





Number 28

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

October, 1940

The Lincolns of Virginia

LINCOLN FAMILIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE OLD DOMINION

The story of the Virginia Lincolns embraces biographical sketches of the pioneer, John Lincoln (1716-1788), his wife, five sons, four daughters, and their descendants. Particular emphasis is placed on the few families which remained in Virginia, while passing notice is given to those who finally took up their residences in other parts of the country.

Mention should also be made of Ann Lincoln (1725-1812), a sister of John, who married William Tallman. They settled near John Lincoln, and their descendants intermarried with many of the leading families of the Shenandoah Valley.

Apparently none of the other brothers and sisters of John and Ann followed them into Virginia. Hannah, who married Joseph Milliard, Mary, who married Francis Yarnall, and Sarah, who married George Boon, remained in Pennsylvania. Mordecai, Thomas, and Abraham, and their respective wives, Mary Webb, Mary Davis, and Mary Boon, all remained

in Pennsylvania where they are buried. There was an infant sister of John and Ann Lincoln Tallman named Deborah buried in New Jersey.

Among Lincoln students John Lincoln is known as "Virginia John" to distinguish him from his cousin John with whom he was associated in Pennsylvania. This pioneer of the Virginia Lincolns was born in Monmouth County, New Jersey, and was the son of Mordecai and Sarah Saltar Lincoln. The family first migrated into Pennsylvania and about 1765 into Virginia.

When John Lincoln reached the Shenandoah Valley he settled on Linville Creek in what was then Augusta County but later became Rockingham County. Here he acquired a very fine estate of 600 acres. John was about fifty years old when he purchased the Virginia property, and on this land he lived over twenty years, until the time of his death in 1788.

John's wife was Rebecca Flowers Morris, a widow of John Morris. The names of the children of John Lincoln and his wife were Abraham, Hannah, Lydia, Isaac, Jacob, John, Sarah, Thomas, and Rebecca. None of the above children except Rebecca, the youngest daughter, were born in Virginia, but all of the children with possibly one exception were married in Virginia.

The will of John Lincoln, probated June 22, 1789, is on file in the Rockingham County Court House. The appraisal of his personal property, valued at 91 pounds, 19 shillings, 10 pence, is also filed. One of the most valuable sources of information about the family is the collection of papers in the legal proceedings in the settlement of the estate.

While it is very likely that the burials of John Lincoln and his wife were made in that piece of ground that has since become known as the Lincoln family burial ground, no tombstones mark their resting places.

Children of John Lincoln Who Migrated to Other States

Abraham Lincoln, 1744-1786

John Lincoln's oldest son Abraham was a prominent man in the Shenandoah Valley, often mentioned as Judge Advocate during the period of the Revolution. He was married in 1770, but the papers on file in the Augusta County Court House do not give the name of his bride. Ten years later, when he sold his land in preparation for his western migration, his wife signed her name as Bathsheba. It is claimed her surname was Herring.

It is not known definitely whether or not Bathsheba was Abraham's first wife and the mother of all his children of which there were five. All of them were born in Virginia, namely, Mordecai, Josiah, Mary, Thomas (father of the President), and Nancy. The oldest child, Mordecai, was about eleven years old at the time of their removal to Kentucky in 1782.

Isaac Lincoln, 1750-1816

The second son of John Lincoln was serving as a constable in Augusta County as early as 1773, when he was but 23 years of age. He was the first of the Lincoln boys to migrate, and by 1775 was in Tennessee, connected in some way with the famous Henderson Company. He married Mary Ward and they had one child who died in childhood. Isaac died in Tennessee in 1816 and his wife survived until 1834. He was the owner of a large number of slaves and his land finally came into possession of members of President Andrew Johnson's family. It was on the Isaac Lincoln plantation in Tennessee that Andrew Johnson passed away. (See Lincoln Kinsman No. 14.)

John Lincoln, 1755-1835

John, named for his father, married Mary Yarnall in 1782. She was his cousin, a daughter of Francis and Mary Yarnall of Berks County, Pennsylvania. John settled about twelve miles from Harrisonburg at Turleyville, where he operated a gristmill, bark mill, and tan yard. At one time he was a deputy surveyor of the county. All of the children of John and Mary were born in Virginia: Jesse, Hannah, Abraham, Mordecai, Rachel, Isaac, Phoebe, Nancy Ann, Mary, Juliana, and John.

In 1819 the parents and many of the children moved to Ohio where John died in 1835. His wife's death preceded his by about two years, and they are both buried in the Baptist cemetery at Lebanon, Ohio. We shall have occasion to mention again some of the children who remained in Virginia.

Sarab Lincoln, 1757-

It seems likely that Sarah Lincoln joined the Tennessee colony of Lincolns, as she is said to have married a Mr. Dean, possibly John Dean, who in 1789 was in the Wautauga community where the Lincolns settled.

Thomas Lincoln, 1761-1819

Thomas, fifth son of John, married Elizabeth Casner in Rockingham County on September 23, 1782. For some time he lived with his widowed mother, but by 1792 he was residing in Fayette County, Kentucky, where he had purchased land on which he erected a distillery. The first four children, Elizabeth, Margaret, Catherine, and Abraham, were born in Virginia, while four more children, George, John, David, and Hannah, were born in Kentucky. Thomas died in Kentucky about 1819, but the date and place of his wife's death are not known.

Rebecca Lincoln, 1767-1840

The youngest daughter of John Lincoln, named Rebecca, married John Rimel. She and her husband moved to Tennessee and settled not far from her brother Isaac. The children of John and Rebecca were Isaac, John, Polly, Jacob, Abraham, Elias, Dorcas, Sally, Betsy, and

George. Her will was probated in Green County, Tennessee, March 11, 1841.

Children of John Lincoln Who Remained in Virginia

Hannab Lincoln, 1748-1803

Hannah Lincoln was the only daughter of the pioneer John Lincoln, who we are positive remained in Virginia throughout her life. She married John Harrison, son of Zebulon Harrison, and became one of the most active members of the Linville Creek Baptist Church where her name appears constantly on the record book of the congregation.

She was not interested only in religion, for there is record that she looked after the education of her children. She was one of the supporters of a subscription school taught by William Herring in 1790. Her will mentions six sons and one daughter Phoebe. The names of the sons and their wives follow: William and Mary (Fawcett); Zebulon and Mary (Tallman); Henry and Susan (Tallman); John and Ann (Tallman); Isaac (wife unknown); Abraham and Grace (Harrison). The daughter Phoebe married William Cooper.

Lydia Lincoln, 1748-

Lydia was the twin sister of Hannah Lincoln and very little is known about her. Apparently she was not married at the time her father made his will, but she is said to have married one of the Brians of which there was a large family near the Lincoln home. It is thought that possibly she remained in Virginia.

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EDITOR

DR. LOUIS A. WARREN, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

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Jacob Lincoln, 1751-1822

The only son of John Lincoln to remain permanently in Virginia was Jacob. He was born November 6, 1751, in Pennsylvania; married Dorcas Robinson, daughter of David and Dorcas Robinson, August 29, 1780, in Rockingham County; and died February 20, 1822, at his home on Linville Creek. His wife survived until 1840, and both are buried in the family graveyard on the home

Jacob served as a lieutenant in the Revolutionary War. He acquired a piece of property adjacent to his father's land, and here he first built a cabin. Later in 1800, several years after the death of his father, he built a fine brick house on the old original Lincoln plantation, which still stands as a monument to his industry. Jacob was a man of considerable property which included several slaves. He and his wife are buried in the Lincoln cemetery and both of their graves are well marked.

The children of Jacob who remained in Virginia in reality constitute the colony of Virginia Lin-There were eleven children born to Jacob and Dorcas: David, John, Lydia, Mary, Dorcas, Rebecca, Hannah, Jacob, Abraham, Abigail, and Elizabeth.

Children of Jacob and Dorcas Lincoln

David Lincoln, 1781-1849

It is through the family of David Lincoln that most of the present descendants of the pioneer John Lincoln trace their ancestry. David, the son of Jacob and Dorcas Lincoln, was born at Linville on June 28, 1781. He married Catherine Bright on December 6, 1808. Mr. Lincoln was a farmer and lived at Dayton, Virginia. Later he kept an inn at Lacey Springs.

Nearly all of the children of David and Catherine Bright Lincoln remained in Virginia. There were five sons and three daughters in the family: John Strother, Preston, Benjamin Franklin, Dorcas, Betsy Ann, Abigail, Jacob Nicolas, and Abraham. Biographical sketches of the family appear in a later paragraph.

John Lincoln, 1782-1818

John died as a young man unmarried.

Lydia Lincoln, 1785-1800

Lydia passed away at fifteen years of age.

Mary Lincoln, 1787-

Mary married a Mr. Hinton and migrated to Kentucky. She is said to have located in Shelbyville.

Dorcas Lincoln, 1787-1862

The husband of Dorcas Lincoln was John Strayer, a leading merchant of New Market. Their children were Amanda, Caroline, Hiram Lincoln, Calvin, Jacob Williamson, Emily Susan, Elizabeth, John Romulus, Catherine Mary, Henrietta, Alfred Gossler, and Joseph Beveridge.

Rebecca Lincoln, 1790-1860

Rebecca married first a Mathew Dyer and then a Mr. Hardin, and moved to what later became West Virginia. She had no children by either marriage.

Hannah Lincoln, 1793-1825

Hannah married Joseph Evans, and she passed away at thirty-two years of age, leaving three children, Caroline, Josephine, and Hannah. Caroline married Moses Hammond, Josephine was the wife of David Coffman, and Hannah died in infancy.

Jacob Lincoln, 1795-1848

Jacob Lincoln, son of Jacob (1751-1822) and grandson of Virginia John, was born August 12, 1795. He married Mrs. Nancy (Lionberger) Rhodes of Luray, Virginia, and nine children were born of this marriage: Dorcas, Rebecca, John, Martha, Josephine, Jacob, Angeline, David, Abraham.

Abraham Lincoln, 1799-1851

There was also an Abraham Lincoln born in Virginia ten years before President Lincoln was born in Kentucky. He married Mary Homan, daughter of John and Mary (Robinson) Homan. They had five children: Mary Elizabeth, Dorcas Lavina, Caroline Amanda, Josephine Rebecca, and Dorcas Sarah. On October 26, 1826, Abraham was a colonel in the Virginia militia and a substantial citizen of Rockingham County.

Abigail Lincoln, 1801-1882

On October 6, 1818, Abigail married Joseph Coffman, a son of David and Elizabeth Strickler Coffman of Page County. He was a farmer and merchant and lived at Dayton, Virginia. They had five children, Jacob, David, Hiram, Joseph, and Joseph Strickler.

Elizabeth Lincoln, 1803-1824

Elizabeth lived but three years after her marriage to Joseph Chrisman in 1821. They had one child, John, usually called "Jack." They migrated to Missouri.

Children of David and Catherine Lincoln

John Strother Lincoln, 1809-1873

The oldest son of David and Catherine, John Strother Lincoln, migrated to the west and settled in Moultrie County, Illinois. A pamphlet by Herbert Wells Fay gives a good history of the Moultrie County Lincolns. His wife's name was Hester Ann Burnside whom he married in Maryland in 1831. She was born in Rockingham County, Virginia. Their children were Doralis, David C., Jacob W., James F., and Charlotte

Catherine. The first two children, Doralis who married Lydia Spore, and David who married Nancy McFarland, were born in Virginia. The other three children were born in Ohio. Jacob died at fifteen years of age, James married Lucy Jane Whittaker, and Charlotte became the wife of John C. Thornton.

Preston Lincoln, 1811-1848

The second son, Preston, born in 1811 was a farmer and lived at Dayton and Mt. Crawford. He married Elizabeth Coffman. The names of their children were Albert, who married Mary Koontz; Josephine, who married John Stearn; Mary, who died at eight years of age; Fanny, who married John Wood; Isabel, who married John Ruebush; and David, who is said to have died unmarried in Kansas City.

Benjamin Franklin Lincoln, 1813-1864

Benjamin Franklin Lincoln, the third child of David and Catherine, died at Lacey Springs unmarried. He had served in the Virginia Cavalry during the Civil War.

Dorcas Lincoln, 1851-1894

The oldest daughter of David and Catherine, Dorcas Lincoln, married Smith Lofland of Harrisonburg. They had ten children, James, Margaret Catherine, Mary Jane, Henrietta, Frances Elizabeth, Dorman David, Anna McKelvin, Cornelia Smith, Franklin Lincoln, and Ada Winslow.

Betsy Ann Lincoln, 1817-1904

The Koontz family of Rockingham County became related to the Lincolns through the marriage of Betsy Ann Lincoln and Peter Perry Koontz. They had eight children: Diana Catherine, David Edward, Ruben Franklin, Ann Eliza, Mary Elizabeth, Philip Peter Perry, Wilson Asbury, and Abraham William.

Abigail Lincoln, 1819-1881

Abigail first married John Shaver by whom she had two children, Smith and Lincoln. Her second husband was John Baldwin. One son was born to them.

Jacob Nicholas Lincoln, 1821-1880

Jacob Nicholas Lincoln, another son of David and Catherine, was born at Dayton, Virginia, in 1821 and married Caroline Homan. He was the proprietor of a mill at Lacey Springs. They had nine children: Virginia married John Taylor, who became a teacher and principal of the Lacey Spring school, and they had no children; Mary Leannah married Jefferson Nicholas and had three girls and three boys; Harvey, a farmer and carpenter, married Henrietta Grandle and had six children; Elizabeth married Charles Nicholas and had three children; Herod lived only a little over a year; Effie married Philip Coiner and had two children: Caroline married John Weaver and had a son and daughter; Nora did not marry; and Jacob married Emma Hupp and lived in Lima, Ohio, where their two children were born.

Abraham Lincoln, 1822-1905

Abraham, the youngest son of David and Catherine, was a farmer and served in the militia during the Civil War. He became the first postmaster of Lacey Springs which he unwittingly named. He also signed his name A. B. Lincoln, although he had no middle name. His wife's name before their marriage was Mary Hughes of Bristol, Tennessee, and she bore him six children. John Edward, the oldest son, married Amanda Kline and settled as a practicing physician at Lacey Springs. Dr. and Mrs. Lincoln had two children, Asa Liggett and Robert Edson. Diana, the second child, died in early childhood. Jetson Jackson married Sallie Stuart Sipe of Sparta, Virginia, and became a school executive. They had two children, Abraham Lucius and Jennings Sipe. Samuel Walden, a farmer, married Ella Lee Long of Melrose, Virginia, and there were four children born to this union. Lucy married Robert Bradford of Orkney Springs, Virginia, and they had six children. Katie married S. S. Gordon and had no children.

Children of Jacob and Nancy Lincoln

Dorcas Lincoln, 1822-1892 Rebecca Lincoln, 1822-1904

Dorcas and Rebecca, twin daughters of Jacob and Nancy Lincoln, were born on July 24, 1822. Dorcas married George Tisinger by whom she had one child Anna. Rebecca's husband was Beal Pence, and they had five children, Mary Lavenia, John Lincoln, Ida Angeline, Charles Lee, and Alice Rebecca. Both families remained in Virginia.

John Lincoln, 1824-1829

John married Nancy Driver and they resided near Singers Glen, Virginia. They lost their property by fire when the Union soldiers marched through the valley. They had no children.

Martha Lincoln, 1826-1848

Martha was born at Luray, Virginia, and died unmarried.

Josephine Lincoln, 1828-1849

Josephine was twice married, first to Samuel Stover and then to Thomas Almond. The names of the two children by her first husband were Elizabeth and Nannie. There were no offspring by the second marriage.

Jacob Broaddus Lincoln, 1830-1898

Jacob Broaddus Lincoln was married three times. By the first wife, Mary Jasper, there were nine children; by his second wife, Mrs. Sarah Jones Shipman, and by his third wife, Dorcas Sarah Emeline Maupin, there were none. Of the nine children, William, a farmer, married Sallie Ann Shewey and had six children; John, also a farmer, married first Willie Hill and then Mrs. Lula (Adams) Brown and had one son by each; Ida married Erasmus Pultz, a farmer of Lexington, and had four children; Mattie Belle married Charles Rodes and had two sons and two daughters; Ashby, a farmer living at Tye River, Virginia, married Julia Whitehead and they had a boy and a girl; Charles married Kate Bowles and they had two daughters; George, Sallie, and another child died in infancy.

Angeline Lincoln, 1832-1901

The husband of Angeline was Lorenzo Sibert Printz who lived at Luray. The names of their two children were Lavinia Arribella and Ida Annie.

David Lincoln, 1833-

Little is known about the history of David, but he is said to have died at Santa Fe, New Mexico, at an unknown date. He was unmarried.

Abraham Randolph Lincoln, 1835-1875

This Abraham Lincoln also migrated to the west and married Celia Helen Hobbs at Independence, Missouri. Abraham died at Denver, Colorado. A daughter, Nancy, married Arthur Andrew Wallace.

Children of Abraham and Mary Homan Lincoln

Mary Elizabeth, 1827-1905

The oldest child of Abraham and Mary Homan Lincoln, Mary Elizabeth, married a physician, Richard Maupin. She had three children, Abraham Lincoln Maupin, whose wife was Emma Campbell; a daughter who died in infancy; and Dorcas Sarah Emeline who married Jacob Broaddus Lincoln. After the death of her first husband, Mary Elizabeth married John Dyer Pennybacker, a member of the Virginia legislature whose father was a United States senator. By this marriage there were three children, Mary Lee, Kate Abigail, and John Dyer.

Dorcas Lavina, 1829-1830

The second daughter of Abraham and Mary Lincoln, named Dorcas Lavina, lived but a year, and is buried in the old family burial ground at Linville.

Caroline Amanda, 1831-1899

Caroline Amanda, Abraham's third child, married John Brock, son of Archibald and Sarah Brock. In early life he was an officer in the regular army and served in the Mexican War. He was appointed captain of the Valley Rangers in the Civil War. He became a prosperous farmer and dealer in livestock. The children of John Brock and Caroline to reach maturity were Charles, Abraham, Arizona, Mary, Sarah, Carrie, Rebecca, Edna, and Hugh. There was also a child who died in infancy.

Josephine Rebecca, 1833-1903

Josephine Rebecca, another daughter of Abraham and Mary, married William Chapman, a dentist at Staunton. She resided at Staunton after the marriage and is buried there. There were two daughters, Mary and Carrie D., born to Dr. and Mrs. Chapman.

Dorcas Sarab, 1837-1852

The youngest child of Abraham and Mary was a daughter named Dorcas Sarah, who died unmarried in 1852 and is buried at Linville.

NOTE: Without the help of Waldo Lincoln's "History of the Lincoln Family" this compilation would have been impossible.



Number 29

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Roanoke River Hanks Colony

HANKS FAMILIES OF BRUNSWICK, LUNENBURG, BEDFORD, CHARLOTTE, AND CAMPBELL COUNTIES, VIRGINIA, IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Not far from where Patrick Henry lies buried at Red Hill in Virginia, it is probable that we will some day discover the birthplace of Nancy Hanks, the mother of President Abraham Lincoln. There are three very definitely located Hanks communities in the state—one on the Rappahannock River, another on the Nottaway River, and a third on the Roanoke River, settled in the order in which they are named. The counties usually mentioned where most of the homes were located are Richmond, Amelia, Bedford, and Campbell, respectively.

The editor of the Lincoln Kinsman has made many trips to the Bedford and Campbell County Court Houses and has made an earnest effort to compile such information about the related Hanks families as may now be available. Supplementing these efforts is the exhaustive research made in these counties by Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock and by Mrs. Louie

D. White. The documentary findings made by these two women have been presented to the Foundation.

Another invaluable source of information which has been used in the preparation of this monograph is the exhaustive files of correspondence carried on by Mrs. Hitchcock with members of the Hanks family nearly fifty years ago.

It is evident from the writings of Abraham Lincoln that he knew very little if anything about his mother's people, as his mother died when he was but nine years old. What little Lincoln did learn about the family was probably told to him by Dennis Hanks, and Dennis was woefully ignorant when it came to authoritative genealogical evidence about the Virginia Hankses.

Lincoln biographies have been very much confused about the maternity of Lincoln. J. H. Barrett who prepared a campaign biography of the President had an interview with Mr. Lincoln about his mother's people which he reported in these words, "Mr. Lincoln stated to me in 1861 that his mother was born in Virginia, that she came to Kentucky with some of her relations and not with her parents, but gave me no other clue."

Henry C. Whitney, a close associate of Mr. Lincoln, interviewed some of the Lincoln relatives and put forth this theory, "Nancy Hanks Lincoln's father died in Virginia, and his widow and daughter came to Kentucky where the widow married Henry Sparrow for her second husband."

Another biography, one by Jesse W. Weik, who collaborated with Herndon in his history of Lincoln, states that Dennis Hanks said the Hankses came to Kentucky from the "Roanoke River country in Virginia."

It is planned that this copy of the Lincoln Kinsman will exhibit such an exhaustive display of documents relating to the Hankses and their relatives who lived in the Roanoke River country, that there will never be any further question about the relationships of these Virginia families who intermarried in Bedford and Campbell counties, Virginia, and who later lived in the Beech Fork community in Washington County, Kentucky.

The community where we find the colony which consisted of the Hanks, Shipley, Berry, Mitchell, McCord, Pruitt, Stith, Caldwell, Lee, Brumfield, Rogers, and other kindred families is situated on what was known as the Little Falling River, a branch of Roanoke River. The Hanks family

lived on a small tributary called Hatt Creek.

Three counties, Campbell, Carroll, and Halifax, come together near the present town of Brookneal. Within a ten mile radius of the town may be found the Hatt Creek Church community in Campbell County; the burial place of Patrick Henry of Red Hill in Charlotte County; the town of Berryville in Charlotte County, possibly named for the Richard Berry kinsmen; and a portion of Halifax County. Inasmuch as the Roanoke River on which Brookneal is situated separates Campbell and Charlotte from Halifax, Dennis Hanks did not miss it far when he said that the Hankses came from "The Roanoke River country in Virginia." Jesse Weik claimed that Dennis "never knew the county. He thought it was Halifax County but was never certain." In other words Halifax County was just a few miles from the Hanks colony in Campbell County.

The division of the counties to be considered follows: Brunswick from Prince George, Lunenburg from Brunswick, Bedford and Charlotte from Lunenburg, and Campbell from Bedford. A man who purchased a piece of property in Brunswick and settled upon it, although he never moved in fifty years, was situated successively in Brunswick, Lunenburg, Bedford, and Campbell counties.

BRUNSWICK COUNTY Formed Out of Prince George County in 1732

The Sparrows, Mitchells, and Bollings were the first of the cognate

families which we discover in the larger area of Brunswick County, from which other county units were later cut off.

Thomas Sparrow entered land on Sturgeon Run as early as September 28, 1728, and on the same day Thomas Mitchell and Stith Bolling located land on Roanoke River and Nottaway River, respectively. Robert Mitchell entered land on Little Nottoway, and John, Thomas, and James Mitchell located land on Roanoke River by the year 1736.

LUNENBURG COUNTY Formed Out of Brunswick County in 1746

At the July court in 1750 William Caldwell was directed to make a list of people living in Lunenburg County "from Little Roanoke up the Fork," and among the names secured were Robert Mitchell, Thomas Mitchell, Richard Berry, and Robert Shipley. Here we have the families of Mitchell, Berry, and Shipley brought together for the first time.

There also appears in the Lunenburg records about this time the names of John Berry, James Brumfield, William Brumfield, Thomas Pruitt, Richard Pruitt, and others who became familiar figures connected with the history of the Hanks family in Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky. By the year 1758 there were three Shipleys, Robert, Sr., Robert, Jr., and Edward, all listed in Lunenburg as engaged in colonial military service.

BEDFORD COUNTY Formed Out of Lunenburg County in 1754

The Little Falling River community

formerly in Lunenburg County fell within the newly established Bedford County boundaries in 1754, and documents relating to the history of these families were then recorded in Bedford.

On May 31, 1755, Robert Shipley, Sr., acquired from James Hunt, in Bedford County, 2 lbs. powder and 4½ lbs. lead. The following July he purchased from the same party 188 lbs. of tobacco and another lot of tobacco during the same month of 119 lbs. Both lots cost him but twelve shillings, sixpence, a hundred weight. Hunt had also paid Robert Caldwell on order of Shipley for hauling the tobacco to John Bolling's warehouse.

Robert Shipley, Sr. purchased several other items of which we have record. On April 19, 1756, he opened an account with Buchanan and Bowman. Among the articles purchased were 3 yards of cotton, 2 felt hats, ½ yd. muslin, 4 linen handkerchiefs, 50 needles, 1 pint rum, 1 horn comb, 1 doz. vest buttons, 1 lb. brimstone, 1 reap hook, 1 lb. nails, and ½ lb. pepper.

Robert Shipley, Jr. also made some purchases in Bedford County in 1760 including 1 rifle gun, 1 cannon, 1 bear skin. He apparently bought other items, and was not able to pay for them, which involved him in several lawsuits.

One of the most important Bedford County records is a land grant recorded at Richmond which states that Robert Shipley Sr. in 1765 located 314 acres of land in Lunenburg County. The name of the county is in error as by this time Bedford had been set apart from Lunenburg for over ten years. The survey follows:

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"Beginning at a corner gum on the north side of Little Falling River thence S. 40 degrees and west 36 poles to a white oak S. 13 degrees W. 124 poles to Pointer's S. 32 degrees W. 40 poles a white oak S. 79 degrees W. 14 poles to Wm. Roger's Corner White Oak thence along his line N. 70 degrees W. 74 poles to a hickory N. side of the said River and maple on the south side N. 55 degrees E. 80 poles to a pine N. 24 degrees East 30 P. to Pointer's N. 300 Poles to Pointer's East 46 Poles to a white oak on Daniel Sullivan's line thence along his line S. 14 degrees E. 72 Poles to a Pine E. 164 Poles to an Elm in Daugherty's line thence along his line S. 51 degrees W. 60 P. to a Pine on the S. side of Little Falling River thence on the said River as it meanders to the first Station."

The year after Robert Shipley, Sr. purchased the 314 acre tract on Little Falling River he sold 150 acres of it to Robert Irvine. The witnesses to the deed were Richard Stith, John Mc-Cord, Charles Talbot, and Abraham Irvine. Shipley retained the remaining 164 acres five years, until April 30, 1771, when he sold the tract to Daniel Mitchell, Jr. The witnesses to this deed were Richard Stith, Elisha Pruitt, Daniel Mitchell, John Rogers, and Harry Terrill. It was signed by Robert Shipley and his wife Sarah.

It is now known conclusively that Robert Shipley, Sr. came from Baltimore County, Maryland, where he is mentioned in some land transactions in 1766 as then living in Bedford County, Virginia.

An exceedingly interesting Bedford County document filed in the August Term 1767 papers is a petition for a grist-mill to be erected by Michael Pruitt. It will be noted that the mill site was at the mouth of Falling River close to the Hatt Creek community. It will also be noted that it would be accessible to the adjoining counties of Charlotte and Halifax.

To the Worshipful, the Court of Bedford County:

The Humble Petition of us the Inhabitants, at, and near the Mouth of Falling River; Humbly sheweth, that whereas, Michael Pruitt is Desiros to Build a Grist-Mill on the sd. River, adjoining the Land of John Raffety, whose approbation he has obtained; and the flowing of the water cannot affect the Lands of any other Person but himself; and the Situation so

commodious for many families both in this, and the adjoining Counties who suffer badly in drought of Summer for want of Meal, which cannot be had on the smaller streams; have therefore joined Michael Pruitt, in this his Petition for the sd. Mill, because a certain Gentleman purposeth to build one higher up the River, where it cannot be so Advantagious; the Lands Mountainous and bad ways; thinly Inhabited about it; and so far from where there is the greatest Populace, that it cannot be half so Advantagious as where your Petitioner (whom we must join) purposeth to Build.

We Therefore Humbly hope your Petitioner Michael Pruitt may have a grant to Build his Mill aforesaid and Your Petitioners shall ever pray &c.

Michael Pruitt Thos. Watkins Wm. Sturman Valentine Sturman John Raffety Samuel Walker William Walker Daniel Mitchell Daniel Driskill Fer'd Epperson Rich'd Booker Parham Booker Charles Lee William Jones Robert Greenwood Robert Shipley

About the same time the foregoing petition was circulated, the following document was filed:

To worshipful court of Bedford:

Request that you will grant us an order to repair the road between Col. Randels Rowling Road and from

thence to where the county line crosses James Mitchell's Mill Road and to make such alterations as will be most convenient for the inhabitants so that your humble petitioners may have an opportunity to go to the place of public worship without trouble or molestation. So your humble petitioners shall ever pray:

Robert Mitchell
Geo. McDavitt
Wm. Chamberlain
Pat McDavitt
James McGlaughlin
Daniel Mitchell
William Rogers
Robt. Shipley
Thos. McMundy
Matthew Campbell
William Thompson
James Mitchell
William Dudgeon
Wm. Caldwell
Richard Dudgeon

One of the most important documents for the purpose of showing the related families in Bedford County is the will of Daniel Mitchell which follows in full and a report of the executors of the estate.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN, I, Daniel Mitchell being now in Proper sence and Memory do Constitute and Ordain this my last Will and Testament Revoking all other wills and Gifts whatsoever, and as to my Worldly Goods I dispose of in manner and form following, viz, After my Lawfull Debts are paid I lend to my beloved Wife Mary Mitchell my Lands and Stock of every kind and all my Estate of Whatsoever kind both Real and Personal during her Natural life and after her Decease my

will is that my Exors., sell the whole of the said Estate to the Best advantage and let it be equally divided amongst all my Children, and Lastly I Constitute and appoint my Brother Robert Mitchell and Michael Pruitt Executors of this my last will and Testament.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my Seal this thirteenth day of June One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five.

Danl. Mitchell, L. S.

Signed Sealed Published and Declared in presence of Charles Cobbs, Daniel Mitchell, Thomas X. McConn. Michael Pruitt, Ex'r.

To the Estate of Dan'l Mitchell. Dr. 1775

1110			
Novr. To Cash Received			
Michael Pruitt, Junr	10	7	0
1777 To Cash Received			
of Francis Franklin	1	5	0
To Interest of DoDo	0	1	0
1778			
June 10, To Cash of			
Charles Cobbs for			

3	7	6
0	6	0
10	0	0
27	10	6
7	10	0
26	17	6
	0 10 27 7	3 7 0 6 10 0 27 10 7 10 26 17

Delivered

bonds

To

Mary Mitchell, the widow of Daniel, moved to Washington County, Kentucky, about 1790. The caravan was attacked by the Indians and her daughter-in-law, Naomi Shipley Mitchell, wife of Robert Mitchell, was massacred. It was Mary Mitchell's granddaughter who was captured by the Indians, and after her return from captivity she became the playmate of her cousin Nancy Hanks. (See Lincoln Kinsman No. 4). Further confirmation of the Mitchell relatives will be found in the Campbell County notations.

There were numerous Shipley land transactions in Bedford County. Roberty Shipley, Sr. with his wife Sarah, Robert Shipley, Jr. and his wife Rachel, and Edward Shipley all bought and sold land in the Little Falling River community.

Just when the Hanks family first came into Bedford County and settled on Hatt Creek a branch of Falling River, we do not know, but they were there as early as 1780, at least two years before Campbell County was cut off from Bedford.

On March 29, 1780 Josiah Campbell of Bedford County sold to James Hanks of the same county 376 acres of land situated on both sides of Hatt Creek with the boundaries as follows:

"Beginning at corner white oak on north side of South Fork of the Campbell Spring Branch, thence North across the road that leads to Hatt Creek Meeting House to a corner pine in Daugherty's line, west along said line to a corner, south along Daugherty's line to a corner, west along same line across Hatt Creek to Walker's corner, thence across the road south to a corner (not known by reason of a tree being gone, it being Sturman's corner), thence east across the creek to a corner pine on the north side of the road, thence along Sturman's line across said spring branch to corner, east along Mitchell's line to the beginning." This was signed by Josiah Campbell and witnessed by James Mitchell, John Clayton, and Ben Price.

It would be impossible to exhibit the vast amount of documentary data gathered about the Shipleys, Mitchells, Pruitts, Hanks, and relative families in Bedford County in such limited space available.

CHARLOTTE COUNTY Formed Out of Lunenburg in 1765

The Hanks colony in Bedford was adjacent to the Charlotte County line, and it is not strange that we find the same family groups in Charlotte since county lines offer no property barriers. One who has done any considerable amount of research work in the Beech Fork community of Washington County, Kentucky, feels as if he were at home again in Charlotte County, Virginia. Here are the Berrys, Stiths, Mitchells, Pruitts, Waltons, Brumfields, Logans, Hankses, and many other familiar family names.

On March 16, 1780 Richard Berry of Charlotte County sold to Captain Richard Gaines a tract of land adjacent to Logan's line. There is a probability that this is the Richard with whom Nancy Hanks made her home in Kentucky, as Richard entered land in Kentucky about this

time and moved there about 1781 or 1782.

The 1782 census for Charlotte County lists these names: William Berry, Jane Bryant, John Caldwell, George Caldwell, Mary Caldwell, Joseph Friend, William Lee, John Lee, William Brumfield, John Daniel, Joseph Pruitt, Richard Mitchell, Joseph Friend, Jr., and John Friend.

Eight years later in 1788 Abraham Hanks of Campbell County sold land in Charlotte County to Lewis Derosiat on Turkey Cock Creek adjacent to Rogers' line. James Hanks was a witness to this deed. Edward Shipley was suing Archibald Allison on a bond, and James Hanks was also in litigation in the county court.

CAMPBELL COUNTY Formed Out of Bedford County in 1782

It is in the records of Campbell County that we find the most voluminous amount of data about the Little Falling River colony, as this section fell within Campbell County when it was cut off from Bedford in 1782.

Here we find numerous Hanks' land transactions, some of which follow in greatly abbreviated form:

Hanks, James to Daniel Walker...
150 acres in Campbell County...
East Branch of Hatt Creek...Begin Mitchell's line...North side
Hank's Spring Branch...West to
Sturman's corner...North, Sturman's line...Witnesses: Thomas
Hanks, Sarah Hanks, Tabitha Hanks.
1787, July 17.
Book 2, p. 253

Hanks, Thomas from Thomas Sturman of North Carolina . . . twenty acres on Hatt Creek . . . bounded by lands of James Hanks . . . Meeting House . . . Witness: James Hanks.

1793, Dec. 25. Book 3, p. 499

Hanks, Thomas of Campbell County to Mark Moore . . . 90 acres west side of Hatt Creek . . . Bounded by lands of Freeman Moore, James Hanks, the Meeting House, Alex Driskill, William Sturman, and Thomas Tucker . . . Witnesses: James Hanks, Merimon Tucker, Abraham Hanks.

1794, May 2. Book 3, p. 453

Hanks, Thomas of Campbell County to Freeman Moore . . . 90 acres of land on east side Hatt Creek . . . bounded by lands of Mark Moore, James Hanks, John Cobbs, Thomas Mackey . . . Witnesses: James Hanks, Merimon Tucker, Abraham Hanks. 1794, May 2. Book 3, p. 452

Hanks, James and Thomas Hanks to Abraham Hanks, land on Hatt Creek near Meeting House . . . Witnesses: James Hanks and others.

1795, June 5. Book 3, p. 462

Hanks, Abraham to James Hanks, Jr. . . . Land on west side of the road to Hatt Creek Meeting House, Robert's line, Mitchell's line corner to Thomas Hanks . . . Witness: Thomas Hanks.

1795, June 5. Book 2, p. 560

One deed of special interest is recorded in December 1790 under the title, "Heirs of Daniel Mitchell to John Marshall." These heirs signed and the notation follows:

Daniel Mitchell & wife Judy (Pruitt) "went to Shelbyville, Ky."

Robert Mitchell & wife Omi (Naomi Shipley).

William Sturman & wife Molly (Mitchell).

James, Sarah, and Adam Mitchell "went to Green County, Ky."

The marriage records of Campbell County are very fragmentary and this is to be regretted because we might expect to find here or in Bedford the marriage certificates of the Shipleys, Mitchells, and Hankses, as well as those of other marriages which the deed books reveal took place. The editor of the Lincoln Kinsman made a tabulation of marriage returns in Campbell County actually recorded for the years 1782 to 1789 inclusive which reveals how incomplete they are: 1782, 20 marriages; 1783, 3; 1784, 0; 1785, 2; 1786, 9; 1787, 10; 1788, 17; 1789, 30. The parents of Nancy Hanks are believed to have been married between 1783 and 1785.

There was a general migration which took place during the time the Hankses and their relatives were living in Campbell County, and we find large numbers of them including the Hankses, Shipleys, Mitchells, Pruitts, and McCords settled for a time in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, but their final destination was Kentucky. Whether or not Nancy Hanks went with her mother direct to Kentucky or whether one or both of them went via North Carolina has not been fully determined, but they were in Kentucky apparently by 1789.



Number 30

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

December, 1940

Lincoln's Mythical Childhood Homes

EVOLUTION OF THE FOLKLORE AND TRADITIONAL STATEMENTS ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S EARLY ENVIRONMENTS

There is no period of Abraham Lincoln's life which is so universally misunderstood as his childhood. The misrepresentation of his early home life has caused students of the President to draw some strange conclusions about his hereditary tendencies and environmental influences. Not very much progress can be made in a serious study of Lincoln's development until the folklore and traditional approach is discarded and a documentary study of these important years is attempted.

Those who have been been interested in certain hereditary contributions which may have been made to Lincoln by his forebears are immediately confronted with the statement that his parents were "poor white trash." Those who would attempt to find some helpful environmental influences to explain his exemplary character are amazed at the unlovely pictures of his childhood surroundings.

The general acceptance of the untenable stories of Lincoln's parentage and childhood can be illustrated by the conclusions of so famous an historian as Woodrow Wilson. Wilson was a professor of history, a college president, a state governor, and the President of the nation. The fact that he was a sincere admirer of Abraham Lincoln would imply that there

The Lincoln Kinsman for 1941

This last issue of the Kinsman for the year 1940 is an attempt to illustrate how widely the Lincoln myths have become entrenched in Lincolniana. During the first six months of 1941 the origin, development, and influence of six well known

Lincoln myths will be discussed in the following order: January, The Paternity Myth; February, The Shiftless Father Myth; March, The Maternal Lineage Myth; April, The Poverty Myth; May, The Ann Rutledge Myth; June, The Matrimony Myth. were no prejudices which prompted the following statement about the childhood of Lincoln in his book on Division and Reunion:

"Abraham Lincoln came of the most unpromising stock on the continent, the 'poor white trash' of the South. His shiftless father had moved from place to place in the western country, failing where everybody else was succeeding in making a living; and the boy had spent the most susceptible years of his life under no discipline but that of degrading poverty." (p. 217.)

The oft-repeated statement that the parents of Abraham Lincoln were descendants of the most despised class of southern whites has made those who otherwise might have been proud to claim connections with the President shrink from the notoriety which kinship with him might bring. One relative wrote to a sister with respect to their possible family connections with the President: "If we are not careful we will get linked up with the trifling Tom Lincoln."

Those who have attempted to trace the ancestry of Abraham Lincoln through the different lines of descent have been surprised at the lack of genealogical information in possession of the related families. Most of the people who could have helped in solving many of the problems in both the paternal and maternal lines are now dead after having been silenced throughout their lives by the calumny which descended upon those bearing the name of Lincoln or Hanks. Some of the alleged distant relatives of the President with no social standing at stake would have made the genealogical task easier if they had not been so

positive as to just how they were related to the Lincolns and Hankses.

Thus it will be observed that folklore and tradition based on pure supposition become formidable barriers in any genealogical efforts which may be seeking to discover the spark of genius or contributing factors which elevated a common man to the realm of immortality. A series of monographs in subsequent issues of the Kinsman will refute unreliable folklore and tradition about Lincoln. The exhibits which follow will illustrate the kind of stuff out of which myths are made. These traditions block the way to any appreciative understanding of the real character of Abraham Lincoln.

EARLY ERRONEOUS DESCRIPTIONS

The earliest erroneous descriptions of the Lincoln Kentucky homes grew out of the release of a picture of a dilapidated cabin in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, in which it was claimed the boy Abraham lived the first seven years of his life. This picture was published as a frontispiece in Raymond's book on Lincoln brought out in 1865. The following year J. G. Holland with this picture in mind attempted to visualize this traditional early home by saying, "Here was the home and here were its occupants, all humble, all miserably poor." (p. 22.) Neither Abraham Lincoln nor his parents ever lived in the cabin portrayed.

Chauncey F. Black who wrote the Lamon Lincoln was the earliest well known writer to make the cabin home of the Lincolns little more than a hovel, and he cannot be held blameless for an apparently wilful misrepresentation of the place which he describes as the first home of Lincoln's parents.

Black stated that "Lincoln took Nancy to live in a shed on one of the alleys of Elizabethtown. It was a very sorry building, and nearly bare of furniture. It stands yet or did stand in 1866 to witness for itself the wretched poverty of its early inmates. It is about fourteen feet square, has been three times removed, twice used as a slaughter house and once as a stable." (p. 13.)

Black was the first author to use the Herndon manuscripts, and if all of his interpretations of the Herndon sources are so prejudiced as the deductions he made in this paragraph, it is no wonder his whole work is comparatively worthless as a dependable source volume. In the first place this shed on an Elizabethtown alley was never occupied by the parents of Abraham Lincoln. But granted Black was mistaken about the identity of the building, how could any structure which had been moved three times, used as a slaughter house twice, and as a stable once, after all these sixty years of depredation "witness for itself the wretched poverty of its early inmates."

Black makes the same approach in his statement about the birthplace home of Lincoln which he calls "a miserable cabin," and he continues that the father thought "a couple of trees would look well." This comment he follows with a sarcastic remark that "three decayed pear trees . . . constitute the only memories to him (Thomas Lincoln) or his family to be seen on the premises" in 1866.

UNFAVORABLE COMMENTS IN THE EIGHTIES

One of the most worthwhile biographies of Abraham Lincoln, a twovolume work, which appeared in the eighties was written by John Robert Ireland. He was probably the first Lincoln author to seriously criticize the Herndon manuscripts, and apparently he had an opportunity to look them over as he noted, "The vast mine from which Mr. Lamon drew was the collection made by William H. Herndon, consisting to a great extent, of the reminiscences and speculations of unreliable people, whose vanity and tongues were set running from the mere application made to them for information of real value, which a more thoughtful and accurate race might have been expected to possess." Yet after this preliminary statement Ireland uses freely the Lamon sources. He claimed that at a later day the President's parents "would have ranked with the 'poor white trash' of whom nothing was expected and anything trifling or worthless was possible." (Vol. 1, p. 23.)

Black's description of the Lincoln homes in Kentucky influenced most of the Lincoln biographies which appeared in the next few years. Even Lincoln's own secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, in their monumental ten volume work were led to make at least one extravagant statement about Abraham's early surroundings. They concluded that "in the midst of the most unpromising circumstances that ever witnessed the advent of a hero into this world Abraham Lincoln was born on the twelfth day of February, 1809." (Vol. 1, p. 25.)

Another one of Lincoln's secretaries also was influenced by Black's

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SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN FORMER ISSUES OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

1. The Colonial Lincolns, 2. The Unknown Hanks Ancestry, 3. The Herrings of Virginia, 4. Five Shipley Sisters, 5. The Todd Family, 6. Bush Family Documents, 7. Early 19th Century Lincolns, 8. Kentucky Archives, 9. Abraham Lincoln's Father, 10. Hon. Robert Todd Lincoln, 11. James Wright Sparrow, 12. Uncle Mordecai Lincoln, 13. Thomas (Tad) Lincoln, 14. The Tennessee Lincolns, 15. The Lincolns of Hingham, 16. The Richard Berry Family, 17. Southern Branch of the Hankses, 18. The Lincolns of England, 19. Synopsis Life of Lincoln, 20. Lincoln's Letters to His Wife, 21. Correspondence With Kinsmen, 22. A Hanks Family Tree, 23. New Jersey Lincolns, 24. The Pennsylvania Lincolns, 25. Nottoway River Hanks Colony. 26. Relatives of Lincoln's Wife. 27. The Lincolns' Kentucky Neighbors. 28. The Lincolns of Virginia. 29. Roanoke River Hanks Colony.

story. William Osborn Stoddard served on Lincoln's secretarial force in the White House from 1861 to 1864, and in 1884 he published his life of Abraham Lincoln. He states, "There would hardly be a poorer family than that which now undertook to support its narrow hopeless life in that dull corner of earth's teeming surface." (p. 11.)

Indirectly Herndon was responsible for most of the false and deprecatory statements about Abraham Lincoln's Kentucky homes which appeared in early biographies, but when in collaboration with Jesse M. Weik he brought out the three volume work in 1889, the climax of the defamatory references was reached in the very introductory pages where it is

stated directly that Lincoln came from "a stagnant putrid pool."

BIOGRAPHERS' VIEWS IN THE NINETIES

It was in 1890 that the first really sympathetic study was made of the home environment of Abraham Lincoln. Two women, Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock and Miss Ida M. Tarbell, made contributions which were to influence many subsequent biographies and definitely challenge the authority of the Herndon sources.

While Mrs. Hitchcock's little book, Nancy Hanks, just one hundred pages in length, was not widely circulated, it did appeal as a new estimate of the character and social standing of Lincoln's parents. While some of her deductions from the public records were incorrect, she was possibly the first writer to suggest that the Lincoln cabin may not have been such an unlovely place after all, but similar to hundreds of log cabin homes in the wilderness.

Miss Tarbell writing five years later in the Early Life of Abraham Lincoln was able to largely nullify by the use of indisputable evidence of Lincoln's ancestry the "poor white trash" theory of Lincoln's parentage. She also submitted a more accurate picture of Lincoln's early home in Kentucky, and suggested that "it sheltered a happy family." Her two volume work The Life of Abraham Lincoln published in 1895 encouraged a fresh approach to the study of Lincoln's early years.

The large number of Lincoln biographies which were published in the nineties, however, used very largely the Nicolay-Hay and Herndon-Weik volumes as sources, depending almost entirely on the Herndon work for the story of Lincoln's early life. Even Carl Schurz, close friend of Lincoln, writing in 1891, claimed that Lincoln "first saw the light in a miserable hovel in Kentucky . . . the whole household squalid, cheerless, and utterly void of elevating inspirations." Schurz called Lincoln's father "a typical poor Southern white, shiftless and improvident." (p. 12.)

In his widely circulated biography of 1893 which has gone into many editions, the well known author John T. Morse, Jr. claimed that "rough, coarse, low, ignorant, and poverty-stricken surroundings were about the child." (p. 9.) About the same time Norman Hapgood commenting on Lincoln said, "This infant began life in what was called a camp, because it was made of poles. Had it been made of logs it would have been called a cabin. It was about fourteen feet square and had no floor." (p. 6.)

Elbridge S. Brooks produced a book in 1896 called the True Story of Abraham Lincoln. The caption of chapter one was "How Something Came From Nothing." Brooks tells what he represents as a true story of how Abraham came from nothing, having been born "into the smallest and humblest and meanest of homes. It was a miserable little cabin that you would hardly call a hut." (p. 12.) Possibly feeling he had not told the whole truth, he continues, "It was a miserable little log cabin scarcely fit you would say to stable a cow in." (p. 15.)

In the same year that Brooks wrote his "true" story of Lincoln, Clifton M. Nichols published a life of Lincoln in which he emphasized the conditions of the home on Knob Creek. He said "The cabin which he (Thomas Lincoln) built here was even worse than the one they had left (birthplace cabin) if that were possible." (p. 20.)

James A. Cathey had some peculiar notions about Lincoln's paternity and in his book True Genesis of a Wonderful Man, published in 1899, he made these references to Lincoln's birth and formative years: "Born not only in poverty but surrounded by want and suffering, favored in nothing; wanting in everything which makes up the joys of life . . . it was literally true that he had not where to lay his head." (p. 255.) "In childhood and youth his intimate associates and putative relatives a gross illiterate and superstitious rabble." (p. 8.) "His place of abode a squalid camp in a howling wilderness, his meal an ashen crust, his bed a pile of leaves, his nominal guardian a shiftless and worthless vagabond." (p. 193.)

CENTENNIAL ESTIMATES OF BIRTHPLACE

With the approaching centennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth in 1909 and the reconstruction of the birth-place cabin at Hodgenville under way, a new interest in Lincoln's early years was manifested. Many of the authors tempered their descriptions of the Lincoln homes by taking the Tarbell viewpoint. The Lamon and Herndon volumes still served as a popular source for the new crop of biographers, however, many of them drawing pictures of the Lincoln home and its residents fully as tragic as their predecessors.

Eugene W. Chafin of the Chicago

Bar published a book in 1908 which he called Lincoln, the Man of Sorrow. Chafin states that "Lincoln was born in a degradation very far below respectable poverty in the state of Kentucky and lived in that poverty the whole of his childhood." (p. 10.)

In referring to Lincoln's mother the biographer Robert Dickinson Shepherd wrote: "The first home of her married life was a wretched hovel in one of the alleys of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, where her first child was born, and a little later she occupied with her husband the miserable cabin on Nolin creek." (p. 8.)

Another author by the name of Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, writing of the newly married Thomas and Nancy, said: "Few young couples in the back woods were so poor, and their condition underwent no improvement." (p. 19.) On the following page he gave Abraham's reaction to his youth in these words, "But so painful was Lincoln's recollection of his squalid boyhood and its woeful lack of light that he was content to let it be a forgotten chapter."

"A Child of Poverty" was the caption of the first chapter in James Morgan's book Abraham Lincoln, The Man and the Boy, and in the first sentence of the chapter he states, "Abraham Lincoln was born to poverty and ignorance." (p. 1.) W. G. Rutherford, another biographer stressing Lincoln's lowly beginning, stated, "He could scarcely have begun life in a lower wrung of the ladder to which he was destined to climb to the very top." (p. 22.) Charles Wallace French felt that Lincoln was born "In the most abject poverty." (p. 17.)

Madison C. Peters in his book Abraham Lincoln's Religion, published in 1909 on the centennial of Lincoln's birth, stated that Lincoln was born "as lowly as Jesus of Nazareth in a one-room shackling Kentucky cabin, the child of a poverty-stricken man whom misfortune had seemingly chosen for her own, and whose ambitions were blighted and hopes almost dead." (p. 3.) Peters' description of the conditions under which Lincoln grew up was even more sensational than the birth scene. He said Lincoln was "reared gripping, grinding, pinching penury, and pallid poverty amid the most squalid destitution possible to conceive." (p. 3.)

VIEWPOINTS OF SOME MODERN WRITERS

While the modern biographer has been somewhat reluctant to use the old folklore and tradition of Lamon and Herndon, the publication of some new books, two of which drew largely on Herndon papers, encouraged a further revival of the poverty theory in the Lincoln story.

In 1921 J. Rogers Gore published a book called The Boyhood of Abraham Lincoln in which he reviewed much of the folklore gathered about the Lincoln family in Larue County, mostly the reminiscences of an old man named Austin Gollaher. At the time of Lincoln's birth Mr. Gollaher claimed that a mighty blizzard was sweeping over the Kentucky country, Thomas Lincoln was away from his cabin home, and only the accidental visit of a neighbor to the cabin at the time of Abraham's birth saved the life of the child. This is Mr. Gore's picture of the cabin on that natal day: "It was miserably desolate and cold." In the fireplace were but "a few smoldering coals buried in the ashes." Starvation was apparently knocking at the door of the cabin as a neighbor attempting to prepare some nourishment for the mother and infant searched for "a morsel of food, but the rough shelves were as bare as the walls." Through kindly ministration, however, the new-born babe which had on its face "the imprint of death" was saved for posterity.

So prominent a Lincoln authority as Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, whose biography of Lincoln appeared in 1922, and has since gone into several editions, called the Lincoln home "a shanty fourteen feet square." (p. 5.) He further continues that Thomas, the father, "never had any money in his pockets. His successive farms, bought on credit, were never paid for." (p. 9.)

Over thirty years after Mr. Weik had collaborated with William Herndon in the publication of the famous three volume work, he brought out in 1922 a new book under the title of The Real Lincoln. Mr. Weik states: "For what we really know about Lincoln's birth and boyhood in Kentucky we owe more to the foresight and persistence of William H. Herndon than anyone else." With this further affirmation that Herndon knew what he was talking about when he said that Lincoln came from a "stagnant putrid pool," it is not strange that The Real Lincoln bolstered up the old myth that had been wobbling some after the Tarbell investigations.

Frederick Trevor Hill writing as late as 1928 in his book *Emancipator* of the Nation uses these words to

portray the birthplace cabin: "The character of that miserable dwelling—not much more than a hovel—was however in keeping with the unkempt hungry-looking clearing which surrounded it. Indeed the whole place was a desolate outpost of civilization, ill chosen, ill kept, and generally comfortless." (p. 5.)

The prestige gained by Albert J. Beveridge as a potential candidate for the Presidency at one time and his fame secured as the author of the Life of John Marshall caused his widely publicized work (in 1928) on Abraham Lincoln to bear a tremendous weight of authority even before it came from the press. The fact that a trained student of history was at last to have access to the Herndon manuscripts was received with much satisfaction by the admirers of Lincoln. They were doomed to much disappointment, however, after observing Beveridge's treatment of the Kentucky and Indiana years.

Instead of digging into the authoritative sources available in the public records, Beveridge depended almost entirely for the story of Lincoln's early life on the Herndon manuscripts, even going so far as to ignore some of Lincoln's own biographical statements where they conwith Herndon's traditions. Beveridge's picture of the home conditions of Lincoln in Kentucky was drawn from a letter written to Herndon by Judge John B. Helm of Elizabethtown on June 20, 1865. This is Helm's statement, which Beveridge used in a footnote: Abraham Lincoln was born "in an obscure back settlement of cane-brake society, in a hunter's hut not fit to be called a home." (Vol. 1, p. 3.)

In 1937 Dale Carnegie brought out his book on Lincoln the Un-known, and acknowledges his indebtedness to the Herndon publication. He called the birthplace of Lincoln a "hunter's hut, a rude sort of a cabin." He carried the poverty theme into the Indiana years and stated that Nancy Hanks Lincoln and her children "slept like dogs curled up in a heap of leaves and bearskins dumped on the dirt floor in the corner of the shed." (p. 14.)

Not many authors have challenged Lincoln's loyalty to his parents or implied that he expressed any regrets because of his humble beginnings, but Edgar Lee Masters in his book which came out in 1931, Lincoln the Man, states that Lincoln was "profoundly ashamed of the poverty of his youth and of the sordid surroundings in which he grew up."

LINCOLN'S REFERENCES TO HIS EARLY HOME

There is no indication that Lincoln at any time complained about unfavorable conditions in his early home life. He never made any reference to poverty-stricken conditions in his youth. One of his associates reported a conversation which he had with Lincoln about his early life, and claimed that "there was nothing sad or pinched and nothing of want, and no allusions to want in any part of it. Lincoln's own description of his youth was that of a joyous, happy boyhood."

It is true that his parents were poor as most of the other pioneers were poor. A reported conversation which he had with John L. Scripps about preparing some autobiographical notes represents him as saying that it would be folly to attempt to make anything out of his early life as it could be condensed into a single line, "The short and simple annals of the poor."

In the face of Lincoln's own testimony that his father left Kentucky "chiefly on account of difficulty with land titles," it seems quite reasonable to assume that Thomas Lincoln was the owner of more than one piece of property, that he was not a squatter, a tenant, or a renter, but a freeholder. We have proof that he was in possession of two farms containing a total of about 550 acres when Abraham was born, that he had owned a cabin and two house lots in Elizabethtown and acquired another farm before he left Kentucky for Indiana.

Lincoln never made any derogatory statements about the social standing of his parents or ancestors. He knew something about the Lincolns and had some correspondence with members of the family in Virginia. He was also familiar with the family of Isaac Lincoln of Tennessee for whom his own father had worked when a boy. He also named the families who had intermarried with the Lincolns. He knew very little about the Hankses but made a statement which apparently he felt would properly classify them. He said, "My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families perhaps I should say." This certainly did not imply that Lincoln felt his people were poor whites, the lowest class of white population in the South. In reality it is his own testimony that they were of the middle class.



Number 31

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

January, 1941

The Paternity Myth

THE SOURCE, GROWTH, AND REFUTATION OF THE FALSE STORIES ABOUT LINCOLN'S ORIGIN

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln as the Republican candidate for the Presidency of the United States in the election of 1860 immediately directed attention to his origin and early history. At that time there is known to have been available to newspapers but one biographical sketch of him. This story of about two thousand words was published in the Chester County (Pennsylvania) Times on February 11, 1860, and later copied in many newspapers throughout the country. It became the source of practically all of the post-convention news items relating to the life of Lincoln. The story did not contain the names of his parents or any other biographical material of much importance.

This very meager biographical source, the lack of vital statistics, Lincoln's own reluctance to say very much about himself, the fact that his own mother died when he was too young to take an interest in the names

of his forebears, the confusion of some of his kinsmen about their relation to him,—all these things contributed to the cultivation of an ideal seed bed for the myth about Lincoln's paternity.

The Source of the Myth

Within a week after the Chicago Convention Samuel Haycraft of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, wrote to Mr. Lincoln making some inquiries about his parentage. On May 28, 1860, ten days after the nominations were made, Mr. Haycraft received the following letter:

"Dear Sir: Your recent letter, without date, is received. Also the copy of
your speech on the contemplated
Daniel Boone Monument, which I
have not yet had time to read. In the
main you are right about my history.
My father was Thomas Lincoln, and
Mrs. Sally Johnston was his second
wife. You are mistaken about my
mother. Her maiden name was Nancy
Hanks. I was not born at Elizabeth-

town, but my mother's first child, a daughter, two years older than myself, and now long since deceased, was. I was born February 12, 1809, near where Hogginsville (Hodgenville) now is, then in Hardin County. I do not think I ever saw you, though I very well know who you are—so well that I recognized your handwriting, on opening your letter, before I saw your signature. My recollection is that Ben Helm was first clerk, that you succeeded him, that Jack Thomas and William Farleigh graduated in the same office, and that your handwritings were all very similar. Am I right?

"My father has been dead near ten years; but my stepmother is still liv-

ing.

"I am really very glad of your letter, and shall be pleased to receive another at any time.

"Yours very truly,
"A. Lincoln".

Lincoln's reply indicates that Haycraft had submitted for Lincoln's confirmation the history of the family as remembered by the citizens of Elizabethtown. Fifty-two years had elapsed since the brief residence of the Lincolns in the town.

Abraham very frankly wrote to Haycraft, "You are mistaken about my mother. Her maiden name was Nancy Hanks." He then mentioned that Sarah Johnston was the second wife of Thomas. It was also necessary to correct Haycraft's opinion about Abraham's birthplace, and Lincoln advised him he was not born in Elizabethtown but his sister was born there. Apparently there was no attempt on the part of Lincoln to obscure any family history for he invited Haycraft to write again.

The people of Elizabethtown had confused the entire Johnston history with the Lincoln story and not only made Mrs. Johnston the mother of Abraham but identified Mrs. Johnston's son John with him. The story about Abraham, "the little shirt tail boy," and his mother being seen often in Elizabethtown about the court house was in reality the story of Sarah Johnston and her son John. The cabin in which the widow Johnston had lived was photographed in its dilapidated condition in an alley in Elizabethtown and widely advertised as the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, although it was never occupied by the Lincolns.

When Samuel Haycraft learned that Abraham Lincoln's mother's maiden name was Nancy Hanks, it would be natural for him as the county clerk to search for the Lincoln-Hanks marriage record. Of course he failed to find it, as Lincoln's parents were not married in Hardin County.

The older citizens remembered, however, that there was a young woman by the name of Nancy Hanks who lived in the community where Abraham Lincoln was born. They also recalled that she became the mother of an illegitimate child, a boy. It was this mother and child that undoubtedly gave rise to the story of Abraham Lincoln's questionable paternity.

After it became known generally that the name of Lincoln's mother was Nancy Hanks and that a person by that name in Hardin County was a woman of ill-repute, other communities began to discover that once upon a time a certain Nancy Hanks lived in their midst, and it was not difficult to find some man who was said to have

betrayed her. So the paternity myth became a maize of contradictory stories all evolving about some girl by the name of Nancy Hanks.

Lincoln undoubtedly heard some of these stories during the political contest of 1860, and the fable probably took on many different forms before the campaign was over.

Not only are we able to trace the origin of the myth to a mother and child in Hardin County but also to the individual who first sponsored the myth.

Herndon informed Ward H. Lamon that "Prentice got up some evidence on this question in 1860." (Hertz p. 69.) The Prentice referred to must have been George D. Prentice, editor of the Louisville Journal. According to Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, his paper won a reputation for "political ability, wit, and satire." He was not a zealous supporter of President Lincoln's administration, and as far as we can learn he was the first person to gather evidence tending to support the illegitimacy of Abraham Lincoln.

As has been indicated, the factor contributing most to the origin of the paternity myth was the presence of two young women in Kentucky with the same maiden name of Nancy Hanks. One of these girls was the daughter of Joseph and Ann Hanks, and she resided in Hardin County near the place where Abraham Lincoln was born. Her illegitimate son Dennis Friend Hanks was born May 15, 1799, and his father was Charles Friend from whom he received his middle name. This Nancy Hanks, the mother of Dennis, later married Levi Hall in Hardin County and had several children by him.

Nancy Hanks, the mother of Dennis, was living with her sister Elizabeth Hanks Sparrow at the time of the birth of Dennis. It is likely that at some time she may also have visited her brother Joseph, a carpenter in Elizabethtown, which could have given rise to the story that Thomas Lincoln first met his wife Nancy in Joseph Hanks' carpenter shop. It is not strange that the stories associated with Nancy Hanks Hall should become associated with Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham, was the daughter of James and Lucy Shipley Hanks, according to the best evidence available, and there is a probability that James who died when Nancy was an infant was a brother of the Nancy Hanks Hall who was the mother of Dennis. This would make Nancy Hanks Hall an aunt of Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

The two Nancy Hankses did not live within twenty-five miles of each other during their early years, the mother of Abraham Lincoln living in Washington County and the mother of Dennis Hanks in Hardin County. By the time they were both living in the same county they were married and bringing up families.

In 1873 John G. Nicolay wrote to Charles Friend of Sonora, Kentucky, stating that he had seen a letter written by Friend to Robert Lincoln which stated that Rev. Alexander McDougal had married Lincoln's parents and that a daughter of the preacher, a Mrs. Middleton, was still living. Nicolay asked Friend to help trace the story. A letter written thirteen years later by A. M. Brown to Col. R. T. Durrett of Louisville offers a good sequel to the inquiry.

