
p. vii - withheld the pardon

p. viii - into disgrace

p. viii - of Christ

p. ix – every woman

p. ix – American romance

p. ix – pioneer feminist

p. ix – legend of the happy marriage

p. ix – apologists for Mary Lincoln

p. ix – he deserved it
*Lincoln Lore*, no. 15 (February 1937).

p. ix – gloomy as the grave
p. ix – wicked woman

p. ix – of Springfield generally

p. xi – other contemporaries is too overwhelming

p. x – best to Say nothing

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

p. xi – hate her
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

p. xii - no affection
Elizabeth Edwards, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, 443.

p. 3 – John Todd Stuart

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

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

p. 4 – to polish

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

p. 5 – “How clean these women look!”

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

p. 5 – in Springfield, she said

p. 5 – lacking in polish
An unidentified woman interviewed by Ida Tarbell in 1895, Tarbell Papers, Allegheny College.

p. 5 - too green

p. 5 - tall and gawky

p. 5 - much for books

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

p. 6 – of hers with Mr. Lincoln

p. 6 – whether or no
Sarah Rickard interviewed by Nellie Crandall Sanford, Kansas City, Missouri, *Star*, 10 February 1907.

p. 7 – wanted L. terribly

p. 7 – Springfield elite

p. 7 – of the town

p. 7 – to sharp rejoinder
Octavia Roberts, “‘We All Knew Abr’ham,’” *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 4 (1946): 26.

p. 7 – rather pleasant

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

p. 7 – under his protection

p. 8 – in his makeup

p. 8 – his ‘child wife’
Lincoln to his wife, Washington, 12 June 1848, Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 1:478


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.


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

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


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 Burkheimer, 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. 8 – if I consent
always “a father” to her
acts of a child
so trivial
wrote him
wanted him to do so
and rejected
unloved and unlovable
benevolent father
going on below
hysterical outbursts

p. 10 – did not agree

p. 10 – Mentelle’s Academy

p. 10 – of a stepmother

p. 10 – very dull lives

p. 11 – with their stepmother

p. 11 – conventional young stepmother

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


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.

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


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

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


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

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


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.

*Llinois State Journal* (Springfield), 22 May 1875.

*Llinois State Journal* (Springfield), 10 October 1867.

*Llinois State Journal* (Springfield), 14 October 1867.

*Llinois State Journal* (Springfield), 10 October 1867.
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

p. 14 – her husband’s death

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

p. 15 – crazy streak

p. 15 – clung to them

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

p. 15 – under his care

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

p. 15 – went to War

p. 16 – inhuman manner

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 assylums
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

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.
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

p. 17 – away from business

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

p. 19 – the very opposite

p. 19 – in everything
Wilson and Davis, eds., Herndon’s Lincoln, 134.

p. 19 – discussing their marriage

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

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”

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

p. 21 – heart to me
Speed to Herndon, Louisville, 30 November 1866, Wilson and Davis, eds., Herndon’s Informants, 430.

p. 21 – Ninian Edwards

p. 21 – to bring them
Brown, “Springfield Society before the Civil War,” 33-34.

p. 21 – classes at Alton

p. 21 – who knew her

p. 21 – one young lady

p. 21 – in love with her

p. 22 – was the case


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.

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.


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. 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

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

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

p. 25 – discovered it

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

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

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’

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

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

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

p. 31 – so interesting

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 anything 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

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

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
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

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

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

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

p. 35 – well done by

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
"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

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

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

p. 39 - fallen out

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

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

p. 40 – bound to her
Speed, interview with Herndon, [1865-1866], Wilson and Davis, eds., Herndon’s Informants, 475.

p. 40 – to Miss Todd

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

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

p. 41 – a big wedding

p. 41 – to marry her

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

p. 41 – a respectable woman
p. 42 – charged with dishonor

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

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

p. 42 – be defeated

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

p. 43 – that was all

p. 43 – that of friendship
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

p. 43 – his prayers
Helm, *Mary Wife of Lincoln*, 84, 80-81.

