



THE LINCOLN FORUM

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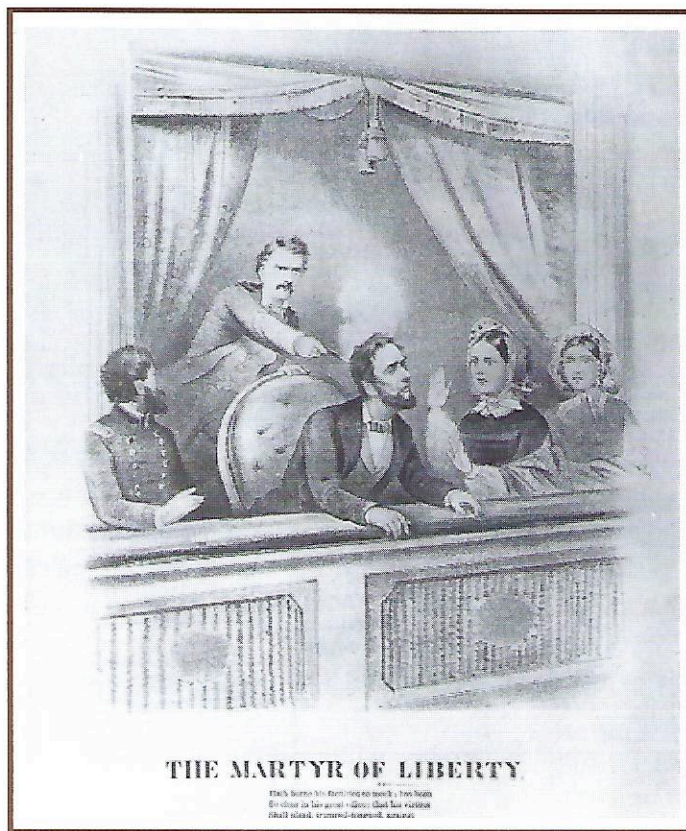
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10th ANNUAL LINCOLN FORUM EXPLORES THE LINCOLN ASSASSINATION



Ford's Theatre, April 14, 1865: John Wilkes Booth shoots Abraham Lincoln, as visualized by a period lithographer. (Photo: The Lincoln Museum)

The Lincoln assassination — the horrific “crime of the century” that transformed America’s slain 16th President from man to myth—is the one and only subject to be explored at the 10th annual Lincoln Forum symposium, November 16-18 at Gettysburg.

This year’s gathering marks the 140th anniversary of the Lincoln murder at Ford’s Theatre, a milestone that has ignited a remarkable wave of critically acclaimed new assassination scholarship. And it celebrates the 10th Forum Symposium, which first met at Gettysburg in 1996.

This year’s meeting—which has been devoted entirely to the still-hotly-debated assassination theme at the suggestion of Forum members speaking through their official evaluation forms—features appearances by the reigning national experts on the Lincoln assassination, death, and public response.

The Forum is proud to present as keynote speaker the acclaimed writer Jay Winik, author of the acclaimed best-seller *April 1865: The Month that Saved America*, who will explore the extraordinary two weeks that saw the nation plunge from mass celebration over the end of the Civil War, to mass national mourning over the death of the martyred president. Winik’s book has been

widely reported as a personal favorite and major influence on President George W. Bush. Doris Kearns Goodwin called *April 1865* “a superb piece of history,” Douglas Brinkley hailed it as “a gripping page turner of a book in which you can almost smell the smoke and blood,” and James M. McPherson saluted it as “a book that fully measures up to the importance of its subject.” In the words of historian Robert Dallek: “Everyone interested in America’s most terrible conflict and its aftermath will want to read this book.”

Among the other speakers is Forum favorite Edward Steers, Jr. whose *Blood on the Moon: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* is considered the most complete and authoritative book on the subject; Michael Kaufman, whose *American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies*, has been lavishly praised by book critics; and James L. Swanson, co-author of *Lincoln’s Assassins: Their Trial and Execution*, whose next book, *Manhunt: The 12-Day Chase for Lincoln’s Killer*, will be produced as a film.

Also appearing is Elizabeth Leonard (*Lincoln’s Avengers*), Thomas Reed Turner (*Beware the People Weeping: Public Opinion and the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln*) and Thomas Goodrich (*The Darkest Dawn--Lincoln, Booth and the Great American Tragedy*). Richard Sloan, former president of the Lincoln

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Lincoln and Leadership



MESSAGE
FROM THE
CHAIRMAN

This November, The Forum is pleased to present an outstanding group of speakers who will present an eclectic array of papers relating to one of America's foremost tragedies – the death of our greatest president.

One hundred and forty years later, Abraham Lincoln continues to inspire. He is the standard for all other presidents to follow. After the tragedy of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, all looked understandably to President George W. Bush for comfort, direction, and purpose that Americans have come to expect from the occupants of the White House during crises. "These are the kinds of moments when a president gives voice to the country," said Doris Kearns Goodwin, the presidential biographer whose *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* has just been published. "They're remembered forever, if its done right." In Ms. Goodwin's view, Abraham Lincoln did it right with the Gettysburg Address, as did Franklin D. Roosevelt when he asked Americans to buy maps and follow along with him as he explained the strategic World War II battle sites in a 1942 radio address. Today's news is the first draft of tomorrow's history so it is much too early to see how prosperity will judge the early years of the twenty-first century.

All wars are controversial when they occur and can make us blind to the facts of our military history. All conflicts are irrevocably muddy. As the former allied Supreme Commander in Europe, President Dwight D. Eisenhower remarked, "I hate war as only a soldier who has lived it can, only as one who has seen its brutality, its futility, its stupidity."

Lincoln, the last casualty of the Civil War, presided over a conflict that cost 620,000 lives. Along the way, he grew into a President of unchallenged greatness. He came to know what the deal was and did not bite his tongue about it. His Second Inaugural made that clear. Standing tall in comparison to the average man of his time – figuratively as well as literally – Lincoln let forth the speech that deepened John Wilkes Booth's resolve to assassinate him. With great eloquence, he regretted the loss of blood and the terror of war. But near the end of his address, he presented the issue so that there would be no doubt what the war meant and what might be the sacrifice, "Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

Few leaders have had such a noble purpose while addressing, with mournful recognition, the tragedy of armed force as shown on the bloody ground of Gettysburg.

Even Lincoln – with his great wisdom and foresight – would be challenged in coping with the pressures under which 2005 America finds itself. Recent bombings in London show that terrorism is still a global threat. Our soldiers continue to fight a difficult war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Supreme Court nominations have pitted one party against the other. And the back to back hurricanes this year strained national resources – and national patience – to the breaking point.

Somehow, the Lincoln Forum – now in its 10th year – often convenes at times of great national trial. Is it a coincidence – or does it usefully serve to remind us that America and Lincoln's successors are forever being tested? Each challenge seems more onerous than the ones that came before, yet somehow we are guided, as was Lincoln in the darkest days of Civil War, by "the better angels of our nature." Let us confidently hope, as Lincoln did, that "all will yet be well."

To sign up for our periodic Lincoln Forum e-newsletter, add your email via our website:

WWW.THELINCOLNFORUM.ORG

THE PRESIDENT IS SHOT!