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This Brown letter, dated May 12, 1886, states that an old lady living in Larue County claimed Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married near the site of Lincoln's birthplace and that "Nancy had one child before the marriage to Thomas Lincoln, a son, the father of whom was named Friend." Mrs. Middleton had confused Levi Hall with Thomas Lincoln, Nancy Hanks Hall with Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and Dennis Friend Hanks with Abraham Lincoln, and the wedding recalled was the wedding of the Hardin County Nancy Hanks to Levi Hall. The story by Mrs. Middleton further confused biographers, and it was then put in circulation that Dennis Hanks and Abraham Lincoln were children of the same mother.

The Growth of the Myth

William Herndon was really the master myth-maker when one considers the growth of the paternity myth. He claimed to know all the particulars of the story as early as 1861 or 1862. He gave the illegitimacy story wide publicity, first through private correspondence, then through Lamon's publication and subsequent writings which used this source. On February 25, 1870, he wrote to Lamon, "I am convinced that the weight of evidence is that Mr. Lincoln was an illegitimate," and then he said that he had held this belief for years. (Hertz p. 63.) The Lamon biography published in 1872 states with reference to Lincoln's mother, "Of Nancy Hanks' marriage there exists no evidence but that of mutual acknowledgment and cohabitation." (p. 10.)

The three-volume Herndon work published in 1889 did more to call attention to the questionable paternity of Lincoln than all other influences combined, and it was largely this book that made current the wide-spread tradition that both Lincoln himself and his own mother were illegitimate children. In the preface of his book Herndon had made reference to the fact that Lincoln came from "a stagnant putrid pool," and then he set out to prove it.

Apparently Herndon's theory about Lincoln's illegitimacy was originally built on an unwarranted inference which he drew from the Haycraft letter already copied verbatim. In 1870 Herndon told Lamon that Haycraft "wrote to Mr. Lincoln about his mother, evidently to find out some facts." (Hertz p. 69.) Ten years later Herndon claims that to one man (Haycraft) who was endeavoring to

establish a relationship through the Hanks family, he simply answered, "You are mistaken in my mother," without explaining the mistake or making further mention of the matter. (Hertz p. 68.) This last statement was absolutely untrue as Abraham Lincoln in the very next sentence in the letter did explain the mistake when he said, "Her maiden name was Nancy Hanks." There is no evidence that Haycraft was seeking any special facts about Lincoln's mother in preference to other family history of the Kentucky Lincolns or trying to establish a relativity through her. Herndon lifted the statement, "You are mistaken in my mother," out of its context and made it the great mystery theme of his paternity myth.

The universal criticism which was brought down on the head of Herndon for his part in circulating these myths was justified, and when the book was reprinted in two volumes three years later, the introduction and the two arguments about the origin of Lincoln and his mother were deleted.

Many reputable Lincoln authors using the Herndon sources continued to feature the paternity myth, and as recent a writer as Albert J. Beveridge to the very last of his life sincerely contended that Abraham Lincoln was an illegitimate child. The editor of the Lincoln Kinsman has often talked with Senator Beveridge on this subject, and there are letters in the files of the Lincoln National Life Foundation which present the Senator's viewpoint. The use of the original Herndon manuscripts undoubtedly brought him to the decision he finally reached about Lincoln's paternity. (Hertz pp. 391-394.)

The Beveridge conclusion was based primarily on the supposition that Thomas Lincoln was physically deficient. On July 16, 1924, the editor of the Kinsman received a letter from Mr. Beveridge asking particulars about some medical attention given to the Lincoln family. This was one of the series of questions asked: "What was the amount of the doctor's bill paid by Thomas Lincoln to some physician whose account you discovered, the name of the physician, and most especially the date?"

Beveridge was given the answer to each question. The amount of the bill was \$1.46, the doctor's name was Daniel B. Potter, and there was no date on the bill which was paid some time previous to 1817 when the deceased Dr. Potter's estate was settled. Dr. Potter lived in the county but three years, 1811 to 1814, so the attention given the Lincoln family must have been between these dates, probably in some way connected with the death of the little boy Thomas. (Warren pp. 269-270.)

Beveridge can hardly be excused, however, for moving this medical service back into the period previous to the birth of Abraham Lincoln and associating it with illness of the father. (Beveridge p. 21.)

Since the publication of the Herndon manuscripts by Emanuel Hertz the public may now read the whispered statements about Abraham Lincoln's origin that only Lincoln students have known heretofore.

The Refutation of the Myth

The refutation of the paternity myth will not consist of a series of denials brought against more than a dozen contradictory stories about Lincoln's origin now in print, but the review of certain episodes in the history of the Lincoln family will nullify all the various claims of Lincoln's

illegitimacy.

Thomas Lincoln had lived from the time he was ten years old (in 1786) until he was twenty-seven (in 1803) a short distance from the home of Richard Berry in Washington County. In the Berry home there lived his wife's sister's daughter, Nancy Hanks. In the three years that followed Thomas had lived near Elizabethtown, but it is not likely he had forgotten the niece of Richard Berry, and it is evident that he paid her a visit very soon after arriving from a boat trip to New Orleans on May 3, 1806. We are sure of this fact, that he had proposed marriage to Nancy Hanks by May 16, and possibly many months before that date.

On the above date Thomas purchased at the Bleakley and Montgomery store in Elizabethtown material for his wedding outfit, which contained thirteen itemized articles, including cloth for a new suit, the entire account amounting to over nine pounds. A week later he purchased another bill of goods which included three yards of coating which alone cost him three pounds four shillings and sixpence.

These purchases were made possible by the following credits given him by Bleakley and Montgomery, namely, 16 pounds, 10 shillings opposite the citation "going to New Orleans," and 13 pounds, 14 shillings, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ pence opposite the item "gold."

On June 2, 1806, Thomas purchased a "tipt bridle" for his horse,

and two days later some "sundries" are charged to him. No more entries appear under his name at this store until after his marriage to Nancy Hanks a week later.

It will not be necessary to use any space to tell about the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks in the home of Nancy's guardian, Richard Berry. The official marriage return can be observed in the Washington County, Kentucky, Court House.

Thomas Lincoln and his wife Nancy Hanks Lincoln located in Elizabethtown by June 14, two days after the wedding, and on that day Thomas purchased at the Bleakley and Montgomery store "½ set of knives and forks" for five shillings, and 3 skeins of silk and other purchases for his wife were made during that first week of their married life. On August 4 Thomas was charged with half a dozen spoons.

No one can deny that Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln continued to live in their cabin home in Elizabeth-town during the year 1807, and they were taxed for two house lots and improvements. On January 15 Thomas purchased at a sale at the residence of Thomas D. McIntire a dish, some plates, a basin, spoons, etc., for which he paid \$8.92.

We are also certain that the Lincolns lived within the town limits as Thomas paid the town tax. The town was established in 1797, thirty acres laid off into town lots, and soon a building ordinance was passed specifying the type of cabins which must be built within the town. Building restrictions would not allow the erection of pole cabins; the logs had to

be hewed and proper chimneys constructed.

The first child of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln was a daughter named Sarah for Mrs. Lincoln's cousin, Sarah Shipley Mitchell, who had been her girlhood playmate. The date of this daughter's birth is not known to have been recorded until the year 1851.

Abraham Lincoln visited his stepmother in Coles County, Illinois, a short time after his father's death on January 17, 1851, and at that time made some entries in an old Bible in possession of the family, using three divisions, marriages, births, and deaths. He did not record the date of his mother's birth or the date of her marriage, but he did note the day of her death. He attempted to write down the vital statistics about his sister Sarah and was somewhat confused about certain dates which he tried to remember. Her birth had occurred forty-four years before, and she had been dead for twenty-three years. Her mother had been dead for thirty-three years and her father was also dead. Abraham did remember the date of his sister Sarah's death and recorded it as January 20, 1828. He did not know the day of her marriage. He cites the date of her birth as February 10, 1807, and in this he may or may not have been correct. It might be noted that Mr. Lincoln made no record of the birth or death of his brother Thomas.

There has never been any serious question raised about the paternity of the first child Sarah. All those who have attempted to describe her, including the members of the family into which she married, claim that

she resembled her father Thomas Lincoln. She now becomes a very important factor in the proof of Abraham Lincoln's legitimacy, as most of the stories circulated in 1860 about the parentage of Lincoln have no place for a sister older than Abraham. Most of the gossip in circulation claiming Abraham's illegitimacy makes him the first child of an unmarried woman.

Great stress has been brought to bear on the place where a certain Nancy Hanks may have been living at the time Abraham was born. It might be more important to learn where Mrs. Thomas Lincoln was living when the unborn life of her first son began. There can be no doubt but that she was living in the Elizabethtown cabin with her husband Thomas and her year old baby girl Sarah in the all important month of May, 1808.

On May 8, 1808, Thomas Lincoln was served with a summons in an appeal from a decision made in his favor in a magistrate's court. Lincoln had a contract for getting out lumber for a mill in 1807 and had to sue to collect his bill. The case was appealed by the defendant and on May 9 the county court confirmed the magistrate's decision in favor of Thomas. On May 15 Thomas was again in court and credited with a fee in the same suit, and on May 31 the defendant filed a countersuit. Inasmuch as this litigation occurred in the very town where Thomas Lincoln was living, his residence in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, for the month of May 1808 is positively established.

The Bleakley and Montgomery store book also contains some important entries for 1808, and in April of that year Thomas was given credit for sundries amounting to 20 pounds 1 shilling and four pence to pay in full his account for goods purchased from the store. On May 13, 1808, nine months lacking one day before Abraham Lincoln was born, a new account opened by Thomas Lincoln charged with "3 dozen buttons" at a cost of four shillings and six pence.

Many other entries for the year 1808 in the record books of Hardin County confirm the residence of Thomas Lincoln and his wife in Elizabethtown during the year 1808. The tax reports establish the Lincoln residence within the town limits. It was also in this town late in the year 1808 that Thomas Lincoln made a trade with his close friend Isaac Bush for the 340 acre farm now known as the Lincoln Birthplace Farm, for which Thomas paid Isaac two hundred dollars in cash.

With these facts before us, what is the implication which one must draw if he holds to the illegitimacy of Abraham Lincoln? It is simply this, that some man instead of leading an ignorant girl astray, violated the chastity of a home where there was a young wife and mother who had a daughter a year old. It is certain, however, that none of the more widely circulated stories about Lincoln's origin do place the scene of the betrayal of Lincoln's mother in the Thomas Lincoln cabin at Elizabethtown.

One or two other statements might be made in concluding this monograph. There was another child born to Thomas and Nancy Lincoln about two years after Abraham's birth who was named Thomas Lincoln, Jr., for his father. Therefore Abraham was not the first or the last child of his parents but was born two years after the first child and two years before the last child.

On many occasions Abraham Lincoln said, as in the Haycraft letter, "My father was Thomas Lincoln." He wrote several letters to members of the Lincoln family about his kinsmen and he confirmed several relationships on the strength that his father was Thomas Lincoln. He often said he was named for his grandfather Abraham Lincoln who was massacred by the Indians.

To one relative Jesse Lincoln he wrote, "There can be no doubt that you and I are from the same family." He inquired of David Lincoln, "Do you know anything of your family or rather I may now say our family, farther back than your grandfather?" (Kinsman No. 21.) These letters and others similar to them were written ten years before his name was placed before the Chicago Convention.

He is said to have told one of his friends that after the expiration of his incumbency at Washington, he was going to try to trace his ancestry. How foolish all these family inquiries and assertions if there were no Lincoln blood in his veins.

Albert J. Beveridge, Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New

<sup>York 1928.
Bleakley and Montgomery, Day Book. Photostat copies in Lincoln National Life Foundation. William H. Herndon, Lincoln, The True Story of a Great Life, Vol. I. Belford, Clarke & Company, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco 1889.
Emanuel Hertz, The Hidden Lincoln. Blue Ribbon Books, New York 1940.
Ward H. Lamon, The Life of Abraham Lincoln. James R. Osgood and Company, Boston 1872.
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The Shiftless Father Myth

The majority of the more careful students of history who are contributing to a better understanding of the place which Abraham Lincoln occupies in our American civilization are agreed that Thomas Lincoln was the father of the President. Those who have been attempting to establish this relationship beyond the question of a doubt, have expended much energy in refuting the many untenable stories claiming the President was an illegitimate child.

It is hoped that the paternity question may now rest where Abraham Lincoln left it when he said on so many occasions, "My father was Thomas Lincoln."

Admitting the regularity of the President's parentage and the possibility now of accounting for some of his inherited tendencies, one is then confronted with another myth which blocks the approach to a study of the environmental influences exerted over Abraham Lincoln as a child. This fable is another creation of William Herndon and is known as "The Shiftless Father Myth."

Thomas Lincoln has been the scapegoat for all who would make Lincoln a saint, as well as for those who would relegate the whole Lincoln tribe to perdition. As one writer put it, "Not a single one of Mr. Lincoln's deifiers has had the audacity to claim anything superior for Thomas Lincoln." Folklore and tradition have made him one of the most despised characters in American history, and as long as he is portrayed as "a vagabond, an idler, a tramp, a rover," and as "poor white trash," "lacking in energy," "void of ambition," "wanting in respectability," and "a general failure in life," it will be impossible to trace any tendencies which the President may have inherited from his father.

If no one challenges the statements that Thomas Lincoln was "ignorant, shiftless, indolent, restless, unsuccessful, thriftless, trifling, hopeless, improvident, listless, lazy and worthless," those who feel that the President's environmental surroundings may have contributed to his advancement will have difficulty in finding

any worthwhile influences exerted over him by his father.

If the biographer is to deny Abraham Lincoln the heritage passed on to him by an honorable paternity and six generations of worthy American forebears, he will have some difficulty placing the President in his proper historical setting assured by the history of the American Lincolns.

The Source of the Myth

There can be no question about the origin of the "shiftless father" fable, as it can be traced directly to William Herndon. It is closely aligned with the paternity myth, and its primary objective is to present the putative father of the President in such an ignominious roll that the observer will immediately draw the conclusion that there could be no real kinship between Thomas and Abraham Lincoln.

Herndon stated that "after Lincoln had attained some prominence in the world, persons who knew both him and his father were constantly pointing to the lack of resemblance." Possibly John T. Morse, Jr., in his two volume book on Lincoln, makes Herndon's view a little more explicit when he says, "So pained have some persons been by the necessity of recognizing Thomas Lincoln as the father of the President that they have welcomed a happy escape from this so miserable paternity." It is apparent, in this conclusion, as in many others similar to it that the inference dropped by Herndon had not been overlooked or misinterpreted.

The Lamon biography of Lincoln, relying almost exclusively on Herndon manuscripts, made a direct attack on the reputation of Thomas Lincoln. After referring to him as a

man "whose character was not respectable," describing him as "idle, thriftless, poor, a hunter, and a rover," the book ridiculed the idea that Thomas had any ability as a carpenter, called attention to his alleged intemperate habits, and drew the conclusion that it was a savage fight with a man named Enlow which was largely responsible for his leaving Kentucky for Indiana.

Herndon warned the reader in the preface of his three volume work, based on much of the source material he had made available to Lamon, that he was going to lift his immortal Abraham Lincoln out of "a stagnant putrid pool." He stated that "Nancy Hanks was as far above

Thomas Lincoln as an angel is above mud," so it would appear that Thomas was the kind of refuse out of

which putrid pools are made.

It is always a delicate task to asscribe motives for the abuse heaped upon an individual, but there can be no mistake about the reason why Herndon gave Thomas Lincoln such a bad reputation. Herndon urged Weik on many occasions to start the President down just as low as possible to make the contrast between his early surroundings and White House atmosphere stand out in bold relief. He wanted Lincoln to "rise from the ashes," so his first offering on the sacrificial altar was Lincoln's own mother whom he portrayed as a fallen woman, then he sacrificed the father of the President whom he characterized as "embodied listlessness."

The General Acceptance of the Myth

It would be possible to show the gradual evolution of the myth as it found acceptance by one authority and then another, but it will be of much more human interest to follow a biographical arrangement of the many excerpts made from various Lincoln books.

This biographical sketch is composed of verbatim excerpts taken from publications which are cited by the superior number at the conclusion of each statement. While the sequence may be disturbed somewhat by this method and some repetition will be discovered, all in all it seems to be the most satisfactory way to give a composite portrait of Thomas Lincoln as drawn by many of the best known Lincoln authors. It is a good illustration of the ill repute in which the father of Abraham Lincoln is still held by most biographers.

No more ignorant boy than Thomas (Lincoln) could be found in the backwoods¹. His parents—drifting, roaming people, struggling with poverty—were dwellers in the Virginia mountains². The unhappy child was left to the tender mercies of strangers in a wilderness swarming with savage beasts and still more savage men³.

He was as often called "Linkern" or "Linkorn" as Lincoln, because he himself did not know how to spell his name⁴. A shiftless fellow, never succeeding at anything, who could neither read nor write⁵. He was idle, thriftless, poor, a hunter, and a rover⁶. He was an indolent, happy-golucky, contented tramp⁷.

A shadowy figure, this Thomas; the few memories of him suggest a superstitious nature in a superstitious community⁸. A shiftless migratory squatter by invincible tendency, and a very ignorant man⁹. From all accounts, an ignorant, shiftless vagabond¹⁰.

He reached the age of twenty-seven, the year of his marriage, a brawny, wandering labourer, a poor white, unlettered and untaught, except for his trade of carpentering¹¹. Nobody alleges that he ever built a house, or pretended to do more than a few little odd jobs connected with such an undertaking12. He never fell in with the routine of labor; was what some people would call unfortunate or unlucky in all his business venturesif in reality he ever made one13. Slaveholders and wealthy men looked down upon him as a menial of hardly so much account as a slave14.

Thomas Lincoln was an ignorant, worthless, shiftless, illiterate man.15 Not only devoid of energy and shiftless, but dull16. He had the wandering foot, and looking for other locations for a home was his hobby17. A typical "poor southern white," shiftless and improvident, without ambition for himself or his children, constantly looking for a new piece of land where he might make a living without much work¹⁸. Nomadic Tom Lincoln belongs really nowhere, and so he cannot find out where he belongs¹⁹. He constantly sought change, since it seemed that no change could bring him to a lower level than he had already found20.

Vagrants, or little better than vagrants, were Thomas Lincoln and his family making their way to Indiana²¹. His earthly possessions were of the slightest, for the backs of two borrowed horses sufficed for the load²². Where he got the horses used upon this occasion, it is impossible to say²³. His decision (to move), however, was hastened by certain troubles which culminated in a desperate combat between him and one

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Abraham Enlow. They fought like savages; but Lincoln obtained a signal and permanent advantage by biting off the nose of his antagonist²⁴.

Thomas Lincoln was a povertystricken man, whom misfortune had seemingly chosen for her own, and whose ambitions were blighted and hopes almost dead²⁵. An ignorant man, amiable enough, but colorlessly negative, without strength of character, and with no ambition worthy of the name²⁶. A poor specimen of the "poor whites," synonym for ignorance and superstition to half a continent. To the day of his death he could neither read nor write27. He never seems to have left the impress of his goodness or of anything else on any man²⁸.

Refutation of Various Accusations

Possibly the most satisfactory method of refuting the many myths which have grown up about Thomas Lincoln would be the preparation of an exhaustive biography of the President's father which would put at rest for all time the many false statements made about him, but there is not sufficient space in the Kinsman for such procedure. We will have to limit the discussion to the refutation of certain myths about Thomas Lincoln which have become more widely accepted and which, without an exception, originated from the William Herndon sources.

The Homeless Boy

It is an unjust accusation against a faithful mother, Bersheba Lincoln, to state that Thomas Lincoln was obliged to leave her cabin at twelve years of age and that thereafter he became a sort of wandering waif. There is no evidence that he was permanently away from his mother's cabin until he became of age. Even at that time he did not go away to live with strangers but made his home first at Elizabethtown with his father's cousin Hananiah Lincoln, and later spent a year or more with his uncle Isaac in Tennessee. He may have boarded at various places where he had work, but he was in no respect a homeless waif.

Abraham Lincoln had an axe put in his hand at eight years of age and by the time he was sixteen he was working twenty miles away from home at Anderson River. Two or three years later the youth also made a trip to New Orleans where his father had gone before him, but no one has thought of Abraham Lincoln as a homeless child.

Roving Thomas

No one would expect Thomas Lincoln to settle down until he was married and had established a home, especially if he were a laborer. As far as his alleged roving propensities influenced his son, it is of interest to note that from the time Abraham Lincoln was born until he became twenty-one years old his father moved but twice, and Abraham could remember moving but once. Fourteen years, or one quarter of Abraham's whole life, were spent in the one log cabin home of his father in Spencer County, Indiana.

Upon reaching the Illinois country at the time Abraham left home, Thomas Lincoln did establish two or three different residences during the first two years there until he found a desirable and healthy location. He then settled down and spent the remainder of his life, approximately twenty years, in the same cabin home on the same tract of land. Fourteen years in the same cabin in Indiana and twenty years in the same cabin in Illinois, a total of thirty-four years in two cabins, would not imply that he had "a wandering foot" or that he should be called "nomadic Tom."

An Illiterate Ignorant Man

The illiteracy of Thomas Lincoln has been exaggerated out of all due proportion to the fact in the case. Many biographers claim that he could neither read nor write, others claim he could not write until his wife taught him how. His signature is found on many duly authorized records of Hardin and Washington counties, and one document is also available which seems to be his own written report of work he had done. The Lincoln National Life Founda-

tion is in possession of a very clear signature written by him as a witness to a note in 1803, three years before he was married. A very small percentage of the people in Kentucky contemporary with Thomas Lincoln could do little more than Thomas in the way of writing.

We have the testimony of Lincoln's second wife, Sarah Johnston Lincoln, that "Mr. Lincoln could read a little," so he should not be classed among the illiterates. There is no evidence whatever that he was an ignorant man, as many of his early enterprises and achievements gave indication that his intelligence was equal to and probably above that of the average Kentuckian of his day.

A Poverty-Stricken Man

There is no indication that Thomas Lincoln was ever a poverty-stricken man. He was poor as other pioneers were poor, to be sure, but Thomas Lincoln during the period when Abraham was growing up was as well off economically as his neighbors and better off than the average pioneer. Ready money was scarce in the early days, but we have positive evidence that Thomas Lincoln had cash when it was needed. We know that when he was twenty-one years of age he worked for several weeks on a mill project at Elizabethtown and not only helped on the mill and mill dam but also assisted in digging the raceway for the mill. The record book showing the wages received by him in 1797 is in possession of the Lincoln National Life Foundation. It was probably part of this money which was used to acquire his farm on mill creek.

Thomas Lincoln had more than one source of income. The farm he had purchased in 1803 was evidently operated by him, as on February 18, 1806, he was credited at the Bleakley and Montgomery store in Elizabeth-town for 2400 lbs. of pork and 494 lbs. of beef which amounted to 21 pounds, 14 shillings, and 1½ pence. Later, on May 16, there was a credit placed to his name of 30 pounds, 4 shillings, and 7½ pence for going to New Orleans on a flatboat, and within five months in this store alone he had placed to his credit over fifty pounds or more than two hundred dollars.

That same year he sued Denton Geoghegan for a bill due for getting out logs for a sawmill, and the court ordered Geoghegan to reimburse Lincoln. In December 1806 Thomas paid two hundred dollars cash to Elijah Bush for the birthplace farm. While still in possession of two farms for which he had paid four hundred dollars, he acquired an interest in another farm on Knob Creek on which he paid taxes. When Thomas moved from Kentucky in 1816 he left a surplus of two hundred bushels of corn in the loft of a neighbor's cabin on Knob Creek.

A Disrespectful Vagrant

The most unjust charges against Thomas Lincoln have been those which have attacked his character. The abuse became so general that one of the granddaughters of Thomas' second wife came to his rescue and said she was tired of hearing Thomas Lincoln abused. She told Eleanor Atkinson, "Abe got his honesty and clean notions of living and his kind heart from his father . . . I have heard grandmother Lincoln (Sarah Bush Johnston) say many a time that he was kind and loving and kept his word and always paid his way and never turned a dog from the door."

In all of the available records in Kentucky referring to Thomas Lincoln there is not a single one of them which would imply he was ever delinquent in his taxes, called to appear before any grand jury, compelled to answer for any misdemeanor, sued for any indebtedness, or that he in any manner discredited himself.

Thomas Lincoln affiliated with the church in Kentucky and joined the Pigeon Creek congregation by letter in Indiana. He was one of the leading members of this group. Moderator at its meetings, member of the board of trustees, on a committee to enforce discipline, on the building committee, and serving in many different capacities in the local church, he was also appointed a delegate of the church to district meetings.

Upon reaching Illinois he affiliated with the church and was known as a conscientious member until his death. The minister who served the church to which he belonged when he died has testified to his christian character.

Embodied Listlessness

Some of our modern biographers have ridiculed Mr. Lincoln's ability as a cabinetmaker. Possibly they are not familiar with the fact that there are several pieces of his handiwork which have been preserved. Corner cupboards which he made are now in the Speed Museum at Louisville, Kentucky, and the Ford collection at Dearborn, Michigan. There are also several mantles in Hardin County, products of his handiwork which testify to his skill.

From the merchants Bleakley and Montgomery at Elizabethtown, Thomas purchased the following items during the brief period for which record books have been discovered:

"I casteel saw" for which he paid the sum of eighteen shillings, a shilling then being worth about twenty cents. At other times during the year there are itemized, "one plane bit" at one shilling and six pence and "one file" at the same price. The majority of purchases, however, are marked "Sundries." In February, 1805, Lincoln purchased another saw, this time paying but nine shillings for it, another file, and some brass rings which are also listed.

At Thomas McIntire's sale in 1807 he bought an old sword. This undoubtedly was made into a drawing knife to give him further equipment for the carpenter's chest. The Bleakley and Montgomery books indicate that he was still plying his trade at this time, as sandpaper, screws, a gimlet, and so on are listed.

William Woods, a neighbor of the Indiana Lincolns, made this statement in some reminiscences which he September wrote on 15, "Thomas Lincoln often and at various times worked for me, made cupboards, etc., and other household furniture for me; he built my house, made floors, ran up the stairs, did all the inside work for my house." It is also well known that Thomas was on the committee that superintended and helped to build the Pigeon Church where the Lincolns attended. The pulpit which was used for more than seventy-five years by the church was made by Thomas Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln's Respect for His Father

Possibly the most satisfactory way to bring this monograph to a conclusion is to refute the charge that Abraham Lincoln did not respect his father as implied by the myth-maker Herndon. It is evident from Lincoln's correspondence with John D. Johnston, that this stepbrother was continually appealing to Lincoln for financial aid. In 1848, while Lincoln was in Congress, he received a double appeal from the Coles County home of his father. Both letters asked for money. The one bearing the name of Thomas Lincoln requested twenty dollars "to save his land," while Johnston wanted eighty dollars to finance another marriage venture.

Lincoln replied to his father's request, in part, as follows: "I very cheerfully send you the twenty dollars which sum you say is necessary to save your land from sale." He then expressed some surprise that the title to Thomas Lincoln's land was in jeopardy and concludes, "Before you pay it, it would be well to be sure that you have not paid it or, at least, that you cannot prove you have paid it."

In January, 1851, Johnston began another drive on Abraham Lincoln. It is very likely that Lincoln's father had been conveniently ill many times as far as Johnston was concerned. On January 1, 1851, Lincoln received word from one of the other members of the family that his father was really seriously ill. The next day Lincoln wrote to Johnston. The body of the letter follows:

"I received both your letters, and although I have not answered them, it is not because I have forgotten them, or been uninterested about them, but because it appeared to me that I could write nothing which would do any good. You already know I desire that neither father nor mother shall be in want of any comfort, either in health or sickness, while they live;

and I feel sure you have not failed to use my name, if necessary, to procure a doctor, or anything else for father in his present sickness. My business is such that I could hardly leave home now, if it was not as it is, that my own wife is sick-a-bed. (It is a case of baby-sickness, and I suppose is not dangerous.) I sincerely hope father may recover his health, but, at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in our great and good and merciful Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that if we could meet now it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant, but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them."

Abraham Lincoln had illness in his own home at the time of his father's illness we observe. On December 2, three weeks before he had learned of his father's illness, William Wallace Lincoln was born. The Lincolns had lost one of their children by death

some months before, and they would be especially anxious for the welfare of this new baby. It was over one hundred twenty-five miles to his father's home by rail on slow trains, and there were two uncertain connections to make before reaching Charleston where conveyance would have to be secured for the drive into the country. With his wife "sick-a-bed," as he says in his letter, it does not seem that Abraham Lincoln should have been expected to spend an indefinite period away from home, with the possibility of a long visit. Thomas Lincoln died on January 17, five days after Abraham Lincoln had written to Johnston.

As a deathbed scene is usually "more painful than pleasant," and a place of reconciliation rather than retribution, there is no good reason for concluding that there is evidence in this letter supporting the supposition that ill will existed between father and son. Of course, if one still holds to the groundless theory that Thomas Lincoln was not the real father of the President, it does make a good climax to an imaginative lifelong enmity between the two, and, from the writer's viewpoint, this is the motive behind all the controversy over this question.

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The Maternal Lineage Myth

A SURVEY OF THE EVIDENCE WHICH SUPPORTS THE THEORY THAT LINCOLN'S MOTHER WAS ILLEGITIMATE

The quest for that spark of genius in Abraham Lincoln which eventually illuminated all about him and which keeps his name forever illustrious has caused men to follow strange and obscure paths in the hope of finding the mysterious flame. Folklore and tradition have contributed largely to three major myths which have developed because of this persistent effort to spy out every conceivable hiding place that might hold some obscure fact about inherited or environmental contributions to the Emancipator.

With a diminishing emphasis placed upon two of the major myths, one relating to Lincoln's origin and another to his father's worthlessness, because of the discovery of duly authorized records which completely destroy the arguments on which the myths have survived, the search for the elusive spark of genius has shifted to Lincoln's maternal ances-

try. Here it is prophesied one may find the clues which will finally solve the riddle of Lincoln's greatness.

The myth briefly stated affirms that Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln, was the illegitimate child of Lucy Hanks and some Virginian who passed on to Abraham those mental qualifications which allowed Lincoln to excel over all those with whom he was associated.

It will be the purpose of this copy of the Kinsman to examine available sources in hopes of discovering possible factors which may have contributed to the origin of the myth and its general acceptance. This will call for a survey of early campaign biographies, the publications utilizing the Herndon manuscripts, the probabilities of what Mr. Lincoln himself may have believed about his maternal ancestry, and a general summary of the evidence based on duly authorized records.

1860 Campaign Biographers' Viewpoints

J. H. Barrett

One of the best known campaign biographers was J. H. Barrett. Shortly after Lincoln's nomination, Barrett interviewed him for the purpose of gathering information for a campaign biography. His book published in 1860 made this reference to Lincoln's mother after stating that she was born in Virginia: It does not appear that the parents of Miss Hanks ever removed to Kentucky, though others of the family did so. Of the history of her ancestry, we have no definite particulars. Her position in life appears to have been not dissimilar to that of her husband. That she possessed some rare qualities of mind and heart, there is reason to believe." (Barrett¹, p. 16.)

In 1895 Mr. Barrett wrote a letter now in the collection of the Lincoln National Life Foundation in which he said: "Mr. Lincoln stated to me in 1861 that his mother was born in Virginia, that she came to Kentucky with some of her relatives and not with her parents but gave me no other clue to her descent."

Barrett then went on to give his own opinions drawn from original researches made in Kentucky in the seventies. He wrote in this same letter: "It appears that she (Nancy) was adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Richard Berry of Washington County near Springfield and that Mrs. Berry was a sister of Thomas Lincoln's mother."

When Barrett extended his earlier biography into a two volume work, he made this comment in the introduction: "Recognizing that his parents were of humble life, and ranking himself with plain people, he distinctly claimed to be of a stock which, though it had produced no man of great eminence, had always been of good repute in general as to both character and capacity." (Barrett², p. IV.)

W. D. Howells

The discovery of a Howells campaign biography which Lincoln had annotated has given some degree of authority to the text. Howells states that Thomas Lincoln married Lucy Hanks. Lincoln crossed out the name Lucy and wrote Nancy in the margin. Howells continued: "Lincoln's mother was, like his father, Virginian; but beyond this, little or nothing is known of her. From both his parents young Lincoln inherited an iron constitution and a decent poverty. . . . It is certain that Lincoln cherished, with just pride, a family repute for native ability, and alluded to it in after life." (Howells, p. 19, 20.) Lincoln allowed the foregoing statement to stand as Howells had written it.

Scripps' Memorandum

One of the first authors to interview Lincoln and put in print the results of his conversation with the Presidential nominee was John Locke Scripps. In his campaign biography prepared in 1860, he made this statement about Lincoln's mother: "Facts in the possession of the writer have impressed him with the belief that although of but limited education, she was a woman of great native strength of intellect and force of character, and he (the writer) suspects that those admirable qualities of head and heart which characterize her distinguished son are inherited mostly from her." (Scripps, p. 2.)

After the President's death Mr. Scripps wrote a letter to William Herndon, apparently in reply to one which he had received, which contained this paragraph: "Mr. Lincoln communicated some facts to me about his ancestry, which he did not wish published, and which I have never spoken of or alluded to before. I do not think, however, that Dennis Hanks, if he knows anything about these matters, would be very likely to say anything about them." (Lamon, p. 18.)

Herndon's Versions of the Myth

While it might not be possible to prove that the maternity myth originated with William Herndon, however, it is evident that he was the chief source through which the story of the alleged illegitimacy of Lincoln's mother first became public knowledge. On him also rests the responsibility for giving the story wide circulation, and so it is properly classified along with the other Lincoln myths which he sponsored.

There were three men in particular with whom Herndon corresponded to some extent about the revelations Lincoln is said to have made about his mother. The earliest one was C. H. Hart, the second, Ward H. Lamon, and the third, Jesse W. Weik.

Hart Correspondence

On December 26, 1866, Herndon wrote C. H. Hart about Lincoln's maternal ancestry and accounted for his melancholy in this way: "In the first place his grandmother was a halfway prostitute—not a common one, as I understand the facts. I say this is truth, for Mr. Lincoln told me so. Mr. Lincoln's mother was an illegitimate. This is truth, for Mr. L. told me so. As a matter of course Mr. L. knew this. It saddened his own mother, and it saddened Lincoln." (Hertz, p. 52.)

To a letter from Mr. Hart, Mr. Herndon replied on March 2, 1867, that Nancy Hanks was a child of "some high blood rake in Virginia." (Hertz, p. 55.)

Lamon Correspondence

Two days before Herndon had expressed to Lamon his immediate need of money, he stated in another letter that Lincoln had told him that Nancy Hanks was illegitimate, "a child of a Virginia nabob." (Hertz, p. 59.) It was a year later, on February 25, 1870, that Herndon wrote to Lamon stating that while he was riding with Lincoln in 1852 on the way to a session of the court in Petersburg, Menard County, Lincoln explained that his mother was illegitimate, and also that Dennis Hanks was illegitimate, and further stated that his (Lincoln's) relatives were "lascivious, lecherous, not to be trusted." (Hertz, p. 63.)

Apparently it was not until March 6, 1870, that Herndon finally told Lamon how Lincoln happened to tell him about his mother's downfall. The year was moved back to 1851 in this instance, but the law partners were nevertheless bound for the Menard Court House to try a case "which required a discussion on hereditary qualities of mind, natures, etc." Herndon wrote that Lincoln turned to him and said, "Billy, I'll tell you something, but keep it a secret while I live." Lincoln then went on to affirm the illegitimacy of his mother and stated that she was the daughter of "a nobleman, so called, of Virginia." Herndon continued that according to Lincoln his mother's mother was "poor and credulous, etc., and she was shamefully taken advantage of by the man. My mother inherited his qualities and I hers." Then Herndon

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EDITOR

DR. LOUIS A. WARREN, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN FORMER ISSUES OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

1. The Colonial Lincolns, 2. The Unknown Hanks Ancestry, 3. The Herrings of Virginia, 4. Five Shipley Sisters, 5. The Todd Family, 6. Bush Family Documents, 7. Early 19th Century Lincolns, 8. Kentucky Archives, 9. Abraham Lincoln's Father, 10. Hon. Robert Todd Lincoln, 11. James Wright Sparrow, 12. Uncle Mordecai Lincoln, 13. Thomas (Tad) Lincoln, 14. The Tennessee Lincolns, 15. The Lincolns of Hingham, 16. The Richard Berry Family, 17. Southern Branch of the Hankses, 18. The Lincolns of England, 19. Synopsis Life of Lincoln, 20. Lincoln's Letters to His Wife, 21. Correspondence With Kinsmen, 22. A Hanks Family Tree, 23. New Jersey Lincolns, 24. The Pennsylvania Lincolns, 25. Nottoway River Hanks Colony. 26. Relatives of Lincoln's Wife. 27. The Lincolns' Kentucky Neighbors, 28. The Lincolns of Virginia. 29. Roanoke River Hanks Colony. 30. Lincoln's Mythical Childhood Homes. 31. The Paternity Myth. 32. The Shiftless Father Myth. Father Myth.

claimed that Lincoln concluded with that oft-repeated statement, "All that I am or hope ever to be I get from my mother, God bless her." (Hertz, p. 73, 74.)

Herndon claimed that Lincoln drew the conclusion from this revelation that illegitimate children were generally "smarter, shrewder, and more intellectual than others." (Hertz, p. 74.)

Weik Correspondence

Although Herndon had been corresponding with Jesse W. Weik for nearly five years, it was not until January 19, 1886, that he discussed in a letter the history of Lincoln's maternity and told Weik that Nancy Hanks was the daughter of "a Vir-

ginia planter." Herndon then described Lincoln's mother as a "bold, reckless, daredevil kind of a woman, stepping to the very verge of propriety; she was badly and roughly raised, was an excellent woman and by nature an intellectual and sensitive woman." (Hertz, p. 139.)

Herndon advised Weik when their book was nearing completion that he was "in favor of striking out all mention of her (Nancy Hanks) illegitimacy and unchastity if such is the fact." Herndon further continued, "No one will get mad because we suppress Nancy Hanks' illegitimacy or unchastity, if true," and then went on to say how furious people would become if it were released. (Hertz, p. 226-227. Italics mine, Ed.)

It is interesting to note that in this same letter Herndon made it plain to Weik that whatever he did with the illegitimacy story should be done with the interest of the success of the book in mind. Instead of eliminating the story, Weik displayed it most prominently, using the first four pages of the first chapter to give it emphasis.

Lincoln's Knowledge of the Hanks Family History

The fact that some conclusions are to be drawn about what Lincoln believed with reference to his mother's family is not intended to affirm the statement that he told what he knew about his people to William Herndon in the "early fifties" or at any other time. Historical procedure at least would not allow one to rest the complete authority for Lincoln's maternal ancestry upon traditional reminiscences of some one outside the family who made no notes until fifteen years after certain casual statements were made and who was still attempting to

add some details to the story thirtyfive years after an incident occurred.

Abraham Lincoln was but nine years of age when his mother passed away, and it seems very unlikely that at this early age he had heard from her the story of his discredited ancestry. Certainly after her death, with a new stepmother in the home, there would be no tendency on the part of Lincoln's father to discuss his first wife's relationships. If Abraham did learn anything about his mother's people at any time, it was probably through Dennis and John Hanks, although it does not seem likely that there was any call to go into the study of family genealogy until Abraham had been nominated for the Presidency.

Dennis Hanks insisted that Lincoln's mother's name was Nancy Sparrow who married Thomas Lincoln, and he said that the biographers who called her Hanks were wrong. Dennis claimed that she was the daughter of Henry and Lucy Sparrow and that Henry Sparrow's wife was before her marriage Lucy Hanks. He then insisted that the stories "charging wrong or indecency, prostitution in any of the above families is false" and laid the story to political enemies and traitors. (See Kinsman No. 11.)

Herndon began to question Dennis further about the parentage of Lincoln's mother, but he was never able to shake him loose from the original statement. The reply of Dennis to Herndon on February 28, 1866, confirms the former statement about Lincoln's mother; "Hir name was Nancy Sparrow; hir father's name was Henry Sparrow, hir Mother was Lucy Sparrow, hir (Lucy's) Madin name was Hanks, sister to my Mother."

To another question as to why Lincoln's mother was called Hanks, Dennis replied: "All I can say in this She was Deep in Stalk of the Hanks family. Calling hir Hanks probily is My Fault. I always told hir She Looked More Like the Hankses than Sparrow. I think this is the way; if you call hir Hanks, you make hir a Base born Child which is not trew." (Barton, p. 221.)

Both Dennis and John Hanks insisted to the very end that she was not an illegitimate child.

Most authors who have commented on the tenacity with which John and Dennis adhered to the story that the origin of Lincoln's mother was regular have claimed that these two men deliberately lied about her. One would rather believe that they were mistaken or confused about her parentage. If Abraham Lincoln was familiar with their story, as he must have been, he too must have been confused and wondered just who his grandmother really was.

It is quite evident that Lincoln was very sure that the maiden name of his mother was Nancy Hanks and he so wrote to Samuel Haycraft in 1860. It is also likely that Lincoln accepted the story often told and believed by Dennis and John Hanks that the mother of Lincoln's mother, Lucy Hanks who married Henry Sparrow, was a sister of three daughters and several sons of Joseph Hanks, and on this assumption acknowledged his cousin relationship to them.

Whatever Abraham Lincoln may have told John Locke Scripps or any one else about his ancestry, if he mentioned the Hankses, it is very likely he had no positive information about them, as he could not have harmonized the fact that his mother's maiden name was Nancy Hanks with the testimony of Dennis and John who claimed she was a child of Lucy and Henry Sparrow.

Summary of Herndon's Evidence

As the time for the publication of the Herndon-Weik book approached, it is apparent that Herndon began to waver in his assertions about the illegitimacy of Lincoln's mother. It is well known that he came to question his own theory about Lincoln's illegitimacy and at last is said to have repudiated his own argument. The correspondence which he had with Weik in December 1888 reveals that some doubts were entering his mind about the infallibility of his story about Lincoln's mother's illegitimacy.

In two instances in one paragraph in the letter written by Herndon to Weik on December 1, 1888, Herndon qualifies his charges of illegitimacy with the terms, "if such is the fact" and "if true." Why could there have been any doubt about this question in Herndon's mind, if Lincoln had been as positive in his assertion about his mother's illegitimacy as Herndon represents him?

It has been observed that Barrett gave little credence to the story, Hart ignores it in his biographical sketch, and Lamon makes no mention whatever about any personal testimony given by Abraham Lincoln to William Herndon about his mother's illegitimacy. It is not strange that there are those today who believe that the "buggy-ride story" grew up in the imagination of William Herndon out of the seed sown by Scripps' letter.

If one is not willing to admit the entirely imaginary character of the story, he may at least be conscious of its contradictory features as told by Herndon at different times. One begins to wonder just what it was that Herndon alleged Lincoln told him about the Hankses in that scene which was supposed to be so vividly impressed upon his mind.

In one of his versions of how Lincoln happened to speak about his mother's origin, he claims that the law partners were discussing a law case to be tried and they drifted into conversation about his mother. But at another time he wrote that he was not even thinking about the case above mentioned when Lincoln abruptly started telling him about his mother's illegitimacy.

In the conclusions drawn by Lincoln in the application of his own family disgrace to the case to be tried in the Menard County Court House, Herndon seems to wonder whether or not Mr. Lincoln was not hinting at his own illegitimacy. How foolish Lincoln would have been to beat about the bush and use his own mother as an exhibit of how brilliant children often come from free love, if he himself was an example of such relations.

Herndon states in his letter to Hart that Lincoln knew all about his own mother's shame as "a matter of course," yet in another letter Herndon admitted that if irregularities occurred among his own kinsmen he would be the last to know about it. It would also be interesting to know how Herndon came by the information that Abraham Lincoln's own mother was greatly humiliated through life by her knowledge of her own illegitimacy. Certainly she did not tell her nine-year-old son about her remorse.

It is of importance to note how Herndon classifies the Virginian, the maternal grandfather of Lincoln, in the different versions of his story. The grandsire of Lincoln is designated first as a "high blood rake," then as a "nabob," again as a "nobleman so called," and finally as just a "Virginia planter." Letters in files of the Lincoln Foundation claim that this Virginia planter's name was James Hanks, which is probably correct. John or Thomas Marshall or George Washington would be more acceptable as mythical heroes in the Herndon story, and have been so nominated in printed arguments favoring an illustrious maternal ancestor for the President.

It will be observed that Barrett, Howells, and Scripps, early campaign biographers, are in agreement that Lincoln's Hanks ancestry was of good repute, poor but decent, and that admirable qualities of "head and heart" came to him from this source. On the other hand Herndon drew the conclusion from what he claims Lincoln told him that his maternal grandmother was a halfway prostitute and that his Hanks relatives were "lascivious, lecherous, not to be trusted." There can be no question about conflict of evidence here.

Even more conflicting testimony in the various versions of the story, as told at different times by Herndon, is the moral attitude of the grandmother. On one of the presentations as above indicated Herndon introduces Lucy as a halfway prostitute, and in another statement claims that Lincoln told him that she was "shamefully taken advantage of" and shifts the blame for her downfall to her seducer.

Testimony of Duly Authorized Documents

Regardless of what Abraham Lincoln, Dennis Hanks, John Hanks, or any other member of the Hanks family may have believed about the origin of Nancy Hanks, there is not a single duly authorized public record that sustains the assumption that the mother of Abraham Lincoln was the daughter of an unmarried woman.

There is just one fact about the mother of Nancy Hanks which, if admitted, would allow all the discordant compilations of folklore and traditions gathered about the President's grandmother to come into agreement with all the known official documents which relate to the subject. That fact is that the mother who gave birth to Nancy Hanks was Mrs. Lucy Hanks instead of Miss Lucy Hanks.

Furthermore the public records, traditions, and folklore of the many branches of the Shipley family would be brought in in harmony with the story, as they have all without exception claimed that the mother of Nancy Hanks was originally Lucy Shipley who married a Hanks.

Still further the acceptance of Lucy as a Mrs. Lucy Hanks instead of a Miss Lucy Hanks at the time of Nancy Hanks' birth would harmonize the story of Henry Sparrow's descendants who, Dr. Barton admitted, believed Lucy Hanks to have been a widow at the time she married Sparrow.

More important than the testimony of the Hanks, Shipley, and Sparrow families, which would be unified by the simple process of calling Nancy Hanks' mother Mrs. instead of Miss, is the support such a conclusion would receive from the vast amount of public records which have been gathered. In no single instance would the records violate the story of Lincoln's mother if she is recognized as a Miss Lucy Shipley who married a Hanks.

The will of Joseph Hanks which names but three daughters will always stand as an obstacle in the way of those who claim that Lucy was a fourth daughter of Joseph disowned by her father. Joseph Hanks signed his will on January 8, 1793. By this time Lucy had been married to Henry Sparrow two years and eight months and at least one child had been born to them. Does anyone believe that Joseph Hanks would have disowned a married daughter because it was claimed that nearly ten years before she had given birth to an illegitimate child.

There would be no violation of this will if the tradition in some branches of the Hanks family is accepted that Lucy Hanks was the widow of James Hanks, a son of Joseph, deceased at least four years before the will was signed. All the cousin relationships among the Hankses would then be preserved and Lucy, instead of being a sister to the three Hanks daughters, would be a sister-in-law.

The certificate which affirms that Lucy Hanks was of age by April 26, 1790, was signed by Robert Mitchell and John Berry. The Shipley family has always claimed on good authority that Lucy Hanks before her marriage to James Hanks was originally Lucy Shipley with sisters Rachel Shipley Berry, Naomi Shipley Mitchell, and others. The Robert Mitchell on the certificate was the husband of Naomi Shipley and a brother-in-law of Lucy, and John Berry was a son of Richard and Rachel Shipley Berry and a nephew of Lucy. They should be able to testify about the age of their near kinswoman.

The marriage bond of Lincoln's mother carries the name of Richard Berry, another nephew of Lucy and an own cousin of Nancy Hanks, if the family records of both the Shipley and Berry families can be relied upon. Richard Berry died in Calloway County, Missouri, and has left testimonials about serving as guardian for his cousin Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln. (See Kinsman No. 16.)

There are other court papers such as the Lucy Hanks indictment, the marriage returns of the minister officiating at Lucy's wedding, the Lucy Hanks marriage bond, and the original license which might be introduced as evidence, and in no single instance is a name of a member of the Hanks family to be found on any of them which would be legally necessary if Lucy Hanks was a single girl and had a father and brothers living in an adjacent (See Kinsman county. No. 2.)

When one approaches the story of Abraham Lincoln's grandmother and weighs the value of folklore and tradition gathered about her on the scale of duly authorized public records, he is bound to come to the conclusion that the mother of Nancy Hanks was Mrs. Lucy Shipley Hanks, and any conclusion which makes the mother of Abraham Lincoln an illegitimate child of a certain Miss Lucy Hanks and some unknown Virginian is but another of the Herndon myths.

J. H. Barrett¹, Life of Abraham Lincoln. Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co., Cincinnati 1860.
 J. H. Barrett², Abraham Lincoln and His Presidency. The Robert Clarke Company, Cincindency. The nati 1904.

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⁽John Locke Scripps), Life of Abraham Lin-

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The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis 1929.

^{1929.}



Number 34

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April, 1941

The Poverty Myth

No myth about Abraham Lincoln seems to be accepted more generally than the traditional story of his abject poverty. Any attempt to visualize a more favorable home life for the growing child than most biographers have ascribed for him meets with general disapproval. The moment one tries to elevate the Lincoln youth above the sordid level accorded him by folklore, there is a cry that realism is being violated.

The "Shiftless Father Myth" discussed in a recent number of the Kinsman is in a measure related to the tradition of Lincoln's poverty, but while it was more directly concerned with traits and characteristics and certain exhibits which might be studied from the viewpoint of inherited tendencies, this approach is primarily concerned with the more physical surroundings of Abraham Lincoln's parental home.

Until Lincoln can be lifted out of the "stagnant putrid pool" of poverty and wretchedness where William Herndon placed him, it will be impossible to approach with any degree of accuracy a study of the environmental influences which surrounded him and which in a large measure accounted for his progress and achievements.

When Lincoln was first interviewed by a campaign biographer for historical information about himself, he replied that it would be folly to make anything out of his early life as it could be condensed into the single line found in Gray's *Elegy*, "The short and simple annals of the poor."

It is agreed upon by all students of Lincoln that his parents were poor, but it is not admitted by any informed biographers that his parents were poverty-stricken. They should never be associated with people who live in shanties by the railroad or in the slums of great cities, and if they were living today it is very certain they would not be listed among the families on relief.

When Thomas Lincoln, the father of Abraham, approached old age and moved to Illinois, the best and most active part of his life had been spent. With some of his second wife's relatives settling down upon him and wresting out of him all the financial help he was able to give, there is some evidence that he fell below the economic level on which he had lived all the days when Abraham was growing to manhood. Young Lincoln, however, was free from the environment of his father's house within a few months after the arrival of the family in Illinois.

Abraham came from a typical American frontier home, humble to be sure but nevertheless an average pioneer home, one similar to those of the great common people of the West. To place the Lincolns on a lower level than this is to shut one's eyes to the facts on their economic status which are available in duly authorized public records. Some purely traditional statements relating to the poverty stricken conditions of the Lincolns are exhibited and then exposed to the light of documentary evidence.

Earnings

"Seven years passed and his [Abraham's] eighth birthday approached. All this while Thomas Lincoln had somehow kept his family in food, but never had he money in his pocket."

Stephenson, Nathanial Wright, Lincoln, p. 9.

Wages are often the basis on which people judge the relative prosperity of men who make up the laboring classes of the country. One is not usually called a poverty-stricken individual if he has cash or is able to raise it. As far as we can learn Abraham Lincoln's father, during the days Abraham was growing to maturity, was not without the necessities of life.

When Thomas Lincoln was twentyone years old, he was working for
Samuel Haycraft, Sr., at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, and the old account
book kept by Haycraft which noted
the hours he worked and the pay
credits is in the archives of the Lincoln National Life Foundation. Between July 13 and September 17,
1797, Thomas was paid fifteen pounds
for labor, or the equivalent of about
sixty dollars.

For a year or more he lived with his Uncle Isaac in Tennessee and undoubtedly received a fair wage for his labor as his uncle was a prosperous farmer. Beginning with the year 1803, when Thomas was reimbursed six dollars for guarding a prisoner, his name continually appears on the Hardin County record books as the recipient of fees paid to him for public services rendered. By the close of 1803 he had saved over five hundred dollars, part of which he invested in a farm.

During the year 1804 he was beginning to ply his trade as a carpenter in earnest and was making frequent purchases of carpenter's equipment at the Bleakley & Montgomery store in Elizabethtown. He was also operating his farm, and he received a credit of three pounds or about twelve dollars for some beef he delivered to the merchants on October 16.

In 1805 the year before Thomas Lincoln married Nancy Hanks, he was steadily at work in Elizabethtown. Three months of the time he served as a patroller in the detachment of Christopher Bush. One note was made payable to him during this period amounting to seven pounds and seven shillings. About this time he also entered into a contract to get out some lumber for Denton Geoghegan and was busily engaged in carpentering.

The year that Thomas Lincoln was married he had credits entered on the Bleakley & Montgomery store books of fifty pounds or more than two hundred dollars. Of this fact we may feel sure, that Nancy Hanks did not marry a poverty-stricken man but a pioneer who had been fairly successful in earning money in a country where ready money was scarce.

This man was able to pay two hundred dollars cash for a farm three months before Abraham Lincoln was born, which should not allow him to be classed among the poverty-stricken. He also had cash to purchase another farm and livestock before leaving Kentucky. Upon migrating to Indiana he entered land and soon paid the necessary fee to claim it.

A little over a year after the death of Nancy Hanks, in 1818, he returned to Kentucky and paid off the debts of the Widow Johnston before their wedding was solemnized.

Thomas Lincoln continued his carpentering in Spencer County, Indiana, and combined it with farming, and there is no evidence that his economic standing was below that of the average family in that section of the country. The Lincoln family was never referred to in Indiana as a povertystricken group.

Property

"He [Thomas Lincoln] was placed in possession of several tracts

of land at different times in his life, but was never able to pay for a single one of them."

Herndon and Weik, Herndon's Lincoln, Vol. 1, p. 12.

If one approaches a study of the Lincolns' economic conditions through the real estate transactions of the father, he is surprised to learn of the many acquisitions of land which Thomas Lincoln made up to the time Abraham Lincoln left his father's house at the age of twenty-one.

We have already shown that Thomas was able to earn wages through carpentry work and hard labor and that he was also able to provide for his family through his agricultural pursuits. Most of the surplus money over that which he needed for his family was put into land.

Thomas Lincoln's first land was a two hundred acre tract acquired in Cumberland County, Kentucky, in 1801. In 1803 he purchased the Mill Creek farm in Hardin County, Kentucky, which consisted of 230 acres for which he paid 118 pounds cash or the equivalent of about \$450.00. Possibly he may have sold the Cumberland County land to help finance the Hardin County project.

On the Mill Creek tract he settled his mother, his sister, and her husband. Here he also made his home until his marriage. He then purchased two house lots and a cabin in Elizabethtown where he lived for two years.

The birthplace farm was acquired in the month of November 1808. It contained 340 acres and Thomas Lincoln paid two hundred dollars cash for it. When Abraham Lincoln was

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EDITOR

DR. LOUIS A. WARREN, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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1. The Colonial Lincolns, 2. The Unknown Hanks Ancestry, 3. The Herrings of Virginia, 4. Five Shipley Sisters, 5. The Todd Family, 6. Bush Family Documents, 7. Early 19th Century Lincolns, 8. Kentucky Archives, 9. Abraham Lincoln's Father, 10. Hon. Robert Todd Lincoln, 11. James Wright Sparrow, 12. Uncle Mordecai Lincoln, 18. Thomas (Tad) Lincoln, 14. The Tennessee Lincolns, 15. The Lincolns of Hingham, 16. The Richard Berry Family, 17. Southern Branch of the Hankses, 18. The Lincolns of England, 19. Synopsis Life of Lincoln, 20. Lincoln's Letters to His Wife, 21. Correspondence With Kinsmen, 22. A Hanks Family Tree, 28. New Jersey Lincolns, 24. The Pennsylvania Lincolns, 25. Nottoway River Hanks Colony, 26. Relatives of Lincoln's Wife, 27. The Lincolns' Kentucky Neighbors, 28. The Lincolns of Virginia, 29. Roanoke River Hanks Colony, 80. Lincoln's Mythical Childhood Homes, 31. The Paternity Myth, 82. The Shiftless Father Myth, 33. The Maternal Lineage Myth,

born three months later, his father was in possession of at least 570 acres of land, two dwellings, and possibly an additional 200 acres in Cumberland County, along with two house lots and a cabin in Elizabethtown. This was a fairly good estate for "a man struggling with poverty."

Abraham Lincoln said that his father left Kentucky chiefly because of difficulty with land titles, and when he later purchased for an unknown financial consideration a tract of land and a cabin on Knob Creek where he moved his family in 1811, he was soon to find that three of his purchases were faulty in title and in boundary specifications. He engaged in litigation over them and, although he was not found at fault in any of the transactions, he likely lost much of what he had put into them.

After settling in Indiana and following the usual custom of pioneers, he entered one-quarter section of land, 160 acres, in Spencer County, making the necessary payments later on in 1827. Following the example of his neighbors he relinquished the poorer one-half of his quarter section to the government and got credit to complete payment on the 80 acres where he had built his home. He then purchased 20 acres adjacent to his 80 acres to round out a 100 acre tract. This he occupied until he moved to Illinois in 1830.

To summarize, Thomas Lincoln had purchased between the years 1801 and 1830, 1180 acres of land with the buildings upon them and also two town house lots and a cabin. The land deal in Indiana seems to be the only instance where he used sales money from one tract to pay for another.

It can be said for a certainty that Thomas Lincoln never established a permanent residence on any land that he did not own. He was not what was commonly called a squatter at any time, and as far as we know he never lived on a rented piece of property. He was a freeholder throughout his entire life, and not many life long property owners can be classed as poverty-stricken people.

Dwellings

"Nobody alleges that he ever built a house, or pretended to do more than a few little odd jobs connected with such an undertaking."

Lamon, Ward Hill, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 9.

Pictures of dilapidated old cabins which were once said to have been occupied by the Lincolns have done much to support the myth about the poverty of the Lincolns. The most notable instance is the widely circulated picture of a shed on an alley in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, which early biographers called the birthplace of Lincoln. Neither Abraham Lincoln nor his parents ever lived in the structure.

The famous birthplace cabin at Hodgenville has been so mutilated and reduced in size in order to fit properly into the memorial structure that one is greatly deceived if he concludes that Abraham Lincoln was born in a cabin so small. There has also been rebuilt on the Knob Creek farm of the Lincolns, a cabin which had no association whatever with the Lincoln family.

No dwelling of the Lincolns has been misrepresented to such an extent as the early cabin home of the family in Indiana. Nearly every biographer who has mentioned the Indiana residence has copied the story of the half-faced camp as told by Herndon. He said it was "enclosed on all sides but one. It had neither floor, door, nor windows. In this forbidding hovel these doughty emigrants braved the exposure of the varying seasons for an entire year."

Abraham Lincoln positively refutes this Herndon exaggeration by mentioning an incident which happened in what he described as a "new log cabin" shortly after the Lincolns reached Indiana. There is a photograph extant of the old Lincoln home in Indiana made more than thirty-five years after the Lincolns had occupied it. Inasmuch as it had been used for a storage house for many years before the picture was taken, it is not to be expected that it would present a very good likeness of the home when occupied by the Lincolns.

There is no reason to believe that the homes occupied by the Lincoln family when Abraham was living with them were different in structure from the other log cabins in the community where they resided. The fact that Thomas Lincoln owned rather than rented the cabins would imply more interest in their condition, and the fact that he was a cabinet-maker himself and an expert woodsman would indicate his home would not be inferior to the average pioneer log cabin.

There does not now exist an exact replica of any log cabin in which Abraham Lincoln ever lived with his parents. There is not available a picture of any Lincoln cabin as it appeared at the time it was occupied by Abraham Lincoln and his parents. But we may conclude that the Lincolns occupied new log cabins instead of old tumbledown structures a century old which are now exhibited as typical of the Lincoln dwellings.

It is no mark of poverty to have been born in a log cabin in the state of Kentucky in the year 1809. Very few children born in western Kentucky at that early date were born in any other type of structure. One needs more evidence of the Lincoln family's poverty than the fact that Abraham was born in a log cabin.

Live Stock

"Where he [Thomas Lincoln] got the horses on this occasion [migration to Indiana], it is impossible to say; but they were likely borrowed from his brother-in-law, Krume."

Lamon, Ward Hill, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 20.

In the pioneer day live stock was an important factor in estimating the economic standing of the settler. This was especially true as slaves, so classified, were usually entered in the appraisal list of an estate. It is true that the parents of Abraham Lincoln did not own slaves, yet there were many well-to-do families who did not acquire slaves because of their opposition to the system.

It is to be regretted that cattle and hogs were not listed in the commissioner's tax book, but we do know that the Lincolns were well supplied with both. We have records of Mr. Lincoln having disposed of beef and pork to the merchants and also having purchased stock for his own use.

When Thomas Lincoln was twentyone years old, he listed two horses for
taxation and apparently was never
without one or more horses during the
rest of his Kentucky and Indiana
days. In 1815, the year Abraham was
six years old, tax records of Hardin
County, Kentucky, show that Thomas
was in possession of four horses, one
of them a stallion on which an extra
tax was paid.

The commissioner's book in which these 1815 taxes are listed contains the names of 104 men who were neighbors of the Lincolns on Knob Creek. Only six of these 104 tithables had as many or more horses than

Thomas Lincoln. This was the year before the family left for Indiana when one author states that the personal property of the Lincolns was transported on the backs of two borrowed horses.

Nourishment

"Enlow searched everywhere in the cabin [Thomas Lincoln's] for a morsel of food, but the rough shelves were as bare as the walls."

Gore, J. Rogers, The Boyhood of Abraham Lincoln, p. 33.

