The Lincoln-Douglas Debates
1858

Publication of Debates and Lincoln-Signed Copies

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection
This bulletin is an attempt to list the different editions of the book published by Follett, Foster and Company at Columbus, Ohio and identify the thirteen different issues already discovered by the Lincoln National Life Foundation. Information about any issues not appearing on this list would be appreciated, also the names of individuals who may have in their possession copies of this book autographed by Abraham Lincoln.

The text of all the issues is the same and contains 268 pages. The only difference in the various copies is in the preliminary pages, some of which bear incorrect page numbers. The title page is always the same with the exception of added imprints of other publishers. In the concise digest of the different issues listed below the number of actually printed preliminary pages are given, the number of copies previously printed noted in the advertisements, and the imprint of the publishers on the title page.

(Title Page)

Political Debates/ Between/ Hon. Abraham Lincoln/ and/ Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/ In the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois; Including the preceding speeches of each, at Chicago, Springfield, Etc.; Also, The two great speeches of Mr. Lincoln in Ohio, in 1859, as Carefully prepared by the reporters of each party, and published at the times of their delivery./ Columbus:/ Follett, Foster and Company,/ 1860./

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Compiled by
Louis A. Warren, Director
Lincoln National Life Foundation
Fort Wayne, Indiana
To the Editor of the Herald:

Your editorial article in last Sunday's Herald, headed "Lincoln and Douglas," leaves out an important fact in relation to the publishing of the debates in pamphlet form for a "campaign document." You say: "Perhaps the finest tribute paid it was that two years later the debates were taken for a Republican campaign document, Douglas' speeches and all—the most artful Democratic reasoner in the nation being sent freely to Republican voters, while Abraham Lincoln's reply could go with it as the antithode."

In justice to the memory of Douglas, I would like to make a statement. I was foreman of the Ohio State Journal office at that time. Mr. Lincoln came to our office with copies of the speeches as they appeared in the different papers from time to time. He stayed at our office editing and rewriting portions of his speeches and putting those of Douglas in as they appeared as reported, chuckling over the game he was playing on Douglas.

Well, we made the plates and set them to press, and had printed over a hundred thousand copies when an injunction was served on us from Douglas' attorney, which put an end to the whole business.

In telling the debates in that way it was an injustice to Douglas. Another fact to show that Douglas made up no enmity to Lincoln was, when the war broke out, Douglas was the first man to offer him his hand, and started for Illinois to raise a regiment to assist in putting down the rebellion. Yours for truth and justice,

A. E. Senter.
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Eight Page, $15. Discount of 10% for four insertions.
Lincoln Autographed Debates

by Harry E. Pratt.

A DRAMATIC BOOK OF 208 PAGES entitled Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas... was published in Columbus, Ohio, in April, 1860. This was a month before Lincoln's nomination for the presidency by the Republican National Convention. The book had been set in type by Follett, Foster and Company from Lincoln's personal "scrap-book" of the 1858 debates—his speeches clipped from the Chicago Press & Tribune, and those of Douglas from the Chicago Times. This "scrap-book" was sold in the Oliver R. Barrett sale in 1952 to Alfred Whital Stern of Chicago for $26,400. It is now in the Stern Collection of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress.

Copies of the printed Political Debates which Lincoln autographed and gave to friends are greatly prized by collectors. He was promised one hundred free copies. Several of the autographed copies are of later printings, which suggests that Lincoln may have received them in installments from more than one printing.

Early in February, 1860, Lincoln had received a letter from Abraham Jonas, a good friend and Republican leader of Quincy, Illinois, requesting a copy. He replied immediately, "As you are one of my most valued friends, and have complimented me by the expression of a wish for the book, I propose doing myself the honor of presenting you with one, so soon as I can. By the arrangement our Ohio friends have made with the publishers, I am to have one thousand copies gratis. When I shall receive them I will send you one by Express gratis, and they will not be out before March, and I probably shall be absent about that time, so that you must not be disappointed if you do not receive yours before about the middle of that month."

Of the eighteen copies on which there is sufficient data to state with some certainty that Lincoln autographed them, only the Stephen T. Logan copy is autographed in ink. This was perhaps among the first copies which Lincoln autographed. Finding the paper too soft to take ink, he thereafter inscribed them in pencil.

In this "census" of the autographed copies of the Debates the eighteen copies with authentic inscriptions are listed in alphabetical order by recipient, with the inscription in italics.

Capt. J. S. Bradford From A. Lincoln

Present owner: John Francis Neylan, San Francisco.

John S. Bradford (1815-1892) a bookbinder, settled in Springfield, Illinois in 1840. He served in the Mexican War, and in the California legislature in 1850. Returning to Springfield in 1851, Bradford served as Sangamon County school commissioner, and as alderman, treasurer and mayor of Springfield. His son Donald Bradford, mayor of Helena, Montana, and publisher of the Rocky Mountain Magazine, inherited the Debates and disposed of it on May 11, 1934 to John Howell, San Francisco bookseller, from whom it was acquired by the present owner.

Capt. James N. Brown From his friend A. Lincoln

Present owner: Mrs. Mary C. Harmon, Los Angeles.

James N. Brown (1806-1868) became
a friend of Lincoln when they were both members of the Twelfth General Assembly. Brown served three additional terms, and was an organizer and first president of the Illinois State Agricultural Society. The *Debates* was inherited by his son Charles S. Brown, who wrote his name on the title page in 1880. He was a granduncle of Mrs. Harmon, the present owner, a great-granddaughter of Captain Brown.

**George Brunk Esq. From A. Lincoln**  
**Present owner:** Dr. Karl A. Meyer, Chicago, Illinois.  
George Brunk (1804-1868) came to Illinois in 1821 and later entered eighty acres in Ball Township some eight miles south of Springfield. He operated a sawmill and sold firewood in Springfield, one of his customers being Abraham Lincoln. Brunk was active in the Sangamon County Old Settlers’ Society from 1859, and was a delegate to the Republican county convention in June, 1860. Ralph G. Newman, Chicago bookseller, purchased the *Debates* from the estate of Samuel W. Brunk, grandson of George. Dr. Meyer acquired it from Newman.

**A. Lincoln to W. M. Cowgill**  
**Present owner:** The Rosenbach Company, New York City.  
William M. Cowgill, born in Ohio, moved to Springfield, Illinois in 1832. He engaged in the mercantile business there until 1844 when he moved to Petersburg, continuing as a merchant. During part of his Springfield years he was a member of the firm of S. M. Tinsley & Company in the Tinsley Building which is still standing on the southeast corner of the public square. On the second floor of this building was the federal courtroom, and on the third floor Logan & Lincoln had their office. Cowgill died in Petersburg in 1862.

The Cowgill *Debates* brought $600 at the auction of the well-known Lincoln collector, William H. Lambert.

**Oliver Drake from A. Lincoln**  
**Owner (1928):** Mrs. Oliver Drake, Jr., Evanston, Illinois.  
According to Mr. Drake’s statement to his son Oliver Drake, Jr., he called on Lincoln in Springfield and discussed the debates. Lincoln took a copy from a shelf and inscribed it to him.

**Hon. S. T. Logan, From his friend A. Lincoln**  
**Present owner:** William H. Townsend, Lexington, Kentucky.

Stephen Trigg Logan (1800-1880) was born in Kentucky, studied law and practiced in Glasgow until moving to Springfield, Illinois in 1832. He soon became the outstanding lawyer in central Illinois, and served two years as a circuit judge. Lincoln tried his first case before Logan in the Sangamon County Circuit Court in 1836, and from 1841 to 1844 was a junior partner in the firm of Logan & Lincoln. The *Debates* was acquired by Mr. Townsend from Martha Bray, great-granddaughter of Judge Logan.

**Presented to the New Hampshire Historical Society, by A. Lincoln**  
**Present owner:** New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord.  
William F. Goodwin, attorney and part-time secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society, heard Lincoln speak at Concord on March 1, 1860. On August 9 he wrote to Lincoln asking for a copy of the *Debates*. Lincoln autographed the copy, and John G. Nicolay sent it on August 14. Four days later, in a letter now owned by Justin G. Turner of Hollywood, Goodwin acknowledged receipt of the book, adding this postscript: “Canst you send us a ‘Rail?’”

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J. Dyer Esq. From A. Lincoln

Present owner: Mrs. Kent W. Morehouse, Easts, Florida.

J. Dyer was born in Rutledge, Tennessee, in 1839 and came with his family to Jacksonville in 1841. He was a farmer until he enlisted in the Civil War. A wound in the left arm disabled him for farming. He then studied law at Washington University in St. Louis, and was admitted to the bar in 1873. No information as to how Dyer got the autographed copy is known. It was auctioned in the Clyde sale (May 6, 1931), and in the Hogan sale (Parke-Bernet Galleries, January 23-24, 1945) to Ralph Newman of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop. Soon after it was acquired by its present owner.

R. M. Elder Esq. From A. Lincoln

Present owner: St. John's Seminary Library, Camarillo, California.

This copy of the Debates was acquired from his granddaughter Mrs. L. L. Arbuckle, Weir City, Kansas, by autograph dealer King V. Hustick who interested a California collector in presenting it to the Seminary Library.

Mrs. Arbuckle stated that Elder was a justice of the peace near Springfield and spoke on Lincoln's behalf in 1860. The pencil inscription has been re-traced.

Capt. Job Fletcher From A. Lincoln

Present owner: Justin G. Turner, Hollywood.

Job Fletcher (1793-1872) was born in Virginia and served in the War of 1812. He settled in Sangamon County, Illinois in 1819, farmed, taught school, and served as justice of the peace. He was a member of the Illinois General Assembly—six years in the House and four in the Senate—serving with Lincoln from 1834 to 1840; in the first session of the Tenth General Assembly he was one of the "Long Nine" who effected the removal of the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield. Fletcher's Debates became the property of his granddaughter, Lizzie Elswick, from whom Mr. William Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky, obtained it through Harry E. Barker, Springfield bookseller and publisher. Soon after it was acquired by Ralph Newman of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop from Mr. Townsend it came into possession of the present owner.

To Hon. Jackson Grimshaw with respects of A. Lincoln

Present owner: Matthew Finlay Carrott, Quincy, Illinois.

Jackson Grimshaw (1820-1875) was closely associated with Lincoln in politics and in the federal and Illinois Supreme courts. He formed a law partnership with his brother William at Pittsfield in 1843, and moved to Quincy in 1857. He was an active Whig, and attended the Bloomington convention in May, 1856 which inaugurated the Republican Party in Illinois. Grimshaw was a personal friend and trusted counsellor of Richard Yates, Civil War governor of Illinois. The father of the present owner of the book purchased it at a sale held shortly after Grimshaw's death.

To Hon. O. M. Hatch with respects of A. Lincoln


Ozias Mather Hatch (1814-1893) was a merchant in Griggsville, Illinois in the 1840's, a member of the General Assembly (1850-1852), and Illinois secretary of state (1857-1861). During his first term as secretary he was closely associated with Lincoln. He was active in the building of the Lincoln Monument. On the death of O. M. Hatch it became the property of his son Pascal E. Hatch, and upon his death it descended to his nephew O. M. Hatch III, grandson of the first O. M. Hatch.