THE FINAL MOMENTS AT FORD'S THEATRE

AN EXCERPT FROM

APRIL 1865

By Jay Winik

(New York: Harper Collins, 2001)

At roughly 10:07, outside the presidential box, an official-looking envelope is delivered to the White House footman, Charles Forbes; it is from S. P. Hanscom, a Lincoln ally and editor of the *National Republican*. Forbes takes it into the president, then returns to his position.

It is now five minutes later; this time Forbes inspects a gentleman's calling card. A moment passes, and then the guest's hand is upon the door. There is no latch. He gives it a push, and it opens quietly, to reveal a full view of Mary and Lincoln snuggling close. "Don't know the manners of a good society eh? [Asa] Trenchard cries out on stage to Mrs. Mountchessington. Watching this, Mary Lincoln is now smiling beautifully. And anticipating the punch line, Lincoln leans forward, with his chin cradled in his right hand and his arm resting on the balustrade. Mr. Trenchard continues: "Well, I guess I know enough to turn you inside out, old gal—you sockdologizing old mantrap..." The crowd bursts into laughter and a round of applause, punctuated only by the lone, muffled sound of an otherwise loud noise, like a violent clap of hands, or the crack of wood, or perhaps a fire-cracker.

Lincoln's arm jerks up convulsively. For a single terrible instant, nobody moves in the state box. May and Clara [Harris] are frozen in their seats. Clara's dress, her hands, her face are saturated with blood. Then pandemonium breaks out. The audience, now looking around, wonders what is happening. Is it part of the play? Another improvised scene?

Softly; a blue-white smoke drifts out of the presidential box.

Suddenly, a man jumps from the state box onto the stage. He is immediately recognizable to most everyone there. He is the actor John Wilkes Booth.

At that selfsame moment, the air is rent with a heart rending, incomprehensible shriek.

And then come a woman's words, shouted at the top of her lungs: "The President is shot!"

THE LAST PHOTO OF LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln sat for the final time in a photo studio on February 5, 1865, and then was photographed several more times as he arrived on the Capitol portico on March 4 and rose to deliver his second inaugural address. Two days later, on March 6, Massachusetts photographer Henry F. Warren arrived at the White House and asked the President to step outside onto the mansion's south balcony to pose one more time. Looking rather irritated as he grimaces against the March breeze, Abraham Lincoln, thin and haggard, hair unkempt, his famous beard trimmed back into little more than a goatee, poses for the final time. (left) Within days, Warren issued prints labeled "Latest Photograph of President Lincoln." In a few weeks more, he has re-issued it with the sad new caption: "Last Photograph..." (Photo: Harold Holzer)



SATAN TEMPTING BOOTH TO THE MURDER OF THE PRESIDENT.

Lincoln's final moments—as John Wilkes Booth saw them—gathering his courage from the underworld, in J. L. Magee's *Satan Tempting Booth to the Murder of President Lincoln*.



THE LATEST PHOTOGRAPH OF
PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Abraham Lincoln: Hypocrite or Statesman?

By Dinesh D'Souza

Most Americans—including most historians—regard Abraham Lincoln as the nation's greatest president. But in recent years powerful movements have gathered, on both the political right and the left, to condemn Lincoln as a flawed and even wicked man. For both camps, the debunking of Lincoln usually begins with an exposé of the “Lincoln myth,” which is well described in William Lee Miller's 2002 book, *Lincoln's Virtues: An Ethical Biography*. How odd it is, Miller writes, that an “unschooled” politician “from the raw frontier villages of Illinois and Indiana” could become such a great president. “He was the myth made real,” Miller writes, “rising from an actual Kentucky cabin made of actual Kentucky logs all the way to the actual White House.”

Lincoln's critics have done us all a service by showing that the actual author of the myth is Abraham Lincoln himself. It was Lincoln who, over the years, carefully crafted the public image of himself as Log Cabin Lincoln, Honest Abe, and the rest of it. Asked to describe his early life, Lincoln answered, “the short and simple annals of the poor,” referring to Thomas Gray's poem “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard.” Lincoln disclaimed great aspirations for himself, noting that if people did not vote for him, he would return to obscurity, for he was, after all, used to disappointments.

These pieties, however, are inconsistent with what Lincoln's law partner, William Herndon, said about him: “His ambition was a little engine that knew no rest.” Admittedly in the ancient world ambition was often viewed as a great vice. In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Brutus submits his reason for joining the conspiracy against Caesar: his fear that Caesar had grown too ambitious. But as founding father and future president James Madison noted in *The Federalist*, the American system was consciously designed to attract ambitious men. Such ambition was presumed natural to a politician and favorable to democracy as long as it sought personal distinction by promoting the public good through constitutional means.

What unites the right-wing and left-wing attacks on Lincoln, of course, is that they deny that Lincoln respected the law and that he was concerned with the welfare of all. The right-wing school—made up largely of Southerners and some libertarians—holds that Lincoln was a self-serving tyrant who rode roughshod over civil liberties, such as the right to habeas corpus. Lincoln is also accused of greatly expanding the size of the federal government. Some libertarians even charge—and this is not intended as a compliment—that Lincoln was the true founder of the welfare state. His right-wing critics say that, despite his show of humility, Lincoln was a megalomaniacal man who was willing to destroy half the country to serve his Caesarian ambitions. In an influential essay, the late Melvin E. Bradford, an outspoken conservative, excoriated Lincoln as a moral fanatic who, determined to enforce his Manichaean vision—one that sees a cosmic struggle between good and evil—on the country as a whole, ended up corrupting American politics and thus left a “lasting and terrible impact on the nation's destiny.”

Although Bradford viewed Lincoln as a kind of manic abolitionist, many in the right-wing camp deny that the slavery issue was central to the Civil War. Rather, they insist, the war was driven primarily by economic motives. Essentially, the industrial North wanted to destroy the economic base of the South. Historian Charles Adams, in *When in the Course of Human Events: Arguing the Case for Southern Secession*, published in 2000, contends that the causes leading up to the Civil War had virtually nothing to do with slavery.

This approach to rewriting history has been going on for more than a century. Alexander Stephens, former vice president of the Confederacy, published a two-volume history of the Civil War between 1868 and 1870 in which he hardly mentioned slavery, insisting that the war was an attempt to preserve constitutional government from the tyranny of the majority. But this is not what Stephens said in the great debates leading up to the war. In his “Cornerstone” speech, delivered in Savannah, Georgia, on March 21, 1861, at the same time that the South was in the process of seceding, Stephens said that the American Revolution had been based on a premise that was “fundamentally wrong.” That premise was, as Stephens defined it, “the assumption of equality of the races.” Stephens insisted that, instead, “our new [Confederate] government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea. Its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests upon the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man. Slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great and moral truth.”

This speech is conspicuously absent from the right's revisionist history. And so are the countless affirmations of black inferiority and the “positive good” of slavery: from John C. Calhoun's attacks on the Declaration of Independence to South Carolina Senator James H. Hammond's insistence that “the rock of Gibraltar does not stand so firm on its basis as our slave system.” It is true, of course, that many whites who fought on the Southern side in the Civil War did not own slaves. But, as Calhoun himself pointed out in one speech, they too derived an important benefit from slavery: “With us the two great divisions of society are not the rich and the poor, but white and black; and all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper class, and are respected and treated as equals.” Calhoun's point is that the South had conferred on all whites a kind of aristocracy of birth, so that even the most wretched and degenerate white man was determined in advance to be better and more socially elevated than the most intelligent and capable black man. That's why the poor whites fought: to protect that privilege.