Poverty-stricken people are usually undernourished. When Abraham Lincoln reached twenty-one years of age he weighed two hundred pounds. His stepmother has said that he was never so heavy again as he was in the Indiana days. There were probably times when the Lincolns did not have very much of a variety of food. Possibly Abraham often could have eaten more of certain kinds of food of which he was very fond if there had been an over supply, but we have no reason to believe that he was at any time undernourished.

We know that Thomas Lincoln had live stock and especially milk cows and hogs. At one sale he attended in Kentucky when Abraham was a small boy, he purchased the most valuable heifer sold at the auction. When the Lincolns left the Knob Creek farm for Indiana in 1816, Thomas Lincoln left two hundred bushels of corn stored in the loft of Caleb Hazel's cabin.

We must not forget that the Lincolns were living in the wilderness country of Indiana from the time Abraham was seven until he was twenty-one, and there was much wild game in the woods. He tells how as a boy of eight years he killed a wild turkey with his father's rifle. The Lincolns lived near a famous salt lick to which animals were attracted. Dennis Hanks tells about the large amount of game he killed while living close by the Lincolns.

It does not appear as if a boy who reached the height of six feet four inches at sixteen years of age could be called an undernourished child of a poverty-stricken family.

Apparel

"Abe and his sister Nancy [Sarah], the ragged and hapless little strangers to her [stepmother's] blood, were given an equal place in her affections. They were half naked, and she clad them from the stores of clothing she had laid up for her own."

Lamon, Ward Hill, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 31.

The Lincolns were poor and there were possibly pinching times through which they passed. There may have been severe winters when their bodies may have been cold, for lack of warm clothing by day and the lack of sufficient bedding at night, because of poorly heated homes.

Thomas Lincoln as a young man at the time he was courting Nancy Hanks was certainly well groomed. The ledgers kept by Bleakley & Montgomery at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, make us feel that possibly Thomas was somewhat of a dandy during those early days as he had plenty of surplus cash to his account.

On New Year's Day 1805 he purchased a new beaver hat and paid one pound and sixteen shillings or about seven dollars for it. A little later he bought a pair of suspenders costing nine shillings or about two dollars.

It was at the time of his marriage when he really put on the fine clothes. One may search through the account book of Bleakley & Montgomery's ledger and observe many purchases of cloth for men's suits, but he will find only one instance where a man paid more money for his wedding outfit than Thomas Lincoln did for his. The cloth alone cost him about sixty dollars to say nothing of the tailor's bill for having the suits made.

Those who have attempted to describe Abraham Lincoln's dress as a small boy have drawn entirely upon their imaginations, and while his clothes were probably very plain, there is no evidence that he dressed unlike other pioneer boys of that day.

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon his apparel in a statement he made to Peter Smith in 1860 when Smith interviewed him about his trip from Indiana to Illinois. Smith referred to Lincoln's going barefoot on this occasion, and Lincoln corrected him and said: "I was afoot but not barefooted. In my young days I frequently went barefooted, but on that occasion I had on a substantial pair of shoes—it was a cold day in March and I never went barefooted in cold weather."

There is no evidence that the Lincolns' wearing apparel or their bed clothing was inferior to the average pioneer family in the wilderness, and they could not be set aside as poverty-stricken people from their general appearance at least.

Two Buggy-ride Reminiscences

William Herndon claimed that on one occasion when he was riding in a buggy with Abraham Lincoln "on a hot overlapping spring creek on the road to Petersburg, two and a half miles west of this city [Springfield, Ill.], about 1851" that Lincoln voluntarily told him of his mother's downfall and the general "lasciviousness" of her people. Herndon gave as a reason for this confidential statement, the close parallel of his mother's experiences with a case they were to try in court. It was a sordid picture that Herndon remembered.

Four years before Herndon's buggy-ride story was revealed to Lamon, Leonard Swett wrote a letter to Herndon about an incident which occurred in the court at Clinton, Illinois, where Lincoln had been trying a case in which he found it advantageous to refer for illustrative purposes to some of his own early experiences.

Apparently it was at this time that Swett had his famous buggy-ride with Lincoln. He writes "in the fall of 1853 I was riding with him in a buggy from DeWitt County to Champaign, a distance of about fifty miles, upon the business of attending this court, and as we were traveling a prairie some twelve or fifteen miles in width and nearing Champaign, I said to Mr. Lincoln 'I have heard a great many curious incidents of your early life and I would be obliged if you would begin at your earliest recollections and tell me the story of it continuously.'

The season and the surroundings seemed adapted to lazy story telling. The weather was the perfection of Indian Summer time, and the tall grasses covered the prairie everywhere like ripened grain."

Swett then gave as near as possible the story as told by Lincoln of his youth, including his deep respect for his mother. Then as a sort of a summary Swett in his own words made this comment:

"Mr. Lincoln told this story as the story of a happy childhood. There was nothing sad nor pinched, and nothing of want, and no allusions to want, in any part of it. His own description of his youth was that of a joyous, happy boyhood. It was told with mirth and glee, and illustrated by pointed anecdote, often interrupted by his jocund laugh which echoed over the prairies. His biographers have given to his early life the spirit of suffering and want, and as one reads them, he feels like tossing him pennies for his relief. Mr. Lincoln gave no such description, nor is such description true. His was just such life as has always existed and now exists in the frontier States, and such boys are not suffering, but are rather like Whittier's "Barefoot boy with cheeks of tan," and I doubt not Mr. Lincoln in afterlife would gladly have exchanged the pleasures of gratified ambition and of power for those hours of happy contentment and rest."

"Leonard Swett." .

^{*}Allen Thorndike Rice. Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln By Distinguished Men of His Time, p. 468. North American Review, New York 1888.



Number 35

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May, 1941

The Ann Rutledge Myth

No episode in the eventful story of Abraham Lincoln has been dramatized to such an extent as his alleged romance with Ann Rutledge, yet the whole tradition which has been noted as one of the famous love affairs in American literature is largely a myth. Although it has been called "one of the world's most classic stories," the legend should not be included among historical records when it properly belongs to the realm of fiction.

William Herndon, the chief of all Lincoln myth-makers, was mainly responsible for the development of the Lincoln-Rutledge romance myth and gave wide circulation to this fiction through a lecture which he published emphasizing the alleged infatuation of Abraham Lincoln for the daughter of the New Salem tavern-keeper.

Lincoln historians who have made careful studies of the sources relating to the New Salem period of Lincoln's life give little credence to the highly colored story of Lincoln's wooing of Ann Rutledge. They are more inclined to observe with some degree of in-

terest Lincoln's actual romance with Mary Owens, which occurred in the same community a year after Ann's death, and which is a romance based on dependable data.

Confused Memories

After the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, which had a tendency to immortalize him, every man or woman who could recall an incident by which they or their family had been associated with him immediately tried to bring to mind the eventful contact.

The people who had lived in New Salem, Illinois, while Lincoln resided there had to go back thirty years to recall the incidents associated with their fellow townsman, and it is not strange that their memories were somewhat confused about certain incidents which may have occurred in the community so long ago.

In the short history of New Salem which survived as a town less than a decade, it was recalled that there was a girl living near there who died about the time she was to have been married (Ann Rutledge, 1835). It was known that Lincoln pursued an ardent courtship in the town with a girl (Mary Owens, 1836) who refused his proposal of marriage. Some of the people also remembered that Lincoln had a love affair shortly after leaving New Salem (Mary Todd, 1839), and it broke up leaving him in a state of mental collapse.

With all these episodes of romance occurring within a period of four or five years more than a quarter of a century before, it is not strange that from this hazy background there should emanate a confusion of memories about the love affairs of a certain young man who resided in the pioneer village. The Ann Rutledge of fiction really became a composite character who represented three different young women of Abraham Lincoln's acquaintance.

The Herndon Lecture

Lincoln was hardly in his grave before Herndon began to draw upon the sources of folklore from people who once lived in the extinct town of New Salem. Less than two months had elapsed before he was carrying on some correspondence with John Hill, son of Samuel Hill.

John Hill was born a year after Ann Rutledge died and was but three years old when Lincoln left New Salem for Springfield, so we would not expect him to speak with any first hand knowledge about a traditional courtship between them. Hill had written to Herndon previous to June 12, 1865, telling the story that Lincoln was in love with Ann, that she was promised to someone else, that she died, and that Lincoln became crazy as a bat. As far as we can learn,

this is the earliest traditional story of the romance, and it was told by one who could not possibly have been a witness to the incidents he mentioned.

Possibly it was this lead in the letter written to him by Hill that eventually sent Herndon about a year later out to the Sand Ridge community seven miles from New Salem to interview John McNamar. He was the real and only lover of Ann Rutledge and the man to whom she was betrothed at the time of her death. The interview took place on Sunday morning, October 14, 1866, at McNamar's home near New Salem.

Apparently the contribution of chief value which came to Herndon from his interview with McNamar was atmosphere. The emotional reaction of McNamar as he referred to Miss Rutledge apparently impressed Herndon more deeply than any of the facts which McNamar related, as they were not in harmony with the story which had already taken form in Herndon's imagination. After commenting on McNamar's weeping scene, upon mention of Ann Rutledge's death which had occurred thirty years before, Herndon suggests that McNamar probably purchased the farm on which he was then living "because of the sad memories that cluster over and around it." It is well known that McNamar purchased the place four years previous to Ann's death, so Herndon's conclusion was as far-fetched here as in other instances.

In the atmosphere of the weeping McNamar, the grave of his betrothed, and a day spent at New Salem, Herndon began to prepare his famous lecture on "Abraham Lincoln, Ann Rutledge, New Salem, Pioneering and the

Poem." It took Herndon about one month to prepare the address and it was delivered in Springfield, Illinois, on November 16, 1866. Although there were few people present at the lecture, Herndon had the material printed in broadside form and it was placed on sale at the news stands. Magazines and newspapers copied it and the Lincoln-Rutledge myth was on its way for approval. The address contained about 12,000 words.

Herndon's opening statement in the concluding division of the lecture was: "I do not think—wishing to arrogate nothing to myself—that any living man or woman so well understands the many delicate wheels and hidden springs of the story of Lincoln, Miss Rutledge, the Poem, and its relation to the two in time and place, as I do."

Certainly Herndon's entire information about this romance came to him secondhand. He was born in 1818 and was only eleven years old when Ann first arrived in New Salem. It is doubtful if Herndon ever saw her, as he was only seventeen years old at the time of her death and would have emphasized the fact if he had met her.

Herndon makes no claim that Lincoln ever mentioned the name of Miss Rutledge to him or confided in him about this alleged romance, yet he states, on what authority we do not know, that "Abraham Lincoln loved Ann Rutledge with all his soul, mind, and strength. She loved him as dearly, tenderly, affectionately. They seemed made in Heaven for each other." Herndon also made this extravagant statement, "Lincoln loved Ann Rutledge better than his own life."

Ann's Real Lover

Ann Rutledge did have a lover at New Salem and when she died she was still engaged to him, but his name was not Abraham Lincoln. The young man who won the hand of Ann Rutledge was John McNamar, alias John McNeil. McNamar came to New Salem in 1829 the very year the town site was settled by Ann's father, James Rutledge, and his nephew, John Cameron. McNamar in partnership with Samuel Hill opened a store on the hill just above the Rutledge-Cameron mill. Later Rutledge converted his log cabin into a four room tavern and McNamar became one of his first boarders.

Already in love with the tavernkeeper's daughter, McNamar soon became engaged to her. Possibly anticipating an early marriage McNamar purchased on July 26, 1831 a forty acre tract, part of the farm owned by Ann's father. McNamar also purchased another farm adjacent to the Rutledge property. In this last land transaction Abraham Lincoln sisted McNamar in drawing up the papers consummating the deal. Desiring to make the title of the land secure McNamar confided in Lincoln that, although he had gone under the assumed name of John McNeil, his real name was John McNamar, and he pledged Lincoln to keep that part secret. He claimed he had changed his name to prevent his movements from becoming known to his parents. Later McNamar took his fiancee into his confidence about his real name which she would some day be wearing.

If the Rutledges at that early day were claiming descent from the famous Rutledge family of North Caro-

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lina they too may have been practicing some deception, as there is positive evidence that they were not descendants from the illustrious family of that name who provided one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Neither pseudonyms nor doubtful family heritages, however, influenced the romance of John and Ann.

After a four year residence in New Salem McNamar decided to visit his parents in New York state and promised Ann that upon his return they would be married. Some correspondence passed between Ann and McNamar during the early part of his visit, but several misfortunes which

befell him caused the letters to be sent at greater intervals. McNamar's father was taken ill and the son felt it his duty to remain with him. The old gentleman passed away and then there was the estate to settle, which task evolved upon John. By the time he could get his mother, his brothers and sisters in the notion of migrating to New Salem, nearly three years had passed. After his prolonged visit McNamar arrived in New Salem to learn that his sweetheart had passed away, and that his plans for the anticipated wedding were frustrated.

The news correspondent, George Alfred Townsend, visited Herndon at Springfield in January 1867, two months after the famous address, and wrote out the substance of his conversation with Lincoln's former law partner for the New York Tribune. With respect to the death of Ann Rutledge he claimed Herndon told him this:

"About the time when they, (Abraham and Ann) passed from courtesy to tenderness, and marriage between them was more than hinted at, the sick man (McNamar) returned like a ghost, gauged the condition of affairs, and upbraided the lady with fickleness. She had a delicate sense of honor, and felt keenly the shame of having seemed to trifle with two gentlemen at once; this preyed upon her mind till her body, not very strong, suffered by sympathy, and Mr. Herndon has oral and written testimony that the girl died out of regret at the equivocal position she had unwittingly assumed. The names of all the parties he has given me, but I do not care to print them." (Townsend p. 7).

Twenty-three years after Herndon delivered his famous lecture, he wrote to Jesse Weik, "Again the more I think of the Ann Rutledge story the more do I think that the girl had two engagements, i.e., that she was engaged to two men at one and the same time." (Hertz p. 236).

Lincoln's New Salem Years

Lincoln took up his residence at New Salem in July 1831, three years after John McNamar had settled there. He went to live in the family of John M. Cameron and clerked in a store owned by Denton Offutt. He was still working in the store on March 9, 1832, when he announced as a candidate for the Illinois legislature.

Six weeks after his entrance into the field of politics, the Black Hawk War broke out and on April 21, 1832, he enrolled for service and immediately left New Salem to join the military company of which he was elected captain. He had now been living in New Salem nine months and all available evidence seems to point to the fact that he had made his home with the Cameron's up to this time. Lincoln's service in the Black Hawk War lasted from April 21, 1832 to July 16, 1832 or four months, during which time he was continuously absent from the town.

It was not until after Lincoln's return from the Black Hawk War that McNamar made preparations for a trip to his home in the east. McNamar sold out his interest in the store partnership with Samuel Hill on September 4, 1832, and it was not long after this that he started on his journey. During this same month Lincoln purchased an interest in the Herndon-

Berry store in New Salem, and what appears to be a well-established tradition states that he slept in the back part of the store. William Herndon himself claims that Lincoln was living with Rowan Herndon previous to the purchase of the store.

Up to the first of January 1833 Abraham Lincoln had resided in New Salem not over twelve months, and during all this time with the exception of three months, John McNamar to whom Ann was betrothed was living in the town. Any love scene which associates Abraham and Ann with the Rutledge tavern and New Salem is purely mythical, and it is well established that Lincoln never made his home at the tavern while James Rutledge was the proprietor.

Abraham Lincoln was not appointed postmaster of New Salem until May 7, 1833. This was six months after the Rutledges left the town, so that Lincoln was not the New Salem postmaster while Ann lived there or for nearly nine months after Mc-Namar left. Just how it was possible for Lincoln to keep up with Mc-Namar's correspondence with Ann during this interval is problematical. When you remove the Rutledge tavern and the New Salem postoffice both from the scenery required to dramatize the mythical romance there is not much left for atmosphere but the banks of the Sangamon.

The Rutledges of Sand Ridge

Ann Rutledge did not live in New Salem for more than one year during the five or six years that Abraham Lincoln resided there. Shortly after McNamar left New Salem the Rutledge-Cameron mill venture failed and James Rutledge also was apparently forced to sell the tavern which

was acquired by Nelson Alley in November, 1832. Some months earlier, on February 20, 1832 Rutledge had sold the remaining acres of his Sand Ridge farm, so he was now without any land-holdings and apparently had no place to live. (Beveridge I, p. 148, 150). When he moved his family out of the tavern he established his home on the farm which he had previously sold to John McNamar. It is not known by what right he took up his residence there, but the fact remains that the Rutledge family within a few weeks after McNamar left New Salem were living in the home owned by the man to whom Ann was engaged and whom she intended to marry.

How soon after McNamar's departure Ann would begin to despair of his return, if she ever did have such thoughts, and invite the serious intentions of other young men is problematical. The fact that she was then living in the home owned by her betrothed might have some bearing on her opinion as to the certainty of his ultimate return to her if he was still alive which she had no reason to doubt.

If there ever was any relation between Ann and Abraham that approached a romance of which we have
no worthwhile evidence, the courtship
took place not between two young
people of New Salem who saw each
other every day, but between a young
man in New Salem and a young lady
living in the Sand Ridge community
seven miles away. Fourteen miles in
those days was a long distance for a
girl to be traveling to the post office
and back every day as it is implied
she was a daily visitor there. It might
also be of interest to know that the

mail arrived in New Salem but twice a week.

There are those who would have us believe that Abraham Lincoln became engaged to Ann Rutledge not long after McNamar left New Salem. Someone is said to have discovered near New Salem an elliptical-shaped stone about twelve inches long and seven inches in diameter on which the following inscription had been cut by a sharp instrument:

"A. Lincoln/ Ann Rutledge/ Were Betrothed/Here July 4/1833."

The "J" in July in the chiselled lettering is reversed as if made by an ignorant person which in itself seems to be sufficient evidence to question its genuineness.

The more important consideration, however, is the early date on which the betrothal is said to have taken place, July 4, 1833, but a few months after McNamar left New Salem. No one can give serious consideration to this betrothal announcement, and it would have been much more impressive to have found the betrothal stone out at Sand Ridge where Ann was then living.

Lincoln's Alleged Mental Collapse

The most ridiculous assertion in the Lincoln-Rutledge myth is the statement that upon the death of Ann Rutledge on September 1835 Abraham Lincoln became mentally unbalanced and people despaired of his life.

Most of the stories referring to Ann Rutledge's death state that she died of a broken heart. The probability is that she died of typhoid or malaria and three months later her father died of the same disease. Certainly Mr. Rutledge did not die of a broken

heart. It is very likely that Lincoln called upon Ann while she was ill, and one member of the Rutledge family said Abraham had visited her once, two weeks before her death.

William Herndon's earliest informant on Lincoln's supposed mental breakdown following Ann's death was John Hill whom we have had occasion to mention before and who was but three years of age when Lincoln left New Salem. On June 6, 1865, Hill wrote to Herndon: "Miss Ann Rutledge died within a few days of September 1, 1835, certain. Lincoln bore up under it very well until some days afterward when a hard rain fell which unnerved him." (Hertz p. 273). Herndon in his famous address claimed that Lincoln rowed and grieved and rambled over the hills and through the forests day and night. He suffered and bore it for awhile like a great man-a philosopher. He slept not, he ate not, joyed not. This he did until his body became emaciated and weak and gave way. His mind wandered from its throne; in his imagination he muttered words to her he loved. His mind, his reasoning were somewhat dethroned and walked out of itself along the uncolumned air and kissed and embraced the shadows and illusions of the heated brain. . . ."

It is generally known that Abraham Lincoln did suffer some mental relapses after the breaking of his engagement with Mary Todd. This was but six years after the death of Ann Rutledge. It would not be strange that people writing in 1866, twenty-five years after the Lincoln-Todd episode, might confuse Lincoln's condition at this time with the alleged Ann Rutledge romance.

This fact is certain, that contemporary evidence highly refutes the statement that Lincoln was incapacitated to carry on his routine work in 1835, and letters written by him about the time of Ann's death give no evidence whatever of any mental relapse. A friend of Lincoln's living near New Salem, wrote to his relatives, written just a month after Ann Rutledge died, and gave a personal description of Lincoln. He failed to make any mention of either Lincoln's love affair, Ann Rutledge's death, or Lincoln's unusual mental condition which would have been town talk if it were true.

The Poem

Herndon, in his famous address, concluded that the poem "Mortality" appealed to Lincoln because he associated it with Ann's death. Lincoln, himself, wrote to a friend about his first interest in the poem occurring as early as 1831, before he knew Ann, and that he did not again come in contact with it until 1845, ten years after Ann had passed away.

Herndon's deductions about the poem offers a good illustration of the purely fictitious data which permeates the whole story of the alleged Rutledge love affair. He was not satisfied with the building of his imaginary romance but took occasion to seriously offend the widow of Abraham Lincoln. He not only implied that Lincoln's heart was buried with Ann but on February 25, 1870 wrote to Lamon "Mr. Lincoln loved Ann Rutledge to his death no mistake . . . Lincoln never loved, i.e., dearly loved his Mary." (Hertz p. 65).

Refutations

As a final word about "The Ann Rutledge Myth," the refutations of some of Lincoln's closest friends are offered.

Herndon was advised by a former New Salem citizen that James Short could give more information about Lincoln than any or all "the men in the county." Short was a true friend of Lincoln and lived within half a mile of the home where the Rutledges resided at Sand Ridge when Lincoln is supposed to have been courting Ann. Short told Herndon he "knew nothing of love-making, much less an engagement." (Beveridge I, p. 150).

John McNamar to whom Ann was betrothed stated that he had never heard "any person say that Mr. Lincoln addressed Miss Ann Rutledge in terms of courtship." (Beveridge I,

pp. 151 and 152).

About a year after McNamar departed for the East, Mary Owens visited New Salem and spent a month with her sister. Lincoln paid her some attention at this time and became so well pleased with her during this visit, that later on he told her sister, jokingly, that if she would bring Mary back from Kentucky he would marry her. Mary did come back about one year after Ann's death, and Lincoln's letter containing the marriage proposal is extant. Yet Mary Owens wrote in later years "I do not now recollect of ever hearing him (Abraham) mention her (Ann's) name." (Lamon p. 176).

On February 3, 1842 Lincoln wrote a letter to Joshua Speed at Louisville who is said to have been his closest friend. He had occasion to write at some length about the illness of Speed's sweetheart. This would have been the very place where he would have written a word of sympathy to Speed about his worry over Ann Rutledge's illness if it had registered any deep impression upon him. During his many letters to Speed about his mental condition after breaking his engagement with Mary Todd, he never mentions having passed through a similar experience before. Herndon admits that Lincoln never told Speed about Ann Rutledge and Speed states that the Rutledge story "is all new" to him. (Hertz p. 159, Lamon p. 244).

Some members of the Rutledge family in later years were under the impression that Ann loved Lincoln; other members were just as certain that she liked McNamar better and that she would have married him upon his return. (Beveridge I, p. 151).

There is not known to exist a single autobiographical writing in which Lincoln transcribes the name Ann Rutledge. The note in Kirkham's book which states that she "is now studying grammar" is not in the hand writing of Abraham Lincoln as alleged.

If William Herndon used all of the collection of Lincoln folklore and tradition with the abandon which is revealed in his development of the "Ann Rutledge Myth," it is not strange that Lincoln students who have considered his three volume work a dependable source have been led far astray.

Albert J. Beveridge, Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York 1928.

Emanuel Hertz, The Hidden Lincoln. Viking Press, New York 1938.

Ward H. Lamon, The Life of Abraham Lincoln. James R. Osgood and Company, Boston 1872.

George Alfred Townsend, The Real Life of Abraham Lincoln. Publication Office, Bible House, New York 1867.



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The Matrimony Myth

Among the many Lincoln fables originating with William Herndon, no one of them has so greatly influenced current thought about Lincoln's private life as the "Matrimony Myth." Five very definite accusations are brought against Lincoln as he contemplates, and later embraces, matrimony. He was a Recluse from Romance, a Fugitive from Wedlock, the Victim of a Match-Maker, the Husband of a Shrew, and a Deserter of Home.

The story of Mary Todd's eccentricities supplements the material on the shortcomings of Lincoln, and she is presented as "the female wildcat of the age," a woman whom Lincoln never loved, the cruel keeper of a "domestic hell" to which Lincoln never returned except to eat and sleep. No story of American home life has been so unfair to both husband and wife as the Lincoln "Matrimony Myth."

Four days after Herndon delivered his lecture at Springfield on Lincoln, Ann Rutledge, New Salem, etc., he wrote a letter to Isaac N. Arnold which reveals that he was already at work on the "Matrimony Myth." He clearly implies it is based on the Ann Rutledge myth, now proven to be wholly untenable as historical data. (Lincoln Kinsman No. 35.)

This letter to Arnold and other letters written about the same time to Frank B. Carpenter and Charles H. Hart give us an insight into the mind of the myth-maker as he begins to disclose his secret knowledge of Lincoln's private life.

In the Arnold letter he becomes very emotional and addresses himself to the departed Lincoln as follows: "Who knows thy sufferings but one man and God (Herndon and God)." Again he exclaims, "Poor man! the world knows thee not, and who shall defend thee and set thee right before the world (Answer, Herndon)." (Hertz p. 38, 39.)

The former law partner of Lincoln wrote to Carpenter that he had trailed Lincoln as a child, boy, and man, and concludes, "Shall the world be shut

out of this temple of intelligence, prohibited from seeing and knowing what I see and know."

In spite of Herndon's assumption that he was God's messenger to tell the people the truth about Lincoln and analyze his inmost thoughts, he admitted, "Mr. Lincoln never had a confidant and therefore never unbosomed himself to others. He never spoke of his trials to me or so far as I knew to any of his friends." (Herndon p. 348.)

A Recluse from Romance

It is with difficulty that we reconcile William Herndon's conflicting statements about Lincoln being a recluse from romance. On April 16, 1887 Herndon wrote a letter to Henry C. Whitney in which he stated that "Lincoln ought never to have married anyone," that he was "abstracted, cool, and never loved and could not from his very nature." (Hertz p. 103.) This seems like strange talk from one who had said Lincoln loved Ann Rutledge so ardently. It is also known that about a year after Ann died, Lincoln proposed marriage to Mary Owens. Herndon also has him submitting a marriage proposal to Sarah Rickard and, after his engagement to Mary Todd, Lincoln, so Herndon claims, fell in love with Matilda Edwards. The Herndon folklore makes Lincoln propose marriage to four out of five young women he wooed within a period of five or six years.

Herndon also wrote Whitney that Lincoln had none of the qualities to make a good husband. About the same time, however, he wrote to Isaac N. Arnold with reference to Lincoln's love for Ann Rutledge, "His fidelity to it was sublime."

(Hertz p. 37.) It seems as if fidelity was once a noble matrimonial attribute along with some other characteristics Lincoln is known to have acquired.

One other citation about Lincoln's qualifications as a husband might be observed in a letter he wrote to Mary Owens about a year or two before he began keeping company with Mary Todd. He said, "Whatever woman may cast her lot with mine, should any ever do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to make her happy and contented and there is nothing I can imagine that would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort."

There is no question but that Lincoln was so conscientious in his approach to matrimony that he was very fearful lest he should not be able to measure up to the high ideals he had set for the marriage relations. He wrote to one recently married, "You owe debts to her (your wife) ten thousand times more sacred than you can owe to others and in that light let them be respected and observed."

A Fugitive from Wedlock

Up to the time Abraham Lincoln was 28 years old he had never lived in any kind of dwelling except log cabins, and even after he reached Springfield he was in nothing more or less than a log cabin town. We might say that he had never brushed up against culture until all at once he saw it personified in an attractive young lady who had just come out of a city called the Athens of the West. Because of her intellectual attainments it cannot be doubted that Mary Todd was the first brilliant young woman with whom Abraham

Lincoln had become acquainted.

Possibly we should allow Mr. Herndon to describe Mary Todd as she appeared when Lincoln first met her. Here is his description of Mrs. Lincoln in a letter to Mr. Weik: "She was a highly cultured woman, witty, dashing, pleasant, and a lady." He wrote another letter to Weik on the same day in which he said: "She was rather pleasant, polite, civil, rather graceful in her movements, intelligent, witty, and sometimes bitter too; she was a polished girl, well educated, a good linguist, a fine conversationalist, was educated thoroughly at Lexington, Kentucky." (Hertz pp. 136-137.)

Furthermore, the father of Mary Todd Lincoln was the President of the Bank of Kentucky. He had financially supported one of Henry Clay's campaigns for the Presidency of the United States and was one of Mr. Clay's closest friends. For four years Mary Todd attended school directly opposite Henry Clay's home. At some time or other over a period of twenty years most of the outstanding statesmen of the country had visited Henry Clay at Lexington, and as a very small child Mary had moved in the presence of these men who were as great as the country produced. It was nothing strange for her to hear talk about Presidential campaigns and the making of Presidents.

It does not appear as if there can be any question about Lincoln's infatuation for Mary Todd, and that Mary greatly admired Mr. Lincoln we have dependable evidence. That they were both ardent supporters of Henry Clay may have drawn them together until their romance ripened into an engagement.

While Mary Owens in 1837 could see nothing in Abraham Lincoln but just another pioneer, Mary Todd visualized in him a preeminent statesman. She knew the stuff from which Presidents are made. A news dispatch of some years ago states that in the possession of General Preston of Lexington, Kentucky, there was a letter addressed to the daughter of Governor Wickliffe by Mary Todd which contained a playful description of the gawky young Lincoln to whom she was betrothed. She said: "But I mean to make him President of the United States all the same. You will see that, as I always told you, I will yet be the President's wife."

Herndon introduced into his story as a climax of Lincoln's first romance with Mary Todd a mythical marriage scene said to have taken place on January 1, 1841, in which Lincoln ran away from his wedding. All reputable Lincoln students today accept this story as absolutely without proof, yet Mr. Herndon apparently based both Abraham Lincoln's reason for finally marrying Mary Todd and Mary's acceptance of him on this fictitious event.

It is now generally accepted that Lincoln went to Mary Todd on January 1, 1841, and broke their engagement on the grounds that he felt he would not be able to make her happy, realizing, as he surely did, how greatly she must humble herself to come down to his economic status. There is no evidence of any ill feeling between them at this time and certainly no evidence of the bridegroom's running away from the wedding.

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EDITOR

DR. LOUIS A. WARREN, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

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The Victim of a Match-Maker

Another one of the Herndon fables which may be associated with Lincoln's finally entering matrimony is to the effect that Mrs. Simeon Francis was largely responsible for the final accomplishment of the nuptials of Lincoln and Mary Todd. Apparently he had made no notes on a conversation twenty-three years before which he tried to recall, yet his memory does not seem to have dimmed sufficiently to prevent Herndon's making a very positive statement about the episode. He said, "The more I think of Mrs. Francis, Mary Todd, and Mr. Lincoln, the more am I convinced that Mary Todd helped Mrs. Francis in the conspiracy to yoke Lincoln. Miss Todd wanted L. terribly and worked, played her cards, through Mrs. Francis's hands." (Hertz p. 236.)

One who makes a careful study of Lincoln's correspondence with Joshua Speed after the first Mary Todd romance and during the time Joshua was preparing to marry Fanny Henning, need have no misgivings about who sold Abraham Lincoln on the desirability of matrimony at the conclusion of his second romance with Mary Todd. Lincoln most certainly sold himself on the idea.

The letters written to Speed by Lincoln reflect to the largest measure his own personal experiences in the first romance with Mary Todd and clearly indicate how he was thinking with respect to the possibilities of eventually diving into the matrimonial sea. Just one year after Lincoln's engagement to Mary was broken, he advised Speed of his "deepest solicitude for the success of the enterprise you are engaged in." This enterprise was matrimony. Lincoln felt that Speed might also withdraw at the last moment and he wrote, "Let me who have some reason to speak with judgment on such a subject" try and see you safely launched on the sea of matrimony.

Apparently Lincoln is rehearing his own experience when he says "I know what the painful point with you is at all times when you are unhappy. It is an apprehension that you do not love her as you should. What nonsense."

In a subsequent letter referring to Speed's contemplated wedding, Lin-

coln indirectly opens his heart again to us. Speed was going through the same psychological reaction which Lincoln had undergone and was beginning to question whether or not he did really love the girl he was going to marry. His sweetheart had been ill and he was brooding over her illness. Lincoln insisted that Speed's brooding was the "indubitable evidence of your undying affection for her." Lincoln then concludes with another personal reminiscence, "You know the hell I have suffered on that point and how tender I am about it." Two weeks later Lincoln wrote Speed again and, in referring to the wedding day which had been set, implied that after the happy event occurred Speed would "hereafter be on ground that I have never occupied." The concluding part of the letter is a reassurance to Speed that he would eventually be the happiest of men.

It is quite evident that in the lengthy letters which Lincoln wrote to Speed trying to assure him how mistaken he had been to question his love for his fiancee, Lincoln had sold himself on the proposition. He saw how foolish he had been in breaking off relations with Mary Todd at the conclusion of the first romance, and he was deeply moved when he opened Speed's letter to learn whether or not Speed was happy in matrimony. Lincoln commented on the letter announcing Speed's wedding: "I opened the letter with intense anxiety and trepidation; so much so, that, although it turned out better than I expected, I have hardly yet, at a distance of ten hours, become calm. I tell you, Speed, our forebodings (for which you and I are peculiar) are all the worst sort of nonsense."

Subsequently he wrote to Speed on July 4, 1842: "I believe now that had you understood my case at the time as well as I understood yours afterward, by the aid you would have given me I should have sailed through clear." In other words, he would have married Mary.

Lincoln needed one more assurance before deciding to follow Speed into matrimony, so three months later, already in the midst of his second romance with Mary Todd, Lincoln asked this very personal question of Speed, "Are you now in feeling as well as judgment glad that you are married as you are?" Posterity should always feel thankful that Speed could give Lincoln an affirmative answer else he might not have become the husband of Mary Todd just a month after this all important question was put to Speed.

While we know that it was in the home of Mrs. Simeon Francis where Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd met after the Lost Township letters appeared in the Sangamo Journal, one who has followed through Lincoln's reaction to Speed's matrimonial venture can have no doubts that his own decision to marry was far more important than any trap Mrs. Francis may have laid to ensnare him for Mary Todd.

The Husband of a Sbrew

No one has contributed more to a misunderstanding of Mary Todd Lincoln's real character than William Herndon. The motive back of the advice and misleading statements about her is quite evident in a letter which Herndon wrote stating that Mrs. Lincoln hated him for the same reason that "a thief hates a policeman who knows a dangerous secret about him." (Hertz p. 40.)

In his Lincoln biography, Herndon says: "To me it has always seemed plain that Mr. Lincoln married Mary Todd to save his honor and in doing that he sacrified his domestic peace." (Herndon p. 181.) In this he implies that Lincoln had dishonored himself by running away from a wedding in 1841 and now felt himself bound to marry Miss Todd. Herndon also explains Miss Todd's motive for marrying Lincoln. He claims that by running away from the altar in 1841 Lincoln had "crushed her proud, womanly spirit; she felt degraded in the eyes of the world. Love fled at the approach of revenge." (Herndon p. 182.) This was the secret from which Mrs. Lincoln's domestic quarrels sprang, "a woman's revenge." Yet in the same letter in referring to Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, Herndon said, "All that I know ennobles both." (Hertz p. 40.)

It is difficult for the average reader to understand how a man would be ennobled by marrying a woman he did not love and how a woman would be ennobled by marrying a man for the opportunity of heaping revenge upon him, but such is the reasoning of any myth-maker who usually finds it necessary to keep creating new myths to give nourishment to the old ones.

Herndon concluded that the mythical Ann Rutledge affair was responsible for the equally mythical missing bridegroom episode, and in the evolution of Herndon's myths he permitted the belief that Lincoln lived in a "domestic hell" to grow out of

the purely fabulous absent bridegroom story.

Mr. Herndon's abuse of Mrs. Lincoln was accentuated as time went on, and the fair and just picture of her presented in his early efforts at letter-writing soon changed to such a characterization as "Haughty, proud, aristocratic, insolent, witty, bitter," and then he used his prize denunciation by calling her "the female wildcat of the age." (Hertz p. 131, 134.)

Herndon did not stop with his abuse of Mrs. Lincoln but visited his wrath upon her children. He wrote to his collaborator, Jesse Weik, "I have felt on many times I wanted to wring the necks of these brats and pitch them out of the window." Then continues one of the most inexcusable statements and accompanying inference that Herndon ever made. He said, "I should like to know one thing. What caused the death of these children?"

Herndon then stated that although he had an opinion of what caused their deaths he would never reveal it, but in the sentence immediately following the query and in the same paragraph, he at least reveals what was occupying his mind just then. He said, "I know a good deal of the Lincoln family and too much of Mrs. Lincoln. I wish I did not know as much of her as I do; she was a tigress." (Hertz p. 129.)

When Abraham Lincoln married Mary Todd he had inscribed upon the ring which he gave her these words, "Love is eternal." If we may go back to this wedding day and make the fair assumption that these two people were in love with each other, grant the unpleasantness that would often occur because of the well recog-

nized fiery temper of Mrs. Lincoln, and otherwise allow them to live together for twenty-two years as companions in the home and as parents of four children, we would be better able to understand Abraham Lincoln's development.

A correspondent to the "Christian Register" tells of a conversation with Abraham Lincoln in Washington in the great East Room one evening where Mrs. Lincoln stood not far away in another group. Mr. Lincoln was led to say: "My wife is as handsome as when she was a girl and I a poor nobody then fell in love with her and what is more, I have never fallen out." The informant then stated, "I shall cherish to my death the memory of his words coming so unexpectedly."

If a compilation were made of the good things said about Mary Todd which have been obscured, they most certainly would outweigh many of the untenable stories which have grown up about the home life of the Lincolns. Certainly no one, with the possible exception of Lincoln's own mother, contributed more to his advancement and helped more in preparing him for the supreme task of guiding the union through those troublesome days than his wife, Mary Todd Lincoln.

A Deserter of Home

The climax of Herndon's "Matrimony Myth" is found in the assertion that Lincoln practically deserted his wife and purposely absented himself from home for long periods of time, usually six months during the year. His statement about Lincoln's constantly remaining out on the circuit rather than returning to Springfield

when an opportunity provided is one of the most glaring exaggerations of the many untrue statements about Lincoln which Herndon has passed on to posterity. It is but another myth in the general evolution of the matrimony mythology built on the story that Lincoln was married to a tigress.

In a letter written to Jesse W. Weik on February 24, 1887, Herndon said that David Davis was judge over about ten counties and went around this circuit twice a year. It generally took him six to eight months. Herndon claimed, "Lincoln would never come home while the court was grinding out justice on the circuit, to see his wife or family; while all other lawyers, every Saturday night after court hours, would start for home to see wife and babies. . . . Lincoln, poor soul, would go terribly sad at the sight, as much as to say, 'I have no wife and no home."

The years 1854 to 1857 seemed to be Lincoln's busiest years as a law-yer, and it was at this time that Herndon claims Lincoln played the truant from home. This period would seem to be the most appropriate one to try and discover where Lincoln spent his week-ends or Sundays.

A book edited by Paul Angle and published in 1933 which traces Lincoln day by day through the years 1854 to 1861 is most helpful in answering this question.

In 1854 Lincoln apparently spent forty Sundays at home and twelve away. Five of these twelve days were used for traveling, either to or from Springfield. According to Mr. Angle's notes it would have been impossible for Lincoln to have gone to his home from these seven points and re-

turned Monday in time for court session.

In the year 1855 Lincoln spent thirty-nine Sundays at home and was away a possible thirteen Sundays; three were spent in Chicago, one in Cincinnati, and six at points out on the circuit where it would be impossible for him to get transportation to and from Springfield.

In 1856 Abraham Lincoln spent thirty-nine Sundays at home, thirteen Sundays away from home. Nine were spent in towns too far away from Springfield for him to return, and the other four Sundays were un-

doubtedly spent in travel.

During the year 1857 Lincoln was at home forty-two Sundays and absent only ten Sundays. Five of the ten Sundays were spent in Chicago where, of course, he would have no opportunity to return for the weekend. One Sunday he spent at Niagara Falls with his family, and the other four Sundays he was out on the circuit at points too far distant from Springfield to make return possible.

Out of a total of 208 Sundays during the four years from 1854 through 1857, inclusive, Abraham Lincoln was apparently spending 160 of these Sundays at home to a total of 48 away from home. Thirty-two of the 48 Sundays were spent where it would be physically impossible for him to reach Springfield, and the other sixteen Sundays were just as unavailable for a visit home because he was enroute from one court house to another.

It is very doubtful indeed that Abraham Lincoln was away from Springfield for more than three or four Sundays in succession during the period observed, and usually he was home every two weeks during the sessions of the court. There are no grounds whatever for Herndon's statement that Lincoln deserted his home for six months of the year, and it can only be explained by clearly stating that it is a gross exaggeration.

Back of the myth that Lincoln deserted his home was the attempt to show incompatibility between Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln. It may be recalled that Herndon attempted to sell Isaac N. Arnold on the idea that Lincoln did not love his wife, but apparently he was not successful as this paragraph appears in Arnold's book on Lincoln (p. 82-83): "Mrs. Lincoln often entertained small numbers of friends at dinner, and somewhat larger numbers at evening parties. In his modest and simple home, everything was orderly and refined, and there was always on the part of both Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, a cordial, hearty, western welcome, which put every guest perfectly at ease. Her table was famed for the excellence of its rare Kentucky dishes, and in season was loaded with venison, wild turkeys, prairie chickens, quails, and other game, which in those early days was abundant. Yet it was the genial manner and ever kind welcome of the hostess, and the wit and humor, anecdote, and unrivalled conversation of the host, which formed the chief attraction, and made a dinner at Lincoln's cottage an event to be remembered."

Isaac N. Arnold, The Life of Abraham Lincoln. A. C. McClurg and Company, Chicago, 1891.

William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, Herndon's Life of Lincoln. Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1936.

Emanuel Hertz, The Hidden Lincoln. Viking Press, New York, 1938.



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The New England Hankses

Members of all branches of the Hanks family in America should be grateful to Caroline Hanks Hitchcock and her brother Charles Stedman Hanks for the energy, time and money which they expended in genealogical research on the family name borne by Abraham Lincoln's mother.

To Mrs. Hitchcock should be given the honor of making the first exhaustive study of American documents relating to the Hankses and to her brother we are indebted for the most complete compilation of records pertaining to the English branches of the Hanks family.

It was thought by Mrs. Hitchcock and her brother that they would be able to show a common origin of the New England and Southern branches of the family, and while such a relationship is yet probable, there are no duly authorized documents that will positively affirm the supposition.

Several years ago the Lincoln National Life Foundation now in possession of the Hanks manuscripts, made available to Susan Cotton Tufts, geneaologist of Boston, the manuscript relating to the New England branch of the family. Mrs. Tufts prepared from Mrs. Hitchcock's work an abbreviated genealogical list of the early branches of the New England Hanks family, which was published in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register", for January 1932. Benjamin Hanks, (a) the founder, with his wife, Abigail, landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts in October, 1699 and in the environs of this colony their children were born and the prestige of the family established.

The oldest son of the pioneer, also named Benjamin (ab) and his brother, John (ag) laid the foundation for the outstanding place which the Hankses were to occupy in the history of the iron industry in America.

It was William Hanks (ac), the third child of Benjamin, the pioneer, that Mrs. Hitchcock concluded was the progenitor of the Virginia Hankses. William was born on February 11, 1704 and is said to have gone to Virginia, although no definite information is available about him, either in Massachusetts or Virginia.

The inventive genius of Hankses which was a prominent characteristic of these people, began to find expression in the third generation of the family. William (abc), one of the children of Benjamin (ab), probably made the first hand-made silk in the United States. He imported mulberry trees and raised the first silk worms in this country. Benjamin (abg), William's brother, is said to have invented a silk spinner, later patented as the "Miner's Wheel head".

A third brother Uriah (abf) was known as a "gunsmith, clock maker, nail cutter, wire drawer, a remarkable ingenious man". He constructed a wire drawing apparatus which drew out wire by horse power. This is claimed to have been the first wire drawing machine in the colonies.

The fourth generation of Hankses also contributed a number of inventors. Benjamin (abfa), the oldest son of Uriah was given a patent for a self-winding clock with windmill attachment. He built the first bell and bronze cannon foundry, where then was made the first church bell cast in America. His descendents cast the new Liberty Bell to replace the old one in Philadelphia, and also the great Columbian Bell at the World's Fair in Chicago.

Alpheus Hanks (abfh), another son of Uriah, made gun locks, microscopes and telescopes, manufactured air guns, straw guns, steelyards and screw augurs. Later his foundry business grew to be one of the largest of its kind in the United States. His brother, Rodney (abfj), invented a machine for the manufacturing of sewing silk and twist and was first to manufacture them in America. He later invented a loom for weaving, and several other minor inventions are credited to him.

Not only were the Hankses inventors and mechanics, but they were also loyal patriots. Two sons of the Pioneer Hanks, James Hanks (ak) and John Hanks (al), were the earliest of a long line of Hankses to see military duty. The former was killed in the French and Indian War in 1756 and the latter, a year after, was serving as a Sergeant in Captain Dean's company. Silas Hanks (abi) also served in the French and Indian War in 1761.

When the Revolutionary War opened, there was an immediate response on the part of the Hankses. John Hanks (ag) saw service in the Continental Army with Capt. Samuel Bradford's company. Joseph Hanks (aka) responded immediately at the Lexington alarm on April 19, 1775 and died six months later while in the service.

Benjamin Hanks (alc) was also with the Revolutionary Army in Col. Sargent's regiment along with the two of his brothers, Ebenezer Hanks (alb) and William Hanks (ald). Two of the younger Hankses, who served in the Revolution, are Elijah Hanks (adbg) and Col. Benjamin Hanks (abfa).

Some day the voluminous records arranged in manuscript form by Mrs. Hitchcock should be printed, as they are altogether worthy of a place among the histories of prominent American families.

Space in this copy of the Kinsman will allow the identification of but five generations of the New England branches of the family.

First Generation

a. Benjamin, 1665-1775.

1. —, Abigail.

2. Ripley, Mary.

Second Generation

aa. Abigail, 1701-?

ab. Benjamin, 1702-1787. White, Mary.

ac. William, 1703-?

ad. Nathaniel, 1704-?

ae. Annah, 1706-? Norris, John.

af. Mary, 1707-?

Simmons, John.

ag. John, 1709-1742. Delano, Mary.

ah. Elizabeth, 1711-?
Pearce, Nehemiah.

ai. Rachel, 1712-?

Bumpas, James.

aj. Joannah, 1713-?

Curtis, Beriah.

ak. James, 1714-1756. Phillips, Abigail.

al. Jacob, 1717-1799. Bruce, Sarah.

Third Generation

aba. Isaac, 1725-?

abb. Abigail, 1726-1780.

abc. William, 1728-1807. Sargent, Hannah.

abd. John, 1730-1815.

1. Hall, Tabitha.

2. Huntington, Martha.

abe. Richard White, 1734-1810.
Barrows, Hannah.

abf. Uriah, 1736-1809.

Case, Irene.

abg. Benjamin, 1738-1810. Brewster, Ruth. abh. Mary, 1741-? Hall, Gershom.

abi. Silas, 1744-1828. Webber, Sarah.

aga. Nathaniel, 1737-?

agb. Chloe, 1737-?

Aditon, Thomas.

agc. Sergt. John, 1739-1804. Sampson, Abigail.

agd. Nathaniel, 1741-?

aka. Joseph, 1743-1775.

———, Elizabeth.

akb. Hannah, 1744-? Gilbert, Nathaniel.

akc. Sarah, 1784-?
Lathrop, ——.

akd. Huldah, 1747-1829. Bates, Joseph.

ala. Benjamin, 1754-?

alb. William, 1757-1826.

alc. Benjamin, 1758-1813.

1. Edson, Ann.

2. Pope, Hannah.

ald. Ebenezer, 1759-1850.

1. Ward, Hepzibah.

2. Jacobs, Hulda.

3. ——, Abigail.

ale. Rachel, 1761-?

alf. James, 1764-1765.

alg. James, 1766-1834. Ward, Polly.

alh. Rebecca, 1768-?

ali. John, ?-?

Fourth Generation

abca. Sarah, 1759-1759.

abcb. Levi, 1761-1835.

1. Waterman, Mercy.

2. Squires, Chloe.

abcc. Sarah, 1762-1846.

Leonard, Solomon.

abcd. Jerusha, 1764-1796. Gibbs, Harmon.

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abce. Eleazer, 1766-1766.

abcf. Eleazer, 1768-?

abcg. Arunah, 1770-1830.

Perkins, Lucy.

abch. Joseph, 1772-1848.

Frary, Anna.

abci. Oliver, 1774-1778.

abcj. Jarvis, 1776-?

abck. Oliver, 1778-1840.

1. Porter, Viadema.

2. Ross, Rebecca.

abda. Abigail, 1750-1776.

abdb. Isaac, 1752-1826.

Case, Lois.

abdc. Tabitha, 1754-1778.

abdd. Ann, 1756-1797.

Eldridge, Arunal.

abde. John W., 1758-1789. Bixby, ——.

abdf. Ruth, 1759-1799.

abdg. Elijah, 1761-1839. Walker, Mary.

abdh. Mary, 1764-1809.

Walker, ——.

abdi. Elizabeth, 1767-1844. Walker, Ebenezer, Jr.

abdj. Theophilus Sargent, 1769-1830.

Stevens, Martha.

abdk. Azariah, 1774-1833.

----, Keziah.

abdl. Diadema, 1776-1777.

abdm. Enoch, 1779-1860.

Fisk, Hannah.

abea. Catherine, 1755-1767.

abeb. Esther, 1757-?

abec. Richard, 1759-1762.

abed. Hannah, 1761-?

abee. Asa, 1764-?

Harris, Mary.

abef. Rachel, 1772-?

abeg. Thomas, 1772-1781.

abeh. Richard, 1774-?

abei. Jemima, 1775-?

abfa. Benjamin, 1755-1824. Hovey, Alice.

abfb. Irene, 1757-?

Crane, Elisha.

abfc. Zilpha, 1757-1762.

abfd. Uriah, 1760-1834.

1. Keeney, Sarah.

2. Henry, Sarah.

abfe. Lurancy, 1764-?

Dexter, William.

abff. Philena, 1765-?

Lyon, Elijah.

abfg. Libbeus, 1771-1775.

abfh. Alpheus, 1777-1831. Freeman, Zerniah.

abfi. Marilla, ?-?

Cross, Reuben

abfj. Rodney, 1782-1846. Freeman, Olive.

abga. Benjamin, 1758-? Hall, Annie.

abgb. Lydia, 1759-1762.

abgc. Lucy, 1761-?

abgd. Eunice, 1764-? Webber, Christopher.

abge. Celinda, 1766-?

abgf. Lydia, 1768-?

abgg. Ruth, 1770-?

abgh. Zibalena, 1773-?

abgi. Ariel, 1775-?

abgj. Azel, 1787-1861.

Reed, Polly.

abia. Consider, 1764-1818. Baldwin, Sarah.

abib. Cynthia, 1766-? Eldredge, Elisha.

abic. Silas, 1768-1786.

abid. Sarah, 1770-1813. Fenton, Roger.

abie. Mary, 1773-1776.

abif. Phebe, 1775-1776.

abig. Philomela, 1778-1827. Goodale, Oliver.

abih. Persis, 1780-1824.

Ruggles, Edward.

abii. Philarmon, 1784-1868. Cummings, Olive.

abij. Polly, 1786-1847.

Freeman, Shubael.

abik. Zebina, 1791-1852. Johnson, Cressy.

akaa. Rachel, 1775-? French, David.

alba. Jacob, ?-?

albb. Polly, ?-?

albc. Enos, 1793-1881.

1. Smith, Luvisa.

2. Carpenter, Nancy.

albd. Ebenezer, ?-?

alca. Jacob, 1791-1878. Varden, Elizabeth.

alcb. Reuel, 1796-1843.

1. Moore, Betsy.

2. Brackett, Sophia.

alcc. Arza, 1799-1879.

alcd. Alvin, 1802-1867.

Clifford, Betsy.

alce. (a daughter), ?-?

Hayden, ——.

alda. Isaac, 1785-1876.

Wilson, Elizabeth.

aldb. Abigail, 1787-1839. Shaw, Asa.

aldc. Sylvia, 1789-1794.

aldd. Esther, 1792-1794.

alde. Ocran, 1795-?

Payson, Esther.

aldf. Moses, 1798-1808.

aldg. Aaron, 1798-1816.

aldh. Zerah, 1801-1833. Randall, Sarah.

. . . .

alga. John, 1787-1877. Randall, Esther.

algb. Bethia, 1789-1793.

alge. Hannah, 1790-?

algd. Melinda, 1792-1810.

alge. Bethia, 1794-?

Randall, Elisha.

algf. Nathaniel, 1796-1856. Howard, Hadessah.

algg. William, 1798-1881. Smith, Susan.

algh. Sarah, 1800-1885.

Atwood, Albert.

algi. Ira, 1802-1836.

Gunn, Almira.

algj. Jacob, 1804-1822.

algk. Elizabeth, 1806-1826.

algl. Daniel, 1808-1841.

Ward, Abigail.

algm. Melinda, 1810-1810.

algn. Benjamin, 1812-1829.

algo. Melinda, 1814-1833.

Fifth Generation

abcba. Cylinda, 1787-1867.

Looker, John.

abcbb. Waterman, 1789-1858.

Cramner, Mary.

abcbc. Ansel, 1791-1864.

Murray, Isabella.

abcbd. Sarah, 1794-1819.

Luther, Marin.

abcbe. Ellen, 1796-1857. Pond, Samuel.

abcbf. Philania, 1798-1824.

abcbg. Mercy, 1800-1841.

1. Gage, Joshua.

2. Trumbull, George.

abcbh. Levi, 1805-1886.

White, Eunice.

abcbi. Warren, 1806-1886.

1. Hutchins, Julia.

2. Cassidy, Catherine.

3. Carter, Martha.

abcbj. Reuben, 1808-1861.

Wilmarth, Rachel M.

abcbk. Chloe, 1811-1857.

Bishop, Jared L.

abcbl. Hannah, 1813-1874.

abcbm. William, 1814-1897.

Murray, Martha.

abcbn. Mary, 1816-1866.

Wilmarth, Henry.

abcbo. Olive, 1819-1839.

abcbp. Elizabeth, 1821-?

abcfa. Sylvester, ?-?

abcfb. Philander, 1800-1888.

Ferris, Martha.

abefc. Ira, ?-?

abcfd. Eliza Lovisa, ?-?

Dayton, ——.

abcga. Silvinia, 1792-1792.

abcgb. Lucy, 1793-1863.

Murray, David W.

abcgc. Harvey, 1794-1795.

abcgd. Phildella, 1797-1829.

Utley, Leonard.

abcge. Harvey, 1799-1871.

Williams, Polly.

abcgf. Arunah, 1802-1879.

Robinson, Lucinda.

abcgg. Sylvia, ?-?

Derby, Warren.

abcgh. Sally, 1813-1861.

abcgi. Philina, 1816-1850.

abcgj. Laura, 1827-1861.

abcha. Jarvis Frary, 1799-1853.

Garber, Charlotte. abchb. Festus, 1801-1849.

Hays, Harriet.

abchc. Harriet Frary, 1803-1883.

Paloubet, Louis.

abchd. Almeda, 1805-1872.

Ward, Israel Curry.

abche. Henry, 1806-1826.

abchf. Almira, 1807-1890.

Stout, Andrew Varrick.

abchg. Lura Ann, 1810-1831.

abchh. Cyrus D., 1812-1890.

Cobleigh, Caroline.

abchi. Oliver Perry, 1814-1895.

1. Ward, Julia Minerva.

2. Andrews, Annie.

3. Parks, Catherine E.

abchj. Oriana, 1816-1896.

Bostwick, Zalmon S.

abcka. Romeo, 1800-?

abckb. Jonathan Safford, 1810-?

Atkins, Sarah.

abckc. Galusha, 1816-?

Pepper, Lovina.

abckd. Isaac, 1818-1895.

Wheden, Lucinda.

abcke. William, ?-?

abckf. Camillus, ?-?

Nelson, Fanny.

abckg. Marcia, ?-?

Lathe, Sylvanus B.

abckh. Ermina, ?-?

Packard, ----

abcki. Amanda, ?-?

abdba. Amos, 1780-1859. Fiske, Polly.

abdbb. Abigail, 1781-1836. Hay, John.

abdbc. Derastus, 1783-1828. 1. Somes, Elizabeth.

2. Carter, Mrs. Anna.

abdbd. Mary, 1785-1859. Esgett, John.

abdbe. Zipporah, 1789-1831. Rogers, Ebenezer.

abdbf. Joseph, 1791-1873. Kennedy, Almyra.

abdbg. Isaac, 1796-1823. Pinney, Sarah.

abdbh. Lois, 1800-1843. Somes, Jonas.

abdea. Elisha, 1777-1848. Huntington, Sally.

abdeb. Elijah, 1779-1879. Richmond, Hannah Kaymond.

abdec. John, 1782-?

abded. Brigham, 1784-?

abdee. Mary Evans, 1786-?

abdef. Thankful, 1788-?

abdga. Joseph, 1782-1796.

abdgb. Elijah R., 1784-1835. Tisdale, Betsey.

. . .

abdgc. Chlorenda, 1785-1852. Young, Mark.

abdgd. John, 1788-1837. Hale, Rosanna.

abdge. Benjamin, 1788-1843. Knowlton, Martha.

abdgf. Lucinda, 1790-1796.

abdgg. Patty, 1792-1840.

Cunningham, Artemas.

abdgh. Esther, 1794-1853. Young, John.

abdja. Patty, 1798-1866. abdjb. Theophilus Stevens, 1799-1884.

1. Kimball, Abigail.

2. Tracy, Linda.

abdjc. Azariah, 1800-1883.

Persons, Hannah. abdjd. Rebecca, 1802-1834.

abdje. Tabitha, 1804-1813.

abdjf. Mary, 1806-1838.

abdjg. Ann Caroline, 1808-1878. Gifford, William G.

abdjh. Calista Fay, 1810-1886. Belding, Moses.

abdji. John, 1812-1881.

Lilley, Delia Ann. abdjj. Arvilla, 1814-1815.

abdjk. Laura, 1815-1885.

Greene, Josiah Henry.

abdjl. Sarah Hosmer, 1817-1881. Greene, Josiah Russell.

abdka. Azro, 1824-1852.

Vroman, Lavina C.

abdkb. John, ?-?

abdkc. (a son), ?-?

abdkd. (a daughter), ?-? Parker, James.

abdke. (a daughter), ?-? Parker, Charles.

abdma. John, 1800-1868. Brooks, Olive Fisk.

abdmb. Rufus Fisk, 1802-1883. Knight, Cynthia.

abdmc. Tabitha, 1804-1870. Safford, Amos.

abdmd. Lyman, 1806-1847.

1. Covell, Sally.

2. Benton, Abigail Lindsey.

3. Knight, Olive.

abdme. Lucius E., 1808-1812.

abdmf. Leason, 1810-1894. Spencer, Susan.

abdmg. Worthy, 1812-1813.

abdmh. Worthy Watters, 1814-1886. Post, Mary Ann.

abdmi. Lucinda, 1816-1861.

Post, Andrus.

abdmj. Esther Ann, 1818-1898. Kinney, David.

abdmk. Hannah, 1821-1872. Dean, Charles.

abeea. Thomas, 1786-? Powers, Susan.

abeeb. Orrin, 1787-1865. Craine, Susanna.

abeec. Antha, 1789-? Waite, Joel.

abeed. Asa, 1791-1793.

abeee. Harris, 1793-? Quimby, Sally.

abeef. Aaron, 1795-?

abeeg. Asa, 1797-?

abeeh. Jason, 1800-?

abfaa. Sophia, 1776-1861. Barrows, Rev. Nathan.

abfab. Fanny, 1778-1843. Freeman, Tertius.

abfac. Horace, 1780-1850. Wright, Sophia.

abfad. Truman, 1782-1846. Freeman, Rebecca.

abfae. Julius, 1784-1874. McCall, Olive.

abfaf. Charlotte, 1788-1834. Bouton, Dr. Richard.

abfag. Horatio, 1790-? Freeman, Jerusha.

abfah. Marcia, 1790-1846. Oothout, Isaac C.

abfda. Nelson, 1799-1856.

abfdb. Lurancy, 1801-?

1. Winslow, Henry.

2. Lathrop, Horace C.

abfdc. Emily, ?-?

abfdd. Lovisa, 1806-1890.

Boon, William Colwell.

abfha. Maria, 1803-1859.

Niles, Jonathan Sands.

abfhb. Julia, 1804-1864. Whipple, E.

abfhc. Albert Sidney, 1817-1857. Jungman, Anna S. B.

abfhd. Zerviah, 1821-?

Crane, Dr. Henry.

abfhe. George Lucius, 1831-1859. Bunce, Julia.

abfja. Philena, 1804-1887. Meneely, Andrew.

abfjb. Frederick Freeman, 1805-1875.

Page, Abigail.

abfjc. Edmond, 1806-1861.

Turner, Achsah Loomis.

abfjd. George Rodney, 1808-? Conant, Elizabeth Ward.

abfje. Olive, 1810-1882. Page, Jonathan Geer.

abfif. Julia, 1813-?

1. Conant, John Wing.

2. Conant, Lucius.

abfjg. Samuel, 1814-1818.

abfjh. Abigail Irena, 1816-1884. Hitchcock, Alexander.

abgaa. Luther, ?-?

abgab. David Strafford, ?-?

1. Mitchell, Abigail.

2. Washburne, Jane.

abgac. Benjamin R., ?-?

1. Polly.

2. Hannah.

abgad. Porter, ?-? Ruth.

abgja. Ruth, 1807-1882.

abgjb. Welthea, 1809-1884.

abgjc. Mary, 1812-1895.

abgjd. Azel, 1815-1896.

