

JOHN G. NICOLAY

A. Lincoln. 19 Nov. 1863. Gettysburg Address. Notes.
(not used in "Personal Traits")

item 80

Per. 65.

LINCOLN'S FAMOUS GETTYSBURG SPEECH.

Ward Lamon Says It Was Unappreciated by the Audience When Delivered.

A day or two before the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg Mr. Lincoln told me that he would be expected to make a speech on the occasion; that he was extremely busy, with no time for preparation; and that he greatly feared that he would not be able to acquit himself with credit, much less to fill the measure of public expectation. From his hat (the usual receptacle of his private notes and memoranda) he drew a page of foolscap, closely written, which he read to me, first remarking that it was a memorandum of what he intended to say. It proved to be in substance, and, I think, in *hæc verba*, what was printed as his Gettysburg speech.

After its delivery he expressed deep regret that he had not prepared it with greater care. He said to me on the stand immediately after concluding the speech: "Lamon, that speech won't soar! It is a flat failure, and the people are disappointed." He seemed more than ordinarily concerned about what the people would think of it. I was deeply impressed by his frank and regretful condemnation of the effort, and especially by his manner of expressing that regret, and my own impression was deepened by the fact that the orator of the day, Mr. Everett, and Mr. Seward both coincided with Mr. Lincoln in his unfavorable view of its merits.

The occasion was solemn, impressive, and grandly historic. The people stood spell-bound, it is true. The vast throng was hushed and awed into profound silence while Mr. Lincoln read his brief address; but it seemed that this silence and attention to his words arose more from the solemnity of the ceremonies and the awful scenes which gave occasion to them than from anything the President said. On the platform from which Mr. Lincoln made his address, and only a moment after its conclusion, Mr. Seward turned to Mr. Everett and asked him what he thought of the President's speech. Mr. Everett replied: "It was not what I expected from him; I am disappointed." In his turn Mr. Everett asked: "What do you think of it, Mr. Seward?" The response was: "He has made a failure, and I am sorry for it; his speech is not equal to him." Mr. Seward then turned to me and asked: "Mr. Marshal, what do you think of it?" "I am sorry to say it does not impress me as one of his great speeches." In the face of these facts it has been repeatedly published that this speech was received with great éclat by the audience; that amid the tears, sobs, and cheers it produced in the excited throng the orator of the day, Mr. Everett, turned impulsively to Mr. Lincoln, grasped his hand, and exclaimed: "I congratulate you on your success!" adding in a transport of enthusiasm: "Ah, Mr. President, how gladly would I give all my hundred pages to be the author of your twenty lines!"

All this unworthy gush, it is needless to say, is purely apocryphal. Nothing of the kind occurred. It is an afterthought—merely rhetorical bombast—gotten up to serve the purpose of baseless adulation. It is a slander on Mr. Everett, an injustice to Mr. Lincoln, and a falsification of history. Mr. Everett could not have used the words attributed to him, in the face of his openly-expressed condemnation of Mr. Lincoln's speech, without subjecting himself to the just charge of being a toady and a hypocrite, and he was neither the one nor the other. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lincoln's great Gettysburg speech fell on the vast audience like a wet blanket. At that time his reputation was confessedly on the wane. The politicians of the country—those of his

own party, together with a large part of the press—were casting about for an available candidate to be his successor, while a great majority of the people were for him. I state it as a fact, and without fear of contradiction, that this famous Gettysburg speech was not received or commented upon with anything like hearty favor by the people, the politicians, or the press of the United States until after the death of its author. Its marvelous perfection and its intrinsic excellence as a masterpiece of English composition seemed to have escaped the scrutiny of the most scholarly critics and the wisest heads of that day on this side of the Atlantic. That discovery was made, we must regretfully see, by distinguished writers on the other side. The *London Spectator*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Edinburg Review*, and other English journals were the first to discover, or at least to proclaim, the classical merits of the Gettysburg speech. It was then that we began to realize that it was indeed a masterpiece, and it then dawned upon many minds that we had entertained an angel unawares who had left us unappreciated.

WARD LAMON.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG SPEECH.

