By Thomas F. Schwartz

My first encounter with David Herbert Donald came as a graduate student setting up the Lincoln Room at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I became intrigued with the compilation of James Jay Monaghan’s Lincoln Bibliography, and my research quickly led me to the James Garfield Randall papers at the University Archives. I was told that David Donald was the literary executor, and that the papers required his permission before use. I wrote a letter to Professor Donald explaining my project and what I planned to use from Randall’s archive. Much to my surprise, I received a very quick and gracious reply granting me permission to examine whatever I required.

Later, I would have an opportunity to read most of David Donald’s studies on Lincoln, Herndon, Sumner, and the Civil War era. All were elegantly written and brimming with insights and ideas. The recipient of two Pulitzer Prizes, one in 1960 for *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* and the other in 1987 for *Look Homeward: A Life of Thomas Wolfe*, Donald was more concerned in writing for an informed general public than a narrow academic audience. He wanted his books to be read by many, not simply admired by a few. In the end, his books were both widely read and also admired by his academic peers.

David Herbert Donald was born in Goodman, Mississippi and grew up witnessing southern segregation firsthand. He attended Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi, and interviewed for a job as a high school band teacher, a position he declined after being told that he needed to wear a hat in order to teach at the school. He was accepted into the graduate program at the University of Illinois. I asked Donald in later years if he selected the University of Illinois not because of Randall but because the school was on the Illinois Central rail line that would easily facilitate his travel home to Mississippi.

Randall and his wife Ruth took an immediate liking to Donald. Childless themselves, the Randalls treated David as a surrogate son. Later, David would name his son Bruce Randall Donald in memory of the Randalls. As a research assistant to Randall, Donald greatly benefited from his time at the University of Illinois. His resulting dissertation on William Herndon was published as a book and remains the definitive study of Lincoln’s third law partner. As Donald neared graduation, Paul Angle inquired if Donald had any interest in serving as his replacement as director of the Illinois State Historical Library. Angle had accepted an offer to

(Continued on page 2)
take over the Chicago Historical Society and was looking for another Lincoln expert to continue running the library. Donald politely declined. When I asked him about it, David indicated that he had no aptitude for running a library or a historical society, which was also part of the director duties at the time. His interest was in teaching and research, two tasks in which he excelled and left an imprint that remains unmatched.

After a series of teaching positions at Columbia University, Smith College, Princeton University, and Johns Hopkins University, Donald joined the faculty at Harvard University in 1973 and remained until his retirement in 1991. Upon retirement, he began work on a new large-scale biographical treatment of Abraham Lincoln. I got to know a number of his graduate students, many of whom have distinguished themselves in the Lincoln field.

One day a letter appeared. It was from David Donald, indicating that he intended to spend several weeks conducting research at the library, and identifying the collections and materials he was interested in using. The courtesy of providing this information in advance is but one example of Donald’s strong sense of social manners and professional conduct. Always a gentleman and a scholar, Donald was charming and gracious even when he disagreed with you.

During his time in Springfield, I had the good fortune to have several dinners with David and took him out to New Salem to see their outdoor theatre presentations. At the time, the Great American People Show offered a trilogy that presented the Lincoln story from his birth up to the bombing of Hiroshima. We saw the first play in the trilogy, “Your Obdt. Servant, A. Lincoln” which was an overview of his life. Donald thoroughly enjoyed the production as well as its lovely setting in Kelso Hollow at Lincoln’s New Salem State Historic Site.

It was during this time in Springfield that we talked about the Lincoln biography and some of the problems inherent in any biographical endeavor as well as those peculiar to Lincoln. Donald was fortunate to have a son who was computer savvy and who created a database from which to navigate the massive amount of information on Lincoln and his times compiled for the biography. Every day, Donald would be the first to arrive and last to leave the library. When the biography was published in 1995, it became an immediate best seller and remains the preferred starting place for most historians and Lincoln buffs.

In 2005, he was informed that Donald of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University Press, a son, Bruce Randall of the Abraham Lincoln Association Student Award recognizes the best Abraham Lincoln research paper and media project submitted at the Illinois History Exposition held on May 7 in Springfield. Stefan’s winning paper was titled Rough and Tumble: Chicago’s Wigwam of 1860. His teacher is Janet Kelsey.