Mott, Dolly.

abgje. Julia Ann, 1817-1869.

abgjf. Benjamin R., 1819-1870. Hanna, Eleanor. abgjg. Margaret J., 1823-? abgjh. Lucy A., 1826-? abgji. William H., 1828-? abiaa. Silas Baldwin, 1792-1867. White, Abigail. abiab. Philomelia, 1794-? Eldridge, Silas N. abiac. Marilla, 1796-? Robbins, Thomas. abiad. Ahria W., 1808-1887. 1. Lord, Isabel. 2. Dye, Joanna. abiae. Sarah W., 1808-? Crane, Frederick. albaa. Archie, ?-? albab. William, ?-? albac. Harriet, ?-? albad. Ambrose, ?-? albae. Hannah, ?-? albaf. Chloe, ?-? 1. Doty, ——. 2. Preston, ——. albag. Polly, ?-? Brown, albca. William Henry, 1822-? Haggerty, Thankful Lousia. albcb. James Harvey, 1824-1860. albcc. Mary Elizabeth, 1826-? Grinnell, W. E. albcd. Ira Anson, 1830-? Mills, Clive Lucena.

albce. Jane Nancy, 1832-? Fuller, Samuel. albef. Lucy Maria, 1834-1878. Spencer, Orsemas. albcg. Harriet Lovisa, 1836-? Miller, George. albch. Phoebe, 1845-? Duffy, James H.

alcaa. Harriet, 1811-? alcab. Ziba Pope, 1813-1891. Henderson, Nancy Lufkin. alcac. Jacob, 1815-1881. Crowell, Sarah Varney. alcad. Mary, 1816-1894. 1. Young, Martin H. 2. Pierce, ——.· alcae. Harriet, 1818-? Ward, Abijah C. alcaf. Anna E., 1820-? alcag. Edson, 1822-? alcah. Kobert, 1823-1848. alcai. Maria, 1825-? Clark, ——. alcaj. William Pope, 1828-1895. Whittier, Ann M. alcak. Robert V., 1830-? Hodgdon, Adelia Ann. alcba. Hiram, ?-1877. Morgan, Laura. alcbb. Rev. Reuel, 1832-? 1. Smith, Harriet. 2. Dale, Mary Elizabeth. alcda. Oral, ?-? Butterfield, Anna. alcdb. Benjamin, ?-? Bagley, Mary Jane. alcdc. Abiel Edson, ?-? Hanks, Martha Arvilla. alcdd. Arza, 1830-?

Barnes, Mary Ann. alcde. Mary Elizabeth, 1832-? 1. Butterfield, Jacob. 2. Huzzey, George Llewellyn. alcdf. Alvin, 1834-? alcdg. Harvey, 1837-?

Bruce, Elzina E. alcdh. Elizabeth Ann, ?-? Babley, George. alcdi. Caroline, ?-1892.

Shattuck, Russell.

alcdj. Charles Alvin, 1854-? Hanks, Mary Isabelle.

aldaa. Thomas W., 1809-1810.

aldab. Esther A., 1811-1877. Trask, Daniel T.

aldac. Elizabeth W., 1812-1884. Ward, Benjamin.

aldad. Ebenezer B., 1814-? Church, Mary.

aldae. Hepzibah W., 1815-1838.

aldaf. Roxana M., 1817-1892. Rust, Benoni E.

aldag. Vesta W., 1818-1839.

aldah. Isaac W., 1821-1854. Kennedy, Henrietta.

aldla. Alma Ann, 1819-1836.

aldlb. Aaron A., 1822-1827.

aldle. Laura Esther, 1825-? Squires, Lester M.

aldld. Jane M., 1831-1833.

aldle. Ocran P., 1839-?

aldlf. John W., 1839-1879.

Thornton, Annie E.

aldha. Placentia, 1830-? aldhb. Mary Ann, ?-?

algaa. James, 1814-?

1. Oldes, Sophronia.

2. Stevens, Mary.

algab. Nehemiah R., 1819-1863.

algac. Warner, 1821-? Ward, Addie E.

algad. John M., 1823-1829.

algae. Ziza A., 1827-?

Barnes, Susan Elizabeth.

algfa. Mary, 1821-?

Blodgett, Dexter.

algfb. Samuel B., 1826-?

1. Randall, Armanda.

2. Clough, Philedia.

3. Graves, Delia.

4. Combs, Amelia.

algga. Susan Maria, 1825-1883.

alggb. Betsy, 1827-?

Veam, Delphi.

algge. Serena, 1829-?

Burroughs, Benjamin.

alggd. Elsamena, 1831-? Foster, James.

algge. Harriet Louisa, 1833-?

alggf. William Watson, 1835-? Hanley, Hattie.

algia. Alfred, 1831-1883.

Pierce, Sarah.

algib. Adeline, 1833-?

Newton, Francis L.

algic. Sophronia, ?-?

algla. Julia, 1836-?

Walker, Emory P.



Number 38

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

August, 1941

The Family of the President's Uncle Mordecai

Mordecai or "Mordeke", as it was spelled in the early days, is the most distinguishing given name among the Lincoln generations in America. Its earliest appearance is in the family of Samuel Lincoln and wife, when their third son was named Mordecai. This child, born on June 19, 1655, lived only a few days. Two years later on June 14, 1657 another son was born to Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Lincoln and he was also named Mordecai.

This summer the editor of Lincoln Kinsman stood before a grave in the Groveland Cemetery, North Scituate, Massachusetts and read this inscription:

"Here lyes ye body of Mr. Mordeke Lincoln who dyed November ye 28, 1727 in ye 71 year of his age."

This tombstone is without doubt the earliest memorial in the country erected to commemorate the life of a member of the President Lincoln family. The introducing into the Lincoln clan of the rather unusual name, Mordecai, has been more helpful than any other lead in tracing the lineage of Abraham Lincoln. It may also allow us some day to discover the surname of Mrs. Samuel Lincoln, still unidentified, but probably responsible for the name Mordecai becoming a Lincoln heritage.

A son of the Massachusetts Mordecai, who was named for his father, moved to New Jersey and later on into Pennsylvania where he lies buried in the old cemetery of the Friends at Exeter. The Mordecai who died in Exeter, also named one of his sons Mordecai, and two of his nephews had already been named for him. Furthermore, there were three grandchildren also named for Mordecai of Exeter, and one of these became the uncle of Abraham Lincoln.

The early life of Abraham Lincoln's Uncle Mordecai is presented in the June 1939 issue of *The Kinsman*. The story in the current number has to do primarily with the descendants of Mordecai.

The Mudd Family

The wife of Mordecai Lincoln was Mary Mudd, a daughter of Luke and Mary Mudd. The Mudds were a substantial Catholic family of Maryland and were undoubtedly members of a league of sixty families, who in 1785, pledged themselves to emigrate to Kentucky and to settle in adjacent communities for protection against the Indians. One group of these people called the Cartwrights Creek settlement, was situated on a tributary of Beech Fork, in what was then Nelson County, later Washington County. It was on Beech Fork where the Widow Lincoln established her home shortly after the massacre of her husband in 1786. The family of Luke Mudd and the children of the Widow Lincoln grew up in the same neighborhood. Mordecai, the oldest son of the widow, married Mary Mudd in 1792. There were three boys and three girls born to this union, the boys were named Abraham, James Bradford and Mordecai. The girls were Elizabeth, Mary Rowena and Martha.

Nearly fifty years ago a grandson of Mordecai Lincoln, interviewed in Fountain Green, Illinois, gave this brief summary of the closing years of Mordecai and his wife, Mary:

"My father, James B. Lincoln, was the first of the family to come here. That was before Fountain Green was named. I was very small. I should say it was just before 1830. Next came my grandfather, who was Mordecai Lincoln. He rode horseback all of the way from Kentucky, leaving grandmother there to come out later with my uncle. Sometime after grandfather came from Kentucky, Uncle Abraham brought grandmother to Hancock County. Grandfather did not live many years after coming to Illinois. When he died there was no way to get a coffin. The neighbors cut down a linn tree, hewed out puncheons and made a coffin of them." Mordecai's burial place is unmarked.

Abraham Lincoln

The fact that the oldest son of Mordecai and Mary Lincoln bore a similar name to that of the President has caused much confusion in Lincoln history and contributed greatly to many untenable traditional statements about the birth and childhood of the more illustrious Abraham.

The people of Washington County, Kentucky probably never will become thoroughly convinced that President Lincoln was not born in the Beech Fork community. They know that there was an Abraham Lincoln born there and they recall the fact of his birth. However, the Abraham, who first saw light of day in Washington County, was not Abraham, son of Thomas and Nancy (Hanks) Lincoln, but Abraham, son of Mordecai and Mary (Mudd) Lincoln. The President was born in what was then Hardin County, later Larue, twentyfive miles west of the Beech Fork community.

Not only did Washington County claim the birthplace of the President, but it was also argued that he was a good sized boy by the time his parents left for Hardin County. Abraham, son of Mordecai, was about nine when his parents moved to that part of Hardin County, which later became Grayson. Apparently it was this child Abraham, who was remembered instead of the President.

The confusion of the President's childhood days with those of Abraham, son of Mordecai, contributed somewhat to the widely circulated tradition that the President was an illegitimate child of Nancy Hanks. It was claimed by those who held this viewpoint, that when Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married in Washington County in 1806 that Abraham, Nancy's son, was a small boy running about the cabin home where his mother lived.

The story still persists that Thomas Lincoln was paid for marrying Nancy and assuming the paternity of her child, Abraham. It was the removal to Hardin County of Mordecai and Elizabeth Lincoln with their son Abraham which occurred in 1806, that was confused with the bridal trip of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln to Hardin County made during that same year. No one with any factual knowledge about the paternity of Abraham Lincoln attaches any importance to any of the purely traditional stories about the President's illegitimacy.

Not only did this Abraham, son of Mordecai, cause confusion with respect to the President's birth and childhood, but he also was the cause

of some erroneous conclusions drawn about his cousin's early religious environment. In 1926 Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago claimed Abraham Lincoln, the President, was of the Catholic Faith and that he made six ornate chairs to be used at a mass conducted by Father St. Cyr. Abraham, the son of Thomas, is not known to have been affiliated with the Catholic Church, while it is well known that Abraham, the son of Mordecai, embraced the faith of his mother, who was a Catholic. There was a member of this Mordecai Lincoln family, who was a cabinetmaker that did the work suggested by the Cardinal.

Abraham was probably about 9 years old when his parents moved to Grayson County, formerly Hardin County, in 1806. His name first appeared on the Tax Commissioner's books in 1818 as an adult 21 years old or older. That year he listed one horse for taxation. The following year, after his becoming of age, he traveled back to Washington County, where his early childhood was spent, and on January 20, 1819 married Elizabeth Lucretia Mudd, an own cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, Hezekiah Mudd.

As early as 1821 Abraham Lincoln listed for taxation, one slave, three horses, and two tracts of land both on Green River, one consisting of 200 acres, the other of 750 acres. This is undoubtedly a part of the land that was bequeathed to him by his father. It passed on to him by some transaction and presumably a portion of it was once in possession of his grandfather, the pioneer Abra-

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EDITOR

DR. LOUIS A. WARREN,
Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation
BUSINESS MANAGER
MAURICE A. COOK

SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN FORMER ISSUES OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

1. The Colonial Lincolns, 2. The Unknown Hanks Ancestry, 3. The Herrings of Virginia, 4. Five Shipley Sisters, 5. The Todd Family. 6. Bush Family Documents, 7. Early 19th Century Lincolns, 8. Kentucky Archives, 9. Abraham Lincoln's Father, 10. Hon. Robert Todd Lincoln, 11. James Wright Sparrow, 12. Uncle Mordecai Lincoln, 13. Thomas (Tad) Lincoln, 14. The Tennessee Lincolns, 15. The Lincolns of Hingham, 16. The Richard Berry Family, 17. Southern Branch of the Hankses, 18. The Lincolns of England, 19. Synopsis Life of Lincoln, 20. Lincoln's Letters to His Wife, 21. Correspondence With Kinsmen, 22. A Hanks Family Tree, 23. New Jersey Lincolns, 24. The Pennsylvania Lincolns, 25. Nottoway River Hanks Colony. 26. Relatives of Lincoln's Wife. 27. The Lincolns' Kentucky Neighbors, 28. The Lincolns of Virginia. 29. Roanoke River Hanks Colony. 30. Lincoln's Mythical Childhood Homes. 31. The Paternity Myth. 32. The Shiftless Father Myth. 33. The Maternal Lineage Myth. 34. The Poverty Myth. 35. The Ann Rutledge Myth. 36. The Matrimony Myth. 37. The New England Hankses.

ham Lincoln, for whom he was named. As might be expected from the fact that he owned nearly 1000 acres of land, he was a farmer and followed in this profession. While living in Grayson County, he served at one time as Justice of the Peace, indicating that he was a man of some stability.

About the year 1828 Abraham moved his family to Fountain Green, Hancock County, Illinois. Here he lived until his death, and his will was filed for probate on March 25, 1852. The will had been signed on October 14, 1851.

There were seven children born to Abraham and Elizabeth Mudd Lincoln, four girls and three boys. Four of the children were born in Kentucky and three of them in Illinois.

Priscilla, the oldest daughter, married John Smith and remained in Kentucky, later on settling in Springfield, where both her father and mother had lived in the early years. Priscilla had one child, Priscilla Florida, who first married John Anderson, and second, Charles C. McGill.

Parmelia, the second daughter, moved with her parents to Illinois, but she never married and died in the town of LaHarpe, on December 12, 1895.

The third child, who was also a daughter, named Mary Jane, passed away on August 29, 1888 at La-Harpe, Illinois, and is buried in the family lot there.

The first son, Robert, moved on from Kentucky to Hancock County with his parents, but remained unmarried through life and died on September 5, 1868. He is buried with other members of the family in Hancock County.

The only son of Abraham Lincoln to marry was Hezekiah, who was born August 9, 1829, presumably in Hancock County. He first made his residence at Fountain Green and later moved to LaHarpe. He was a farmer, lawyer and merchant and a substantial citizen of the community where he lived. On January 14, 1869, when he was nearly forty years old, he married at Pe-

oria, Illinois, Phoebe Ann, daughter of Peter and Ann Hyers Brewer, but they never had any children.

The sixth child and second son, Nicholas, was born May 24, 1834 and although he lived to be 54 years old, he died unmarried and is buried at LaHarpe.

The youngest child, Ellen, married John Sullivan of Hancock County on November 28, 1861. She died on December 12, 1895 at Fort Worth, Texas, where she was then living. There were no children born to this union.

The similarity of the fading out of this family and the extinction of the President Lincoln family as far as male descendants bearing the name Lincoln is concerned, is remarkable, indeed. Although Abraham Lincoln, son of Mordecai, had seven children, there was but one grandchild, and this child was the daughter of one of Mordecai's daughters and, of course, did not bear the name Lincoln. There is not now living any male descendant of this Abraham Lincoln bearing the family name.

James Bradford Lincoln

The second child of Mordecai and Mary Mudd Lincoln, was named James Bradford and he was born in Grayson County, Kentucky, remaining there until after he became of age. Then he moved on to Sangamon County, Illinois in about 1828 and soon still further west to Fountain Green.

James Bradford followed the cabinetmaker's profession. At no time while living in Kentucky did he list for taxation more than 150 acres of land and his livestock did not amount to more than 2 horses.

He seems to have prospered in Illinois and became quite an important citizen, serving as the first Justice of Peace in the County. He was also County Commissioner of Hancock County and appointed an United States Land Commissioner.

Before moving to Illinois he married in 1821, Frances, daughter of William and Frances Childers Day, and there were six children born to this union.

The oldest child, Thomas Jefferson, born April 20, 1822, died April 26, 1914. The maiden name of his wife was Martha Jane Bures.

The second child, Elizabeth, born in 1825 married William Dickerson. She died in Allen County, Kansas.

Mary Rowena was twice married, first to William, son of John and. Mary French Lovely, and second to Charles Newton, son of John and Catherine Zwingler Bowman. By the first marriage there was one child named William Lovely, who married Amanda Burrow. By her second husband, Mary Rowena had six children, Eliza Bowman, who married George Scheifly; Robert Lee, who died at 18 years of age; Rosa May, who lived about a year; Emily Moore, who lived about two years; Charles Newton, who died the same year of his birth; and Thomas Edward, who married Evaline Hardy. It may be observed that only two of the six children by Rowena's second husband, survived childhood.

James' fourth child was Emily Susan, who lived to be 62 years old, but died unmarried at Fountain Green on May 20, 1892.

The fifth child and second son of James was born in Illinois in 1832 and died at Carthage, Illinois in 1906. The maiden name of his wife was Margaret Gibbons.

The youngest son in the family of James Bradford Lincoln was Charles Prentiss, who died at Fountain Green on April 4, 1858 at 21 years of age and unmarried.

Mordecai Lincoln, Jr.

Mordecai Lincoln, brother of the President's father, named his third child Mordecai for himself and in some respects this son is the most picturesque in the family. For some years after the others had moved to Illinois, Mordecai remained in Kentucky, his name appearing on the tax lists of Grayson County in 1836. There is no land listed for taxation against his name, but he did become a well-known figure in the town of Litchfield.

This Lincoln with the characteristic family name was the village shoemaker. He owned the building in which his business was established, using the first floor for his shop and the second floor for his dwelling place. Even as a middle-aged man he was known as "Old Mord". He had a fiddle made by a Revolutionary War soldier, and his evenings were spent making music for the town.

Mordecai Lincoln never married and it is said that his migration from Kentucky to Illinois was due to his determination to escape matrimony. It appears as if he had fallen in love with a girl named "Patsy" and he was confident that if he remained in Kentucky he would marry her, so he chose without making known his intentions to anyone, to hastily put the Ohio River between him and his sweetheart, like so many of the other Lincolns, he was not of the marrying type.

When we find him in Illinois he is living with his mother, having changed his occupation somewhat from shoemaking to cabinet work. The six chairs which he made for William McDonough, who had charge of the local Catholic Church, were erroneously said to have been made by his brother Abraham. There was further confusion when Cardinal Mundelein claimed these same six chairs were made by Mordecai's cousin, President Abraham Lincoln.

Mordecai is said to have been very much like President Lincoln in his mannerisms and in his hesitancy to marry and also in his personal appearance. It is said that on one occasion Abraham Lincoln, while campaigning in Illinois, visited with Mordecai. Mordecai died unmarried at Fountain Green on June 15, 1867.

Elizabeth Lincoln

Another cousin marriage in Mordecai Lincoln's family, was the wedding of Elizabeth Lincoln and Benjamin Mudd, Benjamin being a brother of Elizabeth Mudd. The brother and sister, Abraham and Elizabeth Lincoln, having married the sister and brother, Elizabeth and Benjamin Mudd. Benjamin Mudd and his wife took up their residence in Scotland County, Missouri, and were the parents of eleven children, all except two of them surviving infancy. Their names and family connections follow:

The oldest child, Raymond Horace, married Mrs. Frances (Bourn) Billups, to which union there were born three children. Hezekiah, the second son, married Elizabeth Gristy and they had six children. Mary Loretta married Asa Johnson and they were the parents of eleven children. James Lincoln, born in 1821 in Grace County, first married Elizabeth Wiley, by whom he had eleven children. Later he was married to Ellen Hall. There was but one child from this marriage and it died in infancy. Another daughter, Elizabeth Ann, born in 1825, mar-They also ried Samuel McAtee. settled in Scotland County, Missouri, and ten children were born to them. Martha Rowena, who was born in Kentucky in 1826, married James Rogers. They had but two children and Martha Rowena died in 1915 and is buried at Sidney, Iowa. Another son, Benjamin Franklin, married Catherine Ann Medley and nine children were born to them. One son was named Abraham Mudd and he was born in 1832, but died in 1871 unmarried. The youngest son, Robert Leven, married Frances Caroline Corrie, and to this union there were born three children. Robert died at Greenville, Illinois, December 18, 1920.

Mary Rowena Lincoln

The name of Mordecai's wife, Mary, is perpetuated through the naming of the second daughter Mary Rowena. Mary, with the appended Rowena, became a very popular name among the descendants of the President's uncle and aunt.

The name of Mary Rowena's husband was George Knisley and they had three children.

Their oldest child, Mary Janette, married Charles Gristy and they had six children. John, the oldest son, married Fanny Phillips, to which union were born four children. James, the youngest child, married Madeline Midley, and five children were born to them.

Martha Lincoln

The youngest child of Mordecai and Mary Mudd Lincoln was a daughter named Martha. She moved with the family to Fountain Green where she married, Washington Neighbors. No children were born to this union. Martha is buried at Fountain Green.

With respect to the descendants of Mordecai Lincoln, brother of Thomas Lincoln, father of the President, it might be said that if any male descendants are still living who bear the name Lincoln, their ancestry must be traced through Mordecai's son, James Bradford Lincoln, as both Abraham and Mordecai, Jr. left no male descendants bearing their name.

A Family Memorial

There has been preserved one memorial of the family and the history of it is given in an old newspaper clipping which reviews the story of a Wideawake rally in Illinois.

"At Keokuk was held one of the greatest rallies of the Northwest. Wideawakes marched in from many miles around. A portrait in oil of Abraham Lincoln, life size, was offered for the largest delegation of Wideawakes attending the rally. Fountain Green, although off the railroad, sent overland the delegation of Wideawakes which captured the prize. Conspicuous in the com-

pany was Thomas Lincoln, (son of James Bradford Lincoln) 'Uncle Tommy,' the namesake of Abraham Lincoln's father, today the patriarch of the Hancock County Lincolns. The portrait was carried back to Fountain Green and placed in the care of the widow of James B. Lincoln, the first Lincoln of the neighborhood. It was held a treasured relic of Fountain Green until a few years ago. One day the portrait was taken out and, with Thomas Lincoln and his maiden sister, Emily Lincoln, standing beside it, was photographed. A few years ago Thomas Lincoln took the interesting relic to Springfield and placed it in the Lincoln memorial collection."



Number 39

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September, 1941

The President's Uncle Josiah

Abraham Lincoln's father, Thomas, had two brothers—Mordecai and Josiah—both his seniors. The last issue of *The Kinsman* discussed the family of Mordecai Lincoln and emphasized the importance of his given name as a possible key for discovering the surname of the wife of Abraham Lincoln's first American progenitor, Samuel Lincoln.

The name Josiah also has a very important place in Lincoln genealogy, as it may be the key name which will eventually allow us to establish with certainty just who was the paternal grandmother of Abraham Lincoln. While it is known that Bersheba was the given name of grandfather Abraham Lincoln's widow, whether or not she was his first wife is not definitely known, neither is her surname positively identified.

It is apparent that the name Josiah evidently did not originate in the Lincoln family as it appears for the first time in the sixth generation. There were no Josiahs in the Herring

family which is supposed to have intermarried with the Lincolns and from which family Bersheba is said to have come. There is, however, a Josiah Boone and also a Josiah Davidson, both contemporary with the pioneer John Lincoln in Rockingham County, Virginia, and both were living adjacent to him at the time John's son Abraham, married in 1770. Evidently the name Josiah came from one of these two families.

Surveyor's Chain Carrier

Josiah Lincoln was born in the Shenandoah Valley in either 1773 or 1774. At the time his parents moved to Kentucky he must have been about 9 years of age. The family settled at Hughes Station near Louisville and it is here that we are first introduced to Josiah Lincoln in the public records. In the surveyor's office at Louisville, Kentucky, there is an old record which we print here verbatim which mentions Josiah Lincoln along with his father's cousin, Hananiah Lincoln, serving as chain carriers in a survey

which was made on May 7, 1785. Josiah at this time would be about 12 years old and could very well serve in the capacity for which he was chosen. A copy of the survey follows:

"Surveyed for Abraham Linkhorn 400 acres of Land in Jefferson County by Virtue of a Treasury Warrant no. 3334 on the Fork of Floyds Fork now called the Long Run beginning about two miles up the said Fork from the mouth of a Fork of the same formerly called Tice Fork at a Sugar Tree standing on the side of the same marked SDB and extending thence East 300 poles to a Poplar and Sugar Tree North 213 1/3 poles to a Beech and Dogwood West 300 poles to a White Oak and Hickory South 213 1/3 poles to the Beginning May 7th 1785 William Shanon D. S. J. C.

"William May S. J. C.

"Hananiah Lincoln and "Josiah Lincoln C. C.

"Abraham Linkhorn Marhew"

This survey was made just one year before Josiah's father was massacred by the Indians on this very same farm which was located at a point where the counties of Jefferson, Oldham and Shelby Counties meet. President Lincoln was quite familiar with the story of his grandfather's death at the hands of the Indians and claimed that when the red men attempted to take the life of his own father, Thomas, then a small boy, Mordecai shot the Indian and Josiah ran to the fort some distance away and aroused the men in the settlement. Evidently Josiah was working with his father in the field at the time of the massacre.

The Widow Lincoln and her five orphan children moved from the site of the massacre at Hughes Station in Jefferson County to Washington County where we often find the name of Josiah Lincoln mentioned in the public records. In 1792 when Kentucky became a state in the Union, the name of Bersheba Lincoln appeared in the tax commissioners book under the date of October 17. She entered on the list as a member of her family, one boy between 16 and 21 years of age who was presumably Josiah. In 1797 under Josiah's own name is the citation one horse for taxation. In 1799 Josiah listed two horses for taxation.

As early as 1796 he was taking an active part in the affairs of the community and his name is signed to a petition to close a road which was no longer used by the public. "It being seldom traveled by wagons", however the petition suggested that it be "sufficiently cleared for a bridal way".

The Barlow Family

At the time the Widow Lincoln moved her family from Jefferson County to Washington County in 1786, there was living close by, the family of Christopher Barlow. The widow brought with her such personal property as her deceased husband had left at the time of his death. The Nelson County Court, then having jurisdiction over that section of the territory, including the widow's home, later became Washington County, appointed Christopher Barlow as one of the three men to appraise the estate of the late Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer. Barlow was appointed an administrator on October 14, 1788 and brought in his report in conjunction with the other commissions on March 10, 1789.

There were many Barlows in Washington County contemporary with Christopher, but it is not known just how they were related to him. The Nelson County records also make known the fact that Samuel Barlow married Elizabeth Blackburn on April 17, 1788 and the following July 18, 1788 he made his will mentioning his wife Elizabeth and a brother Henry Barlow. Henry married Jane, daughter of James Marshall.

There was an Ambrose Barlow living near the Widow Lincoln as early as June 15, 1791, when we find a road order in the Nelson County Court mentioning their names.

"Ordered that the road from the Beech Fork at Richard Parker's to the Widow Grundy's be divided as follows: that Coleman Brown be appointed overseer of the road from the Beech Fork at Parker's to the foot of the hill where the road leaves Parker's Run, and that all the laboring tithables on the waters of Hardin's Creek that all the workers under Graves Worphor the late overseer, also all the tithables on the waters of Cartright's Creek and the Beech Fork below the big narrows and McCullens Lick do assist in keeping the said road in repair, and that Matthew Penn be appointed overseer of the road from where Coleman Brown ends to the Widow Grundy's and that all tithables on the west side of Cartright's Creek that worked under the said Graves Worphor also the hands that are alloted to Benj. Hardin beginning at John Wallers thence to Widow Grundy's line passing Thomas Turnham, William Hays, Ambrose Barlow's John Mays to the Widow Lincoln's and down the branch where the Widow Lincoln lives on the Beech Fork, then down the Beech Fork to McCullens Lick thence to the big narrows and that all tithables assigned said Penn assist in keeping said road in repair."

A more definite location of the Barlow home is shown by the following excerpt from a road report made in July 1797 and designating a road leading from "Joshua Ferguson's Mill on Beech Fork to the Court House."

"Begin at Mill, Zach Hubbs on left, Christopher Barlow on left, Lewis Barlow on left, thence to the meeting house, thence onto the road at Widow Litsey's leading to Washington County Court House.

"James Wilson, James Weathers, Christopher Barlow"

Still another early road order mentions a John Barlow, not only do we have Christopher, Samuel, Henry, Ambrose, Lewis and John Barlow mentioned in these early records, but the Nelson County marriage register also mentions a Michael Barlow who married Rebecca Pyburn on December 23, 1789 and an Elizabeth Barlow (possibly Samuel Barlow's widow), who married Adam Grant on April 2, 1792. Another early marriage in the adjacent county of Mercer was solemnized on November 7, 1792, between Betsy Barlow and William Hall.

To return to Christopher Barlow, the head of the family, in which we have the most interest, it is evident that the children of Christopher and the Widow Lincoln grew up together. Christopher and his wife, Barbara Barlow had at least five children who

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EDITOR

DR. LOUIS A. WARREN, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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are named in Christopher's will dated June 5, 1837 and probated June 20, 1837. Along with his wife Barbara, he mentioned one son Jacob M. Barlow and four daughters. Rosannah Barlow married a man named Keeling. Elizabeth's husband's name was Spencer. Jerusha was united in marriage to Peter Adams on November 26, 1789 and the other daughter Catherine Barlow on February 26, 1801 married the Widow Lincoln's son, Josiah. A copy of the minister's official marriage returns for Washington County during the year 1801, contains the following certificate:

"I hereby certify that a marriage was solemnized by me, between Josiah Lincoln and Catherine Barlow on the 26th inst. according to the rites and ceremonies of the Christian Church given under my hand. Feb. 27 "Thomas Kyle"

There were other Barlow marriages which occurred in Washington County which might be mentioned. As early as February 1, 1796 one of Christopher's daughters, Eliza Barlow, married Robert Brumfield, and she must have passed away before Christopher made his will on February 21, 1801. Three weeks before Josiah married "Caty" Barlow, Josiah's sister, Ann, married William Brumfield. The Brumfields already having intermarried with the Barlows. Cornelius Barlow in 1796 married Katy Sibert and later on, on September 7, 1807, John Sibert married Sarah Barlow.

Kentucky Home

Not long after Josiah's wedding we find his name on a marriage paper in which he joins with his brother, Thomas, as a witness to a certificate approving the nuptials of Peter Sibert and Mary Bridges. A copy of this certificate is worth copying, as this is one instance where the signatures of Abraham Lincoln's father and Josiah Lincoln are plainly written on the same document.

"This is to Sartify that the matter now Depending Between my Daughter and Peter Sibert is well approved of by me as Witness my hand and seall this 16th of August 1801

"Keathren Bridges, Seall

"Test.

[&]quot;Josiah Lincoln

[&]quot;Thomas Lincoln"

There is some evidence that Josiah, like his brother Thomas, learned the carpenter's trade. On May 7, 1804 he attended the Ignatius Elder sale and some of the purchases of Josiah and his neighbors with the prices noted in pounds, shillings and pence are here presented.

"Ignatius Elder Sale—May 7, 1804
"Josiah Lincoln—plains 1-6-0

"Mordecai Lincoln—1 joiner, 1 auger, 1 chisel 0-7-6

"Jesse Head—1 saw & Whetstone 0-15-0

"Josiah Lincoln—l fore plain 0-1-6

"Jesse Head—4 plain bits 0-4-0 "Jesse Head—box old iron 0-8-0

"Jesse Head-1 hatchet 0-3-6

"Richard Berry-1 kettle 1-16-0

"Josiah Lincoln-1 pott 0-13-0

"Francis Berry—dictionary 16-"

It will be observed that Josiah's brother, Mordecai made some purchases. Jesse Head, the minister who married Abraham Lincoln's parents, acquired a few items. Richard Berry, guardian of Nancy Hanks, bought a kettle which may have been used to prepare part of the Lincoln-Hanks wedding dinner, and Richard's brother, Francis bought a dictionary. Nancy is said to have been living in the Francis Berry home at this time. Josiah acquired a farm in the Beech Fork community and adjacent to land owned by his brother Mordecai. This tract of land Josiah bought from Mathew Walton. The deed is dated on October 23, 1809 and recorded in Washington County deed book, C. page 441. The property is noted as lying between the lands of Mordecai Lincoln and Robert Brumfield. Other adjacent property holders mentioned were Cornelius Barlow and John Kelly. The tract contained sixty acres. The surveyors lines which are indicated in the deed follow:

"Beginning at a stone in Mordecai Lincoln's field, North 70° West 134 poles to Cornelius Barlow's with his line South 30° East 47 poles corner to Robert Brumfield's line, with Brumfield's line 176 poles to corner of Brumfield and John Kelly, North 60° East—passing Kelly's corner at 4 poles in all 30 poles, North 9½° East 107½ poles."

The extent of Josiah's land holdings in Kentucky is summarized in the commissioners tax books for Washington County, when he enters for record in 1811, 60 acres of land in Washington County and 960 acres of land on the Kentucky. This last tract he had apparently inherited from his father who is known upon coming to Kentucky to have entered the land on the Kentucky River.

It was not long, however, after the commission for Washington County had entered Josiah's taxable property on the records before Josiah decided to migrate to the West and on October 5, 1811 he sold to John Kelly one of his neighbors and the same man who bought his brother Mordecai's place, the sixty acre tract and his wife signs with him in releasing the property. The exact date of the migration of the family to Indiana is not known, but it probably occurred sometime before the planting season in 1812, about four years before Abraham Lincoln's father moved to the Hoosier state.

Very little is known about Josiah during the Kentucky days, but one man, Judge Henry Pirtle, who was born in Washington County, wrote: "I knew Mordecai and Josiah Lincoln intimately. They were excellent men, plain, moderately educated, candid in their manners and intercourse and looked upon as honorable as any men I have ever heard of."

Hoosier Home

Josiah and Catherine Barlow Lincoln sold their Kentucky land and apparently set out immediately for Indiana. Why they had selected this identical spot where they entered their land is not known, but it is very likely that other Washington County families had already settled there. There was already in Harrison County by 1820 several families of Boones, Winters, Berrys, Harrisons, Crawfords, Mitchells, etc., names all familiar to Josiah Lincoln and his wife.

In the records of the General Land Office at Washington it is recorded that Jesse Hollowell entered one-quarter of section 12, township 2 South, Range 2 East, District of Jeffersonville, State of Indiana, which comprised 160 acres. The date of entrance was December 15, 1810. This tract of land was patented to Josiah Lincoln, assignee, May 8, 1815. It is situated in the extreme northern part of Harrison County about 20 miles from Corydon and a short distance from where Milltown is located. The property was five miles west of the famous Marengo Cave. Certainly Josiah Lincoln selected property that he felt would be quite valuable inasmuch as it was so close to the prosperous seat of government in the territory which was to come into the Union as a state. Very little information is available about Josiah Lincoln during his Indiana residence.

Abraham Lincoln himself knew very little about his Uncle Josiah, as the correspondence which he carried on with relatives reveals. On April 2, 1848 he wrote to David Lincoln as follows:

"Uncle Josiah, farther back than my recollection, went from Kentucky to Blue River in Indiana, I have not heard from him in a great many years, and whether he is still living I cannot say. My recollection of what I have heard is that he has several daughters and only one son, Thomas—their post-office is 'Coryden, Harrison County, Indiana.'"

Still later on, April 1, 1854, he wrote to Jesse Lincoln, from which letter these excerpts are made:

"I often saw Uncle Mordecai, and Uncle Josiah but once in my life; but I never resided near either of them. Uncle Mordecai died in 1831 or 2, in Hancock County, Illinois, where his children had also removed, and still reside, as I understand. Whether Uncle Josiah is dead or living, I cannot tell, not having heard from him for more than twenty years. When I last heard of him he was living on Big Blue River, in Indiana (Harrison Co., I think), and where he had resided ever since before the beginning of my recollection."

J. L. Summers, a few years ago, gave this testimony:

"I am 83 years old and was born and reared in Milltown and immediate vicinity right in the midst of the Lincoln Settlement. Josiah Lincoln in 1813 came from Washington county, Kentucky, came up by way of Corydon and settled in what is now Blue River township, Harrison county, a second son, Jacob, was born.

Later four daughters were born, one of whom married Isom Denton, another married John Briscoe, another married John Crutchfield, and the fourth married a man named Sullenger, who went West and became estranged to the family. The youngest son, Jacob, married Martha Gibbs of Crawford county, a sister of the wellknown William Gibbs, deceased. Jacob lived in Blue River township until the rebellion, then with his family went to Missouri. With this Jacob Lincoln I was personally acquainted and many times talked with him and learned much about the family, he being a blood cousin to the President. On one occasion he told me the story of his father exchanging horses with his uncle Thomas, the horse his father got in the exchange became very valuable and that he worked the horse many days on his father's farm. He said he heard his father tell many times where he got the horse, this alone would seem to be sufficient evidence."

The administrators of the estate of Josiah Lincoln were appointed sometime before September 19, 1835, but the exact date of Josiah's death is not known. John Crutchfield and John Briscoe, the administrators, appointed Peter Byerly and George Huss to appraise the estate.

Josiah's Family

It has been noted that Josiah and his wife, Catherine Barlow had six children, two boys and four girls. J. L. Summers in his reminiscences was somewhat confused about the birth places of the children and their ages, but they are here listed chronologically as indicated by Josiah's descendents. They are in order: Bar-

bara, Thomas, Elizabeth, Nancy, Jacob and Catherine. The first four children were born in Kentucky and the last two were born in Indiana.

Barbara Lincoln

The oldest child, Barbara was born about 1802 and was married by Isom Given to John Crutchfield on November 4, 1819 in Harrison County.

Thomas Lincoln

This son evidently named for President Lincoln's father was born in 1806 in Kentucky, the same year that his Uncle Thomas married Nancy Hanks. In 1825 he married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin and Mary (Bullington) Weathers. Thomas and Sarah had nine children, Rachel, Benjamin, Mordecai, Jacob, Washington, Warden, Joseph, William and James.

Thomas Lincoln purchased his brother's and sister's rights in the home farm and resided there. He died in Harrison County, January 18, 1892. The families of their children are named in the following paragraphs:

Rachel, 1827-1908, Married Samuel Ott. There were ten children born to them: Amanda, Sarah, Henry, John, Mary, Joseph, Harriet, Hester, George and Florence.

Benjamin, 1830-1920, Married Angeline, daughter of Shird Burton. Their children were: Sarah, 1855-1886; Rachel, 1858-1885; Thomas, 1860-1900; Mary, 1862-1899; George-Washington, 1865-?; Hester, 1869-?; Margaret, 1873-?; Eva, 1875-?.

Mordecai, 1832-1911, Married Mary-Elizabeth, daughter of James Spencer. Their children were: James-Thomas, 1855-?; Major-Wetherford, 1858-?; Rachel-Elizabeth, 1860-1902; Sarah-Jane, 1862-1863; Martha-Ann, 1863-?; William-Sherman, 1865-?;

Joseph-David, 1867-? Melissa-Etta, 1870-?; Mary-Ellen, 1872-?; Harriet-Eveline, 1874-?; Amanda-Emeline, 1878-?; Altha-May, 1880-?.

Jacob, 1834-?, Married Elizabeth Hupp. There were children but only one reported. George-Thomas, ?-?.

Washington, 1835-1915, Married Deborah, daughter of William and Matilda Denton. Their children were: William-Thomas, 1863-?; Mary-Ann, 1864-1905; Joseph, 1865-1866; Margaret, 1867-?; Zeroda, 1869-1896; Alice, 1871-?; Ethel, 1885-1912; John-Clarence, 1890-?; Charlotte-Mabel, 1892-?.

Warden, 1841-?, Married Rachel-Ann, daughter of John and Catherine Hurbaugh. Their children were: Catharine, 1867-1887; Henry-Philip, 1869-?; Charles, 1871-?; William, 1876-?; Willard-Emmanuel, 1879-?; Lelia, 1883-?; Frank-Abraham, 1886-?; Florence-Mary, 1889-?; Edward, 1891-?.

Joseph, 1842-?, Married Melissa, daughter of James and Mary-Flora Daugherty. Their children were: Carrie, 1873-?; James F., 1878-?.

William, ?-?, Married and had one son, but no information about him or his wife is available.

James, 1848-?, Married Harriet-Ann, daughter of William-Linley and Sarah Lovisa Elliott. Their children were: Minerva, 1872-?; Mahulda, 1874-?; Lawrence, 1876-?; Ralph-Prosser, 1880-?; S o p h i a-Opal, 1883-?; Nathan-Harrison, 1885-?; Amanda-Stella, 1887-?; D a i s y-Maude, 1889-?; Edgar-Thomas, 1891-?.

Elizabeth Lincoln

The second daughter of Josiah and Catherine was born about 1809. A

marriage register of Harrison County gives the date of Elizabeth's marriage to Isom Denton as of July 17, 1827.

Nancy Lincoln

Josiah and Catherine may have named this daughter for Abraham Lincoln's mother, as the first son had been named for Abraham's father. Nancy Lincoln was born March 2, 1810 and was married March 13, 1827 to John Briscoe. They had six children, three of them dying in childhood. Then the oldest daughter Lettie Ann married Jonathan Cole. Their only son, Anthony Wayne married Margaret Jane Soppenfield and another son, Francis Marion married Sallie Totton.

Jacob Lincoln

Jacob Lincoln was Josiah's second son and he was born in Harrison County on July 16, 1815. He married Martha Gibbs on November 20, 1839 and late in life moved to Wayne County, Missouri where he died on August 10, 1889. His wife, who was born January 9, 1820 died in Harrison County, Indiana sometime after 1865.

There were eleven children born to Jacob and Martha; Mary, 1840-1885; Thomas, 1842-?; William, 1844-?; James Washington, 1846-1896; Elizabeth, 1848-?; Jonathan-Jones, 1850-?; Joseph, 1852-?; Matilda, 1857-1884; Katherine, 1860-?; Charles, 1862-?; Rosanna, 1865-1886.

Katherine Lincoln

The youngest child of Josiah and Catherine Lincoln was named for her mother, and was born about 1817 in Harrison County. On December 28, 1836 a license was issued for her marriage to John Sullenger. Little is known of their descendents.



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October, 1941

Hananiah Lincoln Family

PIONEERS ASSOCIATED WITH THE FATHER AND GRANDFATHER OF THE PRESIDENT.

Hananiah Lincoln was a first cousin of Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of the President. These cousins were sons of Thomas and John Lincoln, respectively, whose father was Mordecai Lincoln, Jr., born at Hingham, Massachusetts. Mordecai, Jr., was the grandson of Samuel Lincoln, the first American progenitor of President Lincoln.

There seems to have been much difficulty in spelling Hananiah's name correctly. Even the President was very much confused in his spelling of it, as he thought it was either Hannaniel, or Annanial. The immediate family also allowed it to take the form of Annanias, as it was often abbreviated "Niah." Early historians even went so far as to call this child of Thomas Lincoln of Berks County, Pennsylvania, Hannah Lincoln, even changing the sex. Recorders in the various Kentucky courthouses have had the most trouble in spelling the name, however, as it is found in all these forms:

Hannanighah, Hannaiel, Hannanial, Hanniniah, Hannia, Anniah, Niah. We are fortunate in having discovered several signatures in the pioneer's own hand and it is always spelled Hananiah Lincoln.

The families of Hananiah and the pioneer Abraham Lincoln were very closely associated in frontier days, and inasmuch as this year marks the 125th anniversary of the removal of Abraham Lincoln's father from Kentucky to Indiana, it is timely to review some of the history of the Hananiah Lincoln family which was partly responsible for this early migration.

Tradition claims that after Hananiah Lincoln resigned as a captain in the Revolutionary War on October 20, 1777, he went with Daniel Boone to the Kentucky country. The Lincolns and the Boones were close neighbors in Berks County, Pennsylvania, and there were many inter-marriages between the families. Hananiah was in Jefferson County, Kentucky, as early as January 3, 1782 when he witnessed a promisory note. The following year he entered 890 acres of land on Cartwrights Creek and the same year entered 1000 acres of land on Beech Fork. Both of these tracts were in Nelson County. Apparently, however, he settled in Jefferson County, for he served there as a juryman in 1784 and 1785 and on May 7, 1785 we find his name associated with pioneer Abraham Lincoln in the surveying of a tract of land on Long Run in Jefferson County.

The following year after the massacre of the pioneer Abraham, in the month of May 1786, it is apparent that Hananiah removed to Nelson County where he had entered the two large tracts of land. It was in Nelson County on February 7, 1787 that Hananiah Lincoln married Sarah Jane Jeffries, daughter of Moses Jeffries.

About five years later, in 1792, Hananiah became interested in a land development in the town of Hartford in Hardin County, which later became the county seat of Ohio County. This town was situated about 30 miles from the Ohio River.

While at Hartford, Hananiah had some difficulty in collecting a note due him by Nicholas Welsh and brought suit against him for collection. This suit was followed by another in which Hananiah charged Welsh with slander, which apparently was due to a misunderstanding among the women folk of the community. This case is of special interest to Lincoln students who are continually running into the purely fictitious story that a certain Enlow, Enlows, Enloe, Inlow or Inloe

family had some close associations with the parents of Abraham Lincoln.

From what can be learned from the papers in the old suit, Mrs. Hananiah Lincoln had hired Polly Inloe to make a calico dress and that Miss Inloe had appropriated some of the calico. When the case was tried, Miss Inloe testified, "I have not stolen your calico" and later said that she had only taken the shoulder straps and was to return and finish the gown the next day. Whether or not this incident in 1795 was the beginning of a slander against the Lincolns by the Enlows, it is quite apparent that it still continues, but in the modern versions it is the Lincoln family who is humiliated.

It is evident that Hananiah was not well pleased with his investments at Hartford and he only remained there about two years, then took up his abode at Elizabethtown. Here he entered 500 acres of land and established his home. It was about this time that Thomas Lincoln, the son of the pioneer Abraham Lincoln, came to live with Hananiah and his name appears on the tax book directly under Hananiah's name. It is evident that later Thomas Lincoln went with his relative Hananiah to Cumberland County where Hananiah finally settled and he became the first sheriff of the county. Here Hananiah's first wife, Sarah Jeffries Lincoln, passed away but the date of her death is not known, but presumably shortly after the birth of her youngest child Lucy, on April 27, 1899.

The marriage register of Cumberland County shows that on February 14, 1801, Hananiah married Lucy Wilson. Later on he is said to have joined Boone in his Missouri expedition. On Hananiah's return he settled in Clay County, Tennessee, just across the line from Cumberland County and tradition claims that he is buried on the old Lincoln farm in Clay County, Tennessee.

There are many family traditions and much folk lore among the descendants of Hananiah Lincoln which would make him a direct ancestor of the President. Some of the traditions make Hananiah the President's grandfather. The usual point of confusion is in the fact that the President's father's name was Thomas and that Hananiah had a son named Thomas, but it will be observed that these two Thomases have both been positively identified with their respective families. Hananiah's son finally settled in Ohio and the President's father, who was about fifteen years older than Thomas, son of Hananiah, settled in Illinois.

About a dozen years ago there was considerable activity among some of the descendants of Hananiah and their friends to prove that the President was born in Cumberland County, Kentucky, not far from the Tennessee line. The following story referring to the agitation appeared in the Lexington, Kentucky Leader for December 9, 1928.

"What amounts to a veritable sensation is Cumberland County's claim that Abraham Lincoln was born in that county, and there offer to furnish irrefutable proof of the fact.

"As proof, county officials and citizens of the county produce court records that establish beyond doubt that Thomas Lincoln, father of Abraham, was a former official of Cumberland County; that he was constable; that he was a land-owner; that he had engaged in litigation; that records filed in the county archives bear out

the claim that Abraham Lincoln first saw the light of day in the hills and valleys of Cumberland County.

"Backing up the challenge, citizens of Burkesville have had a sign erected in court square of that city bearing this fact: 'Where was Lincoln born?— When was he born? Thomas Lincoln was an official of this county in 1802-04. He took up a 98-acre tract of land here in 1804, and then another 200-acre tract in 1815. See records in the clerk's office.'"

Here we have the confusion of the Thomas Lincoln, father of the President, who undoubtedly did make the early land entry, with Thomas the son of Hananiah, who was probably the Thomas Lincoln who acquired land in Cumberland County in 1815. In 1802 the son of Hananiah could not have been more than twelve years old and hardly eligible to be appointed constable, but thirteen years later in 1815, he was twenty-five and undoubtedly a property holder as indicated in the deed books of Cumberland County.

We are not exactly certain just how many children Hananiah had by his first wife and we do not know that he had any children by his second wife. There seems to have been at least four sons and two daughters born to Hananiah and Sarah Jeffries, although it is impossible to arrange them in the order of their ages with the possible exception of Moses, who was the first born and Lucy, who was the youngest child. The names of their children, now available, are Moses, Thomas, Austin, Davis, Sarah and Lucy. Possibly there was another child by the name of John, but his identity has not been fully established as one of Hananiah's sons.

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X

EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN FORMER ISSUES OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

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Moses Jeffries Lincoln

The son of Hananiah, Moses Jeffries Lincoln, was born in Washington County, Kentucky, on December 22, 1787. When about thirty years of age, he moved to Preble County, Ohio, where he married Elizabeth Crawford, daughter of James and Martha Crawford, who lived at Eaton, Ohio. Thirty-five years later in 1831 he moved his family to Warren County, Indiana, where he died on September 19, 1866. His wife died January 24, 1866. Moses and his wife are buried in the West Lebanon Cemetery. Tra-

dition claims that Abraham Lincoln once visited these kinsmen who lived just a short distance from the Illinois State line and but a few miles from Danville where Lincoln was often in court while traveling the circuit.

The 1830 census shows Moses Lincoln and family to have been living in Warren County, Indiana, at that time. The ages of the members of the family are noted as follows: two boys under five, two boys between five and ten, one man between forty and fifty, one girl between five and ten, one girl between ten and fifteen and one woman between thirty and forty.

The children of Moses and Elizabeth Lincoln are here given in the order of their birth with the birth dates: Sarah Jane, June 23, 1817; John Crawford, Nov. 20, 1819; James Harvey, Feb. 12, 1823; Martha Ellen, Feb. 27, 1825; William Washington, Sept. 10, 1827; David Shankland, Feb. 7, 1829; Mary Ann, Feb. 10, 1831: Lucinda Caroline, Feb. 27, 1833; Elizabeth Ruth, Mar. 2, 1835.

John married Caroline Purviance, daughter of Azar Purviance and later moved to Lawrenceburg, Tennessee. He died at Lawrenceburg and is buried there. There is said to have been a striking resemblance between John Lincoln and President Lincoln. One of John's sons, Frank Lincoln, married Addie Sweaney and they also resided at Lawrenceburg, Tennessee.

It will be observed that James Harvey Lincoln was born on February 12, 1823, President Lincoln's fourteenth birthday. He married Elizabeth James on December 9, 1847. James died on July 26, 1904. There were three children born to James and Elizabeth Lincoln: Zachary Taylor Lincoln, who married Mildred Florence Cloyd, James Wallace Lincoln, who married Ollie Ammerman, and a daughter, Ella May Lincoln.

Mrs. Clara Crawford Smith of Williamsport, Indiana, has done considerable research work on this branch of the family, several of the descendants still remaining in Warren County, Indiana. She was one of the committee which planned the placing of a marker at State Line, Indiana, at the point where her kinsman, Abraham Lincoln, made a speech in 1861 on his way to be inaugurated President.

Thomas Lincoln

Thomas Lincoln, son of Hananiah Lincoln, married a Miss Gee, a daughter of Jesse Gee, a neighbor of Hananiah Lincoln in Cumberland County. Thomas migrated with his brother, Moses, to Preble County, Ohio, about 1816 and here he and his wife raised a large family. There were six sons and three daughters born to them: John, Thomas, James, Moses, Jesse, Ananias, Sarah, Susie, and Martha. There are several members of this family who still remain in Ohio. Mrs. A. A. Brewer of Connersville, Indiana, although a descendant of Moses Lincoln collected some available information about the Thomas Lincoln family.

Austin Lincoln

On April 6, 1860, Abraham Lincoln replied to a letter written by Richard V. B. Lincoln and in the concluding paragraph stated, "I remember long ago seeing Austin Lincoln and Davis Lincoln, said to be sons of Hananiah Lincoln, who was said to

have been a cousin of my grandfather." The President was correct in these relationships.

We are now quite sure that Austin Lincoln was responsible more or less for Thomas Lincoln's settling where he did in Indiana. The father of the President took up his abode not far from where Austin Lincoln was living at the time Thomas migrated from Kentucky into the Hoosier state. Inasmuch as Thomas and Austin had been friends for many years and for a time lived under the same roof, it is not strange that he would choose a homesite not far from his Lincoln cousins. Austin Lincoln moved to Perry County, Indiana, some time previous to June 1815, as he was serving on a Spencer County jury during that month. This was more than a year and a half before Thomas Lincoln's family arrived.

Austin Lincoln was married about 1806 or 1807 but we do not know the name of his first wife. He is thought to have had three children by this marriage, two sons—David and Jesse, also a daughter, Lucinda. Upon the death of his first wife some time before 1818 he married as his second wife, Levitia Conner, Austin Lincoln died about 1825 or 1826 whereupon his wife Levitia married James Hargrave on June 21, 1828. Two children were born to Austin and Levitia Lincoln, James born January 26, 1821, and Henry, date of birth unknown. These two sons of Austin, James and Henry, moved to Warwick County, Indiana and established a tannery there. Their half sister, Lucinda Lincoln, married John Montgomery in Warwick County on August 25, 1835. James married Emaline King in 1846.

About 1851 James and his family moved to Illinois and five years later migrated to Missouri. In 1866 he established his home in Texas where he died July 3, 1893. There are many descendants of Austin Lincoln in Texas and H. N. Lincoln at Dallas, a grandson of Austin Lincoln, has collected some notations about the family.

Davis Lincoln

It is not known just when Davis Lincoln moved to Spencer County, Indiana, but he must have been there shortly after the Lincolns arrived, as he is found entering land in 1821 in Spencer County. In 1823 he was serving as a justice of the peace in the county and apparently was a man of some influence. He had married Abigail Campbell before leaving Tennessee for Indiana and although we do not have positive evidence about the number of children in his family, the records of Spencer County would imply that they were Hananiah, Austin, Robert J., Ellender, Nancy, Sarah, Armarintha and Lucy.

Hananiah, the son of Davis, married Adelia Sanders on December 27, 1834. Austin, another son, married Catherine McGuffey December 23, 1837 and died not far from Troy, Indiana. Robert J. married Christina Williams on November 26, 1836. Ellender married Jesse McGuffey on December 19, 1830. Nancy Lincoln married Josiah Bunn on February 15, 1827. Sarah who was born May 12, 1820, married Frances Armstrong on November 18, 1839, and moved to Jackson County, Tennessee, and lived there from 1847 to 1863.

Davis Lincoln was said to have died at Natchez, Louisiana, near New

Orleans in a cholera epidemic. Several of his descendants are still living in the proximity of the mill on Anderson River, which was operated by him and later by his son, Austin, Ir.

It seems that nearly every Lincoln story, from the time the grandfather of the President was massacred by the Indians, until the President himself died by the hand of an assassin, includes a tragedy. This story of the Hananiah Lincoln family is no exception. The two youngest daughters, Armarintha or Martha, and Lucy, have evidently been confused by members of the Hananiah Lincoln family as they have set down certain traditions about these two girls, so we are not able to learn just which one was held indirectly responsible for the reputed haunting of the old Lincoln mill. It appears to have been Armarintha. Some members of the family claim that Lucy was not married in 1847 when she moved to Kentucky, but a Warrick County marriage record reveals that a Lucinda Lincoln married John Montgomery on August 25, 1835, and, in 1840, a Lucy Mills who had undoubtedly been a Lucy Lincoln signed her name to a deed. There is a possibility that Lucy Lincoln may have been married twice before 1847.

Armarintha was in love with a young man by the name of Wilson. His attentions were not looked upon with pleasure by Austin Lincoln, Jr., a brother with whom the girl was then living. Wilson continued to keep company with her, however. One day he visited the Lincoln Mill with the intention of making a further appeal for the hand of Armarintha, to whom he had become engaged, when a fierce

struggle occurred between the mill owner and his sister's suitor. That evening the dead body of Austin Lincoln, Jr., was found on the stairs leading to the second story of the mill. Wilson fled the country taking a boat down the Ohio and Armarintha is said to have disappeared at some later date. The presumption is that she met Wilson and that they were married. Of one fact we are certain that on December 5, 1840, Armarintha was still single as she was a party to a sale of some land in Spencer County which she had evidently inherited.

Hananiah Lincoln, who was named for his grandfather, the pioneer, was probably the oldest son of Davis Lincoln. His name is often found on Perry County records. The vital statistics of Indiana reveal that he was born in 1811 and died in March 1860 of winter fever, after an illness of eight days. Hananiah and Adelia Lincoln had eight children: Davis, John A., Thomas, Frances, Charity, Miranda, Addison, and Jane.

E. S. Lincoln, a son of Thomas (born 1832, died 1906) at one time edited *The Cannelton Enquirer* at Cannelton, Perry County, Indiana, but now lives in South Bend.

Sarah Lincoln

Sarah Lincoln, daughter of Hananiah, married George Peterman and there were three children born of this marriage: Martha, Melinda and Rebecca. Martha married Riley J. Upton, Melinda married Joel Brown and Rebecca married James B. McMillen. Descendants of these children are to be found in Cumberland County, Kentucky and Clay County, Tennessee. Miss Jennie Armstrong, of Thompkinsville, Kentucky, a descend-

ant of Austin Lincoln, has gathered some information about the descendants of Sarah Lincoln Peterman.

Lucy Lincoln

Descendants of the other children seem to have known little about this daughter of Hananiah, but inasmuch as she must have been an infant when her mother died, it is possible she was taken into the home of some of the Jeffries family. She was born April 27, 1799 and married Johnathan Hills in Hardin County on October 4, 1817.

Jonathan and Lucy Lincoln Hills named their first son, William Jeffries, apparently after his mother's surname Jeffries. The first daughter was named Sarah, after her mother's given name. This should be fairly good proof that Lucy was the daughter of Sarah Jeffries Lincoln. The names of the other children were John, Margaret, Lena, James, Charles, Elizabeth, Mary Priscilla, Malvina, Eliza Rebecca, Lucy Jane and Martha.

The editor of the Kinsman was well acquainted with Lucy Jane (Lincoln) Lasley, whose daughter Eliza Lasley, then living at Elizabethtown, where her mother died, made available the names of Lucy's children from the family records.

Hananiah Lincoln Chronology

1756, —— Born at Exeter, Penn. Son of Thomas and Elizabeth Davis Lincoln.

1775, ——— Sergeant in Capt. George Naylis' company.

1776, Oct. 4. Commissioned First Lieut. in Col. Wm. Thompson's regiment.

1777, May 20. Promoted to Captain. 1777, Oct. 17. Resigned from army. 1782, Jan. 2. Signs note payable to Enos Atwater.

- 1783, Jan. 17. 897 acres of land on Kentucky River entered for him by Daniel Boone.
- 1783, Sept. 13. Enters 890 acres of land in Nelson County.
- 1783, Dec. 8. Enters 1000 acres of land in Nelson County.
- 1784, ——— Serves on jury in Jefferson County, Kentucky.
- 1785, Apr. 22. 1000 acres of land in Kentucky surveyed for him by Boone.
- 1785, May 7. Chain carrier in survey for Pioneer A. Lincoln, Jefferson County.
- 1785, Oct. 4, 5, 6, 7. On jury in Jefferson County.
- 1786, July 25. Enters land in Nelson County, Kentucky.
- 1787, Feb. 7. Married Sarah Jane Jeffries in Nelson County.
- 1787, Dec. 22. First child, Moses Jeffries Lincoln, born.
- 1788, May 16, 17. Jury service in Nelson County.
- 1788, Aug. 14. Jury service in Nelson County.
- 1788, Sept. 10. Recommended by Nelson County Court as Captain of Militia in the first battalion.
- 1789, Mar. 11. Appointed by Governor as Captain in 1st Kentucky regiment.
- 1791, Mar. 10. Suit filed against him for collection on note.
- 1791, Sept. 14. Judgment against him in note case.
- 1792, Apr. 13. Acquired land from Gabriel Madison in Hartford, now county seat of Ohio County.
- 1793, May 10. Assigned bond in Hartford by Nicholas Walsh.
- 1793, Oct. 3. Note endorsed to him.

- 1794, Oct. 8. Deeds 2 lots in Hartford to Robert Mosley.
- 1795, May 5. Associated with Moses Jeffries in defense of suit on note, at Bardstown, Nelson County.
- 1795, June 5. Brings suit against Walsh for collection of note.
- 1795, July 28. Commissioned to view road in Hardin County.
- 1795, Oct. 27. Appointed appraiser of William Stuart's estate in Hardin County.
- 1795, ——. Lists 4000 acres of land on Hardin County tax book, also 1 horse and 11 cattle.
- 1796, Feb. 23. Charged three shillings and nine pence for witness service in Hardin County.
- 1796, ——. Lists 4000 acres of land on Hardin County tax book, also 1 horse and 11 cattle.
- 1796, Oct. 22—Sold 1000 acres of land to Nathaniel Ewing and 3000 acres to John Murphy, both tracts in Clark County, Kentucky.
- 1797, June 24. Received note for 31 pounds cash and 34 pounds trade from Henry Ewing.
- 1797, Aug. 27. Lists 1512 acres of land and 4 horses.
- 1797, Oct. 16. Deposition in lawsuit taken at Bardstown, Nelson County.
- 1798, Nov. 3. Signs note with Enoch Berry payable to Rogers.
- 1798, Dec. 10. Brought suit against Ewing for collection of note.
- 1799, Apr. 27. Youngest daughter, Lucy, born.
- 1799, July Commissioned as the first sheriff of Cumberland County, Kentucky.
- 1801, Feb. 14. Married Lucy Wilson in Cumberland County.



The Lincoln Kinsman

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NANCY LINCOLN BRUMFIELD

INFORMATION ABOUT THE FAMILY INTO WHICH LINCOLN'S AUNT NANCY MARRIED

When the offspring of any family consists entirely of girls, with no boys to eventually perpetuate the surname, it is likely that interest in genealogy in that particular group, gradually fades out. Abraham Lincoln's aunt, Nancy Lincoln Brumfield, had four children, but all of them were girls. Although these children were first cousins of the President, but little is known about their descendants.

Interest in the Brumfield family has been accentuated somewhat by the fact that Bersheba Lincoln, grandmother of Abraham Lincoln, is said to have made her home with the Brumfields and passed her last days with her daughter, Nancy, youngest sister of Thomas Lincoln, the President's father. Further attention has been called to the Brumfield story because the old burial ground in which the President's grandmother is supposed to be buried beside her daughter, sometime ago was set apart

as Kentucky State Park, number seventeen. Just now the extension of the boundaries of Camp Knox will apparently absorb the old Mill Creek Church and the burial lot, so it is problematical just what will become of this historic spot.

The Virginia Brumfields

The first Virginia colony in which we find the Brumfields, was located in what was originally Lunenburg County. On the records of that county we find these names that are very familiar to Lincoln students who have done research work on the maternal ancestry of Abraham Lincoln: Berry, Brumfield, Caldwell, Mitchell, Prewitt, Shipley and Thompson. These names appear previous to 1765, before Charlotte County was cut out of Lunenburg, but after that date the names appear in Charlotte County, which embraced the Little Roanoke community, where Brumfield and most of his neighbors lived.