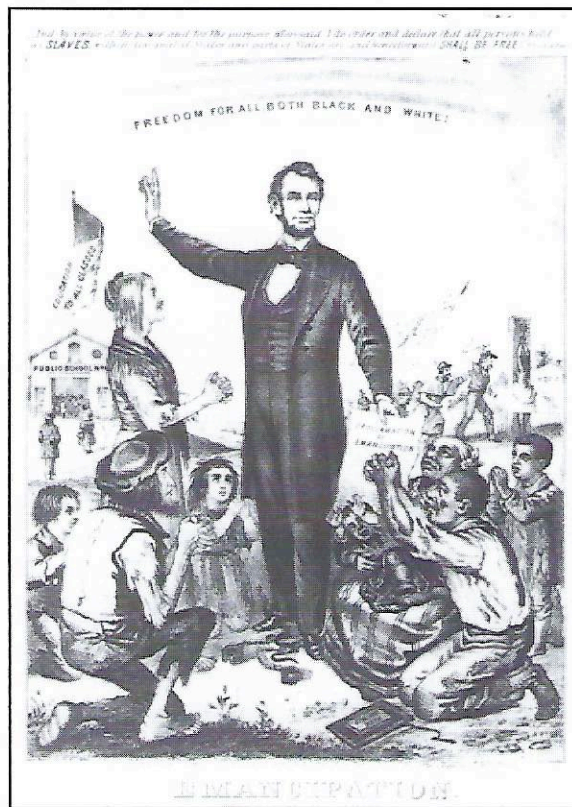
Contrary to Bradford's high-pitched accusations, Lincoln approached the issue of slavery with prudence and moderation. This is not to say that he waffled on the morality of slavery. “You think slavery is right, and ought to be extended,” Lincoln wrote Stephens on the eve of the war, “while we think it is wrong, and ought to be restricted.” As Lincoln clearly asserts, it was not his intention to get rid of slavery in the Southern states. Lincoln conceded that the American founders had agreed to tolerate slavery in the Southern states, and he confessed that he had no wish and no power to interfere with it there. The only issue—and it was an issue on which Lincoln would not bend—was whether the federal government could restrict slavery in the new territories. This was the issue of the presidential campaign of 1860; this was the issue that determined secession and war.

Lincoln argued that the South had no right to secede: that the Southern states had entered the Union as the result of a permanent compact with the Northern states. That Union was based on the principle of majority rule, with constitutional rights carefully delineated for the minority. Lincoln insisted that because he had been legitimately elected, and because the power to regulate slavery in the territories was nowhere proscribed in the Constitution, Southern secession amounted to nothing more than one group's decision to leave the country because it did not like the results of a presidential election and that no constitutional democracy could function under such an absurd rule. Of course the Southerners maintained that they should not be forced to live under a regime that they considered tyrannical, but Lincoln countered that any decision to dissolve the original compact could only occur with the consent of all the parties involved. Once again, it makes no sense to have such agreements when any group can unilaterally withdraw from them and go its own way.

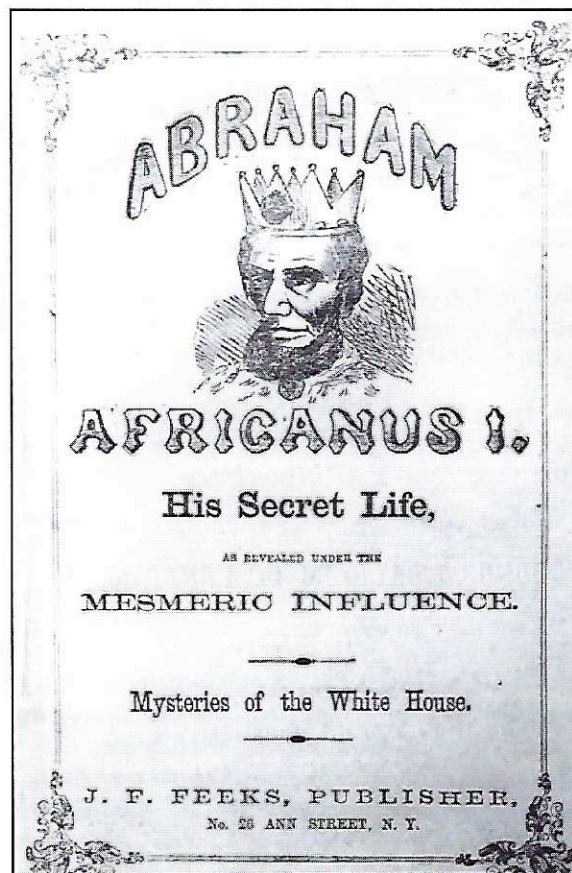
The rest of the libertarian and right-wing case against Lincoln is equally without merit. Yes, Lincoln suspended habeas corpus and arrested Southern sympathizers, but let us not forget that the nation was in a desperate war in which its very survival was at stake. Discussing habeas corpus, Lincoln insisted that it made no sense for him to protect this one constitutional right and allow the very Union established by the Constitution, the very framework for the protection of all rights, to be obliterated. Of course the federal government expanded during the Civil War, as it expanded during the Revolutionary War and during World War II. Governments need to be strong to fight wars. The evidence for the right-wing insistence that Lincoln was the founder of the modern welfare state stems from the establishment, begun during his administration, of a pension program for Union veterans and support for their widows and orphans. Those were, however, programs aimed at a specific, albeit large, part of the population. The welfare state came to America in the twentieth century. Franklin Roosevelt should be credited, or blamed, for that. He institutionalized it, and Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon expanded it.

The left-wing group of Lincoln critics, composed of liberal scholars and social activists, is harshly critical of Lincoln on the grounds that he was a racist who did not really care about ending slavery. Their indictment of Lincoln is that he did not oppose slavery outright, only the extension of it, that he opposed laws permitting intermarriage and even opposed social and political equality between the races. If the right-wingers disdain Lincoln for being too aggressively antislavery, the left-wingers scorn him for not being anti-slavery enough. Both groups, however, agree that Lincoln was a self-promoting hypocrite who said one thing while doing another.

Some of Lincoln's defenders have sought to vindicate him from these attacks by contending that he was a "man of his time." This will not do because there were several persons of that time, notably the social-reformer Grimké sisters, Angelina and Sarah, and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, who forthrightly and unambiguously attacked slavery and called for immediate and complete abolition. In one of his speeches, Sumner said that although there are many issues on which political men can and should compromise, slavery is not such an issue: "This will not admit of compromise. To be wrong on this is to be wholly wrong. It is our duty to defend freedom, unreservedly, and careless of the consequences."



Lincoln the emancipator: liberator (above) of both blacks and whites, as portrayed in a period print by James L. Magee; or negro-loving dictator, as seen in this illustration for an 1864 anti-Republican campaign screed. Photos: Lincoln Museum (above); Frank J. and Virginia Williams Collection (below)



Lincoln's modern liberal critics are, whether they know it or not, the philosophical descendants of Sumner. One cannot understand Lincoln without understanding why he agreed with Sumner's goals while consistently opposing the strategy of the abolitionists. The abolitionists, Lincoln thought, approached the restricting or ending of slavery with self-righteous moral display. They wanted to be in the right and—as Sumner himself says—damn the consequences. In Lincoln's view, abolition was a noble sentiment, but abolitionist tactics, such as burning the Constitution and advocating violence, were not the way to reach their goal.