p. 43 – to Kiss her

p. 43 – indicated as much
Wilson, “Keeping Lincoln’s Secrets,” 88.

p. 43 – many a woman

p. 43 – approach of women

p. 44 – BUT I WON’T

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

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

p. 45 – the head in

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

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

p. 45 – with the women

p. 46 – woman alone

p. 46 – lady’s chamber

p. 46 – profound wonder

p. 49 – connubial felicity

p. 49 – William Wallace

p. 50 – in this line

p. 50 – bite at all

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

p. 51 – out of the room

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

p. 52 – put him down

p. 53 – his wife Maria

p. 53 – far into the night

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
p. 54 – head too small

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

p. 54 - sake of her husband
Leithold, *And This Is Our Heritage*, 80.

p. 54 – we were acquainted

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

p. 54 – of the day
Mary Lincoln to George D. Ramsay, Washington, 20 July 1864, *ibid.*, 177.

p. 54 – bilious headaches

p. 55 – things in general

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

p. 55 – home all day
Leithold, And This Is Our Heritage, 82.

p. 55 - many lonely hours

p. 57 – kind of work

p. 57 – and his wife

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.”

p. 58 – philosophically -

p. 58 – of the babies

p. 58 – of the ballroom

p. 58 – there a minute

p. 58 – breakfast meat

p. 58 – basket on his arm

p. 59 – caring for them

p. 59 – about her children

p. 59 – you get back

p. 59 – of the neighborhood

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

p. 60 – storm was over
Helm, *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, 120.

p. 60 – times of trial

p. 60 – cook stove

p. 60 – yes, Mary

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

p. 61 – caused hard feelings

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

p. 62 – submissive as possible
Recollections of Mrs. Mary Gaughan of 146 Cornelia Street, Springfield, quoted in “Lincoln’s Domestic Life,” Chicago Times-Herald, 30 August 1896.


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


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.

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).


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.
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

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

p. 64 – fifteen years

p. 64 – did her good

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

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 Narcisa 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

p. 66 – in everyday life

p. 66 – and girls too

p. 66 – the very cradle

p. 67 – and more too
p. 67 – he laughed

p. 67 – get ice again

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

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

p. 68 – sugar bowl

p. 68 – collect $25

p. 68 – goodly amount

p. 68 – needs it badly

p. 69 – feed the babies with

p. 69 – would not take it
p. 69 – would be paid for

p. 69 – from the Lincolns
*Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), 10 May 1892.

p. 69 – sent it over

p. 69 – cold, aristocratic blood

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

p. 70 – in a huff

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.


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

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

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


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.

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.”

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

p. 72 – male partners physically

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* [http://web.csulb.edu/~mfiebert/assault.htm](http://web.csulb.edu/~mfiebert/assault.htm).

p. 72 – wives feel guilty

p. 72 – I am meek

p. 73 – things move lively

p. 73 – eyes of the world

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

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

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

p. 74 – in the Lincoln family

p. 74 – shall be rich

p. 74 – be sorry for

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

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

p. 76 – throughout life

p. 76 – usually regretted

p. 76 – had him whipped

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

p. 77 – whipped them

p. 77 – mud puddle

p. 77 – affectionate treatment

p. 77 – burned some of her eldest son’s toys
p. 77 – no reply

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
p. 79 – rots as quickly

p. 79 - DeWitt Smith

p. 79 – terrible nuisances

p. 79 – to theirs

p. 79 – own home

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

p. 80 – her husband had

p. 80 – visit in 1864

p. 80 – to pets

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

p. 80 – for an hour

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

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

p. 81 – to obtain one

p. 81 – their esteem

p. 82 - delicately & indirectly

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.
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.


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.

