," 12 April, London *Evening Standard*, 26 April 1864. The committee mentioned in this dispatch had presented both the carriage and the horses to Mrs. Lincoln. It is possible that there were two separate committees. The horses were presented not by Denison but by William S. Wood. See below.

p. 132 - most lucrative places in New York

Mary Lincoln to Jacob Bunn, Pau, France, 26 January 1878, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 659.

p. 132 - of the benevolent party

New York correspondence, 6 April, *Philadelphia Press*, 6 April 1861.

p. 132 - \$5,000 line of credit in New York

Mary Lincoln to Hannah Shearer, Washington, 28 March 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 82; agreement between Marston and Denison, 15 February 1861, Denison Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 132 - to the position he holds at any time

John Bigelow diary, 8 May 1861, Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library; Ernest Paul Muller, "Preston King: A Political Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1957), 668.

p. 132 - unworthy of a public trust

Parke Godwin to Lincoln, Washington, 16, 20 April 1861, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress. See H. M. Ruggles to Denison, New York, 20 April 1861, *ibid.* Lincoln found Godwin's argument unpersuasive. Lincoln to Chase, Washington, 18 May 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:373.

p. 132 - was a party outrage

James A. Briggs to Salmon P. Chase, Eaton, Ohio, 30 September 1863, Chase Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 133 - runner, or collecting clerk

Samuel Hotaling to William P. Fessenden, New York, 4 July 1864, Fessenden Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society.

p. 133 - to the contingency fund

Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, "Six Months in the White House," 58; C. A. Dana to J. S. Pike, New York, 8 November 1861, Pike Papers, University of Maine.

p. 133 - a "great sensation"

New York *Herald*, 13 May 1861. Responding to that episode, an anonymous correspondent urged Gideon Welles to "request Mr. Lincoln to call home Mrs. Lincoln. She is disgracing herself & mortifying her friends [by] attending [Henry Ward] Beecher[']s meetings." Undated, unsigned letter to Gideon Wells, Justin Turner Papers, box 1, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; William E. Barton and William H. Townsend, *President Lincoln* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1933), 70n.

p. 133 - to keep the peace in his household

Dana in the New York *Sun*, 23 February 1869.

p. 133 - appointment of naval officer at New York

Gettysburg *Compiler*, 17 June 1861.

p. 133 - friend of Pres. Lincoln's family

New York *Daily News*, n.d., copied in the *Columbian Register* (New Haven, Connecticut), 15 June 1861.

p. 133 - his own candidate instead

New York *Journal and Advertiser*, 2 August 1898.

p. 134 - relationship between Denison and the First Lady

Ward to Samuel L. M. Barlow, Washington, 21 November [1864?], Barlow Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

p. 134 - associate, William Marston

Together those two women toured New York harbor in 1861 and visited a New York hospital the following year. Wayne C. Temple, "Mary Todd Lincoln's Travels," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 52 (1959): 185-186; *Indiana Messenger* (Indiana, Pennsylvania), 30 July 1862.

p. 134 - five times greater than Denison's

Bryant to Chase, New York, 24 November 1863, John Niven, ed., *The Salmon P. Chase Papers* (5 vols.; Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1993-1998), 4:198-199. The Collector of the Port of New York on average took home \$30,000 each year, though his official salary was only \$6,000. William Jay Hartman, "Politics and Patronage: The New York Custom House, 1852-1902" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952), 20. In 1862, a congressional committee investigated Denison's office and concluded that in seven months his perquisites amounted to \$6,323.53, making his annual take ca. \$17,000. Sycamore, Illinois, *Republican*, n.d., copied in the Racine, Wisconsin, *Journal*, 18 June 1862.

p. 134 - into the government's coffers

Arthur Harry Rice, "Henry B. Stanton as a Political Abolitionist" (E.D. dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1968), 453-459.

p. 134 - legally organized business

V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), 191. He became vice president of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad, known as "the Katy."

p. 134 - that created the New York Central

New York *Herald*, 27 February 1861; Dunn and Bradstreet records, Baker Library, Harvard University Business School; newspaper clippings in the W. S. Wood file, Onondaga Historical Association (courtesy of James O. Hall); David Rankin Barbee to Mrs. James G. Randall, Washington, 27 April 1951, James G. Randall Papers, Library of Congress; John W. Garret to James G. Berret (president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad), Baltimore, 4 February 1861, New York *Herald*, 7 February 1861. Though Lincoln preferred the more southerly route, Henry Villard reported that "there is a great pressure brought to bear on him in favor of a more northerly one, via Pittsburgh and Harrisburg." Springfield correspondence, 19 January, New York *Herald*, 25 January 1861, Michael Burlingame, ed., *Sixteenth President-in-Waiting: Abraham Lincoln and the Springfield Dispatches of Henry Villard, 1860-1861* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018), 210. Lincoln reportedly changed his mind about the route in late January. H. N. Gilbert to William Henry Seward, Washington, 28 January 1861, Seward Papers, University of Rochester.

p. 135 - as being all right

Norma B. Cuthbert, ed., *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot, 1861: From Pinkerton Records and Related Papers* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1949), 68.

p. 135 - the whims and caprices of Mrs. Lincoln

Reminiscences of William P. Wood, Washington *Sunday Gazette*, 23 January 1887.

p. 135 - consequence and condescension

Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:148.

p. 135 - for his prudence and firmness

St. Louis correspondence, 12 April 1861, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 26 April 1861. The author of that dispatch relays an account told to him by a friend recently arrived from Washington.

p. 136 - feeling manifested by the donors

Hartford *Courant*, 8 March 1861; *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times* (New York), n.d., copied in the Providence *Journal*, 12 April 1861. Wood had reportedly purchased the steeds for \$2000. Buffalo *Daily Republic*, 10 April 1861.

p. 136 - their shopping excursion to New York

St. Louis correspondence, 12 April 1861, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 26 April 1861.

p. 136 - shutting herself in her room

Martin Crawford, ed., *William Howard Russell's Civil War: Private Diary and Letters, 1861-1862* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 162 (entry for 3 November 1861).

p. 136 - high toned honorable gentleman

Mary Lincoln to Ward Hill Lamon, n.p., [11] April [1861], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 83; Lamon to Mrs. Lincoln, Washington, 11 April 1861, typed copy, Lincoln Reference Vertical Files, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; St. Louis correspondence, 12 April, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 26 April 1861. The Springfield resident to whom Lincoln evidently promised the post was either Adam Johnston, who operated a marble works, or Harrison G. Fitzhugh. Lincoln memorandum [ca. 15 December 1860], Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 5:71; Mercy Conkling to her son Clinton Conkling, Springfield, 1 March 1861, Conkling Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. In her memoirs, Rose O'Neal Greenhow recorded that she heard the following rumor: "Mrs. Lincoln asserted with great energy her right to a share of the distribution of the Executive patronage. She had received as a present, from a man named Lammon, a magnificent carriage and horses, promising him in return the marshalship of the district of Columbia, one of the most lucrative offices in the gift of the Executive. Mr. Lincoln had, however, determined to bestow the office upon another applicant, who had also paid his *douceur*, and who was in attendance, waiting to receive the commission which was being made out. Mrs. Lincoln came into the President's office, asked what commission it was that he was signing; and on being told, seized it from his hands, tore it in pieces, saying that she had promised it to 'Lammon,' and he should have it, else her name was not 'Mary Lincoln.'" Clearly Mrs. Greenhow or her informant had garbled and embellished the tale, substituting Lamon for Wood. Rose O'Neal Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London: R. Bentley, 1863), 50. The account of Mrs. Greenhow, a Confederate spy, must be regarded with appropriate skepticism, but it does track more or less with other accounts by more reliable sources.

p. 137 - greatly pleased

Thomas Nelson is the source of this story. Louisville *Courier-Journal*, 30 April 1882, p. 5. This account described the case of one L. P. Woods, who aspired to the office of marshal of the District of Columbia. Contemporary press accounts most often mention Ward Hill Lamon as the likely appointee to that post, but Wood is also mentioned occasionally as a possibility. Washington correspondence, 6 March, New York *Herald*, 9 March 1861. He was reportedly competing for that post with James Harvey. New York *Herald*, 7 March 1861. L. P. Woods, on the other hand, was not mentioned at all in the press for any post. It seems clear that either Nelson or his interviewer – or the typesetter – mistakenly referred to W. S. Wood as L. P. Woods. There was, on the other hand, considerable speculation that W. S. Wood might be named commissioner of public buildings. Another version of this story, related by a Washington friend of Congressman John B. Hawley, identified the aspirant (for an unidentified office) as a New Yorker named Murchison. Omaha *Bee*, 21 July 1889, p. 13. Yet another version has the unnamed aspirant seeking a consulate. Lillie Devereux Blake, "Wives of the Presidents," Indianapolis *News*, 11 February 1893, p. 9.

p. 137 - very popular and very worthy

Diary of Orville H. Browning, 29 July 1861, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side: John Hay's Civil War Correspondence and Selected Writings* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 186.

p. 137 - Congress in early August

Washington correspondence, 31 May, New York *Herald*, 1 June 1861; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, 30 April 1882, p. 5.

p. 137 - *ruinous to him*

Davis to Ward Hill Lamon, Bloomington, Illinois, 6 May 1861, Lamon Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

p. 137 - nomination of Wood "incomprehensible"

Davis to Ward Hill Lamon, Clinton, Illinois, 31 May 1861, *ibid.*

p. 137 - in the most vital part

"Union" to Lincoln, Washington, 26 June 1861, typed copy, Vertical Files, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. A notation indicates that the original is in the Nicolay Papers, Library of Congress, but it is no longer there, though a card file in the Manuscript Division of that institution, cataloguing all items in the Nicolay Papers when they were donated, indicates that it once was.

p. 137 - scarcely spoke together for several days

Colfax to John G. Nicolay, South Bend, Indiana, 17 July 1875, Nicolay Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 138 - given to him by her husband

The source of this story was Lincoln H. King, who claimed that he knew Mrs. Lincoln's paramour "intimately" in New York in the late nineteenth century. *The Sky Rocket* (Primghar, Iowa), 15 March 1929; King to William E. Barton, Primghar, Iowa, 9 August 1930, Barton Papers, University of Chicago. The only recorded trip that Mrs. Lincoln and Wood made to New York was May 10 to 21, 1861, when they stayed at the Metropolitan Hotel. On May 13, she had dinner with an unidentified "intimate friend." Earlier – January 12-23, 1861 – she had stayed at the Astor House and may have met with Wood then, but there is no known evidence of it. Wayne C. Temple, "I Am So Fond of Sightseeing": Mary Lincoln's Travels up to 1865," in Michael Burkheimer and Frank J. Williams, eds., *The Mary Lincoln Enigma: Historians on America's Most Controversial First Lady* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012).

p. 138 - "damned infernal villain

Benjamin Brown French to his son Frank, Washington, 3 September 1861, French Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 138 - a great scamp

James R. Doolittle to his wife Mary, Washington, 16 February 1862, Doolittle Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

p. 138 - Lincoln's domestic affairs

George W. Adams to [David Goodman] Croly, Washington, 7 October 1867, Manton Marble Papers, Library of Congress; New York *Tribune*, 17 October 1867.

p. 138 - too great an intimacy" with her

Z. Young to Lincoln, Washington, 9 November 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 138 - go into details

Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd session, 5397 (9 July 1870).

p. 138 - had "cleared away."

Mary Lincoln to Abram Wakeman, [Washington], 30 January, 18 and 20 February 1865, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 200-202.

p. 139 - relations with Wood in 1861

She fired McManus, who had served as White House doorkeeper for decades, ostensibly because he had failed to comply promptly with her order to deliver some documents.

p. 139 - at the special request of Mrs. Lincoln

Baltimore *Daily Express*, 6 June 1861.

p. 139 - has reappointed Wood

Washington correspondence by Van [D. W. Bartlett], 14 August 1861, Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 16 August 1861.

p. 139 - been nearly exhausted

Washington correspondence, 12 September, New York *Herald*, 13 September 1861. On August 8, it was reported that the president would remove Wood and name Benjamin Brown French in his stead. But on August 13, Wood was re-nominated for the commissionership. Lincoln told French that he would appoint him commissioner of public buildings on September 1. In fact, the appointment was made on September 6. French, *Witness to the Young Republic*, ed. Cole and McDonough, 370-374. Mary Lincoln explained that her husband, "to save his [Wood's] family from disgrace – when the senate would not confirm him, [re]nominated him until the 1st of sep. with a promise from him, he would resign." Mary Todd Lincoln to John F. Potter, Washington, 13 September 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 104. B. B. French explained that he was appointed by Lincoln without consulting him, but before the document was signed the president decided that it was his duty to reappoint Wood. So, French told his son, "I was sent for to go to the president's, and had an interview with both him and Mrs. Lincoln. . . . The president explained that when he ordered my appointment he thought that Mr. Wood had *been rejected* by the senate, but finding that he had not been – only laid over – and being very strongly pressed by Mr. W. & his friends to give Mr. Wood an opportunity *to resign!* he had concluded to appoint him until the 1st of Sept. when he is to resign and I am to be appointed." B. B. French to his son Frank, Washington, 20 August 1861, French Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 140 - got the thing figured all right

Government Contracts, House Report no. 2, 37th Congress, 2nd session, vol. 1 (serial no. 1142), 72-73, 501-505. Something that might also have been considered strange is Wood's appointment of Washingtonian Job W. Angus as "general superintendent of all public works" under Wood's jurisdiction. That effectively meant that Wood was naming his own successor. Wood's actual successor, B. B. French, replaced Angus a few days later. Washington *Evening Star*, 2, 9 September 1861.

p. 140 - most unprincipled man

Mary Todd Lincoln to John F. Potter, Washington, 13 September 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 104.

p. 140 - manure money for [the White] House

Crawford, ed., *Russell's Civil War*, 162 (diary entry for 3 November 1861).

p. 140 - name Benjamin Brown French in his stead

Benjamin Brown French, *Witness to the Young Republic: A Yankee's Journal, 1828-1870*, ed. Donald B. Cole and John J. McDonough (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1989), 370 (entry for 8 August 1861); Washington *National Intelligencer*, 6 September 1861.

p. 140 - the tender of a reappointment

Washington *National Republican*, 7 September 1861.

p. 141 - wife's relatives, not his

He did, however, give offices to many of his friends from New Salem days. Roy P. Basler, *President Lincoln Helps His Old Friends* (pamphlet; Springfield: Abraham Lincoln Association, 1977), 4-10.

p. 141 - still he wouldn't move

David Davis, interview with Herndon, 20 September 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 349.

p. 141 - Knew this and Knew it well

Herndon, "Ingratitude of Lincoln — The World Excited – Ungratefulness of L", memo written at Greencastle, Indiana, in 1887, Herndon-Weik Papers, Library of Congress. This passage does not appear in the version of that memo in Emanuel Hertz, ed., *The Hidden Lincoln: From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon* (New York: Viking Press, 1938), 419-422; it will appear in the forthcoming volume, *Herndon on Lincoln: Lectures and Other Writings*, edited by Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, to be published by the University of Illinois Press. I am grateful to Douglas Wilson for calling this passage to my attention.

p. 141 - Edwards asked for a patronage appointment

He did tell Lincoln about his financial embarrassment in a letter from Geneseo, Illinois, 26 December 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 141 - to be able to oblige you

Lincoln to Edwards, Washington, 19 June 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:412.

p. 142 - “deeply mortified” Lincoln

Lincoln told this to David Davis. Davis to his wife Sarah, Springfield, 23 March 1851, transcribed by Patricia Kasbohm Schley, David and Sarah Davis Family Correspondence, Illinois Wesleyan University, accessed 16 June 2019, http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm/ref/collection/iwu_davis/id/612.

p. 142 - with the closing “Your friend.”

Edwards to Douglas, Geneseo, Illinois, 11 July 1859, Douglas Papers, University of Chicago. I am grateful to Mark Johnson for calling this item to my attention.

p. 142 - for provisioning troops

O. H. Browning to N. W. Edwards, Washington, 14 July 1861, Lincoln Collection, Chicago History Museum; Lincoln to Edwards, Washington, 19 June 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:412.

p. 142 - David Davis and Orville Browning

David Davis to Lincoln, Bloomington, 26 July 1861, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress; Browning to Edwards, Washington, ca. 8 August 1861, *ibid*.

p. 142 - Matteson at their head

Ozias M. Hatch, William Butler, and Jesse K. Dubois to Lincoln, Springfield, 21 June 1861, *ibid*.

p. 142 - thieves and scoundrels

Ozias M. Hatch, William Butler, and Jesse K. Dubois to Lincoln, Springfield, 21 October 1861, *ibid*.

p. 142 - recognize and deal with him

Nicolay to Lincoln, Springfield, 21 October 1861, Michael Burlingame, ed., *With Lincoln in the White House: Letters, Memoranda, and Other Writings of John G. Nicolay, 1860-1865* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 61.

p. 143 - “falsely accused.”

Edwards to Lincoln, Washington, 27 October 1861; Thomas A. Scott to Lincoln, Washington, 26 October 1861, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress

p. 142 –the Springfield Illinois State Journal

William Yates to Abraham Lincoln, Springfield, 22 May 1863, *ibid*.

p. 143 - Bailhache’s bid for a government post

Mary Lincoln to Mary Brayman, Washington, 17 June 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 90.

p. 143 - order to make *more money*

Shelby M. Cullom and Ozias M. Hatch to Lincoln, Springfield, 25 May 1863, *ibid.*; Jacob Bunn to Lincoln, Springfield, 25 May 1863, *ibid.*

p. 143 - neighbors and life-long friends

Dubois to Lincoln Springfield, 23 May 1863, *ibid.* In 1862, Bailhache, Baker, and Dr. Fowler were spending money freely, “each one trying to outdo the other in fine furniture, house and grounds.” Elizabeth Edwards, speaking of her daughter Julia and son-in-law Edward Baker, reported that “there is no end to their extravagance.” Dr. Fowler, who was “poor when the war commenced,” recently purchased a large house “and has furnished it in splendid style.”

Expressing gratitude, Elizabeth’s husband Ninian wrote Lincoln: “From what I have been able to save out of my salary and the unprecedented rise of property [values], I am fast extracting myself from my pecuniary embarrassments.” He allegedly made a profit of \$15,000 through kickbacks from contractors. Mercy Conkling to her son Clinton Conkling, Springfield, 19 November 1862, Conkling Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; Ninian Edwards to Lincoln, Springfield, 23 March 1863, photostatic copy, enclosed in Justin G. Turner to Clyde Walton, Los Angeles, 3 February 1959, Justin G. Turner Papers, box 1, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Later that year, Edwards explained to Lincoln: “From the sales of property which, for [currency?] that would pay debts, has taken an unprecedented rise, the collection of doubtful debts and the extraordinary rise of rents, and from what I could save by the most rigid economy, I have been able to pay about \$13000.00 of debts—I still owe about \$2,000.” Edwards to Lincoln, Chicago, 27 July 1863, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 144 - a fair share of it

Lincoln to Edward L. Baker, Washington, 15 June 1863, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 6:275-276.

p. 144 - transferred from Springfield

William H. Bailhache, “History of Service,” undated memo, Lincoln Collection, Brown University. Lincoln ignored an earnest protest from Orville Browning) Browning to Lincoln, Washington, 6 June 1863, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 144 - you remain at Springfield

George Levy, *To Die in Chicago: Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas, 1862-1865* (Evanston, Illinois: Evanston Publishers, 1994), 157.

p. 145 - subjected to annoyances

Ibid., 157-158. Within a month, Edwards was relieved of his duties and reassigned as Camp Douglas’s food commissary and treasurer of its prison fund.

p. 145 - campaigned against Lincoln in 1860

Isaac Swain to James F. Simmons, San Francisco, 2 July 1861, Simmons Papers, Library of Congress; Sam J. Bridge to E. B. Washburne, San Francisco, 13 June 1862, Washburne Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 145 - so much influence over Mr Lincoln

William Jayne to Lyman Trumbull, Yankton, Dakota Territory, 13 October 1861, Trumbull

Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 145 - pled his case

“If you have any inclination, & opportunity to confer a favor on your old friends, & relatives, we are ready now to afford you the pleasure we are aware you derive from such acts, the truth is, I ask it being unable to refrain, hoping you have something in your gift, or can procure for our son Lockwood who has been with us ever since he left Washn with only occasional writing to do, hoping you would remember him, he had no means, or we are not able to assist him to return to Cala where he could procure employment, all business men here have their own friends for clerks-- Lockwood wrote some months since to Mary inclosing a letter from Genl Carlin to himself, to which he receiv’d no answer, the Genl says he has twice since written to Washn with similar results, he has allow’d his brother to attend to the business, yet hoping Lockwood would be appoint’d, he is not in town, & I forget what it is unless something about the Commissary depart John may know-- I think Mr Lincoln you have no truer friends (tho perhaps not so efficient) as Dr and his sons who have been so much with you, L. would risk his life for you, and still would doubtless-- I am sorry to have been so prolix, knowing your time is precious, but I am not a business woman, but an anxious Mother, therefore I beg your clemency.” Elizabeth Blair Smith Todd to Lincoln, Springfield, 7 January 1863, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 145 - personally owe him much

Lincoln to John Todd Stuart, Washington, 30 March 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:303. A credit agency informant described Wallace as a man “with not much capacity” who “can hardly make a living.” Jean H. Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 79.

p. 145 - “hard battle”

Mary Lincoln to Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, Washington, 29 September 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 105.

p. 145 - out his own family

Herndon’s account in Caroline Dall, “Journal of a tour through Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio, Oct. & Nov. 1866,” entry for 29 October 1866, Dall Papers, Bryn Mawr College.

p. 146 - to heal family broils

Orville [Paddock?] to his sister, Springfield, 12 June 1849, Paddock Family Papers, Missouri Historical Society. In 1861, William Wallace appealed to Lincoln on behalf of his brother Edward, whom Lincoln appointed Naval Officer at the Philadelphia custom house, even though the Republican governor of Pennsylvania favored other candidates for that lucrative post. William S. Wallace to Lincoln, Springfield, 11 April 1861, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress. Governor Andrew G. Curtin recommended either General James Irwin or J. M. Pomeroy. Undated Lincoln memo, *ibid*.

p. 146 - Boonville, Missouri

Lyman Beecher Todd to Jesse W. Weik, Lexington, 17 April 1895, Jesse W. Weik, *The Real Lincoln: A Portrait*, ed. Michael Burlingame (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 375.

p. 146 - vigorously on her behalf

Elizabeth Todd Grimsley to John Todd Stuart, Washington, 20 March 1861, Grimsley Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Cf. Lincoln to John Todd Stuart, Washington, 30 March 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:303; Nicolay to Ozias M. Hatch, Washington, 31 March 1861, Burlingame, ed., *With Lincoln in the White House*, 32. Lincoln had been urged to announce that postmasters would be chosen by election. Schuyler Colfax to Lincoln, South Bend, Indiana, 6 July 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 146 - offices among our relatives

Lincoln to John Todd Stuart, Washington, 30 March 1861, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 4:303.

p. 146 - must needs wait

Peck to Lyman Trumbull, Chicago, 27 August 1861, Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 146 – only to have the Senate reject him.

