

Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

Campaign Artifacts

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

STORY OF LINCOLN RAIL.

Springfield Writer Tells of Its Effect in the Lincoln Campaign.

The Century Magazine for June contains an article on the "Origin of the Lincoln Rail," by J. McCan Davis of this city. The fence rail was the most picturesque feature of the campaign of 1860, and, aside from party principles, it probably contributed more than anything else to Lincoln's election. It is shown by Mr. Davis, in his Century article, that the credit for the "rail movement", belongs to the late. Governor

Oglesby, who originated the idea, and went in person to the Sangamon bottom, in company with the venerable John Hanks, and secured the two ralls which Hanks carried into the Republican state convention at Decatur, in May, 1860.

The scene in the convention produced by the appearance of the rails was most dramatic. This was the first introduction of the "Lincoln rail" into politics. From that time forth the rail was constantly in evidence in the campalgn. Ogicsby's own story of the rail episode, as related to Mr. Davis a short time before the death of the lamented exgovernor, is incorporated in the article.



This is a copy of a handbill distributed before the first election of Abraham Lincoln as President.

As an example of printing this would not make much of a hit now as campaign publicity, but it did very well among the voters of 1860. At the top in the scroll appear the names of Lincoln and Hamlin. Hannibal Hamlin was elected vice president. The other names are those of the Republican presidential electors, candidates for congress, for the state offices, and for those of Cook county. Note the name of Richard Yates, famous as Illinois' civil war governor, and other names linked with the history of the war.



West Chester Pa. 4. 6, 1932 hen Louis Q. Warren. blean Sin according to enclosed clipping, you are looking for Timooh curios. I have a cartoon of Lomedu first campaign for the Presidency, published by Comerco veo 1860, entiteled higger in the wood Have you anything like this? It you have not what would this be worth to you, for your musery Respectfully yours 222 W. Barnard St. West Chester, Pa.



H. W. March 222 W. Barnard St. West Chester Pa.

Commercial Register

Published Daily, Tri-Weekly & Wockly BY HENRY D. COOKE AND C. C. BILL.

SANDUSKY, OHIO,

SATURDAY MORNING, NOV. 6, 1858.

Lincoln for President.

We are indebted to a friend at Mansfield for the following special dispatch:

" MANSFIELD, Nov. 5th, 1858.

"EDITOR SANDUSKY REGISTER:—An enthusiastic meeting is in progress here to-night in favor of Lincoln for the next Republican candidate for President.

REPORTER."

The Besult in Michigan.

We are ashamed of the work of the Republicens of Michigan, and we believe they are by this time ashamed of it themselves 'They were able to have done better than they did at the late election. They have only a majority of from 6,000 to 10,000 on the State ticket .-This majority should have been from 15,000 to 20,000. The Republicans of Michigan, had they only disregarded the storm and gone to the polls, could have made this record without doubt. No man, who calls himself a freeman, should let any cause that does not present an insuperable obstacle deter him from the performance of such au important duty as voting, especially when issues are as vital as those taken by the parties on Tuesday last.

The conduct of Republicans in the 1st Congressional District'is particularly censurable. By petty dissensions they fritted away their atrength, and lost to the Republican forces in Congress one of their strongest conditions—Wm. A. Howard—giving his seat to a man en-

Eleny Freduces

Ask Help in Lincoln Relics. What have you in the way of Abraham I incoln relics in your home?

Dr. Louis A. Warren, director of the Lincoln Historical Research Foundation, Fort Wayne, Indiana, asks the Local News to help in locating any really genuine Lincoln curios in this section. In the Foundation's museum and library and in many other historical institutions all over the country, he states, there are innumerable priceless mementos of the Great Emancipator, yet he feels that treasured away in many a home or office there must be manuscripts, newspaper and magazine articles, books and pamphlets, pictures, medals and other Lincoln items that are every bit as valuable.

April 9, 1932

Mr. H. W. March 222 W. Barnard St. West Chester, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir:

We have a picture of the cartoon of Lincoln showing "Nigger in the woodpile" but it does not happen to be a Currier & Ives print, although we have a great many of the early Currier & Ives cartoons.

The enclosed letter which we send out to all asking appreisals on items, will explain to you why we cannot set a price on it. If you care to suggest what you would like to have for it, we will let you know whether or not we desire it.

Respectfully yours,

Director

LAW: LH Enc. 103. (LINCOLN). ORIGINAL POSTER OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN. BROADSIDE. Double Folio, Black on Yellow, large American Eagle in centre, holding ribbon in his beak, reading "Lincoln & Hamlin." Lincoln, Hamlin and Curtin.

The Friends of Lincoln, Hamlin and Curtin will meet at SUGAR-TOWN SCHOOL HOUSE, on Wednesday Evening 29th of August, 1860, for the Purpose of forming a Lincoln & Hamlin Club, to be addressed by H. W. Caruthers, Esq., and Capt. James Givin. August 25th, 1860. A likely unique Memento of this memorable campaign.

37.50.

THE FIRST LINCOLN CAMPAIGN

(LINCOLN). A COLLECTION OF NINETEEN RARE CAMPAIGN CARTOONS PICTURING THE FIRST CAMPAIGN IN ALL IT'S HEAT AND BITTERNESS, Most of these by Currier and Ives, Fourteen by eighteen inches each, ALL IN IM-MACULATE STATE OF PRESERVATION WITH FULL MARGINS, AS NEW AS ON THE DAY THEY WERE PUBLISHED. Never framed, a collection that did not see day light since the campaign of 1860, never before offered for sale. ALSO THREE PORTRAITS, same size as the cartoons, and VERY RARE. IT WOULD TAKE MANY YEARS AND A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY TO GATHER A SIMILAR COLLECTION BUT WE DOUBT THAT SUCH IMMACULATE SPECIMENS OF THESE CARTOONS COULD BE FOUND EVER AGAIN. THE LOT

AN HEIR TO THE THRONE "or" THE NEXT REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE. Currier & Ives 1860. Greeley, Lincoln (without beard) with a Negro in the center, and a large placard "Barnum's What is it, now exhibiting". VERY RARE. Peters 1645.