We print elsewhere an extract from an article by Col. Ward H. Lamon, containing some disclosures as to the effect of Lincoln's famous Gettysburg speech on the occasion of the consecration of the National Cemetery. The article will strike the public with astonishment. Mr. Lamon was the marshal of the day and besides a warm personal friend of Lincoln, so that he was in a position to know the circumstances attending the delivery of the speech, as well as the immediate effect it produced. As will be seen by the extract referred to, Mr. Lamon claims that Mr. Lincoln himself was not satisfied with it and regretted he had not prepared it with more care; that he said to Lamon immediately after its delivery: "Lamon, that speech won't soar! It is a flat failure and the people are disappointed." That both Everett (who was the orator of the day) and Seward expressed their disappointment; that it fell upon the audience like a wet blanket; and that its great beauty was not recognized until after its author's death, English journals being the first to recognize its excellence.

Before commenting upon Mr. Lamon's astonishing disclosures it may be well to reproduce the little speech itself. It is a masterpiece which cannot be printed too often. After Mr. Everett had ended his two hours' oration and musical exercises had followed, Mr. Lincoln said:

Four score and ten years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are all engaged in a great civil war testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

While not assenting to Col. Lamon's claim that English journals were the first to discover the excellence and beauty of the "little classic" after Mr. Lincoln's death, he is undoubtedly correct in the assertion that it was not at first recognized as a masterpiece. On the day of its delivery, Nov. 19, 1863, it is not remarkable that it made no effect upon its auditors. It was a cold, windy, blustering day. There were between 40,000 and 50,000 persons assembled, only the merest fraction of whom could hear any speaker out of doors. Mr. Lincoln was preceded by Mr. Everett, who spoke two hours and four minutes. Other exercises before Mr. Lincoln spoke had consumed more than three hours, and the audience was tired out. Under such circumstances it is not at all remarkable that the speech passed without any recognition of its excellence. When it appeared in type it was overshadowed by the huge dimensions of Mr. Everett's, which spread over many columns and overran pages, while Mr. Lincoln's little stickful or two seemed insignificant by the side of the great New England orator's production. It is even doubtful whether many persons, exhausted with the Everett speech, read Mr. Lincoln's at all at the time. It is also to be remembered that it was a time of great battles and excitement over the draft, and that shortly after this dedication came Lincoln's message with the amnesty proclamation, which gave the papers plenty of material for discussion. Unquestionably there were those, however, who recognized its beauty. Few scholars could resist being touched at once by its classical simplicity, grace, and repose, as well as by the sturdiness and compactness of its well-rounded periods. But it was "caviar to the General" for some time. The man himself was so great, his deeds were so great, and such great things were expected from him that no attention was paid to his little acts, and the Gettysburg speech looked like one of the smallest of them. But today this hastily prepared address, covering a single sheet of paper, has been recognized the world over as a masterpiece. In common with the inaugural addresses of 1861 and 1865, the one so loving and tender in its appeal to the South, the other so majestic in warning and so exalted in patriotism, it will hold its place always as one of the most finished, though one of the briefest, specimens of American oratory. Though the recognition came late, this is not to be regretted. Tardiness of popular recognition always has followed the work of genius. It needed time and distance to measure the real ability and appreciate the true greatness of Abraham Lincoln.

Per. W

"Boston Herald",
July 21, 1887.

— An editorial writer of the *Boston Herald* contributes the following about Lincoln's Gettysburg oration: "The writer hereof was present, sitting on the platform, within ten feet of President Lincoln. The oration of Mr. Everett, though not his best production by any means, was able and graceful, delivered with the full force of the orator's ripened art. At its close President Lincoln stood up, holding carelessly in his hand a sheet of note-paper, and delivered his speech without hesitation, in a high, clear tenor voice, which was heard for a long distance over the hushed assembly. Several times the silence was broken by spontaneous applause, and the wonderful fitness and beauty of the language were certainly appreciated by many present. The writer remembers turning to a friend as the President sat down and saying: 'That is a perfect gem.' It is hazardous to speak of events which occurred twenty-four years ago, but the writer has the impression that President Lincoln made little reference to the sheet of paper he held in his hand, and that he did not wear spectacles."

Mag. & Boule Proof

New York Times, Thursday, July 7, 1887.

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

HIS GREAT SPEECH AND HOW IT WAS DELIVERED.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A "TIMES" REPORTER WHICH CORRECT SOME ERRORS IN A RECENT CORRECTION.