Norman Thomas, “John Blair Smith Todd, First Dakota Delegate to Congress,” *South Dakota Historical Collections* 24 (1949): 202.

p. 147 - to influence my action

Letter by “The Adjutant” to the editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, Topeka, Kansas, 20 May 1887, clipping in folder marked “Mary Todd Lincoln: White House,” Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection, Allen County Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana. The source of this story is a “confidential clerk or secretary” to Stanton who told it to his army comrade known as “The Adjutant.” That clerk, a Kenyon College graduate like Stanton, had been wounded in the battle of Stones River and invited to Washington by the war secretary. William E. Doster, *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), 98.

p. 147 - hours in the Old Capitol Prison

Gienapp and Gienapp, eds., *Welles Diary*, 399 (entry for 29 April 1864); Washington correspondence, n.d, *Boston Journal*, n.d., copied in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, 3 June 1864.

p. 147 - caused Lincoln great anxiety

Berry, *House of Abraham*, 157-165.

p. 147 - controles her husband

Gayle Thornbrough et al., eds., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher* (7 vols.; Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1972-1981), 7:388 (entry for 2 April 1862).

p. 148 - at the Boston Custom House

Carl Russell Fish, “Lincoln and the Patronage,” *American Historical Review* 8 (1902): 58-59; Franklin Brooks, “The Lincoln Years in the Papers of Amos and Edward Tuck,” *Dartmouth College Library Bulletin* 21 (1981): 64-69; Benjamin Brown French to Henry Flagg French, Washington, 14 March 1861, French Papers, Library of Congress; Tuck to John Z. Goodrich, Boston, January 1866 (no day of the month given), draft, Tuck Family Papers, Dartmouth College.

p. 148 - for Boston on ac[count] of [her son] 'Bobby.'

Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., entry for 10 March 1861, Adams Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915: An Autobiography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), 103.

p. 148 - would 'corner' him

Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, "Six Months in the White House," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 19 (1926-1927): 64.

p. 148 - feel the same towards you

Mary Lincoln to Cameron, [Washington], 29 March [1861], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 83.

p. 149 - husband, and you and me

[Horatio Woodman?], "The Late Secretary Stanton," *Army and Navy Journal*, 1 January 1870, 308-309. Stanton told this story in 1866.

p. 149 - an exacting and disagreeable person

Albert E. H. Johnson in Frank Abial Flower, *Edwin McMasters Stanton: The Autocrat of Rebellion, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Akron, Ohio: Saalfield, 1905), 255. It is not clear how often flowers were sent to Wood. See Mary Lincoln to Daniel Sickles, Washington, 6 February 1864, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 167-168.

p. 149 - "distressingly loving"

Swett to his wife Laura, New York, 10 August 1862, Davis Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 149 - pestiferous beyond description

Halstead to Timothy C. Day, Washington, 11 June 1861, Day, *Man on a Hill Top*, 245.

p. 150 - opposite natures

Mary Lincoln to Abram Wakeman, Washington, 23 September [1864], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 180.

p. 150 - "a natural born thief"

Davis told this to Orville H. Browning. Browning diary, 3 July 1873, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side: John Hay's Civil War Correspondence and Selected Writings* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 187.

p. 150 - of linen and stuffs

Bayly Ellen Marks and Mark Norton Schatz, eds., *Between North and South: A Maryland Journalist Views the Civil War: The Narrative of William Watkins Glenn, 1861-1869* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976), 296 (entry for 4 October 1867).

p. 151 - interfere to prevent

Jefferson, Ohio, correspondence, 2 November, Cincinnati *Commercial*, n.d., copied in the *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 12 November 1867.

p. 151 - bills of the former occupants

Washington correspondence, 1 January 1866, New York *World*, n.d., copied in the Rock Island, Illinois, *Evening Argus*, 11 January 1866.

p. 151 - propensity to steal

In 1873, Davis told this to Orville H. Browning. Browning diary, 3 July 1873, in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 187. According to Pennsylvania politico/editor Alexander K. McClure, his personal friend Thaddeus Stevens, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the U.S. House, discretely covered up the scandal and persuaded Congress to vote funds for refurbishing the Executive Mansion. A. K. McClure to Alonzo Rothschild, Philadelphia, 9 May 1907, Lincoln Contemporaries Collection, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

p. 152 - aided her in doing so

Orville H. Browning diary, 3 March 1862, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 186.

p. 152 - unenviable reputation

Marta McDowell, *All the Presidents' Gardens: Madison's Cabbages to Kennedy's Roses: How the White House Grounds Have Grown with America* (Portland, Oregon: Timber Press, 2016), 258-259.

p. 152 - consisted of human trash

New York Tribune, 28 January 1862.

p. 152 - an army officer's commission

Mary Todd Lincoln to John F. Potter, Washington, 13 September 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 104.

p. 152 - at Mrs Lincoln's demand

George Gibbs to John Austin Stevens, Washington, 16 October 1861, Stevens Papers, New-York Historical Society.

p. 152 - slept in a separate apartment

George Bancroft to his wife, [Washington], 12 December 1861, M. A. de Wolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (2 vols.; New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1908), 2:144-145; William P. Fessenden to Elizabeth Warriner, Washington, 8 December 1861, Lincoln Collection, Western Reserve Historical Society.

p. 152 - but to the President

Mary Lincoln to Simon Cameron, Washington, 12 September 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 103; Charles A. Dana to J. S. Pike, New York, 8 November 1861, Pike Papers, University of Maine.

p. 152 - from his White House post

Ben: Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis* (2 vols.; Tecumseh, Mich.: A. W. Mills, 1886), 2:142-143; Washington correspondence, 13 February 1862, *New York Tribune*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *New York Herald*, 14 February 1862; Ruth Painter Randall, *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1953), 303-306; Douglas Fermer, *James Gordon Bennett and the New York Herald: A Study of Editorial Opinion in the Civil War Era, 1854-1867* (New York: St. Martin's, 1986), 214-216. In 1863, Watt enlisted in the Thirteenth New York Artillery as a private, rose to the rank of corporal, and in 1865 became a second lieutenant in the Thirty-Eighth U. S. Colored Troops, serving until 1867. Watt later told authorities that he "was commissioned by Pres. Lincoln and detailed for special duty at [the] White House and never served with his Regiment," and that he "also acted as recruiting officer at Washington D.C." A Congressional report stated that he was "one of the commanders of the bodyguard of President Lincoln" and "one of his personal aides and attendants." U.S. Senate, 59th Congress, 2nd session, report 69 (1903); Watt, "Declaration for Invalid Pension," 25 August 1890, and Jane M. Watt, "Dependent Widow's Declaration for Pension," 29 January 1892, pension records, National Archives; Watt to General [name indecipherable], Washington, 16 January 1861; Watt to Lorenzo Thomas, 10 September and 3 December 1861, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received, Main Series, Record Group 94, *ibid.*; Watt's service record, *ibid.* Watt died in 1892, survived by his wife, Jane Masterson Watt. They had no children.

p. 153 - about that matter

An Old-Timer [J. K. C. Forrest], "Old-Time Facts and Fancies," *Chicago Evening News*, 7 April 1891.

p. 153 - I'll pay Gauthier

New York World, 23 October 1867.

p. 153 - the manure dinner

Eunice Tripler: Some Notes of Her Personal Recollections (New York: Grafton Press, 1910), 139-140.

p. 153 - occasioned scandal

New York Commercial Advertiser, 4 October 1867. Weed's informant was evidently Edward McManus, a doorkeeper at the White House. Bill from John Watt to Lincoln, [1 February] 1863, Ward Hill Lamon Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Marks and Schatz, eds., *Between North and South*, 175-176, 296 (entries for 16 March 1865 and 4 October 1867); Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 254-258. Cf. Harry Pratt and Ernest E. East, "Mrs. Lincoln Refurbishes the White House," *Lincoln Herald* 47 no. 1 (February 1945): 13-22. John Watt denied the story, but according to a New York wine merchant, Secretary of the Interior Smith verified it. George W. Adam to [David Goodman] Croly, Washington, 7 October 1867, and Frederic S. Cozzens to Manton Marble, *New York*, 12 October 1867, Manton Marble Papers, Library of Congress. Cozzens named Caleb B. Smith as his source.

p. 154 - cover the misappropriation
Donn Piatt in the Charleston, South Carolina, *Daily News*, 25 November 1869.

p. 154 - connected with the Executive Mansion
Field, *Memories of Many Men*, 283-284.

p. 154 - misappropriations in elaborate detail
Upperman to Caleb B. Smith, Washington, 21 October 1861, copy, records of the U.S. Senate Committee on Public Buildings, 37th Congress, record group 46, National Archives. William H. Johnson was paid \$50.00 for services as furnace-keeper at the White House for April, June, and August 1861, \$43.75 for carting manure in June, and \$37.75 for whitewashing the Executive Mansion in July 1861. Alexander Mc Kerichar received \$50.00 as a laborer on public grounds for June 1861, \$54.00 for hire of horse and covered wagon and driver in July 1861, and \$47.25 for cartage in August. Augustus Jullien and Charles F. Cone were paid for working as laborers under Watt on Lafayette Square. Burke received \$31.25 for working as a laborer on the square south of the White House for June 1861. Upperman sent Smith copies of eight receipts. Financial Records of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, record group entry 19, box 13, National Archives. Public Gardener Thomas J. Sutter approved Watt's bills for monthly pay as superintendent of president's square and for hire of his horse and cart in hauling manure in June and July 1861. He also approved Watt's payroll for twenty-two laborers working under him. Records the Commissioner of Public Buildings, Letters Sent, Vols. 13 and 14, Record Group 42, microcopy 371, reel 7, *ibid*.

p. 154 - anxiety under which she is suffering
Caleb B. Smith to Seward, Washington, 27 October 1861, Seward Papers, University of Rochester.

p. 155 - pursued the matter no further
Memo by Smith, Washington, 11 December 1861, Records of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, letters received, record group 42, microcopy 371, reel 7, National Archives. Three days later, French disallowed the payments to tree no-show workers. French to Joseph Ingle, Washington, 14 December 1861, Records of the First Auditor, Miscellaneous Records, Treasury Department, no. 143610, Record Group 217, National Archives. Cf. penciled annotations on "account no. 1," Annual Report of the President's House, 30 September 1861, enclosed in the First Auditor's certificate on the account of B. B. French, no. 142505, *ibid.*, This "return" was evidently made on January 7, 1862. See annotation on the First Auditor's certificate, January 7, 1862, on the account of B. B. French, no. 142506 and no. 142416, *ibid*.

p. 155 - Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds
Upperman to Foot, Washington, 6 December 1861, Records of the U.S. Senate Committee on Public Buildings, 37th Congress, Record Group 46, National Archives. Cf. Washington correspondence by "Iowa," 4 February 1862, *Burlington, Iowa, Hawk-Eye*, 8 February 1862.

p. 155 - Upperman's dismissal

In November, Commissioner French fired Upperman, whom he described as an “ingrate and liar.” *Washington Evening Star*, 18 November 1861; French, *Witness to the Young Republic*, ed. Cole and McDonough, 385 (entry for 17 January 1862.)

p. 155 - respect for Mr. Lincoln

New York Commercial Advertiser, 4 October 1867.

p. 155 - withdrew the government check

Democrat Benjamin M. Boyer (1823-1887), who represented a Pennsylvania district in the U.S. House (1865-1869) and served on the Ways and Means Committee, told this story to Maryland journalist William Wilkins Glenn. Marks and Schatz, eds., *Narrative of Glenn*, 175-176, 296 (entries for 16 March 1865 and 4 October 1867). In the fall of 1861, Lincoln gave Benjamin Brown French \$270 out of his own pocket to reimburse the government for “Accounts erroneously paid.” They covered money paid to no-show workers for their supposed efforts in July and September 1861. Benjamin B. French to Lincoln, Washington, 1 April 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 155 - by this exposure

Donn Piatt in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, 22 February 1869.

p. 155 - known to me directly

Lincoln to Whittlesey, Washington, 11 March 1862, *Lincoln Memorial Association Bulletin* 21 (1992): 1-2.

p. 155 - three letters of Mrs. Lincoln

John Hay heard this in 1867 from Isaac Newton. Hay diary 13 February 1867, Hay Papers, Brown University.

p. 155 - defrauding the Government

Washington correspondence, 16 October, *New York Tribune*, 17 October 1867.

p. 155 - to cover up their schemes etc

George W. Adams to [David Goodman] Croly, Washington, 7 October 1867, Manton Marble Papers, Library of Congress. A spiritualist also threatened to blackmail the First Lady, who apparently had revealed embarrassing information during a seance he conducted. (Chapter 11)

p. 156 - whole thing [was] settled

John Hay diary, 13 February 1867, Hay Papers, Brown University.

p. 156 - \$1,500 plus travel costs

D. P. Holloway to John Watt, Washington, 14 March 1862, copy, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress. When Watt asked for instructions, he was put off by the secretary of the interior.

p. 156 - would all be disgraced

Diary of Browning, 2 March 1862, in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 186.

p. 156 - receipts for these payments and advances

In the Ward Hill Lamon Papers at the Henry E. Huntington Library is the following document, dated on its folder "[Feb. 1] 1863": "his excellency Abraham Lincoln due to John Watt 1863 to commissary stores for the use of the president[']s house \$361.00 the items and vouchers for this sum of money are in the hand [of] Genl Simm Draper to cash sent to Mrs. Lincoln from this city [*Washington?*] to Mrs L by a draft at her request \$350.00 the authority to send the same to Mrs Lincoln to New York is also in the hand of Mr Draper to cash paid Mrs. Lincoln['] hotel bill in Boston, receipt in Mr Lincoln[']s hand 15.00 to cash handed Mrs Lincoln New York 10[.00] \$736.00 Mr. Watts presents this account with reluctance & never intended to present it for payment and departs from his purpose originally intended as the wishes of the Hon Secretary Smith has not been carried out by Mr Newton the head of the agriculture bureau in not compensation [*compensating*] him for his times and services in visit to Europe for that bureau, as that has not been done[.] Mr. Watts feels bound to present the above bill for payment as he cannot afford to lose it. Mr Watts parted with the vouchers refer[re]d to with the understanding that the account would be promptly paid."

p. 156 - one trip to Cambridge, Mass.

Watt to Cameron, n.p., [ca. 1890], excerpts of a letter in an undated catalog (no. 191) of Howard S. Mott, Sheffield, Massachusetts, in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 103 n. 5.

p. 156 - and the gardener Watt

Davis to his wife, St. Louis, 23 February 1862, David Davis Papers, Chicago History Museum. See same to same, St. Louis, 19 February 1862, *ibid.*

p. 156 - for the public lands

Washington correspondence by "Iowa," Burlington *Hawkeye*, 8 February 1862.

p. 157 - worth of unspecified items

A suspicious clerk had refused to authorize payment, prompting the company to send an agent to explain the bill. An outside appraiser was called in and evaluated the china at \$800, not \$2400. Eventually the president paid the bill out of his own pocket.

p. 157 - shawls, contracts, etc. etc. etc.

New York *World*, 26 September 1864; E. V. Haughwout & Co. to Marble, New York, 26, 27, and 28 September 1864; [Marble] to Col. Frank E. Howe, New York, 26 September 1864; and Marble to [E. V. Haughwout & Co.], "Wednesday 2 AM", filed at the end of September 1864, and [3 October 1864], draft, Marble Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 157 - personal adornment

New York *World*, 30 September and 1 October 1864.

p. 157 - gilding gas-fixtures

George W. Adams to [David Goodman] Croly, Washington, 7 September 1867, Marble Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 157 - fittings at the White the White House -
Elisha Whittlesey to George Harrington, Washington, 6 March 1862, letters received, vol. 27, Records of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, microfilm edition, Record Group 42, microcopy 371, National Archives.

p. 157 - White House cutlery
Financial Records of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, entry 19, box 13, *ibid.*

p. 157 – lost the sale
New York correspondence by “Metropolitan,” 9 October, *Boston Post*, 11 October 1867.

p. 157 - gave Mrs Lincoln \$1500
Marks and Schatz, eds., *Narrative of Glenn*, 296 (entry for 4 October 1867).

p. 157 - perquisites of the gardener
Ibid., 167 (entry for 16 March 1865). According to Rose Greenhow: “It had been a custom at Washington to distribute the hay and grass, cut from the public grounds, to the poor and meritorious population of the city. It was a cheap and graceful charity on the part of the Government, duly appreciated by the recipients . . . Mrs. Lincoln put a stop to this praiseworthy custom, and claimed it as one of her perquisites.” Rose O’Neal Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London: R. Bentley, 1863), 51.

p. 158 - expenses of the household
William O. Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Times: Memoirs and Reports of Lincoln's Secretary*, ed. Michael Burlingame (1890; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 33.

p. 158 - thwarted her attempts
Hay to John G. Nicolay, Washington, [ca. 10 November 1861], Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 14.

p. 158 - confiding President
Washington correspondence by Avon, 17 February, *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), 22 February 1862.

p. 158 - produce an explosion
Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1930, vol. IV; Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), 341 (entry for 28 February 1864).

p. 158 - mortified and humiliated
An Old-Timer [J. K. C. Forrest], “Old-Time Facts and Fancies,” *Chicago Evening News*, 7 April 1891.

p. 158 - wife's fingers out of his hair

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 5 February 1891, Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, *Herndon on Lincoln: Volume 1, Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, 2016), 335.

p. 159 - committed to an insane asylum
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 104-105.

p. 159 - track on us, don't they
D. H. Mitchell, "An Anecdote of Lincoln," *The Independent* (New York), 13 December 1894.
Gurley recounted this story in 1866.

p. 160 - as long as you can
Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 225-226.

p. 160 - partial insanity
Washington *Sunday Gazette*, 16 January 1887. Jason Emerson has expressed skepticism about this account, for he notes that Lincoln was famously shut-mouthed about his private life and would not have been likely to share that information with a comparative stranger like Wood. But Wood recalled that that "Abraham Lincoln often counseled with me in person relative to the rascalities that were going on in the very darkest days of the civil war." Washington *Sunday Gazette*, 10 August 1884, in Curtis Carroll Davis, "The Craftiest of Men: William P. Wood and the Establishment of the United States Secret Service," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 83 (1988): 124.

p. 160 - limbs were fast confined
Enclosed in Lincoln to Andrew Johnson, Springfield, 6 September 1846, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:384-385.

p. 162 - in the same house
Joanna Newell to her mother [Eliza Martin Van Deursen], Allentown [New Jersey], 18 January 1862, Wikoff Papers, box 1, folder 9, Princeton University. The Newells had dined with the First Family on January 15. Mary Lincoln to Mrs. Newell, Washington, 15 January [1862], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 119.

p. 162 - cold shoulder
Elizabeth Blair Lee to Samuel Phillips Lee, Silver Spring, Maryland, 15 July 1861, Virginia Jeans Laas, ed., *Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 61.

p. 162 - potential friends and allies
In the winter of 1864, Mrs. Chandler told this to Mary B. Clay, niece of Kentucky Congressman Brutus J. Clay. Mary B. Clay to the editor, 12 February 1909, Lexington, Kentucky, *Herald*, 17 February 1909.

p. 163 - speak of going home.