CAVING IN OR A REBEL "DEEPLY HUMILIATED" Currier and Ives. (The Prize Fight) Lincoln as prize-fighter etc. Peters 1620.

A DISLOYAL BRITISH SUBJECT Currier and Ives. (The Queen Victoria cartoon). Not in Peters.

THE GREAT MATCH AT BALTIMORE. Between the "Illinois Bantam" and the "Old Cock of the White House". Currier & Ives 1860. Peters 1641.

STEPHEN FINDING HIS MOTHER. Currier and Ives 1860. Peters 1685.

THE DIS-UNITED STATES. Or the eracy. Currier and Ives, Peters 1629. the Southern Confed-

THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL or the Modern Belshazzar. Currier & Ives. Peters 1644.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT or the Republican Barge in Danger. Currier & Ives 1860. Peters 1650. Mass picture of all politicians concerned with the election and Lincoln crying out "I'll take the helm, I steered a FLAT boat before".

UNCLE SAM MAKING NEW ARRANGEMENTS. Currier & ives 1860. Peters 1690.

TAKING THE STUMP or STEPHEN in Search of his Mother. Currier & Ives, 1860. Peters 1687.

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY, Prospect of a Smash up.
This is the famous LOCOMOTIVE CARTOON. Currier and Ives 1860. Peters 1672.

THE NIGGER IN THE WOODPILE. Currier and lves 1860. Peters 1664.

THE NATIONAL GAME (The Baesball Cartoon) Three "Outs" and one "Run" Abraham winning the ball. Currier & Ives 1860. Peters 1660A.

THE BLOCKADE ON THE CONNECTICUT PLANE. Currier & Ives. The NAVAL CARTOON. THE CHICA-GO PLATFORM. No Imprint, Unknown.

HEADS OF THE DEMOCRACY. (Copperhead, Blockhead, Sore head, rong Head, blunderhead). No imprint, un-

THE THRILLING INCIDENT DURING VOTING Philadelphia. No imprint. Unknown.

MANIFESTATIONS. No imprint. Unknown.

One of the way to the way to the white house but is frightened by spiritual manifestations. No imprint. Unknown.

THE IMPENDING CRISIS or caught in the Act. Currier & Ives 1860.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Portrait by KIPPS, the so called JEW PORTRAIT. (Prang).

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Portrait. 1860. Lithograph. Un-

DOUGLAS STEPHEN. Large Portrait (Brainard).

Copyright 1936

American Autograph Shop, Merion Station, Pennsylvania

LINCOLN 1860 CAMPAIGN POSTER BRINGS \$47.50

OLD MADISON MUST & SHALL BE REDEEMED.

HONEST OLD ABE! THE WORKING MEN'S CANDIDATE!

There will be a Main Streeting of the friends of PREE LABOR and PREE TERRITORIES

AT EDWARDSVILLE

SATURDAY, JULY 7th, 1860.

The following Speakers have been invited, and are expected to be present:

HON. RICH. YATES,

HON. NORMAN B. JUDD,

HON JOSEPH GILLESPIE

TURN OUT, MEN OF MADISON!
BRING YOUR WIVES AND CHILDREN, AND HAVE A GOOD TIME.

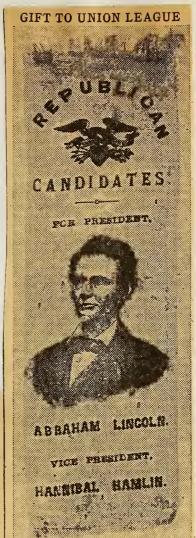
RALLY FOR THE RIGHT.

The above is a reduced facsimile of a rare Abe Lincoln campaign poster sold at the Chicago Book & Art Auctions on January 29th. Size of original 30" x 43". It brought \$47.50.

I work to be a fournal the good. much of

REC'D JUL 22 1937 Answere THE IRON GATE - ANTIQUES - FORT EDWARD - NEW YORK - DIAL 5-4456 LIFE INSCHALLEN IN THE SECTION OF TH July 20/3) Lucolu Tife Dusmance co Fortwagne Ind. Dea Sus: hours yn be ralerested in a Fuicola Campagna Jester in Colors! Ttimbe you would that have to grice \$ 1500 would be happy to send on opprovae Som tam bengtruly gale

Colored Company Poster July 23, 1937 The Iron Tate, Antiques Fort Edward, New Work Gentlemen: We have several Lincoln campaign posters in colors and it would be necessary for you to be more explicit in describing yours before we can advise you whether or not we wish to acquire it. If you will give us the dimensions, the name of the publisher, etc., we can determine whether or not we have it in our collection. If we have it, of course we would not care to have it sent for approval. This will also allow us to learn whether or not we feel the price is satisfactory. Very truly yours. Director LAW: EB



UNION LEAGUE CELEBRATES

Marks 74th Anniversary of Its Home's Construction

The Union League today observed the 74th anniversary of the construction of its home at Broad and Sansom sts.

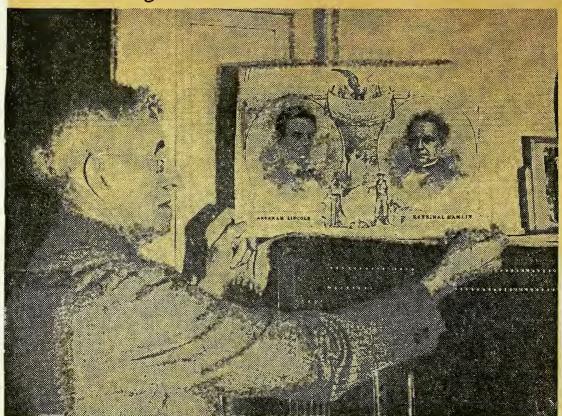
. As part of the observance, a painting made of the building and its neighborhood in 1900 was exhibited. The club was founded in November, 1862

Next year there will be a celebration marking the diamond jubilee of the building's opening, Judge Allen M, Stearne, president of the club, waid.