We can answer the liberal critics by showing them why Lincoln's understanding of slavery, and his strategy for defeating it, was superior to that of Sumner and his modern-day followers. Lincoln knew that the statesman, unlike the moralist, cannot be content with making the case against slavery. He must find a way to implement his principles to the degree that circumstances permit. The key to understanding Lincoln is that he always sought the meeting point between what was right in theory and what could be achieved in practice. He always sought the common denominator between what was good to do and what the people would go along with. In a democratic society this is the only legitimate way to advance a moral agenda.

Consider the consummate skill with which Lincoln deflected the prejudices of his supporters without yielding to them. In the Lincoln-Douglas debates during the race for the Illinois Senate, Stephen Douglas repeatedly accused Lincoln of believing that blacks and whites were intellectually equal, of endorsing full political rights for blacks, and of supporting "amalgamation," or intermarriage, between the races. If these charges could be sustained, or if large numbers of people believed them to be true, then Lincoln's career was over. Even in the free state of Illinois—as throughout the North—there was widespread opposition to full political and social equality for blacks.

Lincoln handled this difficult situation by using a series of artfully conditional responses. "Certainly the Negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in many other respects; still, in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man. In pointing out that more has been given to you, you cannot

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ON THE LINCOLN BOOKSHELF...

Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln by Doris Kearns Goodwin (Simon & Schuster) is the long-awaited study of Lincoln and his strong-willed Cabinet ministers by the author of best-selling, prize-winning books on the Kennedys, the Roosevelts, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Brooklyn Dodgers baseball.

The Lincolns in the White House by Jerrold M. Packard (St. Martin's Press). If you thought the White House symbolized the American dream, this book may change your mind. Germs and disease-carrying insects abound, along with the tobacco juice, sweat, filth, malodorous swamps, ravenous and thieving guests, and foul water—all making life almost unbearable for the Lincoln family.

Lincoln's Melancholy by Joshua Wolf Shenk (Houghton Mifflin). Billed as a “myth-shattering work of interpretive history that chronicles how Lincoln's battles with depression contributed to his remarkable achievements,” this groundbreaking analytical study of Lincoln's mind and heart shows how Lincoln shifted his life goals from “personal contentment” to “universal justice.” The author wrote the lead article for this year's special “Lincoln” issue of *Time Magazine*.

Lincoln's Speeches Considered by John Channing Briggs (Johns Hopkins University Press) traces the evolution of Lincoln's public oratory from the Lyceum Address to the Second Inaugural, with an emphasis on the pre-presidential speeches. Douglas Wilson says the book “manages to shed new light on some of the most familiar of all American texts.”

What Lincoln Believed: The Values and Convictions of America's Greatest President by Michael Lind (Doubleday) portrays its subject as an ardent nationalist—but also an incurable racist. Historian Douglas Brinkley called it “a landmark contribution to American historiography,” boasting “keen analytical insight and concise prose” in “brilliant and original” synthesis. Other critics—like James M. McPherson, Frank J. Williams and this editor—have been less kind.

“First Among Equals:” Abraham Lincoln's Reputation During his Administration by Hans L. Trefousse (Fordham University Press). A venerable Reconstruction historian turns his attention to wartime, exhuming period sources to argue that Lincoln was an authentic American hero well before assassination transformed him into an American saint. James M. McPherson hailed it as “a much-needed corrective of the traditional story,” and historian Harold Hyman called it “a portable treasure trove of primary sources and reasonable interpretations.”

The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln by C. A. Tripp (Free Press) certainly ranks as the most widely discussed and controversial Lincoln book of the new century, arguing that Lincoln was “fundamentally homosexual.” While Gore Vidal found the arguments “not only convincing but, in the light of his evidence, irrefutable,” others have rejected the book as contrived and flawed. Few recent Lincoln books have earned as much press coverage. Contains a sympathetic postscript by historian Jean H. Baker, as well as a virulent dissent by Michael Burlingame.

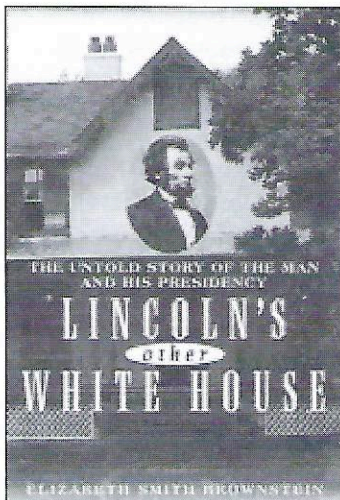
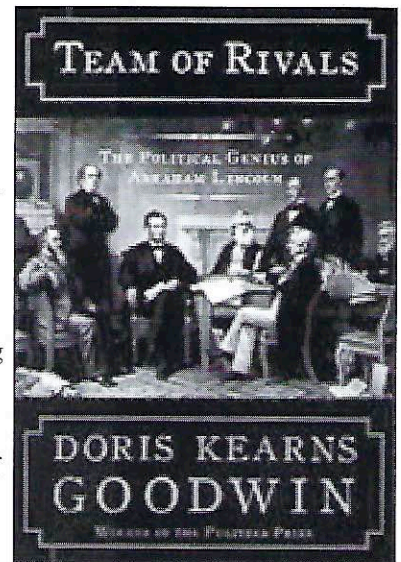
Four Marys and a Jessie: The Story of the Lincoln Women by C. J. King, with an introduction by Harold Holzer (Friends of Hildene). From Mary Todd Lincoln to her great-granddaughter, Mary Todd Lincoln Beckwith, this multi-generational biography explores the distaff side of the President's family.

Robert Todd Lincoln: A Man in His Own Right by John S. Goff, with a new introduction by Frank J. Williams (Friends of Hildene). The standard biography of Lincoln's first-born son—long out of print—gets a long-awaited republication.

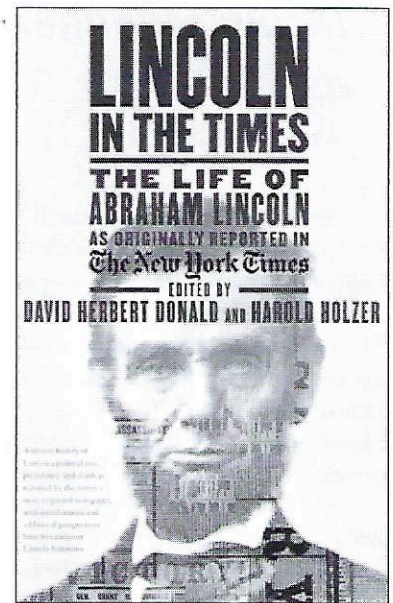
Gettysburg Leadership Lessons for Lawyers (And Non-Lawyers too!) by Jay Jorgenson (History Attic Books) is the latest book on Lincoln's greatest oration—but the first to break it down into precisely organized and highly useful instruction in how to lead and inspire. Frank J. Williams called it “a most handy tutorial,” and James I. Robertson termed it “a manual beneficial to any person seeking advancement in a career.”

Freedom, Union, and Power: Lincoln and His Party during the Civil War, by Michael S. Green (Fordham University Press), promises a fresh look at the practice of politics during a time of secession, rebellion, and outspoken opposition to Lincoln's Republicans from a vocal Democratic minority.