To Hon. Abraham Jonas, with respects of A. Lincoln
Lincoln's Letter to Abraham Jonas, described below.


Abraham Jonas (1801-1864) was born in Devonshire, England. He lived in Kentucky from 1823 to 1832, where he became Grand Master of the Kentucky Masonic Lodge, later becoming Grand Master of the Illinois Lodge (1810-1842). He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives (1842-1844) and a Republican presidential elector (1856), and took an active part in the first national convention which nominated Lincoln. Jonas was appointed postmaster of Quincy by President Taylor, and occupied the same office under Lincoln. The latter's friendship for Jonas is indicated in his letter to him of February 4, 1860, quoted in the introduction. This letter was pasted on the inside front cover of the copy of the Debates which was presented to the Historical Library by the grandson of Jonas, Frederick Wells of Minneapolis.
To the Hon. Carl Schurz from A. Lincoln
Present owner: Mrs. Edith A. Downes, Chicago.

Carl Schurz met Lincoln in Quincy, Illinois in 1854 at the time of the debate with Douglas. On July 24, 1860, Schurz came to Springfield to speak at a Republican rally. He was a house guest of the Lincolns. In the evening the American and German Wide-Awake Clubs paraded to Lincoln’s home and escorted him and Schurz to the Statehouse. The Debates book was dated July 24, 1860 by Schurz, and he mentions receiving the volume in a letter he wrote home the following day. The book has remained in the hands of his descendants.

Samuel N. Shoup Esq. From A. Lincoln
Present owner: William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Samuel N. Shoup, born in 1827, was one of sixteen children of Jacob Shoup who migrated from Pickaway County, Ohio, to Sangamon County, Illinois in 1831 and settled on a farm south of Springfield. Samuel Shoup made trips to Oregon and Texas in the 1850’s, and raised and commanded Company E, 114th Illinois Infantry, in the Civil War. Near the close of the war he was promoted to colonel, and was sheriff of Sangamon County (1866-1868). Lincoln was an attorney in two cases in which Jacob Shoup was a party. This Debates was purchased at the sale of the effects of Lucy Shoup, Samuel’s daughter, in February, 1941 at Springfield, by William R. Southwick. The Brentano Book Store obtained it from Southwick. From Brentanos it went to the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop and then to Wright Howes, Chicago bookseller who was the agent for A. H. Greenly of Hoboken, New Jersey. Greenly presented it to the Clements Library.

Alexander H. Todd With compliments A. Lincoln

Present owner: Mrs. Forrest M. Lebold, Chicago.

Alexander H. Todd, youngest of Mary Todd Lincoln’s half-brothers, was born in Lexington, Kentucky on February 18, 1839. He was but a few months old when Mary Todd left home for Springfield, Illinois to stay with her eldest sister Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards. Alex became aide-de-camp to his brother-in-law General Ben Hardin Helm, and was killed at Baton Rouge. Todd is said to have presented the copy to Isham Green and went next to C. C. Green. Green gave it on September 14, 1869 to Dr. J. J. Speed, and he gave it to Joshua F. Speed, Lincoln’s good friend. Mrs. Speed donated it in September, 1883 to a relative, Edward Davis. It then belonged to his son and later to his grandson Edward Davis. Ralph G. Newman, Chicago bookseller, acquired it from Davis and in 1948 it was added to the collection of the late Foreman M. Lebold.

Thus this copy is purported to have been owned in turn by many, including Lincoln’s brother-in-law and Lincoln’s best friend of his early years in Springfield. By reason of its obvious vicissitudes and all difficulties inherent as to the identification of various handwritings in the volume, some Lincoln authorities may be inclined to question its complicated ownership.

A. Lincoln to Hon. H. M. Vandeventer
Present owner: Mrs. Vida V. Seaman, Taylorville, Illinois.

Horatio M. Vandeventer (1816-1894), born in Washington County, Indiana, came to what is now Christian County, Illinois, at an early age. Like Lincoln, he borrowed law books from John T. Stuart. When Christian County was organized in 1839 Vandeventer was the first circuit clerk and recorder, and served as county judge from 1848 to 1857. Elected on the Democratic ticket, he served four years in each
house of the General Assembly, and was circuit judge (1870-1879). He established and conducted a successful private banking firm in Taylorville. Lincoln opposed Vandever in many lawsuits, and filed papers in his office during his practice in the Christian County circuit court. Vandever's son William T. Vandever owned the Debates from his father's death until his own in 1936, when it became the property of his niece Mrs. Seaman, a granddaughter of H. M. Vandever.

To Hon: Archibald Williams, with respects of A. Lincoln
Present owner: Kenneth K. Bechtel, San Francisco.

Archibald Williams (1801-1863) was born in Kentucky, admitted to the bar in Tennessee, and began the practice of law in Quincy, Illinois in 1829. He served in the Illinois Senate (1832-1836) and House (1836-1840). He and his colleague Lincoln were said to be the two homeliest men in the House. Williams spent much time in Springfield from 1849 to 1853 as United States district attorney. In 1861 Lincoln appointed him United States district judge for Kansas. His Debates came into the possession of his son Archie L. Williams, and from him passed to his grandson Arch W. Jarrell who sold it. Later it was owned by John Howell, San Francisco bookseller, who disposed of it to Frederick W. Skiff. The present owner acquired it at the auction of Skiff's library (San Francisco, September 15-16, 1947).

There are other copies of the Debates upon which sufficient authenticating data has not been secured, but which deserve mention for one or more reasons.

Zebulon Bell, Esq. from A. Lincoln
Present owner: The Rosenbach Company, New York City.

Zebulon N. Bell was born in Gerrardstown, West Virginia, son of Zebulon and Rachel Bell. The family came to Sangamon County in 1834, locating six miles southwest of Springfield. In 1859 the elder Bell moved west. He was living in Colorado in 1875, and his son Zebulon in Christian County, Illinois.

The inscription, in pencil on the front end leaf is repeated in ink on the front flyleaf. The one in ink appears in facsimile on page 116 of Parke-Bernet Galleries Catalog 1863. This Debates was sold on April 22, 1947 for $100.

F. B. Hoppin From A. Lincoln
Present owner: (Unknown)

There was a Franklin B. Hoppin (1816-1866) who was extensively engaged in farming and wool growing twelve miles southwest of Springfield, Illinois from 1840 until his death. According to the Parke-Bernet Galleries catalog for the sale on November 4, 1946 this copy was inscribed in ink, and it was auctioned for $1,150. This may have been the volume once owned by the late Oliver R. Barrett.

A. Lincoln to Thomas Mulligan
Present owner: (Unknown).

Dr. Louis A. Warren, director of the Lincoln National Life Foundation at Fort Wayne, Indiana, has furnished a list of names of people reputed to have received inscribed copies of the Debates according to information in their files. Neither Dr. Warren nor the writer has been able to identify a Mulligan who was a friend of Lincoln in 1860.

Presented to George R. Weber by A. Lincoln July 14, 1860
Present owner: (Unknown).

According to Dr. Warren, George R. Weber received an inscribed copy of the Debates. Weber was born in Baltimore in 1825. In April, 1835 he entered into partnership with John S. Roberts in the publication of the Illinois Republican, a Springfield Democratic newspaper. When this paper was absorbed by the Illinois State Register in 1839 Weber remained as
one of the editors and proprietors until 1846. After service in the Mexican War he succeeded William Walters, his former Register partner, as state printer. He became a Republican with the organization of the party in 1856, and was appointed commissary at Camp Butler by President Lincoln.

Stephen S. Winchester, Esq. With Compliments of A. Lincoln

Present owner: J. K. Lilly, Indianapolis.

According to information furnished by bookseller George T. Goodspeed to Carroll A. Wilson of New York City when the latter purchased this copy in 1940, Stephen S. Winchester (1834-1880) was born in Boston, engaged in business with his father and grandfather, and later lived in Brookline, Massachusetts. Goodspeed also stated that the book came to him from Winchester's nephew, Henry Winchester Cunningham. The story of finding the book in Winchester's library is in C. E. Goodspeed's A Yankee Bookseller.

Charles Scribner's Sons, who purchased the Winchester copy at the Carroll Wilson sale, described it as the "4th state of the 3d edition," and stated that it was owned by an "old Illinois acquaintance of Lincoln, who was a 2d Lieutenant in the 59th Regiment, Illinois State Militia 1861, and afterwards fought in the Civil War." This identification of Winchester does not correspond to that given by Goodspeed, nor has any Stephen or Stephen S. Winchester in Illinois been definitely identified as having any connection with Lincoln.

Yours truly Abraham Lincoln

Present owner: Henry Flynt, New York City.

The present owner acquired this copy of the Debates, inscribed in ink, from the Carnegie P. A. Shop of New York City.

It is theoretically logical that Lincoln would have presented an autographed copy to his friend, John G. Nicolay, yet the inscription "To John G. Nicolay, Esq with respects of A. Lincoln" in the copy in the New York Public Library is believed by their Lincoln handwriting expert to be a forgery. Nicolay wrote his fiancee Thresa Bates on December 19, 1860 that Lincoln had presented a copy to a "regular genuine secessionist" who wore a cockade in his "high-crowned hat," but there is no allusion to an inscription.

Two men well known to Lincoln claimed to have received copies of the Debates from him. John H. Littlefield, a student in the Lincoln and Herndon law office and later a noted lithographer of Lincoln portraits, failed to have Lincoln autograph his copy, but himself wrote in it the inscription: "J. H. Littlefield From A. Lincoln. April 25, 1860." This would be from the first shipment of copies received by Lincoln. This copy is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Charles J. Sellen, a newspaper editor in Chicago, Naperville, Galesburg, Canton and Jacksonville, Illinois, and said to have worked on the Illinois State Journal of Springfield in 1860, wrote in his copy of the Debates: "Chas. J. Sellen Presented by Hon. A. Lincoln." This copy is now owned by Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip of New York City.

Neither a copy of the inscription nor the original book has been located of other Debates purported to have been autographed by Lincoln, according to information in the files of the Lincoln National Life Foundation, to the following persons: Rev. John H. Brown, pastor (1856-1861) of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, Illinois, of which Mrs. Lincoln was a member; Jesse K. Dullos, Illinois state auditor (1857-1865), member of the legislature with Lincoln and his good friend and neighbor; Dr. Fox (copy said to have been inscribed in ink); Harry Levenson (also in ink); Hon. Miles Murphy; Reform; William A. Ross, Washington, Illi.
oils, who first planned to publish the debates and corresponded with Lincoln concerning his plans; J. R. Tanner; and W. D. Ward.

A copy of the Debates inscribed to Samuel Bell is listed in Tuttle's Catalog 270 (1952) for $3.75 and the autograph guaranteed "Not to be genuine."