The controversy that has arisen over the circumstances attending the delivery of Abraham Lincoln's brief speech at the dedication of the Gettysburg Cemetery suggests the reflection that what is called "history" must be a very untrustworthy department of literature. It is less than 24 years since that famous speech was delivered, and there are probably scores of persons now living who were present and heard it spoken; yet it is doubtful whether among them all a dozen could be found who would agree, even in essential points, as to the manner of its delivery or how it was received by the audience. Even the speech itself, as originally written and printed, has undergone no less than half a dozen verbal changes at the hands of authors who have had occasion to insert it in their books. For example, the ninth sentence of the speech was written and spoken by Mr. Lincoln as follows: "It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly carried on." But in most of the lives of Lincoln, including that of Henry J. Raymond, and in Gen. Logan's "Great Conspiracy," the last two words of the sentence are dropped and the word "advanced" substituted in their place, a change smacking more of Latin than of Lincoln and less expressive than the original. These slight verbal changes are trifling, however, compared with the diverse and contradictory accounts that have been given of the circumstances attending its delivery by those who claim to have heard the speech. A writer for the *Manchester (N. H.) Mirror*, signing himself "W. C. K.," whose letter was quoted in last Sunday's *TIMES*, thus summarizes the misstatements that have gone the round of the press, and which he undertakes to correct:

"1. The oration was hastily written on the train between Baltimore and Gettysburg. 2. It was read by the aid of spectacles, he-flatingly, and in a low tone of voice, so as to be inaudible except to those in the immediate vicinity of the speaker. 3. It made but a slight impression upon the audience, was not reported, and but for fortuitous circumstances would have passed into oblivion."

Most of the above are unquestionably misstatements as "W. C. K." says, but not all. Mr. Lincoln certainly did read his speech (though not by the aid of spectacles in spite of "W. C. K.'s" denial. He did not confine himself closely to the manuscript, as some clergymen do, but read it as a lawyer would read a paper with whose contents he was familiar. He certainly did not, as "W. C. K." says, "hold a piece of paper crumpled in his hand, but did not once refer to it while speaking." On the contrary he held in his right hand, and constantly before him, a large open piece of paper, either foolscap or large letter paper, and glanced at it at least as many times as there are sentences in the speech. The impression conveyed to the writer of this at the time was that he had jotted down the speech beforehand, (possibly in the railroad car,) and had got some one to make the copy from which he read. Most of the other statements in the above summary are certainly wide of the mark as "W. C. K." says. The speech was not read in a low tone of voice, but in a very loud tone and without any hesitation whatever. The statement that it was not reported and barely escaped oblivion is grossly untrue. It was published in *THE NEW-YORK TIMES* and *Herald* and many other papers throughout the country the morning after it was delivered. As to the impression that it made on the audience opinions might naturally and legitimately differ. A great deal would depend on the impressibility of the hearer. The speech was liberally applauded and it may be safely said that few speeches of the same length (only 270 words) were ever spoken that made a profounder impression. And yet there were probably not ten persons in the audience who were so deeply impressed with it at the time as nine out of ten are who read it now. Not a single New-York paper had a word to say about it the morning that it first appeared in its columns, though they all made editorial comments on Mr. Ever-

ett's oration and on Henry Ward Beecher's speech at the Academy of Music, which were delivered the same day. "Coming events," that were to lend a pathos to Mr. Lincoln's little speech and make it a classic for all time had not then "cast their shadows before." The speech has now become more than historical, and it is well that the facts and circumstances attending its delivery should be correctly stated. In giving his recollections of the facts, and as an excuse for what may appear to be over-confidence in their accuracy, the writer of this may be permitted to state that he was present at the delivery of Mr. Lincoln's speech as a reporter for *THE NEW-YORK TIMES*, and that he occupied a seat in front of the platform and within 10 feet of Mr. Lincoln while he was speaking. Independently of his present recollection of the events of that day—19th of November, 1863—which is very distinct, he is able to refresh his memory from a letter written by him the same day and published in *THE TIMES* of Nov. 21, 1863. The following is an extract from the letter:

"The ceremonies of the dedication to-day of which you have already had a full account by telegraph, passed off without accident and nearly in accordance with the programme previously published. There was not, however, so large a military display as was anticipated and the procession was unexpectedly slim, for the reason that most of the guests who were expected to join it were either off viewing the battlefield or had hurried up to the cemetery before the procession started. The opening prayer by the Rev. Mr. Stockton was touching and beautiful, and produced quite as much effect upon the audience as the classic sentences of the orator of the day. President Lincoln's brief address was delivered in a clear loud tone of voice which could be distinctly heard at the extreme limits of the large assemblage. It was delivered (or rather read from a sheet of paper which the speaker held in his hand) in a very deliberate manner with strong emphasis and with a most business-like air. The dedication ceremonies were apparently a minor consideration, for even while Mr. Everett was delivering his splendid oration there were as many people wandering about the fields made memorable by the fierce struggles of July as stood around the stand listening to his eloquent periods. They seem to have considered with President Lincoln that it was not what was said here but what was done here that deserved their attention."

The speech of Mr. Lincoln, as published in *THE TIMES* the morning after its delivery, was as follows, including the applause with which it was received by the audience:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. [Applause.] Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that the Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a large sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. [Applause.] The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. [Applause.] It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly carried on. [Applause.] It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause to which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, [Applause.] that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth. [Long and continued applause.]"

It may be well to state that the only speakers at the dedication ceremonies were the Rev. Mr. Stockton, who made the opening prayer; Edward Everett, the orator of the day, and President Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln came last, and immediately after the close of Mr. Everett's oration he stepped forward to the front of the platform, pulled the sheet of paper containing his speech from his pocket, and, without any preliminary remarks or introduction from any one, proceeded to read it as above described. This speech, with the cheers and music that followed, closed the exercises. During the exercises Mr. Lincoln occupied a chair between Mr. Seward and Mr. Everett, and the following gentlemen, among others, were also seated upon the platform: Govs. Bradford of Maryland, Curtin of Pennsylvania, Seymour of New-York, Morton of Indiana, Parker of New-Jersey, and Tod of Ohio; also ex-Gov. Denison and Governor-elect Brough of Ohio, Major-Gens. Schenck, Doubleday, and Crouch, Brig-Gen. Gibbon, and Provost Marshal Gen. Fry. A. S.

Bellefonte, Pa., April 1", 1892.

John G. Nicolay, Esq.,

Washington, D. C.

My dear sir:

Gov. Austin Blair of Michigan is writing the history of the Altoona Conference, and has been furnished with the correspondence and telegrams which lead to it. I have sent him copy of the address of the Governors to the President, and have been informed that you have a copy of what Lincoln said in reply. I have written to some of the Governors who were present at the interview with Lincoln, and think differ very much to what he said in reply, except that he was gratified, approved of it, and expressed his thanks

If you have a copy of what he said, wont you please send it to me ? A mistake may be made in the facts stated to me, that you have the copy books of the reply, earlier in the year , when several Governors pressed upon him the necessity of calling additional troops, I was one in the interview, and you published in your book what Lincoln said in his reply. If you have a copy, or if Lincoln communicated in any way, you will oblige me very much if you send it to me, as it is part of the history of the war. I remain, dear sir,

Truly your friend,

A. G. Curtin

Bellefonte, Pa., April 7" 1892.

My dear Nicolay:

I am very much obliged to you for your letter, and as there are only three of the Governors who were at Altoona living, I have prepared and will send to them copies of the reply of the President as I remember it, before it is published.

The President was much moved at the time, and his acceptance of the address, and his approbation of it, seemed to give him much satisfaction. When I have prepared from my memory what he said, I will send you a copy.

As the Governor of Pennsylvania I purchased the land where the cemetery was established, and wrote to the Governors of the loyal states, to appoint Commissioners and to recommend to the Legislature the appropriation of money wished in proportion to

their representation in Congress. The Commissioners met at Harrisburg, and the money which was appropriated by Pennsylvania, except her proportional share, was all returned by the other states.

At the dedication of the cemetery, as you know quite well Mr. Lincoln was there. He stayed at the house of Judge Wills, where I was at the time. In the evening I was in his room, and a crowd of people assembled in the street, calling for his presence. He had a very large yellow envelope on which he was writing, and he recommended that I should go to the door, and if possible keep the crowd from him, which I did. He took the envelope from the table and as I went out of the door said, he would go around and show it to Mr. Seward, who lodged just around the corner of the street.