Lincoln's Other White House: The Untold Story of the Man and his Presidency by Elizabeth Brownstein (John Wiley & Sons) tells the story that, title notwithstanding, was told before by Matthew Pinsker in *Lincoln's Sanctuary*. Still, Geoffrey C. Ward predicted that “this vivid new book will finally help the Soldier's Home find its rightful place in the epic” of Lincoln's life, and Jean H. Baker called it “a significant contribution to the study” of Lincoln's “times and place.”



Lincoln in the Times: The Life of Abraham Lincoln as Originally Reported in The New York Times, edited by David Herbert Donald and Harold Holzer (St. Martin's Press). Lincoln's political career, as traced and interpreted by the newspaper of record from 1858 through 1865, contains hundreds of pages of transcripts, with introductions and commentary by the editors. This is a book version of the boxed set of newspaper reproductions issued by the *Times* in 2004.



American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies by Michael W. Kauffman (Random House) ranks as the most tenaciously researched book yet on the 16th president's assassin. The book offers countless new insights on Booth's life and career, taking readers deep into the sordid details of the plot to kidnap, then murder, Lincoln. Richard Norton Smith hailed this "gripping, often surprising reexamination of America's most notorious crime," noting that the author combined "exhaustive research, computer technology, and a compulsively readable style" to clear away "more than a century of misconceptions."

Lincoln's American Dream edited by Joseph R. Fornieri and Kenneth L. Deutsch (Potomac Books) offers interesting essays by leading scholars who address themes relating to Lincoln's political thought, leadership and legacy.

The Darkest Dawn--Lincoln, Booth and the Great American Tragedy by Thomas Goodrich (Indiana University Press), a new study of the assassination that Forum Chairman Frank J. Williams has called "exceptional."

OF RELATED INTEREST...

Craig L. Symonds, *Decision at Sea: Five Naval Battles that Shaped American History* (Oxford University Press) shows how some of the most famous naval battles from Lake Erie to the Persian Gulf changed the course of naval warfare as well as American history—including the 1862 duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack*, which ushered in the iron age at sea.

John F. Marszalek, *Commander of All Lincoln's Armies: A Life of General Henry W. Halleck* shows precisely why the famous officer was called "Old Brains"—and what he did during the Civil War to live down the title. William C. "Jack" Davis called it "surely the finest work on the subject we are likely to get."

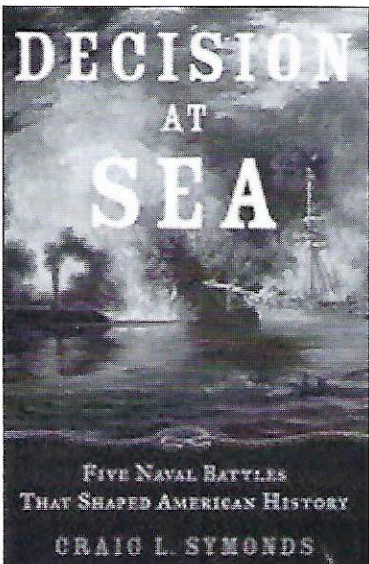
Mark E. Neely Jr., *The Boundaries of American Political Culture in the Civil War Era* (University of North Carolina Press), freshly explores political cartoons, minstrelsy, Union Leagues, and the celebration of "household gods" in the American home—a thoroughly expert look at material and political culture from a master of the field.

Jon Wiener, *Historians in Trouble* (The New Press), explores the thorny issue of plagiarism, and the authors who have been accused.

John M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Harvard University Press) examines how a onetime symbol of defiance became a latter-day symbol of racism.

Ernest B. Furguson, *Freedom Rising: Washington in the Civil War* (Alfred A. Knopf), masterfully opens a window onto the wartime capital—as it grew from Southern backwater into military stronghold during the Lincoln years.

David S. Reynolds, *John Brown: Abolitionist* (Alfred A. Knopf) is a long, rich, complex portrait of the watershed anti-slavery figure who, as one critic pointed out, was both "a terrorist" and "a folk hero."



Jean H. Baker, *James Buchanan* (Times Books), the latest brief biography in the "American Presidents" series, offers an uncompromising portrait of Lincoln's inadequate White House predecessor.

AND COMING SOON...

Manhunt: The 12-Day Chase for Lincoln's Killer by James L. Swanson (William Morrow, February 2006).

Frederick Douglass and the Fourth of July Oration by James A. Colaico (St. Martin's Press, 2006) shows how one pre-war speech inspired the abolitionist movement.

The Battle of Hampton Roads, edited by Harold Holzer and Tim Mulligan (Fordham University Press) offers the latest scholarship on the most famous naval encounter of the Civil War—by William C. Davis, Craig Symonds, and the naval experts who raised the remains of the *Monitor* from the deep. This official publication of the Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia, reproduces treasures from the collection, including relics from the wreck site.

Lincoln Management Style Serves as Model for Today's Executives

By Don Pieper

So you've been promoted to the corner office? Congratulations. Of course, that's the office where the buck stops. Make bad decisions there and the bucks stop.

It may seem overwhelming:

- Finding leaders who accept your vision and, instead of whining about resources and the strength of the competition, just get the job done.
- Dealing with astringent associates convinced that they can do your job better than you.
- Coping with dramatic changes in technology, the workforce, the economy, the political environment.

You aren't the first executive to confront such confounding challenges. Abraham Lincoln faced them — when the price of misjudgment could be the end of the Union and the continuation of slavery.

Antigoni and Everett Ladd, Lincoln Forum regulars, conduct workshops to help today's leaders learn from Lincoln. Not only from Lincoln, but Lewis and Clark, and Sitting Bull, and Robert E. Lee, and Clara Barton, and Winston Churchill, and others in history whose responses to tough management problems offer useful lessons.

The most popular of the workshops the Ladds offer through their Gettysburg-based Tigrett Corporation are, by far, those in which Abraham Lincoln's leadership style is the model.

The Ladds have conducted 113 Lincoln workshops since 1988, when they began using exemplars from history to teach leadership lessons to business, government and institutional executives. So, they have assembled an impressive foundation of knowledge about Lincoln's methods, but they are as enthusiastic as ever about learning more. They say their appreciation and respect for Lincoln's management skills continues to grow.

An important aspect of their research is an active role in the Lincoln Forum and its symposia. As their company and its offerings developed, they joined several Lincoln organizations, Antigoni says, but found the Forum especially valuable and its members "so warm and welcoming - so open and friendly."

Forum members and programming serve as important resources for the Ladds ("We've learned a ton," Antigoni says), but the Forum profits from the relationship, too. Materials used annually at the symposia are kept at the Ladds' Gettysburg home. "Our basement may be the Forum's official storehouse," Antigoni says.

There are other common elements between the Tigrett programs and the Lincoln Forum.

Jim Getty, the Lincoln impersonator whose recitation of the Gettysburg Address is a fixture at the Forum sessions, is a feature in the Ladds' Lincoln format.

The workshops immerse participants in the context in which Lincoln operated through readings, discussions and site tours. Then Mr. Lincoln himself - or at least the knowledgeable and believable Jim Getty - stops by in full costume for a conversation, enlivened, perhaps, by a little story or two.

Once participants (limited to 25 to 30 per workshop) have a grasp of the Lincoln approach, Everett says, they are asked to examine how similar strategies could be useful in dealing with contemporary challenges. The idea, Everett says, is to let the participants discover this for themselves, not have it preached to them as dogma.