Rule Eur Brethelin 5-11-39

This badge was worn during first Lincoln campaign by Daniel Shuster, of Westmoreland county, Pa. It was presented to Union League by his nephew, Dr. J. Torrance Rugh, of Philadelphia

80 Years Ago The Ticket Was Illinois And Maine



Hugh F. Fletcher of Norway, with the campaign banner of 1860 he found just as the Nation prepared to pay homage today to

Lincoln-Hamlin Campaign Poster Found At Norway

Hugh F. Fletcher Discovers Relic In Back Of Old Lithograph While Dusting

Norway, Feb. 11—Back when slaves were slaves, the Old South was young, and Gettysburg was only a village in Pennsylvania, some son of Maine mounted the latest free lithograph with what materials came to hand. The other day Hugh F. Fletcher took that picture apart here to dust it.

He found, as backing for that cheap print, a rare and well-preserved relic—an Abraham Lincoln-Hannibal Hamlin campaign poster.

Fresh and bright after 80 years in the blind blackness of that picture frame, the fine clean face of "Honest Abe" and the honest, Continued on Page 3; First Col.

Pre-Civil War Poster Is Found At Norway

Continued From Page One

serious face of Maine's first Vice President bring back the heat of the election fight that preceded the Civil War.

Abolition, states' rights, tariffs—all the issues that made that year the tensest in the Nation's history—are shadowed forth by the ominous, significant banner which flies across the top of the

print:
"The Union Must and Shall Be
Preserved."

The preserved of the faces of

And the look on the faces of the candidates is that of men who would and could, as the world well knows, preserve that Union.

The issues remembered as the earth-

snaking issues of the day are hardly mentioned. But the banner beneath the eagle's widespread wings bears witness that the threat of war was in the air. It proclaims the stand, "Free Speech, Free Homes' Free Territory." Below it, a shield between two laborers calls for "Protection to American Industry," good Republican dogma down through the years.

Then, beneath the pictures, in the boldest type on the banner, are the words the engraver meant to carry the reassuring answer to all the worries hinted at. They are simple and brief, but—history knows—adequate. They are:

quate. They are:

"For President Abraham Lincoln
of Illinois.

"For Vice President Hannibal Ham-

in of Maine.'

Robert Carlen Gallery .

323 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET Lucial National Life Frandation 3.26-44 Box 1110, Fort Wayne 1, Ind. I have the two following Liver tem for sale; Broadside - very good Condition - fram LINCOLH HAMCIN The Eviends of Lincoln, Hamlin and Courtis willmeet SATURDAY EVENING AUG. 4th DR SUMMER STEBBIRS AND HAW. GARRUTHERS, ESG. PRINTED AT THE VILLAGE RECORD OFFICE, WEST CHESTER, PA

(OVER)

also early Phrtograph of pivelamations of Levivle - priviled in Phila. in the early 1860's. \$5-W Micory

March 30, 1944

Robert Carlon Gallery 323 South 16th Street Philadelphia, 2, Pa.

Gentlemen:

Thank you for submitting sketches of the two broadsides which you have or rather a broadside and photograph of a proclamation which you are submitting.

We have never done so much with broadsides except where there has been historical information displayed so I do not think we would care to acquire the items you have offered.

Very truly yours,

LAW:WM

Director





A Meeting of the friends of Lincoln, Hamilia and Curtin, will be addressed by

J. W. BEAR, Esq.

The "BUCK-EYE BLACKSMITH," and others

AT THE WHITE HORSE

In Londongreve township, at half-past 7 o'clock,

On Monday Evening, Oct. 8th

BANDS OF MUSIC WILL BE PRESENT.

The "Wide-Awake Clubs" of the vicinity will join in a

TORCH LIGHT PROCESSION.

Lincoln and his running mates won in 1860, the year the poster was displayed in Chester, Pa.

Posters Tell Lincoln Story

THE TWO POSTERS reproduced here deal with the beginning and the end of Lincoln's career as President. In his first run in 1860, he campaigned vigorously to defeat four other Presidential candidates. That victory, repeated in 1864, led to his assassination in a Washington theatre the evening of April 14th, the next year.



Lincoln Lore

February, 1979

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1692

LOUIS A. WARREN LINCOLN LIBRARY AND MUSEUM IS RECIPIENT OF BARONDESS/LINCOLN AWARD

The Civil War Round Table of New York has this month honored the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum with the Barondess/Lincoln Award. The award is given each year for "contribution to the greater appreciation of the life and works of Abraham Lincoln." Mark E. Neely, Jr., accepted the award at the meeting of the Civil War Round Table on February 14th at the 7th Regiment Armory in Manhattan.

The Round Table noted that 1978 marked fifty years of service as a "respository of Lincoln...artifacts and a...library on the subject" for the Lincoln Library and Museum. It noted also the institution's acting "as a clearing-house of information on Lincoln." Lincoln Lore, first issued in 1929, is now sent "monthly free of charge to six thousand schools and universities, historical societies, Lincoln scholars and collectors" and "is the accepted authority in the matter of bibliography of printed materials on Lincoln." The Round Table mentioned as well the R. Gerald McMurtry Lecture, which "brings to Fort Wayne an outstanding Lincoln scholar to speak on some new aspect of research in the field."