Footnotes

1 This census of the copies of the Debates auto-

Truman on Presidential Papers

Former President Truman, an enthusiastic history student, delivered a lecture at Westminster College, Fulton, Mo., on the importance of preserving Presidential papers as historical documents.

Some past Presidents would have fared much better at the hands of history, Mr. Truman said, if they had made sure their personal records and documents were carefully retained.

"I did everything I could when I was President to see that my papers and the papers of other Presidents in the Library of Congress were kept in such a way that historians could use them properly," he declared. "I hope that future Presidents will try as hard to see that this same thing is done with their papers."

In his recent speech Mr. Truman said that while there were some private aspects to a President's records, these papers really belonged to the people of the United States.

"Every President has been soundly abused, either while he was in office or after he left it," Mr. Truman asserted. "Only by having access to documents and papers can the historians evaluate these attacks and see that each man was given his just due.

"Fortunately, I knew about the attacks that had been made on Washington, Jefferson, and Adams and other Presidents and I had read many of their papers. When they began on me, I knew what had happened to the others and so I didn't feel so bad about it."

Mr. Truman said former President Hoover had placed most of his records in the library at Stanford University and that the Library of Congress was now collecting and working on the papers of sixteen other Presidents.

But many of Abraham Lincoln's documents were burned by his son Robert because his son felt they would be of no public interest, Mr. Truman said, and the records of Millard Fillmore were almost entirely destroyed by his family.

"As a result," Mr. Truman declared, "Millard Fillmore has never received his just due from history because there were no records for historians to evaluate."

Mr. Truman's papers are now being indexed by two Government archivists. When this work has been done, they will be ready for display and storage in the projected Truman Library.

Mr. Truman said that a definite site for this building had not been decided on. At first it was planned to build the $1,750,000 structure on the Truman farm at Grandview, Mo. But since then, Mr. Truman said, many persons have urged him to put the building near a university or a large city. Mr. Truman said that the project's board of directors still was considering all these matters. 
New Version of
Lincoln-Douglas Debates

BY VAN ALLEN BRADLEY

Daily News Literary Editor

volume edition now available, affords us the vicarious thrills of that experience without the heat and discomfort.

THERE are two reasons why this new account is important:

First, it presents in readily accessible form (1) the full texts (complete with "Hit him against!" and "That's the doctrines!") of the seven joint debates at Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy and Alton; (2) five preliminary speeches that were a part of the campaign; (3) a running account (much of it hitherto unpublished) of the campaign, drawn from contemporary newspapers; and (4) a brilliant 12,000-word historical interpretation by Mr. Angle.

Second, it focuses our attention again on issues that are as real and urgent today as they were a century ago. For, as the editor points out, the Civil War settled only one of the issues Lincoln and Douglas debated—the question of the extension of slavery.

The two other principal issues—the status of the Negro and the right of the states to regulate the Negro's role as they see fit—are still being debated.

Mr. Angle, director of publications for the Chicago Historical Society, has produced an admirable book to serve as overture and background for the Civil War Centennial.

“History Might Have Run a Different Course”

A CENTURY AGO this month, Abraham Lincoln passed his 49th birthday in relative obscurity. He had been a legislator and a member of Congress; other than that he seemed just another prairie lawyer, and a gawky one at that, practicing in Springfield. In February, 1858, his potential greatness was not manifest.

Events of that year were destined, however, to bring the tall political philosopher into the sunlight of highest political favor. Altho he failed of election to the United States Senate that November, being defeated by Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, their campaign gave Lincoln national prominence and prepared the way for his election as President two years later, when Douglas was again an opponent.

Seven joint debates between the candidates made the 1858 campaign notable and their real importance is the concern of the Lincoln authority. Paul M. Angle, in this book, the only modern presentation of the debates. It was issued last Wednesday, the 149th anniversary of Lincoln’s birth.


Reviewed by Percy Wood

In his scholarly introduction, Angle notes that the issues the candidates discussed were national, not local; the extension of slavery to the national territories, the status of the Negro, and the power of the states and territories to regulate their “domestic institutions”—meaning slavery and the Negro—as they saw fit.

Thru the debates, the author writes, “Douglas won another term in the Senate, but to achieve that immediate victory he was forced to take positions that not only made him unacceptable to the southern wing of his [Democratic] party but cost him the chance—and very good it was—of being elected President in 1860.”

“Lincoln, on the other hand, acquired the nation-wide reputation without which he could not have been nominated for the Presidency two years later. But for the debates, it is conceivable that in the next two or three years American history might have run a far different course.”

The first debate issue was settled by the Civil war and abolition of slavery, but the other two—the status of the Negro and the right of the states to regulate the states—are still alive today. Angle points out, “as dangerously charged with emotion as they were when Lincoln and Douglas discussed them a hundred years ago.”

Lincoln, the ex-Whig turned Republican, and Douglas, the Democrat, campaigned hard the summer and fall of 1858, speaking at a hundred party rallies in addition to their joint debates. The seven towns where those appearances took place were, in the order held, Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and Alton.

Douglas, Lincoln said on those occasions, was in a conspiracy to extend slavery and he insisted that the nation could not exist half slave, half free. The diminutive Douglas, small of stature but a bull in debate, in effect, asked why not? Hadn’t the
LINCOLN'S STAR ASCENDS

Altho Douglas beat Lincoln in '58, it was a costly victory. For his answer to a question Lincoln put at Freeport — that the territories need not have slavery in spite of the Dred Scott decision — seemed to southern extremists to be a prodigal discarding of a hard-won right. The extremists therefore split the Democratic party in 1860 and Lincoln beat Douglas for the Presidency.

This important book, edited intelligently, as one would expect of Angle, now takes its place on the long Lincoln shelf, joining half a dozen others from Angle's pen. It is a timely volume relating great and portentous political events.

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ade runner in the Surratt house. On the other hand, by the
time he wrote his memoir of the event (about thirty years
later), he could say of southern Maryland that "The only true
friends the Union had down there were the colored people."
His gratitude to that race, which he seems otherwise to have
known only as servants, was doubtless increased when, dur-
ing the trial of John Surratt in 1867.
One day, I was waited on by two ladies, Mrs. Griffen and
Mrs. Thomas L. Tullock, representing a committee of the
loyal ladies of Washington, who stated that they had come
to me from Secretary Stanton to say that I should in no way
feel alarmed during my attendance at court; that the Secre-
tary had taken the precaution to have a number of colored
men in the court room every day who would take care that
the Government witnesses should not be insulted or sub-
jected to bodily harm.
This wise precaution of Mr. Stanton was an actual fact;
there were three rows of benches which were occupied as
long as the trial lasted by colored men. They were always
orderly and polite in their behavior, but their presence was a
great restraint on the element which sympathized with Sur-
ratt, and, I believe, was often the means of checking an out-
break in the court room.
Otherwise, we know only that he regularly held a patronage
job from all Republican administrations till 1885 and that
whenver the Democrats gained control, he was turned out in
the cold.
There is enough information in Weichmann's account to
suggest a book on the disputes having to do with Catholicism
that grew out of the trials of the assassins. Indeed, this is al-
most a subplot of the book. Payne was a Baptist; Booth, an
Episcopalian; Atzerodt, a Lutheran; and Weichmann, a key
person in the plot who arranged the assassination; he was a
Catholic himself. In Catholic circles, it did not take long for the anti-Catholic agitators to dream up allegations that Lincoln's assassination was a papal plot. To
a surprising degree, Weichmann suggests that Catholics
themselves had much to do with bringing on the hatred and
suspicion. At the trial of John Surratt, twenty students from
St. Charles College (where John and Louis both had studied
for the priesthood) came with a professor (Louis's former
father confessor) and shook hands with the accused prisoner,
the priest sitting at Surratt's side all day. None so much as
acknowledged Weichmann's presence.
Out of such actions as these, and out of the doings of
Fathers Boucher and LaPierre, who secured Surratt in
Canada and who arranged and facilitated his escape to
Europe, coupled with the fact that some of the priests and
other prominent Catholics in Washington, have persistent-
ly and unscrupulously maligned the Government, the Mili-
tary Commission, the witnesses for the prosecution,
because of the verdict in Mrs. Surratt's case, more than from
any other circumstances, has grown the charge that the
assassination was the outcome of a Catholic plot.
He does go on to say that "the charge is too ridiculous for a
moment's consideration." But so little attention to the forces
of bigotry that raised the charge seems curious in a Catholic.
True, he admits asking Stanton for a job when his Bishop
refused to answer his letter (in the summer of 1865) request-
ing permission to resume his religious studies. This incident
typifies the great weakness of the account. It is only from
Weichmann's obituary, carefully added by Risvold in the use-
ful appendix to the account, that we learn that Weichmann
left the Church altogether (until just before his death).
He does not bother to tell us this interesting biographical
tidbit, and he is not by any means required to by the rules
of evidence. Still, it certainly alters our understanding of his per-
ception of the causes of the Catholic plot theory. We still do not
understand the man behind the testimony.
By today's standards, the standards of the nineteenth-cen-
tury justice system often seem appalling. Weichmann receiv-
ed a government job for his part in the trials of the assassins.
Writers have never forgiven him (or the government) for this.
Yet something else comes to mind. Weichmann wrote this
manuscript justifying his role in the trials late in his life, some
time thirty years after the event, and even then only in response
to frequent newspaper stories that impugned his testimony. He
did not rush out of the courtroom door of this, the most fa-
mous state trial in American history, get a large advance from
a publisher, and try to get rich off his dutiful participation in
the trial. Standards of justice have not necessarily changed
all for the better.

Recent Acquisitions:
A Presentation
Copy of the Debates

Abraham Lincoln's education was, in his own estimation,
"defective." The frontier environment of his youth prevented
his owning many books in the years when he had much time
for reading. He regretted his "want of education," as he said in
his autobiography written for John L. Scripps in 1860, and
tried throughout his life "to supply the want." He studied
grammar after he was twenty-three years old and "had separ-
ated from his father." He studied geometry after he was forty
years old and had already served a term in the United States
House of Representatives.
The habits of youth nevertheless leave indelible traces, and
Lincoln showed no special fondness for books as such. He
never accumulated a library like Jefferson's or Washing-
ton's. He was not, like Rutherford B. Hayes or Franklin
Delano Roosevelt, a book collector. Unlike Woodrow Wilson or
Theodore Roosevelt, he never wrote books. Therefore, books
that are directly associated with Abraham Lincoln are ex-
tremely rare. He almost never wrote marginalia in his books;
in fact, he rarely wrote his name in a book.
For these reasons, and others, a signed copy of a book for
which Abraham Lincoln supplied almost half the text him-
self is considered a major rarity. The only book that Lincoln in
any sense "wrote" was the Political Debates Between Hon.
Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Cele-
brated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois. . . (Columbus: Follett,
Foster and Company, 1860). Lincoln thought he won the great
debates, and he was careful to preserve a newspaper clipping of
every speech. He pasted these into an attractive scrapbook.
Lincoln turned down one publication offer in 1858, probably
thinking it would be too early to have political effect. In 1859,
his campaign tour to Ohio seems to have brought the scrap-
book to the attention of Republican leaders in that state, and
Oran Follett, editor of the Ohio State Journal, early Repub-
lican, and owner of the Follett, Foster publishing house, printed the book in 1860. Lincoln received, it is said,
one hundred copies, and to date eighteen copies which he
signed and presented to friends have been found. The Lincoln
Library and Museum is happy to announce the acquisition of
one of these presentation copies, bearing the pencil inscrip-
tion, "Capt. J. S. Bradford From A. Lincoln."
Only one copy of the Debates is inscribed in ink, the copy
Lincoln gave to his former law partner Stephen T. Logan. On
it, the ink is badly smeared because the endpapers are porous
and soft, and book collectors assume that, from then on, Lin-
coln knew to inscribe the books in pencil.
Captain John S. Bradford seems at first glance to be an un-
likely recipient of Lincoln's book. He was a life-long Demo-
ocrat who led a restless and varied life. Born in Philadelphia in
1815, he was trained to be a bookbinder. He apparently de-
cided he wanted to see Mexico and started working his way
west from Philadelphia. In Richmond, Indiana, he joined the
United States Corps of Engineers in building the National Road. The road terminated in Vandalia, Illinois, in 1840, and so did Bradford’s employment on the project. He then moved to Springfield late the same year. In 1841, he bought half of a partnership in a bookbindery which became the firm of Johnson and Bradford.