Another Gettysburg resource used by the Ladds and familiar to Forum regulars is Gary Kross, the veteran battlefield guide. His tours



Antigoni and Everett Ladd, Forum regulars, show executives how Lincoln and other historical figures serve as effective guides in today's management crises. (Photo: the Ladds.)

set in the minds of the Ladds' clients the scenes where the combat raged and the Address was delivered.

This has been a busy fall for the Ladds. It seemed that everyone wanted to book a workshop, Everett says, "and we said 'yes' to them all."

It hasn't always been that way, of course. In the beginning, it was a sideline, more of a hobby than a business. Eventually, one of the Ladds had to devote full time to the project, then both of them. Until two years ago, the operation was conducted from Arlington, Virginia, but the couple had so much going on at Gettysburg (including programs on Eisenhower and Churchill) that they moved.

Not all their workshops are conducted there, however. "Lessons from Lincoln," for example, can be scheduled in Illinois, where visits to appropriate sites are on the workshop agenda.

Crazy Horse's command skills at Little Big Horn and the Lewis and Clark team management practices have been presented in Montana. Workshops also are presented in Washington and other sites.

There is lots more about the Ladds' programs at TigrettCorp.com, where the familiar face of Abraham Lincoln tops the home page. 📖

What's a tigrett? Yes, it's a town in Tennessee. Yes, it's a rare but extant surname.

But the "tigrett" in Tigrett Corporation was fashioned from the first names of Antigoni and Everett Ladd.

"We made it up," Antigoni says, "trying to find something unique. Then we applied for our Web site name and found that Tigrett already was taken by a real estate firm in Texas."

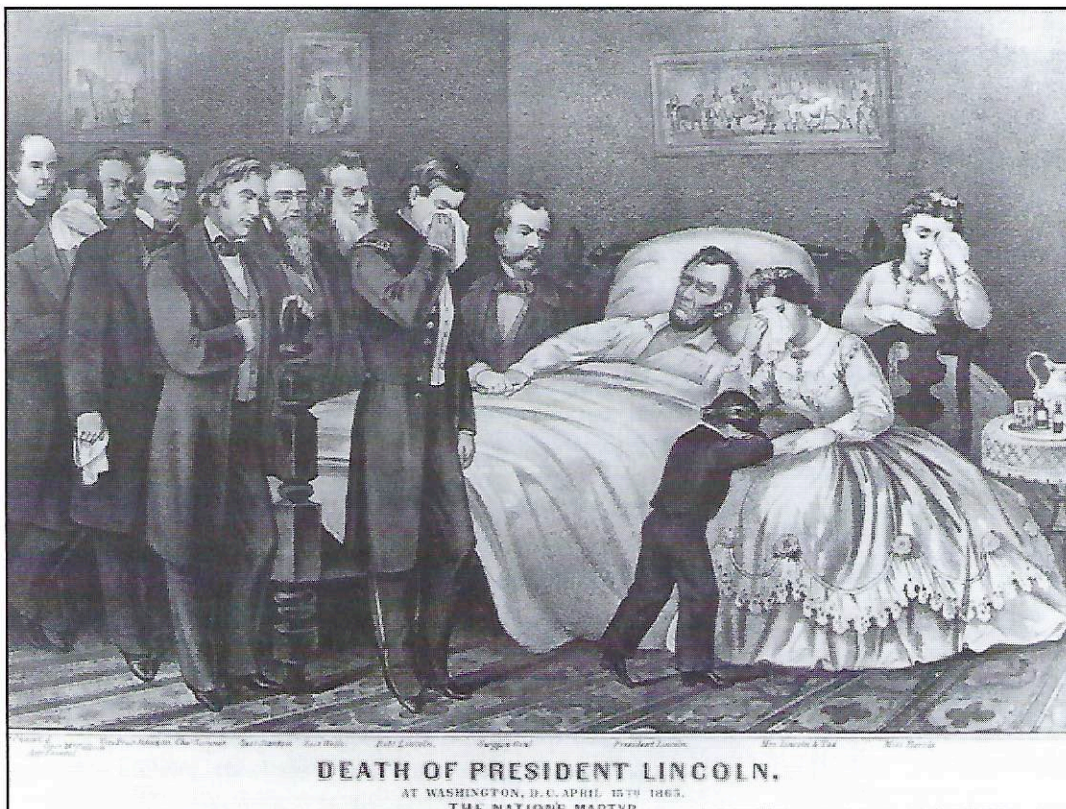
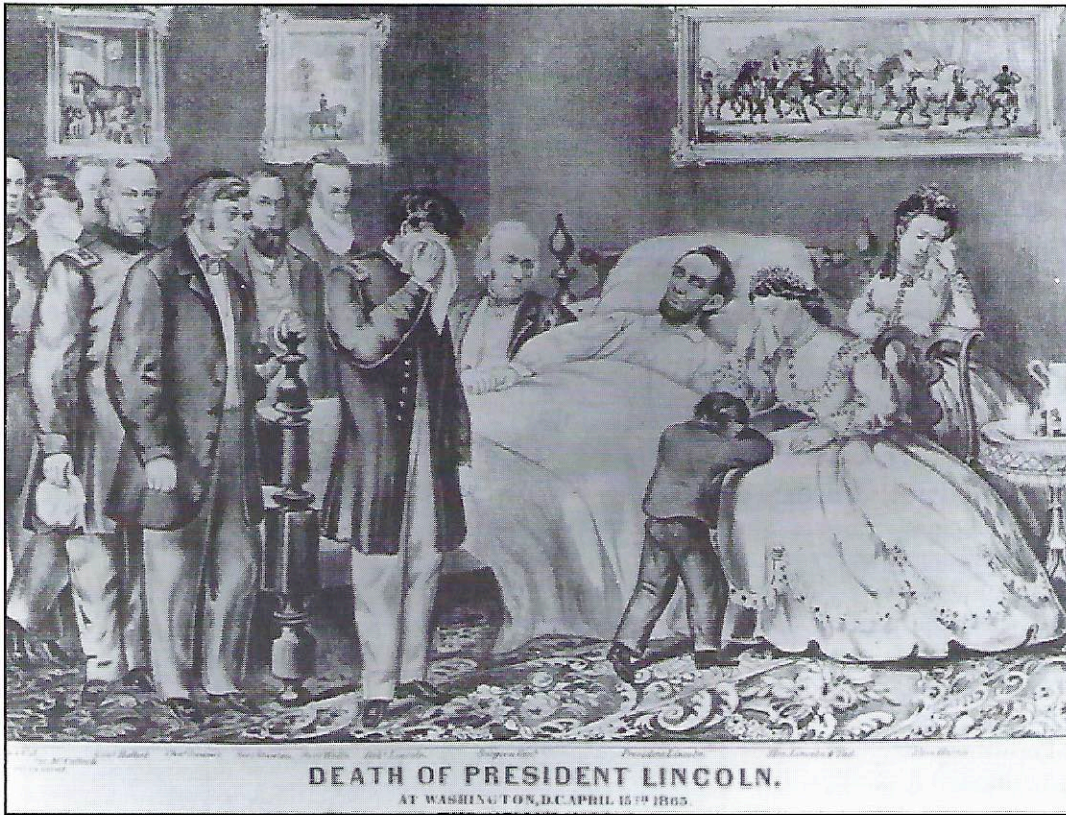
That would be Bill Tigrett's firm, with offices in Port O'Connor and Seadrift. Bill also can help with boat storage.