The Barondess/Lincoln Award was established in 1962 in memory of Dr. Benjamin Barondess of New York, a charter member of the Round Table and the author of several works on Lincoln. Barondess was a member of the New York Bar, a graduate of Columbia College and the New York University Law School. Lincoln students know him as the author of Three Lincoln Masterpieces: Cooper Institute Speech, Gettysburg Address, Second Inaugural (Charleston, West Virginia: Education Foundation of West Virginia, Inc., 1954). The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum contains three other pamphlets by Barondess: The Gettysburg Address: Revealing Facts About One of the "Supreme Masterpieces" of the English Language (Reprinted by permission from the Autograph Collectors' Journal, Spring Issue, 1952, Vol. IV, No. IIII), Lincoln's Cooper Institute Speech (INew York]: The Civil War Round Table of New York, Inc., 1953), and The Adventure of the Missing Briefs ([New York]: The Civil War Round Table of New York, Inc., 1955).

The first recipient of the Barondess/Lincoln Award was author Neil Harris. Last year Stephen B. Oates gained the award for With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln. The Civil War Round Table honored Louis A. Warren with the Barondess/Lincoln Award in 1965, and now it honors the institution which bears his name. The staff of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is most grateful to the New York group for noticing our "contribution to the greater appreciation of the life and works of Abraham Lincoln." Lincoln students everywhere appreciate the efforts of this Civil War Round Table to stimulate work in the Lincoln field.

"PIG IRON" AND THE GENESIS OF A LINCOLN CAMPAIGN MEDAL

Although museums and collectors have hotly pursued the medals and buttons associated with Abraham Lincoln's campaigns for the Presidency, they have generally had more success in acquiring the medals than in describing the specific circumstances of their production and use. Hardly any form of information is more difficult to come by than that which links these solid artifacts with the men who produced them and the politicians who encouraged their use. The historians who are most familiar with the letters and political literature of the period have shown little interest in the material political culture of Lincoln's day. Collectors and museum curators spend their daily lives amidst the remains of that political culture, but they tend to have little time to cultivate the broad familiarity with written sources necessary to explain the uses of the artifacts. This article is a very modest attempt to bridge that gap in the case of one Lincoln campaign medal.

In the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress, there is a letter written by William Darrah Kelley of Philadelphia to Norman Buel Judd which gives a brief glimpse of the circumstances which produced a campaign medal. Kelley, who ran successfully for Congress the year of Lincoln's first election to the Presidency, was a Democrat turned Republican and a free trader become protectionist. In Kelley's long career in Congress after this first successful run, he became so strongly identified with tariff protection for Pennsylvania's iron and steel industries that he was nicknamed "Pig Iron." Judd, another Democrat turned Republican, was a member of the Republican National Committee, Chairman of Illinois's State Central Committee, and, most important, a close political advisor of Abraham Lincoln in the



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Campaign medal, AL 1860-12.

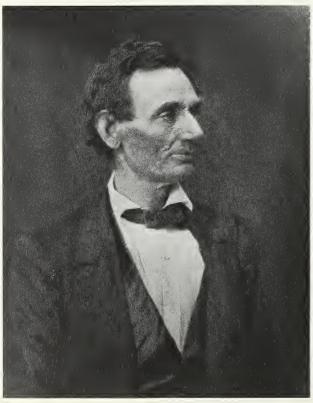
1860 campaign.

On June 1, 1860, Kelley wrote Judd from Philadelphia, telling him, "A townsman of mine, a clever artist in his line—is very anxious to get out a medal for campaign use with a faithful likeness of Mr. Lincoln. To do this requires a perfect profile and for this he has applied to me." Pictures of the surprise nominee of the Republican party were evidently scarce in the East. "Can you send me one—A reliable profile—or if you have none can you induce Mr. Lincoln as a favor to me, or for the good of the cause to have one photgraphed," Kelley asked. "I hereby transfer my commission to you not doubting that it will be faithfully executed at your earliest convenience." Kelley added. "I will cheerfully honor a draft for the cost & trouble as I believe it will result in a creditable work." Kelley's letter then concluded with a report on the exceedingly good political prospects for the Republican cause in Pennsylvania: "... the good old Keystone state is no longer in the category of doubtful things."

On June 6th the diligent Judd wrote "Friend Lincoln," enclosing Kelley's letter and reminding the Presidential nominee that Kelley "was with the party that visited you to notify you of your nomination." Judd explained that he sent Kelley's letter "not...so much on account of the picture proposition as that you may know his views of Penn., and that your over zealous friends may let well enough alone." However, Judd did comment on the "picture proposition": "The picture although troublesome to you, when requested by such a person as Judge Kelley ought to be attended to — Every little [bit] helps, and I am coming to believe, that likenesses broad cast, are excellent means of electioneering."

For his part, Lincoln not only read the political news from Pennsylvania but also attended, apparently, to the "picture proposition." The envelope from Judd bears these words in Lincoln's hand: "Judge Kelly [sic]. Profile." In another hand is written, "Answered."

Lincoln had received the nomination on May 18th, and there was no abundance of photographs of the candidate from which to choose three weeks later, when Kelley's letter arrived. However, the candidate had posed for a series of photographs in Springfield three days before Judd's letter was written. The four photographs taken by Alexander Hesler on June 3, 1860, included one which was nearly in profile. Per-



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. Hesler's near-profile photograph of Lincoln.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. Campaign medal, AL 1860-33.

haps this is the one Lincoln sent Kelley for his medal-making constituent (see FIGURE 2). There are two campaign medals listed in J. Doyle DeWitt's Century of Campaign Buttons, 1789-1889 ([Hartford]: privately published, 1959) which were struck in Philadelphia and seem to have been based on the Hesler photograph. One (No. AL 1860-12 in DeWitt's book) was engraved by William H. Key and, says DeWitt, "undoubtedly was based upon the photograph of Lincoln made by Hesler in Springfield on June 3, 1860." The reverse of this medal bears the inscription: "THE PEOPLES/ CHOICE/ 1860/LINCOLN & HAMLIN/ FREEDOM/ &/ PROTECTION." The other (No. AL 1860-33), engraved by Robert Lovett, Jr., of Philadelphia, misspells Lincoln's name as "ABRAM" on the obverse, and bears the inscriptions on the reverse: "FREEDOM & PROTECTION, LINCOLN & HAMLIN" and "THE/MAN THAT/ CAN SPLIT RAILS/ OR GUIDE THE/SHIP OF/STATE."