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


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


p. 83 - his wife makes him

p. 83 – knew no rest

p. 83 – distant concerns

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

p. 84 – bucketsful of tears
*Ibid*.

p. 85 – except at meals

p. 85 – others say nothing

p. 85 – Tompkins long since
Giddings to Lincoln, Jefferson, Ohio, 2 July 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 85 – lost to history
p. 85 – room by myself

p. 85 – miss her companionship
Morse to Albert J. Beveridge, Boston, 12 August 1925, Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress.

p. 85 - our dear Bobby

p. 86 – consent to go

p. 86 – territorial governorship

p. 87 – the early 1850s

p. 87 – tirades against her husband

p. 88 - and “hen pecked”

p. 88 – gloomy as the grave

p. 88 – conduct to L.

p. 88 – to hear it
p. 88 – perfect termagant

p. 88 – almost a shrew

p. 89 - not at all commendable

p. 89 — as if in hysterics

p. 89 – an awful temper

p. 89 – of marital strife

p. 89 – well nigh distracted

p. 89 – some example of it

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

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

p. 90 – here all summer

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

p. 90 – immediate surrender

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

p. 91 – softly after him

p. 91 – paper to be left

p. 92 - was his heaven

p. 92 – towards the south

p. 92 – term in course

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

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

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.

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

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

p. 94 – at home

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

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

p. 94 – kindness and affection

p. 94 – kind of thing

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

p. 95 – we have risen

p. 95 – half my time

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

p. 96 – happier spirits

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

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

p. 97 – Robert had occupied

p. 97 – promptly fainted

p. 98 – a day or two

p. 98 – not well today

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

p. 98 – unpleasant to him
Reminiscences of McCoy, Wichita, Kansas, *Daily Eagle*, 12 February 1901, p. 3.

p. 98 – but Lincoln crazy

p. 99 – take him home

p. 99 – handsome residence than hers

p. 99 – justified a more pretentious house

p. 99 - half story to a full one

p. 99 - adjoining dwellings

p. 99 - pretentious residences of Springfield

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

p. 100 – a year’s sowing

p. 100 – or wastefulness

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

p. 100 – as well as last

p. 101 – money for luxuries

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

p. 101 – had few attractions

p. 101 – seem well pleased

p. 102 – utter confusion

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 – power of her will –

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 –

p. 105 – and “unpopular”

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

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

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

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

p. 107 - her as “a dangerous element.”

p. 107 - very helpful to Judge Douglas

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

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

p. 108 – Chicago convention nominated than her husband

p. 108 - secured against bursting with iron hoops

p. 108 - ambition may be fully gratified in November

p. 109 - Go up and tell her yourself

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

p. 109 - came sweeping into the parlor

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

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

p. 110 - to the harsh winter weather

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 Burkhimer, “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 Burkhimer (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 232.

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

p. 110 - make purchases for the White House –  

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  

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

p. 111 - Seward in the Cabinet! Never  

p. 111 - that Abolition sneak Seward  

p. 111 - invaded his capacious mouth  

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. 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

p. 112 - contempt for his manners

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

p. 113 - for unexpectedly prolonging her absence

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.


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 - 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

p. 120 - bring him into disgrace

p. 120 - the selection of public officials
Henry B. Stanton, Random Recollections (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887), 221.

p. 120 - the female president

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

p. 121 - in the gift of the Executive
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

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).

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

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

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

p. 124 - for a Custom House appointment

p. 124 - interest in the Post to Godwin

p. 124 - mercenary tastes

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

p. 125 - committed great frauds

p. 125 - debauched by bribes
Congressional Globe, 38th Congress, 1st session, 2410-2411 (23 May 1864).

p. 125 - promoted by their removal

p. 126 - notwithstanding any newspaper assaults

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

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

p. 127 - James’s bank throughout Illinois

p. 127 - one of Frederick James’s branches

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

p. 129 - appointed to a clerkship

p. 129 – tooled for decades

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

p. 130 - too arbitrary on my part

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

p. 131 - including Mr. [George] Opdyke

p. 131 - by no means pleasantly

p. 131 - and other clients

p. 131 - won her kind regards

p. 131 - luxuriously fitted-up

p. 131 - attentive to her ladyship

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

p. 132 - unworthy of a public trust

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

p. 133 - his own candidate instead
New York Journal and Advertiser, 2 August 1898.