Not long after the Ladds concocted Tigrett, Antigoni says, "a banker showed up at my summer school program at the University of Virginia, and his name was Tigrett, too.

"Then we spoke at a program where a man asked if we were related to the Tigrett who started the Hard Rock Café (Isaac Tigrett, co-founder with Peter Morton).

"Good grief," Antigoni asks, "is there nothing left to invent?"

Whoever Attended Him



Printmakers of 1865 never seemed able to agree on the number—or identity—of the civilian leaders, military officials, or family members who gathered around Lincoln's bedside at the Petersen boarding house to witness his death on April 15. Graphics of the period might crowd dozens of celebrities into the tiny chamber, just to be sure. Sometimes the printmakers disagreed not only with each other, but also with themselves. New York lithographer Currier & Ives, for example, hastily issued a *Death of President Lincoln* print (top) that featured only two onlookers in uniform: Robert T. Lincoln (center, nearest bed) and Major General Henry W. Halleck. But within weeks, the firm issued a revision that featured vastly improved portraits of Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles (behind foot of bed), a slimmer Robert, a younger and more realistic Surgeon General (holding the President's hand) and a weeping Mary Lincoln who looked a bit more like the original, even with her face hidden behind her hanky. Inexplicably, the revision generated a far worse portrait of Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase (far left), and perpetuated the myth that Tad Lincoln had been present at his father's deathbed. Oddest of all—perhaps under the belief that this update could be not only the last picture of the 16th president, but also the first of the 17th president—the printmakers dumped General Halleck from the scene altogether, replacing him with Vice President Andrew Johnson, soon to succeed the dying man. What an irony: Johnson was so despised by Mary that his visit to the death chamber had been brief and perfunctory. He was not present at all when Abraham Lincoln breathed his last. Photos: The Lincoln Museum (top); Library of Congress (bottom).

A Very Dreadful Night: Robert Todd Lincoln and his Father's Assassination

By Jason Emerson

"I remember with great vividness, it seems to me, all the details of that dreadful time..."

— *Robert T. Lincoln to Mrs. Henry C. Hall, February 20, 1909.*

Robert Lincoln and his father were never particularly close. As Robert wrote to biographer J.E. Holland in June 1865:

During my childhood & early youth he was almost constantly away from home, attending court or making political speeches. In 1854 when I was sixteen & when he was beginning to devote himself more to practice in his own neighborhood & when I would have had both the inclination & the success to gratify my desire to become better acquainted with the history of his early struggles, I went to New Hampshire to school & afterwards to Harvard College & he became President. Thenceforth any great intimacy between us became impossible. I scarcely ever had two minutes quiet talk with him during his Presidency, on account of his constant devotion to business.

One of the most intimate moments that father and son shared — of which history is aware — was the morning of April 14, 1865, when Robert, freshly returned from City Point, Va., where he served as a captain and assistant adjutant of volunteers on Lieutenant General U.S. Grant's staff, breakfasted with his family in the White House. Robert related to his father what was the president's first eyewitness account of General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House.

That day, Robert Lincoln was one in a line of people who declined his parents' invitation to accompany them to Ford's Theatre. Robert, after spending months in the field, chose instead to relax in the White House and talk with his friend John Hay, before an early sleep. Robert was awoken with the news that his father had been shot, and rushed to the Petersen House. He spent the night alternating between comforting his distraught mother and standing watch at the head of his father's bed. The effects of that night on Robert are not a simple matter of appending psychological vocabulary to his reaction: it goes beyond that surface into feelings of guilt, family instability and even public expressions about his father's life and death — all of which had ramifications upon the legacy of Abraham Lincoln and the Lincoln family.

Gideon Welles, President Lincoln's secretary of the Navy, made the following observation in his diary concerning Robert's composure on the night of the assassination: "A little before seven, I went into the room where the dying president was rapidly drawing near the closing moments. His wife soon after made her last visit to him. The death-struggle had begun. Robert, his son, stood with several others at the head of the bed. He bore



Robert Lincoln mourns for his father—from a post-assassination photograph by Gardner, staged as a model for a painting of the President's deathbed.

himself well, but on two occasions gave way to overpowering grief and sobbed aloud, turning his head and leaning on the shoulder of Senator Sumner."

Many drawings and engravings of the Petersen House scene were made shortly after the assassination, and the scene of Robert leaning on Sumner is a common one. Yet, Robert had another bastion of support during this time in the form of Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war. Stanton is known now as a gruff, unfriendly, nearly apathetic individual who handled the night of the assassination and following days with a cold, stolid, steely hand. Yet Stanton's inner compassion can be seen in his actions and support towards Robert after the assassination. Robert explained in a 1911 letter to historian David H. Bates: "Your ideas of [Stanton's] different characteristics agree entirely with my own. His gruffness and complete absorption in the great work he had at hand were the most prominent characteristics to the public of course; but like yourself I knew personally of many things which indicated the great warmth of his heart. I would not care to have it published, but I will tell you that for more than ten days after my father's death in Washington, he called every morning on me in my room, and spent the first few minutes of his visits weeping without saying a word."

The death of Abraham Lincoln made Robert Lincoln, age 21, the man of the family. He was forced to assume this duty immediately and represent the family during the state viewing, the funeral procession and journey, and Illinois burial of his father. Robert not only did this, but he did it alone, as Mary Lincoln was prostrated by grief and she would not allow her youngest son, Tad, to leave her side. Robert sat with presidential secretaries John G. Nicolay and John Hay at the foot of the catafalque on which his father's coffin rested during the funeral ceremonies in the east room of the White House. He traveled with the coffin on the funeral train for the 11-city journey back to Springfield. Along the way, Robert acted as intermediary between his mother and the Illinois officials who were working to secure a proper burial place for the president, and who were disagreeing as to where it should be placed.

The apathy and disdain with which Mary Lincoln was treated by former friends of her husband — beginning with the placement of the Lincoln tomb and monument — was just the beginning of the sad course of Mary's post-assassination life. Lincoln contemporaries and modern historians generally agree that while Mary had emotional instability during most of her marriage, it was the assassination that irrevocably damaged her mind. Robert always believed this to be the case. "The shocking circumstances of my father's death completely deranged her," he wrote to family friend Abram Wakeman in 1908. By April 1875 — the 10-year anniversary of the assassination — Mary's mental troubles had advanced so far that Robert began taking actions that culminated in his mother's committal to a sanitarium. The public trial caused mother and son great anguish, as well as a rift between them that took five years to heal.

Much can be speculated about the relationship between Robert and Abraham, as well as about Robert's feelings about his father posthumously. Reading through Robert's letters, however, it is clear that with every year that passed, Robert's reverence and appreciation for his father increased. In a 1909 letter to William P. Kellogg, former Louisiana U.S. Senator and Governor, Robert stated his beliefs that the Reconstruction period would have been "very different and more happy," had his father lived:

Of course I myself think this is true, because I know, as you know, that his first wish was a complete and friendly restoration of the Union, and that in his work he would have brought no animosities of his own, for he had none, and that on some of the questions which gave the greatest trouble in the south during the reconstruction period, and are still doing so, his personal views were not of the radical nature which perhaps gave the most trouble. He would have found it at the best a most difficult task, and no one can tell how great his success would have been.