As early as September 5, 1749, William Brumfield entered 400 acres of land on "the upper side of Little Roanoke River" in Virginia. This land, then in Lunenburg County, as already indicated, was later to fall within the boundary of Charlotte County. In the year 1782, a William Brumfield was living in Charlotte County, and the census taken that year shows seven persons in his family. There was also a William Brumfield who died by the year 1797 and his will recorded in Charlotte County, names a son, John, and a daughter, Mary Hall, "both supposed to be in Kentucky." Judith Traman is also mentioned in the will. It was a William Brumfield, whom we first find directly associated with the Berry family, about the time the Kentucky migrations by the Brumfield and Berry families were being planned. The following important land entry at Richmond, Virginia, is of great importance in showing the earliest contact of the two families and the actual location of the earliest land entry in the Kentucky County, which at that time was a part of Virginia.

"Benj. Harrison Esq. Gov. of Commonwealth of Va. sum of 80 pounds pd by Richard Berry unto the treasury of this Comm. there is granted etc. to Richard Berry assigne of Wm. Broomfield (Brumfield) a certain tract 200 a. surveyed May 5, 1781 on a Treas. warrant 5997 & issued this Aug. 10th, 1780, lying and being in the county of Lincoln on the S. fork of the Doctor's Fork."

On September 6, 1780 Robert Brumfield of Charlotte County, sold to Robert Mitchell of Bedford, a 200 acre tract of land, Robert's name does not thereafter appear on the records of Charlotte, and he is not named in the census of 1782, but he is undoubtedly the same Robert associated with Richard Berry, the Shipleys, the Prewitts and the Mitchells in the Kentucky land purchases.

On March 16, 1780 "Richard Berry of the County of Charlotte" sold to Captain Richard Gaines a tract of land adjacent to Logan's land. This was probably Berry's last land transaction in Virginia.

The Kentucky Pioneers

There can be little question but what the Brumfields came into the Kentucky country about 1780 with Richard Berry and Roanoke River relatives. They settled in what was then Lincoln County, but later became Mercer and Washington. On May 1, 1781 Richard Berry entered 200 acres of land on Doctor's Fork, adjacent to Stewart's line. One week later on May 7, 1781 William Brumfield entered 200 acres joining Stewart's. On June 22, Brumfield entered another tract on Doctor's Fork and on November 20, Robert Brumfield entered a tract on Chaplin's Fork in the same community. The following year on December 23, 1782, James Brumfield entered 200 acres on Chaplin's Fork and the same day Robert Brumfield entered 200 acres in the same community. There are two interesting notations in the Lincoln County survey book for February 5, 1783; Job Brumfield entered a tract on Doctor's Fork and Richard Berry a 400 acre tract adjoining the above mentioned Brumfield tract.

By the year 1783 there were Brumfield men by the names of Robert, William, James and Job, who had entered land in the community not far from where the Widow Lincoln and her family took up their residence in 1786, and it would seem reasonable to assume that at least one of these men was the father of the William Brumfield, who married a daughter of the Widow Lincoln.

Among these four men we might conclude that the Robert Brumfield, whom we discovered in Charlotte County, Virginia, was the oldest, and this fact is confirmed by the finding of his will and the names of his three sons, which account for the other three of the four Brumfield names found on early records.

The will of Robert Brumfield was signed on February 7, 1790 and he bequeathed to his daughter, Tabitha "the tract where I now live", he also mentioned Mary McCastin. He names his sons: William, James and Job, and his daughters: Eda Prewitt, Susan Richardson, Mary Prewitt, Elizabeth Mitchell, and Sarah Brumfield. In the inventory of the estate five negroes were listed.

It is of passing interest to note that it was on Doctor's Fork where Richard Berry and Robert Brumfield first settled. Here Nancy Hanks Lincoln's widowed mother, Lucy Shipley Hanks, was living, when she married Henry Sparrow. Richard Berry, whose wife was Rachel Shipley Berry, sister of Lucy, was the uncle of Nancy and with him she made her home after the second marriage of her mother, Lucy. George Shipley, a brother of Rachel and Lucy, was a witness in a suit brought by James Brumfield in 1791.

There was also a pioneer Brumfield by the name of Richard, who settled near Robert Brumfield, and they may have been brothers. He left a wife, Sarah, and the following children are named in a circuit court order book, reporting the settlement of his estate: James B., Richard B., Mrs. John Bilbo, Nancy Ons—, William, Jr., Sussane, Jas., Jr., and Sally Pitman.

The Sons of Robert Brumfield

We know very little about two of the three sons of Robert Brumfield, but fortunately we have considerable information about the one through whom the Brumfield, who married Abraham Lincoln's Aunt Nancy, traces his lineage.

All that is available about the oldest son, William, is found in his land transactions, when he sells his two hundred acre tract of land which he owned on Doctor's Fork. A land patent was issued in Richmond, Virginia, on August 14, 1786 for a tract of land on Doctor's Fork in the County of Mercer, adjacent to William Brumfield's 200 acre survey. A deed signed in Mercer County by William and Sarah Brumfield on January 22, 1794 conveys a tract of land on Doctor's Fork to Jacob Crow. The estate of a Sarah Brumfield, presumably the widow of William, was appraised by J. B. Brumfield and John Bilbo in 1831.

Job Brumfield, the second son, located a tract of land containing 300 acres in Mercer County, near Doctor's Fork, as early as February 10, 1783, and Richard Berry, as we have observed, entered a tract of land containing 400 acres adjacent to it. Job Brumfield and Elizabeth, his wife, sold the land on Doctor's Fork on October 25, 1796. That Job was the son of Robert Brumfield and that he

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN FORMER ISSUES OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

1. The Colonial Lincolns, 2. The Unknown Hanks Ancestry, 3. The Herrings of Virginia, 4. Five Shipley Sisters, 5. The Todd Family, 6. Bush Family Documents, 7. Early 19th Century Lincolns, 8. Kentucky Archives, 9. Abraham Lincoln's Father, 10. Hon. Robert Todd Lincoln, 11. James Wright Sparrow, 12. Uncle Mordecai Lincoln, 13. Thomas (Tad) Lincoln, 14. The Tennessee Lincolns, 15. The Lincolns of Hingham, 16. The Richard Berry Family, 17. Southern Branch of the Hankses, 18. The Lincolns of England, 19. Synopsis Life of Lincoln, 20. Lincoln's Letters to His Wife, 21. Correspondence With Kinsmen, 22. A Hanks Family Tree, 23. New Jersey Lincolns, 24. The Pennsylvania Lincolns, 25. Nottoway River Hanks Colony, 26. Relatives of Lincoln's Wife, 27. The Lincolns' Kentucky Neighbors, 28. The Lincolns of Virginia, 29. Roanoke River Hanks Colony, 30. Lincoln's Mythical Childhood Homes, 31. The Paternity Myth, 32. The Shiftless Father Myth, 33. The Maternal Lineage Myth, 34. The Poverty Myth, 35. The Ann Rutledge Myth, 36. The Matrimony Myth, 37. The New England Hankses, 38. The Family of the President's Uncle Mordecai, 39. The President's Uncle Josiah. 40. Hananiah Lincoln Family.

married Elizabeth Salyerman on January 1, 1788 is about all we know about him, when his will was signed on March 18, 1798, he named his wife, Elizabeth and named as his executor, "My well beloved friend, William Brumfield." The widow of Jacob later married a man named Mahan.

It is James Brumfield, the second son of Robert Brumfield, who is of supreme importance in this study, because he became the father of William Brumfield, who married Nancy Lincoln, sister of the President's father. James Brumfield married Johanna Berry, oldest daughter of the pioneer Richard Berry, in Virginia, and migrated with his father and father-in-law and the rest of the colony to Kentucky. By 1782 he had entered his first land in the Doctor's Fork community.

James Brumfield and Johanna, his wife, sold the tract of land in Mercer County, in 1791, for the sum of 50 pounds to Jacob Minor. Both James and his wife signed their names to the deed for the land which is noted as next to Harrison's line. In that same year James paid Robert Andrews ten pounds and sixteen shillings for three months eighteen days service "in going down to the Illeonese country (or New Spain) after said Briscoe's negroes." James Brumfield's payment of this sum on behalf of Briscoe, caused some litigation in which case David Prewitt and George Shipley were two of the witnesses.

The following year in 1792 James Brumfield entered on the commissions tax list of Washington County, 9 horses and 19 cattle. It is also shown that at this time there was one boy between 16 and 21 years of age in his family. This boy was evidently his oldest son, Robert, whose name appears on the tax list for the first time in 1796. On February 7, 1793 James Brumfield was appointed as a constable for Washington County and a few weeks later his name appears along with Mordecai Lincoln's on an order to view a road improvement.

It was about the time that Richard Berry's oldest son John, died, in 1795, that the old pioneer began to dispose of some of his land to his children, and on August 1, 1795 Richard Berry and Rachel, his wife, deeded to James Brumfield, his son-in-law "200 acres on Beech Fork where Brumfield now lives." This land was not more than half a mile from where the Widow Lincoln was living with her children.

James Brumfield died sometime before January, 1796 when the will was probated. In the will he mentioned his wife, Johanna; sons, Robert, Richard, William, James, Samuel, David and John, also one daughter Rachel. There may have been other daughters, but this was the only one named. James named his brother-in-law, Richard Berry, Jr. and his own son Richard, along with John Caldwell as the executors of his estate.

To his wife, Johanna, James left a negro girl named Rachel and ordered a horse to be sold and the money received to purchase a negro for the family. He also ordered "as much of my estate to be sold to purchase a negro girl for my daughter Rachel." He left to his sons "Robert and William 500 acres of land in Jefferson County." Johanna Brumfield evidently supervised the business of the plantation, because she signed a note in which she promised to deliver to James Eavens "2200 weight of good merchantable corn fed pork on or before December 25, 1796." Later on Eavens gave her a receipt dated October 4, 1797 for a mare Johanna had purchased.

William Brumfield, oldest brother of James Brumfield, upon the latter's death, was appointed guardian "to Rachel Brumfield and John Brumfield, infant orphans of James Brumfield, deceased." This order was issued on December 1, 1801.

The heirs of James Brumfield sold in 1805 a piece of land on Chaplin's Fork, divided into four tracts. Robert, a son of James, bought one, James Mitchell, a brother-in-law, bought another, and Josiah Campbell and Cornelius Tully bought the other two. By the time of this land transaction, William, the third son of James, had migrated to Hardin County. It is this one of James' sons who married into the Lincoln family.

William and Nancy Lincoln Brumfield

The Widow Lincoln came very near having a double wedding in her family in February, 1801, as her youngest daughter, Nancy, and son, Josiah, married within nine days of each other. On February 3, 1801 the Widow Lincoln signed the following certificate which was presented to the county clerk, when the prospective groom, William Brumfield, visited the office to give bond with Mordecai Lincoln, Nancy Lincoln's brother, serving as his security. The date of the certificate and bond which were issued, has usually been noted as the wedding date, but a record in a family Bible makes it nine days later.

"Sir, you will please to give a license for William Brumfield to marry Ann Lincoln, my daughter, from under my hand this 3rd day of February, 1801, Bersheba Lincoln.

"Witnesses

"Mordecai Lincoln

"Peter Skulkee"

The Widow Lincoln lived not far away from the Pioneer Richard Berry with whose family there may have been some connection before the Kentucky days, but the old pioneer Berry died before he saw the children of the Widow marry into the Berry clan. William Brumfield, Nancy Lincoln's husband, was a grandson of Richard Berry, whose oldest daughter Johanna, had married James Brumfield, William's father.

Josiah Lincoln married Katie Barlow. She was a sister of Eliza Barlow, who had married Robert Brumfield, brother of Nancy Lincoln's husband, William, and the grandson of Richard Berry. The third child of the Widow Lincoln to marry into the Berry clan was Thomas, father of the President, who took as his wife, Nancy Hanks, the niece of Richard Berry. It was the oldest son of Richard Berry, Richard, Jr., who signed the Lincoln-Hanks marriage bond as the guardian of Nancy Hanks.

What appears to be the first of any considerable migration westward of the Lincolns from the Washington County community, took place shortly after the Widow Lincoln's children married in 1801. While Josiah and Mordecai Lincoln did not join in it, both Mary Lincoln and her husband, Ralph Crume, Nancy Lincoln and her husband, William Brumfield, William's brother, James and his family and perhaps most important of all, Thomas Lincoln and his widowed mother, Bersheba, removed from Washington County.

The Brumfields and the Lincolns settled on Mill Creek in Hardin County and the Crumes pushed on a little further west to Breckenridge County. The Washington County records give evidence that they were gone in 1802 as the word "gone" is placed after the name of Thomas Lincoln and the statement "to Hardin"

follows Richard Brumfield's name.

We will have little interest in following the fortunes of James Brumfield's family, although he was always closely associated with his brother, William. In his will which was signed on July 13, 1834 he named his wife, Mary or "Polly" and his children James, Johanna Patterson, Samuel Brumfield and William Brumfield. He named his daughter Johanna for his mother and the three sons for his three brothers.

William Brumfield's name is found quite frequently in the records of Hardin County and he was rather a successful farmer, but never listed for taxation more than one slave and four or five horses. His farm on Mill Creek was about one mile from the old Mill Creek Church, five miles from the land owned by Thomas Lincoln, and twelve miles north of Elizabethtown. There were two hundred acres in his tract of land and he leased two fields near his home from Samuel Haycraft.

As we have already noted William and Nancy Lincoln Brumfield had no sons, but there were four daughters born to them: Elizabeth, Lucretia, Mary and Susan. We have named them in the order of their marriage, as far as their marriage dates are known. Elizabeth married William Nall on October 13, 1825; Lucretia married John Alston on February 12, 1835; Mary married Ralph L. Crume on July 1, 1837; Susan is said to have married Abner Harrison, but the date is not known.

The number of people in William Brumfield's family is clearly specified in the United States Census returns for 1820. Brumfield is listed as under 45 years of age, there were

two girls under 10, two girls between 10 and 16 and one woman under 45. There is no notation on the census of any woman in the family over 45 which would imply that Bersheba Lincoln, who is supposed to have been living with her daughter, was already dead by this time. It is also true that there was no elderly woman listed in 1810, when William entered but his wife and two daughters on the census report.

It is very difficult to harmonize these records with the story told about the age of "Granny" Lincoln, who is said to have lived to be 110 years old and did not pass away until 1836. If she was born in 1726 and her husband, the pioneer Abraham Lincoln was born in 1744, she would be 18 years his senior. Furthermore she would have been fifty-four years old when her youngest daughter, Nancy was born.

Aged Bersheba Lincoln's youngest daughter, died in 1845 and an old tombstone in the Mill Creek burial ground, placed over the grave of Abraham Lincoln's Aunt Nancy, carries this inscription: "Nancy Brumfield/wife of/William Brumfield/Departed this/Life October/9, 1845 at 7 o'c eve./aged 63-6-14."

William Brumfield survived his wife, and his will was signed on July 8, 1857. He had made another will in 1854 which he declared null and void, and in this last will and testament made his daughter Lucretia Alston his beneficiary, leaving her his 160 acre farm with this provision: "that the said Lucretia Alston take care of me and support me in a decent and respectable manner." The will was probated on September 2, 1858.

The Four Brumfield Daughters

Brief reference to the four daughters of William and Nancy Brumfield might be of interest. We have observed that Lucretia and her husband resided at the old homestead on Mill Creek. Ralph Lincoln Crume, the husband of Mary, was her first cousin. He was the son of Ralph and Mary Lincoln Crume, who lived in Breckenridge County. It appears as if Ralph Lincoln Crume and his wife, Mary Brumfield Crume, lived on Mill Creek as the following writing will confirm.

"Articles of agreement entered into between Samuel Haycraft of one part and Ralph L. Crume of the other part, both of Hardin County Kentucky. The said Samuel Haycraft has this day leased and rented to the said Ralph L. Crume from the first day of February last to the 10th day of March, 1846, two fields or lots of enclosed ground on the tract of 400 acres on Mill Creek encluding Haynes Lick owned by the said Haycraft and wife, being the same fields on which William Brumfield lately held a lease which expired on the first of February last."

Ralph's wife is buried in the old Milk Creek cemetery and this inscription is found on her tombstone: "Mary Crume/Departed this/Life June 15, 1851/aged 58 yrs 5/months and 11 days."

Some traditions extant, claim that Susan, another daughter, never married, but there is a large family of Harrisons who claim to be her descendants and affirm that she married Abner Harrison. One of her daughters, Elizabeth Francis Harrison, married John J. French and they had several children.

Several years ago the editor of the Kinsman discovered in Beaumont, Texas, an old family Bible which contained the records of the family of Elizabeth Brumfield Nall, the fourth daughter of William and Many Brumfield

Mary Brumfield.

On the pages of the old Bible set aside for the recording of births was the citation, "William Brumfield was born June 15, 1778. Nancy Linkhorn was born March 25, 1780. They were married February 12, 1801." Of course, it is interesting to note the way Lincoln is spelled in this old Bible, apparently spelled the way it was pronounced. The marriage date is also different from that which usually appears, indicating that it was several days after the marriage bond was issued, that the wedding actually took place.

The other family records on these pages are given over to the history of the Nall family into which one of the daughters of William and Nancy Lincoln Brumfield married. "William P. Nall was born September 23, 1798. Elizabeth Brumfield was born December 3, 1804. William and Elizabeth were married October 13, 1825." The birth dates of William P. Nall's parents are also recorded in the Bible as follows: "John Nall, Sr. was born July 22, 1772, Rebekah Slack was born June 3, 1778. They were married October 6, 1797."

The children of William and Elizabeth Brumfield Nall and the dates of their birth are: "Caroline, Oct. 2, 1826; Mary, Oct. 20, 1828; James L., May 10, 1830; William A., Feb. 5, 1832; Louisa, May 5, 1833; Minerva, Aug. 27, 1834; John G., Feb. 9, 1836; Horace F., May 17, 1837, Lloyd, Feb. 3, 1839; Sarah F., June

9, 1843; Nan. M., April 7, 1847."

Genealogical Table

The very fragmentary genealogical table which follows may serve as the background for some more ambitious undertaking which will give the family history of the four daughters of Nancy Lincoln Brumfield up to date, and also push back far enough into colonial history to discover the first American progenitor of William Brumfield, her husband.

a. Robert, ?-1790.

aa. William, m. Sarah?

ab. James, m. Johanna Berry

ac. Job, m. Elizabeth Salyerman

ad. Eda, m. a Prewitt

ae. Susan, m. a Richardson

af. Mary, m. a Prewitt

ag. Elizabeth, m. James Mitchell

ah. Sarah, m. ?

ai. Tabitha, m. ?

aba. Robert, m. Elizabeth Barlow

abb. Richard, m. Polly Pyburn

abc. William, m. Ann Lincoln

abd. James, m.?

abe. Samuel, m. Polly Pitman

abf. David, m. ?

abg. John, m. ?

abh. Rachel, m.?

abba. James, m. Abigail Daugherty abbb. Johanna, m. William Patterson

abbc. Samuel, m. ?

abbd. William, m. Martha Jane Mobley

abca. Mary, m. Ralph L. Crume abcb. Elizabeth, m. William E. Nall abcc. Lucretia, m. John Alston abcd. Susan, m. Abner Harrison



The Lincoln Kinsman

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Lincoln's Aunt Mary

THOMAS LINCOLN'S OLDEST SISTER AND THE CRUME FAMILY INTO WHICH SHE MARRIED

One of the best known poems, of the Hoosier poet, James Whitcomb Riley, is his "Aunt Mary." Abraham Lincoln of Spencer County, Indiana had an Aunt Mary living in Vermillion County, Indiana in the year 1830. She was Mary Lincoln Crume, oldest sister of Thomas Lincoln, the President's father, and wife of Ralph Crume, Junior.

A letter of thanks which is altogether in harmony with the Christmas season, was written by Abraham Lincoln to a member of the Crume family in December 1861, in which the President states that his Aunt Mary married Ralph Crume "nearly or quite sixty years ago." The letter is so permeated with the holiday spirit that it is worthy of presentation in full:

"Executive Mansion

"Washington, Dec. 4, 1861

"My dear Madam:

"I take great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of Nov. 26; and in thanking you for the

The Lincoln Kinsman for 1942

The most favorable reception given to the series of articles on Lincoln myths, presented during 1941, has encouraged the preparation of another series of related discussions for 1942. There are several people, often quoted as authorities in the field of Lincoln and Hanks genealogy, the accuracy of whose statements about Lincoln and his parents are of supreme importance. During the next few months the

reminiscences and testimonials of many of these people will be examined in the light of documentary evidence now available. Some of the individuals whose conclusions will be presented are: Charles Friend, Dennis Hanks, John Hanks, Jesse Weik, William Herndon, John L. Nall, Mrs. C. H. S. Vawter, Caroline Hanks Hitchcock and Dr. W. E. Barton.

A pair of socks so fine, and soft, and warm, could hardly have been manufactured in any other way than the old Kentucky fashion. Your letter informs me your maiden name was Crume, and that you were raised in Washington County, Kentucky, by which I infer that an uncle of mine by marriage was a relative of yours. Nearly, or quite sixty years ago, Ralph Crume married Mary Lincoln, a sister of my father, in Washington County, Kentucky.

"Accept my thanks, and believe me "Very truly,

"Yours forever,

"A. Lincoln

"Mrs. Susannah Weathers, "Rossville, Clinton County, Ind."

Daniel Crume

The early history of the Crume family in America begins with the story of Daniel Crume. He was born in Scotland, on September 1, 1680, and lived to be 108 years old. His wife's name was Elizabeth Brooks, who with her husband, migrated to America about the year 1700 and they became the founders of an exceedingly interesting family.

The first Crume homestead which we are able to identify was located in old Fredericks County, Virginia on some of the very land where the battle of Bull Run was to be fought.

It is not known that the Lincoln and Crume families were associated during their Virginia days, although they lived not far from each other in the Shenandoah Valley.

Philip Crume

Philip Crume, son of the pioneer Daniel, was born August 9, 1724. He married Margaret Weathers, in Virginia, on December 23, 1749. It will be observed that his wife's surname was the same as the name of the woman who presented Abraham Lincoln with the pair of socks. This association of names would suggest that there were other marriages between the Crume and Weathers families.

Apparently it was after the arrival of Philip Crume in Kentucky, that he married his second wife, Anna Barrett. To the first wife, Margaret Weathers Crume, there were born twelve children and to the second wife, Anna Barrett Crume, five children, making a family of seventeen children altogether. Their names and birthdates, as well as a few notations about them, are here made available, through the courtesy of Dr. George P. Crume of Minneapolis, who is a descendant of Philip's second son, Philip, Jr., who married Sarah Trot.

Ralph—b. Dec. 12, 1750, m. Mary

Riggs.

Philip—b. Aug. 1, 1752, m. Sarah Trot or Trout from Virginia, called Sallie. Philip died May 8, 1823.

Susannah—b. July 10, 1754, m. Eleazer Burkhead.

Mary—b. Mar. 15, 1756, m. Jesse Burkhead. Her descendants live at Mt. Washington, Ky.

Daniel—b. Jan. 27, 1758, m. Miss Dodson. Moved to Illinois.

Jesse—b. Jan. 6, 1760, m. (1) Miss Collins and (2) Miss Seifers.

Elizabeth—b. Apr. 19, 1762, m. James Harold. No children.

William—b. Apr. 2, 1764, m. ?. Two daughters lived at Poplar Flat then moved to Tennessee.

Moses—b. Feb. 27, 1766, m. daughter of William Marks. Moved to Ohio in 1803, died 1839. He was a Method-

ist minister and the last of 12 children to die.

Isaac—b. Apr. 7, 1769, m. ?. Died Feb. 7, 1791 in Virginia.

Sarah—b. Mar. 11, 1771, m. George Marks.

Eunice—b. Dec. 8, 1776, m. Michael Klinglesmith. Several children, lived in Hardin County. One son named Moses and one Daniel.

John-b. Nov. 26, 1789, m. ?, 11 children.

Margaret—b. June 5, 1791, m. John Ridgway.

Nancy—b. Dec. 20, 1792, m. Charles Jordon. Moved to Kansas, near Topeka. Reared 13 children, six boys and seven girls. She died in April 1854.

Keziah—b. Feb. 7, 1795, m. James Harvey.

Squire—b. July 17, 1798, m. ?. Reared 10 of 14 children.

After the death of Philip Crume, Sr., on April 20, 1801, his widow, Anna, married Jacob Marks, and to them were born three children: Thomas, James and Elizabeth.

There were forty-nine people in the group which migrated from Virginia to Kentucky about 1790, although it is evident that members of the family had preceded them, spying out the land and making land entries. They settled in Nelson County, at a point east of Bardstown, very close to what later became the Washington County line. The community where they established their homes was in a settlement called Poplar Flat, and now known as the town of Croakes.

Possibly it was Daniel, a son of Philip, Sr., who made the first visit to Kentucky, as we find him entering a 500 acre tract of land on "the South side of Beech Fork four miles above the mouth of Cartwright Creek" as early as May 27, 1780. This tract was in the same general community where the Crume family was to settle, in what later became Washington County. This Daniel Crume was a brother of Ralph Crume, who was the oldest son of Philip and who also settled on "the waters of Beech Fork."

In 1792 Daniel Crume listed for taxation in Washington County five horses, seventeen cattle, and 233 acres of land, and as late as 1796 he was listing practically the same amount of live stock and land. In the adjacent County of Nelson, in 1792, Ralph Crume, Daniel's brother, listed four horses, twenty-six cattle and 673 acres of land, and it is also apparent that there was one boy between 16 and 21 years old in this family. The first time we find the name of Daniel Crume directly associated with the relatives of Abraham Lincoln, is in 1796 when Crume's name appears on a road petition along with Mordecai Lincoln, brother of Mary and Nancy Lincoln.

Ralph Crume, Sr.

Among the seventeen children of Philip Crume, it is this Ralph Crume, just mentioned, in which we have special interest. His wife Mary's surname was Riggs. The first positive evidence we have of Ralph Crume's presence in Nelson County, Kentucky, is an order dated May 17, 1788 in which he was appointed a Captain of the Militia in the room of Thomas Cunningham, who had removed out of the state. As late as February 11, 1799 Ralph Crume was living on "the waters of Beech Fork" where he took up an estray horse and advertised it according to law, indicating by the date

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN FORMER ISSUES OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

OF THE LINCOLN KINSMAN

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that for about twenty years at least, he had lived not far from where the Lincoln family had settled in 1786, in the Beech Fork community.

As early as 1803 both Ralph Crume, Sr., and Ralph Crume, Jr., father and son, acquired land on the North Fork of Rough Creek in Breckenridge County, Kentucky. The community where they lived later became known as the Crume Settlement as is indicated by a road survey which was to pass through the senior Ralph Crume's farm. This settlement was in the southeastern part of Breckenridge County, not far from the Hardin County line, as the following road order indicates; "Ordered that Ralph Crume, Sr., be overseer of that part of the road leading from Elizabethtown to Hartford, from Hardin County line toward Thomas Kincheloes to wit from the said county line to the four mile tree on said road. Feb. 16, 1804." This order would imply that Ralph Crume, Sr., settled on the road from Elizabethtown to Hartford, a much traveled road in that day, and that he was living within four miles of the Hardin County line.

Ralph Crume, Sr., brought along with him besides his family, much of the livestock he had owned in Nelson County, as 11 horses were listed for taxation in 1815. Also he was in possession of one slave. It is evident that the 1250 acre tract of land which he owned in 1807, was later parceled out to the various children, as their land increased and his acreage continued to diminish. The number of slaves in his possession increased, however, and by 1826 he entered 6 slaves on the tax report.

Just how many people there were in this Crume migration from Nelson to Breckenridge County is not known, but in 1803 there was a Ralph Crume, Sr., a Ralph Crume, Jr., and a Charles Crume, all appearing on the Breckenridge County tax list and all over 21 years of age. The United States Census for Breckenridge in 1920 gives the names of four heads of families bearing the name Crume, and the number of persons in their home. The name of Ralph, Sr., appears, and what seems to be the names of three sons. A tabulation of this information follows: Ralph Crume, Sr.; 2 boys between 16 and 26, 1 man over 45, 1 girl between 16 and 26, 1 woman over 45.

Ralph Crume, Jr.; 2 boys under 10, 1 man between 26 and 45, 1 girl under 10, 1 woman between 26 and 45.

Charles Crume; 2 boys between 10 and 16, 1 man between 26 and 45, 3 girls under 10, 1 girl between 10 and 16, 1 woman between 26 and 45.

William Crume; 3 boys under 10, 1 man between 26 and 45, 1 woman under 26.

Ralph Crume, Sr., was dead by March 16, 1829, as there appears on this date a notation in the Breckenridge County order book which states:

"A writing purporting to be a writing from Mary Crume, widow of Ralph Crume, deceased, relinquishes her right of administration on the estate of her deceased husband was examined in court and duly proved by John Crume the subscribing witness and therefore on the motion of said James Barkley admis. is granted him on the estate of the said Ralph Crume, deceased, whereupon he took the oath required by law and with Ralph Crume, John Crume, Benedict Lucas, Levi Horseley and Polly Pyle securities. March 16, 1829."

Also in 1829 the name of "Widow Mary Crume" appears on the same tax list with Ralph Crume (Jr.) who now dropped the designation Jr. from his name. The widow Mary still lists for taxation the six slaves formerly owned by her husband, so we are sure it was Mary, the wife of Ralph Crume, Sr., instead of Mary, the wife of Ralph Crume, Jr., who had passed away.

James Barkley, Esq. made a motion in the Breckenridge County court that "William Haynes, John Skilman, Daniel I. Stephens and Robert Stephens or any three of them do allot to Mrs. Mary Crume, Widow of Ralph Crume, deceased, her dower in the lands and slaves which Ralph Crume, deceased, was possessed of."

The Widow Mary Crume survived until sometime just previous to May 20, 1839 as on this date John Crume went to Breckenridge court and "offered to administer the estate of Mary Crume deceased which was granted him." David L. Parent and Nathan Board were his securities.

It would appear from land transactions which occurred after the death of Ralph Crume, Sr., that his children were: Ralph, Jr., John, William, Rachel, Mary and Sarah and possibly Charles was his son, although his name does not appear on the recorded deeds.

Ralph Crume, Jr., married Mary Lincoln on August 5, 1801, William married Susannah Jones on August 5, 1805, John married Jane Kirkham on August 30, 1805, Rachel married Benedict Lucas, Mary or "Polly" married Thomas Pyle on March 10, 1812, and Sarah married Levi Horseley.

Ralph Crume, Jr.

The son of Ralph Crume, Sr., in which we have the most interest, is Ralph Crume, Jr., because he became the uncle by marriage to Abraham Lincoln.

It was on August 4, 1801 that Ralph Crume, Jr., married Mary Lincoln, in Washington County, and the name of Mordecai Lincoln, Mary's brother, appears on the marriage bond with Crume. Both Ralph Crume, Jr., and Mary Lincoln stated in the marriage papers that they were over 21 years of age. It is not known just how long they remained in Washington County after their marriage, but it appears as

if they went almost immediately to that part of Hardin County that later

on became Breckenridge.

It seems likely that Ralph Crume, Jr., was the first one of the family to migrate to Breckenridge County, Kentucky, as his name is found on the tax list for the year 1802. Apparently Ralph, Jr.'s father, Ralph Crume, Sr., and his family, followed him to Breckenridge County a year later.

Ralph, Jr., acquired land close to his father's in the Crume settlement on Rough Creek. William Crume, one of the sons of Ralph, Sr., died, and on October 15, 1812, Ralph, Jr., was appointed administrator of "his deceased brother's estate." Ralph, Jr., was also appointed guardian of William Crume's children: Silas, William, Mary and James. He began to settle his guardianship relations to William's children in 1820 and this important note appears on the Breckenridge County order book for January 19, 1829.

"James Crume, infant orphan of William Crume, being over the age of 14 years, came into court and made choice of John Skilman, Jr., as his guardian, Ralph Crume, his present guardian, being about to remove out

of this state."

This is our first indication of the intentions of the Ralph Crume, Jr., family to migrate. A court order somewhat later, however, implies that this migration also was a family migration. An order is recorded appointing John Crume as a road supervisor on November 21, 1831 and it refers to a road running by Ralph Crume, Jr.'s "old place" and Henry Pyles "old place." Pyles was a brother-in-law of Ralph, Jr.

It would be especially timely if we

were able to identify the children of Ralph and Mary Lincoln Crume, as these children were the first cousins of Abraham Lincoln. We know by the 1810 census that during the first ten years of their married life, Ralph and Mary had two boys and one girl, but how many other children were born to them later on, we do not know.

Just as this issue of the Kinsman was going to press the editor discovered the destination of the Crume migration which brought Abraham Lincoln's Aunt Mary Crume into Indiana. The 1830 census for Vermillion County, Indiana shows a Ralph Crume between forty and fifty years old as the head of a family and members of the family consist of a wife between forty and fifty years old, two men between the ages of twenty and thirty, and one girl between five and ten.

There is a tradition that William, a son of Ralph, Jr., married Louella Jones. There is a William Crume appearing on the Vermillion County census for 1830, who is between twenty and thirty years of age with a wife listed in the same age grouping. William and his wife also list two sons under five and one daughter under

five.

There was one son of Ralph and Mary Lincoln Crume, however, which we feel quite certain can be identified, and that son's name was Ralph Lincoln Crume, who on July 1, 1837 in Hardin County, married his cousin, Mary Brumfield, also a cousin of Abraham Lincoln. This is an instance where two of Abraham Lincoln's cousins married each other.

Sarah, one of the daughters of Ralph, Jr., and Mary Lincoln Crume married James Hasty. The name of James Hasty appears on the 1830 census of Vermillion County, Indiana, as the head of a family and he lists in this group one male and one female between twenty and thirty years of age, and one son under five. James and Sarah Crume Hasty had a son Ruben K. Hasty. The children of Ruben and his wife were Orlando, Fletcher, Alena, George, Gerra, Wesley, Grant, Sherman, Delferd. Scott Hasty and Lincoln Hasty are also related to this family.

One family tradition states that a daughter of Ralph, Jr., named Mary, married a Mr. Cox on September 19, 1825 in Breckenridge County. A Henry Crume became the guardian of two children, Mary and Cassandria Cox, but their parentage is not stated, neither is the place Henry occupied in the Crume genealogy known.

Still another family tradition names a man by the name of Hogston who is said to have married a daughter of Ralph and Mary Lincoln Crume. A descendant of this Hogston, James M. Hogston died on Lincoln's birthday, 1941, at the age of ninety-one years. There was an Ann Crume in Breckenridge County who married Charles Hoskinson on February 23, 1827.

With the discovery of the new location where the Crumes settled in Indiana, it is likely that we will soon be able to submit an accurate list of the children of Ralph, Jr., and Mary Lincoln Crume. The best we can do at present is to mention these names of their children as mentioned by tradition: Ralph L., William, Mary, Ann, Sarah and possibly one other daughter.

Notes on the Other Crume Families
In order to assist members of the

Crume family who may be working on their family history, these few random notes are made.

John Crume

John Crume, the brother of Ralph, Jr., does not seem to have removed from Breckenridge County for some time after Ralph, Jr., and his family left in 1829. By August 29 of that year he had already acquired 129 acres of land, once in the possession of Ralph, Sr., and after the death of his mother, was appointed the administrator of her estate. In 1831 he was appointed a road supervisor and other notations would imply he remained in Kentucky until about 1840, at least.

There were two John Crumes who moved to Missouri, one is said to have migrated as early as 1830 and settled in Lincoln County. This John is said to have been the son of Philip and was born in 1789, and was a soldier in the war of 1812. The other John, who migrated in 1840, may have been the son of Ralph, Sr., who married Jane Kirkham and settled in St. Joseph, Missouri. Dr. J. J. Crume of Amarillo, Texas is said to have descended from this branch of the family.

James Crume

This James Crume (1810-1886) was the son of William, brother of Ralph, Jr., who served as the guardian of James after the death of his father. When Ralph, Jr., moved to Indiana in 1829, James chose John Skilman, Jr., as his guardian. The names of James' brothers were Silas and William. His sister's name was Mary. James had a son Gholston H. Crume, born in 1846 and Gholston's son, W. H. Crume, now lives at Okmulgee, Oklahoma. Silas Crume, brother of James, married

Mary Moberly in Breckenridge County on April 6, 1827. There was a William Crume, possibly another brother of James, who married Mrs. Mary Ann Norris on July 27, 1837. Mary, a sister of James, noted as over 14 years old, chose William W. Crume, her brother, as her guardian on September 19, 1831.

Jesse Crume

This son of Philip and Sally Trot Crume married Mary Willett on November 4, 1802. There were eight children born to them. One son was named Griffith, who had a son Philip. This last Philip is the father of Dr. George P. Crume of Minneapolis.

Genealogical Table

There is no attempt to list in this compilation any of the Crume families that do not fall in direct line of Ralph Crume, Jr., who married Mary Lincoln.

First Generation

Daniel, 1680-1788 Brooks, Elizabeth

Second Generation

Philip, 1724-1801 Weathers, Margaret Barrett, Ann

Third Generation

Ralph, 1750-1829
Riggs, Mary
Philip, 1752-1823
Trot, Sarah
Susannah, 1754Burkhead, Eleazer
Mary, 1756Burkhead, Jesse
Daniel, 1758Dodson, Miss
Jesse, 1760Collins, Miss
Seifers, Miss

Elizabeth, 1762-Harold, James William, 1764-Moses, 1766-1839 Marks, Miss Isaac, 1769-1791 Sarah, 1771-Marks, George Eunice, 1776-Klinglesmith, Michael John, 1789 Margaret, 1791-Ridgway, John Nancy, 1792-1854 Jordon, Charles Keziah, 1795-Harvey, James Squire, 1798-

Fourth Generation

Ralph,
Lincoln, Mary
William, 1783-1812
Jones, Susannah
John,
Kirkham, Jane
Rachel,
Lucas, Benedict
Polly,
Pyle, Thomas
Sarah,
Horseley, Levi

Fifth Generation

Ralph L.,
Brumfield, Nancy
William,
(Jones, Louella)
Mary,
(Cox)
Sarah
Hasty, James
(Ann),
(Hoskinson, Charles)
(daughter)
(Hogston)



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John and Charles Hanks

TWO HANKS BROTHERS WHO DIFFERED ABOUT THEIR ILLUSTRIOUS KINSMAN'S HISTORY

Abraham Lincoln's mother died when he was but nine years of age. By the time he was eighteen, both his brother and sister were dead and before he had gained prominence enough to make his family connections of very much importance, his father had passed away. When he was nominated for the presidency and there was some demand for his family history there was no one who could assist him very much in tracing his line of descent. His stepmother, Sarah Bush Johnston apparently had no information about his mother's family and very little information about the forebears of Thomas Lincoln, whom she had married.

There was one person who was sought out immediately by historians and politicians alike and his name was John Hanks. He had already been introduced to biographers at the time of the Decatur Convention, when he brought the famous Lincoln

rails into the assembly which set the delegates afire for Lincoln. John was a relative of Abraham Lincoln's mother and he was immediately set forth as an authority on the early life and achievements of the "Rail Splitter." As this campaign proceeded John was persuaded to support the Republican ticket, although he had previously been a Democrat and apparently with some help came out with a printed statement about his political change of heart. Upon the appearance of this personal testimonial John's brother Charles, a loyal Democrat, also prepared some personal reminiscences for the competitive press in the same city which gave an entirely different picture of his kinsman, Lincoln. The statements of Charles Hanks aroused his brother John, and John wrote to Mr. Lincoln whose reply is the third of three interesting documents which are released in this issue of the Kinsman.

John Hanks' "Chronical" Article

"I have known him (Lincoln) for more than thirty years. In boyhood days we've toiled together; many are the days we have lugged the heavy oar on the Ohio, the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers together; many are the long cold days wε have journeved over the wild prairies and through the forest with gun and axe; and though it is now pleasant to refer to it well do I remember when we set out together in the cold winter to cut and maul rails on the Sangamon River in Macon County to enclose his father's little home and from day to day kept at work until the whole was finished and the homestead fenced in. We often swapped work in this way and yet, during the many years we were associated together as laborers sometimes flatboating, sometimes hog sometimes rail making and, too, when it was nearly impossible to get books he was a constant reader; I was a listener. He settled the disputes of all the young men in the neighborhood and his decisions were always abided by. I never knew a man more honest under all circumstances. Thus associated with Mr. Lincoln I learned to love him and when, in 1858, he was a candidate for the first time within my reach, against my feelings and, I may say, against my convictions my old party ties induced me to vote for Mr. Douglas. My Democratic friends all declared Lincoln was an Abolitionist. I heard him make a speech in Decatur just before the election and I could see nothing bad in it; but I was told by the party he was wrong and yet I did not see how he could be. They said I was a Democrat and must vote that way. My wife used to say to me that some day Abe would come out and be something great; I thought so too but I could not exactly see how a man in the lower walks of life, a day laborer and helplessly poor would ever stand much chance to rise very high in the world.

"At last, one day at home, we heard that the Republican State Convention was to be held at Decatur and that they were going for Abe for President. As soon as I found this out I went into town and told a friend of Abe's that great and honest merit was at last to be rewarded in the person of my old friend Mr. Lincoln of the Republican Party. I thought of the hard and trying struggles of his early days and recollecting the rails we had made together thirty years ago made up my mind to present some of them to that convention as a testimonial of the beginning of one of the greatest living men of the age, believing they would speak more in his praise that any orator could, and honor true labor more than the praise of men or the resolutions of conventions. On our way to get the rails I told the friend of old Abe that if Abe should be nominated for President I would vote for him; everybody knows he has been and I rejoice that I live to give this testimony to his goodness and honesty, and hope I shall live to vote for him for President of the United States next November. Is there anything wrong in this? Who ought to refuse to vote for as good and as great a man as he is? I know that in voting for him I vote with the Republican Party and will be considered as adopting its princi-

ples. As I now understand him I see no good reason why I may not do so; our own party is divided and we have no Solomon to tell who shall take the child. Slavery has divided the Democratic Party and nobody can blame Republicanism for the destruction that came upon us at Charleston. Slavery has disunited us-had united the Republican Party, and if there is any good about the question they have it all and we have the trouble. If I understand Mr. Douglas now, he occupies a position on the question just as distasteful to the South as Mr. Lincoln does—with this clear difference: The South seems to understand Mr. Lincoln's position better than his and to respect it a great deal more; and I am convinced that if Mr. Douglas does not reflect the nigger he does the mulatto, and one brings just as much in Mobile as the other and stands as high in the market.

"Many of my Democratic neighbors will say I have done wrong; but I know there are many who would do as I have done were it not that they do not feel willing to break away from party ties and encounter the talk of old friends. As long as I have old Abe to lead me I know that I shall never go very far from the right. Should he be elected President and find any trouble in steering his new boat he has only to remember how we used to get out of hard places by rowing straight ahead and never by making short turns. The tallest oaks in the forest have fallen by his giant arms; he still wields a tremendous maul; out of the largest timber he can make the smallest rails. I have seen him try a tough cut and fail once; in the second trial he never

failed to use it up. Though not a very beautiful symbol of honesty I think the rail a fitting one and mean to present Abe with one of his own make should he be elected, in the city of Washington on the day of inauguration to be kept in the White House during his administration.

"John Hanks"

Charles Hanks' "Magnet" Article

"Editor of the Magnet:—Dear Sir: In the last week's issue of the (Decatur, Ill.) Chronicle I noticed a letter signed 'John Hanks,' which is so extraordinary in many of its features that I feel called upon to give it a brief notice.

"John Hanks is my younger brother, and Abe Lincoln is my cousin. I have known both John and Abe from their earliest childhood. Since John has committed himself to the Decatur politican, who is using him as a tool to speculate in certain old rails (that I know cousin Abe never made,) I have great fears that brother John, like cousin Abe, has fallen into bad hands, and that a man by nature made for a good man, but who always needed protecting counselors, may be by his bad associations entirely ruined. I have known the entire history of both brother John and cousin Abe, and all that stuff in the letter published in the Chronicle is stuff, miserable stuff, and although poor brother John's name is signed to it, I know that he even yet does not know what is in it; much less did he ever write it. It is the work of men unscrupulous in the means that they may use in gulling honest people.

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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"In John's letter I find a long and pathetic allusion to cousin Abe's early and hard life. That may be poetical, but there is but little of it true. In Abe's young days he was simply a wild harum scarum boy, and jumping and wrestling were his only accomplishments. His laziness was the cause of many mortifications to me; for as I was an older boy than either Abe or John, I often had to do Abe's work at uncle's, when the family were all sick with the ague from eating watermelons, and Abe would be rollicking around the country neglecting them. In those early days we all saw hard times; yet a man who was energetic and industrious could dress himself comfortably, and have plenty of plain, good food to eat. I have often felt ashamed of cousin Abe in seeing him a full grown man, gadding around the country barefooted, with his toes outrageously spraddled out by the mud; and instead of his reading his books, as brother John, through the Decatur politician tells us, he would be rowdying around with a pack of wild young men. I well remember when he went courting one of Major Warnick's daughters, in this county, his boots were so miserable bad that his feet were

frosted, and he had to lay up at Major Warnick's, for two weeks, and have the old lady nurse and doctor his feet.

"I am fully persuaded that brother John is taking the strange course that he is now pursuing for the purpose of making a little money out of a rail speculation, and if I could for one moment think that the Decatur sharpers, in whose hands he has placed himself, would not cheat him out of every cent of the money, I would not spoil the speculation by telling the truth of the facts.

"The facts in regard to those rails are these: The little farm that John and Abe made the rails to fence contained ten acres. About five years after this little farm was fenced, the entire fence was burned up, to my certain knowledge, for I hauled the rails to fence it the second time. Lewis H. Ward, who-now resides in this county, witnessed the fire that burned the rails, and he is willing to make affidavit of this fact.

"I lived within two miles and a half of this Lincoln farm from the time it was first settled up to 1857, and during these early times our farmers were subject to being visited by devastating fires, and I know the fence around the Lincoln farm was consumed at least three times. And I know that after the Lincoln family had left the farm, that the fence was again burned, and that Shelt, Whitly and Daniel McDaniels made the rails and refenced it.

"I think, and I am almost certain, that the rails that are now being worshipped all over the North as Lincoln rails, were made by poor Bill Strickland, who is now poor, blind, helpless, and in the Macon county poor house,—and if these philanthropic Republicans would allow me to make them one suggestion, it would be to help poor Bill Strickland, who really did make the rails, and who is as honest as Abe or anybody else that ever mauled a rail, instead of spending their money over his rails.

"As to cousin Abe being the 'Honest Abe politician,' that is a new title for him.—When he first came to Illinois, I know that he was a strong Democrat. I always thought that he turned Whig afterwards because he had settled in a whig district.—And when I heard him in 1856, in the court house at Decatur, make a speech, in which he asserted that he would continue to 'agitate the subject of negro slavery so long as was heard the crack of the lash upon the yellow girl's back,' I did not feel like he was either very honest or very patriotic, for I supposed that he said that for the purpose of catching abolition votes.

"I know that cousin Abe cared nothing about cutting the throat of the old Whig party the very moment that he supposed he could make anything by building up a new party. And I never supposed that he cared one cent as to what the principles of the new party should be, only so it was fixed that he could get office.

"Now, as to cousin Abe's running flatboats, that amounts to just this: Some young fellows had cut a raft to run down from Jimtown, and Abe, for the fun of the thing, went along instead of staying at home and attending to his own work, that was needing him very much. That is the extent of his flatboating.

"If Cousin Abe can honestly get a good office, I want to see him do so; but these abominal lies that are being told on him by politicians who pretend to be his friends, I repel as a family insult.

"In my own homely way, I have told the above as it occurred, for the benefit of my honest neighbors and acquaintances, and I wish you to publish it just as it is. I may trouble you again.

"Charles Hanks"

Lincoln's Letter to John Hanks

Sometime after the above news item, over the name of Charles Hanks, appeared in the Decatur Magnet during the second week in August 1860, John Hanks wrote to Abraham Lincoln on August 23 and probably enclosed a clipping of the Charles Hanks article. The following day Lincoln wrote to John, giving him not only the story of his association with Charles Hanks but indirectly some information about his acquaintance with John himself. Probably John did not get much satisfaction from the note because of the request at the conclusion of the letter in which Lincoln wrote, "Don't let this letter be made public by any means." Possibly this letter will be made public for the first time to many readers of the Kinsman. It follows:

"Springfield, Ills. Aug. 24, 1860 "John Hanks, Esq.

"My dear Sir:

"Yours of the 23rd is received. My recollection is that I never lived in

the same neighborhood with Charles Hanks till I came to Macon county, Illinois, after I was twenty-one years of age. As I understand, he and I were born in different counties of Kentucky, and never saw each other in that State; that while I was a very small boy my father moved to Indiana, and your father with his family remained in Kentucky for many years. At length you, a young man grown, came to our neighborhood, and were at our house, off and on, a great deal for three, four, or five years; and during the time, your father, with his whole family, except William, Charles, and William Miller, who had married one of your sisters, came to the same neighborhood in Indiana, and remained a year or two, and then to Illinois. William, Charles, and William Miller, had moved directly from Kentucky to Illinois, not even passing through our neighborhood in Indiana. Once, a year or two before I came to Illinois, Charles, with some others, had been back to Kentucky, and returning to Illinois, passed through our neighborhood in Indiana. He stopped, I think, but one day, (certainly not as much as three); and this was the first time I ever saw him in my life, and the only time, till I came to Illinois, as before stated. The year I passed in Macon County I was with him a good deal-mostly on his own place, where I helped him at breaking prairie, with a joint team of his and ours, which in turn, broke some on the new place we were improving.

"This is, as I remember it. Don't let this letter be made public by any means.

"Yours very truly "A. Lincoln"

Some very important facts are made clear in this letter which are of much value in determining just how much these two brothers, John and Charles Hanks, knew about the early life of Abraham Lincoln. The letter clearly implies that Abraham Lincoln never saw either John or Charles Hanks during the Kentucky days. It also clearly implies that there were no contacts between the Thomas Lincoln and William Hanks families in Kentucky as they lived thirty-five miles apart when Thomas Lincoln married Nancy Hanks. It is evident that the children of these two families were never together Kentucky.

Charles Hanks' Reminiscences

Charles Hanks' reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln as a boy must have been confined to one day's observation when Abraham Lincoln was nineteen or twenty years old. Yet it was this Charles Hanks' statement that laid the ground work for much of the adverse criticism of Lincoln during the campaign of 1860. If John Hanks was used by the politicians, Charles certainly did not evade them. Charles did not only relate incidents in Lincoln's youth which he had no means of observing, but his comments on Lincoln's political affiliations and policies are amusing indeed.

It is evident that in the Magnet article Charles Hanks told a deliberate falsehood when he said he had known Abe from "earliest childhood" as Abraham was nineteen years old before he ever saw him. Charles makes some further claims about Lincoln as a "wild harum scarum boy" without the least firsthand

knowledge. His references to Lincoln as a rowdy is absurd and the courtship of Major Warnick's daughter is also without proof. Although Charles states Lincoln was once a Democrat, Abraham said that he was always a Whig in politics. Charles' ridicule of Lincoln's flatboating experience is anything but true.

John Hanks' Reminiscences

John was one of several children of William and Elizabeth Hall Hanks. He was born on February 9, 1802 near Bardstown and by the time he was four years old his parents had moved to Mumford's Ferry on Green River in what later became Hart County about thirty-five miles from where Abraham Lincoln was born three years later. John never saw any member of the Lincoln family until 1822 when he was twenty years old and Abraham Lincoln was thirteen. For about four years he lived in Indiana and was often at the Lincoln home. John went back to Kentucky in 1826 and by 1828 was in Illinois. When the Lincolns arrived in 1830 he was closely associated with Abraham for two years and that concludes his close contacts with the Lincolns, as Thomas Lincoln and his family moved to Coles County about this time and Abraham settled at New Salem.

The Herndon Interview

While John Hanks seemed to stick pretty close to facts in his article in the *Chronicle*, it was when he was interviewed by William Herndon several years later that he appeared to be reaching out beyond his field of knowledge. Possibly this interview may have helped him to stretch his imagination, especially when John

was invited to tell of his early association with the Lincolns. Inasmuch as the interview was written down by Herndon we do not have these statements over John Hanks' signature in John's own handwriting, but in the penmanship and apparent grammatical arrangement of Herndon.

Here is the first paragraph from the interview, for our observation: "I knew Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky. Abraham was known among the boys as a bashful, somewhat dull, but peaceable boy; he was not a brilliant boy, but worked his way by toil; to learn was hard for him, but he walked slowly, but surely. He went to school to a man by the name of Hazel; the school was but a short distance. Lincoln lived on the bank of Knob Creek, about a half-mile above the Rolling Fork, which empties into Salt River, which empties into Ohio River. Abraham Lincoln's mother and I were cousins. Abraham and I are second cousins. I knew Mrs. Nancy Lincoln, or Nancy Sparrow before marriage. She was a tall slender woman, dark skinned, black hair and eyes, her face was sharp and angular, forehead big. She was beyond all doubts an intellectual woman, rather extraordinary if anything. She was born in Mercer County, Kentucky, about 1780; her nature was kindness, mildness, tenderness, obedience to her husband. Abraham was like his mother very much. She was a Baptist by profession. . . . I knew Thomas Lincoln in Kentucky, knew him well."

It is difficult to account for these alleged statements of John Hanks because he makes three direct claims that are absolutely false.

1st. John did not know Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky and never met him until six years after Abraham left the state, so that all he says about Abraham's Kentucky days are from hearsay and not personal knowledge.

2nd. John was only four years old when Nancy Hanks married so he did not know her before her marriage, and he did not know her in Kentucky after her marriage, either. In fact she died four years before he ever met any members of the Lincoln family. The truth is he never saw Nancy Hanks Lincoln in his whole life, so he would be a pretty poor hand to describe her from any personal observation.

3rd. John Hanks did not know Thomas Lincoln in Kentucky at all, to say nothing of knowing him well, and his Kentucky home was thirtyfive miles from the Lincoln cabin. Abraham Lincoln clearly indicates in his letter that John's first visit to the Lincoln family was in 1822 in Indiana.

John Hanks made some statements to W. Herndon about the relatives of his father, William Hanks that must be considered as folklore as may be observed from his reference to some of his kinsfolk.

"My father and Lincoln's were born in old Virginia in what is called the Rappahannock River. We knew each other in Virginia; that is, the founders did. Abraham's mother was my first cousin. Abraham's grandmother was my father's sister. Abraham's grandfather and mother on his mother's side lived in Mercer County, Kentucky, about twenty miles south of Abraham's grandfather on his father's side, the one killed by the Indians, Dennis Hanks and I are cousins. Mr. Sparrow and Mrs. Sparrow never came to Illinois. They lived in Kentucky in Mercer County. Sparrow married my father's sister. Henry Sparrow was his name, lived and died in Mercer County, never came to Indiana. They came from old Virginia. All these families came from about the same county, can't say what county."

There is no evidence whatever that the Lincolns and Hankses knew each other in Virginia or that they lived anywhere near each other. John is also confused about the early residence of the pioneer Lincolns. John always contended that Henry Sparrow married a sister of his father's and that Henry Sparrow was the grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, concluding that Abraham Lincoln's mother was the daughter of Henry and his father's sister. Of course the marriage papers of Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks make impossible this relationship.

No one questions the qualification of John Hanks to speak with authority on what he may have observed in the Lincoln cabin home in Indiana over a period of four years from 1822 to 1826 when he lived not far away and also he could have observed Lincoln's activities in the Illinois country for about two years. What he says about the ancestry of both the father and mother of Abraham Lincoln and the history of Abe up until 1822 must be taken as secondary or hearsay evidence.

There is no doubt but what Abraham felt very kindly towards John if he did have reason to question the family loyalty of Charles.



The Lincoln Kinsman

Number 44

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February, 1942

James L. Nall

THE BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF A DESCENDANT OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S GRANDFATHER

Early biographers of Abraham Lincoln looked with much favor upon the conclusions of James L. Nall which appeared to be dependable information about the Lincoln family tree. Mr. Nall was a grandson of Nancy Lincoln Brumfield, the sister of Thomas Lincoln, and a great-grandson of the pioneer Abraham Lincoln, who was President Lincoln's grandfather.

It is not strange that with such a connection, Lincoln historians would rely explicitly on whatever Mr. Nall said about his Lincoln kinsfolk. However, he was not quite so closely related to the President and his family, as one implies from some of his notes. He was not a first cousin of Abraham Lincoln as is stated, but his mother was. He calls Thomas Lincoln his uncle, but Thomas was his mother's uncle.

He should have been in a position to know much about the Lincoln family because the widow of the old pioneer Abraham Lincoln lived in the home of his grandmother, Nancy Lincoln Brumfield. He was well qualified intellectually to attack the genealogical problem of the Lincoln family as the following biographical sketch of him from a Jasper County, Missouri newspaper clearly reveals.

"A well known citizen of Jasper county, at all times interested in the growth and prosperity of the county, is James L. Nall, born May 10, 1830, in Hardin county, Kentucky. He was educated in the public schools of that state and at the Elizabethtown Seminary, where he held for some time the position of assistant instructor in mathematics, a branch for which Mr. Nall, at an early age, showed special preference and in which he became very efficient. He taught a select school in Hardin county for ten years and after that for thirteen years was Deputy County Clerk and

County Surveyor, being elected almost unanimously to the latter office and filling both at the same time. In the years 1871-72 and '72 to '73 Mr. Nall represented his district in the Kentucky legislature, which office he filled with honor and to the satisfaction of his constituents.

"Mr. Nall came to Missouri in 1879, farmed for one year, then engaged in the agricultural implement business for several years, then in the coal business, and is now in the grocery business.

"Mr. Nall was married in 1856. He is a near relative of Abraham Lincoln, being a cousin and is the best acknowledged authority on the genealogy of the Lincoln family. He has written hundreds of pages for historians and his correspondence concerning Lincoln is very voluminous. He is given credit for being the best authority on Lincoln's biography. Hay and Nicolay in their life of Lincoln as published in the Century, entered into long correspondence with Mr. Nall and secured facts that had never before been published correctly. He has, on this subject, contributed to Sweeney's history, Oldroyd's history and Whitney's Memoirs of Lincoln. Mr. Nall is considered one of the very best men of the county."

Sweeney Information

It would appear as if many of Mr. Nall's historical contributions were composed at Carthage, Missouri. One of his letters was written in 1881 to W. H. Sweeney, an attorney at Louisville, who has already been mentioned as having received aid from Mr. Nall. An undated clipping in the files of the Lincoln Na-

tional Life Foundation contains the following information:

"W. H. Sweeney, a local attorney, has a letter from J. L. Nall, written in 1881, which throws considerable light upon the ancestors and early days of Abraham Lincoln, and, incidentally, tells how the future President came by his praenomen of Abraham.

"The letter was written from Carthage, Jasper County, Mo., and in part follows:

"'My brother, John G. Nall, has written me that you were interesting yourself in getting up historical sketches of the Lincoln family while they lived in Kentucky. In the outset I would say that I am the oldest grandson of Nancy Lincoln, who married William Brumfield. She was a sister of Thomas Lincoln, father of the President.

"In the spring of 1784, the President's grandfather, who was my great-grandfather, was sowing hemp seed near the fort, somewhere near what is now the corner of Fourth and Main streets, Louisville—so I have often heard my grandfather say—and while thus engaged an Indian slipped up and shot him dead. Thomas, the President's father, then 6 years old, was with his father in the hemp patch, and, at the crack of the gun, broke for the fort.

"The Indian, anxious to capture the boy, gave chase, and caught him near the fort, and started to run with the boy in his arms, when Mordecai Lincoln, Thomas's oldest brother, shot the Indian from the fort, and killed him. When the Indian dropped, he fell foremost upon the little fellow. The boy made a ter-

rible struggle, and got from under the dead body of the savage, and ran into the fort. Thus it will be seen how near the father of the future President came to a tragic end in his childhood.

"Thomas learned the cabinet maker's trade in Washington County, and worked at his trade in Springfield until he married Nancy Hanks, in the fall of 1806. He then went to farming, and farmed one year in Washington County. During that year a daughter, Mary Jane, was born, and I suppose it is the birth of this child which leads my venerable relative, Squire Thompson, to the belief that Abraham was born in Washington County. Lincoln, soon after the birth of the first child, moved to Nolin, near Hodgenville, in what is now Larue County. Here, on the 12th of February, 1809, Abraham was born.

"'I have this from my father and mother, who then lived in Hardin County and also from Abraham Enlows, who was living in the neighborhood at the time, and died after Lincoln became President. Enlows said he happened to be passing Thomas Lincoln's home just at the time his wife was confined, and he, seeing Enlows, rushed out and asked him to go after a midwife in a hurry, which he did, and always claimed that the President was named for him as a token of appreciation of his services on that memorable February day.

" 'J. L. Nall'."

The correspondence with Mr. Sweeney of Louisville, reproduced above, was carried on in 1881, two years after Mr. Nall left Kentucky. In this letter he claimed that

the story about the massacre of the pioneer Lincoln had been told to him by his grandfather, William Brumfield. Mr. Nall does not at this time mention the name of the pioneer Lincoln or the name of his wife. He places the scene of the massacre near the corner of Main and Fourth streets in Louisville. The physical surroundings at this location in the month of May 1786, the actual time of the massacre, would not have allowed this incident to have occurred there. The story of the massacre had appeared in part in many different forms, previous to 1881.

Another statement by Mr. Nall in the Sweeney correspondence elaborates on the naming of the infant Abraham Lincoln after a certain Abraham Enlow who is said to have gone for a mid-wife at the time of the child's birth. Mr. Nall claims that both his own parents and Mr. Enlow himself had told him of this incident. Apparently Mr. Nall did not know, in 1881, that Abraham Lincoln was named for his grandfather. Mr. Nall was also confused about the date of the marriage of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln referring to it as in the fall, when it was actually on June 12, 1806. He also was mistaken about the name of the President's sister which he called Mary Jane, when her name is known to have been Sarah.

Whitney's Biographical Sketches

Henry C. Whitney states that it was in 1892 when he secured his information about the Lincoln ancestry from his informant Mr. Nall. The following excerpts which refer to the paternal side of the family are taken from Whitney's Lincoln the Citizen:

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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"A more extended research than the great Emancipator was enabled to give, prosecuted by Hon. J. L. Nall, of Missouri, a grandson of Mr. Lincoln's aunt, Nancy Brumfield, reveals the following facts of genealogy to a moral certainty, viz:that one Samuel Lincoln came from England in the year 1637, also that he had a son named Mordecai, Sr., that he had a son whom he called Mordecai, Jr.; that he had a son John who emigrated to Virginia; and that he had a son Abraham, who was the father of Thomas-who was the father of our hero. The original Samuel had a brother John who came to America a little earlier, perhaps about 1633.