Lincoln’s was addressing him as “Captain” betokened Bradford’s long-standing military interests. He joined a militia unit known as the Springfield Cadets and went to Nauvoo in 1845, when disturbances with the Mormons in that area led Governor Thomas Ford to call out the militia. In 1846, he enlisted in Company A, Fourth Illinois Infantry, the unit commanded by Lincoln’s Whig friend Edward D. Baker, and went to Mexico, where he became a Commissary of the United States Army. He was present at the capture of Vera Cruz, the Battle of Cerro Gordo, and other battles in the Mexican War. He returned with the Illinois regiment in September of 1847, only to leave again early in 1849 to seek gold in California.

Apparantly, Bradford went to California with his brother-in-law James Semple, who had been United States Senator from Illinois (1843-1847) and Associate Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court (1843). They engaged not in mining but in supplying the miners with goods and food. They began with a simple pack train, carrying goods from Sacramento. Later they bought wagons and opened a store, forming the firm of Semple, Robinson, and Company, for the transaction of “general business.” They even purchased a ship with a cargo of East Indian goods and disassembled it to make a wharf. They must have been successful, for Bradford was elected representative in his Benicia (Sonoma) district when the military commander of the Department of the Pacific ordered a government to be established in the new state (even before California was a state). In 1850, when California gained admission to the Union, he was reelected to the first state legislature. A year later, he returned home to his family, which he had left behind in Springfield. He remained in partnership with Johnson in the bindery and in 1857 became Superintendent of Public Instruction for Sangamon County.

When the Civil War broke out (and probably after he already had received his copy of the Debates from Abraham Lincoln), Republican Governor Richard Yates recognized Bradford’s qualifications despite his party identification and appointed him Commissary with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, Governor Yates’s first military commission for the war. After the war, Bradford served as mayor of Springfield, invoking tough sanitation measures when a smallpox epidemic broke out. He was noted for his involvement in charitable and cultural institutions. He served on the board of the Illinois State University, a Lutheran college which flourished briefly in Springfield, and he raised money for the Springfield Home for the Friendless, a charitable institution for homeless women and children.

In 1869, Bradford ended his connection with Johnson and Bradford and opened a book store. Then his restless spirit showed itself again. He sold the store in 1873 and moved to Aberdeen, Mississippi, where he remained for two years. He returned again to Springfield, where in 1876, he became Crier of the Court and United States Commissioner. He was an Episcopalian, a Mason, and a Knight Templar. He was always described as a staunch Democrat as well. Why did Lincoln give him a copy of his Debates? Probably because Bradford was Lincoln’s neighbor, living across the street from the Lincoln home at Eighth and Jackson in Springfield. It was an election year and these were political speeches, but Abraham Lincoln remembered his neighbor.

The Bradford copy contains a tipped-in affidavit on the flyleaf just under the Lincoln signature. It reads:

State of Washington
County of King

Donald Bradford being first sworn on oath says that he is the son of Capt. John S. Bradford, at one time Mayor of Springfield, Ill., and a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, living across the street from Lincoln’s home. (See reference page 428, Sandberg’s [sic] Life of Lincoln, Vol. 1) Capt. John S. Bradford died in 1892 and among his effects was a library containing the within book which came to affiant at that time, and which has been in his continuous possession ever since. That affiant knows from his father’s personal statements to him that this book had been in the continuous possession of his father from the time that he received said book from Lincoln with his name inscribed on this page, viz: “A Lincoln.” That affiant knows that said signature is genuine and the signature of A. Lincoln as it purports to be.

Affiant is the youngest son of Capt. J. S. Bradford and resides in Seattle, Wash. That formerly, in 1890, he was mayor of Helena, Mont., and publisher of the Rocky Mountain Magazine.

[signed] Donald Bradford
Subscribed & Sworn to before me this 11th. day of May, 1934.

[signed] A. M. Booth
Notary Public at Seattle, Wn

William H. Herndon recalled that Lincoln “had failed to induce any publisher in Springfield to undertake the enterprise [of publishing the debates], thus proving anew that ‘a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country.” In fact, Herndon wrote in 1889:

A gentleman is still living, who at the time of the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, was a book publisher in Springfield. Lincoln had collected newspaper slips of all the speeches made during the debate, and proposed to him their publication in book form; but the man declined, fearing there would be no demand for such a book. Subsequently, when the speeches were gotten out in book form in Ohio, Mr. Lincoln procured a copy and gave it to his Springfield friend, writing on the flyleaf, “Compliments of A. Lincoln.”

The inscription is not the same as the one made to J. S. Bradford, but one wonders whether this might not be the very copy to which Herndon referred. If it is, then Bradford doubtless kicked himself for his decision. The Debates were a nineteenth-century best seller; over 30,000 copies were sold in 1860.
Constitution had created and made the whole North, regardless of party, defensive about the Constitution. Neither Republicans nor Democrats tended to think in new ways about the Constitution. Republicans of an anti-slavery bent had long differentiated themselves from abolitionists by saying that they would attack slavery only where the Constitution allowed them. President Lincoln knew that wartime stretching of the Constitution would be unlikely to last and therefore fretted that the Emancipation Proclamation would be null once the war was over. The Republicans were constitutionally conservative. Their opponents, a party which claimed the inheritance of strict constructionist Jeffersonianism, chose to oppose the Lincoln administration with charges that the President rode over the Constitution roughshod. Everyone came to be saving the Constitution.

It is important to keep this constitutionally conservative atmosphere in mind in studying Lincoln’s Presidency. This should not, however, keep us from noting the ways in which the war strained the Constitution and led, at times, to ideas about that document that were very new indeed.

A Mysterious Presentation Copy of the Debates

The recent discussion of the acquisition of the J. S. Bradford presentation copy of the Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858 has aroused considerable interest among Lincoln Lore’s readers in the location and provenance of the various extant presentation copies (see “Recent Acquisitions: A Presentation Copy of the Debates” in Lincoln Lore Number 1659). Therefore, this issue initiates a series of articles on the presentation copies in an effort to update the last article on these prized items of Lincolniana, Harry E. Pratt’s “Lincoln Autographed Debates” in Manuscripts, VI (Summer, 1954), 194-201. Manuscripts is not the easiest periodical to come by, and there have been enough developments (changes in ownership, more knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the presentation, etc.) to warrant a brief reexamination of the known copies.

When Pratt wrote his piece, the copy presented to “Stephen S. Winchester, Esq. With Compliments of A. Lincoln” was the property of J. K. Lilly of Indianapolis. It is now in the collections of the Lilly Library at Indiana University. Nothing of note has turned up to explain the provenance of this presentation copy, and that is too bad, because it remains unclear just who Stephen S. Winchester was and why he should have been one of the privileged recipients of Lincoln’s book.

We know the story of its discovery in modern times quite by accident. Charles Godspeed, the Boston rare book dealer, happened to use the story of its discovery as an illustration of the ironies of the rare book trade (and, perhaps, as a subtle advertisement for his own honesty and thoroughness as an appraiser of estates). Henry Winchester Cunningham, an old customer, told Mr. Godspeed that he was giving his library to a certain society upon his death. Godspeed was a member of the society and agreed to select the books needed for the society’s collections and then sell the duplicates, giving the society credit for the sales price.

By chance, however, Godspeed was also asked by an independent appraiser of estates to appraise what turned out to be the very same collection for another purpose: Mr. Cunningham’s will had read that the society would receive all of his books and pamphlets except those that a personal friend (unknown to Mr. Godspeed) might wish to have. Now Mr. Godspeed would be appraising the estate with something of a conflict of interest involved, for it was likely that the friend would keep anything of great value, and the society would fail to receive it. Nevertheless, he accepted the second commission to appraise the estate as well. The result of Godspeed’s thoroughness was this:

I had nearly finished my examination when I came to an old-fashioned revolving bookcase in the middle of the room. It was filled with a miscellaneous lot of unimportant books — dictionaries, directories, corporation manuals, and the like — the few books of general literature which it held appearing to be of slight value. One of these was the report of the Lincoln and Douglas debates published in Columbus in 1860. The book is common and worth but a few dollars — not enough to call for separate valuation. When then impelled me to take it from the shelf I don’t know, but something made me do it. I opened it casually, glanced at the fly-leaf, and saw what I am firmly convinced had never been seen by the owner — a lightly penciled autograph inscription from Lincoln to A’s [Mr. Cunningham’s] uncle!

That was an unlucky discovery as far as it concerned the ‘Society,’ for, of course, when Z [the friend] saw the book valued on my inventory at several hundred dollars he grabbed it, whereas, had I not examined the book, Z would not have known of the inscription and would have undoubtedly left it for the ‘Society’ to take with the rest of the library.

As for Mr. Godspeed’s thoroughness, one must offer a modest demurrer. In 1940, Godspeed’s Book Shop (but not Mr. Charles Godspeed) sold the same presentation copy to Mr. Carroll Wilson. George Godspeed informed Mr. Wilson that Henry Winchester Cunningham was the nephew of Stephen S. Winchester, the party to whom, presumably, Lincoln had given the book. George Godspeed found a biographical sketch of Winchester in Cunningham’s John Winchester of New England. Stephen S. Winchester, described therein, was born in Boston and died in Brookline (in 1834 and in 1880, respectively). He was married in Boston (in 1856) to a woman from Plymouth. He worked in the business firm of his father and grandfather and retired early. The bookseller never suggested any plausible connection between this Stephen S. Winchester and Abraham Lincoln, nor has anyone else been able to since.