Elizabeth Grimsley to John Todd Stuart, Washington, 24 May 1861, Grimsley Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 163 - on her drives
Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:157.

p. 163 - capacity for elegant leisure
New York correspondence, n.d., *Chicago Times*, n.d., copied in the Quincy *Whig and Republican*, 29 May 1874; *New York Herald*, 3 May 1884, in Allison Delarue, *The Chevalier Henry Wikoff: Impresario, 1840* (privately printed at the Princeton University Press, 1968), 6.

p. 163 - and editor of the *New York Herald*
Joann E. Castagna, "Henry Wikoff," *American National Biography*, ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 23:363-364; Duncan Crow, *Henry Wikoff: The American Chevalier* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1963), *passim*. At times he "seemed to have an extraordinary influence with Bennett, and used to be summoned not infrequently to the family powwows." New York correspondence by "Chabbert," 4 March, *Sacramento Daily Union*, 12 March 1880.

p. 163 - diplomatic courier for the administration
James B. Conroy, *Lincoln's White House: The People's House in Wartime* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 99; Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:157; Frank Malloy Anderson, *The Mystery of "A Public Man": A Historical Detective Story* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948), 126-128; *New York Herald*, 2 and 6 April 1861.

p. 164 - accustomed only to Western society
Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:157.

p. 164 - the cosmopolite Wikoff
Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men* (1873-1881; 2 vols.; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 1:366-367.

p. 164 - him a delightful companion
New York Tribune, 3 May 1884.

p. 164 - the impudence of the devil
Green Mountain Freeman (Montpelier, Vermont), 20 February 1862; New York correspondence, n.d., *Chicago Times*, n.d., copied in the Quincy *Whig and Republican*, 29 May 1874.

p. 163 - not be surprised at anything
Crawford, ed., *Russell's Civil War*, 162 (diary entry for 3 November 1861); George Gibbs to John Austin Stevens, Washington, 3, 16 October 1861, Stevens Papers, New-York Historical Society.

p. 164 - to tolerate his presence

Davis to his wife Sarah, St. Louis, 15 December 1861, Davis Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 164 - Wikoff is her gallant

Henry Smith to Charles Henry Ray and Joseph Medill, [Washington], 4 November 1861, Ray Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

p. 164 - a national disgrace

Joseph Hawley to Charles Dudley Warner, n.p., n.d., in Arthur L. Shipman (ed.), "Letters of Joseph R. Hawley" (typescript dated 1929), 387, Connecticut Historical Society.

p. 165 - thing to be at large

Washington correspondence by Hay, 21 October 1861, *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), 25 October 1861, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln's Journalist: John Hay's Anonymous Writings for the Press, 1860-1864* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), 121.

p. 165 – great ass and nothing else

F. L. Olmsted to Mary Perkins Olmsted, Washington, 28 September 1861, Charles Capen McLaughlin, ed., *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted* (7 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977-2007), 4:207.

p. 165 - him in her carriage

Wool to his wife, Baltimore, 28 September 1862, Wool Papers, New York State Library, Albany. Wool added that Mrs. Lincoln wrote to him asking him to receive a visit from a friend of hers. That friend, "a good looking man" who "was employed about the White House in some capacity," called on Wool "to obtain an appointment. I replied he only [had] to get the recommendation of Mrs Lincoln & the president and I would appoint him at once."

p. 165 - very good consort

Crawford, ed., *Russell's Civil War*, 184 (entry for 22 November 1861).

p. 165 - being one of his companions

New York *Evening Post*, 28 February 1859.

p. 165 - whom to know was discreditable

Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 1835-1875* (4 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1952), 2:77-78, 438; 3:351; 4:422 (entries for 20 December 1851, 28 February 1859, 21 August 1863, 20 April 1872).

p. 165 - to be easily flattered

Maria Lydig Daly, *Diary of a Union Lady, 1861-1865*, ed. Harold Earl Hammond (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1962), 86 (entry for 19 December 1861).

p. 166 - pets of the White House

Montpelier, Vermont, *Green Mountain Freeman*, 20 February 1862.

p. 166 - brigadier general's commission
Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 18 February 1862; Montpelier, Vermont, *Green Mountain Freeman*, 25 February 1862.

p. 166 - going there at all times
David S. Sparks, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Army: The Diary of Marsena Rudolph Patrick, Provost Marshall General, Army of the Potomac* (New York: T. Yoseloff [1964]), 323 (entry for 16 December 1863).

p. 166 - command of the Army of the Potomac
Washington correspondence, n.d., New York *World*, 16 March 1864, copied in the *Columbian Register* (New Haven, Connecticut), 19 March 1864.

p. 166 - people, through all eternity
Nathan Daniels Papers, Library of Congress (diary entries for 31 January 1864, 5 March 1865). On Daniels, see C. P. Weaver, ed., *Thank God My Regiment an African One: The Civil War Diary of Colonel Nathan W. Daniels* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 14-22, 171-177.

p. 166 - accepting a bribe from Wikoff
[Hiram Ramsdell], excerpt from "a long letter to a western paper," n.d., copied in the Portland, Maine, *Daily Press*, 29 June 1871; undated, unsigned manuscript in the hand of John Hay, J. W. Schuckers Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 166 - to spare him disgrace
Benjamin Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis* (2 vols.; New York: W. A. Houghton, 1886), 2:143; Washington correspondence, 13 February, New York *Tribune*, 14 February 1862.

p. 166 - repeated it verbatim to Wikoff
Washington correspondence, 14 February, New York *Tribune*, 15 February 1862; Wikoff's narrative of events, 20 February, New York *Herald*, 3 March 1862; Washington correspondence, n.d., Philadelphia *Inquirer*, copied in the New York *Evening Post*, 14 February 1862. It is not clear whether Lincoln spoke only to Republican members of the committee or to all of its members. Nor is it clear why Watt agreed to accept blame for something he did not do. Perhaps the promise of employment as an Interior Department seed inspector at \$1500 was persuasive, or maybe Simeon Draper's threats were sufficiently intimidating. (Chapter 9)

p. 167 - gave it back to Defrees
Diary of Orville H. Browning, entry for 3 March 1862, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 186-187. This version of events was partially confirmed by Simon P. Hanscom in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee in mid-February 1862. He reluctantly told those lawmakers that Wikoff had assured him "that he got it from Mrs. Lincoln; otherwise I should not have sent it. I would not have sent it unless I thought he had obtained it from such a responsible source. I readily believed what he told me, because I knew that he was frequently up at the White House." Hanscom's unpublished testimony, 17 February

1862, hearing on “allegations of government censorship of telegraphic news reports during the civil war,” records of the House Judiciary Committee, Proquest Congressional Database. Further confirmation is found in a February 24 letter that a fellow prisoner of Wikoff’s wrote from jail: “Mrs. Lincoln gave Wycoff the message you saw when they arrested him to make him talk.” Mrs. Augusta Heath Morris to Thomas Jordan, Old Capital Prison, Washington, 24 February 1862, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion: Treatment of Suspected and Disloyal Persons North and South, Confederate Reports, Correspondence, etc.*, series 2, volume 2, 1350-1351.

p. 167 - with his ‘copy’ in his pocket

[Hiram Ramsdell], excerpt from “a long letter to a western paper,” n.d., copied in the Portland, Maine, *Daily Press*, 29 June 1871. Cf. an undated, unsigned manuscript in the hand of John Hay, J. W. Schuckers Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 168 - from the mansion that night

Matthew Hale Smith, *Sunshine and Shadow in New York* (Hartford: Burr, 1869), 285-289; Charles A. Dana to J. S. Pike, New York, 4 January 1862, Pike Papers, University of Maine; Washington correspondence, 11 February, *New York World*, 12 February 1862.

p. 168 - those meetings in his domain

Washington correspondence, 2 March, Philadelphia *Inquirer*, 3 March 1862; T. J. Barnett to S. L. M. Barlow, Washington, 27 October 1862, Barlow Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; statement of Thomas Stackpole to Orville H. Browning, Browning diary, entry for 3 March 1862, in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln’s Side*, 187.

p. 169 - drive out with him again

Joanna Newell to her mother [Eliza Martin Van Deursen], Allentown [New Jersey], 18 January 1862, Wikoff Papers, box 1, folder 9, Princeton University.

p. 169 - unhappiness and to Mr. L’s also

Elizabeth Edwards to her daughter Julia, [Washington, March 1862], Elizabeth Todd Edwards Papers, Small Collection 445, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 169 - kind, true or fictitious

New York correspondence by “Mephistopheles,” 20 February 1862, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 29 March 1862.

p. 169 - speculators and adventures

Report submitted to Secretary of War Stanton by Joseph Holt and Robert Dale Owen, 1 July 1862, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, series 3, vol. 2, pp. 192-193. Cf. Robert V. Bruce, *Lincoln and the Tools of War* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956), 49-50.

p. 169 - with the Herald’s abuse

Washington correspondence by “X. Y. Z.,” 11 February, *New York Times*, 13 February 1862.

p. 170 – contracts to be made *forthwith*”

Wikoff to Cameron, Washington, 7 September 1861, Cameron Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 170 - collection of blackmail

New York *Times*, 13 February 1862. A few days later, Simon P. Hanscom confirmed that analysis in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, which was investigating government censorship of the telegraph lines. Hanscom said that Wikoff had proposed to him that they join forces “to blackmail War Department officials with bad publicity in the *Herald's* telegraph columns unless they awarded government contracts to Wikoff's associates.” Testimony of Simon P. Hanscom before the House Judiciary Committee, 17 February 1862, paraphrased in Richard B. Kielbowicz, “The Telegraph, Censorship and Politics at the Outset of the Civil War,” *Civil War History* 40 (1994): 117.

p. 170 - knew how to help him to

Charles A. Dana to F. A. Pike, New York, 4 January 1862, Pike Papers, University of Maine. In 1864, Bennett's *Herald* reported that Wikoff “realized fifteen or twenty thousand dollars from contracts under Cameron. New York *Herald*, 22 January 1864.

p. 170 – men who provided kickbacks

In the words of one of Mrs. Lincoln's more defensive biographers, she was “an experienced influence peddler.” Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 201.

p. 170 - had operated on me

Cameron to Stanton, n.p., 10 March 1862, #GLC07091, Gilder Lehrman Collection, New-York Historical Society.

p. 171- of our lady President

Home Journal, n.d., copied in the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 16 October 1861.

p. 171 - and sacrificing so much

Lydia Maria Child to John Greenleaf Whittier, Wayland, Massachusetts, 22 September 1861, Child Papers, microfiche edition, ed. Patricia G. Holland and Milton Meltzer.

p. 171 - she was forty-two

Mary Lincoln to Willis, Washington, 24 July [1861], Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1885), 344-345. The previous year, she had told the Federal census taker that she was thirty-five. Federal census of Sangamon County, 1860.

p. 171 - shore in August 1861

Interview with an unidentified, elderly Republican senator, Washington correspondence, 16 January, Leavenworth, Kansas, *Weekly Times*, 27 January 1887.

p. 171 - prince when he had money

New York *Tribune*, 3 July 1871. New York *Tribune*, 3 July 1871.

p. 171 - presented to the Lincolns in 1863

Ohio Democrat (Canal Dover, Ohio), 13 March 1863.

p. 171 - great wrought-iron gun contract
New York *Tribune*, 3 July 1871.

p. 172 - the ways of Washington
Missouri Democrat (St. Louis), 4 July 1861, copied in the Sacramento *Daily Union*, 10 July 1864; Washington correspondence, 2 June, Philadelphia *Times*, 4 June 1893.

p. 172 - public and private comment
Washington correspondence, 29 October, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 15 November 1862.

p. 172 - program that he favored
Halsted to Lincoln, Washington, 17 October 1864, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 172 - a rival for her affections
“Murder by Gaslight” website, 6 June 2015, <http://www.murderbygaslight.com/2015/06/the-murder-of-pet-halsted.html>.

p. 172 - boys were seriously ill
“Ex Gov. Newell, of New Jersey, eminent alike as a physician and a statesman, assisted Drs. [Neal] Hall and [Robert K.] Stone in watching over poor Willie Lincoln. Governor Newell has been unremitting in his attentions.” *Bradford Reporter* (Towanda, Pennsylvania), 27 February 1862. In 1863, the Lincolns “sent an elegant gold-headed cane to Dr. William A. Newell” as a token of “their appreciation of valuable professional services rendered by Dr. N. in the family at the White House. New York *Times*, 24 January 1863.

p. 172 - guests at the White House
“Gov Newell & Halsted are frequently here.” Mary Lincoln to Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, Washington, 29 September 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 105. Cf. Mary Lincoln to Oliver Halsted, 9 September 1861, and to Hannah Shearer, Washington, 6 October 1861, *ibid.*, 102, 108.

p. 172 - exorbitant price to the Government
Poore, *Reminiscences*, 2:310.

p. 172 - for whom he applies
Mary Todd Lincoln to Gideon Welles, Washington, 16 September [1861], Thomas F. Schwartz and Kim M. Bauer, eds., “Unpublished Mary Todd Lincoln,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 17 (1996): 3.

p. 173 - any extent required
Halsted to Gustavus V. Fox, Washington, 23 November 1861, Robert Means Thompson and Richard Wainwright, eds., *Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus Vasa Fox: Assistant Secretary of the Navy* (2 vols.; New York: Printed for the Naval History Society by the De Vinne Press, 1920), 2:454; New York *Times*, 3 July 1871.

p. 173 - too much for his services

Richard H. Sewell, *John P. Hale and the Politics of Abolition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 200-206; Richard S. West Jr., "The Morgan Purchases," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 66 (January 1940): 73-77.

p. 173 - Yes; Mrs. Lincoln
Boston correspondence by Warrington [William S. Robinson], 19 December, Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 21 December 1861.

p. 173 - to make him respectable
Leonard Swett to William Herndon, Chicago, 17 January 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 164.

p. 173 - high and noble aims
Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:161.

p. 174 - at the Herald villa
New York correspondence by "Mephistopheles," 20 February, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 29 March 1862.

p. 174 - her association with Bennett
Isaac C. Pray, *Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and His Times* (New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1855), 280.

p. 174 - invites to the White House, Mrs. Bennett
Jessie Benton Fremont to Thomas Star King, New York, 29 December 1861, Pamela Herr and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Letters of Jessie Benton Fremont* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 304.

p. 174 - kitchen interests at Washington
New York correspondence by "Mephistopheles," 20 February, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 29 March 1862. Mrs. Bennett had done the same during the Buchanan administration, when it "was her influence that filled the *Herald* with Buchanan's praises. She once said to a member of Congress who visited her at her New York home, and was about to take leave of her on his return to Washington: 'Tell Mr. Buchanan that the *Herald* shall continue to support him without fear or reserve. If it does not, Mr. Bennet knows that I will make New York too hot for him.'" *Mobile Register*, 7 November 1862. Cf. Fermer, *Bennett and the New York Herald*, 103.

p. 175 - with wonder and surprise
New York *Herald*, n.d., copied in the *Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), 13 August 1861.

p. 175 - are the natural consequence
Chicago *Tribune*, 31 August 1861.

p. 175 - her manners, is insulting
Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, n.d., copied in the Philadelphia *Press*, 27 August 1861. A Massachusetts paper deplored the First Lady's relations with Bennet "and the evident relish with

which she has received the fulsome flattery of the infamous sheet which he edits." *Roxbury Journal*, n.d., copied in *The Liberator* (Boston), 28 February 1862.

p. 175 - keeps the Herald duly posted

Washington correspondence by Van [D. W. Bartlett], 15 October, Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 18 October 1861. In 1863, the well-informed Noah Brooks asserted that Hanscom, "a pushing and persevering man, has managed to so ingratiate himself with the President that he has almost exclusive access to the office of the Executive, and there obtains from our good-natured Chief magistrate such scanty items of news as he is willing to give out for publication." Washington correspondence, 14 October, *Sacramento Daily Union*, 7 November 1863, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln Observed: Civil War Dispatches of Noah Brooks* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 69-70. See also Philadelphia *Sunday Dispatch*, 25 March 1865; Ben: Perley Poore, "Reminiscences of the Great Northern Uprising," *The Youth's Companion*, 26 July 1883, 301; Washington correspondence by Whitelaw Reid ("Agate"), 10 August, *Cincinnati Gazette*, 14 August 1863.

p. 175 - female notabilities of Europe

New York *Herald*, 12 June 1862, 26 August, 21 October 1861.

p. 176 - political power and influence

New York *Herald*, 11 November 1861.

p. 176 - much pleased to meet you

Mary Lincoln to James Gordon Bennett, Washington, 25 October 1861, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 110-111.

p. 176 - gala party at the White House

Fermer, *Bennett and the New York Herald*, 215.

p. 176 - all who love their country

American Baptist, n.d., copied in *The Liberator* (Boston), 28 February 1862.

p. 176 - office thro[ugh] such influences

Philo S. Shelton to Thurlow Weed, Boston, 7 February 1862, Weed Papers, University of Rochester.

p. 177 - these elegant tokens of friendship

New York *Tribune*, 29 January, copied in the *Belmont Chronicle* (St. Clairsville, Ohio), 6 February 1862. The letters between Mrs. Bennett and the First Lady are not known to be extant.

p. 177 - [Bennett] was delighted

New York correspondence, 29 November, *Sacramento Daily Union*, 22 December 1862. At a performance of Meyerbeer's opera *Dinorah*, Mrs. Lincoln was seen in Mrs. Bennett's box, evidently along with Generals George McClellan and N. P. Banks. New York correspondence, 25 November, *Philadelphia Press*, 26 November 1862.

p. 177 - and evidently appreciated

Unidentified newspaper copied in the New York correspondence by "Manhattan," 25 November, London *Evening Standard*, 10 December 1862.

p. 177 - immediately on her return to Washington

Mrs. Bennett to James F. Crocker, Fort Washington, N.Y., 14 September 1863, in James F. Crocker, "Prison Reminiscences," *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville) 14 (November 1906): 505.

p. 177 - to guide the Helm

Mary Lincoln to James Gordon Bennett, Washington, 4 October 1862, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 138.

178 - approximately 15% of that time

In 1861, she was gone from Washington without her husband 40 days; in 1862, 46 days; in 1863, 98 days; in 1864, 50 days. Temple, "I Am So Fond of Sightseeing': Mary Lincoln's Travels Up to 1865."