When I came in from the presence of the crowd of people, he had returned, and then seemed to be copying from the notes on the envelope on the sheet of foolscap paper, and I have no doubt that

#3.

was the address. I could have picked up from the table the notes he then made, and have regretted it 1000 times that I did not do it. For I do not believe now that there was anything material from the copy which he made of the notes in the yellow envelope. I have, therefore, no copy of that speech which was quite enough to mortalize a man under the circumstances, and have therefore noticed various statements in reference to that wonderful production by other persons.

It may be true, while on the way to Gettysburg he may have been thinking of writing the speech, as you know that was his habit, but as to his writing the speech in my presence, I have no doubt of that, that I saw it before it was delivered.

I have some memorandums and correspondence that I had with Lincoln, and others of the war, and hope to give to the public what I know of the relations of Pennsylvania to the War, and to do justice to the state and her grand contributions, her patriotic mo-

tives from the beginning to the ending of the war, and to give anecdotes of personal heroism which typical men from Pennsylvania illustrated so forcibly, and sacred patriotism to the people of the state.

Truly your friend,

A. G. Cartier

John G. Nicolay, Esq.,

Washington, D.C.

JOHN C. MCJAY

A. Lincoln. 1830-61. Personal Traits (not used)

item 93

"Personal Traits."

Lincoln to Stafford.

Springfield, Illinois, March 17, 1860

E. Stafford Esq.,

Dear Sir:

Aut. Ms.

Reaching home on the 14th instant I found yours of the 1st. Thanking you very sincerely for your kind purposes towards me, I am compelled to say the money part of the arrangement you propose is, with me, an impossibility. I could not raise ten thousand dollars if it would save me from the fate of John Brown — Nor have my friends so far as I know, yet reached the point of staking any money upon my chances of success —

I wish I could tell you better things, but it is even so.

Yours very truly
A. Lincoln.

~~Longstreet~~

~~Engagement in Lookout Valley 126~~

~~Expedition against Burnside 129~~

"Personal Traits."

Library of Congress

"Weekly Northwestern
Gazette" (Galena Ill.)

Dec. 5, 1849.

(From Ill. Jour.)

Springfield, November 21, 1849

Editor of the Chicago Journal.

Dear Sir: — Some person, probably yourself, has sent me the number of your paper containing an extract of a supposed speech of Mr. Sinder, together with your editorial comments. As my name is mentioned both in the speech and in the comments, and as my attention is directed to the article by a special mark in the paper sent me, it is perhaps expected that I should take some notice of it. I have to say then, that I was absent, from before the commencement, till after the close of the late session of the Legislature, and that the fact of such a speech having been delivered never came to my knowledge till I saw a notice of your article in the "Illinois Journal," one day before your paper reached me. Had the intention of any Whig to deliver such a speech been known to me, I should, to the utmost of my ability, have endeavored to prevent it. — When Mr. Butterfield was appointed Commissioner of the Land Office, I expected him to be an able and faithful officer, and nothing has since come to my knowledge disappointing that expectation. As to Mr. Ewing, his position has been one of great difficulty. I believe him too, to be an able and faithful officer. A more intimate acquaintance with him, would probably change the views of most of those who have complained of him.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln

IV

~~Dir John A.~~

~~Authorized to make government purchases~~ 137

Library of Congress.
"Ill. State Register"
Nov. 15, 1849.

In the Illinois Legislature, Mr. Linder said:

x x x x

He should speak not as a disappointed politician, but as an independent working Whig, who had never applied for an office in his life; and the individual of whom he desired to speak, was the Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, minister of the home department. A man who was unsuited to wield the immense patronage placed in his hands, from the fact that he was hostile to all that was popular, having no sympathies with the people, and the people no sympathies with him; the man who disposed of the offices and honors at his disposal more like a prince, than the minister and servant of a republican people. I speak plainly sir, for I want what I say to be published, that it may reach the individual for whom it is intended. The man who could disregard the almost unanimous wish of the people — the Whig people of Illinois, and overlook the claims of such men as Lincoln, Edwards, and Morrison, and appoint a man, known as anti-war federalist of 1812, and one who avails himself of every opportunity to express his contempt of the people, a man who could not, as against any one of his competitors, have

Vol. IV p 34 — take out end quotation
in last line; or insert beginning quo-
tation in letter.