Stefan also was awarded a $5,000 scholarship to Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois. The College awards the scholarship each year to the student submitting the best essay on the theme Illinois In The Civil War Era.

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The following remarks of Michael Burlingame were presented on the occasion of the 200th birthday of Abraham Lincoln celebrated at a banquet at the Crowne Plaza Hotel in Springfield, Illinois, on the evening of February 12, 2009. Professor Burlingame is a member of the Board of Directors of The Abraham Lincoln Association and holds the Chancellor Naomi B. Lynn Distinguished Chair in Lincoln Studies at the University of Illinois Springfield.

Michael Burlingame
Photograph by Susan Northrup Scott.

Upon departing Springfield for Washington to take office as the 16th president of the U.S., Lincoln told his fellow townsman: “To this place, and to the kindness of these people, I owe everything.” As a Lincoln scholar who had spent much time here over the past 25 years, I too feel a strong sense of gratitude to this place and to the kindness of its people. Many of them have extended to me the most gracious hospitality and have assisted me enormously as I conducted my research, first in the bowels of the Old State Capitol and more recently in the splendid new Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, whose staff has been unfailingly helpful. If I were to thank all of the Springfielders to whom I feel grateful, I would exhaust my allotted 15 minutes. But I cannot refrain from tendering my special thanks to Dick and Ann Hart and to Sarah Thomas, who over the years have not only generously put me up but have patiently put up with me.

I am deeply honored to be asked to speak on this very special occasion. I would like to share with you some of the new information I have uncovered about Lincoln and to explain why I find him such an inspirational figure.

NEW INFORMATION

Earlier this evening we heard how the foremost African American public figure of the 21st century regards Lincoln. Perhaps it would not be inappropriate to consider what the foremost African American public figure of the 19th century thought of him. In the papers of Frederick Douglass at the Library of Congress, I stumbled across two speeches that Douglass delivered in 1865, neither of which appears in the five-volume edition of Douglas’s public utterances that the Yale University Press published recently.

Before a large audience at Manhattan’s Cooper Union on June 1, 1865, Douglass said: “No people or class of people in the country, have a better reason for lamenting the death of Abraham Lincoln, and for desiring to honor and perpetuate his memory, than have the colored people.” The record of the martyred president, when compared “with the long line of his predecessors, many of whom were merely the facile and servile instruments of the slave power,” was impressive. Lincoln was “in a sense hitherto without example, emphatically the black man’s President: the first to show any respect for their rights as men . . . . He was the first American President who . . . rose above the prejudice of his times, and country.” If during the early stages of the Civil War the president had favored colonizing the freedmen abroad, Douglass asserted, “Lincoln soon outgrew his colonization ideas and schemes and came to look upon the Black man as an American citizen.” To illustrate this point, Douglass cited his personal experience: “It was my privilege to know Abraham Lincoln and to know him well. I saw and conversed with him at different times during his administration.” Douglass found Lincoln’s willingness to receive him remarkable in itself: “He knew that he could do nothing which would call down upon him more fiercely the ribaldry of the vulgar than by showing any respect to a colored man.” (In a draft of this speech, Douglass said: “Some men there are who can face death and dangers, but have not the moral courage to contradict a prejudice or face ridicule. In daring to admit, nay in daring to invite a Negro to an audience at the White house, Mr. Lincoln did that which he knew would be offensive to the crowd and excite their ribaldry. It was saying to the country, I am President of the black people as well as the white, and I mean to respect their rights and feelings as men and as citizens.”)

When Douglass was admitted to the President’s office, he found Lincoln easy to converse with: “He set me at perfect liberty to state where I differed from him as freely as where I agreed with him. From the first five minutes I seemed to myself to have been acquainted with [him] during all my life. . . . [H]e was one of the very few white Americans who could converse with a negro without anything like condescension, and without in anywise reminding him of the unpopularity of his color.”