178 - low self-esteem

April Lane Benson and Marie Gengler, "Treating Compulsive Buying," in Robert H. Coombs, ed., *Handbook of Addictive Disorders: A Practical Guide to Diagnosis and Treatment* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2004), 452. A defensive biographer of Mary Lincoln observed that "shopping" was a "kind of intoxication" to her, and her "urge to buy" was "pathologic." Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 231, 237.

p. 178 - amounting to three thousand dollars

New York *World*, 4 May 1864. "Her visit is understood to have been entirely for the purpose of shopping, and consulting milliners, mantua makers and other artists in the department of female decoration."

p. 178 - perceived social class

In 1870, when her daughter-in-law expressed some concern about a garment that Mrs. Lincoln had given her child, Mary replied that "a simple embroidered cloak – is not too much, for people in *our station* of life – The very *middle classes* in Europe, dress their children quite as much & as I do not consider ourselves in that category, I would not care what the MEAN & ENVIOUS would say." Mary Todd Lincoln to Mary Harlan Lincoln, London, 22 November 1870, in Samuel A. Schreiner, Jr., *The Trials of Mrs. Lincoln* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 258. This belies the claim of a defensive biographer that she "was not snobbish in an age when snobbery was rampant. She could and did give the cold shoulder to people she disliked, but it was a matter of personal antagonism, not of class." Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 211.

p. 178 - *combe* [height] of fashion

New York correspondence by "Mephistophiles," 13 November, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 14 December 1861.

p. 178 - for other important customers

Robert Hendrickson, *The Grand Emporiums: The Illustrated History of America's Great Department Stores* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 36.

p. 178 - accompanied her to the door

Elbert Hubbard, *Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Business Men* (East Aurora, N.Y.: Roycrofters, 1909), 107.

p. 179 - leave without settling her bills

Unidentified New York newspaper copied in the *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 30 October 1864. Her rudeness to those whom she referred to as “menials” was on display in 1873, when she asked an omnibus driver in a town she was visiting for the first time if he knew the rates charged by various hotels. When he confessed his ignorance, she asked how long he had lived there. He replied several years. She then asked how much had had known when he arrived. “Not a great deal,” replied he. “Well,” she told him, “I don’t think you have learned much since you came.” That ended the conversation. Fort Dalhousie correspondence, 16 August, New York *Herald*, 23 August 1873.

p. 179 - expensive lace shawl

Mary Lincoln,” undated memo in Ida Tarbell’s hand, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College; Washington correspondence, n.d., New York *Commercial Advertiser*, n.d., in *The Local News* (Alexandria, Virginia), 14 January 1862.

p. 179 - blankets to the army

Poore, *Reminiscences*, 310. Stewart did have government contracts, but frustrated by the slow pace of payments, he focused on other means to expand his business during the war. Stephen N. Elias, *Alexander T. Stewart: The Forgotten Merchant Prince* (Westport, Connecticut: Prager, 1992), 108-111. Though the First Lady supported Stewart’s occasional requests for minor favors, he was not a major government contractor.

p. 179 - these excessive[ly] hard times

New York correspondence, n.d., Philadelphia *Sunday Dispatch*, n.d., copied in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, 28 May 1861.

p. 179 - to sue if she did not pay up

Elias, *Alexander T. Stewart*, 101, 104; Mary Lincoln to [A. T. Stewart], Washington, 16 April 1864, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 174-175.

p. 179 - to pay if he is defeated

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 148-149.

p. 179 - inconsolable, “crying like a child”

A[aron] H[omer] B[yington] to [Sydney Howard] Gay, Washington, 23 March [1864], Gay Papers, Columbia University.

p. 179 - Stewart's, in New York

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 148-149.

p. 179 - Ball, Black & Company \$6,400

Jesse K. Dubois, interview with Herndon, [1883-1889], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 692. Attorney Dubois, who helped to settle Lincoln's estate, visited New York to deal with Ball, Black & Co. Ball, Black & Company.

p. 179 –jewelry store in Washington

Records of the company as summarized in Gayle T. Harris, “Mary Lincoln’s Shopping Spree,” *The Lincolnian* 13 (1995): 3. After her husband’s death, she was able to return many of those items without penalty. Mary Lincoln to Alexander Williamson, Chicago, 3 January 1866, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 311.

p. 179 - hundreds of pairs of gloves

New York correspondence, n.d., Philadelphia *Sunday Dispatch*, n.d., copied in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, 28 May 1861; Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 148-149. Willard King, *Lincoln's Manager, David Davis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 235-236; David Davis in Orville Browning's diary, entry for 3 July 1873, in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 187. Some claim that Mrs. Lincoln needed so many gloves because she shook hands with guests at receptions and hence went through a great many pairs that way. Donna McCreary in Frank J. Williams and Michael Burkholder, eds., *The Mary Lincoln Enigma: Historians on America's Most Controversial First Lady* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 203-205. But usually she shook hands only with friends and merely bowed to strangers. Washington correspondence, 15 February, *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 21 February 1865.

p. 180 - and he will know all

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 148-149.

p. 180 - you must bear the disappointment

Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards, *Some Incidents in the Life of Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards* (Springfield, Illinois: privately printed, 1909), 16. The book was dictated to Mary Edwards Raymond. Mrs. Lincoln told this to Mrs. Edwards a few months after the assassination.

p. 180 - of her debts in March 1864

Mary Lincoln to Mary Ann Cuthbert, Washington, 6, 7, 9, 10 March 1864, and to Immanuel Uhlfelder and Edwin A. Brooks, Washington, 1 April 1864, *ibid.*, 171-173.

p. 180 - to settle as I purchase

Mary Lincoln to [A. T. Stewart], Washington, 16 April 1864, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 174-175.

p. 180 intended to issue in July

James Gilmore to Sydney Howard Gay, May 18, 1864, Gay Papers, Columbia University.

p. 181 - money to divulge it

Elizabeth Mitchell, *Lincoln's Lie: A True Civil War Caper Through Fake News, Wall Street, and the White House* (Berkeley, California: Counterpoint, 2020), 143, 219-226, and *passim*; S. S. Cox to Manton Marble, Washington, 20 May 1864, Marble Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 181 - contraband army news, gets afloat

A[aron] H[omer] B[yington] to Sydney [Howard Gay], Washington, 23 March [1864], Gay Papers, Columbia University. Byington was the New York *Tribune's* congressional correspondent. As well as a journalist, he was leading Republican organizer in Connecticut and reportedly "a raconteur who eventually got to know Abraham Lincoln and swapped tall tales and jokes with him." David Gurliacci, "Norwalkers Orris Ferry & A. Homer Byington Help Guard Washington," *Norwalk Patch* (Connecticut), 19 April 2011.

p. 181 - sold war secrets for large sums of money

Schurz, interview with Ida Tarbell, New York, typescript, 6 November 1897, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 182 - liability – gloves, clothing, etc.

New York *Sunday Mercury*, 23 October 1864, copied in the Bridgeport, Connecticut, *Republican Farmer*, 28 October 1864.

p. 182 - the movements of the party

Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:58; William Allen Butler, *A Retrospect of Forty Years, 1825-1865* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 350.

p. 182 - figure and heard his stentorian voice

Villard, *Memoirs*, 1:58-59.

p. 182 - cotton agent in the city of New York

Browning diary, entry for 3 July 1873, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 187; John Hay diary, entry for 13 February 1867, Brown University. The treasury department had anticipated that Union armies would capture much cotton and had alerted Draper that steps should be taken to deal with it. As an auctioneer, he realized that he could make a great deal of money if he controlled its sale. George Winston Smith, "Cotton from Savannah in 1865," *Journal of Southern History* 21 (1955): 499. Draper may have offered that bribe to secure the collectorship.

p. 182 - leaving property estimated at millions

Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, Made to the Two Houses of Congress February 19, 1872 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), 443-444.

p. 182 - regardless of public or private rights

Gienapp and Gienapp, eds., *Diary of Gideon Welles*, 570 (entry for 3 January 1865). On the corrupt cotton rings, see Ludwell H. Johnson, "Northern Profit and Profiteers: The Cotton Rings of 1864-1865," *Civil War History* 12 (1966), 101-111, and, "Contraband Trade During the Last

Year of the Civil War,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 49 (1963): 635-652; Thomas H. O'Connor, “Lincoln and the Cotton Trade,” *Civil War History* 7 (1961): 20-35.

p. 183 - after Lincoln's death he reneged

Isaac Newton told this to John Hay. Hay diary, 13 February 1867, Brown University.

p. 183 - him or a cent in my life

Mary Lincoln to Alexander Williamson, 17 December [1866], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 401.

p. 183 - either in New York or Savannah

Mary Lincoln to Simeon Draper, Washington, 26 January 1865, excerpt of a telegram, *ibid.*, 199.

p. 183 - by some of her friends

John Hay diary, 13 February 1867, Hay Papers, Brown University.

p. 183 - vile falsehoods

Mary Lincoln to Abram Wakeman, Washington, 20 February [1865], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 202; Leonard Swett to his son, Washington, n.d., David Davis Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Evidently McManus told Thurlow Weed that she was romantically linked with a man other than her husband. She protested that she had never even conversed with the unnamed party with whom McManus coupled her name. Moreover, she would never have deigned to have anything to do with that person, who was “not placed on even the footing, of one of our doormen.” According to Thomas Pendel, in late December 1864, Mrs. Lincoln asked Edward to have a notice of the New Year's reception delivered to local newspapers immediately. When half an hour later she discovered that he had not yet done so, she fired him. Thomas F. Pendel, *Thirty-Six Years in the White House* (Washington: Neale, 1902), 37-39.

p. 183 - promptly fired O'Leary

Washington *Evening Star*, 25 February 1865; Washington correspondence, 12 March, Sacramento *Daily Union*, 10 April 1865, in Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln Observed*, 172-174; New York *World*, 10 March 1865; Rochester, New York, *Union and Advertiser*, 16 March 1865. The *World* alleged that Mrs. Lincoln received half of the money O'Leary took in.

p. 184 - pleasant moments of his life

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 204.

p. 184 - duty to electioneer for him

Ibid., 146.

p. 184 - advance whatever money I require

Ibid., 148-151.

p. 185 - paid him \$2.50

An unidentified New York paper, n.d., copied in the *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 30 October 1864.

p. 185 - very mean
Ibid.

p. 185 - not at all to her credit
James H. Linsley to Miss Conant, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia, 16 June 1864, typescript, Schoff Civil War Collection, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

p. 186 - sell it off
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 270.

p. 186 - her costly garments
Mary Lincoln to Sally Orne, Chicago, 31 August 1865, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 270-271.

p. 186 - Lincoln's shirts
Receipt to John Hammack by Mary Lincoln, May 1865, Ward Hill Lamon Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

p. 186 - was widely reported
Washington correspondence, 2 October, Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, 7 October 1867. According to Thurlow Weed, she sold eleven of Lincoln's new linen shirts soon after the assassination. Weed's unsigned letter in the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, 4 October 1867. Weed's source was probably the White House doorkeeper, Edward McManus, whom Mrs. Lincoln had dismissed in January 1865.

p. 186 - I had believed he possessed
Washington *Sunday Gazette*, 16 January 1887.

p. 186 - for sale in New York
"Deplorable -Exceedingly," New York *Citizen*, 5 October 1867.

p. 186 - surveyor of the port of New York
Mary Lincoln to W. H. Brady, Chicago [actually New York], 14 September [1867], in Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 435.

p. 186 - blush in her behalf
Albany *Express*, 7 October 1867, copied in the New York *World*, 16 October 1867.

p. 187 - from corrupt contractors
Cincinnati *Commercial*, n.d., copied *ibid.*

p. 187 - corrupt disposal of patronage

Poore, *Reminiscences*, 2:228.

p. 187 - lamented president

Mac-a-Cheek Press (West Liberty, Ohio), n.d., copied in the *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 19 October 1867.

p. 187 - convince her to the contrary

Jason Emerson, *Giant in the Shadows: The Life of Robert Todd Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 139.

p. 187 - nothing was ever done

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 314.

p. 187 - such abominable furniture

Mary Lincoln to Alexander Williamson, Chicago, 26 June 1866, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 330.

p. 188 - \$6000 supplementary appropriation

Harry Pratt and Earnest East, "Mrs. Lincoln Refurbishes the White House," *Lincoln Herald* 47

p. 188 – wallpaper purchased in Paris on her instructions

B. B. French to Henry French, Washington, 13 October 1861, French Papers, Library of Congress. On December 10, when rumors of cost overruns began circulating, French told his son: "Whatever investigation may be made regarding Mrs. Lincoln's extravagance cannot in any way affect me. The appropriation for refurnishing . . . was expended under the authority de jure, of the President. . . . All the extravagance in the repairs was committed before I came into office [in September], and I have not paid for them." B. B. French to Francis O. French, Washington, 10 December 1861, *ibid.* "There is no money now appropriated to pay for this papering. The \$6000 appropriated for unusual repairs &c. of the President's House is now nearly exhausted by the painters and other bills, and there is no other fund out of which the payment for papering can be made." French to Mrs. Lincoln, Washington, 28 September 1861, copy, Records of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, Letters Sent, 14:18, Record Group 42, microcopy copy 371, reel 7, National Archives.

p. 188 - you have seen me

B. B. French to Pamela French, Washington, 24 December 1861, *ibid.*

p. 188 - closes the house furnishing

Bill for \$6858 from William H. Carryl & Bro., 31 July 1861, First Auditor's Records, Miscellaneous Records, Treasury Department, Record Group 217, no. 143610, National Archives.

p. 188 - very imprudent woman in many things

B. B. French to Pamela French, Washington, 24 December 1861, French Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 189 - pay it out of his own pocket –

I have conflated two of French's accounts of this conversation: *ibid.*, and French, *Witness to the Young Republic*, ed. Cole and McDonough, 382 (entry for 16 December 1861). Rumor had it that because Lincoln refused to authorize payment of that bill, the First Lady "was mad & stormed" and "would not sleep with him for three nights." James R. Doolittle to his wife Mary, Washington, 16 February 1862, Doolittle Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

p. 190 - a more prudent lady

B. B. French to his son Frank, Washington, 2 February, 13 March, and 13 April 1862, and to his brother Henry, Washington, 23 March 1862, French Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 190 - I think I should get it

Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), 294.

p. 190 - glitter was her only god

B. B. French to his son Frank, Washington, 9 July 1865, 3 January 1866, French Papers, Library of Congress; Dorothy Meserve Kunhardt and Philip B. Kunhardt, *Twenty Days: A Narrative in Text and Pictures of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the Twenty Days and Nights that Followed--The Nation in Mourning, the Long Trip Home to Springfield* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 67. In 1866, Mrs. Lincoln returned the compliment, calling French "a smooth faced, avaricious villain" who "'feathered his nest,' at my expense." There was, she said, "no greater scamp, in the country" than French. Mary Lincoln to Alexander Williamson, 17 February 1866, and to Oliver S. Halsted, Chicago, 17 January [1866], Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 336, 328.

p. 191 - was never better illustrated

J. W. Nesmith to his wife Pauline, Washington 5 February 1862, photocopy, Randall Papers, Library of Congress. James R. Doolittle to his wife Mary, Washington, 16 February 1862, Doolittle Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Senator Pearce explained the matter to his colleagues on 7 February 1862. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 1st session, p. 705.

p. 191 - exceedingly mortifying

James R. Doolittle to his wife Mary, Washington, 16 February 1862, Doolittle Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Senator Pearce explained the matter to his colleagues on 7 February 1862. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 1st session, p. 705.

p. 191 - live with gentlefolk

Charles Francis Adams, Jr., diary entry for 11 March 1861, in Adams, *Charles Francis Adams*, 103.

p. 191 - comfort of wearing them

New York correspondence by "Metropolitan," 9 October, Boston *Post*, 14 October 1867.

p. 192 - of it on the street

Washington correspondence, 2 October 1867, Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, 7 October 1867.

p. 192 - Williamson with the First Lady
Williamson interview, *New York Press*, 14 April 1889.

p. 192 - paid him little or nothing
Gerald Steffens Cowden, "My Dear Mr. W': Mary Lincoln Writes to Alexander Williamson," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 76 (1983): 72-73.

p. 192 - term at Washington expires
Comments of Mrs. Owen Lovejoy, paraphrased in the Reverend Mr. David Todd to the Reverend Mr. John Todd, Providence, Illinois, 11 June 1862, copy, Randall Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 192 - year from their [\$25,000] salary
Mary Boykin Chesnut's Civil War, ed. C. Vann Woodward (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 21 (diary entry for 10 March 1861).

p. 192 - a plurality of votes
- *Ibid.*, 23 (diary entry for 11 March 1861).

p. 192 - meanness is beyond belief
Crawford, ed., *Russell's Civil War*, 162 (diary entry for 3 November 1861).

p. 192 - and are poor
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 85.

p. 192 - than her honored spouse
Benjamin Brown French to Pamela French, Washington, 24 December 1861, French Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 192 - milk of White House cows
In 1867, it was reported that residents of Washington "talk about having purchased milk and vegetables during the war" at the White House. Washington correspondence, 2 October, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 7 October 1867.

p. 193 - the regular market rates
Wheeling, West Virginia, *Daily Intelligencer*, 3 April 1883.

p. 193 - the back door of the White House
Ames, *Ten Years in Washington*, 239.

p. 193 - sacrifices taste to thrift
Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Gerrit Smith, New York, 6 May 1863, Gerrit Smith Miller Papers, Syracuse University, in W. Freeman Galpin, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Gerrit Smith," *New York History: Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 16 (1935): 324-325.

p. 194 - the wines as well

Recollections of a Mr. Braemer, Brooklyn *Times*, n.d., copied in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, 30 July 1900.

p. 194 - censure knew no bounds

Ames, *Ten Years in Washington*, 239.

p. 194 - receptions are the most so

Chandler to his wife, Washington, 10, 21 January 1865, in Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 329.

p. 194 - should take them in hand

Mary Lincoln to Abram Wakeman, Washington, 23 September 1864, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 180-181.

p. 194 - \$50 that she failed to repay

E. T. Bourke to Louis A. Warren, Washington, n.d. [ca. 1946], folder marked "Abraham Lincoln's Servants and Employees: White House Servants," Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana. This letter, by the son of Edward Burke, contains information provided by his mother.

p. 194 - leaving Mrs. Cuthbert "penniless."

Mrs. Cuthbert was hired in April 1863 and was on the payroll till April 1865. (On April 12, 1866, Orville H. Browning recorded in his dairy: "Met Mrs Cuthbert, housekeeper at the White House in President Lincoln[']s time. Met her on the steps of the Capitol. She stopped me to ask me to aid in getting her some employment. She said she was very destitute and in distress. That Congress allowed \$600 per annum for the Stewardess at the White House, but that she never got it – it was all taken and appropriated by Mrs Lincoln, and she was left penniless." Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 187.

p. 195 – appropriated her salary

On March 3, 1862, Thomas Stackpole told Orville Browning that "Watt's wife was now nominally stewardess at a salary of \$100 per month, all of which, by private arrangement, went into Mrs Lincoln's pocket." *Ibid.*, 186. She received a salary from April 1861 to February 1862. Goodchild had been hired by President Buchanan, who described him as "head servant and waiter in the White House during the period I occupied it. He was a well trained, excellent and obedient servant, able and willing to turn his hand with satisfaction to any duty assigned him. His disposition is good, very amiable and he has always evinced a desire to please." Buchanan's letter of recommendation, dated Wheatland, near Lancaster, 31 May 1867, Henry E. Luhrs Collection, Heritage Auctions website, accessed 20 May 2017.

p. 195 - had never disgraced it before

Ames, *Ten Years in Washington*, 238-239.

p. 196 - to know all about her

Her smiles and her frowns become a matter of consequence to the whole American world," noted William Howard Russell in March 1861. He added that "if she but drive down Pennsylvania

Avenue, the electric wire thrills the news to every hamlet in the Union which has a newspaper; and fortunate is the correspondent who, in a special despatch, can give authentic particulars of her destination and of her dress.” Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 54 (entry for 30 March 1861).

p. 196 - wife, as they do him

David Davis to his wife, Urbana, Illinois, 18 October 1860, David Davis Papers, Chicago History Museum.

p. 197 - highly of his wife, as of Lincoln

Hale to [Theron Baldwin], Springfield, 31 May 1860, Nicolay Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 197 – Springfield for the rest of my life

John Todd Stuart interview with Nicolay, Springfield, 24 June 1875, in Burlingame, *Oral History of Lincoln*, 14. Stuart’s wife remembered that Mary Lincoln preferred retiring to Chicago, but her husband demurred, saying: “No, we are going back to Springfield. That is our home, and there it will continue to be.” His wife “was somewhat vexed at this, but nothing more was said.” Chicago *Tribune*, 12 February 1900.

p. 197 - who do not say so

Gurley to E. Darwin Brooks, Washington, 22 May 1865, Gurley Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 197 - no friends here

H. P. H. Bromwell to his parents, Springfield, 30 April 1865, in Harry E. Pratt, ed., *Concerning Mr. Lincoln: In Which Abraham Lincoln Is Pictured as He Appeared to Letter Writers of His Time* (Springfield: Abraham Lincoln Association, 1944), 129.

p. 197 - since I came here

Sarah Sleeper to her mother, Springfield, June, 1865 (no day of the month indicated), Sleeper Papers, Small Collection 1405, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 197 - carry me back there again

Mary Lincoln to Simon Cameron, Chicago, 16 June 1866, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 370.

p. 197 - ways of expressing herself

Ibid., 613, xxiii.

p. 198 - deep a debt of gratitude

Mary Lincoln to Simon Cameron, Chicago, 6 April and 16 June 1866, and to Alexander Williamson, Chicago, 24 June 1866, *ibid.*, 352, 370, 372.

p. 198 - personal benefit and behoof

An Old-Timer [J. K. C. Forrest], “Old-Time Facts and Fancies,” Chicago *Evening News*, 16 July 1891.

p. 198 - time of mourning like this

New York *Express*, n.d., copied in the Macon, Georgia, *Telegraph*, 31 May 1861.

p. 198 - her gaudy coach

Washington correspondence, 6 December, New York *Evening Post*, n.d., copied in the Detroit *Free Press*, 15 December 1861.

p. 198 - her damnable airs

Halstead to Timothy C. Day, Washington, 8 June 1861, Sarah J. Day, *The Man on a Hill Top* (Philadelphia: Ware Brothers, 1931), 243.