"The son, Abraham, migrated to the northwest part of North Carolina, to the waters of the Catawba River, where he married Miss Mary Shipley, by whom he had three sons, named, respectively, Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas; and, during or about the year 1780, emigrated with several families of the Berrys and Shipleys to Kentucky. . . . After settling in Kentucky, there were added to his family two daughters, Mary, who afterwards married Ralph Crume, and Nancy, who thereafter

married William Brumfield; and in 1784, while he was at work in the clearing, attended only by his youngest son, Thomas, the father of the President, he was fatally shot by an Indian. . . . Hon. J. L. Nall, a greatgrandson of the pioneer, and a grandson of his daughter Nancy, who married William Brumfield, avers that his ancestor settled at the present site of Louisville, and adduces in support of his statement the concurrent evidence of his greatgrandmother, the wife of the pioneer, and who lived to the great age of one hundred and ten years, and of his grandmother; also of his greatuncle, Mordecai Lincoln, all of whom he has heard talk of the subject frequently. . . . Mr. Nall writes 'My great-grandmother, Mary Shipley Lincoln, moved with my grandfather, William Brumfield, who married her daughter Nancy, to Hardin County, Kentucky, and lived the balance of her long life with them, and died, when I was a good big boy, at the age of one hundred and ten years."

Mr. Whitney also gives us Mr. Nall's theory about the maternal ancestry of Lincoln as revealed by Mr. Nall, in these words:

"Equally conclusive is the testimony of Hon. J. L. Nall, a grandson of Thomas Lincoln's sister Nancy, and by far the most intelligent archaeologist and genealogist of that branch of the Lincoln family which includes the President. He says absolutely, and with emphasis and circumstance, that Nancy Hanks was an orphan girl at a tender age, her father being a Hanks and her mother a Berry, daughter of old Richard Berry. The latter and Abraham Lincoln Sr. married sisters by

the name of Shipley, which made the President and his wife remote cousins, having the same great-grandfather and great-grandmother. Mr. Nall says specifically:

"'Nancy Hank's mother was a Berry, and she married a Hanks, who was the father of Nancy; he died in Virginia, and his widow married Sparrow, and Richard Berry raised Nancy. I had an uncle John N. Hill who died in Hardin County in 1883 at the age of one hundred years. He was one of the most intelligent and best posted men in Kentucky history I ever knew in my life, and this was his version of the relationship, as well as that of my grandfather William Brumfield and grandmother Nancy (Lincoln) Brumfield. Uncle Hill was not related to the Lincoln family, and, of course, had nothing to cover up or conceal. He lived in Washington County in his younger days, right by the side of the Lincoln and Berry family; and was at the wedding when Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married.' "

The more serious discrepancies in Mr. Nall's statements as to sources of information, appear in his reminiscences prepared for Whitney in 1892, eleven years after the Sweeney correspondence. He mentions that the family history of the Lincoln's was revealed to him by his grandmother Nancy Lincoln Brumfield. She died however, in 1845 when Mr. Nall was but fifteen years of age. Abraham Lincoln had not been elected to Congress by this time and it is not likely that there would be any occasion for Nall's grandmother to review the family connection with a certain Abraham, forty-five years before Mr. Nall related his reminiscences to Mr. Whitney. He thought his grandmother was born in Kentucky, but she was born in Virginia. He also recalled her reminiscence about her own observations referring to the massacre, but she was only six years old at the time.

Mr. Nall also wrote to Mr. Whitney that he had heard his great-grandmother talk about the massacre of her husband, the pioneer Lincoln, and that she "lived to the great age of one hundred and ten years." Mr. Nall further affirmed that when she died, "I was a good big boy." Tradition places the date of her death as 1836.

Mr. Nall evidently was mistaken in some respects about this greatgrandmother and I believe that he had her confused with his own grandmother who died in 1845. If we consider him a "good big boy" at six years of age in 1836 (he was born in 1830), it would place the birth of his great-grandmother 110 years earlier in the year 1726. Her husband was not born until 1744 and it does not seem reasonable that he married a wife eighteen years his senior. She would have been fiftyfour years old when Mr. Nall's grandmother, Nancy Lincoln was born. It does not seem Mr. Nall would have remembered very much great-grandmother had when he was but six years of age.

If we assume that the pioneer's wife was about twenty-one in 1770, when she married Lincoln, who was then twenty-six, and lived to be 110 years old, she would have been living when Abraham Lincoln, her grandson was nominated for the

Presidency, but no one has made such a claim.

Nicolay and Hay

When Nicolay and Hay published the Lincoln History in the Century Magazine, they made no mention of Abraham Lincoln's maternal grandmother, but before their ten volume work was ready for the press they had gotten in touch with Mr. Nall and made this notation:

"In giving to the wife of the pioneer Lincoln the name of Mary Shipley we follow the tradition in his family. The Hon. J. L. Nall, of Missouri, grandson of Nancy (Lincoln) Brumfield, Abraham Lincoln's youngest child, has given us so clear a statement of the case that we cannot hesitate to accept it, although it conflicts with equally positive statements from other sources."

Mrs. Hitchcock Correspondence

In the year 1895 Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who was compiling material for a history of the Hanks family, wrote to Mr. Nall who answered her first inquiry as follows: "Carthage, Mo Feb. 11-95

"C. Hanks Hitchcock

"Dear Sir

"In reply to your favor of the 6th inst I beg leave to say I am not posted as to the geneology of the Hanks family.

"About all I know is that Nancy Hanks wife of my Uncle Thomas Lincoln and mother of the President came from North Carolina and lived with her Uncle Richard Berry in Washington Co Ky until She married my uncle Thomas Lincoln on the 23rd of Sept 1806. Richard Berrys wife was a Shipley. I sup-

pose Nancys mother was Mr. Berry's sister as he was her uncle. Thomas Lincolns mother and Richard Berries mother were sisters, Both Shiplies.

"Dennis Hanks, a Nephew of Nancy lives at Charleston Ills and Suppose can give you valuable information, I also refere you to Charles Friend of Sonoro Hardin Co Ky who I think can aid you as I understand he has considerable correspondence in his hands from the family. I furnish you the above information freely and gladly and only wish I could furnish more, but have never made any researches along that line.

"I have the honor of being quoted as the best living authority on the geneology of the Lincoln family. I have made this a life study because of the pride I take in my Maternal Ancestors.

"You ask me if Thomas Lincoln married Lucy Shipley or Lucy Bery; he married Nancy Hanks as before stated, his father Abraham married Mary Shipley and Richard Bery married Lucy Shipley.

"I have been greatly imposed upon by men who were writing the life of Lincoln; I have written hundreds of pages at their request and now have their letters in which they say I have furnished them with valuable information they could have gotten from no other source and yet so far as I know not one of them has ever even done me the honor to give me credit or mention my name in his book, nor have any of them ever extended me the curtesy to even send me a copy of their work. I had quite a lengthy correspondence with H. C. Whitney 3 years ago, whose letters,

I now have, acknowledge valuable information received from me. He promised to make honorable mention of me in his book as 'having furnished most valuable information that could have been gotten from no other source' and would send me a copy of his work, this was the last I ever heard of the matter. Will you please inform me if he published the book.

"Yours Truly,
"J. L. Nall"

On September 24 Mrs. Hitchcock wrote to Mr. Nall again, this time about the Shipley family, his reply follows:

"Carthage Mo Sept 29-95
"Mrs Caroline Hanks Hitchcock
"Cambridge Mass
"My Dear friend

"In reply to your favor of the 24th ult. allow me to say; I know but little of the Shipley family. They came from North Carolina to Ky in 1780, from the same section that Daniel Boone came from. I have heard my grand mother speak of Thomas Sparrow as a relative on her mothers side, but have no family records I can refere to for verification. My grand mother was a daughter of Mary Shipley Lincoln and a sister to Thomas Lincoln, the father of the president.

"Yours Truly
"J. L. Nall"

When Mr. Nall began corresponding with Mrs. Hitchcock in the year 1895, he had changed his opinions about Nancy's relationship to Richard Berry and called him her uncle stating, "I suppose Nancy's mother was Berry's sister." Mr. Nall did

contend to the end however, that Richard Berry married Lucy Shipley and pioneer Abraham Lincoln married Mary Shipley, a sister of Lucy. That Mr. Nall became very much confused about the question of the Berry, Shipley, Lincoln, Hanks relationship, is quite evident, yet Nicolay and Hay were so impressed with his testimonial that they accepted his theory of the Shipley maternal ancestry of Thomas Lincoln and stated that they did not hesitate to accept the Nall tradition that Mary Shipley was the wife of the pioneer Abraham Lincoln.

Although Mr. Nall claims to have remembered conversing with great-grandmother, widow of the pioneer Lincoln, he was mistaken about her given name, which was Bersheba instead of Mary, as he called her. There is no support thus far that he was correct in calling her surname Shipley. Although the pioneer Richard Berry was his own great-grandfather, through the Brumfield ancestry, he did not know it, but he did think at one time that the pioneer Richard Berry was Nancy Hanks' grandfather, and he so advised Mr. Whitney.

Possibly the solution to Mr. Nall's confusion about these related families can be clarified by first showing how he was related to Richard Berry, who seems to be the key man in the picture. Richard Berry married Rachel Shipley (not Lucy Shipley). They had a daughter Johanna who married James Brumfield. James and Johanna had a son William, who married Nancy Lincoln, and one of their children was named Elizabeth. Elizabeth Brumfield married William E.

Nall and they became the parents of James L. Nall, the historian. It will be seen that Berry was Mr. Nall's great-great-grandfather. Richard Berry was the great-grandfather of Nancy Lincoln Brumfield's children. He was also an uncle to Nancy Hanks whose mother Lucy Shipley Hanks was a sister of Berry's wife, Rachel. There is no evidence that another sister, a Mary Shipley married pioneer Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Nall's Sources of Information

We trust that this investigation of the reliability of Mr. Nall's sources of information may not imply that he at any time purposely made false statements. The discrepancy which appears in his sketches have resulted from relying too much on the testimonies of others or confusing what he may have read with what he may have heard. Inasmuch as Mr. Nall moved to Missouri in 1879, after this date he would not be able to personally interview any of the Kentuckians contemporary with the Lincolns or engage in research in the Kentucky archives. Most of his historical documents were written after 1879.

It has been shown that Mr. Nall could not have been more than six years of age when his great-grand-mother, Bersheba Lincoln passed away, and it is safe to conclude he did not remember anything she ever told him. His grandmother, Nancy Lincoln Brumfield, died when he was fifteen and in his early writings he makes no claim she related any historical information to him as early as 1845 when she died. He may have

heard his grandfather William Brumfield make some statements about the Lincolns, as he lived until 1857, but this was three years before Abraham Lincoln's name came into prominence. Mr. Nall's own parents may have imparted some information to him after 1860, but he places little emphasis on their reminisences.

There are two sources which Mr. Nall implies that he drew upon for information, especially about Lincoln's maternal ancestry. One "my venerable relative Squire Thompson" and the other, "an Uncle John N. Hill," both of whom lived in Washington County when Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln were married. It will not be our purpose to investigate in this Kinsman their ability to speak authoritatively on the subject.

It is to be greatly regretted that Mr. Nall spoke with such assurance on the subject of Abraham Lincoln's ancestry, as the confusion which he caused has greatly delayed the attempt to discover the surname of the pioneer Lincoln's wife. Possibly a more serious obstacle to overcome is his reference to the Shipley family which does have a definite place in the history of Lincoln's lineage, but which has been discredited more or less by Mr. Nall's mistakes about the marriage affiliations of the Shipley daughters.

When a general survey of Mr. Nall's contributions are made it is difficult to find even one single fact which he contributed that had not already been mentioned by Lincoln himself or some biography written earlier than the date Mr. Nall released his information about the Lincoln family history.



The Lincoln Kinsman

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March, 1942

Dennis Friend Hanks

CHIEF INFORMANT OF WILLIAM HERNDON ON THE PARENTAGE AND ANCESTRY OF LINCOLN

An attempt is being made in the present series of contributions to The Lincoln Kinsman to learn, if possible, just how much of the source material contributed by the relatives of Abraham Lincoln might still be considered authentic. There is no attempt whatever to discredit anyone of the people mentioned, as far as his character and reputation is concerned, but to discover, if possible, just what were the sources of information on which various members of the family drew upon in making statements about their illustrious kinsman.

The Sources

Most of the information about the Lincoln family, as remembered by Dennis Hanks, is made available through the William Herndon collection of manuscripts. Dennis and John Hanks were in Chicago in the month of June 1865, within a few weeks after Lincoln's death, exhibiting the old log cabin which the Lincolns built on first coming to Illinois. Here Wil-

liam Herndon interviewed Dennis on June (6) and again on June 13. The interviews have been referred to as the First and Second Chicago Interviews. Dennis did no writing at this time but Herndon copied down what Dennis told him and wrote it in the first person as if Dennis had actually written it.

The name of Dennis Hanks appears in Thayer's *Pioneer Boy* published in 1863 where he was set forth as Lincoln's instructor in writing. Hanks was not pleased, as a whole, with Thayer's work, although he evidently relied much upon it to bolster up his own reminiscences of the Kentucky days.

One of the earliest letters was written to Herndon by Dennis Hanks on the day before Christmas in 1865. Some of the boyhood pastimes of Lincoln were related. Jesse M. Weik claims that at one time Herndon was in possession of at least fifty pages of data supplied by Dennis. On

Washington's birthday, 1866 Dennis wrote a letter to Herndon in which he told about his own origin and also attempted to answer several questions Herndon had put to him about Lincoln's mother and her kinsmen. Another letter written to Herndon on April 2, 1866 is possibly the most interesting document Dennis wrote, in that it is in Hanks' own handwriting and goes into some detail about Dennis' own family history and also the family connections of Abraham Lincoln's mother as far as he was informed. This letter is printed verbatim, in full, as it gives us some idea of the literary ability of one who claims to have been the President's first instructor.

"Aprial the 2d 1866

"Dennis F Hanks was Born in County on the tributary Hardin branch of the South Fork of Nolin on the old Richard Creal farm in the old peach orchard in a Log Cabin 3 miles from Hogins Vill thence we moved to Murcur County and Staid there a Bout 3 years and Moved back a gain to the same place and there Remained untill we moved to Spencer County, Indiana this was I think in the year 1816 if my Memory serves me Rite My mother and Abes mothers mother was sisters My mothers Name was Nancy Hanks Abes Grand Mother was Lucy Hanks which was mothers Sister the woman that raised me was Elizabeth Sparrow the Sister of Lucy and Nancy The other Sister hir Name was polly Friend So you see that there was 4 sisters that was Hankses

"I have No Letter from my friends yet I Dont No the Reason Billy did you write to William Hall in Missouri Frankford I think he coul tell you sumthing that would Be Rite He is my half Brother try him

"William I have seen a Book which states that Lincolns was quakers I say this is a mis take They was Baptist all this talk about their Religious talk is a humbug they try to make them out Puritans This is Not the case

"You asked me what sort of songs or Intress Abe tuck part in I will say this anything that was lively He never would sing any Religious Songs it apered to me that it Did not souit him But for a man to preach a Sermond he would lissin to with great Attention

"Did you find out from Richard Creal if He lived on the place A Lincoln was Born or Not I am gowing there in May to Visit my Birth place the 15th of May this is my Birth Day 1799 it has been 48 years sence

"Anything you want to No Let it cum "your friend "D. F. Hanks

"My first School Master was By the Name of Warden taught school at the old Baptist Church on Nolin nere Brunks farm at the Big Spring Down in a Deepe Hollow Close By the House."

The politicians did not overlook Dennis Hanks any more than they did John and Charles Hanks, as revealed in the last issue of *The Kinsman*. The Illinois State Register of October 4, 1866, printed a long letter signed by Dennis Hanks but evidently not composed by him, in which Dennis hoped that the friends of Lincoln, "will not only cast their ballots, but will exert all their influence against the miserable combination of fanatics, charlatans and plunderers, who, under the name of the Union Radical Party, are now attempting to rob Mr. Lincoln,

of his good name and our country of liberty."

Jesse M. Weik tells of an interview he had with Dennis Hanks at Charleston, Illinois in 1886. The feature of this interview, it would appear, was a more complete elaboration on the nativity of Abraham Lincoln, which Dennis was trying to recall after seventy-five years had passed.

It was in January 1889 when Eleanor Atkinson visited Dennis Hanks and he was then ninety years old, yet she secured enough information from Dennis to write a book on *The Boyhood of Lincoln*. It is this book which has popularized the story of Dennis Hanks' visit to the Lincoln cabin when Abraham was born and many other bits of untenable folklore.

Possibly one of the last persons to interview Dennis Hanks was Eleanor Gridley who visited him when he was ninety-two years of age and living with his daughter, Mrs. Nancy Schoaff at Paris, Illinois. Mrs. Gridley was so impressed with the disparaging way Dennis spoke about Mr. Lincoln that she later put the question to one of the relatives, "Did not Dennis Hanks ever speak kindly or admiringly of Mr. Lincoln?" It was their opinion that he had been more generous in his attitude toward Lincoln earlier in life.

Dennis Hanks' Dependability

Jesse M. Weik who collaborated with William Herndon in their joint historical project and who later wrote a book on *The Real Lincoln* states that John and Dennis Hanks were "the two most competent of all the witnesses who have thus far attempted to enlighten us regarding the question of Lincoln's family descent. Their

recollections largely in their own handwriting were recorded within a year after Lincoln's death, and notwithstanding all that has been said and written on the subject since then, their testimony remains practically uncontradicted."

Herndon wrote to Lamon on February 24, 1869 this reaction towards Dennis Hanks' integrity. "I have no confidence in Dennis Hanks," and a year later in a letter to Lamon on February 27, 1870 Herndon stated "Dennis Hanks would go a mile out of his way to lie." These statements have a tendency to shake one's confidence not only in Hanks, the chief informant about Lincoln's early years, but especially in the author, Herndon, who was willing, regardless of the alleged untruthfulness of Hanks, to accept most everything that Dennis wrote.

Notwithstanding Herndon's testimony about the unreliability of Dennis Hanks' statements, Lamon, the first author to use Herndon's manuscripts, states "Of all the contributions to Mr. Herndon's store of information, good, bad, and indifferent, concerning this period (youth) of Mr. Lincoln's life, Dennis is the most amusing, insinuating and prolific."

Beveridge, another author who used the Herndon papers has this to say about the dependability of Dennis Hanks' reminiscences: "Aside from his boastfulness and championship of his clan, his statements are accurate. Luckily it is easy to distinguish between fact and imagination in his letters and interviews." Possibly some authors without preconceived notions about the Lincoln genealogy would find it rather difficult to distinguish

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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between the all-important facts and the flights of imagination which seem to be so easily identified by Beveridge.

One will probably come to this conclusion after viewing the testimony of Dennis Hanks, that while he always seemed to be speaking with authority there were some questions which he discussed, about which he had no means of securing first-hand information. There were other occasions when he was evidently very much confused, and there were still other facts which were indelibly impressed upon his mind by personal observation and which he recited as accurately as anyone could, relying upon memory.

The Lincoln Ancestry

Possibly we should observe first of all just what information Dennis released about Abraham Lincoln's paternal ancestry, and how correctly informed he was about certain statements which must have come to him from someone else.

Herndon said: "In the matter of genealogy etc., character etc., chastity etc., of the Hanks-Lincoln-Sparrow family, I am satisfied that John Hanks nor Dennis Hanks knew much about it. . . . I doubt the whole geneaoligy of the Lincoln family etc."

In what has been termed his Second Chicago Statement, Dennis makes these positive affirmations about the Lincoln family and the testimony is broken up into short statements in order that each separate declaration may be commented upon. The claims of Dennis are in quotations while the comments of the editor follow in italics.

"Ancestors of Mr. Lincoln came from England about the year 1650."

They actually came in 1637.

"They first settled in Buckingham County in the State of Virginia and not in Pennsylvania as stated in Abraham Lincoln's biographies."

They settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, migrated to New Jersey, thence to Pennsylvania—thence to Augusta, later Rockingham County, Virginia.

"Ancestors of Lincoln family were Scotch English."

They were English.

"Two men came from England about 1650, one of these brothers was named Mordecai and the other Thomas."

The two brothers were Samuel and Thomas.

"These two men were Ironside Baptists."

They were Puritans.

"One of the children of these men was named Moredcai—the son of Thomas."

Mordecai was the son of Samuel.

"I think that this Mordecai was the great-great-grandfather of President Lincoln."

He was the great-great-great-grand-father.

"He was born in Virginia."

He was born in Massachusetts.

"And died about 1700."

Died in 1727.

"Abraham Lincoln, Sr. the son of Mordecai."

The son of John.

"Came with his family from Virginia to Kentucky about 1780."

1782 to be exact.

"Mordecai was the father of Abraham's grandfather."

John was the father of Abraham's grandfather.

"Mordecai had six children, four boys and two girls."

John had eight children, five boys and three girls.

"Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather, had three sons, Mordecai, Abraham and Thomas."

The sons names were Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas.

"Thomas Lincoln, Abraham's father, was born in the state of Virginia, on the Roanoke about 1775."

Thomas Lincoln was born in Rockingham County, 1776 over 100 miles from the Roanoke.

"So remains now of old, Thomas Lincoln's children, boys, three, Mordecai, Thomas and Silas. The children of Silas scattered, some in Kentucky, some in Tennessee, some in North Carolina—and Thomas came to Indiana."

All confusion about both places and people.

It is interesting to observe that Dr. William E. Barton who seemed to be so enthusiastic about the contributions of Dennis Hanks, failed to endorse in hardly a single instance the genealogical statements made by Dennis on the Lincoln paternal ancestry, but contradicts practically every asser-

tion Dennis made about the Lincoln forebears back of his grandfather.

Abraham's Father

Dennis knew little more about the President's father's early life than he knew about the Lincoln ancestry, although he lived with him for several years. After stating that Thomas was born about 1775 he claimed Thomas married about 1808 at the age of twenty-five. Dennis was only eight years off in a common problem in addition which reveals that much of his information was pure guess-work without any attempt to be consistent.

Dennis knew Abraham was born in 1809 and that he had a sister two years his senior, yet he places the marriage of Lincoln's parents in 1808. Thomas Lincoln was born in 1776 and married Nancy Hanks in 1806, hence he was thirty years old when he married.

Dennis was just as ignorant of Thomas Lincoln during his married years in Kentucky as he was with reference to some of the vital statistics about him. He wrote to Herndon about Thomas Lincoln's physical and economic disabilities during the Kentucky residence, of which he had no first-hand knowledge whatever, and spoke about Thomas Lincoln's thirty acres of land when he is known to have been in possession of more than 600 acres at one time.

Dennis was just as confused about Thomas Lincoln's real estate in Indiana as he was about the Kentucky home, as he claims Thomas Lincoln lost the \$80 he put into his Indiana farm, whereas the records at Indianapolis clearly indicate, that in 1826 he relinquished to the government 80 acres of his own 160 acre tract to com-

plete payment on the best one-half of his land.

Without doubt much of the information which Dennis gave to Herndon about Thomas Lincoln in his Chicago interviews was secured from a reading of Thayer's Pioneer Boy. Although Dennis claimed that Thomas Lincoln had but thirty acres of land, he sold it for \$300 in whiskey, this was the Thayer version. Dennis also told the story of Thomas Lincoln's flatboat trip to Indiana which was evidently another story borrowed from Thayer, as well as the story of Thomas losing most of his tools and some of his whiskey in the river. Dennis again depends upon the same source in telling the story of the half-faced camp, or as he called it a "two-faced camp." The whole half-faced camp story was "two-faced," but the cabin that Thomas Lincoln built had four sides like any other cabin, and Dennis was not in Indiana during the first year or more that the Lincolns lived there to witness any such residence in a half-faced camp which he alleged took place.

The President's Birth and Childhood

Dennis Hanks has always posed as the chief informant about Abraham Lincoln's birth and childhood. One of his favorite stories had to do with his visiting the Lincoln cabin at the time of Lincoln's birth. He says in the First Chicago Statement to Herndon: "I was ten years older than Abraham and knew him intimately and well from the day of his birth to 1830; I was the second man who touched Lincoln after birth, a custom in Kentucky then of running to greet the new-born babe."

The story appears in more detail in Eleanor Atkinson's book where she takes the reminiscences of Dennis, then ninety years old, and gives a picture of the nativity of Abraham Lincoln from which these words of Dennis are taken:

"I ricollect Tom comin' over to our house, one cold mornin' in Feb'uary an' sayin' kind o' slow an' sheepish: 'Nancy's got a boy baby.' Mother got flustered an' hurried up her work to go over to look after the little feller, but I didn't have nothin' to wait fur, so I jist tuk an' run the hull two miles to see my new cousin. . . . You bet I was tickled to death. Babies wasn't as plenty as blackberries in the woods o' Kaintucky. Mother come over an' washed him an' put a yaller flannen petticoat an' a linsey shirt on him, an' cooked some dried berries with wild honey fur Nancy, an' slicked things up an' went home. An' that's all the nuss'n either of 'em got. . . . I rolled up in a b'ar skin an' slep' by the fireplace that night, so I could see the little feller when he cried, and Tom had to git up an' 'tend to him. Nancy let me hold him purty soon."

Here is Dennis' description of the Lincoln farm. "Thomas Lincoln, the father of Abraham, owned about 30 acres in Hardin County, on a little creek called Knob Creek which empties into Rolling Fork. He owned the land in fee simple. After the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Sparrow (Hanks) say in three or four years, Abraham Lincoln was born at that place. The cabin was a double one with a passage or entry between."

It is probable that Dennis confused the birth of Abraham Lincoln with the birth of James Friend, a cousin, one of Polly Hanks Friend's children, who was born in 1811 in a cabin but one-half mile from where Dennis was living. It is true the Lincolns, at the time of Abraham's birth, were not living more than a mile and a half away, but it is evident from Dennis Hanks' Chicago Statement that he did not know the Lincolns were living so close to him, as he identifies the Knob Creek farm ten miles away as the birthplace of the President and ten miles would be a pretty long way for a ten year old boy to run all alone to greet a new-born babe.

Not only did Dennis claim to have arrived at the cabin shortly after Abraham was born, but he also is said to have saved Abe as a small child from drowning on one occasion, but apparently he has confused his beneficence with the deed performed by Austin Gollaher. Dennis also claims in the Chicago interview, "I taught Abe his first lesson in spelling, reading, and writing. I taught Abe to write with a buzzard's quill." Yet in the same interview Dennis says "A man by the name of Hazel helped to teach Abraham his ABC, spelling, reading and writing, etc." and still in another place Dennis exalts Abraham's mother's intellect. We wonder if Abraham's mother, and his sister, Sarah, two years his senior, did not have a hand in his early education, especially when Dennis lived ten miles away.

It appears as if Dennis largely drew upon his imagination for practically all the relationships he had with the family of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln in Kentucky. He claims there were but two children born to Thomas and Nancy, when in reality there were three. There was a son named Thomas, about two years younger than Abraham. Dennis has no memories of running to greet this new baby boy to fulfill a Kentucky custom, and after trying to recall the incident fifty years later he might easily have confused the birthdays of two Lincoln children, although he knew of but one son born to the Lincolns.

Dennis is also uncertain about the trip of the Lincolns from Kentucky to Indiana. At one time he seems to have accompanied them and then again they went first and he followed a year or so later. He tries to tell as personal reminiscences some stories of events which occurred in Spencer County, Indiana upon the Lincoln's arrival but he was not there and we might safely say that he probably had no vivid memories of Abraham Lincoln until about the time he came into the Lincoln home to live after the death of Abraham's mother in 1818.

The Mother of Lincoln

The testimony of Dennis Hanks is most severely questioned when he attempts to give some information about the Hanks family tree. Granted that he should be able to speak with a little more authority about the family of his own mother than about the family of Abraham Lincoln's father, it is just here that Dr. Barton claims that in all the details but one he is absolutely correct, but that in just one instance he "waded knee-deep in falsehood" and "lied like a gentleman." Lamon, Herndon and Beveridge all agree that he deliberately set out to falsify the story of the parentage of Nancy Hanks by calling her Nancy Sparrow, yet in every other instance the story he told about the Hanks relationship was true. The following writing by Dennis illustrates how closely Herndon questioned Dennis about the parentage of Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks or Nancy Sparrow, as Dennis called her.

"Friend William those questions is Mity Easy to Answer.

"1st, Who was the mother of Nancy Sparrow?

"Now this is Abes mother you are asking a Bout. It was Lucy Hanks first and Next Lucy Sparrow My Ant.

"2nd What was Miss Nancy Sparrow's father's Name?

"It was Henry Sparrow. Lucy Hanks was his wife, the mother of Abes Mother and My Ant.

"Did Mister Sparrow and his wife have any children except Nancy Sparrow?

"I answer yes they had 8 children, 4 sons and 4 daughters. James, thomas Henry, George: girls Sally, Elizabeth, Nancy, all born in Mercer county, Kentucky.

3rd. Who did Jesse Friend Mary?
"He married My ant polly Hanks,
Abes mothers ant. Thomas Sparrow
married Elizabeth Hanks, A Lincoln's
ant, sister to Henry Sparrows wife
Lucy Hanks; this is their first name.

"Who did Levi Hall mary?

"He married My Mother, Nancy Hanks which was Lucy Hanks Sister, Henry Sparrows wife, Abes grand Mother.

"4th. Was you raised by Charles Friend or Thomas Sparrow?

"I was raised by Thomas Sparrow on the Little South Fork of Nolin Kentucky.

"5 Was thomas Sparrow Mr. Lincoln's Mothers father?

"I answer No Kin at all."

Although Dennis was cross-examined time and again with respect to the parentage of Lincoln's mother, he never changed his statement about her name being Sparrow and some of the early biographers use this version. In one reply to Herndon in trying to explain why she was called Sparrow, Dennis said, "If you call hir Hanks you make hir a Base born child which is not trew." Dennis was correct about the names of the sisters of his own mother, who also was named Nancy Hanks, but he would not be expected to have very much information about the single or marriage state of a Lucy Hanks, supposed to have been a sister of his mother, who had a child fifteen before Dennis was Whether she had been married one, two or three times would hardly have been important to a growing boy.

What conclusions can we safely draw with respect to the Dennis Hanks' testimony gathered by Herndon, Weik, Atkinson, Gridley and others? As a genealogist it is very evident that his testimony is of no value, except as he may have known some of the relatives with whom he lived. With respect to the Lincoln family, up until the time of Lincoln's mother's death, he had no first-hand knowledge which would be remembered for fifty years and this goes for the Lincoln birth scene, too.

The only place where the testimony of Dennis is of any value is with respect to the boyhood days of Lincoln between the ages of nine and twenty-one, when for three or four years he lived in the Lincoln cabin with Abraham and for the next nine years not far away in the same county.



The Lincoln Kinsman

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CHARLES FRIEND'S NOTES

HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH WILLIAM HERNDON AND LINCOLN'S RELATIVES

The chief sources of information originating with the Hanks relatives of Abraham Lincoln came from John Hanks, Charles Hanks, Dennis Friend Hanks and Charles Friend. The reminiscence of the first three informants has been discussed in previous issues of the Kinsman and now we have before us the testimony of Charles Friend. The first three mentioned witnesses were contemporaries of Abraham Lincoln and part of what they remembered was from personal observation. Two of these three men, John and Dennis, were interviewed by William Herndon and through him much of what they reported was made known to the public.

Little attention has been paid to the collection of folklore and tradition about the Hanks family and Abraham Lincoln's paternity gathered by Charles Friend, although what he had to say about the parentage of the President was given serious consideration by Robert Todd Lincoln, and the secretaries of the President, Nicolay and Hay.

Although Charles Friend was about forty years younger than Dennis and John, and represents the generation associated with the children of the President, Herndon also interviewed Charles and had considerable correspondence with him over a period of twenty years or more. Charles Friend lived long enough so that the editor of the *Lincoln Kinsman* also had the opportunity of interviewing him. The Lincoln National Life Foundation has copies of several letters which passed between him and both Herndon and Nicolay.

Charles Friend was twenty years of age when Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States but he was not born until thirty-two years after the birth of Abraham Lincoln. He may be considered nothing more than a gatherer of family and community reminiscenses. Certainly he had no firsthand evidence

on anything he wrote about the Kentucky Lincolns whom apparently he had never seen.

Although Friend had no personal contacts with Abraham Lincoln, he did live most of his life in the county where the President was born. Here he recorded the gossip of the community much of which was not fit to print and most all of it he made available to William Herndon.

Early Correspondence with Herndon

It is apparent from the first letter which William Herndon wrote to Charles Friend on February 6, 1866, that the correspondence between the two men was begun by Herndon. He introduced himself as the law partner of Lincoln for twenty years and asked Friend, "Will you correspond with me a few times in relation to Mr. Lincoln and his family?" and he then put these questions to him:

"Where did the Lincolns come from and how did they write their names 80 years ago.

"Did the Lincolns ever live in Pennsylvania? Did they come from England to Virginia or Pennsylvania. Were they Quakers or british.

"What County did Abram Lincoln's grand father settle in in Ky. Bullit or what County. About what year did he die.

"When Was Ab'm. Lincoln, Pres'd't, born—how far from Hodgenville,—what direction from Tenn. Did Thomas Lincoln live on one or two farms after the birth of A. Lincoln. What made Thomas Lincoln leave Ky.—was it slavery—was it poverty—was it for some offence.

"What County in Va. did the Hanks and Lincolns come from and what year and where did they first settle?"

Friend immediately replied to this letter but apparently failed to answer the many questions propounded. He did however, put some questions to Herndon and we are fortunate in having a copy of the Herndon reply in which Friend's questions are answered. The letter follows in full.

"Springfield, Ill. Feb. 15, 1866. "Mr. Friend.

"My Dear Sir:

"Your kind letter dated the 12th of this month handed to me and for which I am much obliged. I thank you for your promptness. You ask me some questions. Who was Dennis Hanks' mother? She was the sister of Thomas Lincoln's first wife and Mother of A. Lincoln, President. Her maiden name was Nancy Hanks. Called Nancy Sparrow. A. Lincoln and Dennis Hanks as I understand it are cousins.

"The father of Mrs. Lincoln, Abms. mother—was named Henry Sparrow and his wife's name was Lucy Sparrow. This information will give you the clew to all I want it is hoped. If it does not please write to me and I will write to Hanks and see if he knows more.

"Your friend, "W. H. Herndon."

This reply of William Herndon to Charles Friend is of very great importance in consideration of what followed. As late as the date of the letter just quoted, February 15, 1866, Herndon was under the impression that the mother of Dennis Hanks and the mother of Abraham Lincoln were sisters and he so wrote Charles Friend. Herndon knew that Lincoln's mother was named Nancy Hanks and it was known that Dennis Hanks' mother

was also a Nancy Hanks which made Charles Friend conclude that instead of there being two sisters, each named Nancy, that the mother of the President and the mother of Dennis were one and the same person. We will observe that while Herndon changed his mind, Dennis stuck to it.

While it is evident Herndon was confused about the cousinship relation between Dennis and the President, there is no excuse for the statement he made when he concluded, "The father of Mrs. Lincoln, Abms. mother, was Henry Sparrow." Later on Herndon claimed that as early as 1850 Abraham Lincoln told him during the famous buggy ride episode that his own mother was an illegitimate and that the father of her child was unknown. If William Herndon fifteen years before had learned from Lincoln's own lips that his mother was illegitimate why should he speak so positively about the Henry Sparrow parentage?

In the letters which Herndon wrote to Friend during the next year or so the subject of Lincoln's mother is never again mentioned with the assumption that Herndon was willing to leave the question as stated in his letter of February 15.

Although Herndon must have known that Charles Friend was not born until thirty-two years after the President's birth and twenty-five years after the Lincolns left the country, the correspondence that passed between Herndon and Friend largely had to do with the early part of Lincoln's life about which Friend could not have had any firsthand evidence. Herndon persists in putting questions to him in subsequent letters written February 28, March 28 and November

30, 1866 respectively, relative to Lincoln's boyhood days.

It was largely on such hearsay evidence as Charles Friend could gather from the Kentucky neighbors that Herndon wrote his supposedly authentic stories about Lincoln's childhood days.

Early Correspondence with Dennis Hanks

Just how early the correspondence between Dennis Hanks and Charles Friend began we cannot say, but by the month of March, 1866 they were writing to each other. The contents of the letter written by Dennis on March 25, 1866 reveals that Dennis had been in correspondence with other members of the Friend family. The letter follows in part:

"March 25, 1866.

"Dear Charles:

"I have written a letter to your Uncle Robert which I enclosed two of my pictures. This was in February. I have got no answer from him about them. He told me write and mail my letter to Buffalo, Larue Co. and he would get it. So I have no answer about it I may be mistaken about the place. Where is Buffalo, Charles, for I know all them places in that Country. Charles is Jeny Hanks your grandmother's alive and is John and Conrad Hanks alive yet? Is Philip Creal's widow living yet or his first little boy? Is the old Lunderner poplar a standing yet? I was born in 30 steps of that tree in the old peach orchard. . . .

"No whither your Uncle Robert got my picture or not.

"Your relative & well wisher, "Dennis F. Hanks.

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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"My mother was a Hanks. She says that your grand father was my father. This don't doubt."

The chief value of this letter is in the family relationship it reviews and also in the statement about the place where Dennis was born and raised, but contributes nothing to our knowledge of Lincoln.

Correspondence with John Nicolay

Possibly the most important correspondence which Charles Friend received from various biographers was the letter from Lincoln's secretary, John Nicolay. Apparently Dennis Hanks had sent one of the letters he had received from Charles Friend to Robert Lincoln, son of the President, and in turn Robert passed it on to Nicolay. Because of the importance of this letter it is printed in full.

"Chicago, Ill. July 26, 1873. "Chas. Friend, Esq., "Hodgenville, Ky. "My Dear Sir:

"I take the liberty of introducing myself to you, as having formerly been the private Secretary of Pres. Lincoln, deceased, from the time of his nomination until his death; and as the friend of the family I wish to make some inquiries through your kindness concerning the early history of Pres. Lincoln's parents.

"Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, son of the late President, whom I am visiting here for a day or two, has shown me a letter of yours under date of 26th June last, written to your Uncle, Mr. Dennis F. Hanks, which the latter forwarded to Mr. Robert T. Lincoln. In the letter you mentioned that Pres. Lincoln's father and mother were married by a Mr. Alexander McDougal and that a daughter of this preacher (Mrs. Elizabeth Middleton by name) is stil living, who was present at the wedding.

"Now I wish to inquire of you the address of Mrs. Middleton, and where she lives; her age now; and when the wedding occurred; and in short, all the details of the event, as fully as she may be able to recollect them.

"Would it be possible for you to visit Mrs. Middleton and write down from her own words a full and complete statement of the whole affair, and ask her to sign and authenticate it in some formal manner?

"And if you could do this for me, would you also please make as full inquiries as possible through her whether any record was ever made of this marriage, or whether the original license or some paper concerning it might not still be found among her father's papers or some record in some family bible in the neighborhood.

"If you will please take the trouble and time to do this for me, you will not only oblige myself and Pres. Lincoln's family and friends here, but I would cheerfully reimburse you for any travelling or other expenses it might cause you.

"Please address your reply to me

here, care of Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, as I shall remain in the West some two months, although my regular address is at Washington City according to the card I enclose.

"Your ob't. serv't.,
"Jno. G. Nicolay."

This Nancy Hanks mentioned by Charles Friend however, was not the mother of Lincoln, but the mother of Dennis Hanks who did later on marry Levi Hall in the community where Abraham Lincoln was born. This wedding added confusion to the already muddled story of the Nancy Hankses, and it is not known whether or not Mr. Nicolay was able to straighten out the confusion.

Later Correspondence with Herndon

Herndon's first correspondence with Charles Friend had taken place in 1866 and now twenty-three years later letters again passed between them. Friend wrote to Herndon on July 17, 1889, but the contents of the letter are not known, although it is apparent from Herndon's reply on August 2 that it had something to do with the post-office appointment at Sonora, Kentucky.

In the meantime Friend had written another letter to Herndon dated July 31 and brought up again the stories of Lincoln's illegitimacy then in circulation in Kentucky. He had secured from Abraham Enlow the denial of the story that he was the father of Abraham Lincoln. The rest of the letter is so loathsome that its contents are unprintable in the Kinsman.

Herndon replied to Friend's letter of July 31 on August 10 and ten days later Friend wrote Herndon another letter of the same general character as the first in which he tried to confirm his theory that Nancy Hanks, mother of Dennis Friend Hanks, was also the mother of Abraham Lincoln, and implied that Dennis may have been a full brother of Abraham Lincoln.

The chief value of this later correspondence with Herndon is to reveal what the citizens of the community where Lincoln was born were thinking with respect to his paternity as late as 1889.

On January 23, 1890, Herndon wrote to Jesse Weik and made this reference to Charles Friend, "There are some papers from Charles Friend of Kentucky about Nancy Hanks, Thomas Lincoln. From this man's testimony it appears that there was but one Nancy Hanks and if that is so, then Thomas Lincoln married Dennis Hanks' mother. Read what Charles Friend says. Probably no attention need be paid to it though file away the papers as evidence."

Later Correspondence with Dennis Hanks

The renewal of correspondence with Herndon also opened the way for further correspondence to pass between Friend and Dennis Hanks. On August 1, 1889 Friend wrote to Dennis who was then 90 years old, and received a reply dated August 10, but apparently written by someone else for Dennis. Excerpts from this letter follows.

"Charleston, Ill. Aug. 12, '89.

"Charles Friend,

"Sonora, Hardin Co., Ky.

"My Dear Nephew:

"Your welcome and unexpected letter of August the first reached me

in due season. . . . I was surprised to learn that you met the Hon. W. H. Herndon and from him learned where I was. I thought you already knew. I was surprised to learn that my brothers and sisters were living. . . . Your grandmother has made a mistake. I never lived with them. I lived with my Uncle and Aunt Betsy Sparrow and was raised by them. Now Charles I can state to you how your Grand Mother made the mistake. We lived on the South fork of the Nolin and you lived on a little branch called SinKing Run, 'near the South Fork of Nolin'....

"Yes, Uncle Jessie and Aunt Polly moved to this State and settled near Paris, Edgar Co., which joines this Co. (Coles) on the East, his body is buried there. Aunt Polly is dead. Lucy Friend married a man named Hatfield and they moved with them to Paris, they then returned to Ky. . . . I have men and women from all parts of the country to see. Newspaper correspondents have written me up time and again. My picture been taken and inserted in all the leading papers. My connection with the great emancipator has given me a lasting fame, 'so that after life's fitful fever is over' children, generations to come will read, think and ponder over the name of him who writes you now. My children 13—out that number I raised 8 and 6 are living, the oldest Jane Dowling is going on 68 and the youngest Theopelus Hanks is 41. John F. Hanks and his wife have 10 children, 2 grand children, they live in Oregon. Below is my signature.

"P. S.

"Who owns the place at the farm that Uncle Abraham Lincoln was born and all about the place, how the land is used and if it has been farmed and who by.

"D. F. Hanks."

Correspondence with Mrs. Hitchcock

When Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitch-cock was gathering material on the Hanks family she got in touch with Charles Friend in 1895. He wrote two letters to her, one on November 26, and the other on December 6, both written from Madisonville, Kentucky. An excerpt from the November 26 letter is noted.

"The Dennis Hanks you wrote me about is my Uncle a Son of Charles Friend my Grand-Father. His mother was Nancy Hanks the mother of A. Lincoln President of this U.S.A. There was 4 of the Hanks girls that came to Kentucky from Virginia and settled in Hardin Co, My Grand Uncle Jessie Friend married Mary Hanks or as She was known by my Father as Aunt Polly Friend. Nancy Hanks after Uncle Dennis was a few years old Married Thomas Lincoln. A. Lincoln' Father and A Lincoln was born of this marriage 21/2 miles South of Hodgenville LaRue Co then Hardin Co. LaRue was formed in 1844 by Cutting a portion of Hardin and one or two other Counties, one of the other girls married Levy Hall a club footed tailor and the other married Thomas Sparrow Thomas Lincoln procured his marriage license in Springfield Ky. Abe Lincoln lived on Knob Creek until the families all removed from Ky to Indiana until Dennis went with Aunt Polly Friend and they reared him. He lived a great part of his life in Coles Co Ill but died 3 years ago at Paris III."

The letter written in December con-

firmed much that was written in the previous correspondence but does rather imply that Friend was coming to the conclusion that Thomas Lincoln was the father of the President. Although he held tenaciously that there was but one Nancy Hanks, he admitted that Thomas had secured a license to marry Nancy Hanks in a different court from the one in which the Nancy of Hardin County was then living.

The Hanks' Relatives of Friend

The editor of the Lincoln Kinsman interviewed Charles Friend in Hardin County, Kentucky on November 26, 1921 and secured his duly authorized affidavit with respect to his family and several traditions relating to the Lincolns. The following excerpt concerning his family history is copied from an affidavit signed by Friend.

The affiant Mr. Charles Friend after being duly sworn upon his oath states; "My name is Charles Friend, I was born in Elizabethtown, Hardin County, Ky. on Jan. 20, 1841 and have lived in Larue practically all of my life. My father's name was Feilding Friend and he was the son of Charles Friend, my grandfather, for whom I was named. Grandfather Charles Friend married Sarah Huss, Nov. 19, 1804 and nine children were born to this union as follows; Harriet, born March 15, 1805; Fielding, born July 12, 1806; Kitty, born Dec. 21, 1809; John, born March 10, 1811; Lydia; Robert, born May, 1818; Richard, born 1808; Matilda, born 1814, Elza, born 1837. My grandfather also had three brothers Isaac, Jesse and Andrew. Jesse Friend married Mary (Polly) Hanks, a sister of Nancy

Hanks who married Thomas Lincoln.

The affiant further states; "In correspondence with Dennis Friend Hanks some years before he died, he told me that my grandfather Charles Friend, was his father, and that his mother was a Hanks, 'this do not doubt.' He also said that he was reared by his Aunt Elizabeth Sparrow and Thomas Sparrow. Elizabeth Sparrow being an own sister of Nancy Hanks. It has been said that my grandfather married a Nancy Sparrow, but I have never heard any one in the family even suggest it. Neither have I heard the name of Lucy Hanks, mentioned, by the old people, whom some say was the sister of Elizabeth, Polly or Mary, and Nancy Hanks, and the mother of another Nancy Hanks who married Thomas Lincoln."

Affiant further states; "Judge Jonathan Friend Cesna once spoke of a Levi Hall, whom he called 'the clubfooted tailor,' as having married one of the Hanks women, but he never knew which one."

Affiant further states; "One day in Hodgenville Abraham Enlow, who had been advertised as the father of President Lincoln, was in my brotherin-law's store, in which I was a clerk. My brother-in-law A. H. Redman in the presence of Dr. William H. Holt and myself, asked Uncle Abe Enlow this question by permission of Mr. Enlow; 'Are you the father of Abe Lincoln President of the United States?' he answered; 'I am not, I was only 15 years old when Abe was born and Nancy Hanks his mother was a grown woman. I believe A. Lincoln to be the son of Thomas Lincoln the husband of Nancy Hanks, but should he be illegitimate, he might

have been the son of Charles Friend by whom she bore her first child Dennis Friend Hanks. I am satisfied that he was not the son of said Friend, for the reason that the Friends were of Penn. Dutch descent, set low of stature, and Abe was tall the very opposite.'"

Chas Friend (sig)

"State of Ky
"County of Hardin

"Subscribed and sworn before me this 26 day of Nov 1921 by Chas Friend.

"David B. Lewis
"Notary Public
"H. C."

Grandfather Charles Friend before his marriage to Sarah Huss was responsible for the paternity of Dennis Friend Hanks whose mother was a Nancy Hanks. This relation was a well-known fact in the community as the middle name of Dennis implies. Previous to the birth of Dennis, Jesse Friend, a brother of Charles Friend, Sr. had married Mary or Polly Hanks, a sister of the Nancy Hanks who became the mother of Dennis, so that there was intermarriage between the Friends and Hankses as early as (1796) and it is likely that Dennis was born in the home of Jesse and Mary Hanks Friend.

Not only was the old grandfather, Charles Friend responsible for the paternity of Dennis Friend Hanks, but he was apparently the father of another illegitimate child born to Nancy Riley on November 7, 1802. Miss Riley made oath to this fact on February 8, 1803 before Isom Enlow a justice of the peace in Hardin County on February 8, 1803 as is evident from the county records (Judgments and other papers, Jan. 1809 to Jan. 1811).

This very frank statement about the character of the grandfather, Charles Friend, is presented because the inference is often drawn and usually stressed by William Herndon that the Hanks family should bear the burden of the blame for moral delinquency. It appears in this case at least that the seducer of Dennis Hanks' mother was by reputation the most to be censured.

Undoubtedly the correspondence of Charles Friend with William Herndon in 1866 contributed greatly to the theory of Lincoln's illegitimacy which Herndon accepted. It is doubtful if Charles Friend in all of his correspondence was able to contribute one single fact with reference to Lincoln's parentage, nativity, or childhood, although Herndon wrote to him on August 2, 1889, "It is very true that you gave me much and great information in gathering up the facts of Mr. Lincoln's life in LaRue County, Kentucky."



The Lincoln Kinsman

Number 47

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

May, 1942

Squire Thompson and Charlotte Vawter

The names of Robert Mitchell Thompson and Charlotte Speare Vawter should go down in the annals of Lincoln history as the first explorers in Lincoln genealogy who attempted to support their family folklore and traditions with documentary evidence.

The Lamon biography of the President, published in 1872, was indirectly responsible in stirring to action these kinsfolk of Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

There was printed in The Louisville Commercial some time after the Lamon book appeared, an article which implied that the parents of Lincoln may not have been legally married, that Abraham was an illegitimate child of Nancy. The attention of Mrs. Vawter was called to the article and she was determined to discover, if possible, evidence to refute the supposition. She interested her uncle Squire Thompson in the matter and through their combined efforts Mr. W. F. Booker, clerk of Washington County, made a thorough search for the marriage papers, which were eventually found. It is difficult to conceive of a more important discovery in the genealogical story of the early Lincolns.

With the legal marriage of Lincoln's parents three years before his birth, forever established, the emphasis of the Herndon and Lamon illegitimacy attack was shifted to the mother of Abraham Lincoln. as best she could, without a Lucy Hanks' marriage record to sustain her, Mrs. Vawter was unable to overcome the gossip and misrepresentations about Lincoln's mother. Even now any attempt to support Mrs. Vawter's reminiscences about the Shipley ancestry of Lincoln's mother meets with a repetition of the traditional Herndon buggy ride story featuring the alleged illegitimacy of Nancy Hanks.

If Mrs. Vawter and Mr. Thompson were correct about one genealogical fact, generally contradicted by many, their statements about other family connections should at least be given an appreciative hearing. Brief biographical sketches of these two witnesses may help to reveal their ability to speak with some authority on historical matters pertaining to the ancestry of Abraham Lincoln.

Lineal Descent

Both Squire Thompson and Mrs. Vawter were of the same lineal descent, Mrs. Vawter's mother, Naomi Thompson, being a sister of Squire. The parents of Squire and the grandparents of Mrs. Vawter were John and Sarah Shipley Mitchell Thompson.

When John Thompson and Sarah Shipley Mitchell contemplated marriage it was necessary for Sarah to secure a certificate of permission from some member of her family. Both of her parents being dead, she secured her brother, Daniel, to sign this certificate which is filed in the Washington County Court House. It follows:

"I hereby certify that I have no objection to John Reed issuing a marriage license to John Thompson and Sarah Mitchell my ward. Jan. 17, 1800.

"Daniel Mitchell

"Garden

"Test Moses Rice "Frances Berry"

Frances Berry, one of the witnesses, was a cousin of Daniel Mitchell and a brother of Richard Berry, who signed the Lincoln-Hanks marriage bond as "Garden" for Nancy Hanks.

The marriage register for Washington County, Kentucky, under the date Jan. 16, 1800, carries this citation:

"I hereby certify that a marriage was solemnized Jan. 17, 1800, between John Thompson and Sally Mitchell, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Christian Church by me.

"Thomas Kyle"

In the archives of the Kentucky Historical Society at Frankfort, in the book recording vital statistics for Washington County there is this entry:

"Sarah S. Thompson, age 74 yrs; widow; birth place, North Carolina; parents, Robert and - - - Mitchell; died, July 18, 1855; cause, paralysis."

In the Pleasant Grove Cemetery in Washington County one may read these tombstone inscriptions:

"John Thompson born Nov. 20, 1775, died March 8, 1850."

"Sarah S. wife of John Thompson born Dec. 31, 1778, died July 18, 1855."

The Pleasant Grove Cemetery was about two and one-half miles from where the Widow Bersheba Lincoln and her son Thomas lived at the time John and Sarah were married.

The old family Bible of Daniel Mitchell, brother of Sarah S. Mitchell, and son of Robert and Naomi, allows us to go back into this earlier generation with an authentic record. It gives the names of Daniel and Sarah's parents. This is the entry in the old Bible:

"Robert Mitchell born August 22, 1747.

"Naomi Mitchell born April 26, 1748."

Both Squire Mitchell and Mrs. Vawter were descendants of those Washington County families who for two generations previous to the President's birth had been closely associated with the Lincolns. Furthermore, through Naomi Shipley Mitchell, grandmother of Squire and great-grandmother of Mrs. Vawter, they were able to trace their direct relationship to Nancy Hanks, who was the daughter of Lucy Shipley Hanks, a sister of Naomi Shipley Mitchell.

It takes but one more step to identify one of the ancestors of Abraham Lincoln, and one of the ancestors of both Squire Mitchell and Mrs. Vawter as one and the same person. His name is Robert Shipley, father of Naomi Shipley Mitchell and Lucy Shipley Hanks, and also the father of Rachel Shipley Berry with whom Nancy Hanks was living when she kept company with the Widow Lincoln's youngest son who lived but a mile from the Berry home.

Squire Robert Mitchell Thompson

Squire Thompson was born in Washington County, Kentucky, in 1812, three years after Lincoln's birth and not far from where Lincoln's parents were married. In 1824 his parents, John and Sarah Shipley Mitchell Thompson, moved their family to Beech Grove, near Indianapolis, Indiana. There were ten children in the home where Robert grew up.

In 1843 when Robert was thirtyone years old several members of
the Thompson family returned to
make their homes in Washington
County, Kentucky. Here Robert remained the rest of his life in the
same community where he was born.
Squire Mitchell Thompson, as Robert was more often called, was a stal-

wart figure six feet three inches tall and weighed on the average of about 200 pounds. Abraham Lincoln, his kinsman, at twenty-one years old is said to have weighed 200 pounds and was six feet four inches tall.

An interview which Squire Thompson gave a reporter of the Louisville Courier Journal is printed in the January 5th, 1881, issue of the paper, an excerpt from the sketch follows:

"My mother was a Mitchell, a first cousin of President Lincoln's mother, their mothers were Shipleys from North Carolina. My mother was captured when a girl, in 1790, by the Indians, twenty-five miles beyond Crab Orchard at a place called Defeated Camp. Walter Caruth was leading the expedition. He had led parties into Kentucky before. Indians rushed upon them with wild hoops and commenced tomahawking. Grandmother was struck down but grandfather stood by with a spear and carried her into the Crab Orchard fort. She died next day. My oldest uncle seized my mother by the hand and ran away, pursued by several savages. He was about to lead her over a log over a deep stream when her courage failed her and she stood petrified with fear. Uncle dashed across the log and escaped. Mother was carried into Canada and remained in captivity five years with the Pottawatamies. She was also carried about the lakes in the vicinity of Detroit, and heard the guns of St. Clair defeated, and saw the Indians come in with their booty and prisoners. My grandfather went in search of my mother and was drowned on one of his trips in the He and General Clinch River.

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

BUSINESS MANAGER MAURICE A. COOK

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Adair were swimming the river and he was thrown from his horse. My mother was surrendered under Wayne's Treaty."

In 1891 when Squire Thompson was seventy-nine years old he signed an affidavit in which he confirms some of the above statements. He said:

"This affiant, R. M. Thompson, says that he is a native of Washington County, Ky.; 79 years of age. He was raised in said county, and has lived in it all his life except eight years, when he resided at Indianapolis, State of Indiana. His present residence is Springfield, county and State aforesaid. mother of Nancy (Hanks) Lincoln, who was the mother of President Abraham Lincoln, was an own cousin of affiant's mother. Affiant knew well Richard Berry, Jr., who was a grandson (son) of Richard Berry, Sr., who was the guardian of said Nancy (Hanks) Lincoln, wife of Thomas Lincoln."

Mrs. Charlotte Speare Hobart Vawter

Mrs. Charlotte Speare Hobart Vawter was born on October 26, 1825, at Indianapolis, Indiana. She was the eldest of ten children in the family of John and Naomi Thompson Hobart. Mrs. Vawter in a letter dated September 28, 1895, states with reference to her father: "My father was a native of Massachusetts. Born in Abbington, raised in Leicester. . . . My father's name was John Hobart. Garrett A. Hobart (Vice-President) is a distant relative."

In reference to her mother she writes: "My mother was a native of Washington Co. Ky., Springfield being the county seat. My parents were married in 1825." The marriage records at Indianapolis show that John Hobart and Naomi Thompson were married there on January 20, 1825.

Miss Hobart was given the name Charlotte Speare in honor of her grandmother, Charlotte Speare Thayre. The names Hobart, Speare and Thayre are familiar ones in New England. Charlotte was sent to school at Oread Collegiate Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts, established by Eli Thayre. served as a school-teacher for many On May 1, 1866, Miss Hobart married Achilles Vawter, an Indianapolis lawyer. A year or so after the marriage Mr. and Mrs. Vawter moved to Ladoga, Indiana, where Mr. Vawter for a period of five years directed the affairs of the Baptist Seminary. The Vawters returned to Indianapolis where Mr. Vawter continued in educational work and in 1877 removed with his wife to Washington County, Kentucky, where they had charge of the Pleasant Grove Academy, situated near the place where Abraham Lincoln's parents were married and not

far from where Mrs. Vawter's mother was born. In Washington County, Kentucky, while in the schoolroom, Mr. Vawter was stricken with paralysis and later died in Indianapolis, January 13, 1886. Mrs. Vawter, a highly cultured woman and an educator, lived until January 29, 1916. Several letters which she wrote about her family history are in the archives in the Lincoln National Life Foundation. One written to Mrs. Hitchcock on October 8, 1895, makes this statement about her relatives and her contact with her uncle Squire Thompson:

"Squire Mitchell Thompson, whose picture you will see on the paper is, or was, a son of Sarah Shipley Mitchell Thompson, my grandmother. This man, my uncle-my mother's brother, was the man who insisted upon the search being made by Mr. Booker County Clerk of Washington Co. In my letter years before I suggested to my uncle that the search should be made—the fact might more clearly be stated by saying that in that old letter I suggested that the papers would probably be found in that old court house. Then I urged the effort by talking with my uncle."

Some facts from the sketch which Mrs. Vawter prepared for the Louisville Courier Journal of February 20, 1874, which are not related by Mitchell Thompson, reveal the connection between Mrs. Vawter's grandmother and the mother of Abraham Lincoln, as here made available.

"As I remember the story of Nancy Hanks, it ran thus: Her mother's name before marriage was Shipley, and one of her sisters married a Mr. Berry; another sister married Robert Mitchell, who also came to Kentucky about the year 1780 (1790). While on the journey the Mitchells were attacked by the Indians and Mrs. Mitchell fatally wounded... The sons of this father and mother (Robert and Naomi Shipley Mitchell) were afterward scattered to different parts of the State.

"One of them, Daniel, settled in Washington County, on the Beach Fork, a few miles from Springfield, and near his two cousins, Frank and Ned Berry. To these cousins came Nancy Hanks, and the legend is that 'her cheerful disposition and active habits were a dower to those pio-Soon after Mad Anthony Wayne's treaty with the Indians, in 1794 or 1795, the lost Sarah was returned to her friends, and lived in the home of her uncle, Richard Berry, with her cousins, Frank and Ned Berry and Nancy Hanks, until both girls were married.

"These girls were as intimate as Sarah Mitchell was the sisters. pupil of Nancy Hanks in learning to spin flax, the latter being adept in that now lost art. . . . Sarah Mitchell was a woman of a high order of talent. She married a Virginian, had many fine children, and retained until her death the greatest veneration for the memory of her cousin, whose name she gave to one of her daughters. Modesty has laid the impress of silence upon these relatives of a noble woman, but when the voice of calumny has presumed to sully her name, they hurl the accusation to the ground and proclaim her the beautiful character they had learned to love long before they knew that to her had been given an honored son.

"From one who has learned from saintly lips to admire her grand-mother's cousin.

"C. S. H. V."*

Folklore and Documents

In the reminiscences of both Squire Thompson and Mrs. Vawter there does not seem to be any important disagreement. It is evident that the chief source of their genealogical information is from one and the same person, Sarah Shipley Mitchell Thompson, mother of Squire and grandmother of Mrs. Vawter. Sarah lived until 1855 and Squire was then forty-three years old and Mrs. Vawter thirty years old. Until death he continually lived in the same neighborhood with his mother. Mrs. Vawter was born in Indianapolis in 1825 and her grandmother was then living there and remained in Indianapolis until Mrs. Vawter was eighteen years old and she must have often been in the company of her grandmother.

Mrs. Vawter's own mother, Naomi, Shipley's was named for Sarah mother, Naomi Shipley Mitchell, who was massacred by the Indians. It does not seem as if there could be more direct or authentic evidence about the mother of Abraham Lincoln than could be given by Sarah Shipley Mitchell, cousin and intimate playmate, who actually lived in the same house with Nancy Hanks for five or six years and in the same community for another five years. It would not appear that two better informed people, as to what Sarah remembered about family connections could be found than Squire Thompson, her son, and the highly cultured Mrs. Vawter, her grandchild.