Later, the Scribner Book Store in New York bought the book in the Carroll Wilson sale and offered it for sale as a book presented to “an old Illinois acquaintance of Lincoln, who was a 2d Lieutenant in the 59th Regiment, Illinois State Militia, 1841, and afterwards fought in the Civil War.” Scribner’s then described the book as “the book . . . described in C. E. Goodspeed’s Yankee Bookseller, pp. 182-3, and its only previous owners (letter laid in) are the presentee and his nephew, there called ‘Z.’” If this was the case, of course, then Stephen S. Winchester, Bostonian, served in the Illinois militia at the miraculous age of seven years.

Mr. Pratt observed in 1954 that these could not be the same Stephen Winchester, “nor has any Stephen or Stephen S. Winchester in Illinois been definitely identified as having any connection with Lincoln.” The state of our information remains the same, alas, and bibliophiles and students of Lincolniana still await a satisfactory explanation of the identity of Stephen S. Winchester Esq.
hypocrisy, elaborating on the idea that New England slave ships helped start the slavery that New England now denounced. New England gunpowder were the tools by which Africans waged war and gained prisoners who became slaves. New England gunpowder and ships helped start the slavery that New England now denounced. New England gunpowder were the tools by which Africans waged war and gained prisoners who became slaves.

More extreme statements of the Democratic position could be found, and Lincoln would find and use them in the 1850s, being particularly watchful for statements which denigrated the Declaration of Independence for the sake of denying the natural equality of men. Although Lincoln certainly disagreed with what Wick said in points 4 and 5 and, as a Whig, was indifferent to what he said in point 11, there were large areas of agreement as well, particularly in the views that Southerners were no less moral than Northerners and that emancipation should be gradual and should include plans for colonization.

In the summer and autumn, Lincoln would campaign for Taylor primarily in areas where Free Soil sentiment seemed strong, in Massachusetts and in the northern counties of his own Seventh Congressional District. Perhaps Wick's speech, with its clear attack on Free Soilism, had some special appeal to a mind preoccupied with this problem, but it hardly seems to provide any kind of solution that would interest Lincoln. His major concern was to keep "conscience" Whigs from bolting to the Free Soilers. This speech merely discussed the common ground of agreement between Whigs of Lincoln's type and Free Soilers; namely, that the Democratic party was not pledged in any way to stop the growth of slavery.

IV. Conclusion

There are many other aspects of Lincoln's congressional career which invite further exploration and analysis because they are unsatisfactorily explained or ignored by the existing literature. In many cases, they are fine points, but in the end they may add up to a rather different picture of Congressman Lincoln.

Researchers and manuscript dealers have been slow to realize the opportunity in this area. Although I have never seen a letter that was written to Congressman Lincoln, he received, by his own account, "more than ... three hundred" letters in the last session of Congress alone. The glamor of the Civil War and the Presidency should not blind us to the merits of study and collecting in the area of Lincoln's formative Whig years.

Autographed Debates: The Mulligan Copy

Interested readers have helped Lincoln Lore's continuing series of articles on the various presentation copies of the Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas. By writing to describe their own copies, they have pinned down previously unlocated copies of the book.

A case in point is the Thomas Mulligan copy. When Harry Pratt wrote "Lincoln Autographed Debates" in Manuscripts in 1954, he had to list the present owner as unknown and was unable to identify a Mulligan who was a friend of Lincoln in 1860.

Mr. William Robert Coleman of San Bernardino, California, has written to let us know that he owns the Mulligan copy. Moreover, he has been able to find that Thomas Mulligan was a lawyer in Monticello, Illinois, in the 1850s. He was a Republican and introduced Lincoln when he gave a three-hour speech at Monticello on September 6, 1858. He served as an alternate delegate from Piatt County to the Illinois State Republican Convention which nominated Lincoln for President in May of 1860.

The precise nature of Lincoln's relationship with Mulligan remains unknown. Monticello was a county seat on the Eighth Judicial Circuit, but Lincoln is not known to have associated with Mulligan in arguing cases in Piatt County.

There is more to be learned about the Mulligan presentation copy, as there is with other copies of the Debates. If the mysteries can be solved at all, the effort will certainly be advanced by cooperation and exchange of information. Lincoln collectors and students are indebted to Mr. Coleman for revealing the whereabouts of the Mulligan copy and for reminding us of that spirit of cooperation that has made the Lincoln field a joy to work in.
Lincoln Autographed Debates:
Samuel Long Copy

This article is the fourth in Lincoln Lore’s series on the copies of the Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois inscribed by Abraham Lincoln to his friends and political associates. Lincoln is said to have received one hundred copies of this book to give away. Harry E. Pratt’s “Lincoln Autographed Debates” (Manuscripts, VI [Summer, 1954], 194-201) listed eighteen copies known to exist at that time. Now, Mrs. Donald Trescott, Special Collections Librarian at the Brown University Library, has written to tell us about the copy in their Lincoln collection, and it seems to be the nineteenth known copy, for it was not listed by Harry Pratt in 1954. Lincoln students and bibliophiles owe a debt to Mrs. Trescott for taking the time and trouble to describe Brown University’s copy.

The copy is inscribed “To Dr. Samuel Long with respects of A. Lincoln.” The copy came to the fine (but ironically named) McElhan Lincoln Collection at Brown through the good offices of Harry Pratt. He obtained the copy from Mrs. J.R. Kennedy. The book had previously belonged to her late husband’s grandfather, Dr. Samuel Long, to whom Lincoln wrote his inscription, had one son who died young and one daughter, Annie, who married Samuel Porter Kennedy. Presumably, he was J.R. Kennedy’s grandfather.

Marion Pratt, who was a thorough and knowledgeable Lincoln researcher, apparently furnished Brown with a list of the references to Dr. Samuel Long from the Illinois State Journal. These provide us with the rough outlines of the doctor’s career. He was listed as a physician in Lincoln’s home town, Springfield, by 1851. A year later he became the city’s corporation physician and the city physician. In 1853, he married Elizabeth Almira Collins; they lost their son in 1856.

We know that Dr. Long was not the Lincolns’ physician in Springfield; his connection with Lincoln was apparently political. In 1858, he was a delegate to the Illinois State Republican Convention, where he may have heard Lincoln deliver his famous “House Divided” Speech. As a member of the reception commit-
letter in the Library of Congress’s Robert Todd Lincoln Collection confirms this and explains much about Dr. Long’s later life. The Sandwich Islands, incidentally, were what we call the Hawaiian Islands today. Lahaina is on the island of Maui.

On July 15, 1861, Dr. Long wrote Secretary of State William H. Seward a long and unhappy letter from the Sandwich Islands. Long asked Seward to give his letter to President Lincoln and wrote Lincoln on the same day to make sure that he knew he was supposed to receive the letter after Seward read it. Dr. Long reminded Seward that he had accepted the post at Lahaina only because of Seward’s “persuasion and influence.” Lincoln, Long claimed, had promised him that he would be consul at Honolulu. “I supposed at the time,” he added, “that you meant to do me a kindness, and so at your instance was persuaded to relinquish the Honolulu Consulate, for the one I now hold.”

Hoping perhaps that he did not trust Seward’s motives as well, Dr. Long wrote, “Mr. Lincoln, I know me well.” Nevertheless, Long would never have accepted Seward’s offer had he known the position he would occupy immediately after his arrival. Here was his plight:

On the 28th day of March I received my final instructions and passport, and left Washington for my post of duty. — I had heard of the investigations, that had taken place in Honolulu, and at this place, and supposed, when I accepted the position I occupy, that the matter was all settled satisfactorily, and that I would be permitted to come out and occupy in peace, as long as I discharged my trust faithfully and honestly, this Consulate. — But not so — I had been here a few days only over a month, when Dr. H.H. Baseley presents himself to me, as a “Special Consular Commissioner,” clothed with most extraordinary powers, to alter, modify, and change any and everything pertaining to this Consulate. — He has power to break up this Consulate effectually, and to transfer its Hospital to Honolulu. — He has power to take from my hands all patronage, so that I shall be unable to retain with me, as a friend and companion, the gentleman who came with me from home, to act as purveyor and Physician of my Consulate, and in short, the result of the investigations of the Special Commissioner will be, that he will recommend the abolition of this Consulate and of the one at Hilo, and the concentration of all governmental authority in these Islands, in the person of a Consul General to reside at Honolulu, with agencies here, and at Hilo.

Dr. Long agreed that the reorganization would save the government money, but he was miffed to “find that Dr. Baseley’s latest instructions bear date of March 30, 1861, only two days later than mine — It does appear to me that when such a sweeping reform was intended in this Consulate, that it would have been but justice to myself, to give me notice at that time of any such intention, and then if I should conclude to come to Lahaina, it would be at my own risk.” Dr. Long wanted “to give no offence in this writing,” but Seward had “cut me up, root and branch.” “I do not wish to remain here,” he said flatly, “when this Consulate is bereft of all patronage, and made an appendage of the Honolulu Consulate.” Long’s request was simple: he wanted the Honolulu Consulate, the object of his “first wishes.”

Dr. Long put heavy pressure on Secretary of State Seward. He reminded the Secretary that Lincoln “knows me well, and has known me long.” He pointed out that the three thousand dollars he spent from his own funds to reach the Sandwich Islands and establish housekeeping had ruined him “pecuniarily.” Moreover, the healthfulness of the climate in Honolulu...
health: "I find the climate of these Islands very beneficial to my health, and if I can remain here several years, I have every assurance to believe that I will get well." He ended his plea with "all the earnestness of a drowning man, who catches at every straw floating by."

We do not know the resolution of Dr. Long's difficulties, but it is not hard to guess that his plea fell on deaf ears. In the first place, the arguments he used for the move to Honolulu were also circumstances which indicated that he would have little choice in the matter should Seward stick by his choice for Honolulu. Financially pressed and needing a tropical climate, Dr. Long was in no position to quit and go home if he were not offered the Honolulu post. In the second place, Dr. Long was up against another solid Lincoln friend in Hawaii.

The Honolulu post was held by Thomas J. Dryer, a journalist from Oregon. When he swung the Portland Oregonian into the Republican camp in 1859, he gained enough influence in the party to be made a Lincoln elector in 1860. Since he actually carried the tally of Oregon's vote to Washington for the official count, he was present in Washington to seek an office just at the time Lincoln was forming his new government. He took the Hawaii post when it was offered, but for a time the Senate blocked his confirmation because of his rumored fondness for strong drink. It took the efforts of Oregon Senator Edward D. Baker to get Dryer's confirmation through the Senate, and Baker had to pledge his "sacred honor" that the charge that Dryer was intemperate was untrue. The Senate then confirmed him.

Dr. Long was doubtless an old friend of Abraham Lincoln's, but Lincoln had few friends of longer standing than Edward D. Baker. Mainstays of the Whig party in central Illinois back in the 1840s, Lincoln and Baker were close enough associates that Lincoln named his son Eddie after Baker. Baker was Dryer's sponsor for the Hawaii job, and it is doubtful that President Lincoln would do anything to upset his administration of the Hawaiian consulate even for the sake of another friend from Illinois. In fact, Lincoln passed Long over for another Oregonian in 1863, when the Honolulu post was upgraded to the level of minister resident. Lincoln appointed Dr. James McBride, an Oregon physician, farmer, and Republican stalwart.