p. 198 - buying china and dresses

A. Oakey Hall to Thurlow Weed, New York, 17 August 1861, Weed Papers, University of Rochester.

p. 198 - were in mourning

Francis Corkran in the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, 4 October 1867.

p. 199 - *Judy* [i.e., a fool, an ass] of herself

Washington correspondence by Joseph A. Scoville, n.d., London *Standard*, n.d., copied in *Punch*, n.d., copied in the Richmond *Enquirer*, 8 October 1861.

p. 199 - ignorance, vulgarity and meanness

George Gibbs to John Austin Stevens, Washington, 3, 16 October 1861, Stevens Papers, New-York Historical Society.

p. 199 - her husband very ridiculous

Fessenden to Elizabeth Warriner, Washington, 1 December 1861, Fessenden Papers, Bowdoin College.

p. 199 - flattery and cunning intrigue

A. Mann Jr. to E. B. Washburne, New York, 1 May 1862, Washburne Papers, Library of Congress; *Green Mountain Freeman* (Montpelier, Vermont), 20 February 1862.

p. 199 - brilliant yet unprincipled intriguers

Washington correspondence by Mary Clemmer Ames, 25 February, Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, 1 March 1862.

p. 199 - amongst persons of flippant character

Washington correspondence, 18 March 1863, St. Cloud, Minnesota, *Democrat*, 2 April 1863, in Arthur J. Larsen, ed., *Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm, 1858-1865* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1934), 188.

p. 199 - shawls, china, and silver plate

New York correspondence, n.d., Philadelphia *Sunday Dispatch*, n.d., copied in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, 28 May 1861.

p. 199 - get bread to eat
Woodsfield (Ohio) *Spirit of Democracy*, n.d., copied in the *Daily Ohio Statesman* (Columbus), 16 July 1864; Columbus *Crisis*, 20 July 1864.

p. 199 - momentous and solemn events
Montpelier *Daily Green Mountain Freeman*, 20 February 1862.

p. 199 - this vulgar doll with foreign frippery
Lydia Maria Child to Lucy Searle, Wayland, 11 October 1861, Lydia Maria Child Letters, Samuel J. May Antislavery Collection, Cornell University.

p. 199 - made the unwelcome proposition
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 28 May 1864. But a woman who claimed that she asked the First Lady to sign the pledge recalled that the First Lady said she would be glad to sign it but had to consult her husband first. H. C. Ingersoll, "Abraham Lincoln's Widow," letter from Washington, n.d., Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, 7 June, copied in the Hartford *Courant*, 8 June 1875.

p. 200 - representatives of foreign countries
Washington correspondence, n.d., Chicago *Journal*, n.d., copied in the Pittsburgh *Daily Commercial*, 3 May 1864.

p. 200 - eighteen hostile letters
Washington correspondence by Miriam [Mrs. John A. Kasson], 26 June, *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), 8 July 1862.

p. 200 - ceased to open them
Mary Clemmer Ames, *Ten Years in Washington: Life and Scenes in the National Capital, as a Woman Sees Them* (Hartford, Connecticut: A. D. Worthington, 1873), 238-239.

p. 200 - "Mrs. Lincoln's secretary
Stoddard, *Inside the White House*, ed. Burlingame, xv-xvi, 17-18.

p. 200 - personally knew and liked
Mary Clemmer Ames in the New York *Independent*, n.d., copied in the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 8 August 1882.

p. 200 - Dolley Madison so popular
A. Oakey Hall, "The Great Lincoln Inauguration," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 43 (March 1897): 259.

p. 201 - opportunity is thrown away
Ladies Repository, February 1862, p. 128.

p. 201 - woman termed her haughty

Mrs. John Lyman Child (née Mary Ellen Anderson), *Central New Jersey Home News* (New Brunswick), 12 February 1920.

p. 201 - the airs of an Empress

French, *Witness to the Young Republic*, ed. Cole and McDonough, 384 (entry for 8 January 1862) and 497 (entry for 12 January 1866).

p. 201 - perfect devil

John Hay to John G. Nicolay, Washington, 5 and 9 April 1862, Michael Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side: John Hay's Civil War Correspondence and Selected Writings* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 1920; John G. Nicolay to John Hay, Washington, 29 January 1864, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *With Lincoln in the White House: Letters, Memoranda, and Other Writings of John G. Nicolay, 1860-1865* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 125; Dr. Stone paraphrased in the manuscript diary of General John Meredith Read, Jr., quoted in the catalogue of the Old Hickory Book Shop (New York), n.d., clipping in the Lincoln files, "Wife" folder, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee; Benjamin Brown French to his son Frank, Washington, 9 July 1865, French Family Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 201 - and his wife both

Indianapolis Journal, 12 February 1862.

p. 201 - a baseless parvenu

An unidentified New York paper, n.d., copied in the *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 30 October 1864.

p. 201 - in which she traveled

Davis to his wife Sarah, Washington, 25 December 1862, Davis Family Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. Rose Greenhow observed her in a shop one summer day and wrote that "self-complacency, and a slightly scornful expression, characterize her bearing, as if to rebuke one for passing between the 'wind and her nobility.'" Rose O'Neal Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London: R. Bentley, 1863), 202.

p. 201 - the *Reine d'Illinois*

Punch (London), n.d., copied in the Kalamazoo, Michigan, *Gazette*, 11 October 1861; Benjamin Brown French to his brother Henry, Washington, 31 January 1864, French Papers, Library of Congress; *The Home Journal* (New York), n.d., copied in *Frank Leslie's Weekly* (New York), 16 July 1864; Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, 16 October 1861; Allen Peskin, "Putting the 'Baboon' to Rest: Observations of a Radical Republican [Robert C. Schenck] on Lincoln's Funeral Train," *Lincoln Herald* 27 (1979): 77.

p. 201 - the "royal highness"

Mercy Levering Conkling to her son Clint, 1863, in Emerson, *Madness of Mary Lincoln*, 25.

p. 202 - republican citizens every day

Washington correspondence by Karl Heinzen, n.d., Boston *Pionier*, n.d., copied in the *Weekly Vincennes Western Sun*, 20 February 1864. In fairness, the First Lady was understandably concerned about her husband's safety, even if he himself was not. When she warned him against walking unaccompanied to the adjacent war department building, he replied: "Don't worry about me, mother, as if I were a little child, for no one is going to molest me." Late in the war, she told Elizabeth Keckly: "Ah, no one knows what it is to live in constant dread of some fearful tragedy. . . . I tremble for him on every public occasion. I have a presentiment that he will meet with a sudden and violent end." Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 121, 178.

p. 202 - for being "stuck up"

Letter by "Polly P. Perkins," Observatory Hill, East District, 1 October, Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 19 October 1861.

p. 202 - presidentess with so little of the lady

E. Miller to Amanda Hanna, Crawfordsville, Indiana, 2 March 1862, Robert B. Hanna Family Papers, Indiana Historical Society.

p. 202 - on people in the street

New York correspondence by "Metropolitan," 9 October 1867, *Boston Post*, 11 October 1867.

p. 202 - a great many questions

Horatio Nelson Taft diary, Library of Congress (entries for 2 January 1863, 14 December 1864).

p. 202 - headgear coveted by the First Lady

Julia Taft Bayne, *Tad Lincoln's Father* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1931), 43-50.

p. 203 - ever going to do with it

William A. Croffut, *An American Procession, 1855-1914; A Personal Chronicle of Famous Men* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1931), 120. I am grateful to Terry Alford for calling this passage to my attention.

p. 203 - upon me to be quiet

Mary Lincoln to Alexander Williamson, n.p., 14 December [1866], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 398.

p. 203 - opinions were biting

An Old-Timer [J. K. C. Forrest], "Old-Time Facts and Fancies," *Chicago Evening News*, 2 November 1895.

p. 203 - judgment was totally wanting

An unidentified woman quoted in Harriet E. Monroe, "Abraham Lincoln: New Stories from Unpublished Sources; An Interview in Deshabelle--Mrs. Lincoln in Lilac," Kansas City, Missouri, *Times*, 26 December 1886. The source does not identify Smith as the cabinet member in question, but Mrs. Lincoln told Orville H. Browning that she was maneuvering to have Smith replaced, and in December 1862 he was named to a federal judgeship.

p. 203 - the soundness of her mind

Schurz, manuscript of his *Reminiscences*, Schurz Papers, Library of Congress. This passage was omitted from the published version of his memoirs.

p. 203 - otherwise in a year

Schurz to his wife Margarethe, Washington, 2 April 1865, Joseph Schafer, ed., *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928), 326-327.

p. 204 - by her "bitter prejudices."

James H. Campbell to his wife, Juliet Lewis Campbell, Washington, 28 January 1863, Campbell Papers, Schoff Civil War Collection, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

p. 204 - about my husband's affairs

Arabella Smith in the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, 7 August 1861.

p. 204 - or more entire 'savior faire'

Washington correspondence by Joseph Howard, 10 March 1861, New York *Times*, n.d., copied in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, *Examiner*, 13 March 1861. A "looker-on" remarked that the First Lady "made a pleasant impression upon every one who came near her. Had she been born and lived her life in the court of the Tuileries, she could not have shown more fitness for the position which she so admirably adorns." Washington correspondence by "a looker on," 10 March, Philadelphia *Press*, 11 March 1861.

p. 204 - in the land

Harrisburg correspondence, 23 February, New York *Times*, 25 February 1861.

p. 205 - affable, good-looking little lady

Fox to his wife, Washington, 27 March 1861, Robert Means Thompson and Richard Wainwright, eds., *Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus Vasa Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1861-1865* (2 vols.; New York: Printed for the Naval History Society by the De Vinne Press, 1918-19), 1:11; Washington correspondence by "Occasional," 24 March, Philadelphia *Press*, 27 March 1861. Later that year, historian George Bancroft found Mrs. Lincoln "pleasant," "affable," "friendly & not in the least arrogant." Bancroft to his wife, Washington, 15, 18 December 1861, Bancroft Papers, Cornell University.

p. 205 - her position and her heart

Benjamin Brown French, *Witness to the Young Republic: A Yankee's Journal, 1828-1870*, ed. Donald B. Cole and John J. McDonough (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989), 418, 383, 463 (entries for 3 March 1863, 18 December 1861, 22 January 1865).

p. 205 - hardly control myself

Eunice Tripler: Some Notes of Her Personal Recollections (New York: Grafton Press, 1910), 137-138.

p. 205 - And do you keep your health, sir

Washington correspondence by George Augustus Sala, n.d., London *Telegraph*, n.d., copied in the *Republican Farmer* (Bridgeport, Connecticut), 15 April 1864.

p. 205 - not very 'quick witted'

Swisshelm in an unidentified Ohio paper, n.d., copied in the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, 17 April 1863.

p. 205 - no doubt acted injudiciously

Hannah Matthews to Mrs. A. H. Pidge, Washington, 31 January 1864, Schuyler Colfax Papers, Northern Indiana Center for History, South Bend.

p. 205 - like a servant-woman

Mrs. James A. Mulligan told this to Maria Lydig Daly. Harold Earl Hammond, ed., *Diary of a Union Lady, 1861-1865* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1962), 87 (entry for 20 December 1861).

p. 205 - she would be quite agreeable

Motley to his wife Mary, Washington, 20 June 1861, in George William Curtis, ed., *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley* (2 vols.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1900), 1:387.

p. 205 – in every sentence

Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 23 (entry for 28 March 1861).

p. 206 - was not handsome

Greenwood in Ward, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: Tributes from His Associates*, 109.

p. 206 - diminished by closer acquaintance

Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 41, 54 (entries for 28 and 30 March 1861).

p. 206 - an ugly little woman

Tripler, *Personal Recollections*, 137-138.

p. 206 - on intimate terms in Washington

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 182; Elizabeth Blair Lee to Samuel Phillips Lee, Washington, 1 March 1862, in Laas, ed., *Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee*, 104.

p. 206 - an old dray horse

New York *Tribune*, n.d., copied in the *Cape Ann Light and Gloucester Telegraph*, (Massachusetts), 2 March 1861; James A. Garfield to his wife, Columbus, 17 February 1861, in John Shaw, ed., *Crete and James: Personal Letters of Lucretia and James Garfield* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), 107; Garfield to B. A. Hinsdale, Columbus, 17 February 1861, Garfield Papers, Library of Congress; Boston *Herald*, 26 February 1861; Isabella Beecher Hooker to John Hooker, Washington, 2 December 1862 in Barbara Anne White, *The Beecher Sisters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 90; George Alfred Townsend in the *Denver Republican*, 25 June 1882; George C. Shepard to Mr. and Mrs. Lucius M. Boltwood, New York, 21 February 1861, in Pratt, ed., *Concerning Mr. Lincoln*, 56; Washington correspondence by L[ois Bryan Adams], 8 February, *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, copied in

the *Washington Daily Chronicle*, 20 February 1864; Mount Washington, New Hampshire, correspondence, n.d., *Boston Journal*, n.d., copied in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, 14 August 1863; Philadelphia correspondence, 16 June, *New York World*, 18 June 1864; Washington correspondence, 25 February, *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 March 1865; Smith Stimmel to F. P. C., Chicago, 12 March 1908, private collection.

p. 206 - been pretty when young

Adolphe Pineton, *Impressions of Lincoln and the Civil War, A Foreigner's Account* (New York: Random House, 1952), 23.

p. 206 - disgusted all observers

Cincinnati Commercial, n.d., copied in the *New York World*, 16 October 1867.

p. 206 - representative of fashion

Lydia Maria Child to Mary Elizabeth Preston Stearns, Wayland, 15 December 1861, *Lydia Maria Child: Selected Letters*, ed. Milton Meltzer and Patricia G. Holland (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), 400; Child to John Greenleaf Whittier, Wayland, Massachusetts, 22 September 1861, Child Papers, Library of Congress. A Massachusetts economist also described Mary Lincoln as “a dowdy little woman.” Edward Atkinson to his wife, Washington, [26 February 1865], Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

p. 206 - wants to be fashionable

Wendell Phillips, speech in Hartford, 21 February 1862, *Chicago Times*, 28 February 1862.

p. 207 - not good-tempered look

Dana diary, entries for 7, 14 January 1862; Dana to his wife, Washington, 4 May 1864, Dana Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

p. 207 - commonplace-looking woman

“A letter from an English young lady to her parents in England, and which, by permission, appears in *The Star*,” *Christian Watchman* (Boston), 7 May 1863.

p. 207 - looking female I never saw

Crawford, ed., *Russell's Civil War*, 185 (diary entry for 24 November 1861).

p. 207 - for a Sunday at Highbury Barn

William Howard Russell to John T. Delane, Quebec, 11 February 1862, *ibid.*, 222.

p. 207 - milking apparatus to the public eye

James W. Nesmith to his wife Pauline, Washington, 5 February 1862, photocopy, Randall Papers, Library of Congress. Mary Lincoln's brother George also called her “a poor weak-minded woman.” Dr. Daniel M. Holt to his wife, near White Oak Church, Virginia, 15 May 1863, in James M. Greiner, Janet L. Coryell, and James R. Smither, eds., *A Surgeon's Civil War: The Letters and Diary of Daniel M. Holt, M.D.* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994), 98.

p. 207 - 'French fool' fashion

E. S. Denison to Dudley C. Denison, Washington, 15 February 1864, George S. Denison Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 207 - and wears fake jewelry

Ernest d'Hauterive, ed., "Voyage du Prince Napoleon aux Etats-Unis, 1861," *Revue de Paris* 40 (1933): 259 (diary entry for 6 August 1861).

p. 207 - and her fine clothes

A. K. McClure to Alonzo Rothschild, Philadelphia, 9 May 1907, Lincoln Contemporaries Collection, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

p. 207 - it would be in better style

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 101.

p. 207 - shown to admiring gaze

Washington correspondence by E. H. Arr., 9 February, Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 20 February 1864.

p. 208 - the top of her head

Washington correspondence, 8 January, Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 11 January 1862.

p. 208 - some over-grown Ophelia

An unidentified New York paper, n.d., copied in the *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 30 October 1864.

p. 208 - place the same night

Washington letter, 6 February 1880, in Emily Edson Briggs, *The Olivia Letters: Being Some History of Washington City for Forty Years as Told by the Letters of a Newspaper Correspondent* (New York: Neale, 1906), 389-390.

p. 208 - shoulders, her arms bare

New York Times, 12 February 1922.

p. 208 - but dresses like one

Maria Lydig Daly, *Diary of a Union Lady*, 86 (entry for 19 December 1861).

p. 208 - nearly twenty years before

Undated clipping (ca. 1901), "Forty Years Ago and Today as Mirrored in 'The Evening Telegraph,'" folder marked "Mary Todd Lincoln: White House Years," Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection, Allen County Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Perhaps sharing that view, a woman who attended an 1861 White House event remarked: "I don't think if I had been the President's wife I should have dressed exactly as she did." Arabella Smith in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 7 August 1861.

p. 209 - intend to wear what I please

Harriet E. Monroe, "Abraham Lincoln: New Stories from Unpublished Sources; An Interview in Deshabelle--Mrs. Lincoln in Lilac," Kansas City, Missouri, *Times*, 26 December 1886; Washington correspondence by Vidette, 11 December 1861, New York *Commercial Advertiser*, 13 December 1861; reminiscences of John Palmer Usher, unidentified clipping, Otto Eisenschml Papers, University of Iowa.

p. 209 - "drawing rooms"

Washington correspondence by Benjamin Perley Poore, 6 February, Boston *Evening Journal*, 8 February 1862; Washington correspondence, 4 February, Philadelphia *Inquirer*, 5 February 1862.

p. 209 - fancy this pass business

Willis Steell, "Mrs. Abraham Lincoln and Her Friends," *Munsey's Magazine*, February 1909, 621.

p. 210 - wouldn't listen to me

William O. Stoddard, "Recollections of a Checkered Lifetime," typescript, Stoddard Papers, Detroit Public Library, 2 vols., 2:346-348, 366.

p. 210 - a more prudent lady

B. B. French to his son Frank, Washington, 2 February, 13 March 1862, French Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 210 - by Southern leaders' wives

Washington correspondence by Benjamin Perley Poore, 6 February, Boston *Evening Journal*, 8 February 1862.

p. 210 - bogus President [i.e., Jefferson Davis]

New York *Herald*, 5 February 1862.

p. 210 - major social blunder

Washington correspondence, 2 February, New York *Herald*, 3 February 1862.

p. 210 - we can dance

Washington correspondence, 10 March, *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), 15 March 1862.

p. 210 - gallopades at a funeral

Cleveland *Herald*, n.d., copied in the *Weekly Vincennes Western Sun*, 15 February 1862.

p. 210 - as jollity at a funeral

Henry L. Dawes to his wife, Washington, 29 January 1862, Dawes Papers, Library of Congress. Cf. Washington correspondence by Van [D. W. Bartlett], 5 February, Springfield

(Massachusetts) *Republican*, 8 February 1862; Washington correspondence by Benjamin Perely Poore, 2 February, Boston *Evening Journal*, 4 February 1862.

p. 211 - corpse in his house
The Liberator (Boston), 28 February 1862.

p. 211 – participate in feasting and dancing
Hans L. Trefousse, *Benjamin Franklin Wade, Radical Republican from Ohio* (New York: Twayne, 1963), 167.

p. 211 - Queen Must Dance
Jason Emerson, *Lincoln's Lover: Mary Lincoln in Poetry* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018), 14-22; Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 102.

p. 211 - are wanted in Washington
North Adams, Massachusetts, *Transcript*, n.d., copied in the Charleston, South Carolina, *Mercury*, 5 April 1862.

p. 211 - specimen of American womanhood
Maria Lydig Daly, *Diary of a Union Lady*, 305 (entry for 25 September 1864).

p. 211 - has a weak point
Maria M. C. Hall to her friend Mary, Indiana Hospital, Washington, 21 February 1862, typescript, misfiled under Rebecca Pomroy, Schlesinger Library, Harvard University. The original is reported to be in the possession of Mrs. Phillip Sherwood of Westwood, Massachusetts. Maria [M. C. Hall], notes supplied to her friend, Mrs. Clara S. Palmer of Chicopee, Massachusetts, reproduced in Mrs. Palmer's talk delivered to the Mercy Warren Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 21 February 1909.

p. 211 - who can tell
"Sharpstick" in the *Jeffersonian Democrat* (Chardon, Ohio), 14 February 1862.

p. 212 - gay assemblages
"The Domestic Department of the White House," Cincinnati *Commercial*, 10 February 1862.

p. 212 - at the Government mansion
Cincinnati *Gazette*, n.d., copied in the New York *Evening Express*, 11 February 1862.

p. 212 - to the President
Indianapolis *Journal*, 8 February 1862.