Douglass recalled one episode in particular that demonstrated Lincoln’s “kindly disposition towards colored people.” While Douglass was talking with the president, a White House aide on two occasions announced that the governor of Connecticut sat in an adjacent room, eager for an interview. “Tell the Governor to wait,” said the President. “I want to have a long talk with my friend Douglass.” Their conversation continued for another hour. Douglass later speculated that “[t]his was probably the first time in the history of the country when the Governor of a State was required to wait for an interview, because the President of the United States was engaged in conversation with a negro.”

According to Douglass, millions of blacks “from first to last, and through all, whether through good or through evil report, fully believed in Abraham Lincoln.” Despite his initial tardiness in attacking slavery, Douglass said, they “firmly trusted in him” with a faith that constituted “no blind trust unsupported by reason.” Blacks had “early caught a
glimpse of the man, and from the evidence of their senses, they believed in him. They viewed him not in the light of separate individual acts, but in the light of his mission, in his manifest relation to events and in the philosophy of his statesmanship. Viewing him thus they trusted him as men are seldom trusted.”

Several months later, Douglass prepared a speech in which he discussed Lincoln’s final public address, which was delivered on April 11, 1865. In it the president endorsed black voting rights: Alluding to the new constitution of the state of Louisiana, Lincoln said: “It is . . . unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.” When Douglass heard that April 11 speech, he thought Lincoln’s call for black suffrage “seemed to mean but little,” for its scope was too limited. But in time Douglass came to acknowledge that the speech actually “meant a great deal. It was just like Abraham Lincoln. He never shocked prejudices unnecessarily. Having learned statesmanship while splitting rails, he always used the thin edge of the wedge first – and the fact that he used it at all meant that he would if need be, use the thick as well as the thin.” Douglass could cite Lincoln’s dealings with slavery. The president had inserted the thin edge of the wedge in March 1862 when he recommended that Congress compensate any Border State adopting gradual emancipation. Lincoln then drove the wedge in deeper in 1863 with the Emancipation Proclamation. And in 1864 he fully drove home the thick part of the wedge in 1865 by endorsing the Thirteenth Amendment. Even before March 1862, Lincoln had worked behind the scenes to persuade Delaware to emancipate its slaves. So it was with black suffrage. In 1864, Lincoln had privately urged Louisiana Governor Michael Hahn to enfranchise at least some blacks in Louisiana: “Now you are about to have a Convention which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom.” In 1865, he publicly endorsed the same policy.

One member of Lincoln’s audience on April 11, 1865, did not underestimate the importance of the president’s call for limited black suffrage. Upon hearing that passage, a handsome, popular, impulsive, twenty-six-year-old actor named John Wilkes Booth turned to a friend and declared: “That means nigger citizenship. Now by God I’ll put him through!” Booth added: “That is the last speech he will ever make.”

Lincoln was murdered because he endorsed the enfranchisement of blacks, not because he issued the emancipation proclamation or supported the Thirteenth Amendment. Thus he was as much a martyr to black citizenship rights as Martin Luther King, or Medgar Evers, or Andrew Goodman, or any of the other civil rights activists killed during the 1960s.

INSPIRATION

The distinguished biographer of Woodrow Wilson, Arthur S. Link, asserted that he was glad he had spent his academic career studying the life of a man whom he liked and admired. Scholars who specialized in Hitler or Stalin, Link said, seemed to him to be depressed.

Similarly, a rising young pianist recently wrote that he regarded it as a privilege and a responsibility to play Beethoven’s sonatas. When rehearsing and performing those works, he declared, he felt compelled to try to be a better musician and a better human being. I feel the same way about Lincoln. As I conduct research on him and write about him, I feel compelled to try to be a better historian and a better human being. I try, and I will continue to try.

One of the ways I try to be a better human being is to follow the advice that President Lincoln gave a young Union captain who was squabbling with his superior officers. Quoting from “Hamlet,” the president wrote that a father’s admonition to his son—“Beware of entrance to a quarrel, but being in, bear it that the opposed may beware of thee”—was good counsel “and yet not the best.” Instead, Lincoln enjoined the captain: “Quarrel not at all.”