p. 134 - relationship between Denison and the First Lady

p. 134 - associate, William Marston

p. 134 - five times greater than Denison’s

p. 134 - into the government’s coffers

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  

p. 135 - as being all right  

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

p. 135 - consequence and condescension  

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  

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

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

p. 137 - Congress in early August

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

p. 138 - too great an intimacy” with her

p. 138 - go into details
Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd session, 5397 (9 July 1870).

p. 138 - had “cleared away.”

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
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

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

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

p. 141 - Knew this and Knew it well

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

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

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

p. 143 - “falsely accused.”

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

p. 143 - order to make *more money*

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

p. 144 - transferred from Springfield

p. 144 - you remain at Springfield

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

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

p. 145 - “hard battle”

p. 145 - out his own family

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
vigorously on her behalf

offices among our relatives

must needs wait
Peck to Lyman Trumbull, Chicago, 27 August 1861, Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.

only to have the Senate reject him.

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.

hours in the Old Capitol Prison

caused Lincoln great anxiety
Berry, House of Abraham, 157-165.

controls her husband

at the Boston Custom House

p. 148 - would ‘corner’ him

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, Man on a Hill Top, 245.

p. 150 - opposite natures

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

p. 151 - interfere to prevent

p. 151 - bills of the former occupants

p. 151 - propensity to steal

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

p. 152 - consisted of human trash

p. 152 - an army officer’s commission

p. 152 - at Mrs Lincoln’s demand

p. 152 - slept in a separate apartment

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

p. 153 - about that matter

p. 153 - I'll pay Gauthier

p. 153 - the manure dinner
*Eunice Tripler: Some Notes of Her Personal Recollections* (New York: Grafton Press, 1910), 139-140.

p. 153 - occasioned scandal
p. 154 - cover the misappropriation

p. 154 - connected with the Executive Mansion

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 McKerichar 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

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

p. 155 - three letters of Mrs. Lincoln

p. 155 - defrauding the Government

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

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’s 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

p. 157 - White House cutlery

p. 157 – lost the sale

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

p. 158 - thwarted her attempts

p. 158 - confiding President

p. 158 - produce an explosion

p. 158 - mortified and humiliated

p. 158 - wife’s fingers out of his hair

p. 159 - committed to an insane asylum

p. 159 - track on us, don’t they

p. 160 - as long as you can

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

p. 162 - in the same house

p. 162 - cold shoulder

p. 162 - potential friends and allies

p. 163 - speak of going home.

p. 163 - on her drives

p. 163 - capacity for elegant leisure

p. 163 - and editor of the New York Herald

p. 163 - diplomatic courier for the administration

p. 164 - accustomed only to Western society

p. 164 - the cosmopolite Wikoff

p. 164 - him a delightful companion
New York Tribune, 3 May 1884.

p. 164 - the impudence of the devil

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

p. 164 - a national disgrace

p. 165 - thing to be at large

p. 165 – great ass and nothing else

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

p. 165 - to be easily flattered

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

p. 166 - command of the Army of the Potomac

p. 166 - people, through all eternity

p. 166 - accepting a bribe from Wikoff

p. 166 - to spare him disgrace

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

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;

p. 168 - those meetings in his domain

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

p. 169 - kind, true or fictitious

p. 169 - speculators and adventures

p. 169 - with the Herald’s abuse

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

p. 171 - and sacrificing so much

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

p. 171 - prince when he had money

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

p. 172 - a rival for her affections

p. 172 - boys were seriously ill

p. 172 - guests at the White House

p. 172 - exorbitant price to the Government
Poore, Reminiscences, 2:310.

p. 172 - for whom he applies

p. 173 - any extent required

p. 173 - too much for his services

p. 173 - Yes; Mrs. Lincoln

p. 173 - to make him respectable

p. 173 - high and noble aims

p. 174 - at the Herald villa

p. 174 - her association with Bennett

p. 174 - invites to the White House, Mrs. Bennett

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

p. 175 - are the natural consequence
Chicago *Tribune*, 31 August 1861.

p. 175 - her manners, is insulting
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

p. 176 - gala party at the White House

p. 176 - all who love their country

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
and evidently appreciated

immediately on her return to Washington

to guide the Helm

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.”