p. 212 - hour for such an immortality
Oberlin Evangelist (Oberlin, Ohio), n.d., copied in the Lyons, Iowa, correspondence, 24 March, Lewiston, Maine, *Evening Journal*, 3 April 1862.

p. 212 - so obedient, so promising

Washburne to his wife, [Washington,] Tuesday [20 May 1862], Washburn Family Papers, Washburn Memorial Library, Norlands, Maine; Gaillard Hunt, *Israel, Elihu, and Cadwallader Washburn; A Chapter in American Biography* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 203-204. She said this on May 16.

p. 213 - suffered as she suffered

Ames, *Ten Years in Washington*, 239. Mrs. Lincoln was to repeat such extravagant, self-pitying mourning for years after Lincoln's death.

p. 213 - became fatally sick

As noted in chapter 5, Elizabeth Todd Grimsley recalled that her cousin Mary was "always over-anxious and worried about the boys and withal was not a skillful nurse" and "was totally unfitted for caring for them" when they became ill. Grimsley, "Six Months in the White House," 54.

p. 213 - nurse of the Union Army

Maria M. C. Hall Richards, "Lincoln Cheers His Sick Boy," *The Delineator*, February 1921, pp. 11, 52.

p. 213 - an old friend

Maria [M. C.] Hall to her friend Mary, [Washington], 27 March 1862, typescript, misfiled under Rebecca Pomroy, Schlesinger Library, Harvard University.

p. 213 - You make me cry

Maria [M. C. Hall], notes supplied to her friend, Mrs. Clara S. Palmer of Chicopee, Massachusetts, reproduced in Mrs. Palmer's talk delivered to the Mercy Warren Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, 21 February 1909. Similarly, after Lincoln's assassination, Tad often begged his mother not to weep: "Don't cry, Mamma; I cannot sleep if you cry! Papa was good, and he has gone to heaven. He is happy there. He is with God and brother Willie. Don't cry, Mamma, or I will cry too." Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 196.

p. 213 - her with loving mercy

Rebecca Pomroy to Almira S. Belcher, n.p., n.d., in Chris Foard, "Nurse Pomroy: Comforter-in-Chief to the Lincoln Family," *Military Images* 37 (Autumn 2019): 56.

p. 213 - control her feelings

Elizabeth Edwards to her daughter Julia Edwards Baker, [Washington], 2 March 1862, Elizabeth Todd Edwards Papers, Small Collection 445, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 213 - she had to be sedated

Letter from Dr. Robert King Stone, who was attending Mrs. Lincoln, to Mary Welles, cited in John Niven, *Gideon Welles: Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 442-443.

p. 214 - cannot again be alone

Elizabeth Edwards to Edward Baker, Washington, 17 April 1862, and to her daughter Julia, Washington, 12 March and 26 April 1862, Elizabeth Todd Edwards Papers, Small Collection 445, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 214 - a long indulgence of such gloom

Elizabeth Edwards to her daughter, [Washington], 2, 12 March 1862 and undated, *ibid.*

p. 214 – significantly exceeded that span

Donna McCreary, *Fashionable First Lady: The Victorian Wardrobe of Mary Lincoln* (n.p.: Lincoln Presentations, 2007), 76-80.

p. 214 - our wishes to be complied with

Mary Lincoln to John Hay, Washington, 22 May 1862, Hay Papers, Library of Congress; Gienapp and Gienapp, eds., *Diary of Gideon Welles*, 209 (entry for 8 June 1862).

p. 215 - constituted woman

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 181-182.

p. 215 - do Stay and Console me

Elizabeth Todd Edwards, interviewed by Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 444-445.

p. 215 - be sent to a mental hospital

As mentioned in chapter 9, Lincoln one day escorted his wife to a window and told her as he pointed to an insane asylum in the distance: "Mother, do you see that large white building on the hill yonder? Try and control your grief, or it will drive you mad, and we may have to send you there." Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 104-105.

p. 215 - to mitigate their trials

Elizabeth Edwards to her daughter Julia, Washington, 26 April [1862], Elizabeth Todd Edwards Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 215 - at times very gloomy

Elizabeth Edwards to her daughter Julia, [Washington], 9 April 1862, Elizabeth Todd Edwards Papers, Small Collection 445, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 215 - Mary's coming

Elizabeth Edwards to her daughter Julia, Washington, undated [ca. March 1862], Elizabeth Todd Edwards Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 215 - earlier helped care for Tad

Chris Foard, "Nurse Pomroy: Comforter-in-Chief to the Lincoln Family," *Military Images* 37 (Autumn 2019): 52-57.

p. 216 - besides these unstable pleasures

Those unstable pleasures were perhaps the very ones Elizabeth Edwards feared that her sister would never relinquish. Anna L. Boyden, *Echoes from Hospital and White House: A Record of Mrs. Rebecca R. Pomroy's Experience in War-Times* (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1884), 78-79.

p. 216 - would be better for her
Ibid., 91-92.

p. 216 - stay of her old age
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 104.

p. 216 - to consult spiritualists
Ibid., 102-105; Jennifer Fleischner, *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly: The Remarkable Story of the Friendship between a First Lady and a Former Slave* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003), 231, 259.

p. 217 - left in her old age
Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 227-228 (undated excerpt from Emilie Helm's diary). Elizabeth Keckly overheard a similar exchange. Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 121-122.

p. 217 - will show us
Elizabeth Edwards to her daughter Julia Baker, undated [ca. March 1862], Elizabeth Edwards Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 217 - change her notions of life
Davis to his wife Sarah, St. Louis, 23 February 1862, Davis Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield; David Davis to W. W. Orme, [St. Louis], 23 February 1862, Orme Papers, *ibid.*

p. 217 - public trust and attachment
Charles A. Dana to J. S. Pike, New York, 28 May 1862, Pike Papers, University of Maine.

p. 217 - old time chivalry and grace
Washington correspondence by Emily Briggs, 6 February 1880, Philadelphia *Times*, 9 February 1880.

p. 217 - vote in Pennsylvania and elsewhere
Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture (Boston), 25 March 1865.

p. 217 - in search of a job
Newton to Lincoln, Springfield, Pennsylvania, 29 October 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress. In that letter, Newton responded to one written by Lincoln on September 21 (not extant). Newton allegedly visited Lincoln in Springfield to discuss the Quaker vote, though no contemporary evidence corroborates that report. *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture* (Boston), 25 March 1865.

p. 217 - much to her delight
Troy, New York, *Times*, n.d., copied in the Columbus *Crisis*, 1 May 1867.

p. 218 - corruption and shameless ignorance

Gardener's Monthly, August 1861, copied in the *Maine Farmer* (Augusta, Maine), 29 August 1861.

p. 218 - Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York

Milwaukee News, n.d., copied in the *Columbus Crisis*, 25 December 1867.

p. 218 - she will remove him

Boston Record, n.d., copied in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 26 December 1886.

p. 218 - gossip than anyone I know

Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1930, vol. IV; Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), 228 (entry for 3 February 1862).

p. 218 – to detect them in others

Nathan W. Hilborn, accountant & record clerk; Charles Forster, librarian & translator; D. Brown, superintendent, seed room; John O'Donnell Jr., recpt. clerk, seed room; Frederick Cook, foreman, seed room; and William T. Dennis, chief clerk, to Lincoln, Washington, 13 May 1862, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 219 - farmers of the country

Ohio Farmer (Cleveland), 24 May, 5 July 1862.

p. 219 - and sausage (sausage)

Rural New Yorker (Rochester), 30 August 1862.

p. 219 - artless old muff

Poore, *Reminiscences*, 2:124; "Agate" (Whitelaw Reid) quoted in the Washington correspondence, 17 August 1865, *Cincinnati Gazette*, n.d., quoted in the Washington correspondence by Quartz, 23 August 1865, *Cleveland Ohio Farmer*, 2 September 1865; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 1 February 1867.

p. 219 - his nomination favorably

Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture (Boston), 25 March 1865. Rumor had it that Watt was supported by a seed manufacturer who then sold the department old seeds for a tidy profit.

219 - organizations in the country

Milwaukee News, n.d., copied in the *Columbus Crisis*, 25 December 1867.

p. 220 - the public service

Washington correspondence by Emily Briggs, 6 February, *Philadelphia Times*, 9 February 1880.

p. 220 - for his malapropisms and ignorance

Told that a dark-skinned woman he saw must be a quadroon (one fourth black), he disagreed, saying that he thought she was an octagon (he meant octoroon, one eighth black). When his department received a mounted pheasant, he said of its feathers: "What a beautiful foliage he has." To a congressional committee investigating his department's expenses, he said that he wished to improve the quality of sheep in the U.S. and had therefore ordered several hydraulic rams from Germany. Cincinnati *Enquirer*, 1 February 1867.

p. 220 - a form of make-work

Colburn Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?* (Philadelphia: Rufus C. Hartranft, 1891), 46-47. Newton's successor, eager to cut costs of the department, estimated that only one-third of the 87 employees working in the seed room were necessary. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Telegraph*, 11 December 1867. I am grateful to Terry Alford for calling this article to my attention.

p. 220 - about her little son Willy

Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (2 vols.; Springfield: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1925-1933), 1:608 (entry for 1 January 1863).

p. 220 - to the White House

Peggy Robbins, "The Lincolns and Spiritualism." *Civil War Times Illustrated*, August 1976, 4-10, 46-47; Michelle L. Hamilton, "*I Would Still Be Drowned in Tears*": *Spiritualism in Abraham Lincoln's White House* (La Mesa, California: Vanderbluemen Publications, 2013).

p. 220 - land in a lunatic asylum

Ward Hill Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*, ed. Dorothy Lamon Teillard (Washington, D.C.: the editor, 1911), 306.

p. 221 - myself very much, he added

Chapman, *Latest Light on Abraham Lincoln* (2 vols.; New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1917), 2:506. John G. Nicolay explained to a Lincoln biographer: "I never knew of his attending a seance of Spiritualists at the White House or elsewhere, and if he ever did so it was out of mere curiosity, and as a matter of pastime, just as you or I would do. That he was in any sense a so-called 'Spiritualist' seems to me almost too absurd to need contradiction." John G. Nicolay to Jesse W. Weik, Washington, 25 November 1894, Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 370.

p. 221 - unconvincing demonstration at his office

Thomas Coulson, *Joseph Henry: His Life and Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 308.

p. 221 - are counted by the hundreds

Cincinnati *Enquirer*, 26 February 1866. On Colchester, see Terry Alford, "The Spiritualist Who Warned Lincoln Was Also Booth's Drinking Buddy," *Smithsonian Magazine*, March 2015.

p. 222 - old Capitol prison

Brooks, "Glimpses of Lincoln in War Time," *The Century* 49: 463 (1895).

p. 222 - evidence is inconclusive

R. Gerald McMurtry, "Lincoln's Attendance at Spiritualist Seances, Part 1," *Lincoln Lore*, no. 1500 (January 1963): 1-4, and "Lincoln's Attendance at Spiritualist Seances, Part 2," *Lincoln Lore*, no. 1501 (February 1963): 1-2.

p. 222 - testimony is suspect

Jay Monaghan, "Was Abraham Lincoln Really a Spiritualist?" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 34 (1941): 209-232.

p. 222 - positions in his department

Mary Lincoln to George Harrington, Washington, 23 April 1863, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 150.

p. 222 - soldier-brother granted a furlough

Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist?*, 46-47, 67-69.

p. 222 - high and exalted position –

Ibid., 65n. Just after Lincoln's death, his widow was regularly visited by the family's old friend, Anson G. Henry, who described himself as "a half way spiritualist." He told his wife: "I have made Mrs Lincoln a convert to this doctrine, & it is fast becoming a great source of comfort and consolation to her." Henry to his wife, Washington, 8 May 1865, photocopy, Justin Turner Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 222 - he lives, Emilie

Katherine Helm, *The True Story of Mary, Wife of Lincoln* (New York: Harper, 1928), 226-227.

p. 223 - heard criticized occasionally

Alban Jasper Conant, "A Visit to Washington in 1861-2," *Metropolitan Magazine* 33 (June 1910): 314. "I can say that all I saw of Mrs. Lincoln in Washington, as previously in Springfield, when I was painting her husband's portrait, inspired my respect and sympathy."

p. 223 - had a sight of Mrs. Lincoln

Letter by "many patients," Finley Hospital, Camp Sprague, 28 August 1862, to the editor, *Washington National Republican*, 29 August 1862.

p. 223 - First Lady had not done so

As noted above, in 1862 nurse Rebecca Pomroy wrote that Mrs. Lincoln "suffers from depression of spirits, but I do think if she would only come here and look at the poor soldiers occasionally it would be better for her." Anna L. Boyden, *Echoes from Hospital and White House: A Record of Mrs. Rebecca R. Pomroy's Experience in War-times* (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1884), 91-92.

p. 224 - to expect to see her there

Jane G. Swisshelm, letter to the editor, n.p., n.d., *Chicago Tribune*, 4 July 1872.

p. 224 - herself and the White House
Ames, *Ten Years in Washington*, 237.

p. 224 - she lost her child
Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *The Court Circles of the Republic: or, The Beauties and Celebrities of the Nation* (Hartford: Hartford Publishing, 1869), 526.

p. 224 - our beloved President
New York *Herald*, 12 June 1862; New York *Journal of Commerce*, n.d., copied in the *Chicago Tribune*, 20 June 1862.

p. 224 - sick and wounded soldiers
Boston *Daily Journal*, n.d., copied in the *Washington Daily Morning Chronicle*, 16 February 1863.

p. 225 - democratic, American men and women
Richmond, Indiana, *Independent Press*, n.d., copied in *The Liberator* (Boston), 28 February 1862.

p. 225 - Vermont, and West Point
Temple, "Mary Todd Lincoln's Travels," 190-191.

p. 225 - enterprize you mentioned
Ruth C. Corkran to Ida Tarbell, Los Angeles, 18 June 1928, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College; Lincoln to Corkran, Washington, 20 September 1863, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 6:487. Corkran had spoken with Lincoln on September 3.

p. 225 - distribute grapes at military hospitals
Tribune, 8 October 1863.

p. 225 - accounts of such activity
Direct contemporary evidence of her visits is scanty. The *Washington Star* of June 12, 1862, noted that she spent part of that day visiting military hospitals; that same paper on August 29, 1862 reported that the previous day she had visited the Odd Fellows Hall Hospital at the Navy Yard; on July 16, 1862, she and her friend Liza Irwin (Mrs. William Marston), visited military hospitals in New York; on Christmas Day 1862, the First Couple visited several hospitals. *New York Times*, *New York Herald*, *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 17 July 1862; Indiana, Pennsylvania, *Messenger*, 30 July 1862; *Washington Star*, 12 June, 27 December 1862.

p. 225 - what the sick soldiers say to her
Stoddard, *Inside the White House*, ed. Burlingame, 48.

p. 225 - effort to win popular favor
Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 20 July 1890.

p. 226 - sympathies of the people
Albany *Evening Journal*, 30 January 1869.

p. 226 - and unsparingly condemned
Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, ed. Angle, 96-97.

p. 226 - some of the officers' wives
Moses G. Parker, "Reminiscences of Personal Interviews with President Lincoln," *Contributions of the Lowell Historical Society* 1 (April 1913): 384.

p. 226 - to the miseries of poor humanity
S[arah] A. Palmer, *The Story of Aunt Becky's Army-Life* (New York: J. F. Trow, 1867) 186-187 (diary entry for 7 April 1865).

p. 227 - would have to be dismissed
Pease and Randall, eds., *Browning Diary*, 1:608-609 (entry for 1 January 1863).

p. 227 - told her that much
Elizabeth Blair Lee to Samuel Phillips Lee, Silver Spring, Maryland, 14 January [1863], Laas, ed., *Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee*, 231.

p. 227 - without a Cabinet
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 131.

p. 227 - no doubt who is President
Hannah Shearer, a close friend of Mrs. Lincoln, quoted in Philip W. Ayers, "Lincoln as a Neighbor," *American Review of Reviews* 57 (February 1918): 184.

p. 227 - a skein of thread
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 131.

p. 227 - ruined within three months
Samuel Wilkeson to Sidney Howard Gay, [Washington, ca. 21 February 1863], Gay Papers, Columbia University.

p. 228 - with her about Seward
Chandler to his wife, Washington, 31 March 1863, Chandler Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 228 - says the feeling is mutual
Chandler to his wife, Washington, 17 February 1865, *ibid.*

p. 228 - that we be not judged
Pineton, *Impressions of Lincoln and the Civil War*, 85. Chambrun identified the speaker to whom Lincoln replied only as someone aboard the *River Queen* who "enjoyed the privilege of speaking freely before him." It was clearly Mrs. Lincoln.

p. 228 - during my stay in Washington

D. V. Derickson in the Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, *Public Weekly Opinion*, 11 March 1898.

p. 228 - to have us all seated first

Fanny Seward diary, entry for 9 September 1861, in Patricia Carley Johnson, ed., "Sensitivity and Civil War: The Selected Diaries and Papers, 1858-1868, of Frances Adeline Seward" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1963), 360-361.

p. 228 - rather than his wife

Trudy Krisher, *Fanny Seward: A Life* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2015), 68-69.

p. 228 - than the one he had previously named

Reminiscences of Smith Stimmel, Lincoln, Nebraska, *Star Journal*, 23 February 1914.

p. 229 - made fully to believe *that*

Beale, ed., *Bates Diary*, 227-228 (entry for 2 February 1862). His informant was Mrs. Lincoln's friend Isaac Newton.

p. 229 - is President yet

Elizabeth Edwards' interview with Herndon, Springfield, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 445.

p. 229 - with a will (Seward also.)

Harriet Beecher Stowe to her husband, New York, 16 November 1862, in Wendy Hamand Venet, *Neither Ballots Nor Bullets: Women Abolitionists and the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 76.

p. 229 - were dead against him

Greeley to Beman Brockway, New York, 12 March 1861, Greeley Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 229 - when it is too late

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 129-130, 134.

p. 230 - you could prevent them

Blair to John A. Andrew, Silver Spring, 19 November 1864, Andrew Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

p. 230 - general that has been tried

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 134. Among her targets was Nathaniel P. Banks, whose rumored candidacy for a cabinet post she opposed. Mary Lincoln to Charles Sumner, Washington, 20 November 1864, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 191-192. See also her letter to Mrs. James White, 24 November 1864, Gilder-Lehrman Collection, New-York Historical Society.

p. 230 - ill will to friendship

Mary Lincoln's interview with Herndon, [September 1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 358.

p. 230 - forthcoming presidential struggle

Lieber to Charles Sumner, New York, 12 February 1864, Sumner Papers, Harvard University.

p. 230 - imperious, and tightfisted ways

Unidentified New York paper, n.d., copied in the *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), 30 October 1864.

p. 230 - diplomatic considerations unfitted her

Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 154; Laura Catherine Redden Searing (using the pen name Howard Glyndon), "The Truth about Mrs. Lincoln," *The Independent* (New York), 10 August 1882, 4-5.

p. 231 - experience rose above herself

Ames, *Ten Years in Washington*, 237-238, 242.

p. 231 - fatal lackings in her case

William Hayes Ward, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: Tributes from His Associates* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1895), 109.

p. 231 - Mistress of the White House

Mrs. John A. Logan, *Thirty Years in Washington; or, Life and Scenes in Our National Capital* (Hartford: A. D. Worthington, 1901), 648.p.

p. 232 - belies that characterization

In her biography of Mary Lincoln, Ruth Painter Randall devoted a chapter --"An Ardent Abolitionist" -- to telling "the amazing and hitherto neglected story of Mrs. Lincoln as an abolitionist." *Mary Lincoln*, 354-365 (quote on 354). Justin and Linda Turner make a similar claim. Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 8.

p. 232 - with him in this matter

Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 320.

p. 232 - showed them "marked attention."

New Haven *Columbian Register*, 12 March 1864; Washington correspondence, 24 February, Baltimore *Sun*, 25 February 1864.

p. 233 - to the First Lady's side.