-p. 284 — Instead of "Captain of Artillery"
make it read "Captain of Cavalry."

p 348 — Instead of "bridge three of its brigades"
make it read "two of its brigades!"

p. 375 — Instead of "500,000" make it read
"1,000,000." Instead of "new army
bill" make it read "bills."

Vol V. — p. 22 — Instead of "Lieutenant Fairfax
then told him" — take out (?) "then."

p. 402 — Lincoln's letter of May 25 1862
to McClellan — is erroneous. Compare
with Aut. Ms. and Works.

Mem. of Corrections to be
made in
A. L. a Hist

Vol I - p 45. Instead of "a single wagon"
make it read "several wagons" &c &c
(see autobiographical sketch p 638-44
Vol I works)

Vol II - p 313. - Signature should be A. B. Moore
("A" is broken off)

Vol III - p 242. Instead of "trifle over 9½ per
cent" query - should it read "under"?

Vol IV - p - In small letters VIII, instead of
"Colonel Gustavus V. Fox" make it
read "Captain".

p 32 - same correction under portrait.

Vol. VIII no corrections indicated

Vol IX - p - 217 - In second line from bottom
the letter "l" is broken off from word
"abnormal."

Vol X - p 143 - first side note. Instead of "1263"
make it read "1236."

p. - 227 - In second line from bottom
Instead of "assumes it appears to me"
make it read "assumes as appears to me."

p. - 228 - Instead of "a special equivalent"
make it read a specific equivalent."

p - 387 - Instead of "Dorsey Hazel"
make it read "Dorsey Azel W."

p - 350 - Instead of "he fame" make it
read "his fame."

Vol VI p. 328 - In first side note make it
read (?) 1863.

p. - 340 - Date of order should be (?)
15th instead of 16th.

p. - 341 - Make same change in side
note.

Vol. VII p. - 116 - Instead of "Oct. 3 1863" make
it read "1862".

p. 211 - Instead of "but it seems to be
differently understood" make it read
"but as it" &c - Also change
period after "understood" to a comma.
See W. R. XXVII pt. 1 - p 47.

p. 374 - Instead of "when he came afterwards"
make it read "when he came in later years."

Holman. W. B. to J. G. M.

Omaha Neb. June 8 1894

Letter referring to footnote page 4
Vol 1 A. L. & C. Hirt - and giving
his own version of Lincoln ancestry

(in envelope J. G. M. - Historical Collection
- President - ancestry)

1890

Newspaper Notices of the Book

- Nov. 16 Milwaukee Sentinel - column - very favorable
- Nov. 21 Phila. Press - $\frac{1}{4}$ column - very favorable
- Nov. 23 N. Y. Herald - 3 squares - preface
- Nov 29 Phila Press - 2 squares - favorable
- Nov. 29 Chicago Evening Journal - $\frac{1}{2}$ Column - preface - favorable
- Nov. 30 Detroit Tribune - $\frac{1}{4}$ Column - preface
- Dec. 4 Independent - $1\frac{1}{5}$ Columns - gen. favorable - criticism
McClellan chapters &c.
- Dec. 11 Public Ledger, Phila. - 1 Column - Preface - very favorable
" 15 " " " " Lincoln's Youth
- Jan'y 25 Boston Globe - 1 Column - Generally favorable
- Nov. 30 St Paul Pioneer Press - 2 sq. favorable
- ~~Jan. 22~~
Jan. 22 Indianapolis J. O. - 1 Column - preface in full
- Jan 22 Boston Watchman - 1 Column - Generally favorable

VII.

~~Chandler, Zachariah, U. S. Sen, Sec. Int, under Grant~~

~~Criticism on Weed and Morgan~~ 388-9

Jan. 24 Wash^g Post — 3 eq. — generally favorable

Nov. 23 Cleveland Leader — $\frac{1}{2}$ column — preface

Jan. 24 Boston Journal — $\frac{1}{2}$ column — favorable

Jan. 28 Liverpool Daily Post — 3 columns — preface & extracts

(English) $\frac{1}{2}$ Col. preface

Jan. 17 London The Spectator $2\frac{1}{2}$ columns very favorable

Jan. 21 London Daily Chronicle — $1\frac{1}{4}$ columns — favorable

Sept. 1891 The Quarterly Review London very favorable

Howells in Harper's Editor's Study very favorable

N.Y. Tribune very favorable

N.Y. Times generally favorable

JOHN G. NICOLAY

A. Lincoln. Ancestry

item 60

Lincoln Ancestry

Mem.