The reasons Lincoln gave were practical: “No man resolved to make the most of himself, can spare time for personal contention. Still less can he afford to take all the consequences, including the vitiating of his temper, and the loss of self-control. Yield larger things to which you can show no more than equal right and yield lesser ones, though clearly your own. Better give your path to a dog, than be bitten by him in contesting for the right. Even killing the dog would not cure the bite.”

Let me close by sharing with you the final paragraph of Abraham Lincoln: A Life: “Lincoln speaks to us not only as a champion of freedom, democracy, and national unity but also as a source of inspiration. Few will achieve his world historical importance, but many can profit from his personal example, encouraged by the knowledge that despite a childhood of emotional malnutrition and grinding poverty, despite a lack of formal education, despite a series of career failures, despite a miserable marriage, despite a tendency to depression, despite a painful midlife crisis, despite the early death of his mother and his siblings as well as of his sweetheart and two of his four children, he became a model of psychological maturity, moral clarity, and unimpeachable integrity. His presence and his leadership inspired his contemporaries; his life story can do the same for generations to come.”
DARWIN, LINCOLN, STANTON AND APES, ANGELS, AND AGES

By Thomas F. Schwartz

With much of the fanfare now behind, the public was reminded that famed British naturalist Charles Darwin and America’s Sixteenth President Abraham Lincoln share a common birthday of February 12, 1809. This year marked the bicentennial celebration for both. David R. Contosta, a professor of history at Chestnut Hill College, provided the first dual biography with Rebel Giants: The Revolutionary Lives of Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin (Prometheus Books, 2008). This was followed by The New Yorker columnist Adam Gopnik’s Angles and Ages: A Short Book about Darwin, Lincoln, and Modern Life (Knopf, 2009).

Victorians were appalled by Darwin’s ideas of evolution: the popular notion that apes evolved into men. Lincoln had an interest in natural science but there is nothing to suggest that he read Darwin’s seminal On the Origin of the Species, published in 1859. Ironically, Lincoln often devolved to simian proportions at the hands his critics. Characteristic of the era’s racism, many of these Lincoln portrayals as an ape or gorilla followed the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation. David Strother’s January 14, 1863 image of Lincoln as a monkey holding a copy of the Emancipation Proclamation reinforces the Southern notion that blacks were not human beings. A Phunny Phellow cartoon from May 1864 shows Lincoln as a monkey holding the George B. McClellan cat by the tail. In Lincoln’s other hand is a dead mouse representing the White House, 1865. Clearly a reference to the upcoming presidential contest, the caption reads, “Don’t You Wish You May Get It?” That McClellan frequently referred to Lincoln as “the original gorilla” was based upon a mistaken belief that primates were not intelligent creatures or, anyway, lower than man.

Lincoln’s comparison to or portrayal with apes was not only a nineteenth century phenomenon. Many modern artistic endeavors have the undesired result of creating Lincoln’s visage with simian features. The 2001 Tim Burton remake of the Charlton Heston classic Planet of the Apes substitutes the Lincoln Memorial for the Statue of Liberty at the film’s end. Lincoln is not found sitting in the chair; rather, the evil leader of the apes, General Thade, is shown.

Recent efforts by several scholars have sought to elevate Lincoln from his sometime simian status and give him a harp, wings, and a halo, just like Clarence in Frank Capra’s It’s A Wonderful Life. Beginning with Jay Winik and seconded by James Swanson and Adam Gopnik, these writers claim that Edwin Stanton, Lincoln’s Secretary of War, really said: “Now he belongs to the angels.” From ape to angel, one wonders whatever happened in the intervening ages? A simple answer to this question is that, in efforts to reduce costs, publishers no longer fact check most authors. Every author makes mistakes, but there is no longer the safety net in the editing process to rigorously eliminate them. Had there been such a mechanism in place, Lincoln might never have left the earthbound ages for the heavens above.

Jay Winik, in his best selling book April 1865: The Month That Saved America (HarperCollins, 2001), claims that Stanton later changed his words “Now, he belongs to the angels” to the more widely quoted “Now, he belongs to the ages.” Winik argues “that Stanton did revise his words for history—something that in his time Lincoln did not do—is fascinating in itself. The quote I use is from the attending stenographer, James Tanner (see Bak, Day Lincoln was Shot, 98), which strikes me as most accurate.” Two claims are advanced, both dubious: 1) that Lincoln never revised his publically uttered words and 2) James Tanner claimed that Stanton originally said, “Now, he belongs to the angels.”