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.

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.”

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.

comble [height] of fashion

for other important customers

p. 178 - accompanied her to the door

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

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

p. 179 - to sue if she did not pay up

p. 179 - to pay if he is defeated
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 148-149.

p. 179 - inconsolable, “*crying like a child*”

p. 179 - Stewart's, in New York
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 148-149.
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.

Records of the company as summarized in Gayle T. Harris, “Mary Lincoln’s Shopping Spree,” The Lincolniann 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.


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.

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.

Mary Lincoln to [A. T. Stewart], Washington, 16 April 1864, Turner and Turner, eds., Mary Todd Lincoln, 174-175.

James Gilmore to Sydney Howard Gay, May 18, 1864, Gay Papers, Columbia University.

p. 181 - contraband army news, gets afloat

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.

p. 182 - the movements of the party

p. 182 - figure and heard his stentorian voice

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

p. 182 - regardless of public or private rights

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

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

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

p. 184 - pleasant moments of his life
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 204.

p. 184 - duty to electioneer for him

p. 184 - advance whatever money I require

p. 185 - paid him $2.50

p. 185 - very mean

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

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

p. 186 - surveyor of the port of New York

p. 186 - blush in her behalf

p. 187 - from corrupt contractors
Cincinnati *Commercial*, n.d., copied *ibid.*

p. 187 - corrupt disposal of patronage

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

p. 187 - nothing was ever done

p. 187 - such abominable furniture

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

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
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.

A more prudent lady


I think I should get it


Glitter was her only god


Was never better illustrated


Exceedingly mortifying


Live with gentlefolk


Comfort of wearing them

New York correspondence by “Metropolitan,” 9 October, Boston *Post*, 14 October 1867.

Of it on the street

Washington correspondence, 2 October 1867, Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, 7 October 1867.
Williamson with the First Lady
Williamson interview, New York Press, 14 April 1889.

paid him little or nothing

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.

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).

- a plurality of votes
- Ibid., 23 (diary entry for 11 March 1861).

meanness is beyond belief
Crawford, ed., Russell’s Civil War, 162 (diary entry for 3 November 1861).

and are poor
Keckley, Behind the Scenes, 85.

than her honored spouse

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.

the regular market rates
Wheeling, West Virginia, Daily Intelligencer, 3 April 1883.

the back door of the White House
Ames, Ten Years in Washington, 239.

sacrifices taste to thrift
p. 194 - the wines as well

p. 194 - censure knew no bounds
*Ames, Ten Years in Washington*, 239.

p. 194 - receptions are the most so

p. 194 - should take them in hand

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 “pennyless.”
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 pennyless.” *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

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

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
p. 198 - time of mourning like this

p. 198 - her gaudy coach

p. 198 - her damnable airs

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

p. 199 - ignorance, vulgarity and meanness

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

p. 199 - shawls, china, and silver plate
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

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

p. 200 - “Mrs. Lincoln’s secretary

p. 200 - personally knew and liked

p. 200 - Dolley Madison so popular

p. 201 - opportunity is thrown away
*Ladies Repository*, February 1862, p. 128.

p. 201 - woman termed her haughty

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

p. 201 - and his wife both
Indianapolis *Journal*, 12 February 1862.

p. 201 - a baseless parvenu

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*

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

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

p. 203 - opinions were biting

p. 203 - judgment was totally wanting
An unidentified woman quoted in Harriet E. Monroe, Abraham Lincoln: New Stories from Unpublished Sources; An Interview in Deshabille--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

p. 204 - by her “bitter prejudices.”