Brown University's historic presentation copy of the Debates is an artifact which suggests a fascinating story of friendship and politics, a story which stretches all the way from central Illinois to the islands of the Pacific. Those who are not collectors or historians cannot resist the rare book libraries often are puzzling at others' interest in fly-specked and damp-stained copies of books with scribbled signatures in them. Most often, of course, it is not the objects themselves but the tales of far-flung adventures suggested by the objects which cause the fascination. The appeal of such stories, when they are known, proves hard to resist.

Olivia Coolidge's Lincoln Biography for Young Adults

If you have been searching recently for good high school graduation presents, or if you have a teenager around the house idled by summer unemployment, Olivia Coolidge has provided one solution to your problems. She has finished a two-volume biography of Abraham Lincoln, which, though written for young readers, will not insult their intelligence or show them American history through rose-colored glasses. The first volume, called The Apprenticeship of Abraham Lincoln, was published by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1974. The second volume, entitled The Statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln, was published by Scribner's last year. Each volume is about 230 pages in length, attractively printed, and unburdened by scholarly apparatus like footnotes which can scare a younger reader away.

Olivia Coolidge is the author of more than twenty-five books for young readers, many of them biographies. Born in London, she graduated from Oxford University, taught English in Boston's Winsor School, and became a professional writer. Classical civilization has been one of her major interests since her original training at Oxford, but she has also written books on Winston Churchill, Thomas Paine, Edith Wharton, Eugene O'Neill, and Gandhi. She considered
fect, he warned, as attacking the freedom of worship or the right to teach children to read in the North. James Speed’s protest against the proclamation was much less hysterical and his feelings about slavery more philosophically than Joshua’s. By December of 1861, when he wrote Lincoln about his confiscation bill in the Kentucky Senate, James knew that the war was the beginning of the end of slavery. The “great laws of economy would dictate its abolition by the masters themselves,” the emancipation feeling in Ky.,” he told Lincoln, “risks & falls with the rise & fall in the price of slaves.” The war would “affect, if not destroy their value.”

Though not a popular or especially successful politician, James Speed showed a strong feel for all sides of the struggle, commenting on Simon Cameron’s controversial proposal to arm the slaves as soldiers for the Union, Speed noted that Cameron “exhibited the common weakness of talking in advance of action.” “Many who condemn what he said,” Speed told Lincoln, “would approve the conduct he invites when the case [?] arises for it.”

When Lincoln proposed bold antislavery action of his own, Speed was hesitant to recognize the wisdom of his own political knowledge. Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation would be a bold stroke, and it would come without elaborate previous discussion. Lincoln apparently read his proposed proclamation to James in July of 1862, at about the same time that his cabinet (and no one else) learned of it. Speed “pondered over the great declaration of human freedom” with all its “great matchmaking and political propaganda” and “almost probably harm.” Still trusting the slow workings of economic laws, the Kentuckian argued that the “negro can not be emancipated by proclamation.” If the Negro were no party to his own liberation, “he would sink into slavery again,” predicted Speed, as he had done in a letter you in Quincy’s possession. In a statement strangely at odds with Joshua’s fear of servile insurrection, James said, “If he has not the spirit to strike for freedom, he has not the pride of character to make it keep him when given to him.” A sweeping proclamation “would but delay the day of freedom” and “the full extent of the prejudices of many in the north & nearly all in the south.”

Once again, however, James Speed showed his detached view of Southern racial mores. He admitted to Lincoln that “the loyal men of Kentucky will not be satisfied with any thing that may be done with the negro.” “Loyalty would thus survive such a proclamation. He concluded with a remark which, though not encouraging Lincoln to issue the proclamation, seemed almost an invitation to servile insurrection: “If the negro is to be free he must strike for it himself.” Once Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, Speed quickly adjusted to it and noted the adjustment of other Kentuckians. “The negrophobia is nothing like as bad as it was at first,” he told Joshua on January 18, 1863. Time was “wondering works.”

James Speed was a Kentuckian of deep and peculiar character. He was born in 1810 and died late in 1864 was probably more than cynicism on Lincoln’s part. Lincoln had discussed slavery with the Kentuckian on several occasions. He knew James Speed’s flexibility, philosophical de-}
Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress. I have quoted from the following: Jonas to Lincoln, September 16, 1854; July 30, 1858; July 20, 1860; and December 30, 1860.

Further information on Jonas is available in Bertram W. Korn, American Jewry and the Civil War (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1951).

**RECENT ACQUISITIONS: "STRONG'S DIME CARICATURES"**

FIGURES 2-5 (below). The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum recently purchased a series of four poster cartoons published by Thomas W. Strong of New York in 1861. Strong was a prolific producer of prints, noted especially for being the first employer of Louis Maurer, the genius behind the early political cartoons of Currier & Ives. Harry T. Peters in America on Stone noted a strain of originality in the work of Strong's firm, and the series of four "Dime Caricatures" pictured here certainly reveal a taste for good workmanship and for variety in political cartooning. The caricatures must have been printed about March, 1861. All deal with the secession crisis. The Lincoln cartoon has been pictured in Rufus Rockwell Wilson's Lincoln in Caricature, but Wilson did not note that the cartoon was part of a series or publish the others in the series.

**DOMESTIC TROUBLES.**

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

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*STRONG'S DIME CARICATURES. No. 1.*

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

*STRONG'S DIME CARICATURES. No. 2.*

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

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"Little Bo-peep, she lost her sheep, And didn't know where to look for them."

"Let the state, sir, lose her sheep, And don't be down where she lost them!"

"Eat the grass, and they'll all come home."

"Eat the grass, and they'll all come home!"

*FIGURES 2-5 (below).* The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum recently purchased a series of four poster cartoons published by Thomas W. Strong of New York in 1861. Strong was a prolific producer of prints, noted especially for being the first employer of Louis Maurer, the genius behind the early political cartoons of Currier & Ives. Harry T. Peters in America on Stone noted a strain of originality in the work of Strong's firm, and the series of four "Dime Caricatures" pictured here certainly reveal a taste for good workmanship and for variety in political cartooning. The caricatures must have been printed about March, 1861. All deal with the secession crisis. The Lincoln cartoon has been pictured in Rufus Rockwell Wilson's Lincoln in Caricature, but Wilson did not note that the cartoon was part of a series or publish the others in the series.
Until more is known about Kelley's constituent, the precise identification of the medal will remain in doubt. However, some modest conclusions can be drawn at this point. Both of the medals described above reveal Pennsylvania's obsession with the tariff, a preoccupation which Abraham Lincoln understood very well. In January of 1861, when President-elect Lincoln decided to offer the position as Secretary of the Treasury to Ohio's Salmon P. Chase rather than Pennsylvania's Simon Cameron, he explained to a political confidante, "But then comes the danger that the protectionists of Pennsylvania will be dissatisfied." Only the medals from Pennsylvania (and one the source of which is unknown) stress "Protection." Others deal with Union or free soil. It seems fitting that "Fig. Iron" Kelley should have been midwife to the birth of such campaign materials.

It is instructive, too, to note the primitive state of campaign financing. Kelley was willing to pay out of his own pocket for the production of a photograph to aid the Philadelphia medallist. In fact, the nature of campaigning itself was not yet a matter of predictable public-relations techniques. Norman Judd served in the Illinois Senate from 1844 to 1860 and was a political wire-puller of long standing. Lincoln knew Judd's abilities very well, and, when he was having difficulty with excluding Cameron from his cabinet, he had "a great notion to post Judd fully in this matter, and get him to visit Washington, and in his quiet way, try to adjust it satisfactorily." As Chairman of Illinois's Republican State Central Committee and a member of the Republican National Committee from 1856 to 1881, Judd was a politician's politician, a man who surely knew how to run a campaign. Yet even Judd instructed Lincoln to see to the "picture proposition" largely as a favor to Kelley and was just "coming to believe, that likenesses broad cast, are excellent means of electioneering."

Historians are a little like Judd in that they are just coming to realize the significance of a broad range of campaign materials. Medals do have some political content; in 1860, Pennsylvania's campaign medals mentioned protection—others did not. Still, it is the general lack of content in such materials that is revealing. Judd, Lincoln, and Kelley attended to the medal matter in the crush of other important political business. Though historians stress issues in their studies of politicians, the politicians often preferred not to. Issues are divisive. Medals and pictures are not. Politicians ran "hurray" campaigns, not debates on political science, and the great abundance of "hurray" campaign ephemera is the best proof of the politicians' preferences.

LINCOLN AUTOGRAPHED DEBATES: A COPY PRESENTED BUT NOT SIGNED

Editor's Note: I am indebted to Grant Talbot Dean of the Chicago Historical Society for informing me of the existence of the book discussed in this article.

The Chicago Historical Society owns an interesting copy of the Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois which bears this inscription: "James C. Conkling/Presented by A. Lincoln/April 7 1860." Harry E. Pratt did not list this copy in "Lincoln Autographed Debates," Manuscripts, VI (Summer, 1954).

James Cook Conkling (1816-1899) was a likely recipient of a free copy of Lincoln's book. Born in New York City, Conkling graduated from Princeton and settled in Springfield in 1838. Politics, profession, and marriage soon forged a Lincoln-Conkling friendship. Conkling was, like Lincoln, a lawyer and a Whig in politics. In 1841, he married Mercy Ann Levering, the "Dearest Mary" of Mary Todd Lincoln's earliest known letters. In fact, Conkling's letters provide one of the more important sources for the Todd-Lincoln courtship, the gay social life of early Springfield, and the early appearance of Abraham Lincoln.

Conkling was a politician of some local prominence, being elected mayor of Springfield in 1844 and to the Illinois House of Representatives in 1851. Like Lincoln, Conkling became a Republican. He campaigned for Lincoln in Pennsylvania in 1860. When Lincoln became President, Conkling occasionally visited Washington and was agent to handle the State of Illinois' accounts with the President. In 1862, he used his friendship with the President as a avenue to press for the selection of Mackinaw City rather than Michilimackinaw as a spot to be fortified for the protection of the Great Lakes. Conkling cited a number of arguments about the relative military advantages of the two sites, but he also admitted that he had invested some $18,000 in Mackinaw City over the previous five years.

Students of Lincoln's Presidency know Conkling principally for his invitation to Lincoln to speak at a mass rally in Illinois on September 3, 1863. Conkling hoped that Lincoln would make a personal appearance, but from the start Lincoln leaned towards sending a letter to be read at the rally. Conkling, whom Lincoln thought "one of the best public readers" he knew, read the famous letter at the rally. Lincoln had cautioned him: "Read it very slowly." The letter defended the administration's policies of emancipation and arming Negroes as the best ways militarily to save the Union. Conkling was an ardent antislavery man, and he complimented the letter and hoped for the day when military success would leave "no question as to the condition and rights of American citizens of African descent."