Many of the recent books on Lincoln as a writer have convincingly shown that Lincoln was never reluctant to rewrite or polish his prose. This is evident in his Farewell Address to Springfield which exists in three different versions. It is also more starkly evident in the five different versions of the Gettysburg Address.

The real issue is whether James Tanner ever stated that Stanton’s words upon Lincoln’s death were “Now he belongs to the angels.” Richard Bak’s book, The Day Lincoln Was Shot: An Illustrated Chronicle (Taylor, 1998), contains no footnotes so it is impossible to know his sources. Otto Eisenschiml, in Why Was Lincoln Murdered?, also cited by Winik, concedes: “One report, also difficult to authenticate, was that Stanton said, ‘And now he belongs to the Angels.’” Dorothy Meserve Kunhardt and Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., probably are the likely source of much of the recent confusion. In Twenty Days, the Kunhards provide a description of Lincoln’s death by quoting James Tanner, the stenographer who was present in the room.
Tanner admits that his pencil point broke trying to remove it from his pocket to record Reverend Gurley’s prayer. But Tanner recalled “...Mr. Stanton raised his head, the tears streaming down his face. A more agonized expression I never saw on a human countenance as he sobbed out the words: ‘He belongs to the angels now.’” The Kunhardt’s continued to explain “Later, others in the room recalled Stanton’s remarks as loftier—‘Now he belongs to the ages.’” Once again, there is no source cited for Tanner’s remarks or who the “others” were that changed the phrasing. And because the Kunhardt’s appear to be quoting Tanner directly, others who have used their work assume that they are quoting Tanner correctly. But are they?

In every instance where an author has argued that Stanton used the word “angels” instead of “ages,” no primary source is provided. If Tanner really made this claim, there should be some primary source to cite. What one gets instead is a series of secondary sources that never lead to a primary source. The simple exercise of finding a primary source in which Tanner recalls that Stanton made this claim that Stanton uttered, “He belongs to the ages now.” In 1926 Tanner gave a copy of his recollections to Congressman James A. Frear of Wisconsin, who entered it the Congressional Record. This entry was later published as a separate pamphlet.

Tanner was frustrated that, even after providing reporters with printed copies of Lincoln’s last hours, the final published newspaper articles usually misquoted him and otherwise distorted the event. In a cover letter to Congressman Frear in 1926, Tanner wrote:

...for 50 years I have attended the annual encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic; never missed one since I began in 1876. Well, it was generally known that I had been in that death group and the reporters would come for an interview, and generally, they would mangle what I gave them, plenty of misstatements, and whatever they got they would cut it to suit their cloth...even after I wrote this article some years ago, I would take a copy or two along to the national encampment, and when they would come at me about this matter, hand them this statement, they would take it, but they would measure what space they had in their paper and invariably cut it, and never once gave it in full, and I never felt more like hitting a man in cold blood...

A lengthy study identifying and comparing all of the textual changes made by newspaper accounts using Tanner’s printed recollection would be a project unto itself. One wonders how Tanner’s repeated claim that Stanton uttered, “He belongs to the ages now,” was transposed to the more popular “Now he belongs to the ages.” Undoubtedly, it has an explanation just as this modest exercise has shown how recent historians garbled Tanner’s words. Modern historians may want Lincoln to soar among the angels, but James Tanner’s broken pencil point may also have clipped Lincoln’s wings in the process, keeping him earthbound for the ages.

WHO WAS CORPORAL JAMES TANNER?

James Tanner was born at Richmondville, New York, on April 4, 1844. He was a teacher when the Civil War began and he enlisted in September 1861 in the 87th New York Volunteer Infantry. He served as a Corporal with that unit through the Peninsula Campaign, April-July 1862, and at the Battle of Second Bull Run (Manassas), August 29-30, receiving wounds which required the amputation of both legs just below the knees.