p. 204 - about my husband’s affairs

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

p. 205 - her position and her heart

p. 205 - hardly control myself

p. 205 - And do you keep your health, sir

p. 205 - not very ‘quick witted’

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

p. 205 - she would be quite agreeable

p. 205 – in every sentence
Russell, My Diary North and South, 23 (entry for 28 March 1861).

p. 206 - was not handsome

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

p. 206 - an old dray horse

p. 206 - been pretty when young

p. 206 - disgusted all observers

p. 206 - representative of fashion

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
p. 207 - ‘French fool’ fashion

p. 207 - and wears fake jewelry

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

p. 207 - shown to admiring gaze

p. 208 - the top of her head

p. 208 - some over-grown Ophelia

p. 208 - place the same night

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

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

p. 210 - wouldn’t listen to me

p. 210 - a more prudent lady

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

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
(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

p. 211 - Queen Must Dance

p. 211 - are wanted in Washington

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

p. 212 - to the President
Indianapolis *Journal*, 8 February 1862.

p. 212 - hour for such an immortality
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.

Mrs. Lincoln was to repeat such extravagant, self-pitying mourning for years after Lincoln’s death.

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.

Maria M. C. Hall Richards, “Lincoln Cheers His Sick Boy,” *The Delineator*, February 1921, pp. 11, 52.

Maria [M. C.] Hall to her friend Mary, [Washington], 27 March 1862, typescript, misfiled under Rebecca Pomroy, Schlesinger Library, Harvard University.

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.


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 - 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

p. 214 - our wishes to be complied with

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

p. 215 - Mary’s coming

p. 215 - earlier helped care for Tad

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

p. 216 - stay of her old age
Keckley, *Behind the Scenes*, 104.

p. 216 - to consult spiritualists

p. 217 - left in her old age

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

p. 217 - in search of a job

p. 217 - much to her delight
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

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 sausgee (sausage)
_Rural New Yorker_ (Rochester), 30 August 1862.

p. 219 - artless old muff

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

p. 220 - to the White House

p. 220 - land in a lunatic asylum

p. 221 - myself very much, he added

p. 221 - unconvincing demonstration at his office

p. 221 - are counted by the hundreds
p. 222 - old Capitol prison

p. 222 - evidence is inconclusive

p. 222 - testimony is suspect

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

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

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

p. 224 - herself and the White House
Ames, Ten Years in Washington, 237.

p. 224 - she lost her child

p. 224 - our beloved President

p. 224 - sick and wounded soldiers

p. 225 - democratic, American men and women

p. 225 - Vermont, and West Point
Temple, “Mary Todd Lincoln’s Travels,” 190-191.

p. 225 - enterprize you mentioned

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

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

p. 226 - some of the officers’ wives

p. 226 - to the miseries of poor humanity

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

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

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.
during my stay in Washington

to have us all seated first

rather than his wife

than the one he had previously named

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.

is President yet

with a will (Seward also.)

were dead against him
Greeley to Beman Brockway, New York, 12 March 1861, Greeley Papers, Library of Congress.

when it is too late

you could prevent them
Blair to John A. Andrew, Silver Spring, 19 November 1864, Andrew Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

general that has been tried

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

p. 230 - diplomatic considerations unfitted her

p. 231 - experience rose above herself

p. 231 - fatal lackings in her case

p. 231 - Mistress of the White House

p. 232 - belies that characterization

p. 232 - with him in this matter

p. 232 - showed them “marked attention.”

p. 233 – to the First Lady’s side.

p. 233 - an organ of the Lincoln administration
twenty blacks managed to gain entry

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).

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.

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.

a few days afterward

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,” *Chatauquan*, 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

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, Swissdale, 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

p. 236 - may have passed between them

p. 236 - cannot do otherwise

p. 237 - the constitution to destroy slavery

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

p. 237 - her conservative opinions

p. 237 - hates the angular Yankees
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

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

p. 238 - criticizing her husband

p. 238 - $10 worth of groceries
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.