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 4. This campaign medal, struck in Waterbury, Connecticut, may have been based on this profile photograph (inset).



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 5. Reverse of campaign medal, AL 1860-12.

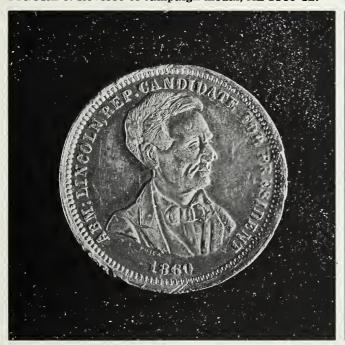


FIGURE 6. Reverse of campaign medal, AL 1860-33.



Both photographs from the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURES 7-8. Another possible candidate for the medal struck by William D. Kelley's constituent is the one shown above (obverse and reverse). J. Doyle DeWitt identifies the medal as AL 1860-51. It was struck by Robert Lovett of Philadelphia. Like other Lincoln campaign items from tariff-mad Pennsylvania, this one urged "PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY." Here the tariff appeal was combined with the slogan "FREE/HOMES/FOR/FREE MEN." The latter slogan combined the idea of homestead legislation (free homes) with the heart of the Republican idea, free soil (free men). Winning Pennsylvania was a key to Republican success in 1860, and Lincoln's "sound" record on the tariff was essential. When Lincoln selected his cabinet after the victory, rewarding Pennsylvania was crucial. One of the arguments used by supporters of Simon Cameron's bid for a cabinet position was that it would reassure Pennsylvania's high-tariff men, especially if Cameron were made Secretary of the Treasury. Unfortunately for Cameron, he had a reputation for corruption and dishonesty, and the idea of associating Cameron with the Treasury was more than many Republicans could stomach. Some found the idea of any association of Cameron with "Honest Abe" repulsive, but in the end Cameron became Secretary of War.

One other Lincoln campaign medal (identified by DeWitt as AL 1860-47) called for "PROTECTION TO/HONEST/INDUSTRY." Its place of manufacture is unknown, but all other pro-tariff campaign medals identified by DeWitt came from Pennsylvania. Issues changed in 1864, and only one medal mentioned the tariff. It was, of course, made in Philadelphia.

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 Penn-sylvania'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 fit-ting that "Pig 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 medalmaker. 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 1861, 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 "hurrah" campaigns, not debates on political science, and the great abundance of "hurrah" campaign ephemera is the best

proof of the politicians' preferences.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 9. William Darrah Kelley.

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 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

free copy of Lincoln's book. Born in New York City, Conkling raduated from Princeton and settled in Springfield in 1838. Politics, profession, and matrimony 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 Merce" of Mary Todd (Lincoln's) earliest brown letters. In fact, Conkling's letters provide one of the 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 occa-sionally visited Washington as agent to handle Federal accounts for the State of Illinois. In 1862, he used his friendship with the President as an 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

Students of Lincoln's Presidency know Conkling principaly 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. Sellon, an Illinois newspaper editor, wrote in his: "Chas. J. Sellon 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 approximately the time Lincoln first received his one hundred copies of the book from the publisher, and Lincoln was in Springfield on April 7th. Like Littlefield and Sellon, James Conkling failed to have Lincoln sign his copy of this famous book.



Lincoln Lore

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

October, 1979

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1700

THE LAST LIFE PORTRAIT OF LINCOLN

While Boston authorities were attempting last spring to embargo the removal of Gilbert Stuart's famous paintings of George and Martha Washington, the last portrait of Lincoln painted from life quietly left Boston for Fort Wayne. The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum—thanks to a special appropriation from its governing body, the Lincoln National Life Foundation, Inc.—now houses Matthew Wilson's portrait of Lincoln painted from life and dated April, 1865, the month of the President's assassination. Gideon Welles, Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, commissioned the portrait, and important contemporary witnesses testified to the remarkable quality of the likeness.

Matthew Henry Wilson was born in England in 1814. When

he was seventeen, he emigrated to America to engage in the business of silk manufacture, only to find upon his arrival that no such industry existed in the United States. Hard times followed, as Wilson tried to make ends meet by tuning pianos and teaching school. His first portrait was a painted sketch of himself he made to send to his mother. The residents of his boarding house were so taken with the likeness that he decided to try painting portraits for a living. His first sitter paid him \$2.00 for his portrait.

Wilson studied with Philadelphia painter Henry Inman from 1832 to 1835 and then went to Paris to study with Edouard Dubufe. He returned to America two years later and painted in Brooklyn, New Orleans, Baltimore, and other places before settling in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1856. He worked in the Boston-Hartford area and met Welles, a Hartford resident, in 1859. He painted portraits of the Welles family and of numerous members of

the Connecticut commercial elite. Patrons now paid \$100 for a Wilson portrait. By the end of the Civil War, Wilson charged \$150 for a portrait.

On February 4, 1865, Mrs. Welles introduced Wilson to the President, apparently in order to make arrangements to paint his portrait. The next day, he met Lincoln at Alexander Gardner's photographic studio to have photographs made on which to base the portrait. The famous group of photographs that resulted from this last photographic sitting included the only Lincoln photographs with a hint of a smile on his face. After a day passed, probably spent waiting for Gardner's gallery to develop the photographs, Wilson started painting Lincoln's portrait. He painted all day on the 7th, 8th, 9th,

10th, and 11th.

Wilson worked on the Lincoln painting on the 14th and 15th, and then he tried to see the President in order to put on the finishing touches. A Cabinet meeting prevented him from doing so on the 17th, but he saw Lincoln the next day. On the 20th, he returned to the White House and painted there.