Tanner was fitted with two wooden prostheses and learned how to walk with his artificial legs. In 1863, he was appointed Under-Doorkeeper of the New York State Legislature. He studied stenography and in 1864 he obtained a clerkship in the War Department in Washington.

On the evening of April 14, 1865, hearing that President Lincoln had been shot, he hurried to Ford’s Theater and remained there throughout the night with Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. He took complete shorthand notes as the search for the assassin was planned and carried out. His record of events that evening at the Peterson House remain the most comprehensive record of the events that followed the President’s shooting.

At the end of the Civil War, Tanner studied law in New York and in 1869 was admitted to the Bar. From 1869 to 1877 he held posts in the New York Customs House and from 1877 to 1885 was Tax Collector in Brooklyn, New York. He
later founded a Veteran’s organization and spoke at the dedication of the Confederate Memorial in Arlington National Cemetery.

Tanner was quite active in the Grand Army of the Republic. As New York State GAR Commander in 1876, he organized a letter-writing campaign that moved the legislature to establish a soldiers’ home. He was frequently called on to lobby Congress on behalf of veterans.

Tanner was also very active in the Republican Party. Between 1886 and 1888, he made several national campaign tours speaking for presidential candidate Benjamin Harrison. In March 1889 as a reward for these activities, Tanner was appointed Commissioner of Pensions. Declaring his intention to secure maximum possible benefits to “every old comrade that needs it” Tanner proceeded to make hash of administrative procedures and his office’s budget. At length, Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble, of whose Department the Pension Office was a part, was forced to step in, and Tanner resigned in September 1889.

From then until 1904, he was a private pension attorney engaged in prosecuting various claims against the government. In April 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him a Register of Wills for the District of Columbia. In 1905-06 he was the National Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic.

James Tanner died at Washington, D.C. on October 2, 1927 and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery. His wife, Mero T. Tanner (1844-1906), is buried with him.

The above information was obtained from the Arlington National Cemetery website: http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/jtanner.htm
## DAY BY DAY

### CALENDAR OF COMING ALA EVENTS

**Lincoln in Illinois**

- **Through September 30, 2009**
  - Exhibit of photographs of Abraham Lincoln statues in Illinois.
  - Ron Schramm, Photographer. Atrium of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library.
  - The exhibit is free and open to the public.

October 1 and 2, 2009

- 11th Conference on Illinois History, Springfield
  
October 2, 2009

- Noon
  - Luncheon—Myron Marty will discuss his book *Communities of Frank Lloyd Wright: Taliesin and Beyond*.

October 2, 2009

- 2:00
  - ALA Board of Directors Meeting, Springfield
- 4:00
  - Dedication: Christopher Smith German Grave Marker, Oak Ridge Cemetery
- 5:30
  - Dinner at Gillett Farm, Elkhart Hill

October 2, 2009

- 3-4:00
  - *Lincoln Press Conference*: University of Illinois, Tryon Festival Theatre, Krannert Center for the Performing Arts, 500 South Goodwin Avenue, Urbana
  - Free and open to the public. Featuring Lincoln presenter George Buss.

October 15-18, 2009

- 24th Annual Lincoln Colloquium, Springfield
  - Environmental and Lincoln historians participate in conference on nature’s impact on Lincoln and his generation, and their impact on the environment. Advance registration required. For information call 217-492-4241.
  - Includes 7th Annual Lincoln Legacy Lecture at the University of Illinois Springfield, October 15, 2009, 7:00 p.m. in Brookens Auditorium. Information (217) 206-7094.

February 11-12, 2010

- 1-4:00
  - *Lincoln Symposium* Details to be announced.
  - Hall of Representatives, Old State Capitol, Springfield

February 11, 2010

- 5:00
  - Investiture Ceremony: Michael Burlingame to Chancellor Naomi B. Lynn Distinguished Chair in Lincoln Studies at the University of Illinois Springfield, House of Representatives, Old State Capitol, Springfield

February 12, 2010

- 10:00
  - ALA Board of Directors Meeting, Springfield
- 6:00
  - *Lincoln Day Banquet*, 201st Anniversary of Lincoln’s Birth
  - Crowne Plaza Hotel, Springfield