For matter relating to the Lincoln ancestry see chapter LVIII of the "History of the manufacture of iron in all ages" by James M. Swank. There is also a little abstract in an editorial in "The Bulletin of Feb. 20 1895 published weekly for the "American Iron & Steel Association" at no. 261 South 4th St. Phila. Jas. M. Swank, editor and publisher.

(Mem. sent to Hay)

March 11, 1895.

ably meant Rockingham County and not Rockbridge

Extract from "Iron in All Ages" by
James M. Swank - Chap. LVIII "Washington and Lincoln
the descendants of Colonial Ironmasters" pp 504-508

Abraham Lincoln's paternal ancestry was also
identified with the manufacture of iron. It is not
so generally known as it should be that his ancestors
on his father's side were natives of Massachusetts and
were among its pioneer ironmasters. In Johnson's
Cyclopaedia there is preserved a biographical sketch
of Abraham Lincoln, written in 1859 with his own
hand, in which occurs the following reference to his
father's family.

"My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln,
emigrated from Rockbridge County Virginia, to
Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two
later he was killed by Indians - not in battle, but
by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in
the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went
to Virginia from Berks County Pennsylvania. An
effort to identify them with the New England family
of the same name ended in nothing more definite
than a similarity of Christian names in both
families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Sol-
omon, Abraham, and the like." Mr Lincoln pro-
bably meant Rockingham County and not Rockbridge

County.

Researches which have been made since Abraham Lincoln became President, clearly establish the fact that the head of the American branch of his father's family, Samuel Lincoln, emigrated from Norwich England, to Massachusetts, whence two brothers, his grandsons, emigrated to Pennsylvania, one of whom was the President's great-great-grandfather.

A communication to the Hingham Journal of October 10, 1879, says that among the early settlers of Hingham Massachusetts, which was settled in 1635, were seven persons named Lincoln who became ^{the} heads of families. Four of these were named Thomas. Samuel Lincoln, who came to Hingham in 1637, had four sons, Samuel, Daniel, Mordecai, and Thomas. Mordecai Lincoln, born at Hingham on June 14, 1657, followed the trade of a blacksmith at Hull, from which he removed to Scituate, where "he built a spacious house and was a large contributor toward the erection of the iron works at Bound Brook" in 1703. These Bound Brook iron works comprised nothing more ambitious than a Catalan forge, which made wrought iron from the ore.

Mr George Lincoln, of Hingham, informed us in a letter dated on October 28, 1879, that the Bound Brook iron works were located near

the line dividing Scituate from Cohasset at a place called Conahasset, and that Mordecai and Daniel Lincoln were owners of the works. Cohasset until 1770 was the easterly precinct of Hingham, and Scituate was also near the Hingham boundary line. Mr Lincoln also furnished us with abstracts of some deeds recorded in Plymouth and Suffolk counties proving the connection of Mordecai and Daniel Lincoln with the Round Brook iron works, which are styled "a forge or iron works." From one of these abstracts we take the following circumstantial statement: "Dec. 21, 1713 George Jackson of Marblehead, sells to Mordecai Lincoln of Scituate, 'blacksmith,' two parcels of salt-meadow land lying and being in Cohasset within the township of Hingham," one of which is bounded "east by a brook or river called Round Brook etc." Other abstracts show that Mordecai Lincoln was a prime mover in the erection of the Round Brook iron works, and that it was from him that Daniel Lincoln obtained a one-eighth interest in the works.

Mordecai Lincoln's first wife was Sarah Jones, the daughter of Abraham and Sarah Jones, of Hall. Their sons were Mordecai Jr., born April 24, 1686; Abraham, born January 13 1688-9; and Isaac, born October 24, 1691. The Hingham

Journal says that Mordecai Jr. and his brother Abraham removed from Scituate "it is supposed" to Pennsylvania, for their names afterwards appear among a list of taxables in Exeter township Berks County, Pennsylvania. But first at least one of the brothers emigrated to New Jersey. Nicolay and Hay state in their life of Lincoln that Mordecai Lincoln removed from Massachusetts to Monmouth New Jersey, and thence to Amity township, Berks county, Pennsylvania. He died there in 1736. His brother Abraham finally settled in Springfield township, Chester county Pennsylvania, as early as 1729. Like his father he was a blacksmith. He died in 1745. The townships of Oley, Amity, and Exeter, in Berks county, are contiguous, and in their early records the name of Lincoln often appears.