Colman, Reminiscences, 52.


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

Rosetta Wells in Washington, They Knew Lincoln, 77, 133 (quote on 77).


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

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

p. 240 - reason to doubt this story

p. 240 - defensive biography of Mary Lincoln

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

p. 243 - White House in silence

p. 243 - Lincoln on several occasions

p. 244 - saying not a word
Williams told this to a friend, C. E. S. Wood. Wood’s tribute to Williams in Multonomah, Oregon, Bar Association, In Memoriam: The Honorable George H. Williams, 1823-1910 (Portland: Multonomah Bar Association, 1910), 23.

p. 244 - or fairer than herself

p. 244 - was compelled to [undergo.]

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

p. 245 - rather impatient of

p. 246 - utmost end of the house

p. 246 - returning her previous call

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

p. 247 - and keep her there

p. 247 - will make her keep hers

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 Lorrilard 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.”


p. 249 - peace was restored


p. 249 - and ordinary comfort


p. 250 - until I invite you


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/](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 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
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

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 repeopled 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

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

p. 259 - unlikely that Booth could succeed
Chernow, *Grant*, 528.

p. 261 - not responsible for her acts

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

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

p. 263 - his spirit in another way

p. 263 - to him when it came

p. 263 - hard life for him

p. 263 - which was all tired

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.”

p. 265 – Jason Emerson
*Mary Lincoln for the Ages* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2019)

p. 265 – bear it

p. 266 – Rodney O. Davis

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

p. 267 – under his direction

p. 267 – detested each other

p. 267 – had never liked

p. 267 – “verged on hatred”

p. 268 – charged with dishonor

p. 268 – tendentious, hostile, outdated approach

p. 268 - utilized Donald’s work

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
p. 268 - of the Lincolns’ “congeniality.”
Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 133, 141.

p. 269 – again when he returned

p. 269 – a member of the President’s household

p. 269 – upon her for political purposes
Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 266.

p. 269 – satirizing her regal ways

p. 269 – has given me a world of trouble

p. 269 – the happiness of their marriage
Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 100.

p. 270 – bring him into disgrace

p. 270 – loyal, loving, and admiring

p. 270 – reversed that decision

p. 270 – passages of unimportant gossip

p. 271 – to her irresistible propensity to steal

p. 271 – as “Senate president”
Greeley to Beman Brockway, New York, 12 March 1861, Greeley Papers, Library of Congress;

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

p. 271 – her children and domestic servants

p. 271 – he was doing justice to her
Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, 37, 404.

p. 272 – standard work in the field

p. 272 – the core of politics

p. 273 – male-dominated social order

p. 273 – full psychological complexity

p. 275 – misidentified as being on a page of a book

p. 275 - evidence other than opinion

p. 276 – set up and knocked down

p. 276 – or she is writing about

p. 276 – a person and historical character

p. 277 – Lee’s father, Francis Preston Blair

p. 277 – long married life like theirs.

p. 278 – about their relationship in Springfield

p. 279 – report their findings as accurately as possible

p. 279 – blind eye to too much

p. 279 – “far more important . . . than it was.”

p. 279 – finally to the Presidency

p. 279 – action when he seemed to lag

p. 279 – vanity, in the Biblical sense of the word

p. 279 - scant evidence to support it

p. 279 – aloof from her judgments and petty hatreds
p. 280 – designated as wise, or based on good judgment

p. 280 – render it no more satisfactory than Baker’s earlier work

p. 280 - little on the Lincolns’ marriage

p. 280 – contains nothing new or groundbreaking,

p. 280 – though poorly researched and argued

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*

p. 281 – a thoroughly discredited memoir

p. 281 – best biography of Mary yet written

p. 282 - “envy was a major” component of her personality

p. 282 - Lexington shaped the Todds

p. 283 – husband’s advancement as her own
p. 283 - promise if she wanted him to do so

p. 284 – in order to preserve her honor.