Nicholas Murray Butler, Robert's friend in his later years, suggested in his 1940 memoirs that perhaps the greatest effect of the assassination on Robert was the overwhelming guilt it caused him. Robert never forgave himself for his absence at Ford's Theatre that night. As the youngest member of the presidential party, Robert would have sat at the back of the box, closest to the door. He always felt that had he been there, "Booth would have had to deal with him before he could have shot the president."

During the Lincoln centennial in 1909, every aspect of Lincoln's life was being explored and explained, including the assassination. Richard Watson Gilder, the editor of *The Century Magazine*, by this time had a long correspondence and relationship with Robert Lincoln, consulting with him first on the Hay-Nicolay 10-volume biography of Abraham Lincoln, excerpts of which were printed in the *Century* for years, but then asking Robert personally for information regarding his father for a range of subsequent articles.

In January of that year, Gilder asked Lincoln to expound on his memories, thoughts and feelings of the night of April 14, 1865. Robert replied: "Of course I would not wish to interpose my personal feeling in the matter of a publication in regard to the events of that night which you thought from all points of view was proper and decorous. But if the matter is at all equally balanced in your mind I should be very glad not to see it published in the *Century*. It was a very dreadful night, and I personally should not like to read again an account of it."

Gilder complied with Robert's request, to which Robert wrote on Feb. 20, 1909: "I am very glad that you at least are not going to publish the details of the night of April 14th. Of course it is possible, and even probable, that they will be published somewhere, but I shall hope in not such an important way as if done in the *Century*."

The vast archives in Robert Lincoln's Vermont home, Hildene, contains a great collection of newspaper clippings, magazine articles, books and ephemera relating to Abraham Lincoln. There is only one item in that collection about the assassination — a book about a U.S. naval astronomical expedition with its pages pasted over with assassination newspaper clippings — and that was most likely given to Robert, not collected by him. Unfortunately, the curator at Hildene does not know exactly what, if any, assassination-related materials Illinois historian James T. Hickey took from the house when he went through it in the 1970s and brought a huge part of the collection back to Illinois. Efforts to inquire at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library have gone unanswered. However, it seems clear that Hickey took primary materials — such as the *Insanity File* and Robert's letterpress books — and left the secondary, which still remain, in which case, he most likely would have left any post-assassination memorabilia. It is logical, therefore, to postulate that although Robert took a keen interest in all writings and biographies of his father, he had no interest in further reading about that dreadful night. ■

(Independent historian Jason Emerson is at work on a new biography of Robert Todd Lincoln. His article on Abraham Lincoln's Bixby Letter will appear in a forthcoming issue of American Heritage Magazine.)

The Mariners' Museum 2006 Battle of Hampton Roads Weekend:

March 9th-12th

(Thursday to Sunday)

www.mariner.org

Forum Symposium

Continued from page 1

Group of New York, will offer an unusual sight-and-sound evocation of Lincoln's 1865 funeral.

Making a rare special appearance is pre-eminent Lincoln collector Louise Taper (co-editor of *"Right or Wrong, God Judge Me: The Writings of John Wilkes Booth"*), who will discuss her extraordinary personal holdings of assassination-related documents and artifacts. And Joan Chaconas and Laurie Verge of the Surratt Society will explore the still-debated role of Mary Surratt, who was executed for complicity in the Lincoln murder.

"This is the first time in its 10-year history that the Lincoln Forum has focused exclusively on the assassination story," commented Forum Chairman Frank J. Williams. "But in the year of its 140th anniversary, it is 'altogether fitting and proper,' to paraphrase Lincoln himself, that we do so. In the midst of a huge and important revival in assassination scholarship, we are proud to welcome the most important scholars in the field to discuss and debate the question for which the country has been seeking answers for seven score years: who killed Abraham Lincoln, and why?"

Lincoln Forum X will also feature presentation of the organization's annual Richard Nelson Current Award of Achievement, along with three days of book and artifact sales, a tour of the Gettysburg battlefield, lunch in the historic Dobbin House, and receptions, meals, papers, and panels at the Forum's official headquarters, the Holiday Inn Gettysburg Battlefield.

On November 19th, the morning after the Forum concludes, participants will again be able to remain in town for annual events tied to the anniversary of the 1863 Gettysburg Address. Remembrance Day observances in the National Soldiers' cemetery are free and open to the public, featuring a nationally prominent speaker to be announced. The Remembrance Day Parade, sponsored by the Sons of Union Veterans, proceeds from the center of town to the cemetery.

The annual luncheon of the Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania at Gettysburg College, will present speaker Margaret S. Creighton; and the 44th annual Fortenbaugh Lecture that evening, at the newly renovated Majestic Theatre, will feature Civil War scholar Gary Gallagher of the University of Virginia. ■

The Lincoln Forum 2006:

Meets November

16th, 17th & 18th

(Thursday, Friday and Saturday)



If you have news to share — on your Lincoln or Civil War organization, activities, or studies — send it for inclusion in the next Bulletin to:

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Hypocrite or Statesman?

Continued from page 5

be justified in taking away the little which has been given to him. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy." Notice that Lincoln only barely recognizes the prevailing prejudice. He never acknowledges black inferiority; he merely concedes the possibility. And the thrust of his argument is that even if blacks were inferior, that is not a warrant for taking away their rights.

Facing the charge of racial amalgamation, Lincoln said, "I protest against that counterfeit logic which concludes that because I do not want a black woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife." Lincoln is not saying that he wants, or does not want, a black woman for his wife. He is neither supporting nor opposing racial intermarriage. He is simply saying that from his antislavery position it does not follow that he endorses racial amalgamation. Elsewhere Lincoln turned anti-black prejudices against Douglas by saying that slavery was the institution that had produced the greatest racial intermixing and the largest number of mulattoes.

Lincoln was exercising the same prudent statesmanship when he wrote to New York newspaper publisher Horace Greeley asserting: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that." The letter was written on August 22, 1862, almost a year and a half after the Civil War broke out, when the South was gaining momentum and the outcome was far from certain. From the time of secession, Lincoln was desperately eager to prevent border states such as Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri from seceding. These states had slavery, and Lincoln knew that if the issue of the war was cast openly as the issue of slavery, his chances of keeping the border states in the Union were slim. And if all the border states seceded, Lincoln was convinced, and rightly so, then the cause of the Union was gravely imperiled.

Moreover, Lincoln was acutely aware that many people in the North were vehemently anti-black and saw themselves as fighting to save their country rather than to free slaves. Lincoln framed the case against the Confederacy in terms of saving the Union in order to maintain his coalition—a coalition whose victory was essential to the antislavery cause. And ultimately it was because of Lincoln that slavery came to an end. That is why the right wing can never forgive him.

In my view, Lincoln was the true "philosophical statesman," one who was truly good and truly wise. Standing in front of his critics, Lincoln is a colossus, and all of the Lilliputian arrows hurled at him bounce harmlessly to the ground. It is hard to put any other president—not even George Washington—in the same category as Abraham Lincoln. He was simply the greatest practitioner of democratic statesmanship that America and the world have yet produced. ■

(Dinesh D'Souza is the Robert and Karen Rishwain Fellow at the Hoover Institution. This essay was first published in the April 2005 issue of American History magazine, and is reprinted here with the kind permission of the author.)