Conkling wanted to visit Europe, and, in the summer of 1864, he pressed Lincoln for a European appointment. The President gave Conkling an introduction to Secretary of State William H. Seward, but nothing came of it. Conkling nevertheless continued to work hard for Lincoln's reelection and spurned the third-party movements which lured some other antislavery liberals away from Lincoln's camp. When Lincoln won reelection, Conkling pressed again for a European appointment, but the result was the same as in the previous summer.

There is no doubt of Lincoln's close personal relationship with Conkling. He referred to him at various times during the Civil War as "entirely trustworthy," as "my personal friend of long standing," as "a good man," and as "a particular friend & fellow townsman." Yet the Conkling presentation copy of the Debates is not autographed by Lincoln. Harry Pratt missed the Conkling copy, but he did note two similar unsigned presentation copies. John H. Littlefield, once a student in the Lincoln-Herndon law office, wrote in his copy: "J.H. Littlefield From A. Lincoln, April 25, 1860." And Charles J. Sellen, an Illinois newspaper editor, wrote in his: "Chas. J. Sellen Presented by Hon A. Lincoln." The inscription in the Chicago Historical Society copy is in Conkling's hand. It is written in ink; Lincoln wrote in ink in only one of the nineteen known copies he signed. It is dated; Lincoln dated only one of the copies he signed. The early April date would be appropriate for the book which Lincoln first received his one hundred copies of the book from the publisher, and Lincoln was in Springfield on April 7th. Like Littlefield and Sellen, James Conkling failed to have Lincoln sign his copy of this famous book.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS FOR DISTRIBUTION BY THE UNION CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

Abraham Lincoln—"Slavery and its issues indicated by his Speeches, Letters, Messages, and Proclamations."
Hon. Isaac N. Arnold—"Reconstruction; Liberty the corner-stone and Lincoln the architect." 16 pages; two dollars per hundred.
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Hon. J. D. Defries—"The War commenced by the Rebels." 16 pages; two dollars per hundred.
Numerous Speeches and Documents not included in the foregoing will be published for distribution, and persons willing to trust the discretion of the Committee can remit their orders with the money, and have them filled with the utmost promptitude, and with the best judgment as to price and adaptation to the locality where the Speeches are to be sent.

Printed by L. Towers for the Union Congressional Committee.

an ardent supporter of the bill to make the old Illinois and Michigan Canal of Whig days a ship canal connecting the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes.

Washburne was among the earliest to seek Lincoln's commitment to run for re-election, asking him to "let some of your confidential friends know your wishes" as early as October of 1860. He was a member of the Union Executive Committee for the campaign and once again franked thousands of speeches and documents. He even assessed Lincoln's Cabinet members $250 each for the circulation of documents. He became quite alarmed at the state of opinion in his home state and repeatedly pleaded with the President to furlough Illinois soldiers to vote in the election. He acted as an intermediary with Grant when Lincoln wished to use a letter from Grant for campaign purposes. The general replied to Washburne's inquiry that Lincoln could use "anything I have ever written to him as he sees fit," but added: "I think however for him to attempt to answer all the charges the opposition will bring against him will be like setting a maiden to work to forge her chastity.

Like others of Lincoln's friends in Congress, Washburne is a figure badly in need of a biography. The sketch of his career here is suggestive of his importance and of the illumination such a biography would bring to our understanding of the Sixteenth President.

Editor's Note: This article is based on the following letters from Washburne to Lincoln in the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress: December 19, 1854; December 26, 1854; January 17, 1855; May 2, 1858; May 31, 1858; May 19, 1860; May 20, 1860; May 30, 1860; December 9, 1860; January 6, 1863; and May 1, 1863. Grant's letter to Washburne about Lincoln's use of his letters is also in that collection (September 21, 1864).

LINCOLN AUTOGRAPHED DEBATES: STEPHEN T. LOGAN COPY

Many would say that this, the sixth article in a series on the presentation copies of the Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois, should have been the first. These copies presented to the "Hon. S.T. Logan, From his friend A. Lincoln" is the only known copy signed in ink. Harry Pratt, who published the first survey of these famous books in Manuscripts in the summer of 1954, and Charles Hamilton, the famous manuscript dealer, believed that this was very likely the first copy Lincoln gave away. Their theory was confirmed when Lincoln discovered when he signed this book that the soft paper caused the ink to smear and thereafter inscribed the copies in pencil.

Stephen Trigge Logan was Lincoln's second law partner and a lifelong friend. Of those who received the known presentation copies, Logan was by far the most closely associated with Lincoln. If he gave copies to David Davis or to John G. Nicolay, for example, they have never come to light.

The Logan copy was in the hands of the Logan family until 1946. Logan's great-granddaughter, Martha Coleman Bray, received the book at the death of her father. He was Christopher Bush Coleman, the son of Lewis Harrison Coleman, who married Stephen T. Logan's daughter Jennie. She sold it to William H. Townsend, a noted Lincoln collector and author from Lexington, Kentucky. Townsend at one time owned two presentation copies of the Debates, the Logan copy and the copy given to Job Fletcher. In 1953 he sold the Fletcher copy to the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, which in turn sold it to Lincoln collector Justin G. Turner of Hollywood, California. Sometime later, Turner also acquired Townsend's other copy. In 1968 Victor B. Levit purchased the Logan copy from a sale of Turner's collection at a Charles Hamilton Autographs, Inc., auction. Mr. Levit of the law firm of Long & Levit in San Francisco still owns the Logan copy and very kindly sent me much of the information on which this article is based.

FIGURE 5. Washburne’s committee franked speeches on this list by the thousands in 1864. Washburne did not include a speech of his own on the list, but other members of the committee did. The committee sent circulars and speeches to Republican groups. On the backs of the speeches, they advertised other available speeches. One of these lists is pictured here.

Archibald Williams was born in Kentucky in 1801. He came to Quincy, Illinois, in 1826. There he established a successful law practice. Quincy lay in what was called the Military Tract, the land between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers most of which had been granted as bounties to soldiers in the War of 1812. Most of the veterans were forced to sell their claims to Eastern land speculators. Some lost them in tax sales, not realizing their liability to pay taxes on the claims. Questions of priority of ownership and clarity of title racked the Military Tract, and it became a paradise for lawyers (who could get good fees from the well-heeled speculators and their agents). Williams was soon noted for his abilities as a lawyer in land disputes.

Williams became acquainted with Lincoln when both men served in the Illinois Legislature at Vandalia in the 1830s. The Quincy Whig served in the Illinois Senate from 1832-1836 and in the Illinois House from 1836-1840. Usher F. Linder remembered Lincoln and Williams sitting near each other in the southeast corner of the old State House in Vandalia; they were "great friends," he said. Legal work also brought the two men together. Lincoln was associated with Williams in several cases and apparently took some of the Quincy lawyer's cases on appeal to the Illinois Supreme Court in Springfield.

Both former Kentuckians were Henry Clay Whigs. In 1848, when Lincoln dropped Clay for Zachary Taylor and some hope of winning, Williams was apparently slow to switch his loyalties. Lincoln told him flatly, "Mr. Clay's chance for an election, is just no chance at all." Both Williams and Lincoln were friends of Orville Hickman Browning, another Quincy lawyer and active Whig politician. "I know our good friend Browning," Lincoln told Williams, "is a great admirer of Mr. Clay, and I therefore fear, he is favoring his nomination." Lincoln instructed Williams to ask Browning "to discard feeling, and try if he can possibly, as a matter of judgment, count the votes necessary to elect him." Williams evidently jumped on the Taylor bandwagon, for, after the election, Lincoln wrote a letter recommending his appointment as U.S. District Attorney (Lincoln did not like the idea of rewarding his competitors for Clay's nomination with appointments). Williams gained the appointment and held office until the Democrats took over the Presidency in 1853. In 1854 he joined with Lincoln in organizing a meeting to express sympathy for Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth.

In 1854 Williams joined the many Illinois Whigs who denounced the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He ran for Congress, but, even with Lincoln's help (he came to Quincy to make a speech in Williams' behalf), he lost. Williams evidently had designs on the United States Senate seat to be filled by the state legislature in 1855. Lincoln wanted the seat too, but he explained to a legislator apparently pledged to Williams: "Of course I prefer myself to all others; yet it is neither in my heart nor my conscience to say I am any better man than Mr. Williams." Despite their competing ambitions, Lincoln and Williams were evidently in substantial agreement on political principles in this tumultuous period of confusing politics. Lincoln told one supporter in 1855 that a set of resolutions Williams had drawn up fairly accurately described the ground on which he would be willing to "fuse" with other anti-Nebraska groups. Three years later Williams was once again mentioned as a competitor for the Senate seat Lincoln sought in his historic campaign against Stephen A. Douglas.

Ambition for office did not drive the two men apart. The copy of the Debates which Lincoln gave Williams is some evidence of this (Lincoln also gave Williams' law partner Jackson Grimshaw a signed copy). Even more important was President Lincoln's appointment of Williams as U.S. District Judge in Kansas.

Usher Linder remembered Williams as a man "over six feet high, and as angular and ungraceful in his form as Mr. Lincoln himself; and for homeliness of face and feature, surpassed Mr. Lincoln." Linder also recalled that Lincoln thought highly of Williams as "the strongest-minded and clearest headed man he ever saw." Linder, who knew both men in the legislature, was a Universalist in religion and thought everyone he would go to heaven. If he was correct in his "views of the mercies of God," Linder said long after his old friend Archie Williams was dead, "he is now walking the golden streets with Douglas and Lincoln."

LINCOLN AUTOGRAPHED DEBATES: THE ARCHIBALD WILLIAMS COPY

This is the seventh article in a series on the signed presentation copies of the Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois. The copy bearing the inscription, "To Hon: Archibald Williams, with respects of A. Lincoln," was the property of Kenneth K. Bechtel of San Francisco when Harry E. Pratt wrote "Lincoln Autographed Debates" for Manuscripts in 1954. It is now the property of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. The library was unable to describe the book's history since Mr. Bechtel's ownership.

FIGURE 4. Thurlow Weed's behavior during the Civil War seemed thoroughly out of character. In the past he had been largely indifferent to policy, but he became so upset at Lincoln's policies that he nearly broke with the administration.

gracious note in lieu of attending. He wrote the note, ironically, on election day.

Allow me to wish you a great success. With the old fame of the Navy, made brighter in the present war, you can not fail. I name none, lest I wrong others by omission. To all, from Rear Admiral, to honest Jack I tender the Nation's admiration and gratitude.]