Wilson finished the portrait by February 22, 1865. As Francis B. Carpenter, another artist fortunate enough to have Lincoln sit for him, records it, on that day Lincoln was in a good mood:

Temporarily upon the wall of the room [Lincoln's office] was a portrait of himself recently painted for Secretary Welles by a Connecticut artist friend. Turning to the picture, Mr. Welles remarked that he thought it a successful likeness. "Yes," returned the President, hesitatingly; and then came a story of a western friend whose wife pronounced her husband's portrait, painted secretly for a birthday present,



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Matthew Wilson's portrait of Lincoln is an oil painting on oval artist's board, 16.7/8" x 13.7/8". The frame, apparently the original, measures 27.5/8" x 24.1/2". It is in excellent condition.

"horridly like;" "and that," said he, "seems to me a just criticism of this!"

Lincoln was notoriously modest about his physical appearance. Welles was pleased with the portrait. He must have been pleased with the price, too. Wilson charged him only \$85. Welles wrote the artist a check for that amount on April 12th.

Wilson had no way of knowing it, but he painted the President's likeness at the last possible moment. Three days after the check was written, the President was dead. Immediately, Louis Prang of Boston, a lithographer, wanted a copy of the portrait on which to base a print portrait. On April 20th, Wilson began painting a copy for Prang. Before the year was over, Wilson painted at least three copies,

perhaps four or five.

The demand for copies shows that the portrait was successful. And the names of those who asked for copies provide even firmer proof that this was not just another portrait from life but also an excellent likeness. Wilson painted one copy for Welles, who wanted a copy to hang permanently in the Navy Department. He made a copy for Joshua Speed, Lincoln's most intimate friend in the days of his early manhood. Wilson provided still another copy for John Forney, a prominent Republican newspaperman in Philadelphia and Washington and a close political associate of Lincoln's during the Civil War. He may have made another

copy for Mrs. Welles, who wanted one for a New Year's Day party

in 1866.

Sorting out the subsequent history of the various portraits is no easy business. Maury Bromsen, the prominent dealer and collector from whom the Lincoln Library and Museum procured the painting, worked for years to establish the history of this portrait. Although some questions remain unanswered, it is clear that the copy hanging in the J.B. Speed Art Museum in Louisville, Kentucky, is the copy made for Joshua Speed. Likewise, the Navy Department still retains the copy Welles had made for that purpose. One other copy of the painting is known; it hangs in Philipse Manor Hall in Yonkers, New York.

Both the Philipse Manor Hall copy and the copy in the Lincoln Library and Museum are signed, the former in red, the latter in black. The other two copies are unsigned and are known to be copies of the original. How

can one be sure the Lincoln Library and Museum portrait is the original painting? First, it is the only version of the portrait which is dated. The date is April, 1865, and Wilson completed the original portrait in that month (note the date of Gideon Welles's check). Wilson began painting the copy for Prang late in April. He was apparently still painting it in May, for his diary states that he worked on the copy steadily from April 20th through May 2nd. On May 16th, Wilson noted that he was painting two copies of the Lincoln. This is the first mention of another copy and is proof that the May 2nd entry, "Painted on Mr. Lincoln," still refers to the Prang copy. Wilson finished no copy in April.

A complicating factor in tracing the history of the painting is that Charles Henry Hart, an enterprising Lincoln collector and sometime art dealer, owned two versions himself. In a 1911 newspaper article boasting of the quality of the version he owned at that time, Hart said that Wilson signed it in red to distinguish it as the original and best version. This, then, is the Philipse Manor Hall portrait, but it is not the original. Alice Brainerd Welles sold the Welles family's portrait to Hart in 1915. She sent a letter with it saying that the portrait she was selling had belonged to her grandfather, Gideon Welles; to her father, Edgar T. Welles; and then to her by inheritance in 1914. Hart owned the original portrait, but it was the second one he acquired. The first, of which he boasted so much,

was a copy—not the original, not the only signed copy, and not so designated by the artist in any way.

A further distinguishing feature of the recently acquired portrait is the fact that it is an oil on board. The other three extant copies are painted on canvas.

The staff of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is grateful to the Lincoln National Life Foundation, Inc., which immediately upon hearing that this important portrait was available provided generous funding. The staff is grateful too for Mr. Bromsen's making the painting available and supplying copies of all his correspondence and research notes on the painting. Finally, it is grateful to Matthew Wilson, who captured the spirit of Lincoln's last days as no other artist ever has. One can see the hint of merriment in Lincoln's face, the first sign that the great burden of the war was. with Grant's victories, growing ever

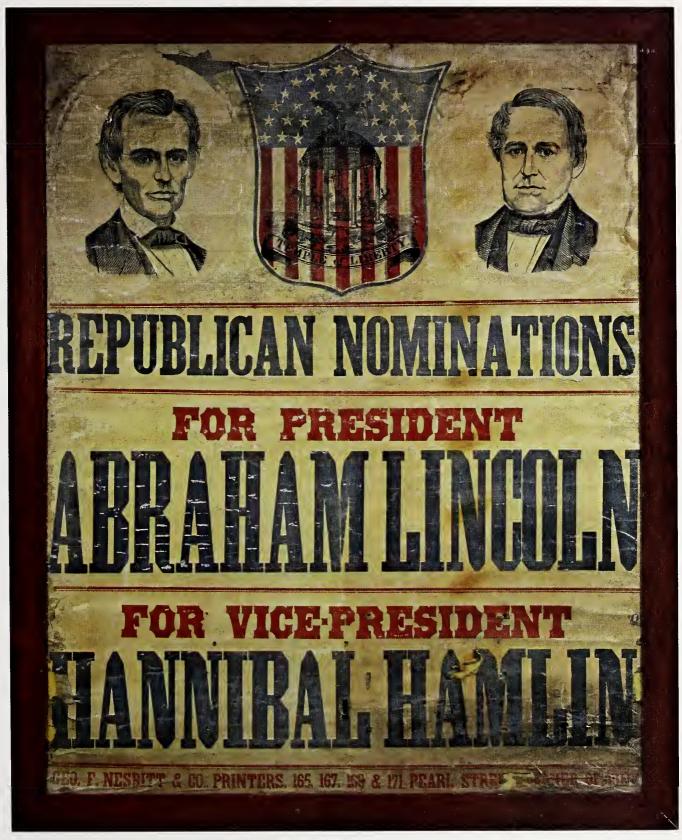
lighter.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. Famed for chromolithography, L. Prang & Co., Boston, Massachusetts, based this lithograph of Lincoln on Wilson's painting. Surely, no one commenced work on a new picture of the assassinated President more quickly than Prang.