Few, if any, pieces of American folklore dating back to the later part of the eighteenth century could find more complete confirmation in duly authorized public records than the story of Sarah Shipley Mitchell's capture by the Indians, her return to her people, and her subsequent life and death. Literally hundreds of records have been copied verifying the facts as set forth in the foregoing testimonials. The many descend-Shipley of Rachel Berry. Naomi Shipley Mitchell, Anne Shipley McCord and Margaret Shipley Armstrong are all in agreement that Lucy Shipley Hanks was the sister of these women and the mother of Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

Since his first investigations about the dependability of the Squire Mitchell and the Mrs. Vawter story of Lincoln's maternal ancestry, the editor of the Lincoln Kinsman has never for a moment doubted the legitimacy of Abraham Lincoln's mother, and he has never wavered for a moment from his original claim that the woman who married Henry Sparrow was a widow, Lucy Shipley Hanks.

As an exhibit of the vast amount of research work done on this subject, and to reveal how widely the original sources have become scattered, a few of the records and their location are submitted in italics and what these records reveal is briefly noted.

Virginia, Lunenburg County Court, Commission Reports for 1750.

The names of Robert Mitchell (Sr.), Richard Berry (Sr.), and Robert Shipley (Sr.), are associated

^{*}See Lincoln Kinsman No. 3 for full text of news item.

as living on the Little Roanoke River.

Virginia, Bedford County Court, Deed Book 4, Page 86.

Robert Shipley (Sr.) and Sarah his wife sell to Daniel Mitchell, Jr., on April 30, 1771, a tract of land in Bedford County.

Virginia, Bedford County Court, Will Book 2, Page 8.

Settlement of estate of Daniel Mitchell (d. 1775) father of Robert Mitchell, who married Naomi Shipley. There appears in the settlement the name of Robert Shipley, father of Naomi Shipley, from whom there was received a credit of ten pounds.

Virginia, Bedford County Court, Deed Book F, Page 65.

Robert Shipley (Jr.) and Rachel, his wife, on August 22, 1777, sell land in Bedford County to Thomas Marshall.

Virginia, Bedford County Court, Deed Book F, Page 104.

James Hanks purchased land on Hatt Creek on March 27, 1780, in the same county where the Shipleys had lived and James Mitchell is a witness to the deed. Their land was adjacent to Mitchell's land.

Virginia, Campbell County Court, Deed Book, Page 257.

James Hanks sold to Daniel Walker on July 17, 1787, a tract of land on Hatt Creek, adjacent to Mitchell and also to Sturman, another Shipley relative. The witnesses to this deed were Thomas, Sarah, and Tabetha Hanks. The editor of the Kinsman believes this James Hanks to have been the first husband of

Lucy Shipley Hanks, and father of Nancy Hanks.

North Carolina, Mecklenburg County Court, Deed Book 17, Page 13.

David McCord and his wife, Anne (Shipley) McCord, sold land to Robert Shipley, Jr. on April 12, 1772. Anne was a sister of Robert, also of Rachel Shipley Berry, Naomi Shipley Mitchell and Lucy Shipley Hanks.

North Carolina, Mecklenburg County Court, Deed Book 20, Page 32.

David McCord and his wife Anne (Shipley) McCord sold land to Robert Mitchell on April 12, 1776, adjacent to Shipley's line. This is the father of Sarah Shipley Mitchell.

Wisconsin, Madison. University of Wisconsin Library, Draper Collection, Manuscript, 12cc, Page 13.

An account is given of one of Walter Caruth's expeditions to Kentucky when many whites were massacred by Indians. (See Squire Mitchell statement.)

Virginia, Campbell County Court, Deed Book 3, Page 34.

Heirs of Daniel Mitchell (Sr.), sells property on December 1, 1790, in Campbell County. Among the heirs are named Robert Mitchell, and Omi (Naomi) Mitchell, parents of Sarah Shipley Mitchell.

Kentucky, Mercer Circuit Court, Miscellaneous Papers.

A presentiment was brought against Lucy Hanks on November 24, 1789, for fornication by a jury on which two of her Shipley relatives were serving. The case was dismissed when she married Henry Sparrow, who was probably the man responsible for the presentiment.

Kentucky, Mercer County Court, Marriage Papers.

The certificate signed April 26, 1790, in which Lucy Hanks, mother of Nancy, about to marry Henry Sparrow, states she is of age and Robert Mitchell and John Berry affirm the fact. Robert was her brother-in-law and John her nephew.

Kentucky, Mercer Circuit Court, Judgments M.

Document showing that Robert Mitchell was alive on October 1, 1791, died on some unknown date in 1792.

Illinois, Chicago, University of Chicago, Durrett Collection Manuscripts.

Letter written May 1, 1793, by Mary Mitchell, widow of Daniel Mitchell and grandmother of Sarah Shipley Mitchell, to Gov. Isaac Shelby asking held to find "My grandchild who was taken prisoner by the Indians in the wilderness last fall, two years, her name is Sally S. Mitchell, daughter of Robert Mitchell, deceased."

Kentucky, Mercer County Court, Will Book 2, Page 238.

Robert Mitchell estate settled with George Shipley and Adam Mitchell, administrators. Edward Shipley's bond is entered in the appraisal.

Kentucky, Washington County Court, Will Book A, Page 134.

Will of Richard Berry (Sr.) probated December 4, 1798, names wife, Rachel (Shipley), four daughters and three sons named Richard, Frances and Edward. Mordecai Lincoln, brother of Thomas Lincoln, appointed an appraisor of his estate.

Kentucky, Washington County Court,

Marriage Register for 1800.

Marriage papers of John Thompson and Sarah S. Mitchell.

Kentucky, Washington County Court, Marriage Papers 1806.

Richard Berry, Jr., son of Rachel Shipley Berry, and a cousin of Nancy Hanks, signs the Lincoln-Hanks marriage bond.

Kentucky, Taylorsville, Old Family Bible of Daniel Mitchell.

The dates of the birth of Robert Mitchell and Naomi (Shipley) Mitchell are inscribed.

Kentucky, Frankfort, State Historical Society Archives, Vital Statistics.

Sarah S. Thompson entry gives the name of parents' birthplace in North Carolina, date of her death and cause of her death.

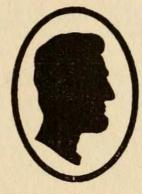
Kentucky, Washington County, Pleasant Grove Cemetery.

Tombstone inscriptions give the birth and death dates of John and Sarah Shipley Thompson.

Indiana, Marion County, Marriage Reports.

Record of the marriage of John Hobart and Naomi Thompson, parents of Mrs. Vawter.

It is to be regretted that the one statement made by William Herndon in reporting a traditional conversation with Abraham Lincoln in a traditional buggy ride which he claims occurred twenty years before he revealed the incident, should be accepted in preference to the reminiscence of a man whose own mother lived in the very home with Nancy Hanks, and whose testimony can be supported with the above exhibits of documentary evidence.



The Lincoln Kinsman

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June, 1942

Caroline W. and Charles S. Hanks

Caroline and Charles Hanks were the children of Rev. Stedman Wright Hanks, a graduate of Amherst College, with theological training at Union and Yale Theological Seminaries. There was a striking similarity in both looks and character, between Stedman Hanks and Abraham Lincoln which caused Professor Andrew P. Peabody of Harvard to remark, "The Rev. Mr. Hanks of this city is so like the President that either might have sat for the other's portrait."

It was this close resemblance that Stedman Hanks bore to Abraham Lincoln as well as a similarity of family names that induced two of Mr. Hanks' six children to give some time and attention to the family genealogy.

Charles Stedman Hanks, the minister's only son, was born April 10, 1856. He graduated from Harvard College in 1879 and later from the Law School of Boston College. He became a practicing lawyer in Boston and traveled extensively in Europe. He died in 1908.

Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, fifth

child of Stedman Hanks, was born September 20, 1863. She graduated from the Harvard Annex, now Radcliffe College, and on January 19, 1887 married Samuel H. Hitchcock. Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock is still living in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The New England Hankses

Mrs. Hitchcock resided in the midst of the largest colony of Hankses in America, the New England family by that name. Her first efforts were spent in gathering the genealogical records the descendants of Benjamin Hanks, who settled in Pembroke, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. Benjamin was Mrs. Hitchcock's first American Hanks forebear. She found her ancestors to be an inventive and industrious people. The first bells cast in America are said to have been cast by a Hanks. The first tower clock in America, an ingenious invention of a Hanks, was placed in the Dutch Church in New York City and the first silk mills in America were erected by Rodney Hanks.

Mrs. Hitchcock's genealogy of the New England branch of the family was very complete and a summary of her work in this branch of the family may be seen in the *Lincoln Kinsman*, number 37.

Charles Hanks' English Researches

While Mrs. Hitchcock was more keenly interested in the Hanks genealogical problem than her brother, it is evident that Charles put a lot of time and money into the project, especially in studying the English background of the family. He made many trips abroad with the Hanks genealogical effort always in mind.

Charles Hanks wrote to his sister Caroline, from Oxford, England on July 4, 1897, "For the sake of the Hanks genealogy I have given up sight-seeing," and the voluminous English records on the Hankses in England and the bulk of the correspondence which followed gave evidence of the large amount of time he gave to the genealogical quest. Charles Hanks also wrote "I have seen every Hanks that lives in London," and with respect to other places visited, he said "it has taken a great deal of time to get these facts." He might have concluded also, as his notes imply, that he had spent much money on the project.

To Charles S. Hanks goes the honor of having discovered the Hanks colony at Martinsburg in Wiltshire, England from which the American branches of the family are descended. It might be said without fear of contradiction that he gathered with the help of his sister partly through correspondence, the most exhaustive collection of Hanks manuscripts which has been assembled on the Eng-

lish branch of the family. Thirty years later another American biographer traveled over part of the same ground in quest of information about the family, but he lacked the personal appeal that one whose name was Hanks would have among Hanks descendants. While Charles Hanks did little traveling in America in the interests of the genealogy he did considerable corresponding with members of the Hanks family both in America and England.

He not only interviewed members of the Hanks family in England and secured duly authorized records in the archives of the depositories, but when in France, Germany and other European countries he pursued his hobby, wherever he might find a clue that would lead to a Hanks contact.

Hanks Families in the South

The spark of interest which spurred Mrs. Hitchcock to enlarge her genealogical efforts to include the southern branch of the family was her conviction that Abraham Lincoln's mother must have been a member of the same Hanks family from which the New England group descended. The striking resemblance of her own father to Abraham Lincoln was the ever present fact that urged her on.

One of the many genealogical itineraries which Mrs. Hitchcock mapped out took her through several southern states. She left Cambridge, Massachusetts on Tuesday, April 9, 1895 and did not arrive back home until May 19. She stopped to interview people and search records at the following places.

Left Cambridge, Mass., April 9. Staten Island, N. Y., April 9. New York, N. Y., April 12. Brooklyn, N. Y., April 13. Jersey City, N. J., April 17. Philadelphia, Pa., April 18. Norristown, Pa., April 19. Trenton, N. J., April 20. Philadelphia, Pa., April 20. Washington, D. C., April 23. Baltimore, Md., April 25. Cumberland Valley, Pa., May 3. Harpers Ferry, Md., May 3. Stanton, Va., May 4. Ronceverte, W. Va., May 5. Union, W. Va., May 5. Maple Lawn, W. Va., May 5. Lewisburg, W. Va., May 6. Vanceburg, Ky., May 7. Ashland, Ky., May 7. Mt. Sterling, Ky., May 8. Lexington, Ky., May 9. Lawrenceburg, Ky., May 10. Louisville, Ky., May 10. Stevensport, Ky., May 11. Elizabethtown, Ky., May 13. Hodgensville, Ky., May 14. New Haven, Ky., May 14. Bardstown, Ky., May 14. Springfield, Ky., May 15. Louisville, Ky., May 15. Lexington, Ky., May 16. Knoxville, Tenn., May 17. Bristol, Va., May 18. Wytheville, Va., May 18. New York, N. Y., May 19. Cambridge, Mass., May 19.

On this long itinerary Mrs. Hitch-cock met a large number of people who were descendants of the southern branch of the family originating in Virginia. She concluded that these southern Hankses were descendants of one of Benjamin Hanks' children, named William. As it will also be observed from the itinerary that she visited many of the communities of Kentucky associated with the Lincolns

which must have greatly renewed her interest in genealogy.

Mrs. Hitchcock came to the conclusion that "all branches of the Hanks family throughout England and America seem to have come from the beautiful town of Malmsburg in Wiltshire, England." In the assertion she was probably correct. Possibly the most confusing but natural assumption which she made, was the conclusion that the William Hanks which she discovered in Amelia County, Virginia was the son of Benjamin of Massachusetts, and on this relationship she based the connection between the New England and southern branches.

Mrs. Hitchcock could account for all of Benjamin's children except William, born July 16, 1702 and the marriages of all the children except his are recorded in Plymouth County. The Massachusetts traditions claimed that this William embarked on a ship for Virginia and settled near the mouth of the Rappahammock River. There was a large Hanks colony at this place much earlier than 1702 and two generations of William Hankses already residing there, one old enough to be the father and the other the grandfather of William Hanks of Massachusetts born in 1702.

But this fact did not necessarily invalidate Mrs. Hitchcock's theory as she claimed the William of Massachusetts was the father of the Hanks men who settled in Amelia County, although there has been an attempt to discount her statements about the Amelia County Hankses, documentary records now available, sustain her in the claim that there were two brothers, Joseph and Abraham Hanks, who lived there as early as 1740. Further investigations prove that the

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X

EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation BUSINESS MANAGER

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SERIES ON RELIABILITY OF SOURCES USED BY KINSMEN OF THE LINCOLNS AND HANKSES.

No. 43 John and Charles Hanks

No. 44 James L. Nall
No. 45 Dennis Friend Hanks
No. 46 Charles Friend's Notes
No. 47 Squire Thompson and Charlotte
Vawter

No. 48 Caroline and Charles S. Hanks

Joseph Hanks who settled in Kentucky was most certainly from Amelia County, Virginia. It is hardly probable however, that the Joseph, with brother Abraham, who entered land in Amelia County as early as 1835, could have been a son of William, born in Massachusetts in 1702, unless it was entered in the name of Joseph as a minor, but there may have been more than one Joseph. We do not believe that the connection between the New England and southern branches of the Hankses can as yet be shown by duly authorized records.

The Book "Nancy Hanks"

On the long southern itinerary Mrs. Hitchcock found many important records that stirred up a new interest in the maternal ancestry of Abraham Lincoln. Possibly the most valuable discovery was at Bardstown, county seat of Nelson County, where she found the will of Joseph Hanks.

It was the story of Lincoln's reputed illegitimacy which Mrs. Hitchcock

heard in so many places that most deeply disturbed her. On her visit to Mt. Sterling, Kentucky on Wednesday, May 8, 1895 she interviewed Judge Peters who a year later made this affidavit with respect to her visit:

"A lady, who said her maiden name was Hanks and place of residence Massachusetts (I think), came to me last summer and asked me if I had not heard the Hankses, of Montgomery, say that Abraham Lincoln's mother was named Hanks. I told her no, that I never had, but had always heard that her name was Hornback. She is the only one I ever heard express a doubt of Abraham Lincoln's illegitimacy." (Boyd, The Sorrows Nancy, p. 84.)

Deeply impressed by the many false stories about the paternity of Abraham Lincoln and the traditional unworthiness of his mother, with documents in her possession which she felt refuted all of these false claims, Mrs. Hitchcock decided to publish the story of Nancy Hanks, based on the discoveries made in Kentucky and elsewhere. She secured the foremost Lincoln student in the country, Miss Ida M. Tarbell, to write the introduction to the book. One paragraph by Miss Tarbell sets forth the purpose of Mrs. Hitchcock in bringing out the book in these words:

"When convinced that she had the documentary proofs which would clear the name of Nancy Hanks, Mrs. Hitchcock concluded that she ought not to withhold them from the world until she could publish her elaborate genealogy. She saw that the biographers of Lincoln which came out almost yearly were only fixing more firmly in the public mind cruel and false traditions. She accordingly prepared the following simple story of the life of Nancy Hanks."

Mrs. Hitchcock published her book under the title of "Nancy Hanks, The Story of Abraham Lincoln's Mother" and it went to the press in 1899. It created a new interest in Lincoln genealogy and was one of the first discussions to challenge the authority of William Herndon's genealogical conclusions about the Hanks family. Regardless of several mistakes that crept into the book it is more authentic in portraying Nancy Hanks and her early surroundings than any of the books which have tried to discredit it. Its major contribution, however, was to check public opinion about Lincoln's parentage and maternal ancestry which was rapidly forming an erroneous opinion about the President's background.

It must be admitted that Mrs. Hitchcock drew two major conclusions which seemed to her to be logical ones but which have proven to be in error. The supposition that the William Hanks she discovered in Virginia was one and the same as the William, son of Benjamin Hanks, of Massachusetts, cannot be maintained, although subsequent Lincoln students writing on the same subject made just as grievous errors in assuming that a certain Hanks bearing the name Joseph in Virginia, was one and the same as a Joseph Hanks in West Virginia, and another Joseph Hanks in Kentucky.

The other conclusion which Mrs. Hitchcock drew was a most natural one. In the same book where the inventory of the estate of Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer, was entered she found the will of Joseph Hanks who had a daughter, Nancy. Inasmuch as

Thomas, the son of Abraham, married a Nancy Hanks, and no other Nancy Hanks but this one was known to her, she immediately drew the conclusion that Thomas Lincoln had married a daughter of Joseph Hanks, which deduction cannot be maintained. This assumption is not nearly so illogical as to assume that Joseph Hanks had another daughter he did not name in his will, and that the Nancy Hanks who married Thomas Lincoln was the illegitimate child of this supposed daughter named Lucy Hanks.

Mrs. Hitchcock was also in error with respect to the Shipley family connections with the Lincolns and Hankses. While she was misinformed about the identity of the pioneer Lincoln's wife, her conclusion about the connections of the Shipley family with the Berry, Mitchell and Hanks families can now be sustained by documentary sources.

She did not pretend to introduce anything original in the Shipley genealogy. The statement that both Lincoln's paternal grandmother, whom she called Mary Shipley Lincoln, and his maternal grandmother whom she called Nancy Shipley Hanks, wife of Joseph Hanks, cannot be sustained by any available records. The best evidence now at hand does imply that Lincoln's maternal grandmother was Lucy Shipley Hanks, whose husband was James Hanks.

Mrs. Hitchcock was confused by the Nall tradition in naming the Shipley women. She claimed Richard Berry's wife was named Lucy Shipley, when it was Rachel. She called Robert Mitchell's wife Sarah Shipley, when it was Naomi, and supposed that Nancy Hanks' mother was named Nancy Shipley Hanks, when it was Lucy Shipley Hanks.

Regardless of these inaccuracies with respect to given names in both the Shipley and the Hanks families, and the confusion about the Nancy Hanks in the will of Joseph Hanks she laid a foundation for all future documentary studies about Lincoln's maternal ancestry.

An Important Document

While some statements made by Mrs. Hitchcock in her little book are in error, she gave rather wide circulation to one document in facsimile, published for the first time, which will always have to be considered before any important conclusion can be drawn with reference to the identity of Nancy Hanks and her mother, Lucy. The publication of the Joseph Hanks' will was well worth the cost of the entire effort.

How elated Mrs. Hitchcock must have been upon the discovery of a document which she sincerly felt solved the problem of Lincoln's maternal ancestry and established the regularity of his mother's birth. While the will of Joseph Hanks did not do all that Mrs. Hitchcock hoped it might, it did contribute a very important negative assertion.

The theory that Lincoln's mother was the illegitimate child of Lucy Hanks, a young woman who had three sisters named Elizabeth, Polly and Nancy, all daughters of Joseph Hanks, has been accepted by a large number of Lincoln students ever since the time Herndon published an interview he had with Dennis Hanks. Those who cling to this story will forever be confronted with a direct contradiction in the form of a duly

authorized public record, signed by Joseph Hanks as his last will and testament. Their only recourse is to break the will, so to speak.

Those who would break the will must make three assumptions: first, Joseph Hanks had another living daughter not named in the will; second, this daughter was named Lucy; and the third assumption is that the daughter Lucy was disowned and not named in the will because of her moral delinquency.

Joseph Hanks, in this important paper, names four sons and three daughters. He mentions each one separately and remembers each one with a special bequest. He then states that his wife may enjoy the residue of the estate during her lifetime and which is "afterwards to be equally divided between all my children." It seems quite clear from an unprejudiced reading of the will that all of the children who were to benefit by the division of the estate had been named, but according to the the witnesses for the plaintiff one child named Lucy has been left out.

No one of the children mentioned in this will has ever left any written record that there was a child named Lucy in the Joseph Hanks family, but the many grandchildren of Joseph Hanks have left all kinds of statements as to how they were related to the President. The testimony of one witness, Dennis Hanks, is of no more value than the testimonies of a dozen other grandchildren who have contradicted him, and whose written reminiscences are in the files of the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

Just one reference to the assumption that Joseph Hanks disowned a

daughter named Lucy for moral delinquency. He signed his will on January 8, 1793 and lived for approximately four months after it was made, so it was not the writing of a man in the throes of death. Regardless of how Lucy had behaved previous to 1790, on April 30th of that year she married an excellent man named Henry Sparrow, well known to the Hanks family. Nearly three years had elapsed between the time of Lucy's marriage and the signing of the will and in the meanwhile two children had been born to Henry and Lucy Hanks Sparrow. Three years is a long time for a father to hold resentment against a daughter who had become a faithful wife and mother with a good husband, then as his last act refuse to recognize her in his will. Let the will of Joseph Hanks stand as he signed it.

The Hanks Genealogy

It was the purpose of both Charles Hanks and his sister from the very beginning to publish a genealogy of the Hanks family and to this end they both worked. Aside from the voluminous correspondence, Mrs. Hitchcock sent out for return over a thousand genealogical questionnaires in the form of a four-page booklet which in itself was a mammoth undertaking.

The source material Mrs. Hitch-cock had gathered over a period of ten years consisted of her own field notes, several hundred letters from members of the Hanks and associated families, a thousand genealogical tables, a large number of duly authorized records from the archives of more than a dozen states, and biographical notes made by Charles Hanks in England.

When the genealogy was completed and ready for the press it consisted of 419 typewritten pages and was placed in the hands of a publisher. The excessive cost, however, of having it published caused Mrs. Hitchcock to send out a note about subscriptions to determine, if possible, how many copies were needed and to gain some idea of how much might be realized from subscriptions. The first thought was to ask \$5.00 for the book and then later \$3.50 was considered but Mrs. Hitchcock and her brother found little response and became somewhat discouraged.

A letter which Charles Hanks wrote on March 25, 1902 to a prospective subscriber and member of the Hanks clan reveals how much work and money had already been expended on the book. He wrote:

"My sister has done an extraordinary amount of work in getting the data together and I believe its historical value will be as great as that of any genealogy ever published in this country, especially in reference to Abraham Lincoln and Nancy Hanks. When I write you that she has already spent over a thousand dollars for postage, you will appreciate what she has done and this is only a part. I personally have contributed to 'the good cause' more than I am willing to admit and am still willing to hold an oar if others will give a little time to it."

Enough people could not be found however, to "hold an oar" to make printing advisable and this first attempt to publish went by default.

Mrs. Hitchcock then worked out a plan to publish an abbreviated story of the Hanks family using a great many pictures and developing it from the human interest angle. When this revised and condensed manuscript was ready it contained 233 typewritten pages arranged in five chapters. It was to be profusely illustrated, which alone, made the cost excessive so it was also laid aside.

In 1932 one of the nephews of Mrs. Hitchcock secured a professional genealogist to copy for the New England Historical and Genealogical Regter the data gathered by Charlotte and Charles Hanks on the New England branch of the family. It was published in the January 1932 issue of the Register, but little credit was given to either of the original compilers for the years of work they had given to make the genealogy possible. The Lincoln Kinsman for July 1941 copied from the manuscripts in its possession a genealogical table of the New England Hankses, so that at last the work of Charlotte and Charles Hanks is finding its way into print.

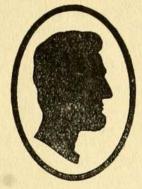
The Sources

When the editor of the Lincoln Kinsman was making his study of Lincoln's parentage in Kentucky he first learned of Mrs. Hitchcock's work, and later on met her at her home in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Just about this time two prominent biographers were engaged in writing Lincoln books and violently attacked the little book Mrs. Hitchcock had written. Knowing something of the sincerity of purpose which Mrs. Hitchcock had exhibited in her researches, a sympathetic attitude toward her efforts was taken with a feeling that eventually the main thesis of her work, supporting the legitimacy of both Lincoln and his mother, would be supported.

Most of the students of Lincolniana who had welcomed the Nancy Hanks publication, with the possible exception of Miss Tarbell, were won back to the old Herndon theory and the old stories of the moral destitution of the Hanks family revived. While Mrs. Hitchcock greatly resented the attack upon the integrity of her work she did not feel equal to combatting the new offensive. Her entire collection of source material was sent to the editor of the Kinsman at his home in Kentucky, including the field notes, genealogical lists, correspondence and the manuscripts of both genealogical studies on the Hanks family.

The letter which accompanied this source material stated, "I think I would like to have you keep all the manuscript and use it in whatever way you think best in your future work. I believe in you. I feel sure you are on the right trail and will leave no stone unturned to get at the root of the truth of the matter in regard to Lincoln's ancestry and if in any way I may be permitted to help you I shall be so glad."

The voluminous collection of Hanks data collected by Mrs. Hitch-cock and her brother has been supplemented by hundreds of copies of court records from many states in the Union and some day it is hoped that the Lincolniana Publishers will be able to bring out a Hanks genealogy that will be comparable to Waldo Lincoln's History of the Lincoln Family. Not until then will Caroline and Charles S. Hanks be compensated for the monumental collection of Hanks data they assembled.



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The Pennsylvania Hank Family

LINCOLN'S ALLEGED ROYAL DESCENT TRACED THROUGH SARAH EVANS HANK

The most sensational statement ever made about Abraham Lincoln's maternal line of descent appeared in David Starr Jourdan's book, Your Family Tree, published about a dozen years ago in which it was alleged the President descended from royalty. In collaboration with the distinguished genealogist, Sarah Louise Kimball, the authors traced the maternal ancestry of Lincoln to both Charlemagne and Alfred the Great.

The family with which the Hankes intermarried, that made possible the alleged descent, was named Evans. Cadwallader Evans was the son of Evan Lloyd Evans of Wales and was the youngest of four brothers migrating to America. He died at Gwynedd, Pennsylvania on May 20, 1745. It is true that the ancestral line of Cadwallader Evans has been traced back through a line of Welshmen to Eva Marshall, an English woman who was the wife of William, sixth Baron de Brasse. Following the line through the Earl of Pembroke, thence as one

reviewer puts it, "through a long and intricate but unmistakable family tree, the line is traced through to Charlemagne, great ruler of the ancient Franks, and Alfred the Great, king of England."

Cadwallader and Ellen (Morris) Evans of Gwynedd, Pennsylvania, had a daughter Sarah who married John Hank (ab) of Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania on October 10, 1711. It was through this union that the tracing of Lincoln's royal descent was attempted. There are many theories extant which would connect Nancy Hanks, the mother of Lincoln, with this John Hank, who married Sarah Evans, and some of them will be considered in this issue of *The Kinsman*.

Several descendants of John Hank (ab) of Pennsylvania have contributed to our knowledge of the family, but to Mrs. Myra Hank Rudolph, Warren, Ohio is due the most credit for gathering and organizing information about the Hank colony.

Her conclusions were printed in four installments of The Monroe Watchman, published at Union, West Virginia in the issues of April 24, May 1, May 8, and May 15, 1930. Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock of Cam-Massachusetts bridge, and Charles T. White of Brookline, Massachusetts gathered much of the source material that made possible a documentary history of the family. The editor of The Kinsman has also done considerable research work in Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia court houses in tracing the movements of this family.

It is fortunate from the viewpoint of the biographer that the early members of the Hank family were affiliated with the Quaker or Friends church, and it is from the pages of the record books of these devout people that we have been able to discover many notations recording the vital statistics of the family.

Origin of the Family

The Hank family originated in Derbyshire, England. The first man by the name of Hank to come to America was named Luke. He was a widower whose wife, Jane Wheatcroft Hank, had passed away on February 7, 1680 in England. Sometime between the date of his wife's death and 1682 Luke arrived on this side of the Atlantic and entered land in what was then Chester County, Pennsylvania. He may have been twice a widower as he was forty-six years old at the time of his marriage to Jane, and it appears as if a daughter named Elizabeth, who was much too old to have been the daughter of Jane Hank, accompanied him to America. Luke's only child by Jane Hank, was a son Luke, but it is not

known whether he survived infancy, as he was but six days old when his mother died. Luke purchased two tracts of land in Chester County in 1682. After the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, in 1693, he returned to England and died at his old home there in 1701.

It is the brother of this Luke Hank of Derbyshire, England in whom we have particular interest, however. His name was John (a), and he had two sons, Luke (aa) and John (ab). Most of the settlers of Darby township, Chester (now Delaware) County, Pennsylvania were from the elder John's home in Derbyshire, England, and it is in Chester that we discover the first Hank colony of this particular branch in America. John Hank (ab) was a witness to a marriage there as early as 1698. It was in this same community where the first emigrant, Luke, had lived before.

In the records of the Friends meeting at Gwynedd, however, we find valuable entries which contributed much to the beginning of the genealogical history of the family in America. On November 10, 1711 John Hank (ab) married Evans, daughter of Cadwallader Evans. John died in 1731 and his widow married Thomas Williams. From the Burlington Quaker records we learn that on July 22, 1737 John Hank (aaa) of Philadelphia, son of Luke, Derbyshire, England, and Rebecca Bryan, daughter of Thomas Bryan, were married. These two Johns and their families furnish the background for a study of the American branch of the family.

Some confusion is caused by the many different forms of the name of Hank, as it is found spelled Hanck, Hancke, Hank, Hanke and Hanks, also in each instance the "n" often appears to be a "w." Except where quotations are used or familiar names spelled otherwise we shall abide by the spelling Hank in this monograph as that seems to be the predominant spelling in this branch of the family. Nancy, Traditional Daughter of

John Hank (aba)

Many of the earlier biographers of Abraham Lincoln were convinced that both his paternal and maternal ancestry lived as neighbors in Berks County, Pennsylvania, and migrated together to Rockingham County, Virginia where they were again associated. In this county it was alleged that both the father and mother of Abraham Lincoln were born. These biographers drew their conclusions from the facts that the Lincolns and Hankses were neighbors, rather than from any traditions or early family folklore which had been preserved.

Howard M. Jenkins in his Historical Collections of Gwynedd was one of the earliest authors to place emphasis upon the probable association of the Lincoln and Hank family in Pennsylvania. He states, "John Hank lived on the Perkiomen Turnpike six miles east of Reading in Exeter Township, Berks County and within half a mile of Mordecai Lincoln, great-grandfather of the President. This John Hank with John and Benjamin Lincoln moved to Fayette County and from there Hank went southward."

Charles C. Coffin, one of the more dependable biographers of Lincoln, brings the families together in Berks County, Pennsylvania and has them emigrating to Rockingham County, Virginia about the same time. He states, "John Hanks, Junior and John and Thomas Lincoln sold their farms in Union (Pennsylvania), made their way across the Potomac River and settled near Harrisonburg, Virginia." (p. 8).

Coffin again mentions the two families upon their arrival in Kentucky, "We have seen John Lincoln and John Hanks settling side by side in the Shenandoah Valley. The children of Abraham Lincoln were in Kentucky. It is not strange that the descendants of John Hanks should also be there. Joseph Hanks had emigrated to Kentucky. He was a carpenter of Elizabethtown. Shall we think it strange that Thomas Lincoln, who was working with him found pleasure in the society of his nieces-Lucy, Elizabeth, Polly and Nancy Hanks?" (p. 14, 15.)

Descendants of the Rockingham County Hank family, basing their testimonies on family tradition, have long claimed relationship to Abraham Lincoln. One of the members of the family stated that an Ohio history gave the names of her paternal grandparents, William Cherrington and his wife, Margaret Hank (abah), and claimed that Margaret was a "sister of Nancy Hanks, Abraham Lincoln's mother." The informant then concluded, "Yes I know an aunt raised Nancy. I cannot say just why. She was much younger than Margaret. There were several children."

Another Cherrington kinsman, a grandson of Margaret Hank Cherrington (abah), states in a letter dated March 12, 1895, "My grandmother had a sister much younger than herself who is said to have married Thomas Lincoln about 1806 and became the mother of the world's great-

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

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est benefactor, Abraham Lincoln."

A great-grandson of Margaret Hank, widow of John (aba), who moved to Rockingham County about 1777, stated in a letter dated April 7, 1895 that he could only remember the names of four of Margaret's children; John, the Revolutionary soldier; William, his grandfather; Margaret, who married Cherrington, and Nancy, who married the father of Abraham Lincoln. The correspondent said, "I have often heard father speak of his aunt marrying Lincoln."

A descendant of Caleb Hank (abagb) makes this statement in a letter written to Mrs. Hitchcock on November 6, 1899, "Before Lincoln was known this Caleb Hank, my grandfather, used to say that an aunt of his had moved to Kentucky and married a man by the name of Lincoln, giving an accent on the last syllable. After Lincoln became prominent, he asserted as his belief that they were cousins."

Most of the traditions about the parentage of Nancy Hanks which have originated with the Hank family, claim that John (aba) was the father of Nancy. It is not known whether John died before the migration of the family to Rockingham

County, Virginia, but nine children were born to John and Margaret by 1774. At least two sons and four daughters accompanied the mother at the time of removal into the Shenandoah Valley.

John Hank (aba), the oldest son of John (ab), was born in 1712 and married Margaret Williams in February 1737, according to the Gwynedd meeting records, and continued to attend there until 1850 when he and his wife affiliated with Richland meeting, but two years later they returned to Gwynedd. The last we learn of John Hank is in the records of Gwynedd under the date of January 26, 1768 when he was in controversy over some money matters. The general concensus of opinion is that John died previous to 1774 when his wife, Margaret, requested a letter of removal from Gwynedd meeting.

Margaret Hank, possibly then a widow, placed her membership with the Hopewell meeting of Virginia, in 1777, and the records of this meeting contain many notations of the family. As late as 1784 Margaret was listed in the commission book of Rockingham County as the head of a family of four persons.

The name Nancy never appears in the contemporary records of the John Hank family in either Pennsylvania or Virginia, although the children of John and Margaret are often mentioned. Furthermore Margaret Hank was called "widow" in the church register as early as 1781 and she had probably been a widow for several years. Although the exact birthdate of Lincoln's mother is not known, it is never placed earlier than 1783 or later than 1786. In 1784, the birthdate most often used, Margaret Hank,

the wife of John Hank, had been a widow many years and was then

sixty-four years of age.

It would seem foolish, indeed, to attempt to trace Abraham Lincoln's royal descent from Charlemagne through an infant born to a sixty-four year old widow, whose husband apparently had been dead for a decade.

Nancy, Traditional Daughter of Joseph Hank (abg)

The claim of Lincoln's royal descent through Cadwallader Evans' daughter, Sarah, who married John Hank (ab), is not entirely eliminated by the discovery that Sarah's oldest son John (aba) and his wife, Margaret, could not possibly have been parents of the President's mother, Nancy Hanks. There was another son of John and Sarah, named Joseph (abg), through whom it also is claimed the royal line of descent can be traced.

Lea and Hutchinson in their book, The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln, were under the impression that Joseph was the father of Nancy and stated, "The family removed to Rockingham County, in the immediate vicinity of the Lincolns, adding greatly to the probabilities." (p. 117). The authors also made an effort to identify the Joseph Hanks of Hardin County, Kentucky with the Joseph Hank of Berks County, Pennsylvania. It is doubtful if either of these Josephs was ever in Rockingham County, Virginia, the alleged place of arrival from Pennsylvania and of departure for Kentucky.

The Lea and Hutchinson conclusion has been presented in a slightly different version by a recent biographer, J. Huston Harrison, in his book, Settlers by the Long Trail. He tried to identify as kinsman of the President a "Brother Hanks" and a "Sister Hanks" who were members of the same church in Rockingham County to which "Brother Lincoln" belonged. This was his conclusion:

"Considering the circumstances it appears highly probable that 'Bro. Hanks' was Joseph (Jr.) who resided with his mother Nancy, and that Nancy, the future wife of Thomas Lincoln was stopping with her grandmother when some occasion of the neighborhood, perchance one of the identical church meetings of these old minutes, happened to lead to their introduction." (p. 443).

Still another version of the story comes from Harry M. Strickler in his book, Old Tenth Legion Marriages, where he calls attention to the marriage in Rockingham County, of a certain John Hank and Anny Runnion. He states with reference to the bride, Anny or Nancy (Runnion) Hank; "This may have been the mother of Abraham Lincoln. Nancy having married a second time Thomas Lincoln." (p. 63).

It was undoubtedly the same Nancy who married John Hank on January 19, 1800, who appears on the church records as "Sister Nancy Hanks." She was a candidate for baptism in the church on October 8, 1808, four months before Abraham Lincoln was born. Nancy Runnion Hank was still a member of the congregation in 1818, which happens to be the same year that the mother of Abraham Linclon died in Indiana. Undoubtedly it is the same Nancy Runnion Hank who conveyed land in 1829 to her children Isaac, Daniel, Mary and John (Rockingham County Deed

Book, p. 39 v. 9). The 1810 census shows John Hank (Sr.) with three sons and one daughter. It is not known, if so, how this family was related to the Pennsylvania Hank family.

To get back to the traditional "Brother Joseph" of Rockingham County, whom we have now learned to be "Brother John Hanks," husband of "Sister Nancy Hanks," we must give up any hope of bringing Joseph's widow back to Rockingham County, as it is quite certain the widow of Joseph Hank of Kentucky returned to Amelia County, Virginia.

Joseph Hank (abg), son of John (ab), was born in 1725 at Whitemarsh township. His parents were associated with the Gwynedd Friends in whose church register the births of the children were recorded. When Joseph was 27 years old he is noted as having had some difficulty with this church and one year later in 1753 he removed into the community of the Exeter meeting. His certificate of removal from Gwynedd was approved but he did not present it at Exeter until over a year later, on May 30, 1754. On October 26, 1754 this testimony was read against him in the Exeter church:

"Whereas Joseph Hank by a Certificate sent after him from North Wales (Gwynedd) is found to be of our Society, but not adhering to the Witness of God in his own heart, and likewise Marrying one of another Profession for which he has refused to give Satisfaction. We do therefore hereby Disown the said Joseph Hank to be of our Society until he gives manifest sign of True Repentance, which we heartily Desire he may."

At the following meeting of the

church it was noted that as he desired no appeal he ceased to be a member of the Exeter meeting. It is of interest to note that at this time when Joseph Hank was living in Exeter community Abraham Lincoln, paternal grandfather of the President, was living in the same township.

Joseph Hank apparently remained in the community until his neighbor, John Lincoln's boy, Abraham, grew to maturity. Joseph was taxed in Reading township from 1754 to 1763 and in Exeter township from 1779 to 1783. As late as 1793 there was a Joseph Hank whose name appeared in the records of West Chester as having sold land at that time.

Inasmuch as Joseph Hank was not in good standing with the church after his marriage we have no means of learning the number of children or their names. The name of his wife is not known although it may have been Ann. The first account of Joseph which we have after his birth is the signing as a witness to a will made by John Edwards of Montgomery County, on April 9, 1749. The month before an Ann Hanks is mentioned in the will of Olliver Williams in the same county.

It is not likely that Joseph Hank born in 1725 was the father of a daughter Nancy, born sixty years later. If the line of royal descent is to be traced through Joseph Hank, the son of Sarah Evans Hank, apparently there is another generation between Joseph and the mother of Lincoln for which we will have to account. There is no documentary evidence available which would support the theory of David Starr Jourdan or the traditions of the Hank family that Abraham Lincoln's line of descent can be traced through Sarah Evans who married John Hank.

Hank Genealogy

The genealogy of the Hank family is not continued beyond the sixth generation as that is sufficiently late enough for descendants still living to make accurate family connections. Of course the entire genealogy is fragmentary, but this abbreviated outline may contribute to a more exhaustive compilation in the future.

First Generation a. John, ?-1679.

Second Generation aa. Luke, 1673-(1737).

Brown, Hannah.

ab. John, 1676-?

Evans, Sarah.

Third Generation

aaa. John, ?-(1772).

Brian, Rebecca.

aba. John, 1712-(1781).

Williams, Margaret.

abb. Jane, 1714-1762.

Roberts, John.

abc. Elizabeth, 1716-?

Evans, John.

abd. William, 1719-?

Died in infancy.

abe. William, 1720-1796.

abf. Samuel, 1723-?

Going, Sarah.

abg. Joseph, 1725-?

abh. Sarah, 1728-?

Fourth Generation

aaaa. Hannah, 1738-?

aaab. John, ?-(1829).

Ewing (Evens) Rachel.

abaa. John, 1738-?

Never married.

abab. Caleb, ?-1770.

Married but no offspring.

abac. Jane, ?-1745.

Deceased early in life.

abad. Joshua, ?-1758.

Deceased early in life.

abae. Susannah, ?-?

Bryan, Thomas.

abaf. Ellen, ?-?

Never married.

abag. William, 1754-1823.

Berry, Susannah.

abah. Margaret, 1755-1797.

Cherrington, William.

abai. Hannah, 1760-?

Lupton, Asa.

ab??a. Daniel, 1771-1821.

Masterson, Mary.

ab??b. John, 1779-1849.

Bell,

Fifth Generation

abaga. David, 1788-1854.

1. Tackett, Sarah.

2. Parsons, Elizabeth.

3. Dalzell, Sarah (Stanley).

abagb. Caleb, 1789-1869.

1. Smith, Nancy.

2. Rayhill, Elizabeth.

3. Matthews, Mary Ann.

4. Dixon, Hermion (Weeks).

abagc. Margaret, 1792-1808.

Never married.

abagd. John, 1794-1831.

Price, Rebecca.

abage. William, 1796-1869.

Peale, Serena.

abagf. Mary, 1798-1857.

Smith, Christopher.

abagg. Jehu, 1801-1881.

1. Brattan, Malvina D.

2. Berger, Susan K.

Sixth Generation

abagaa. George Berry, 1827-? Weed, Olive. abagab. Nancy, 1828-?

abagac. James Williams, 1830-?

abagad. Jehu B., 1832-?

abagae. John Parsons, 1833-?

abagaf. Caleb Robert, 1836-?

abagag. Susannah, 1838-?

abagah. Sarah Elizabeth, 1842-?

abagai. Mary Catherine, 1850-? Liddle, William H.

abagaj. David, 1854-?

abagba. Mary, 1809-1882.

Cherrington, Jefferson.

abagbb. Susan, 1811-?

Wood, Archibald.

abagbc. Margaret Williams, 1815-? Cherrington, Clinton.

abagbd. William, 1815-?

abagbe. Sarah, 1819-?

Shiers, Christopher.

abagbf. Eliza, 1821-?

Knapp, Moses.

abagbg. David, 1823-?

abagbh. Infant.

abagbi. Infant.

abagbj. Jane B., 1833-1856.

Ewing, John.

abagbk. Alvin Ewing, 1835-?

Abbott, Lydia.

abagbl. Isabel Virginia, 1838-?

Ewing, William.

abagbm. Nancy Ann, 1840?

Ewing, Henry.

abagbn. Rebecca Ellen, 1842-? McClung, Robert.

abagbo. John William, 1844-? Rice, Mildred.

abagbp. Caleb, 1847-1893. Davis, Laura.

abagda. Eliza, ?-?

abagbd. Margaret, ?-?

abagdc. Thomas, ?-1831.

abagea. John William Fletcher, 1826-?

Keener, Anna.

abageb. Jehu Newman, 1827-?

abagec. James Bernard, 1829-?

abaged. Armenius Summerfield,

1831-?

abagee. Susan Catherine, 1833-?

abagef. Emory Waugh, 1836-?

abagga. Virginia, 1830-1830.

abaggb. Josiah Dickinson, 1835-?

abagge. Susan, 1838-?

Morgan,

abaggd. Malvina D., 1840-?

Woolwine,

abagge. Fanny, 1842-?

Joice,

abaggf. David, 1846-?

Leonidas,

abaggg. Wilbur F., 1848-?

Associated Families

Roberts

The children of John and Jane Hank (abb) Roberts were Cadwallader, John, Elizabeth, Ruth, Sarah,

Ann, Jane, Mary, Job and John.

Smith

The children of Christopher and Mary Hank (abagf) Smith were Caleb Hank, 1828; Susan Catherine, 1830; Jehu Hammett, 1832; John William, 1834; Mary Virginia, 1836; and William Monroe, 1838.

Cherrington

The children of William and Margaret Hank (abah) Cherrington were Thomas, 1779; John, 1781; William, 1787; Rachel, 1784; Clement, 1791; Susan, 1789; Ellen, 1794; and Josiah, 1797.

Bryan

The children of Thomas and Susannah Hank (abae) Bryan were John, Benjamin, Thomas, Ahaz, Margaret and Ellen.



The Lincoln Kinsman

Number 50

Fort Wayne, Indiana

August, 1942

THOMAS LINCOLN THE COOPER

THE MASSACHUSETTS PIONEER FROM WHOM GEN. BENJAMIN LINCOLN DESCENDED

The first American by the name of Lincoln to receive national recognition was Benjamin Lincoln, a general in the Revolutionary War. Abraham Lincoln must have come across General Lincoln's name in print for the first time when reading Ramsey's Life of Washington, the borrowed book damaged by the rain for which he worked three days in payment. The youth's, Lincoln's, curiosity about the man must have been aroused by coming across a name similar to his own. In later years he had occasion to refer to "Those famous Lincolns" of Massachusetts of which the General possibly was the most outstanding.

Benjamin Lincoln was born at Hingham, on January 24, 1733, the son of Colonel Benjamin and his second wife, formerly the widow Elizabeth (Thaxter) Norton. At twentyone years of age young Benjamin was town constable of Hingham. On January 15, 1756, he married Mary Cushing and eleven children were born to this union. When Benjamin was

twenty-two years old he started his military career by an appointment as Adjutant of the 3rd Regiment of Suffolk County. Later he was promoted to Major and when the Revolutionary War broke out he was a Lieutenant Colonel. He assisted in organizing and training continental troops and was appointed Major General of the State Militia in 1776. He was a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts of which he was secretary.

Although General Lincoln was a son of Col. Benjamin Lincoln, Commander of the Third Suffolk Regiment, and also a member of His Majesty's Council, the son was one of the very earliest advocates of American independence. The instructions which he prepared in May 1776 as town clerk, for the delegates to the General Court, give some idea of his patriotism and determination to stand by the colonies in their attempt to free themselves from British rule. An excerpt from the manuscript follows:

"Gentlemen,—You are delegated to represent the Town of Hingham in the next General Court to be held in this colony; and although we entertain the highest sense of your integrity, patriotism, and ability, of which we have given full evidence in appointing you to this weighty trust, yet as matters of the greatest importance relative to the freedom and happiness not only of this but of all of the United Colonies, on which you may wish to have the advice of your constituents, will come before you for your determination you are instructed and directed at all times to give your vote and interest in support of the present struggle with Great Britain. We ask nothing of her but 'Peace, Liberty, and Safety.' You will never recede from that claim; and agreeably to a resolve of the late House of Representatives, in case the honorable Continental Congress declare themselves independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, solemnly to engage in behalf of your constituents, that they will with their lives and fortunes support them in the measure."

The General's military record is one of honor. In June 1776 he commanded an expedition that cleared Boston Harbor of England's vessels. In 1776 he participated in the Battle of White Plains and the attack on Fort Independence. He was with Washington at Morristown in 1777 and on February 9 of that year he was promoted to Major General upon recommendation of Washington. He was severely injured in the Battle of Bemises Heights and had to be carried from the field. The injury made him lame for life.

In August 1778 General Lincoln was again convalescing and on Sep-

tember 25 was appointed by Congress to the chief command of the Southern Department. After the reverses at Charleston he joined Washington and participated in the seige of Yorktown. Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography states that at this time "Washington appointed him to receive the sword of Cornwallis in the surrender of the British forces." Helen B. Crosby, a great granddaughter of General Lincoln made this statement in writing about the famous sword: "It is true that General Lincoln received Cornwallis' sword at Yorktown. Cornwallis, himself. feigned illness and General O'Hara gave up the sword, which was at once given back, according to the usual custom."

When the presidential electors on February 4, 1789 chose George Washington as the first Chief Executive of the nation there were eleven other citizens who received one or more votes, among them, Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, so the name Lincoln appeared on the very first balloting for a President of the United States.

General Lincoln served as Secretary of War from 1781 to 1784, commanded the forces that put down Shay's Rebellion in 1787, was elected Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts the same year and held many other important public offices. Up until two years prior to his death he was serving as collector of the Port of Boston, and was holding this office at the time his illustrious kinsman, Abraham Lincoln, was born in Hodgenville, Kentucky. A eulogy prepared by Walter L. Bouvé pays him the following tribute:

"General Lincoln was of middle height, erect, broad-chested, and muscular, with the air of a soldier. He was conspicuous for his frankness, integrity, prudence, inflexibility, and strong common-sense. He was cool in deliberation, and prompt in execution. His private life was without a stain, and no profane word passed his lips. He was one of the organizers of the Third Congregational (Unitarian) Society, and until his death among its most active members. There was no room in General Lincoln's character for that smallness of mind which sneers at religious belief in others, or boasts its absence in one's self. In this as in all else he was as sincere as modest. Never cowardly in disavowal of the great faith he had, and unwilling to permit his convictions to appear in doubt, he was also considerate and liberal regarding the opinions and beliefs of others. Benjamin Lincoln died May 9, 1810, and he lacked neither honor nor love in his own town and among his own neighbors."

Not far from the first settler's monument in the old cemetery at Hingham stands a massive, marble memorial erected to his memory by his descendants in 1852 and bearing this inscription:

"Benjamin Lincoln/Major-General in the Army of The Revolution/Born January 24, 1733/Died May 9, 1810."

Benjamin Lincoln's first American ancestor was Thomas Lincoln, the cooper, who arrived in Hingham about 1736 when he was granted five acres of land at the west end of the town for a house lot. The location of the land is designated as "butting on the town street eastward, and upon

the common westward, and with the land of Francis Smith northward, and with the land of Thomas Nichols southward." Later he disposed of this property and purchased land for a lot on North Street, near Beal, which piece of ground later became the site of his homestead.

Before coming to America from the western part of England he married about the year 1630, Annis Lane, daughter of William Lane. David Hobart, son of the famous Peter Hobart, recorded Mrs. Lincoln's death in his diary as follows: "February 13, 1683 The wife of Thomas Lincoln the cooper died." Although Thomas was undoubtedly related to Samuel Lincoln, President Lincoln's first American ancestor, the exact kinship is unknown.

The genealogical table which follows, traces the descendants of Thomas and Annis (Lane) Lincoln through nine generations which is of sufficient length to allow most of the Lincolns who belong to this branch of the family to locate their forebears.

First Generation

a. Thomas, ?-1691. Lane, Annis.

Second Generation

- aa. Thomas, 1638-1708.
 - 1. Chubbuck, Mary.
 - 2. Hobart, Lydia.
- ab. Joseph, 1640-1715.
 - 1. Ford, Prudence.
 - 2. Bisbee, Mrs. Sarah.
- ac. Benjamin, 1643-1700.
 - Fearing, Margaret.
- ad. Deborah, 1645-?.
 - Thaxter, Samuel.
- ae. Sarah, 1650-1658.

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EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

BUSINESS MANAGER MAURICE A. COOK

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Third Generation

aaa. Mary, ?-?.

aab. Mercy, 1686-?.

aac. Thomas, ?-1692.

aad. Lydia, 1691-1692.

aae. Mary, 1693-1693.

aaf. Thomas, 1695-1778.

1. Beal, Elizabeth.

2. Whitman, Dorothy.

aag. Lydia, 1696-1698.

aah. Josiah, 1699-1774.

Lincoln, Susanna.

aba. Joseph, 1682-?.

abb. Israel, 1685-1726.

Stodder, Margaret.

abc. Nehemiah, 1688-1771. Burr, Deborah.

abd. Elisha, 1692-?.

aca. John, 1667-?.

1. Chubbuck, Martha.

2. Lincoln, Mrs. Hannah (Palmer).

acb. Margaret, 1669.

Lincoln, David.

acc. Benjamin, 1671-1727.

Lewis, Mary.

acd. Thomas, 1674-?.

Holmes, Rachel.

ace. Jeremiah, 1682-1717.

acf. Jonathan, 1684. Clark, Hannah.

acg. Sarah, 1687-1687.

Fourth Generation

aafa. Elizabeth, 1731-1736.

aafb. Thomas, 1736-1736.

aafc. Elizabeth, 1738-?.

aafd. Thomas, 1743-1743.

aafe. Thomas, 1744-?.

aaha. Lydia, 1726-1727.

aahb. Josiah, 1728-1795.

1. Holbrook, Mary.

2. Andrews, Abigail.

aahc. Joseph, 1731-1776.

Beal, Elizabeth.

aahd. Jeremiah, 1733-?.

Hersey, Sarah.

aahe. Lydia, 1735-?.

Waterman, Thomas, Jr.

aahf. Susanna, 1739-?.

aahg. Isaiah, 1741-?.

aahh. Hosea, 1745-?.

aahi. Susanna, 1747-?.

Lincoln, Nathaniel.

aahj. Olive, 1753-?. Beal, John.

abba. Margaret, 1717-?. Gilbert, Israel.

abbb. Lydia, 1720-?.

abbc. Israel, 1723-1810.

1. Cook, Deborah.

2. French, Abigail.

abbd. Joseph, 1725-1727.

acaa. Hannah, 1688-?.

Lane, Isaac. acab. John, 1691-?.

acac. Elisha, 1697-?.

Whitcomb, Melia.

acca. Mary, 1696-1699.

accb. Benjamin, 1699-1771.

1. Loring, Mary.

2. Norton, Mrs. Elizabeth (Thaxter).

acda. Rachel, 1696-?.

Hopkins, Benjamin.

acdb. Thomas, 1700-1730. Winslow, Sarah.

acdc. Sarah, 1702-?.

Lewis, Jabez.

acdd. Nathaniel, 1704-?.
Asten, Hannah.

acde. Margaret, ?-?.

acdf. Thankful, ?-?.

acdg. Elisha, ?-?.

Fifth Generation

aahba. Josiah, 1761-1762. aahbb. Molly, 1763-1847.

Goold, Robert.

aahca. Joseph, 1776-1776.

aahda. Else, 1760-?.

Hobart, Jonathan.

aahdb. Laban, 1761-1762.

aahde. Laban, 1763-1796.

Lincoln, Elizabeth.

aahdd. Sarah, 1765-?.

Marsh, Samuel.

aahde. Jeremiah, 1768-1794.

aahdf. Lydia, 1771-?.

Smith, Hobart.

aahdg. Jerusha, 1773-?.

aahdh. Hosea, 1776-?. aahdi. Josiah, 1777-?.

Getchel, Anna.

aahdj. Joseph, 1781-1798.

abbca. Elizabeth, 1746-1750.

abbcb. Israel, 1748-1834.

Stowell, Mrs. Chloe (Lin-

coln).

abbcc. Barnabas, 1751-1822. Gilbert, Olive. abbcd. Joseph, 1753-1816.

Marsh, Susannah.

abbce. Elizabeth, 1757-?. Lincoln, Caleb.

acaca. Melia, 1723-?.

Porter, Ebenezer.

acacb. Elisha, 1725-?.

acacc. Elizabeth, 1727-?.
Pratt, Micah.

acacd. Content, 1729-1729.

acace. John, 1732-?.

Townsend, Joanna.

acacf. Love, 1734-?.

Pratt, Benjamin.

acacg. Lucretia, 1737-?.

acach. Content, 1739-?.

Burrell, Samuel.

accba. Mary, 1724-?.

Cushing, Elisha.

accbb. Elizabeth, 1726-?.

Cushing, Daniel.

accbc. Sarah, 1727-?.

Cushing, Ebenezer.

accbd. Hannah, 1729-?.

Cushing, Pyam.

accbe. Olive, 1731-?.

Cushing, John.

accbf. Benjamin, 1732-1810. Cushing, Mary.

accbg. Bela, 1733-1773.

accbh. Theodore, 1736-1748.

Sixth Generation

aahdca. Delight, 1793-1846.

Gardner, Jesse.

aahdcb. Elijah, 1795-?.

Copeland, Mary M.

abbcba. Chloe Stowell, 1797-1877.

French, George, Jr.

abbcbb. Hannah, 1801-?.
1. Hersey, Hosea.

2. Battles, Martin.

abbcbc. Mitchell, 1803-1886. Nichols, Mary.

abbcca. Nehemiah, 1776-1846. Stodder, Eunice.

abbccb. Olive, 1777-?. Lincoln, Abel.

abbece. Sarah, 1779-?.

Humphrey, Moses L.

abbccd. Barnabas, 1781-1850. Lincoln, Rachel.

abbcce. Allen, 1784-1828. Stowell, Mercy.

abbccf. Mary, 1786-1859.
Pettingill, Moses, Jr.

abbccg. Deborah, 1788-?. Barnes, Ensign, Jr.

abbech. Zelinda, 1790-1827. Pettingill, Moses, Jr.

abbcci. Lydia, 1793-1864. abbccj. Charles, 1797-1881. French, Anna.

abbcda. Joseph, 1785-1857. Lamb, Amy.

abbcdb. Marshall, 1787-1857. Stodder, Lucy.

abbcdc. Polly, 1789-?.

Anderson, Alexander.

abbcdd. Bela, 1792-1793. abbcde. Bela, 1796-?.

1. Cushing, Susan N.

abbcdf. Susanna Marsh, 1799-?. Easterbrook, Isaac.

abbcdg. Ephraim, 1802-1802.

accbfa. Benjamin, 1756-?. Otis, Mary.

accbfb. Mary, 1758-1797.

accbfc. Elizabeth, 1759-?.

Baylies, Hodijah.

accbfd. Sarah, 1761-?.

Thaxter, Dr. Gridley.

accbfe. Theodore, 1763-1852.

accbff. Martin, 1766-1766.

accbfg. Bela, 1767-1772.

accbfh. Martin, 1769-1837.

Cushing, Lydia.

accbfi. Edmund, 1771-1773.

accbfj. Hannah, 1773-?.

Lincoln, Abner.

accbfk. Deborah, 1776-1777.

Seventh Generation

abbccaa. Adna, 1808-1826.

abbccab. Maria, 1809-?.

Wilder, Seth S.

abbccac. Eliza, 1811-1880. Beal, David.

abbccad. Lucy Stodder, 1814-?. Siders, George E.

abbccae. Henry, 1817-?.

1. Lane, Susan.

2. Blanchard, Mrs. Cynthia.

abbccaf. Sabina Hobart, 1820-?. Clark, Melzar W.

abbccda. Martha Ann Gibbs, 1810-?. Brown, John W.

abbccdb. Henrietta Mayhew, 1812-?.

abbccdc. Emily Gilbert, 1814-?. Bouvé, Thomas T.

abbccdd. Mary Hersey, 1817-?. Cabot, Frederick S.

abbccde. Meriel Rice, 1820-1855.

abbeedf. Nathan, 1822-?. Lincoln, Lucy F.

abbccea. Juliette, 1809-?.

Dawes, John P.

abbcceb. Benjamin Stowell, 1811-?.
Anderson, Mary.

abbccec. Alfred, 1813-1865.

Curtis, Mary Lee.

abbcced. Allen Augustus, 1817-?. Childs, Phoebe G.

abbccee. Ann Rosena, 1819-?. Barton, Russell.

abbccef. Bradford Hersey, ?-?.

abbcceg. Lorenzo, ?-?. abbcceh. Alonzo, 1827-?. 1. Morse, Mary F. 2. Wright, Sarah E. abbccja. Anna Rice, 1824-?. Burrell, Lemuel. Charles, 1826-?. abbccjb. Sprague, Mrs. Abigail (Nye). abbecje. Barnabas, 1829-1830. abbccid. Barnabas, ?-?. abbccje. Martin, 1834-?. Stodder, Lucinda A. abbccjf. Lucy Amanda, 1836-?. Hersey, Isaac L. abbccjg. Lydia, 1838-1840. abbccjh. Ensign, 1841-?. Harlow, Nancy Laverna. abbccji. Lydia Ophelia, 1843-?. 1. Johnson, Henri. 2. Hersey, Reuben. abbccjj. William Wallace, ?-?. abbcdba. Marshall, 1809-1865. Nickerson, Rachel. abbcdbb. Robert Waterman, 1811-1887. Wolfe, Elizabeth R. abbcdbc. James Lawrence, 1814-1883. Stowell, Chrissey. abbcdbd. Mary Waterman, 1816-1863. Whiton, Isaiah G. abbcdbe. Susan Marsh, 1819-?. 1. Nash, Nathaniel. 2. Whiton, Isaiah G. abbcdbf. Lucy Ann, 1822-1850. Newhall, Joseph A. abbcdbg. Bela, 1824-1878.

Newcomb, Abigail A.

Newhall, Joseph A.

abbcdbh. Elizabeth Waterman,

1828-?.

abbadbi. Thomas Waterman, 1832-?. Lowell, Helen M. accbfha. Lydia Cushing, 1802-1803. accbfhb. Catherine Cushing, 1804-1878. Bowles, Leonard C. accbfhc. Mary Cushing, 1806-1877. accbfhd. Ann Storrow, 1807-?. accbfhe. Maria Shattuck, 1810-1870. accbfhf. Benjamin, 1816-1884. accbfhg. Sarah Elizabeth, 1821-?. Crosby, Samuel T. Eighth Generation abbcceba. Benjamin, 1835-1866. abbccebb. Mary Amanda, 1837-1839. abbccebc. Mary Amanda, 1839-?. Palmer, Leavitt B. abbccebd. Helen Elizabeth, 1842-1870. Lovell, William H., Jr. abbccebe. Alexander Henry, 1844-?. Morse, Abbie L. abbccebf. Ann Augusta, 1846-?. Dunham, Jacob B. abbccebg. Horace, 1849-?. abbccebh. Martha, 1852-?. Kelsey, John N. abbccebi. Harriet Ells, 1855-?. Darling, Charles, Jr. abbccebj. Granville Ellis, 1858-1865. abbcceca. Alfred Augustus, 1838-?. Emmons, Julia M. abbccecb. Benjamin Curtis, 1840-1865. Whitman, Isadore F. abbccecc. Samuel Marston, 1841-1864. abbccecd. Martha, 1843-1844. abbccece. Irving, 1845-?. abbccecf. Eugene, 1848-?. abbccecg. An infant, ?-?.

abbccech. Ernest Wilbur, 1853-?.