"Civil War Memoirs from Dr. Anderson Abbott," in Catherine Slaney, *Family Secrets: Crossing the Colour Line* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 202.

p. 233 - an organ of the Lincoln administration

Ford Risley, "The President's Editor: John W. Forney of the *Press and Morning Chronicle*," *American Journalism* 26 (2009): 63-85.

p. 233 - twenty blacks managed to gain entry

Washington correspondence, n.d., *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), 7 January 1865, copied in the *Milwaukee Daily News*, 16 January 1865.

p. 234 - receive the same admittance

Washington correspondence by "Puritan," 18 February 1865, *Boston Recorder*, 24 February 1865. That version of the story is corroborated in part by coverage appearing in the *Washington National Intelligencer*: "For a brief time some excitement was created by the refusal to admit such of the colored population as were eagerly pressing forward to pay their respects to the President. Many of them gained admission, but finally the doors were closed upon them, and they were compelled to wait patiently until after the whites had gotten through, when they were admitted and received by the President. During the excitement caused by the incident Mrs. Lincoln retired." *Washington National Intelligencer*, 3 January 1865. Benjamin Brown French noted in his journal that he was on duty at the White House that day, introducing the guests – "such as desired it" – to the First Lady, who withdrew at about 2 p.m. French, *Witness to the Young Republic*, ed. Cole and McDonough, 462 (entry for 2 January 1865).

p. 234 - a number did so

A reporter for *New York Independent*, edited by antislavery stalwarts Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Tilton, noted that after the white crowd departed, the blacks who had been waiting outside "summoned up courage, and began timidly to approach the door." The president "welcomed this motley crowd with a heartiness that made them wild with exceeding joy. They laughed and wept, and wept and laughed, exclaiming, through their blinding tears, 'God bless you!' 'God bless Abraham Lincoln!' 'God bress Massa Linkum!'" Washington correspondence by H. R. G., 3 January 1865, *New York Independent*, n.d., copied in the *Boston Traveler*, 14 January 1865.

p. 234 - done by his orders

Julia Wilbur, small diary, entry for 25 February 1865, Julia Wilbur Papers, Haverford College Special Collections, accessed online, 23 May 2017.

p. 234 - a few days afterward

Fred Tomkins, *Jewels in Ebony* (London: British and Foreign Freedman's Aid Society, 1865), 2.

p. 234 - to a private interview

Washington correspondence, 25 February, *Liverpool Mercury*, 22 March 1865. There is no evidence that Sojourner Truth met more than once with Lincoln. Carlton Mabee, *Sojourner Truth: Slave, Prophet, Legend* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 124. The heroic black abolitionist Harriet Tubman purportedly met with the First Lady, but the source for that story is highly questionable. "I us'd to go see Missus Lincoln but I never wanted to see him [Lincoln]. You see we colored people didn't understand den he was our frien'. All we knew was dat de first colored troops from Massachusetts only got seven dollars a month, while de white regiment got fifteen. We didn't like dat. But now I know all 'bout it, an' I'se sorry I didn't go see Massa Lincoln and tank him." Rosa Bell Holt, "A Heroine in Ebony," *Chataquan*, July 1896, 461-462. No other evidence corroborates this improbable story. If such a meeting took place, there would certainly have been a contemporary mention of it. A skeptical biographer of Tubman

wrote: “One story mentions that Tubman visited Mrs. Lincoln, but there is no corroboration of this.” Catherine Clinton, *Harriet Tubman: The Road to Freedom* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2004), 245 n. 40. Another biographer of Tubman noted: “this is the only reference to Tubman’s visiting Mary Todd Lincoln of which I am aware.” Jean M. Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 399 n. 55.

p. 235 - in the presence of a friend

Sojourner Truth to Rowland Johnson, Freedmen’s Village, Virginia, 17 November 1864, *National Antislavery Standard* (New York), 17 December 1864, and same to same, *The Liberator* (Boston), 24 December 1864.

p. 235 - those who were admitted

Washington correspondence, 7 March, New York *Evening Express*, 9 March 1865.

p. 235 - exclude him from its precincts

Ohio Statesman (Columbus), 17 March 1865.

p. 235 - Fillmore next time

Mary Lincoln to Emilie Todd Helm, Springfield, 23 November 1856, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 46.

p. 236 - far inferior to your own

Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 140-141.

p. 236 - were “far inferior”

This sentiment contrasts sharply with her husband’s public declaration at the outset of that 1858 senatorial campaign: “let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man – this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.” Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 2:501.

p. 236 - although colored, is very industrious

Mary Lincoln to Hannah Shearer, Springfield, 1 January 1860, and to George Harrington, Washington, 20 March 1863, Turner and Turner, eds. *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 61, 149.

p. 236 - as a matter of necessity

Swisshelm to the editor, Swisshelm, Pennsylvania, 17 July 1882, *Chicago Tribune*, 20 July 1882. In her autobiography, Swisshelm wrote: “I recognized Mrs. Lincoln as a loyal, liberty-loving woman, more staunch even than her husband in opposition to the Rebellion and its cause, and as my very dear friend for life.” Jane Grey Swisshelm, *Half a Century* (Chicago: J. G. Swisshelm, 1880), 163.

p. 236 - discernable *political* influence on her husband

Lincoln Lore, no. 1725 (November 1981), p. 3. A half-century earlier, W. A. Evans had reached a similar conclusion: “The Lincoln policies, plans, and methods of the presidential period were

Lincolnesque. They give no evidence of his wife's influence. . . . Lincoln's outstanding mental characteristic was wisdom. His judgment was clear and cold. The decisions of Mrs. Lincoln were too much swayed by her likes and dislikes, prejudices, and other emotions to be designated as wise, or based on good judgment." W. A. Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln: A Study of Her Personality and Her Influence on Lincoln* (New York: Knopf, 1932), 334.

p. 236 - be an *extreme* Republican

Mary Todd Lincoln to Elizabeth Keckly, Washington, 29 October 1867, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 447. Michael Burkheimer recently examined the evidence of the Lincolns' supposed political partnership and concluded that any "apologist for Mary must deal with the good probability that instead of helping Lincoln's presidency as a political partner, she hindered it." Burkheimer, "The Reports of the Lincolns' Political Partnership Have Been Greatly Exaggerated," in Michael Burkheimer and Frank J. Williams, eds., *The Mary Lincoln Enigma: Historians on America's Most Controversial First Lady* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 230.

p. 236 - may have passed between them

Dirck, "Mary Lincoln, Race and Slavery," in Burkheimer and Williams, eds., *Mary Lincoln Enigma*, 46.

p. 236 - cannot do otherwise

Mrs. Florence Weston Stanley to Dwight C. Sturges, [Needham, Massachusetts], 7 February 1935, *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 February 1935.

p. 237 - the constitution to destroy slavery

Washington correspondence, 5 November, Philadelphia *Evening Journal*, n.d., copied in the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, 13 November 1862. In December 1860, a Virginia newspaper asserted that "Mrs. Lincoln, is strong in her attachment to the institution of slavery." Staunton *Vindicator*, 7 December 1860, website, The Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War, <https://valley.lib.virginia.edu>.

p. 237 - comments about public affairs

As noted in the previous chapter, she confessed that "she didn't know anything about politics," but sometimes she gave voice to her political sentiments. She said this to Francis P. Blair Sr. It was repeated by Blair's daughter, Elizabeth Blair Lee, in a letter to her husband, Samuel Phillips Lee, Silver Spring, Maryland, 14 January [1863], Laas, ed., *Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee*, 231.

p. 237 - for some of Mr. Lincoln's friends

Washington correspondence, 23 February, Baltimore *Sun*, 25 February 1861.

p. 237 - her conservative opinions

Washington correspondence, 25 February, New York *Commercial Advertiser*, 26 February 1861.

p. 237 - hates the angular Yankees

James H. Campbell to his wife, Juliet Lewis Campbell, Washington, 28 January 1863, Campbell Papers, Schoff Civil War Collection, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

p. 237 - Senate's foremost Radical

"How admirable is [poet John Greenleaf] Whittier's description of the thralldom of Slavery and the emancipation, from the great evil that has been so long allowed, to curse the land. The decree, has gone forth, that all men are free and all the perfidious acts, of [President Andrew] Johnson and his unprincipled partisans cannot eradicate, the seal, that has been placed on the 'Emancipation Proclamation.'" Mary Lincoln to Charles Sumner, Chicago, 6 April 1866, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 354.

p. 237 - the War of the Rebellion

Swisshelm to the editor, Swisssdale, Pennsylvania, 17 July, *Chicago Tribune*, 20 July 1882; David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 167-168, 213-214. In an undated letter, she said of Sumner: "For the last eight years, he has been as a brother to me." Mary Todd Lincoln to Sallie Orne, n.p., n.d., Thomas F. Schwartz and Anne V. Shaughnessy, eds., "Unpublished Mary Lincoln Letters," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 11 (1990) <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.2629860.0011.105>. "Mr. Sumner says he wishes my husband was as ardent an abolitionist as I am," Mary Lincoln allegedly remarked in 1864. H. C. Ingersoll, "Abraham Lincoln's Widow," letter from Washington, n.d., Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, 7 June, copied in the *Hartford Courant*, 8 June 1875. She enlisted the senator's support for her attempts to influence patronage appointments. Mary Lincoln to Charles Sumner, Washington, 19 March 1865, Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 204-205.

p. 238 - Abolition sneak

Mary Lincoln to James G. Bennett, Washington, 4 October 1862, *ibid.*, 138; Donn Piatt, *Memories of the Men who Saved the Union* (New York: Belford, Clarke, 1887), 31.

p. 238 - Connecticut Senator James Dixon

The abolitionist Congressman Joshua Giddings asked to be remembered to Mrs. Lincoln, but there is no evidence that she shared his political views. Giddings to Lincoln, Jefferson, Ohio, 2 July 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress. When the abolitionist Congressman Owen Lovejoy died in 1864, Mrs. Lincoln wrote to Charles Sumner: "Our friend, whom we all *so* loved and esteemed, has so suddenly & unexpectedly passed away—Mr. Lovejoy!" But again, no evidence indicates that she shared his political views.

p. 238 - seems to have lived

Jennifer Fleischner, *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly: The Remarkable Story of the Friendship between a First Lady and a Former Slave* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003), 50.

p. 238 - criticizing her husband

John E. Washington, *They Knew Lincoln* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1942), 225.

p. 238 - \$10 worth of groceries

The Christian Recorder (Philadelphia), 22 August 1863. On the association, see C. Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers: The United States, 1859-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 251n.

p. 238 - established by a philanthropist

Mrs. Lincoln wrote her husband saying that Mrs. Keckly “has been very unsuccessful” in raising money for the benefit of contrabands. “She says the immense number of contrabands in W[ashington] are suffering intensely, many without bed covering & having to use any bits of carpeting to cover themselves– Many dying of want– Out of the \$1000 fund deposited with you by Gen Corcoran, I have given her the privilege of investing \$200 her[e in New York] in bed covering. She is the most deeply grateful being, I ever saw, & this sum, I am sure, you will not object to being used in this way– The cause of humanity requires it.” Mary Lincoln to her husband, [New York, 3 November 1862], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 141.

p. 239 - not a dear friend

Donna McCreary’s post on “Mary’s Friends,” 30 March 2015,
<https://rogerjnorton.com/LincolnDiscussionSymposium/thread-2322.html>.

p. 239 - into the house as a caller

Colman, *Reminiscences*, 52.

p. 239 - you have bitterly disappointed me

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 87.

p. 239 - would treat me thus

Mary Lincoln to Madame Harris, Washington, 31 December [1861],
<https://www.finebooksmagazine.com/news/moody-mary-todd-lincoln-letter-be-sold-leslie-hindman-auctioneers-may-5>.

p. 239 - as “menials.”

Mary Lincoln to Abram Wakeman, Washington, 20 February [1865], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 202.

p. 239 - readily into open conflicts

William Seale, *The President's House: A History* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the White House Historical Association, 2008), 1:391.

p. 239 - the war and things in general

John E. Washington, *They Knew Lincoln*, ed. Kate Masur (1942; New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 133.

p. 239 - was worse than her bite

Rosetta Wells in Washington, *They Knew Lincoln*, 77, 133 (quote on 77).

p. 240 - abide her outbursts quit

John Whitcomb and Claire Whitcomb, *Real Life at the White House: Two Hundred Years of Daily Life at America's Most Famous Residence* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 130.

p. 240 - people during Lincoln’s administration

They were Richard Goodchild, Ann Watt, Mary Williams, Mrs. J. Smith, and Mary Ann Cuthbert. A decade after his father's assassination, Robert Lincoln said that his mother "has driven my servants out of the room by her insulting remarks." Jason Emerson, *Giant in the Shadows: The Life of Robert T. Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 158.

p. 240 - men and women and events
Stoddard, *Inside the White House*, ed. Burlingame, 33.

p. 240 - afternoon tea at the White House
Dirck, "Mary Lincoln, Race and Slavery," 49.

p. 240 - author's information cannot be checked
Ishbel Ross, *Proud Kate: Portrait of an Ambitious Woman* (New York: Harper, 1953), 90. Without citing any evidence, a historian of the White House stated that "Mrs. Lincoln is supposed to have received a party of black women and a white minister in the Red Room." Seale, *The President's House*, 2:652. This is doubtless a garbled reference to the April 2, 1864 visit of Caroline Johnson of Philadelphia, a former slave, who presented the Lincolns with a collection of wax fruits and a stem-table to express her gratitude for the president's emancipation policies. She was accompanied by her minister but not by other black women.

p. 240 - undocumented book
Catherine Clinton, *Mrs. Lincoln: A Life* (New York: Harper, 2009), 171.

p. 240 - reason to doubt this story
John Oller, *American Queen: The Rise and Fall of Kate Chase Sprague, Civil War "Belle of the North" and Gilded Age Woman of Scandal* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2014), 67.

p. 240 - defensive biography of Mary Lincoln
Ishbel Ross, *The President's Wife: Mary Todd Lincoln, A Biography* (New York: Putnam, 1973).

p. 240 - regretfully declined
Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (revised ed.; Boston: De Wolfe & Fiske, 1892), 437. The only previous example of such an invitation dates back to 1799, when John Adams hosted a dinner for a white Haitian diplomat and his black wife at the President's House in Philadelphia. Philippe R. Girard, "Trading Races: Joseph and Marie Bunel, a Diplomat and a Merchant in Revolutionary Saint-Domingue and Philadelphia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 30 (2010): 351-376. According to Girard, many historians have misidentified Joseph Bunel as a mulatto. In Douglass' autobiography, he described the circumstances: "At the door of my friend John A. Gray, where I was stopping in Washington [his home was in Rochester, New York], I found one afternoon the carriage of Secretary Dole [Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole], and a messenger from President Lincoln with an invitation for me to take tea with him at the Soldiers' Home . . . Unfortunately, I had an engagement to speak that evening, and having made it one of the rules of my conduct in life never to break an engagement if [it were] possible to keep it, I felt obliged to decline the honor. I have often regretted that I did not make this an

exception to my general rule. Could I have known that no such opportunity could come to me again, I should have justified myself in disappointing a large audience for the sake of such a visit with Abraham Lincoln.”¹ Historian James Oakes plausibly observed that “there is every reason to believe that Lincoln invited Douglass to the Soldiers’ Home because he enjoyed Douglass’s company as much as he valued Douglass’s opinion.” *Life and Times of Douglass*, 446-447.

p. 241 - prejudice of his times, and country

Manuscript of a speech given at Cooper Union in New York, 1 June 1865, Douglass Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 242 - him on every occasion

Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 80, 82.

p. 243 - and excuse him from speaking

Washington correspondence, 22 February, *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, 23 February 1864, in Lois Bryan Adams, *Letter from Washington, 1863-1865*, ed. Evelyn Leasher (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 84. A briefer version of these remarks can be found in Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7:197-198.

p. 243 - White House in silence

Carl Sandburg, *Mary Lincoln: Wife and Widow* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1932), 112. Oglesby told this to Joseph Fifer, who in turn told it to Sandburg in 1924. Memo in the Sandburg-Barrett Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. See also Mark Plummer, *Lincoln’s Rail-Splitter: Governor Richard J. Oglesby* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 92, and Sydney Kramer, “Lincoln at the Fair,” *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 3 (1945): 340-343.

p. 243 - Lincoln on several occasions

Williams, “What I Saw in Washington During the ’60s,” *Portland Oregonian*, 17 March 1901, p. 26.

p. 244 - saying not a word

Williams told this to a friend, C. E. S. Wood. Wood’s tribute to Williams in Multnomah, Oregon, Bar Association, *In Memoriam: The Honorable George H. Williams, 1823-1910* (Portland: Multnomah Bar Association, 1910), 23.

p. 244 - or fairer than herself

Mary Clemmer Ames in the *New York Independent*, n.d., copied in the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, 8 August 1882.

p. 244 - was compelled to [undergo.]

Forrest, “Old-Time Facts and Fancies,” *Chicago Evening News*, 16 July 1891.

p. 245 - we will go down-stairs

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 124-125.

p. 245 - not hesitate any longer to act

Ibid., 144-145. Contemporary press accounts indicate that the custom was not changed.

p. 245 - leadership of Washington society

John Oller, *American Queen: The Rise and Fall of Kate Chase Sprague, Civil War "Belle of the North" and Gilded Age Woman of Scandal* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2014), chapter 7.

p. 245 - rather impatient of

Adolphe Pineton, *Impressions of Lincoln and the Civil War: A Foreigner's Account* (New York: Random House, 1952), 24.

p. 246 - utmost end of the house

"Domestic Squabbles," Washington correspondence, n.d., Rochester *Union*, n.d., copied in the Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph*, 23 April 1869.

p. 246 - returning her previous call

An unidentified witness of this exchange, paraphrased in Jane Grey Swisshelm's letter, n.d., to the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, n.d., copied in the Charleston, South Carolina, *Daily News*, 25 May 1868.

p. 246 - that devil of stubbornness

Nicolay to John Hay, Washington, 29 January 1864, Burlingame, ed., *With Lincoln in the White House*, 125. In early 1865, Mrs. Lincoln lobbied to have Nicolay replaced by her friend, the journalist Noah Brooks. That March, Nicolay was appointed to a diplomatic post in France. Wayne C. Temple, *Lincoln's Confidant: The Life of Noah Brooks*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (Urbana: Published by the Knox College Lincoln Studies Center and the University of Illinois Press, 2019), 119-120. "I have been working ever since I have been here with Mrs Lincoln to get Nickolay out as private secretary and Mr Brooks in his place." Anson G. Henry to his wife, Washington, 13 March 1865, photocopy, Justin Turner Papers, box 1, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 246 - including a \$3000 love of a shawl

Dayton, Ohio, *Empire*, n.d., copied in the Maysville, Kentucky, *Dollar Weekly Bulletin*, 12 November 1863.

p. 247 - and keep her there

Reminiscences of Congressman Augustus Brandagee in the New London, Connecticut, *Day*, 8 February 1894.

p. 247 - will make her keep hers

Washington correspondence, 14 June, New York *World*, 19 June 1875.

p. 247 - the wife of the President

Agnes Elizabeth W. Salm-Salm, *Ten Years of My Life* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1876), 44-46.

p. 248 - sincere admiration and sympathy

Julia Lorrillard Butterfield, ed., *A Biographical Memorial of General Daniel Butterfield* (New York: Grafton Press, 1904), 160-162. A journalist with the presidential party recounted a somewhat different version of the event: Princess Salm Salm “astonished the President, on his entering General Sickles’ headquarters, by flying at him, and imprinting a bouncing kiss on his surprised and not altogether attractive face. As soon as he could collect himself and recover from his astonishment, the President thanked the lady, but with evident discomposure; whereupon some of the party made haste to explain that the Princess Salm-Salm had laid a wager with one of the officers that she would kiss the President. Her audacious sally won her a box of gloves.” Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln’s Time* (New York: Century, 1895), 69; *New York Sun and New York Press*, 12 February 1911, p. 22.

p. 249 - peace was restored

Sickles in the *Denver Post*, 12 February 1912; Sickles’ speech before the Society of the Army of the Potomac, Fredericksburg, Virginia, *Free Lance*, 26 May 1900; Butterfield, ed., *Biographical Memorial of Butterfield*, 160-162; W. A. Swanberg, *Sickles the Incredible* (New York: Scribner, 1956), 175-176; St. Clair Augustin Mulholland, *The Story of the 116th Regiment, Pennsylvania Infantry: War of Secession, 1862-1865* (Philadelphia: F. McManus, 1899), 100.

p. 249 - and ordinary comfort

John S. Barnes, "With Lincoln from Washington to Richmond in 1865," *Appleton's Magazine* 9 (May 1907): 516-517.

p. 250 - until I invite you

Benjamin P. Thomas, ed., *Three Years with Grant, as Recalled by War Correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader* (New York: Knopf, 1955), 283. Cadwallader’s wife, who was friendly with Mrs. Grant, was probably Cadwallader’s source. Cf. John Y. Simon, ed., *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant (Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant)* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 142; Adam Badeau, *Grant in Peace, From Appomattox to Mount McGregor: A Personal Memoir* (Hartford: S. S. Scranton, 1887), 362.