Monmouth county, New Jersey, was settled in part by a colony of Massachusetts people, who erected iron works at Tintern Falls in the township of Shrewsbury about 1676. It is probable that the Lincoln brothers emigrated to this county because Massachusetts people were there already and because they were themselves iron workers.

Mordecai Lincoln, who emigrated to Berks county, Pennsylvania, and died there in 1736, and who was a Quaker, left three sons,

John, Mordecai, and Thomas, and probably, as a communication in the Philadelphia American says, a posthumous son, named Abraham. A posthumous child was provided for in Mordecai Lincoln's will. John emigrated to Rockingham county Virginia, about 1750. He had a son Abraham, who emigrated to Kentucky and was killed by the Indians, as the President states. This Abraham was the grandfather of the President, his father being Thomas Lincoln. It will be remembered that there were many Thomas Lincolns at Hingham, and that the father-in-law of Mordecai Lincoln of Scituate was Abraham Jones. The frequent appearance of the names of Mordecai, Abraham, and Thomas at various periods in the history of the Massachusetts Lincolns and their descendants will be noticed by the reader.

An Abraham Lincoln of Berks County, who was either the posthumous son of Mordecai Lincoln or a grandson, was long prominent as a politician. He was one of the County Commissioners of Berks from 1773 to 1779, and from 1782 to 1786 he was a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. A letter from Reading, published in the Philadelphia Press, says that after his service in the Assembly Abraham Lincoln was a justice of the peace

and ex-officio one of the justices of the quarter sessions. "His signature, which can be found attached to various ancient documents in the commissioners' office, indicates that he was a man of affairs, and it is not unlike that of his illustrious namesake which is attached to the proclamation of emancipation." He was a member of the State Convention of 1787 which ratified the Federal Constitution of that year, and which he voted against, and he was an influential member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1790. He died in 1806 in his 70th year, having been born in 1736.

The connection of the Lincoln family with the manufacture of iron does not entirely end with Mordecai and Abraham who emigrated from Massachusetts to Pennsylvania. About 1775 a furnace was built on Mossy Creek, Augusta county Virginia, by Henry Miller and Mark Bird of Berks county, Pennsylvania, Bird soon selling his interest to Miller. The furnace was called Miller's furnace. Jefferson mentions it in his Notes on the State of Virginia. J. Marshall McCue, Esq., of Fishersville, Augusta county, Virginia, writes us an interesting letter concerning the early history of this furnace. He says: "Miller married Hannah, the oldest of seven children of William Winter and Annie

Boone, the latter a cousin of Daniel Boone. Nancy, the second, married George Crawford, of this county, and Elizabeth, the fourth, married Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of President Lincoln. Miller carried on the furnace successfully until some time in March or April 1796, when he died. He left four sons and four daughters. The oldest son, Captain Samuel Miller, carried on the furnace energetically up to his death, which occurred in 1830. He built a forge, called Mt. Vernon, on South river, near Weyer's Cave, and two miles from Port Republic, in 1810." It will be seen from this letter that the grandmother of President Lincoln on his father's side was Elizabeth Winter, the sister-in-law of Henry Miller, and that Captain Samuel Miller was a cousin of President Lincoln's father. The Boones were Quaker neighbors of the Lincoln's residing in Berks county Pennsylvania. The communication in the Philadelphia American from which we have already quoted says that George Boone was one of the trustees named in Mordecai Lincoln's will, and was the uncle of Daniel Boone.

A communication in a recent issue of the Philadelphia Ledger says that there is an Abraham Lincoln still living in Pennsylvania. He lives in Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, about fourteen miles from Reading, and is

about 80 years old. "He lives on a large and productive farm, has a family, never had any ambition for office, and in general appearance he is not unlike President Lincoln, having the same large, erect, gaunt form, and retaining to a remarkable degree some of the general characteristics of his famous relative and namesake." Other Lincolns are still living in Berks county.

It may not be inappropriate to mention, as an additional historical link, that Nancy Hanks, the mother of President Lincoln, was also descended from a Berks County family which emigrated first to Virginia, and afterwards to Kentucky.