OTHER RECENT ACQUISITIONS



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. Political banners of the 1860s are rare, and banners from the 1860 campaign are apparently even scarcer than those from 1864. Doubtless frugal wives turned many a political banner into rags. Last year the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum added the first two examples of cloth political banners to its collection.

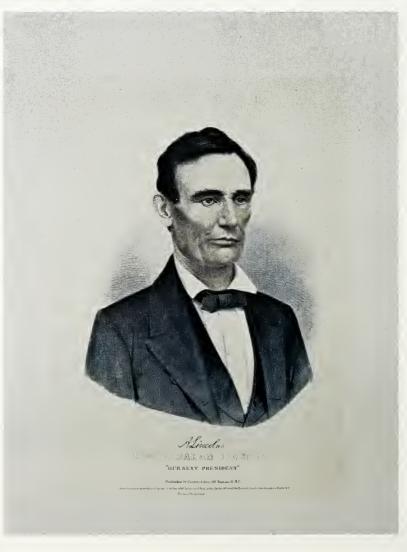


FIGURE 4. In 1964, R. Gerald McMurtry described the Manny reaper in the June issue of Lincoln Lore. He had recently helped collector Philip D. Sang obtain a manufacturer's model of this famous reaper, which was a competitor in the market and in the courtroom with the McCormick reaper. Mr. Sang's widow remembered Dr. McMurtry's good offices and recently allowed the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum to acquire the model. For the first time in history, this beautiful model (in perfect working order) is on public display.

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 5. Like most other producers of campaign portraits for the 1860 election, Currier & Ives favored the portrait of Lincoln taken by Mathew Brady on February 27, 1860, while Lincoln was in New York City to make his famed Cooper Institute Address. As a statesmanlike photograph, it had not been exceeded by any likeness made by the time of the Republican nomination. Since Brady made the photograph, it was readily available to lithographers and engravers in the East.

Currier & Ives also obtained a copy of an earlier Lincoln photograph, probably taken by Roderick M. Cole in Peoria in 1858. The Republican candidate appeared considerably gaunter and generally less distinguished in this Western portrait. Nevertheless, Currier & Ives based "Our Next President" on it as well as "The Republican Banner for 1860," a campaign lithograph which showed both Lincoln and Hamlin. The portrait was widely used for tintypes, ferrotypes, and other campaign ephemera, but the Currier & Ives print is rather rare. The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum acquired a copy of "Our Next President" only this year.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum



Lincoln Lore

August, 1980

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1710

BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865

The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is sponsoring an exhibit of popular prints of Abraham Lincoln in the Cannon Office Building of the House of Representatives in February and March of 1981. The exhibit, nestled in the arches of the handsome rotunda of the Cannon Building, is open to the public and free of charge. The customary traffic in this building consists of people who are themselves politicians, who work for politicians, or who call on politicians, and the exhibit naturally focuses on Lincoln's political image.

The heyday of public relations and propaganda arrived only with the First World War, and America's nineteenthcentury Presidents had little awareness of the powers of conscious image-making. The Lincoln administration, which at its height had a White House staff of three secretaries, employed none of the elaborate apparatus of modern imageconscious politicians. Imagery was the province of, among

others, the popular printmakers of the day.

Abraham Lincoln and the graphic arts in America grew up together. Neither took much notice of the other until 1860, when Lincoln became the Republican nominee for President. Suddenly the Republican party needed pictures of him for campaign posters, and the voters wanted to know what he looked like. Lincoln's looks were an issue well before most people had seen a picture of him, for it was widely rumored that he was ugly. Lincoln was genuinely modest about his looks, and he took notice of the graphic arts only when they were forced upon his attention. He rarely commented on the various portraits of him produced after he became a national political figure. He confessed that he knew "nothing" of such matters, that he had an "unpracticed eye," and that he was, in truth, "a very indifferent judge" of the artistic merits of efforts to capture his likeness.

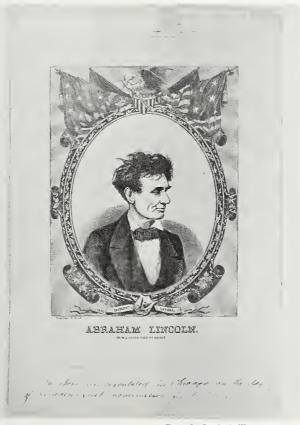
Lincoln's Presidential nomination in 1860 surprised nearly everyone. The first massproduced likeness of him, an engraving by F. H. Brown of Chicago, appeared only at the nominating convention itself. Lincoln had been so seldom

the printmaker had to copy his likeness from a photograph taken in Chicago in 1857, a photograph noted for the disorderly appearance of Lincoln's hair. Printmakers needed more photographs of the candidate and more gentlemanly poses. Numerous sittings for photographers and for painters with commissions from Republican patrons demanding that they make the candidate "good looking whether the original would justify it or not" soon solved the problem of models from which the printmakers could work, and the great process of Presidential image-making began.

Popular prints relied on sentimentalism, sensationalism, and satire. Sensational pictures of fires and other disasters had helped make lithography a growth industry in the 1840s, and, during Lincoln's Presidency, the printmakers would capitalize on battle scenes to continue this form of appeal. Sentimentalism, however, was the dominant motif of popular prints, just as it dominated popular literature. Politics lent

themselves more to satire than sentiment, and Presidential campaigns always boosted the cartoon industry. In the end, nevertheless, sentimentalism triumphed - a victory so complete that the political cartoons of Lincoln still appear a little strange to us.