Lincoln, Mary.

abbcceci. Mary Lee, 1855-?. abbccecj. Irene Inez, 1858-?.

abbcceda. Mercy E., 1843-?. Remington, John O.

abbccedb. Allen Augustus, 1844-1865.

abbccedc. Ruth Ann, 1848-?. Lincoln, Frank.

abbccedd. Alvah Willis, 1856-?. Perkins, Carrie Slade.

abbecjea. Frank Wallace, 1855-?. Lovell, Lydia C.

abbccjeb. Mary Emma, 1857-1859. abbccjec. Nettie Alden, 1864-1869.

abbccjha. Minnie, 1863-?.

abbccjhb. Fred, 1865-?.

abbeeihe. Edith Harlow, 1867-?.

abbccjhd. Lydia Alice, 1870-1871.

abbcdbaa. Josiah Marshall, 1828-1883.

Thompson, Susan M.

abbcdbab. Anson Nickerson, 1832-?. Ward, Annie.

abbcdbac. Andrew Jackson, 1834-?. Williams, Emily.

abbcdbad. Laura Ann, 1836-?. Evans, George F.

abbcdbba. Robert Waterman, 1838-?. Cragin, Emma F.

abbcdbbb. William Cushing, 1840-?. Hilton, Honora.

abbcdbbc. Marshall, 1842-?.

Damon, Annie F.

abbcdbbd. James Lawrence, 1844-?. 1. Cragin, Helen M.

2. Healey, Catherine W.

abbcdbbe. Ann Elizabeth, 1845-?. Adams, Warren W.

abbedbbf. Lucy Jane, 1847-1870. Dana, Isaac D.

abbcdbbg. Susan Nash, 1848-1875. abbcdbbh. George Butman, 1851-?. Jordan, Addie.

abbcdbbi. Frank Rogers, 1853-?. Clark, Estella.

abbcdbbj. Lydia Waterman, 1855-?. abbcdbbk. Helen Augusta, 1857-?. abbcdbbl. Charles Greenwood, 1862-

1863.

abbcdbga. Abbie Adams, 1853-1885. Davis, George H.

abbcdbgb. Bela Francis, 1856-?.

Ninth Generation

abbccebea. Granville Henry, 1880-?. abbccebeb. Augustus Hudson, 1882-?. abbccebec. Benjamin Stowell, 1884-?. abbccebed. Percy Marsh, 1887-?.

abbccecaa. Josephine Emmons, 1867-?.

abbccecab. Ernest Everett, 1870-?. abbccecac. Edwin Lee, 1876-1878. abbccecad. Bessie Curtis, 1880-?.

abbccecha. Alice Revere, 1879-?. abbccechb. Elliott Curtis, 1884-?.

abbccedda. Miles Allen, 1882-?. abbcceddb. Pauline Leslie, 1884-?.

abbcdbbca. Julia Wade, 1877-?. abbcdbbcb. Marshall, 1880-?.

abbcdbbda. Jennie May, 1872-1882. abbcdbbdb. Arthur Wolfe, 1873-1879.

abbcdbbdc. Robert Waterman, 1878-?.

abbcdbbdd. Fannie Cragin, 1879-?.

Note: This genealogical list would not have been possible without the generous use of the "History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts," published by the town in 1893.



The Lincoln Kinsman

Number 51

Fort Wayne, Indiana

September, 1942

Thomas Lincoln, The Husbandman

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE LINCOLNS FROM WYMONDHAM, ENGLAND WHO SETTLED IN HINGHAM, MASS.

Three towns of Norfork County, Norwich, Wymondham and Hingham, supplied most of the Lincolns who settled in New England previous to 1740. Hingham, England is about sixteen miles southeast of Norwich and on the highway between these two points lies Wymondham (Windham), six miles from Hingham. There were also a few Lincolns at Swanton Morley, fourteen miles northeast of Norwich.

The two brothers, Stephen and Thomas Lincoln, were citizens of Wymondham, and sailed on the ship "Diligent" of Ipswich, of which John Martin was the master. This boat, which arrived from London on August 10, 1638, carried one-hundred and thirty people. Most of the passengers were from the Hingham-Wymondham communities.

The name of the father of Stephen and Thomas Lincoln is unknown, but the given name of Thomas' wife, "Joan," appears on her son Stephen's will. Both of these men were husbandmen and Thomas was so called to identify him among the four Thomases of Hingham, called respectively, the weaver, the cooper, the miller and the husbandman. Tradition claims that Thomas, the husbandman, was a cousin of Samuel Lincoln, the first American ancestor of President Lincoln.

Inasmuch as Thomas and Stephen were brothers, it seems best to use their father, given name unknown, with his wife Joan, as the earliest ancestor (a) of this branch of the family. Sources used in compiling this genealogy are: History of the Town of Hingham, Vol. II and III; In Memoriam, John Larkin Lincoln, 1817-1891 by William Ensign Lincoln; and Some Descendants of Stephen Lincoln of Wymondham, England [and cognate families] by William Ensign Lincoln.

First Generation

a. Unknown.

---, Joan.

Second Generation

aa. Stephen, ?-1658.

- - - , Margaret.

ab. Thomas, ?-1692.

Langer, Margaret.

Third Generation

aaa. Stephen, 1660-1692.

Hawke, Elizabeth.

aab. Sarah, 1642-1649.

aba. Caleb, 1643-?

abb. Joshua, 1645-1694.

Hobart, Deborah.

abc. Caleb, 1645-1715.

1. Bate, Rachel.

2. Jackson, Hannah.

abd. Susanna, 1646-?

Barstow, Joseph.

abe. Mary, 1647-?

Barker, Francis.

abf. Sarah, 1650-?

Marsh, Thomas.

abg. Thomas, 1652-1698. Lewis, Sarah.

abh. Daniel, 1654-1669.

abi. Elizabeth, 1656-?

Lincoln, Daniel. abj. Ephraim, 1659-1660.

abk. Ruth, 1662-?

Gill, Samuel.

Fourth Generation

aaaa. Elizabeth, 1660-1710. Marsh, Ephraim.

aaab. Mary, 1662-1716.

Whiton, Enoch.

aaac. Stephen, 1665-1717.

Never married.

aaad. David, 1668-1714. Lincoln, Margaret. aaaf. Abigail, 1673-1713. Andrews, Thomas.

aaag. Margaret, 1677-1726.

Lane, Josiah.

Lane, John.

aaah. James, 1681-1731.

aaae. Bethia, 1670-1716.

1. Lincoln, Deborah.

2. Low, Joanna.

abba. Peter, 1667-1668.

abbb. Joshua, 1669, 1700.

1. ---, Mary.

2. Palmer, Hannah.

abbc. Peter, 1670-1731.

Beal, Ruth.

abbd. Jacob, 1672-1672.

abbe. Deborah, 1674-?

Lasell, John.

abbf. Margaret, 1677-1683.

abbg. Caleb, 1678-1721.

Leavitt, Margaret.

abbh. Jacob, 1680-1729.

1. Merritt, Ruth.

2. Ward, Lydia.

abbi. Solomon, 1682-?

Franklin, Elizabeth.

abbj. Isaac, 1684-1689.

abca. Ruth, 1684-?

Star, Ebenezer.

abcb. Caleb, 1686-?

abcc. Rachel, 1688-?

How, Nathaniel.

abcd. Anna, 1690-1725.

Humphries, Thomas.

Silence, 1692-?

Ripley, Peter, Jr.

abcf. Luke, 1695-1770.

1. Otis, Elizabeth.

2. Loring, Lydia.

abga. Sarah, 1685-?

Cushing, Daniel.

abgb. Susanna, 1688-?

Colson, John.

abgc. Thomas, 1692-?

abgd. Ebenezer, 1694-1777.

Allen, Hannah.

abge. Mary, 1695-1784.

Burr, Jonathan.

Fifth Generation

aaada. Elizabeth, 1693-1715.

aaadb. David, 1694-1756.

1. Beal, Lydia.

2. Beal, Leah.

3. Hersey, Mary.

aaadc. Sarah, 1696-1698.

aaadd. Matthew, 1698-1781.

Lincoln, Abigail.

aaade. Isaac, 1701-1760.

Stone, Kezia.

aaadf. Margaret, 1705-1716.

aaadg. Job, 1709-1715.

aaaha. James, 1711-1712.

abbca. Ruth, 1704-1768.

abbcb. Deborah, 1705-?

Hassell, John.

abbcc. Joshua, 1707-1746.

Battles, Mary.

abbcd. Peter, 1711-1769.

Whiton, Margaret.

abbce. Elizabeth, 1714-1742.

abbcf. Isaac, 1720-?

Eveleth, Hannah.

abbga. Thankful, ?-1786.

Joy, Samuel.

abbgb. Kezia, 1719-?

Bramhall, Samuel.

abbha. Ruth, 1718-1795.

Leavitt, John.

abbhb. Sarah, 1720-1808.

abbhc. Lydia, 1729-?

abgda. Thomas, 1717-1734.

abgdb. Ebenezer, 1719-1808.

Loring, Sarah.

abgdc. Elizabeth Otis, 1721-?

Barnes, Cornelius.

abgdd. David, 1722-1798.

1. Jones, Elizabeth.

2. Porter, Mrs. Sarah

(Pratt).

abgde. Hannah, 1726-?

Marsh, John.

abgdf. Monica, 1728-?

Marsh, Jonathan.

abgdg. Lot, 1730-?

1. Stetson, Hannah.

2. Ellms, Joanna.

abgdh. Sarah, 1733-?

Simmons, Reuben.

abgdi. Winifred, 1736-1736.

abgdj. Winifred, 1738-1758.

Orcutt, Seth.

Sixth Generation

aaadba. Margaret, 1722-1785. Fearing, Hawkes.

aaadbb. David, 1734-1814.

Fearing, Elizabeth.

aaadbc. Lydia, 1736-1755.

aaadbd. Nathan, 1738-1809.

Fearing, Martha.

aaadbe. Mary, 1742-1828.

Stowers, Capt. Seth.

aaadda. Stephen, 1726-1816.

1. Cushing, Lydia.

2. Beal, Mrs. Lydia

(Whiton).

aaaddb. Noah, 1728-1810.

aaaddc. Elizabeth, 1730-1797.

aaaddd. Job, 1732-1818.

Hersey, Mercy.

aaadde. Matthew, 1735-1821.

1. Gill, Susanna.

2. Lincoln, Rebecca.

aaaddf. Levi, 1737-1819.

Norton, Elizabeth.

aaaddg. Abigail, 1737-1813.

aaaddh. Jael, 1740-1781.

The Lincoln Kinsman

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*EDITOR

DR. LOUIS A. WARREN

Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation

BUSINESS MANAGER

MAURICE A. COOK

aaaddi. Isaiah, 1743-1786.

aaadea. Huldah, 1729-1729. aaadeb. James, 1731-1804.

Humphrey, Susanna.

aaadec. Kezia, 1733-1756. Keen, John.

aaaded. Isaac, 1735-1775.

Lincoln, Elizabeth. aaadee. Nathaniel, 1737-1804.

1. Beal, Lucy.

2. Lincoln, Susanna.

aaadef. Reliance, 1740-?

aaadeg. Heman, 1741-1742.

aaadeh. Heman, 1742-1803.

Waterman, Elizabeth.

abbcca. Abel, 1733-1736.

abbccb. Mary, 1734-1736.

abbccc. Abel, 1737-?

abbccd. Mary, 1740-?

abbcce. Elizabeth, 1742-?

abbccf. Joshua, 1746-?

abbcda. Deborah, 1738-? Sylvester, John, Jr.

abbcdb. Lydia, 1741-1827. Whiton, Elijah, Jr.

abgdba. Lucy, 1753-1833. Teague, Bani.

abgdbb. Susanna, 1755-?

abgdbc. Thomas, 1758-?

abgdbd. Seth, 1760-?

abgdbe. Ebenezer, 1762-1841. Burr, Mrs. Olive

(Leavitt).

abgdbf. Walley, 1764-?

abgdbg. Sally, 1767-1825. Leavitt, Jerom.

abgdda. Betty, 1755-1794.

abgdga. Winifred, 1759-? Newell, William.

abgdgb. Lot, 1760-?

---, Elizabeth.

abgdgc. Hannah, 1762-?

1. Power, Thomas.

2. Pettengail, - - .

abgdgd. Abigail, 1764-1773.

abgdge. Warren, 1766-1773.

abgdgf. Collins, 1768-?

abgdgg. Cornelius, 1771-?

abgdgh. Nabby, 1777-?

Seventh Generation

aaadbba. Elizabeth, 1761-1797. Cushing, Thomas, Jr.

aaadbbb. Lydia, 1763-1855. Leavitt, Jairus.

aaadbbc. David, 1765-1765.

aaadbbd. David, 1767-1825.

1. Felton, Lucy.

2. Cushing, Mary.

aaadbbe. Hawkes, 1769-1829. Howe, Mary.

aaadbbf. Noah, 1772-1856. Howe, Sally.

aaadbbg. Christiana, 1774-1849. Never married.

aaadbbh. Perez, 1777-1811.

Loring, Joanna Q.

aaadbbi. Ensign, 1779-1832. Larkin, Sophia Oliver.

aaadbda. Anna, 1764-?

Loring, Peter.

aaadbdb. Abner, 1766-1826.

Lincoln, Hannah.

aaadbdc. Mary, 1768-1769.

aaadbdd. Mary, 1770-?

Whitney, Thomas L.

aaadbde. Martha, 1772-1854.

aaadbdf. Jane, 1775-?

Whitney, Rev. Peter.

aaadbdg. Rachel, 1777-?

Lincoln, Barnabas, Jr.

aaadbdh. Lydia, 1780-1866.

Ball, Dr. Stephen.

aaadbdi. Tempe, 1783-1832.

aaaddaa. Stephen, 1755-1828. Lincoln, Kezia.

aaaddab. Elisha, 1763-1778.

aaaddac. Calvin, 1765-1850.

Loring, Belinda.

aaaddda. Hannah, 1756-1799.

aaadddb. Mitchell, 1758-?

Stone, Hannah.

aaadddc. Chloe, 1760-?

1. Stowell, Benjamin.

2. Lincoln, Israel.

aaadddd. Priscilla, 1762-1767.

aaaddde. Edward, 1764-?

Carter, Mary.

aaadddf. Zenas, 1767-?

aaadddg. Francis, 1769-?

aaadddh. Priscilla, 1772-? Whitman, - - - .

aaadddi. Abel, 1774-1840.

Lincoln, Olive.

aaadddj. Bradford, 1776-1862.

Atwood, Rebecca.

aaaddea. Matthew, 1764-1837.

aaaddeb. Jedediah, 1767-1856. Beal, Susanna.

aaaddec. Susanna, 1769-1770.

aaadded. Susanna, 1771-1852.

aaaddee. Shubal, 1773-1818.

aaaddef. Phineas, 1774-1812.

aaaddeg. Hezekiah, 1777-1853.

1. Gray, Nancy.

2. Lewis, Lucy.

aaaddeh. Jared, 1780-1869.

aaaddfa. Elizabeth, 1765-?

Waterman, David.

aaaddfb. Levi, 1767-1829.

Thaxter, Desire.

aaaddfc. Abigail, 1770-?

aaadeba. James, 1757-?

aaadebb. Kezia, 1760-?

Lincoln, Stephen.

aaadebc. Susanna, 1762-?

Marsh, Thomas.

aaadebd. Perez, 1765-1768.

aaadebe. Elias, 1768-1793.

aaadebf. Joanna, 1771-1793.

aaadebg. Perez, 1775-1775.

aaadebh. Eunice, 1776-?

Hudson, Scarlet.

aaadebi. Perez, 1779-1856.

Loring, Deborah.

aaadebj. Hannah, 1788-1789.

aaadeda. Daniel, 1762-?

Marsh, Chloe.

aaadedb. Isaac, 1773-1775.

aaadedc. Mary, 1775-?

aaadeea. Bela, 1762-1785.

aaadeeb. Luther, 1764-1823.

Barker, Elizabeth.

2. Cole, Betsey.

aaadeec. Robert, 1767-?

aaadeed. Heman, 1770-1771.

aaadeee. Nathaniel, 1773-1814.

aaadeef. Martin, 1775-1858.

aaadeeg. Lucy, 1778-1831.

Dayton, Isaac.

aaadeeh. Jerom, 1778-1778.

aaadeha. Heman, 1777-1777.

aaadehb. Heman, 1779-1869.

aaadehc. Elizabeth, 1780-?

aaadehd. Pyam, 1782-?

aaadehe. Jerom, 1784-1786.

aaadehf. Mary, 1786-1882. O'Brien, William.

aaadehg. Hannah, 1788-?

aaadehh. Sally, 1790-? Hayden, Calvin.

aaadehi. Emma, 1792-? Howe, - - - .

aaadehj. Lucy Jane, 1794-1796.

aaadehk. Lucy Jane, 1798-? Wayland, Prof. Francis.

abgdbca. Thomas, ?-?

abgdbcb. Betsey, ?-?

abgdbcc. Ebenezer, ?-?

Corthell, Elizabeth (Hersey).

abgdbcd. Lucy, 1797-1845. Bryant, Cephas.

abgdbce. Susan, ?-? Bryant, Cephas.

Eighth Generation

aaadbbda. Joshua Felton, 1794-1812.

aaadbbdb. David, 1796-1873. Souther, Hannah.

aaadbbdc. Mary Wardle, 1799-1816.

aaadbbea. Jairus, 1794-1882.

1. Ware, Mary Cotton.

2. Mayo, Mrs. Harriet (Ball).

aaadbbeb. Hawkes, 1796-? Webb, Sarah.

aaadbbec. Mary, 1798-? Curtis, Philip.

aaadbbed. Nancy Howe, 1800-? Woodbury, Capt. Jacob.

aaadbbee. Christiana, 1803-? Lovett, Josiah, Jr.

aaadbbef. Lydia Leavitt, 1805-1868.

aaadbbeg. Elizabeth, 1807-? Bemis, Luke, Jr. aaadbbeh. Harriot, 1810-? Burley, Edward.

aaadbbfa. Sally, 1803-?

Spinney, George.

aaadbbfb. Elizabeth Fearing, 1805-? Thaxter, Levi.

aaadbbfc. Susannah Greaves, 1807-?

aaadbbfd. Noah, 1810-?

Thaxter, Abby A.

aaadbbia. Thomas Oliver, 1809-1877.

1. Wellman, Malvina B.

2. Dykes, Mrs. Jane (Buncher).

aaadbbib. William Cowper, 1810-1832.

aaadbbic. Sophia, 1812-1848. Gould, Charles D.

aaadbbid. Joshua, 1815-1900.

1. Gould, Elizabeth Freeman.

2. Macomber, Mary J.

aaadbbie. John Larkin, 1817-1891. Pearce, Laura Eloise.

aaadbbif. Henry Ensign, 1818-? aaadbbig. Heman, 1820-1821. aaadbbih. Heman, 1821-1887.

aaadbdba. Abner, 1792-?

aaadbdbb. Hannah Fearing, 1793-? Blake, Edwin.

aaadbdbc. Mary Otis, 1795-1879. Sargent, Epes, Jr.

aaadbdbd. Nathan, 1797-1801.

aaadbdbe. Elizabeth Cushing, 1800-? Lincoln, Theodore.

aaadbdbf. William Shattuck, 1804-1855.

1. Whitney, Elizabeth.

2. Cushing, Susan B.

aaaddaaa. Lydia, 1782-1861. aaaddaab. Kezia, 1784-1861.

Newhall, James.

aaaddaac. Stephen, 1786-1854. aaaddaad. Huldah, 1789-1820.

aaaddaca. Lydia Loring, 1796-1881. aaaddacb. Calvin, 1799-1881. Andrews, Elizabeth.

aaaddacc. Laurinda, 1805-1879.

aaadddia. Francis, 1801-1828. aaadddib. Cynthia, 1803-1829. Battles, Martin.

aaadddic. Abel, 1804-1880.

aaadddid. Otis, 1810-?

Arnold, Abbie.

aaadddie. Edward, 1814-?

Souther, Elizabeth J.

aaadddif. John Brooks, 1820-1874.

aaaddeba. Elijah, 1794-1861. Marsdon, Martha.

aaaddebb. Rebecca, 1797-1799.

aaaddebc. Rebecca, 1800-1817.

aaaddebd. Alexander, 1806-1879.

1. Revere, Deborah L.

2. Aldrich, NinEva.

aaaddega. Rebecca, 1802-? aaaddegb. Mary Ann, 1807-? Cazneau, Edward.

aaaddfba. Elizabeth Norton, 1796-? Rice, Nathan.

aaaddfbb. Helen, 1798-?

Ware, Dr. John.

aaaddfbc. Adeline, 1804-1885. Treadwell, Prof. Daniel.

aaadebia. Susanna, 1805-1873. Rowe, David P.

aaadebib. Joanna, 1807-?

aaadebic. Herman, 1810-1837.

aaadebid. James, 1812-1837.

aaadebie. Lydia Loring, 1815-1852. Dayton, Nathaniel L.

aaadebif. Lucinda, 1817-?

aaadebig. Perez, 1820-?

aaadedaa. Daniel, 1786-?

aaadedab. Elizabeth, 1788-?

aaadedac. Caleb, 1791-?

Wilder, Lucy.

aaadedad. Mary, 1793-?

aaadedae. Chloe, 1795-?

aaadedaf. Isaac, 1798-1799.

aaadedag. Mercy, 1800-?

aaadeeba. Joshua, ?-?

aaadeebb. Luther Barker, 1802-1855.

Willard, Susan B.

Ninth Generation

aaadbbdba. Lucy Felton, 1826-? Lincoln, Nathan.

aaadbbdbb. Hannah Souther, 1830-? Whiton, Thomas F.

aaadbbdbc. Mary Wallace, 1839-? Nickerson, Dr. Franklin.

aaadbbeaa. Henry Ware, 1821-1887. Lincoln, Sarah B.

aaadbbeab. Elizabeth Waterhouse, 1825-1845.

aaadbbeac. Ann. ?-?

Locke, Rev. Mr.

aaadbbead. Elizabeth, ?-? Barnes, - - - .

aaadbbeae. Jairus, 1831-?

aaadbbeaf. John Ware, 1836-1886.

aaadbbfda. Abby Thaxter, 1835-? Torrey, Charles.

aaadbbfdb. Maria Howe, 1837-?

aaadbbfdc. Mary Caroline, 1850-?

aaadbbiaa. Howard, 1836-1846.

aaadbbiab. Sophia Wellman, 1838-1889.

> Appleton, Daniel Sydney.

aaadbbiac. William Henry, 1839-?

aaadbbiad. Richard Fletcher, 1841-1874.

Never married.

aaadbbiae. Oliver Garrett, 1844-1845.

aaadbbiaf. Marshall Wright, 1847-1847.

aaadbbiag. Emma Frances, 1851-1852.

aaadbbiah. Frederick Howard, 1852-1854.

aaadbbiai. Mary Alice, 1855-1929. Nixon, William Barron.

aaadbbiaj. Malvina Wellman, 1857-1862.

aaadbbiak. Annie, 1859-1875.

aaadbbiea. William Ensign, 1847-? Porter, Mary Buel.

aaadbbieb. Arthur, 1849-1917. Never married.

aaadbbiec. Adeline, 1851-1853.

aaadbbied. John Larkin, Jr., 1854-1920.

Never married.

aaadbbiee. Laura, 1855-1893. Waldo, Chas. Sidney.

aaadbbief. James Granger, 1859-? Tucker, Sally.

aaadbbieg. Hope, 1863-1864.

aaadbbida. Elizabeth, ?-1858.

aaadbbidb. Charles Henry, ?-?
Never married.

aaadbbidc. Helen Malcom, 1837-1868.

> Kimball, Henry Harrison.

aaaddacba. Calvin Andrews, 1827-1877.

Corbett, Catherine M.

aaaddacbb. Thomas Andrews, 1831-1832. aaaddacbc. Elizabeth Andrews, 1833-1864.

Harding, Henry C.

aaadddiea. Cynthia Maria, 1845-1887.

Whittier, Leavitt.

aaadddieb. Edward Wilbur, 1846-?

aaadddiec. Ann Rosanna, 1848-1849.

aaadddied. Albert Francis, 1850-1865.

aaadddiee. Otis Arnold, 1852-1853.

aaadddief. Elizabeth Olive, 1855-?

aaadddieg. Helen Bailies, 1857-?

aaadddieh. Emma Ada, 1860-?

aaaddebaa. William, 1826-?
Margetts, Mrs. Catherine (Carwell).

aaaddebab. Alden, 1829-1876.

aaaddebac. Susan Catherine, 1832-? Deming, William H.

aaaddebad. Sidney, 1839-? Maguire, Mary C.

aaaddebda. John Randolph, 1829-1857.

aaaddebdb. NinEva, ?-?

aaaddebdc. Alexander Randolph, 1871-?

aaadeebba. Susan Willard, 1838-1885.

aaadeebbb. Mary Willard, 1847-? aaadeebbc. Luther Joshua Barker, 1851-?

Fuller, Mary A.

Tenth Generation

aaadbbeaaa. Elizabeth Waterhouse, 1847-1849.

aaadbbeaac. Charles Elliot Ware

aaadbbeaac. Charles Elliot Ware, 1850-1853.

aaadbbeaad. Lydia Abbott, 1857-1869.

aaadbbeaae. Henry Ware, 1867-?



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Lincoln Autobiography

THE MOST IMPORTANT BIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT LINCOLN EVER MADE ABOUT HIMSELF

The most important autobiographical writing which Abraham Lincoln has contributed to posterity, a sketch prepared for John Locke Scripps, is in reality little known, except among the best posted students of the President. Many Lincoln biographers completely ignored this sketch. several erroneous statements about Mr. Lincoln would not have appeared, if these facts stated by Lincoln himself had been known to them. This exhaustive autobiography was written by Lincoln in the third person. It should not be confused with the shorter one prepared for Jesse W. Fell.

What might be called the most abbreviated biography of Lincoln was written by a famous author, Charles Lamb. At least Lincoln said these eight words, "The short and simple annals of the poor" contained the substance of his early life. The most condensed sketch which Lincoln himself prepared contains just a

dozen words, "I was born in Kentucky —raised in Indiana, now live in Illinois."

The outline of his life which he sent upon request from the editor of *The Dictionary of Congress*, in 1858, consists of just forty-nine words which seemed to be sufficient to tell all about himself up to that time.

Born, February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky.

Education defective.

Profession, a lawyer.

Have been a captain of volunteers in Black Hawk War.

Postmaster at a very small office.

Four times a member of the Illinois Legislature, and was a member of the lower house of Congress.*

In December 1859 Jesse W. Fell wrote to Abraham Lincoln asking for some personal biographical notes and Lincoln complied with his request stating that "There is not much of it,

^{*}This outline was reconstructed in the form of a single sentence by the editors.

for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me." He then warned Fell about the use of the memorandum; he said, "If anything be made of it, I wish it to be modest, and not go beyond the material." There are about 600 words in the sketch and it is the one which has been so widely circulated.

Thomas Hicks, the artist, visited Springfield in June 1860 for the purpose of making a painting of Lincoln and asked Lincoln for a brief sketch of his life. Lincoln wrote in pencil on a small piece of paper a very brief statement about his birth and parentage. It contained but fifty-nine words.

I was born February 12, 1809, in then Hardin County, Kentucky, at a point within the now recently formed county of Larue, a mile, or a mile & a half, from where Hodgensville now is. My parents being dead, and my own memory not serving, I know no means of identifying the precise locality. It was on Nolin Creek.

With the opening of the political campaign of 1860 it was quite necessary that biographers should have a sketch of Lincoln's life around which their biographical material could be gathered. It was at this time that Lincoln prepared the most exhaustive autobiography for Scripps which contains about 3,600 words and which is here quoted verbatim.

Autobiography for Scripps

Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, then in Hardin, now in the more recently formed county of Kentucky. His Rue,

Thomas, and grandfather, Abraham, were born in Rockingham County, Virginia, whither their ancestors had come from Berks County, Pennsylvania. His lineage has been traced no farther back than this.2 The family were originally Quakers, though in later times they have fallen away from the peculiar habits of that people.3 The grandfather, Abraham, had four brothers — Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. So far as known, the descendants of Jacob and John are still in Virginia. Isaac went to a place near where Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee join; and his descendants are in that region. Thomas came to Kentucky, and after many years died there, whence his descendants went to Missouri. Abraham, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, came to Kentucky, and was killed by Indians about the year 1784.4 He left a widow, three sons, and two daughters. The eldest son, Mordecai, remained in Kentucky till late in life, when he removed to Hancock County, Illinois, where soon after he died, and where several of his descendants still remain. The second son, Josiah, removed at an early day to a place on Blue River, now within Hancock County, Indiana, but no recent information of him or his family has been obtained. The eldest sister, Mary, married Ralph Crume, and some of her descendants are now known to be in Breckenridge County, Kentucky. The second sister, Nancy, married William Brumfield, and her family are not known to have left Kentucky, but there is no recent information from them. Thomas, the youngest son, and father of the present subject, by the early death of his father, and very narrow circumstances

¹ It is three miles from the place of Lincoln's birthplace to Hodgen's mill site.

² The birthplace was between the forks of Nolin River, three miles from the north fork and one mile from the south fork.

of his mother, even in childhood was a wandering laboring-boy, and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly write his own name. Before he was grown he passed one year as a hired hand with his uncle Isaac on Watauga, a branch of the Holston River. Getting back into Kentucky and having reached his twenty-eighth year, he married Nancy Hanks—mother of the present subject —in the year 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks, and of other names, now reside in Coles, in Macon, and in Adams counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa. The present subject has no brother or sister of the whole or half blood. He had a sister, older than himself, who was grown and married, but died many years ago, leaving no child; also a brother, younger than himself, who died in infancy. Before leaving Kentucky, he and his sister were sent, for short periods, to A B C schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney, and the second by Caleb Hazel.

At this time his father resided on Knob Creek, on the road from Bardstown, Kentucky, to Nashville, Tennessee, at a point three or three and a half miles south or southwest of Atherton's Ferry, on the Rolling Fork. From this place he removed to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in the autumn of 1816, Abraham then being in his eighth year. This removal was partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles in Kentucky. He settled in an unbroken forest, and the clearing away of surplus wood was the great task ahead. Abraham, though very

young, was large of his age, and had an ax put into his hands at once; and from that till within his twenty-third year he was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons. At this place Abraham took an early start as a hunter, which was never much improved afterward. A few days before the completion of his eighth year, in the absence of his father, a flock of wild turkeys approached the new log cabin, and Abraham with a rifle-gun, standing inside, shot through a crack and killed one of them. He has never since pulled a trigger on any larger game. In the autumn of 1818 his mother died; and a year afterward his father married Mrs. Sally Johnston, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, a widow with three children of her first marriage. She proved a good and kind mother to Abraham, and is still living in Coles County, Illinois. There were no children of this second marriage. His father's residence continued at the same place in Indiana till 1830. While here Abraham went to A B C schools by littles, kept successively by Andrew Crawford, Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey. He does not remember any other. The family of Mr. Dorsey now resides in Schuyler County, Illinois. Abraham now thinks that the aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year. He was never in a college or academy as a student, and never inside of a college or academy building till since he had a law license. What he has in the way of education he has picked up. After he was twentythree and had separated from his father, he studied English grammar -imperfectly, of course, but so as

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± EDITOR

Dr. Louis A. Warren
Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation
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to speak and write as well as he now does. He studied and nearly mastered the six books of Euclid since he was a member of Congress. He regrets his want of education, and does what he can to supply the want. In his tenth year he was kicked by a horse, and apparently killed for a time. When he was nineteen, still residing in Indiana, he made his first trip upon a flatboat to New Orleans. He was a hired hand merely, and he and a son of the owner, without other assistance, made the trip. The nature of part of the "cargo-load," as it was called, made it necessary for them to linger and trade along the sugarcoast; and one night they attacked by seven negroes intent to kill and rob them. They were hurt some in the melee. but succeeded in driving the negroes from the boat, and then "cut cable," "weighed anchor," and left.

March 1, 1830, Abraham having just completed his twenty-first year, his father and family, with the families of the two daughters and sons-inlaw of his stepmother, left the old homestead in Indiana and came to Illinois. Their mode of conveyance was wagons drawn by ox-teams, and Abraham drove one of the teams. They reached the county of Macon,

and stopped there some time within the same month of March. His father and family settled a new place on the north side of the Sangamon River, at the junction of the timberland and prairie, about ten miles westerly from Decatur. Here they built a log cabin, into which they removed, and made sufficient of rails to fence ten acres of ground, fenced and broke the ground, and raised a crop of sown corn upon it the same year. These are, or are supposed to be, the rails about which so much is being said just now, though these are far from being the first or only rails ever made by Abraham.

The sons-in-law were temporarily settled in other places in the county. In the autumn all hands were greatly afflicted with ague and fever, to which they had not been used, and by which they were greatly discouraged, so much so that they determined on leaving the county. They remained, however, through the succeeding winter, which was the winter of the very celebrated "deep snow" of Illinois. During that winter Abraham, together with his stepmother's son, John D. Johnston, and John Hanks, yet residing in Macon County, hired themselves to Denton Offut to take a flatboat from Beardstown, Illinois, to New Orleans; and for that purpose were to join him-Offut- at Springfield, Illinois, so soon as the snow should go off. When it did go off, which was about the first of March, 1831, the county was so flooded as to make traveling by land impracticable; to obviate which difficulty they purchased a large canoe, and came down the Sangamon River in it. This is the time and the manner of Abraham's first entrance into Sangamon County.

They found Offut at Springfield, but learned from him that he had failed in getting a boat at Beardstown. This led to their hiring themselves to him for twelve dollars per month each, and getting the timber out of the trees and building a boat at Old Sangamon town on the Sangamon River, seven miles northwest of Springfield, which boat they took to New Orleans, substantially upon the old contract.

During this boat-enterprise acquaintance with Offut, who was previously an entire stranger, he conceived a liking for Abraham, and believing he could turn him to account, he contracted with him to act as clerk for him, on his return from New Orleans, in charge of a store and mill at New Salem, then in Sangamon, now in Menard County. Hanks had not gone to New Orleans, but having a family, and being likely to be detained from home longer than at first expected, had turned back from St. Louis. He is the same John Hanks who now engineers the "rail enterprise" at Decatur, and is a first cousin to Abraham's mother. Abraham's father, with his own family and others mentioned, had, in pursuance of their intention, removed from Macon to Coles County. John D. Johnston, the stepmother's son, went to them, and Abraham stopped indefinitely and for the first time, as it were, by himself at New Salem, before mentioned. This was in July, 1831. Here he rapidly made acquaintances and friends. In less than a year Offut's business was failinghad almost failed-when the Black Hawk war of 1832 broke out. Abraham joined a volunteer company, and, to his own surprise, was elected captain of it. He says he has not since

had any success in life which gave him so much satisfaction. He went to the campaign, served near three months, met the ordinary hardships of such an expedition, but was in no battle. He now owns, in Iowa, the land upon which his own warrants for the service were located. Returning from the campaign, and encouraged by his great popularity among his immediate neighbors, he the same year ran for the legislature, and was beaten,-his own precinct, however, casting its votes 277 for and 7 against him—and that, too, while he was an avowed Clay man, and the precinct the autumn afterward giving a majority of 115 to General Jackson over Mr. Clay. This was the only time Abraham was ever beaten on a direct vote of the people. He was now without means and out of business, but was anxious to remain with his friends who had treated him with so much generosity, especially as he had nothing elsewhere to go to. He studied what he should do-thought of learning the blacksmith trade—thought of trying to study law-rather thought he could not succeed at that without a education. better Before long, strangely enough, a man offered to sell, and did sell, to Abraham and another as poor as himself, an old stock of goods, upon credit. They opened as merchants; and he says that was the store. Of course they did nothing but get deeper and deeper in debt. He was appointed postmaster at New Salem—the office being too insignificant to make his politics an objection. The store winked out. The surveyor of Sangamon offered to depute to Abraham that portion of his work which was within his part of the county. He accepted, procured a

compass and chain, studied Flint and Gibson a little, and went at it. This procured bread, and kept soul and body together. The election of 1834 came, and he was then elected to the legislature by the highest vote cast for any candidate.6 Major John T. Stuart, then in full practice of the law, was also elected. During the canvass, in a private conversation he encouraged Abraham [to] study law. After the election he borrowed books of Stuart, took them home with him, and went at it in good earnest. He studied with nobody. He still mixed in the surveying to pay board and clothing bills. When the legislature met, the law-books were dropped, but were taken up again at the end of the session. He was reelected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. In the autumn of 1836 he obtained a law license, and on April 15, 1837, removed to Springfield, and commenced the practice-his old friend Stuart taking him into partnership. March 3, 1837, by a protest entered upon the "Illinois House Journal" of that date, at pages 817 and 818, Abraham, with Dan Stone, another representative of Sangamon, briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now. The protest is as follows:

Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of Abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

They believe that the Congress of

the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.

The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

DAN STONE, A. LINCOLN,

Representatives from the County of Sangamon.

In 1838 and 1840, Mr. Lincoln's party voted for him as Speaker, but being in the minority he was not elected. After 1840 he declined a reelection to the legislature. He was on the Harrison electoral ticket in 1840, and on that of Clay in 1844, and spent much time and labor in both those canvasses. In November, 1842, he was married to Mary, daughter of Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky. They have three living children, all sons, one born in 1843, one in 1850, and one in 1853. They lost one, who was born in 1846.

In 1846 he was elected to the lower House of Congress, and served one term only, commencing in December, 1847, and ending with the inauguration of General Taylor, in March, 1849. All the battles of the Mexican war had been fought before Mr. Lincoln took his seat in Congress, but the American army was still in Mexico, and the treaty of peace was not fully and formally ratified till the June afterward. Much has been

said of his course in Congress in regard to this war. A careful examination of the "Journal" and "Congressional Globe" shows that he voted for all the supply measures that came up, and for all the measures in any way favorable to the officers, soldiers, and their families, who conducted the war through: with the exception that some of these measures passed without yeas and nays, leaving no record as to how particular men voted. The "Journal" and "Globe" also show him voting that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States. This is the language of Mr. Ashmun's amendment, for which Mr. Lincoln and nearly or quite all other Whigs of the House of Representatives voted.

Mr. Lincoln's reasons for the opinion expressed by this vote were briefly that the President had sent General Taylor into an inhabited part of the country belonging to Mexico, and not to the United States, and thereby had provoked the first act of hostility, in fact the commencement of the war; that the place, being the country bordering on the east bank of the Rio Grande, was inhabited by native Mexicans, born there under the Mexican government, and had never submitted to, nor been conquered by, Texas or the United States, nor transferred to either by treaty; that although Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her boundary, Mexico had never recognized it, and neither Texas nor the United States had ever enforced it; that there was a broad desert between that and the country over which Texas had actual control; that the country where hostilities commenced, having once belonged to Mexico, must remain so until it was somehow legally transferred, which had never been done.

Mr. Lincoln thought the act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting or menacing the United States or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President. He thought the principal motive for the act was to divert public attention from the surrender of "Fifty-four, forty, or fight" to Great Britain, on the Oregon boundary question.

Mr. Lincoln was not a candidate for re-election. This was determined upon and declared before he went to Washington, in accordance with an understanding among Whig friends, by which Colonel Hardin and Colonel Baker had each previously served a single term in this same district.

In 1848, during his term in Congress, he advocated General Taylor's nomination for the presidency, in opposition to all others, and also took an active part for his election after his nomination, speaking a few times in Maryland, near Washington, several times in Massachusetts, and canvassing quite fully his own district in Illinois, which was followed by a majority in the district of over 1500 for General Taylor.

Upon his return from Congress he went to the practice of law with greater earnestness than ever before. In 1852 he was upon the Scott electoral ticket, and did something in the way of canvassing, but owing to the hopelessness of the cause in Illinois he did less than in previous presidential canvasses.

In 1854 his profession had almost

superseded the thought of politics in his mind, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before.

In the autumn of that year he took the stump with no broader practical aim or object than to secure, if possible, the re-election of Hon. Richard Yates to Congress. His speeches at once attracted a more marked attention than they had ever before done. As the canvass proceeded he was drawn to different parts of the State outside Mr. Yate's district. He did not abandon the law, but gave his attention by turns to that and politics. The State agricultural fair was at Springfield that year, and Douglas was announced to speak there.

In the canvass of 1856 Mr. Lincoln made over fifty speeches, no one of which, so far as he remembers, was put in print.⁷ One of them was made at Galena, but Mr. Lincoln has no recollection of any part of it being printed; nor does he remember whether in that speech he said anything about a Supreme Court decision. He may have spoken upon that subject, and some of the newspapers may have reported him as saying what is now ascribed to him; but he thinks he could not have expressed himself as represented.

Grandfather Abraham born in Berks County, Pennsylvania.

² Lineage now traced back to Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, Massachusetts.

The family intermarried with Quakers. They were originally Puritans.

⁴ Grandfather killed by the Indians in 1786.

⁵ The name of this teacher was James Swaney.

⁶ John Dawson received fourteen votes more than Lincoln.

⁷ The speech made by Lincoln at Kalamazoo, Michigan on August 27, 1856, appeared in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* for August 29, 1856.



The Lincoln Kinsman

Number 53

Fort Wayne, Indiana

November 1942

Nominated For Lincoln's Paternity

"The deepest sin against human mind is to believe things without evidence."—T. Huxley

In the Kinsman for January 1942, there was a lengthy discussion about the origin of the Lincoln paternity myth, and sufficient documentary citations accompanied it, supporting Thomas Lincoln, as father of the President, to satisfy the most exacting critique. Nevertheless, there continues to appear in books, periodicals, and the daily press much erroneous data about Lincoln's parentage. There is left no other alternative than to submit for observation the most familiar paternity traditions, one-byone, in their simplest form.

At the very beginning of this compilation there are submitted ten facts relating to the parents of Abraham Lincoln which unquestionably have documentary support. These conclusions may be used by the reader as evidence with which to weigh the various traditions submitted.

Facts About Lincoln's Parents

a. Nancy Hanks, for apparently a decade before her marriage, was living in the Richard Berry home in Washington County, Kentucky.

- b. Thomas Lincoln was living in Washington County, Kentucky within a mile of where Nancy Hanks resided from 1786 to 1803.
- c. Thomas Lincoln moved to Hardin County, Kentucky in 1803 and was living there when he married Nancy Hanks.
- d. Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married by Rev. Jesse Head in Washington County, Kentucky, July 12, 1806.
- e. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln immediately after the wedding moved to Elizabethtown, Kentucky and remained there until November 1808.
- f. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln's first child, a daughter, named Sarah, was born in Elizabethtown in 1807.
- g. The unborn life of Abraham Lincoln began in Elizabethtown in the month of May 1808.
- h. The Lincoln family moved to their newly purchased cabin home in what is now LaRue County, three months before the President was born there.

- i. Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, three miles south of Hogdenville, Kentucky, in what was then Hardin County, now LaRue County.
- j. About two years after Abraham's birth, another child was born to Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln who was named Thomas, for his father.

The Origin of the Traditions

The slander about Lincoln's origin should have been buried with the President in 1865, and probably it would have been forgotten if William Herndon had not begun to circulate the story in his correspondence in 1866, not long after Lincoln's death. In a letter which Herndon wrote to Lamon on February 25, 1870, he said, "On further investigation, I now and have for years believed him [Abraham Lincoln to be the son of Enloe." In this same letter Herndon stated, "From what Lincoln has casually and indirectly said, I was convinced that his illegitimacy was thrown up to him when a boy. I think he was told of the fight between his father and Enloe, and the cause of it. I got this as I remember it in casual conversation in Indiana."1

After the story of Lincoln's alleged illegitimacy had become wide-spread, largely due to Herndon's initiative and then given further attention by Lamon's book based on Herndon's sources, the erstwhile law partner of Lincoln reversed his conclusions about the story he had so widely circulated. In a written statement found in a letter to Truman H. Bartlett on September 25, 1887, Herndon admitted, "My own opinion, after a sweeping and searching examination is that Abraham Lincoln was the

child and heir of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks Lincoln."² It is too bad he did not make the "sweeping and searching examination" beforehand, however, a year later he was again talking about the Enlow paternity of Lincoln, and in his book published in 1889 there is a rather full footnote on the Enlow story.³

FOUR ENLOW NOMINEES

The original Herndon tradition about Lincoln's origin named an Enlow [This spelling adopted outside of quotations] as the father of the President, but soon there were as many as four different Enlows who were nominated by their friends as prospective progenitors of the Emancipator. They can be identified by the spelling of the surname, although originally the name was one and the same: the LaRue County nominee spelled his name Enlow; the Hardin County entry, Enlows; the Bourbon County candidate Inlow; and the North Carolina rival Enloe. Their ages were as widely separated as the locations of their homes, ranging all the way from sixteen to sixty, at the time Lincoln was born.

In several of the other traditions the name Enlow appears as one of the minor characters in the episodes. The traditional background for the frequent association of the Enlow name with the Lincolns is found in this interesting bit of folklore.

Abraham Enlow of LaRue County, Kentucky

"On the morning of the 12th of February, 1809 Abraham Enlow was sent from his father's home... to the Kirkpatrick mill.... As the road then ran, it passed near the Lincoln home. On the way

the boy on horseback with a bag of grain met Thomas Lincoln walking. He was informed by Lincoln that he (Lincoln) was starting to get Mrs. Enlow, Abraham's mother, to come to his house to be with his wife, who was sick. . . . The youth, Abraham, seeing the urgency of the case, suggested to Mr. Lincoln that he return home, then, taking the bag off the horse, he went back and brought his mother to the Lincoln cabin. . . . When the newly born boy was given the name Abraham, the neighbors thought and said that it was in recognition of the kindness of Abraham Enlow to the father. None of these neighbors knew that Abraham was an old name in the Lincoln Family."4

The above excerpt is from what was probably the earliest form in which the story of Lincoln's traditional illegitimacy became current and was told by a grandson of Enlow. The boy who may have done a neighborly service for Thomas Lincoln on the natal day of the child Abraham, later emerges into an adult who Abraham Lincoln so closely resembled, that the reason for the naming of the child, Abraham, after Enlow, was given a new interpretation and Enlow was mentioned as the father of the President.

There are several bits of evidence that should quickly invalidate the story that Abraham Enlow of LaRue County was the President's father. In the month of May 1808 Nancy Lincoln was living in Elizabethtown, Kentucky thirteen miles from the home of Abraham Enlow. Nancy Lincoln was a married woman with a

child 15 months old at this time. Enlow was a boy, 15 years of age, in the month of May 1808, as this inscription on his tombstone in Red Hill Cemetery, LaRue County reveals: "Sacred to the memory of Abraham Enlow. Born Jan. 26, 1793, Died Dec. 14, 1861."

We may go still further and present an excerpt from an affidavit secured by the editor of the Kinsman from Charles Friend who claimed to have known Mr. Enlow; "Affiant further states that one day in Hodgenville, Abraham Enlow, who had been advertised as the father of President Lincoln, was in my brother-in-law's store. A. H. Redmond, in the presence of Dr. William H. Holt and myself, asked Uncle Abe Enlow this question by permission of Mr. Enlow: 'Are you the father of Abraham Lincoln the President of the United States?' he answered, 'I am not, I was only fifteen years old when he was born and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, his mother, was a grown woman. I believe Abraham Lincoln to be the son of Thomas the husband of Nancy Lincoln, Hanks."5

Abraham Enlows of Hardin County, Kentucky

"After Abe's birth, a man by the name of Abraham Enlows, living in this region, claimed him as a son. Thomas Lincoln and Enlows had a regular set to fight about the matter, in which encounter Lincoln bit off the end of Enlows' nose. Finally Lincoln to clear himself of Enlows moved to Indiana."

This story which was first told in some detail by J. B. Helm, featured the fight between Lincoln and Enlows, and placed the time of the incident The Lincoln Kinsman

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about 1815 or 1816, about six or seven years after Abraham Lincoln was born. Can one imagine two men having a grievance, living from twenty-five to thirty-five miles from each other for several years, then meeting and settling the grievance by having such a furious fight that one combatant lost his nose? According to Mr. Helm, Mr. Lincoln, resolved to move to another state that he might not be "continually looking on the disfigured face of his rival" who still resided in another county.

Abraham Inlow of Bourbon County, Kentucky

"Mr. Weik has spent considerable time investigating the truth of a report current in Bourbon county, Ky., that Thomas Lincoln for a consideration of one Thomas Inlow, a miller there, assumed the paternity of an infant child of a poor girl named Nancy Hanks, and after her marriage moved with her to Washington or Hardin County where the son who was named 'Abraham after his real and Lincoln after his putative father' was born."

The Herndon volumes published in 1889 are responsible for broadcasting the story that had for years been passed on from group to group by courthouse gossip. The Bourbon County tradition claims to date back in the memory of a family as early as 1826.

Another version of the story is found in a book by Mrs. Boyd. It is in the form of a letter which Ex. Judge M. M. Cassidy of Mt. Sterling, Kentucky wrote to Mrs. Boyd on January 23, 1896. The body of the letter follows:

"I have known Abraham Lincoln quite 60 years by tradition and about thirty years personally. He was born near Thatcher's Mill in the County of Bourbon and State of Ky. His mother's name was Nancy Hornback. His father's name was Abraham Inlow. Mr. A. Lincoln was born out of wedlock. This is the brief tradition of my father and mother and the entire Inlow family for seventy years at least. His father was my mother's uncle, and my grandfather's brother."

These two printed phases of the tradition by no means exhaust the different forms in which the story appears. There is agreement in the name of the father, but in the name of the mother we not only have the name Hanks and Hornback, but the name Sparrow is also used.

Abraham Enloe of North Carolina

"A native of North Carolina is the father of Abraham Lincoln, and not Thomas Lincoln of Kentucky.... A young woman named Nancy Hanks was the mother of an illegitimate child of Abraham Enloe and she was conveyed to Kentucky either before or shortly after the birth of the child."

The book releasing the above information is now in its third edition,

the last revised edition comprising 307 pages. The entire book is utilized in attempting to prove Abraham Lincoln was an illegitimate child, and the son of Abraham Enloe of North Carolina. The marriage of Nancy Hanks of Kentucky to Thomas Lincoln on June 12, 1806, made her Nancy Lincoln and no longer Nancy Hanks. The birth of a child Sarah Lincoln in 1807 made her a mother with a child previous to the birth of Abraham. There is nothing in common between the Nancy Hanks of North Carolina, an unmarried servant girl, and Nancy Lincoln of Kentucky, a matron with a daughter two vears old.

Cathey found Lincoln's birthday in 1809, was too early for his purpose so he suggested, "One might guess and hit it that the record which should have read February 12, 1806 was made to read February 12, 1809."

FOUR PROVINCIAL NOMINEES

Four men have been nominated for Lincoln's paternity who were nothing more than local selections, and it is doubtful if the claims of their friends had very much acceptance outside of their respective communities. Three of them lived near Hodgenville and none of them were much, if any, higher in the social scale than Thomas Lincoln.

Ben Hardin of Nelson County, Kentucky

"Tradition, hereabouts, asserts there was a certain lawyer from Bardstown, county seat of Nelson County, which adjoins Washington, who had a habit of breaking his long journey from one county seat to another in pursuing his profession by stopping at the Lincoln cabin. This man was Ben Hardin."11

This is a reminiscence of Edwin Carlisle Litsey, whose paternal grand-father purchased the farm on which Lincoln's parents were married. Litsey claims Abraham Lincoln was born in Washington County. Enough said.

George Brownfield of LaRue County, Kentucky

"It has been a debatable fact in the neighborhood of Hodgenville whether Abraham Lincoln was the son of Abraham Enlow or the son of George Brownfield. I know both Enlow and Brownfield personally and I have always been satisfied that he was the son of George Brownfield, from the fact of the striking resemblance."¹²

In the collection of manuscripts of Col. R. T. Durrett, now the property of the University of Chicago, the excerpt above appears in a letter written by Mr. A. M. Brown, of Hodgenville to Mr. Durrett on May 12, 1886. It is not likely that the Brownfield tradition has had a very wide circulation. There seems to be an impression that when the Lincoln's first moved to what is now LaRue County they settled on a farm belonging to George Brownfield, about three miles from the present Lincoln birthplace farm and that Brownfield visited his tenant's cabin with the result that he became the father of Abraham. We have positive proof that Mrs. Nancy Hanks Lincoln was living in Elizabethtown, fifteen miles away, in May 1808.

Charles Friend of LaRue County Kentucky

"I believe A. Lincoln to be the son of Thomas Lincoln, the husband of Nancy Hanks, but should he be illegitimate he might have been the son of Charles Friend, by whom she bore her first child Dennis Friend Hanks. I am satisfied that he was not the son of said Friend, for the reason that the Friends were of Penn. Dutch descent, set low of stature, and Abe was tall, the very opposite." 13

In this tradition we find an Abraham Enlow in a new role. The Enlow of LaRue County first discussed, a nominee for the President's paternity, here becomes the informer who suggested someone else for the questionable honor. This same Charles Friend, mentioned by Mr. Enlow, was the father of an illegitimate child by another Nancy Hanks and apparently Enlow still had this same Nancy Hanks in mind in associating her with Friend.

Martin D. Hardin of Washington County, Kentucky

"While Nancy Hanks was living in Washington County in the home of Richard Berry, Martin D. Hardin, afterward known as General Hardin, visited her on his way to Frankfort, he being at that time a member of the Kentucky legislature, with the result that a child was born who was subsequently known as Abraham Lincoln."

This tradition is another instance where provincial interests tried to discover a progenitor for Abraham Lincoln, who would be able to pass on to the President an intellectual heritage. The story was brought to the attention of Ida M. Tarbell during her research.

If Hardin visited Nancy at the home of Richard Berry it must have been previous to June 12, 1806. This would be much too early for him to become the father of a child born in 1809. During this interval Nancy was living in Hardin County.

FOUR CELEBRITIES NOMINATED

Those who would try to account for Lincoln's genius by selecting some famous man for the paternity have named John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Patrick Henry and Thomas Marshall, of Virginia for this honor.

John C. Calboun of Tennessee

"Ann Hanks took charge of a tavern at the crossroads called Craytonville, just when is not stated; but it is alleged that she kept this tavern in 1807 and for several years thereafter. At this tavern John C. Calhoun stopped in going to and from the courts and became involved in a love affair with Ann Hanks' youngest daughter, Nancy. At this tavern also stopped Abraham Enlow on his way from Acona Lufty with negroes and stock for sale. With him came Thomas Lincoln as an hireling, the putative father of the President. Nancy Hanks began to be troublesome and Mr. Calhoun is said to have induced Thomas Lincoln to take her with him on his return with Abraham Enlow paying him \$500 to do so. Lincoln is said to have conducted Nancy to the home of Abraham Enlow where she became a member of the family. 315

Nancy was not in Hanks' tavern between the years 1807 and 1809, but in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, some two hundred miles from Crayton-ville. Neither could there have been any Thomas Lincoln, an hireling of a North Carolina slave and stock dealer, traveling over the country with him during these years. The dates on which we find Thomas at Elizabethtown, between May 1808, and February 1809, would not allow him such a wide latitude of time for adventure.

Here again we find an Abe Enlow creeping into the story, but he assumes the role of horse trader, with apparently no major part in the drama. For a full discussion of the Calhoun tradition, recently revived by Judge Felix E. Alley, see Lincoln Lore, number 655.¹⁶

Henry Clay of Fayette County, Kentucky

"In your researches did you ever come across the statement that Lincoln was the son of Henry Clay?"¹⁷

Lincoln said that Henry Clay was his "beau ideal" of a statesman and while he was a great admirer of Clay there is no indication that Henry Clay ever met the mother of Lincoln.

Patrick Henry of Virginia

"From time to time as I made these investigations, I heard the confident assertion that Lincoln was the son of Patrick Henry." 18

The burial place of Patrick Henry is in the same community in Virginia where it is very likely Nancy Hanks was born. Inasmuch as Patrick was dead by June 6, 1799, nearly ten years before Lincoln was born, he cannot be given serious con-

sideration for the paternity of the President.

Thomas Marshall of Virginia

"Only last week an intimate friend of Albert J. Beveridge told me that he spent an evening with Beveridge a few weeks before his death and that Beveridge told him that he had come to the conclusion that Abraham Lincoln was the illegitimate son of Nancy Hanks by Thomas Marshall and that he was trying to come to a definite and satisfactory conclusion in his own mind whether or not to come boldly out and say so in his life of Lincoln." 19

Senator Beveridge was very sure that Lincoln had Marshall blood in his veins, as he confided to the editor of the *Kinsman*. He implied that it was a son of the Chief Justice who was the father of the President.

FOUR OBSCURE NOMINEES

Andrew Head of Virginia

"Lincoln's father was the adopted son of the same Judge Marshall [Judge John Marshall] of Virginia. . . . and was the son of an Englishman who fought and was killed in the same battle in which the said Nancy's father perished. Abraham (afterwards called Abraham Lincoln) was born near 'Thatcher's Mill' on or near the line that divides Clark County from Bourbon County, Kentucky, and was born out of wedlock."²⁰

Enlow also is brought into this picture, not as the progenitor of Abraham Lincoln, but one affidavit, however, claimed that Lincoln was named for him and he paid Thomas Lincoln,

stonemason of Clark County, and native of Virginia to marry Nancy.

Samuel Davis of Christian County, Kentucky

"Joe (Samuel) Davis confided to these two men that Nancy Hanks served in his home in Kentucky when the child Jefferson Davis was expectant in 1808. He said that when he discovered that Nancy Hanks was to become a mother through his conduct, he paid her a handsome sum as money went in those days, to induce some man to marry her and take care of the child."22

The above tradition came down through a son of one of Samuel Davis' closest friends, and this story is supplemented by another of independent source which has been current for many years. Here is a version as it appears in correspondence from a prominent historian: "Young Nancy was put upon the stand and she swore that Sam Davis was the father of her yet unborn babe and the Davis family in the near neighborhood pacified the Hanks octoroon mother of Nancy with about \$1,500 in shinplasters of that region."23

Samuel Smith of LaRue County, Kentucky

"My mother is from that part of Kentucky (Hodgenville) and she told me before she died what she said was the truth of the matter and left me an old daguerrotype picture of the man [Samuel Smith] who really is the father of our martyred President."24

This excerpt from a letter in the files of the Foundation written by a

granddaughter of one of the paternal nominees for the first time places Lincoln in a family with a very familiar name.

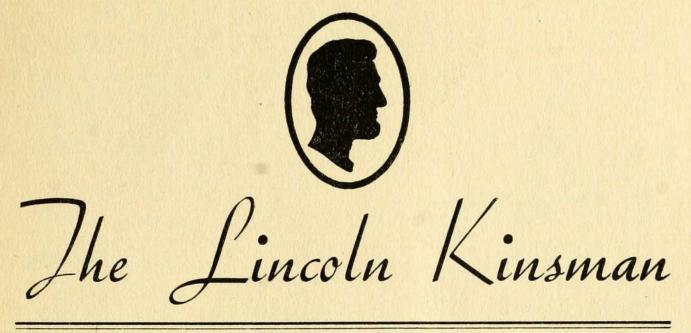
Indian

"When the writer was in Arkansas a few years ago, he was told gravely and impressively, and by a well-known citizen of importance that Abe Lincoln was the son of Nancy Hanks and Indian Father."25

This is one of the first attempts to inject the racial question into the Lincoln paternity question although his mother has often been called a mulatto. A man was tried in the courts at Vincennes, Indiana for defamatory libel against the deceased Lincoln.26

NOTES

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 4. Mather, Six Generations of LaRue and
 Allied Families, p. 158.
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- Herndon & Weik, Herndon's Lincoln, vol. 1, p. 6.
 - Cathey, The Genesis of Lincoln, p. 110.
 Ibid, p. 95.
- Letter to Samuel Haycraft, May 28, 10. 1860.
 - All's Well, April 1926. 11.
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- 14. Barton, The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln, p. 104.
- 15. Arthur, History of North Carolina, p.
- 16. Alley, Random Thoughts and the Musings of a Mountaineer.
- 17. Paternity File, Lincoln National Life Foundation.
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 - Boyd's, The Sorrows of Nancy, p. 87. 20.
- 21. Ibid, p. 37. Paternity File, Lincoln National Life 22.
- Foundation.
 - 23. Ibid.
 - 24. Ibid.
- New England Magazine, February 1909, 25. p. 685.
- 26. Knox County [Kentu ber Term, 1917, (no. 2239). Knox County [Kentucky] Court, Septem-



Number 54

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

December, 1942

VOLUME OF INDEXES

EXHAUSTIVE INDEXES OF NUMBERS ONE TO FIFTY-FOUR INCLUSIVE

IMPORTANT NOTICE

It is with sincere regret that we are obliged to announce the discontinuance of *The Lincoln Kinsman* for the duration of the war. The publication was enjoying an increasing number of subscribers and seemed to fill a very definite place in the genealogical approach to Lincolniana. A shortage of personnel in the Foundation office is primarily responsible for the temporary suspension of the bulletin.

The task of preparing an index for a publication given over largely to the printing of long genealogical tables and tracing family lines is necessarily a tedious one and if an attempt is made to publish an all inclusive index of names alone it would be prohibitive. The large number of people bearing the same surname as well as the same given name would further complicate the reference and call for generation symbols to be attached or prefixed to each citation.

There has been no attempt to list each name in the genealogical tables of the Lincolns, Hankses and cognate families where only a name appears with no historical information accompanying it. However, one will be able to approach through the rather exhaustive source of indexes almost any phase of the Lincoln family history.

The "Index to Titles" which appears first in order will allow one to locate the number designated if any single word in the titles is known. The "Index to Near Kinsman" is a departure from the usual arrangement as the relationship of the individual to the President is first noted. Associated with this reference list is an "Index to Family Groups" which cites the more prominent cognate families.

The "Index to Authors" which concludes the various index compilations will allow one to immediately find certain statements which have been made by different writers about members of the Lincoln family.

Of course one would anticipate in a genealogical bulletin a "General Index to Persons" and another "Index to Places." The people mentioned are those not included in the genealogical lists. The place list is complete as far as counties, cities, and towns are concerned. An "Index to County Court Records" will be of interest to those doing research work among the neighbors of the Lincolns. Long lists of names which appear on court records are omitted in the person index.

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