p. 250 - me ‘laughing at her

Barnes, *The Egotistigraphy of a Rolling Stone herein scraped off for the information and amusement of his family*, unpaginated online version, ch. xv, <https://sites.google.com/site/johnsanfordbarnes/>. The original is in the Naval History Society Collection, and a typescript is housed in the New-York Historical Society. In composing his account, Barnes relied on letters he had written to his wife at the time. Those letters have not surfaced, though they were evidently copied and retained by the captain’s family. Though Julia Grant played down this episode in her memoirs, her sister Emma “often told the story that Julia was outraged because Mrs. Lincoln had expected her to . . . treat her like royalty. Ishbel Ross, *The General’s Wife: The Life of Mrs. U. S. Grant* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1959), 178-179, citing the manuscript family narrative by Julia Grant’s younger sister, *Emma Dent Casey, Emma Dent Casey Papers*, Missouri Historical Society. It is not clear from the documentation if the author’s account of Mrs. Casey’s observation is from the manuscript memoir, which does not seem to contain this passage, or from some other source.

p. 250 - and a lively scene ensued

New York *World*, 22 February 1870, in Noah Andre Trudeau, *Lincoln's Greatest Journey: Sixteen Days that Changed a Presidency (March 24-April 8, 1865)* (El Dorado Hills, California: Savas Beatie, 2016), 52. Evidently the First Lady had also treated the wife of Secretary of War Edwin Stanton haughtily, for Mrs. Stanton told one of Grant's aides: "Understand me, sir, I do not go to the White House. I do not visit Mrs. Lincoln." Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, 360. During the Civil War, Stanton and his family spent the warmer months at the Soldiers' Home in a cottage next door to the Lincolns.

p. 251 - Mr. Lincoln's expostulations
Barnes, "With Lincoln," 524.

p. 251 - the *River Queen* with his son
Three Years with Grant, 282.

p. 251 - capital for her beauty
Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, 357.

p. 252 - special permission from the president
At the gala White House party in February 1862, Mrs. Griffin had been "the observed of all, as she leaned on the arm of the President." Two months earlier, Lincoln had attended Miss Carroll's festive society wedding, where he signed her marriage certificate. *Chicago Tribune*, 12 December 1861; *Frank Leslie's Gazette of Fashion* 10 (March 1862): 274; Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Generals and Soldiers* (Columbus: Eclectic, 1893), 873; *Baltimore American*, 4 November 1917; *Kansas City Star*, 9 December 1917.

p. 253 - was shocked and horrified
Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, 358-360.

p. 253 - returning to the 'River Queen'
Barnes, *The Egotistigraphy of a Rolling Stone*, unpaginated online version, ch. xv. Soon after the event, Barnes described it to General Sherman, who in his memoirs summarized the captain's remarks. William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* (2 vols.; New York: C. L. Webster, 1891-1892), 2:332. Horace Porter was an eyewitness to much of the unpleasantness, but he said almost nothing about it in his memoirs.

p. 253 - to say nothing of his wife.
Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, 358-360.

p. 254 - recounting what he had seen
Barnes, "With Lincoln," 524.

p. 255 - who every day visited the President
Barnes, *The Egotistigraphy of a Rolling Stone*, unpaginated online version, ch. xv.

p. 256 - tours of Richmond and Petersburg
Simon, ed., *Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant*, 150.

p. 256 - secretly by domestic torment

Schurz, manuscript of his *Reminiscences*, Schurz Papers, Library of Congress. This passage does not appear in the published version of the memoirs.

p. 256 - fairly described as outrageous

Ellery Sedgwick, *The Happy Profession* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1946), 163.

p. 257 - again indulged in hysterics

With her came her confidante-cum-dressmaker Elizabeth Keckly, Attorney General James Speed, Senator Charles Sumner and his young French friend Charles A. Pineton (Marquis de Chambrun), Assistant Secretary of the Interior William T. Otto, and Iowa Senator James Harlan with his wife and daughter Mary.

p. 257 - which she did on April 6

A week later, she told Abram Wakeman: "Richmond we visited as a matter of course, & 'the banquet halls' of Jeff Davis looked sad and deserted. Each & every place will be re-peopled with our own glorious & loyal people & the traitors meet the doom which a just Heaven ever awards the transgressor." Mary Lincoln to Abram Wakeman, [Washington], 13 April [1865], Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 220.

p. 257 - "an extremely jealous disposition

Porter told this to Benson Lossing. Lossing, diary fragment, 25 April 1865, University of Virginia. Her jealousy was hardly warranted, for the evidence supports Herndon's contention that Lincoln "was true as steel to his wife, during his whole married life." Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, January 1891, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 334.

p. 255 - that memorable evening

Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 166-167.

p. 256 - much to the narrator's chagrin

Evidently a summary of a letter by Mary Harlan Lincoln, in William Adams Slade, "Abraham Lincoln's Shakespeare," typescript, J. G. Randall Papers, Library of Congress. Mrs. Grant's autobiography contains a much briefer and tamer account of these untoward events than the accounts of Badeau and Barnes. That is not surprising, since her "devout creed" was "to gaze unashamedly on the bright side of things." In her memoirs she tended to record a "sweetly sanitized version" of events. Throughout life, she "had a penchant for viewing the world through rose-colored spectacles." Ron Chernow, *Grant* (New York: Penguin Press, 2017), 95, 63, 31. She "omitted from her memoirs . . . memories too painful to recall, even decades later." Candice Shy Hooper, *Lincoln's Generals' Wives: Four Women Who Influenced the Civil War for Better and for Worse* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2016), 335. "Julia's memoirs provide a wealth of information about her life, and most of it is accurate. What she omitted, though, is often at least as important as what she included." *Ibid.*, 251. She may have been unwilling to tell the whole unpleasant story lest it embarrass Robert Todd Lincoln and his children. Badeau was criticized for revealing his version of events: "In making up the history of the times there are

some things that may very properly be deferred for a more appropriate season,” observed one writer. “Badeau’s Bad Taste,” *Washington Critic-Record*, 13 January 1887.

p. 257 - damned him, and cursed him

Ward Hill Lamon interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 467. Stackpole had been a watchman from 1861 to 1864 and was named steward in January 1865.

p. 257 - resumed his reading

Boston *Daily Advertiser*, 7 October 1867. A member of the audience for that speech recalled that “Mrs. Lincoln and several lady friends stood at a side window. There was some talking and diversion during the reading.” A “correspondent from North Carolina,” in “The Editor’s Easy Chair,” *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, July 1885, 312.

p. 258 - to accompanying Mrs. Lincoln

She told this to Hamilton Fish, President Grant’s secretary of state. Hamilton Fish diary, Library of Congress (entry for 12 November 1869). In her memoirs, she was more vague about her unwillingness to join the First Lady. Simon, ed., *Memoirs of Julia Grant*, 155.

p. 258 - the box with Mrs. Lincoln

Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, 362.

p. 258 - held him in contempt

To her husband, the First Lady often called the general “a butcher” and “an obstinate fool” who was “not fit to be at the head of an army.” She repeatedly said “that if Grant should ever be elected President of the United States she would desire to leave the country and remain absent during his term of office.” Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 133.

p. 258 - where their children were staying

Hamilton Fish recorded the following in his diary on November 12, 1869: “Grant says his absence from the theater on the night of Lincoln’s assassination was fortunate. He was urged by Mr. & Mrs. L[incoln] to go but had been requested by Mr. L[incoln] on the previous evening to accompany Mrs. L[incoln] to witness the illuminations. On entering the carriage with her (at the door of the White House) there was a very large crowd in front, who began shouting Grant whereupon Mrs. L[incoln] was disturbed & directed the driver to let her out. Having given nine cheers for Grant the crowd cheered for Lincoln whereupon Mrs. L[incoln] at once called to the coachman ‘John go on.’ This was repeated at different stages of the drive when the crowd found out who were occupants of the coach. He therefore thought it would not be agreeable to Mrs. L[incoln] to have him at the theater, although both she and Mr. L[incoln] urged him to be present with Mrs. Grant. He therefore made an excuse of a desire to see his children who were at Burlington N[ew] J[ersey]. (Mrs. Grant in telling me the same incident on a former occasion said that she objected strenuously to accompanying Mrs. Lincoln.) Instead of going to the theater he took the cars for Philadelphia.” Fish diary, Library of Congress.

p. 258 - carry out his murderous plan

Ver Lynn Sprague, "Mary Lincoln -- Accessory to Murder," *Lincoln Herald* 81 (1979): 238-242.

p. 259 - unlikely that Booth could succeed
Chernow, *Grant*, 528.

p. 261 - not responsible for her acts
An Old-Timer [Forrest], "Old-Time Facts and Fancies," Chicago *Evening News*, 7 April 1891.

p. 262 - Mistress of the White House
A. K. McClure to Alonzo Rothschild, Philadelphia, 9 May 1907, Lincoln Contemporaries Collection, Lincoln Financial Foundation Research Collection, Allen County Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

p. 262 - had been a curse to her husband
John B. Brownlow to Henry B. Rankin, Knoxville, Tennessee, 2 September 1920, Rankin Papers, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield. As a member of the U.S. Senate Committee on Pensions, Brownlow's father, William G. Brownlow, heard the testimony, which was never published.

p. 262- possession of the committee
Senate Report 148, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, *In the Senate of the United States. May 5, 1870. -- Ordered to be printed. Mr. Edmunds made the following report. (To accompany Bill S. No. 19.) The Committee on Pensions, to which was referred Senate Bill No. 19, "Granting a Pension to Mary Lincoln, Widow of Abraham Lincoln, Late President of the United States,"* Serial Set Vol. No. 1409, p. 24.

p. 262 - most pathetic features of his career
Carl Schurz, *Abraham Lincoln: An Essay* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1891), 19.

p. 262 - tragedy of Mr. Lincoln's existence
Carl Schurz, interview with Ida Tarbell, 6 November 1897, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 262 - quality absolutely infernal
Mary G. Chandler, *The Elements of Character* (Boston: Otis Clapp, 1854), 104; Evans, *Mrs. Lincoln*, 294-297. A modern variation on that observation was provided by a psychologist who noted that "the relationship with your spouse can be positive and supportive, or it can be the most toxic that you have in your life." John T. Cacioppo, "What's Social about Social Neuroscience?" (keynote address, 2015 meeting of the Society for Social Neuroscience), in Lydia Denworth, *Friendship: The Evolution, Biology, and Extraordinary Power of Life's Fundamental Bond* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2020), 136.

p. 263 - for its autonomy
Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, ed. Angle, 99.

p. 263 - his spirit in another way

Herndon to Jesse W. Weik, Springfield, 12 January 1886, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 197.

p. 263 - to him when it came

Keckly interviewed by Smith D. Fry, undated Washington letter, *Lane County Journal* (Dighton, Kansas), 11 July 1901.

p. 263 - hard life for him

Benjamin Brown French, *Witness to the Young Republic: A Yankee's Journal, 1828-1870*, ed. Donald B. Cole and John J. McDonough (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1989), 417 (entry for 18 February 1863).

p. 263 - which was all tired

Washington correspondence, 12 April, *Sacramento Daily Union*, 8 May 1863, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln Observed: Civil War Dispatches of Noah Brooks* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 43.

p. 264 - upon his giant frame

Isaac N. Arnold, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, 1884), 454.

p. 264 – “a burning, scorching hell.”

William H. Herndon to Truman Bartlett, Springfield, 23 September 1887, Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln: Letters*, 261.

p. 265 – Jason Emerson

Mary Lincoln for the Ages (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2019)

p. 265 – bear it

William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (originally published in 1889; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 263.

p. 266 – Rodney O. Davis

Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon on Lincoln, vol. 1: Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016).

p. 266 – also on Herndon's Record

“Sifting the Ann Rutledge Evidence,” J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg* (2 vols.; New York: Dodd, Meade, 1945), 2:321-242. As the book neared publication, J. G. Randall acknowledged that his wife “helped me handsomely with the Ann Rutledge chapter. It is very largely her work.” Randall to Francis S. Reynolds, February 3, 1945, carbon copy, Randall Papers, Library of Congress. According to one of Randall's research assistants, Wayne C. Temple, “she is the one who wrote it.” Temple, interviewed by Steven Rogstad, Springfield, 6 August 1995, audiotape in the possession of Steven Rogstad. A typescript of the manuscript of *Lincoln the President* (now at the library of Lincoln Memorial University in Harrogate, Tennessee) shows that Randall had originally included his wife's essay

on Ann Rutledge as a chapter of the book rather than an appendix, as it appears in the published version.

p. 266 – rehabilitated that story

Douglas L. Wilson, “Abraham Lincoln, Ann Rutledge, and the Evidence of Herndon's Informants,” *Civil War History* 36 (1990): 301-24; John Y. Simon, “Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 11 (1990): 13-33; John Evangelist Walsh, *The Shadows Rise: Abraham Lincoln and the Ann Rutledge Legend* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

p. 267 – under his direction

David Donald, *Lincoln's Herndon* (New York: Knopf, 1948), and “Herndon: Lincoln's Law Partner,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1946.

p. 267 – detested each other

Donald, *Lincoln's Herndon*, 152-153, 348.

p. 267 – had never liked

Ibid., 303; Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era* (New York: Knopf, 1956), 41.

p. 267 – “verged on hatred”

Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 160.

p. 268 – charged with dishonor

Douglas L. Wilson, “William H. Herndon and Mary Todd Lincoln,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 22 (2001), reprinted in Burkheimer and Williams, eds., *Mary Lincoln Enigma*, 134-135.

p. 268 – tendentious, hostile, outdated approach

Michael Burlingame, “Why a New Biography of William Herndon Is Needed,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 25 (2014): 55-67.

p. 268 - utilized Donald's work

Ruth Painter Randall, *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953), 64.

p. 268 – objective historical examination

Emerson, *Mary Lincoln for the Ages*, 57.

p. 268 – overprotective

Brodie's introduction to Turner and Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, xxi.

p. 268 - contemporary and reminiscent accounts

H. E. P., review of Randall, *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage*, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 46 (1953): 93.

p. 268 - of the Lincolns' "congeniality."
Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 133, 141.

p. 269 – again when he returned
Undated statement by Gourley in Jesse W. Weik, *The Real Lincoln: A Portrait*, ed. Michael Burlingame (1922; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 121-122; Gourley, interview with Herndon, [1865-66], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, 453.

p. 269 – a member of the President's household
French to "Brother Reynolds," Washington, 20 April 1865, unidentified clipping, French Family Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 269 – upon her for political purposes
Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 266.

p. 269 – satirizing her regal ways
B. B. French to his son Frank, Washington, 9 July 1865, 3 January 1866, French Family Papers, Library of Congress; Dorothy and Philip Kuhnhardt, *Twenty Days: A Narrative in Text and Pictures of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the Twenty Days and Nights that Followed -- The Nation in Mourning* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 67.

p. 269 – has given me a world of trouble
Benjamin Brown French, *Witness to the Young Republic: A Yankee's Journal, 1828-1870*, ed. Donald B. Cole and John J. McDonough (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1989), 479 (entry for 24 May 1865).

p. 269 – the happiness of their marriage
Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 100.

p. 270 – bring him into disgrace
Browning interviewed by John G. Nicolay, Springfield, 17 June 1875, in Michael Burlingame, ed., *An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln: John G. Nicolay's Interviews and Essays* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 3.

p. 270 – loyal, loving, and admiring
Richard Lawrence Miller, *Lincoln and His World: The Rise to National Prominence, 1843-1853* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2011), 337.

p. 270 – reversed that decision
Springfield State Journal-Register, 2 March 1994.

p. 270 – passages of unimportant gossip
Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (2 vols.; Springfield: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1925-1933), 1:iii.

p. 271 – to her irresistible propensity to steal

Michael Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side: John Hay's Civil War Correspondence and Selected Writings* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 186-187.

p. 271 – as “Senate president”

Greeley to Beman Brockway, New York, 12 March 1861, Greeley Papers, Library of Congress; J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg* (2 vols.; New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945), 1:313.

p. 271 – of Mr. Lincoln’s existence

Carl Schurz, interview with Ida Tarbell, 6 November 1897, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 271 – consorting with shady characters

Michael Burlingame, “Mary Todd Lincoln’s Unethical Conduct as First Lady,” in Burlingame, ed., *At Lincoln's Side*, 185-203.

p. 271 – her children and domestic servants

Burlingame, *Inner World of Lincoln*, 273-280.

p. 271 – he was doing justice to her

Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 37, 404.

p. 272 – standard work in the field

Jean H. Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 330-331.

p. 272 – the core of politics

Ibid., 134-135, 228.

p. 273 – male-dominated social order

Ann Firor Scott, review of *Mary Todd Lincoln* by Jean Baker, *American Historical Review* 94 (1989): 220-221.

p. 273 – full psychological complexity

Strozier, “The Psychology of Mary Todd Lincoln,” *Psychohistory Review* 17 (1988): 23.

p. 275 – misidentified as being on a page of a book

Donna McCreary, post of 12 September 2017, Lincoln Discussion Symposium online, thread on “The True Mary Lincoln by Betty Ellison,” post #8, <http://rogerjnorton.com>.

p. 275 - evidence other than opinion

Schwartz, “Is a Psychobiography of Mary Todd Lincoln Possible?” *Psychohistory Review* 17 (1988): 27.

p. 276 – set up and knocked down

Ibid., 26, 28, 31.

p. 276 – or she is writing about

Betty B. Ellison to the editor of an unidentified newspaper, Lexington, n.d., unidentified clipping in the Lincoln Research Vertical Files, Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

p. 276 – a person and historical character

Betty Boles Ellison, *The True Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2014); Emerson, *Mary Lincoln for the Ages*, 21, 79.

p. 277 – Lee’s father, Francis Preston Blair

Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 228, citing Elbert Smith, *Francis Preston Blair* (New York: Free Press, 1980), 313.

p. 277 – long married life like theirs.

Elizabeth Blair Lee to Samuel Phillips Lee, Washington, 19 April 1865, Virginia Jeans Laas, ed., *Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 497.

p. 278 – about their relationship in Springfield

Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 228.

p. 279 – report their findings as accurately as possible

<https://www.historians.org/jobs-and-professional-development/statements-standards-and-guidelines-of-the-discipline/statement-on-standards-of-professional-conduct#Scholarship>

p. 279 – blind eye to too much

Tom Peet and David Keck, *Reading Lincoln: An Annotated Bibliography* (Self-published, CreateSpace, 2014), 248.

p. 279 – “far more important . . . than it was.”

Emerson, *Mary Lincoln for the Ages*, 24.

p. 279 – finally to the Presidency

Ross, *The President’s Wife, Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1973), 13.

p. 279 – action when he seemed to lag

Ibid., 337.

p. 279 – vanity, in the Biblical sense of the word

Ibid., 342.

p. 279 - scant evidence to support it

Burkhimer, “The Reports of the Lincolns’ Political Partnership Have Been Greatly Exaggerated,” in *Mary Lincoln Enigma*, ed. Burkheimer and Williams, 219-236.

p. 279 – aloof from her judgments and petty hatreds

Strozier, “Psychology of Mary Todd Lincoln,” 21.

p. 280 – designated as wise, or based on good judgment

W. A. Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln: A Study of Her Personality and Her Influence on Lincoln*, 334.

p. 280 – render it no more satisfactory than Baker’s earlier work

Clinton, *Mrs. Lincoln: A Life* (New York: Harper, 2009); Emerson, *Mary Lincoln for the Ages*, 21, 75.

p. 280 - little on the Lincolns’ marriage

Winkle, *Abraham and Mary Lincoln* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013.)

p. 280 – contains nothing new or groundbreaking,

Pratt, *Mary Lincoln: Southern Girl, Northern Woman* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Emerson, *Mary Lincoln for the Ages*, 21.

p. 280 – though poorly researched and argued

Daniel Mark Epstein, *The Lincolns: Portrait of a Marriage* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2008).

p. 281 - She was a strong political partner for him.

Author’s comment on the Amazon.com page advertising *The Lincolns*.

p. 281 - Lincoln had read *Leaves of Grass*

Lincoln and Whitman: Parallel Lives in Civil War Washington (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004)

p. 281 – a thoroughly discredited memoir

Michael Burlingame, “A Hard-Hearted Conscious Liar and an *Oily Hypocrite*”: Henry B. Rankin’s Reliability as a Lincoln Informant,” in Weik, *Real Lincoln*, ed. Burlingame, 389-398.

p. 281 – best biography of Mary yet written

Emerson, *Mary Lincoln for the Ages*, 26.

p. 282 - “envy was a major” component of her personality

Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln: A Study of Her Personality and Her Influence on Lincoln* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932), 7, 301, 302. \$\$\$

p. 282 - Lexington shaped the Todds

Berry, *House of Abraham: Lincoln and the Todds, A Family Divided by War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007); Stephen Berry and Angela Esco Elder, eds., *Practical Strangers: The Courtship Correspondence of Nathaniel Dawson and Elodie Todd, Sister of Mary Todd* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017).

p. 283 – husband’s advancement as her own

Fleischner, *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly*, 182.

p. 283 - promise if she wanted him to do so
Wilson, *Honor's Voice*, 215-292.

p. 284 – in order to preserve her honor.
Temple, *Abraham Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet* (Mahomet, Illinois: Mayhaven, 1995), 27.