Lincoln was sincerely grateful for the sailors' services in the war, but politically he could have done without them. Jack Tar was a Democrat.
POLITICAL DEBATES

BETWEEN

HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AND

HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

In the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois;

INCLUDING THE PRECEDING SPEECHES OF EACH, AT CHICAGO, SPRINGFIELD, ETC.; ALSO, THE TWO GREAT SPEECHES OF MR. LINCOLN IN OHIO, IN 1859,

COLUMBUS:
FOLLET, FOSTER AND COMPANY.
1860.
Lincoln, Abraham, sixteenth President. Autograph letter signed (“A. Lincoln”), 1 page of ruled stationery (10 x 8 in.; 255 x 204 mm) with integral blank, Washington, 27 June 1848, to “Friend Campbell” (probably David B. Campbell) endorsed on verso of blank by Lincoln; lightly creased where formerly folded, lightly browned on verso of blank.

A HIGHLY IMPORTANT AND UNRECORDED POLITICAL LETTER BY REPRESENTATIVE LINCOLN. Lincoln begins this fascinating and revealing letter with a routine bit of personal business: “Your letter of the 19th was received last night. I will cheerfully pay the little sum you desire whenever Mr. Webb calls for it. You need do nothing about it till you hear from me again.”

But Lincoln turns immediately to a more substantial topic, his stand on the Mexican War, the one issue that best defines his single term in Congress. Although opposed to the war, which he claimed was “unnecessarily... begun by the President,” Lincoln did nonetheless vote to continue supplies to sustain the war. His actions brought sharp opposition from his home state, where he was widely characterized as unpatriotic. Here Lincoln offers a defense of his policies: “As one of my votes on the origin of the Mexican war, and my speech on the subject, had been the object of loco foci assault, tell Judge Logan I am much obliged to him for his vindication of me. No fair-minded, sensible [sic] man, can take any other view of the matter.”

Lincoln continues with a review of his other plans for his remaining months in office—and with an assessment of his electorate: “I have been making an internal improvement speech, of which I will send you a copy when it shall be printed. I do not expect it will interest the people much, in the midst of the political excitement, immediately preceding a presidential election, but, the subject, being one of permanent interest, particularly to our district, I felt it a duty to say something about it.”

Lincoln concludes by revealing the planned coda to his tenure as a congressman: “I shall seek an opportunity to make one political—Taylor—speech before the end of the session, and that will be about the close of my congressional career. The short session next winter will be too terse, to admit of any thing.” Exactly a month after this letter was sent, Lincoln delivered his “political” speech in support of General Zachary Taylor to the House of Representatives (Basler 1:501-17). This speech was subsequently printed as a campaign pamphlet, and Lincoln delivered briefer versions of the speech throughout Massachusetts—although not in Illinois—during the 1848 campaign.

While Lincoln was acquainted with a great many Campbells, this letter was probably addressed to David B. Campbell, a Springfield lawyer who served a term as Mayor. This would satisfy the references in the letter to Judge Logan and to “our district.” The unusually warm salutation and closing (“Your friend as ever”) offer little assistance in identifying the correspondence, apart from pointing to a Springfield acquaintance. No letters to David B. Campbell are recorded by Basler, and no letters to any Campbell are recorded during the term of Lincoln’s congressional service. David Campbell died in April 1855, and Lincoln wrote a resolution on his death for the Springfield bar (Basler 2:310).

Not in Complete Works, ed. Basler, and evidently unpublished

See illustration on preceding page

Lincoln, Abraham. Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois; including the Preceding Speeches of Each, at Chicago, Springfield, etc.; also, the Two Great Speeches of Mr. Lincoln in Ohio, in 1859, as Carefully Prepared by the Reporters of Each Party, and Published at the Times of Their Delivery. Columbus: Follett, Foster, 1860

In 8s (9 1/4 x 6 1/4 in.; 232 x 155 mm). “Correspondence” leaf including Lincoln’s letter to the Republican State Central Committee of Ohio accrediting to the publication of his speeches, fourth leaf blank and genuine; Lincoln’s inscription and signature coated over with a wax evidently intended as a protectant and in fact not at all obscuring the writing, some foxing, a few lower fore-edge corners torn, library stamp effaced from rear blank. Publisher’s brown cloth, covers panelled in blind, spine lettered in gilt; worn at extremities, spine torn and artlessly repaired with minor loss, rear free endpaper excised.


Lincoln received one hundred copies of the Debates from the publisher, a number of which he inscribed. Between Harry E. Pratt’s census of “Autographed Debes” in the Summer 1954 issue of Manuscripts and copies that have surfaced at auction since then, approximately twenty-five inscribed copies can either be located or assumed to have been inscribed by Lincoln. Virtually all of the recorded examples, like the present, are signed in pencil, which Lincoln evidently adopted because the paper of the edition tended to spread, or “feather,” ink. (However, a copy cleanly signed and inscribed in ink to Dr. J. B. Fox was sold in these rooms, 31 January 1990, The Library of H. Bradley Martin, lot 2528, $187,000).

(continued)
Very few of the recipients of inscribed copies of the *Debates* were as closely associated with Lincoln during his presidential campaigns as was Jesse Kilgore Dubois. A close political ally of Lincoln, Dubois served with the future President in the Illinois state legislature. Both men changed their political affiliation from the Whig to the fledgling Republican party, and Dubois was elected Illinois State Auditor in 1856. From that position, Dubois offered advice and management to Lincoln during the 1860 nominating convention and the subsequent campaign.

After the Republican victory, Dubois, whose perspective stayed rather parochially fixed on Illinois, had little influence with the Lincoln administration. Still, when Dubois requested the appointment of his son-in-law, John P. Luse, as superintendent of Indian affairs for the Northern Superintendency, Lincoln demonstrated his gratitude and affection for Dubois (as well as political pragmatism) in the endorsement he appended to the request: “Dubois, who writes this, is my particular friend; and while, possibly, the thing he wishes, can not be done, something else may” (Basler 4:288). The appointment was not made, because it was opposed by the Republican congressional delegation from Minnesota, where the office was located. Luse instead received “something else”: the postmastership of Lafayette, Indiana, prompting Dubois to write to Lincoln, “I placed . . . too high an estimate on my relations with you, and Did not know my position.” Despite rather frequent squabbling about Lincoln’s lack of attention to Illinois, Dubois remained a loyal party partisan, working for Lincoln’s reelection and trying to get Illinois soldiers furloughed so that they could vote in the 1864 election.

The Lincoln-Douglas confrontations are unquestionably the most famous and most important series of debates in American political history. They helped to galvanize sectional attitudes about slavery and, although he lost the 1858 Illinois Senate campaign of which they were a part, the debates catapulted Lincoln towards the 1860 Republican presidential nomination.


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AN UNRECORDED CHARLESTON BROADSIDE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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monds, Danus, Medills, Storeys and Wattersons their pre-eminence; but my brother provincial editors did their part well in developing Illinois from the wilderness of one hundred years ago into the imperial commonwealth of today that challenges the wonder and admiration of every sister state.

**The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.**

The fact that you are to have special papers respectively on Lincoln and Douglas, makes it superfluous for me to allude to them, although I was in close touch with Douglas, particularly, from 1854 until his death, and also knew Mr. Lincoln only a little less familiarly. But since above paper was written, the following item relating to this honored Historical Society has come to my notice:

"A special volume will be issued by the library commemorating the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. This volume will consist of the debates themselves, of historical material explanatory of the times, of the two great contestants, and of reprints of interesting documents relating to the debates and the times, photographs and maps illustrative of the subject matter. The book will be handsomely printed and bound, and a very large edition will be printed. The book will be edited by Dr. Edwin Eric Sparks, and the editor hopes to have it ready for distribution in a very short time."

I fear that our honored Illinoisan, former Vice President Stevenson, who addresses this society tomorrow night on Douglas, may not be aware of the important fact I beg permission to lay before you. I have little doubt that it will be a new and valuable addition to the side-lights of that great debate. In the files of my humble paper, the Fulton County Democrat, in its issue of June 23, 1860, I find this letter from Senator Douglas:

(From The Fulton Democrat of June 23, 1860.)

**The Douglas and Lincoln Debates.**

**Letter from Mr. Douglas.**

The Ohio Statesman, printed at Columbus, Ohio, has published the following important letter addressed by Mr. Douglas to the publishers of the "Douglas and Lincoln Debates."

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1860.

GENTLEMEN—I have received by the express one dozen copies of your publication of the joint debates between Mr. Lincoln and myself in 1858, sent by the order of Mr. Cox, who will pay you the amount of your bill. I feel it my duty to protest against the unfairness of this publication, and especially against the alterations and mutilations in the reports as published in the Chicago Times, which, although intended to be fair and just, were necessarily imperfect, and in some respects erroneous.

The speeches were all delivered in the open air, to immense crowds of people, and in some instances in stormy and boisterous weather, when it was impossible for the reporters to hear distinctly and report literally. The reports of my speeches were not submitted to me or any friend of mine for inspection or corroboration before publication; nor did I have the opportunity of reading more than one or two of them afterwards, until the election was over, and all interest in the subject had passed away.

In short, I regard your publication as partial and unfair, and designed to do me injustice, by placing me in a false position. I saw in the preface to the first edition of your publication, which is omitted in the copy sent to me, a correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and the Ohio Republican commit-
tee, from which it appears that Mr. Lincoln furnished his speeches and mine for publication—his in the revised and corrected form, and mine as they came from the hand of the reporter, without revision. Being thus notified that his speeches had been revised and corrected, this fact ought to have reminded you that common fairness and justice required that I should have an opportunity of revising and correcting mine. But to deny me that privilege, and then to change and mutilate the reports as they appeared in the newspapers from which they were taken, is an act of injustice against which I must be permitted to enter my protest. In order that the injustice which you have done me may be in some degree diminished, I respectfully request that this letter, together with the correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and the committee, which led to the publication, may be inserted as a preface to all future editions of these debates.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully your obedient servant,

S. A. DOUGLAS.

Messrs. Follet, Foster & Co., Columbus, Ohio.

I call your attention to these facts: The “Debates” were printed as a partisan campaign document; first, to aid in Mr. Lincoln’s nomination for the presidency, and then to aid in his election over Senator Douglas. It was printed in vast numbers in cheap and crude pamphlet form for free circulation by an obscure job printing firm in Columbus, Ohio, weeks or months before Mr. Lincoln was nominated at Chicago, as the date of above letter shows. It could not have been expected in the heated partisan campaign of 1860, nor even in any milder campaign of recent years, that a Republican or Democratic campaign committee would go out of its way to help, or even do justice to an opponent. As “campaign literature,” if honestly labeled, I would not object to the only text available of those great debates. But to embalm the Columbus version of them as history, the soul of fair play and truth must revolt against it.

I would not take one star from the deathless diadem of Abraham Lincoln. His was the gentlest, sweetest, truest soul the earth has known since Christ. His fame fills all civilized lands and grows brighter with the fleeting years.

I am only courteously asking this great and honored Illinois Historical Society to grant to the dead Douglas the fair play and justice he implored in vain forty-eight years ago; that your beautiful edition of the “Lincoln-Douglas Debates” shall bear as a preface the above courteously noblest sons and one of the nation’s very greatest statesmen and patriots.

[For further information on this topic, see Illinois Historical Collections III. (The Lincoln-Douglas Debates).—Ed.]

—II H S

YLL TRANS XIII