They appear strange, too, because the nature of the art of political cartooning was quite different in Lincoln's era from that of today. For one thing, cartoons were a part of the print business. Most were poster cartoons issued as separate prints by firms like Currier & Ives, more famous today for nostalgic landscapes and sentimental genre pictures. These firms put business ahead of politics and produced both pro- and anti-Lincoln cartoons. Sometimes the same artist produced cartoons on both sides of a political question. Louis Maurer (1832-1932) drew both "Honest Abe Taking Them on the Half Shell," predicting that Lincoln would gobble up the Democratic politicians grown fat from their long years in office, and "The Rail Candi-date," one of the better anti-Lincoln cartoons of the campaign. Another difference from modern political art is that cartoonists did not go in for



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

photographed before 1860 that FIGURE 1. How the people first saw Lincoln.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. Louis Maurer guessed at Lincoln's grin.

caricature, which dominates modern political cartoons. Instead of exaggerating physical features which characterized a politician's face, they copied the faces slavishly from available photographs. Maurer's "Honest Abe" is adventuresome in attempting to depict Lincoln's smile. Lincoln never smiled in his photographs, and to this day no one knows what his teeth looked like. Humor usually stemmed only from the improbable situations in which the cartoonists placed the politicians or from balloons of language, often filled with obscure puns.

The political cartoons of Lincoln's day were not forward-looking in terms of method. They are, therefore, all the better as documents of the social and political beliefs of that era. They are cluttered with figures and words, and the social stereotypes in the backgrounds of the cartoons are a vivid index of the lowest common denominator of public opinion.

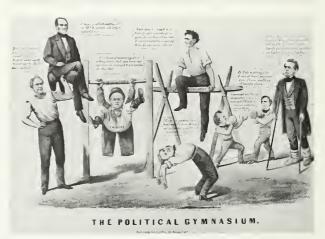
In 1860 the cartoonists, their pens ready to attack William H. Seward, the front-runner for the Republican nomination, were as astonished as most American voters were at Lincoln's nomination. Like the voters, they knew almost nothing about him. They seized with alacrity on the few available scraps of colorful information about Lincoln. Republicans touted Lincoln as the "Railsplitter," and a rail became essential in Lincoln cartoons. He was often depicted in a workingman's blouse rather than the customary coat and tie of most candidates, but, no matter the attire, he almost always had a rail handy. He might use his rail to fend off candidates trying to break into the White House; he might exercise on it; or he might use it to drive the wildcat of sectional discord back into the Republican bag.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. Maurer put the anti-Lincoln elements together in their simplest form.







From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 4. Railing at the candidate.

The standard anti-Lincoln cartoon in 1860 contained four elements: Lincoln, a rail, Horace Greeley, and a black man. Greeley was a cartoonist's delight, almost a self-caricature. The moon-faced outspoken reformer wore a long white duster, its pockets crammed with pamphlets and papers. Over the years, Greeley had flirted with a myriad of reforms, some of them quite radical, and he came to symbolize the crank reformer on the enthusiastic lunatic fringe of the Republican party. His presence in the cartoons was a reminder of the allegedly dangerous and radical impulses in the Republican party.

One need not look long at political cartoons in Lincoln's era to see evidence of the pervasive racism of nineteenth-century American popular opinion. The presence of black men, women, girls, boys, and babies in Lincoln cartoons was meant



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 5. Adalbert Volck was among the best.

to stand as a warning of the racial results of Republican antislavery policies.

Lincoln was so little known that cartoonists assumed he was a nonentity who would dance to the tune of more powerful figures in the Republican party. Often, he was not even the central figure in their busy cartoons, and Lincoln's failure to take over the central spot in these cartoons is an unconscious sign of the artists' inability to take him seriously. What seemed serious was the threat that the reform impulse represented by Greeley and the Negro might at last seize control of the country on the coattails of this unobjectionable but innocuous candidate.

The greatest satirical talent in American graphic art in Lincoln's day was located in the camp of the opposition. Adalbert Johann Volck (1828-1912) was a Baltimore dentist who had come to the United States from Bavaria. He probably received some training in the graphic arts in Europe, as did many other American artists in Lincoln's day, but Baltimore shaped his political opinions. Maryland, though it did not secede, was a slave state, and opposition to the Republican party in the state was virulent. Volck was decidedly pro-Southern and loathed the Lincoln administration.

Volck's considerable technical skills as an etcher were united with a sharp satirical eye. In one of the most brilliantly conceived and skillfully executed prints of the period, Volck pictured Lincoln as a hopelessly idealistic Don Quixote, carrying a John Brown pike instead of a lance, accompanied by that sordid reminder of Northern materialism, Benjamin



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 6. Literary allusions were common.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

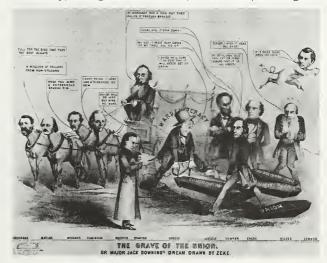
FIGURE 7. Benjamin Butler is Falstaff.

F. Butler, as Sancho Panza, complete with stolen Southern cutlery in his belt. Volck's cartoons also played on fevered fears of doom for the white race if the North were victorious in the Civil War.

Volck's work is sometimes carelessly thought of as Confederate cartoons, the only vigorous Southern counterpart of Thomas Nast's pro-Republican cartoons in the North. In truth, Nast was very young and not particularly active during the Civil War, and Volck's satirical etchings were really Copperhead cartoons, the product of anti-Lincoln sentiment in the North. Volck was apparently never arrested for producing the prints nor for his more treasonous activities like smuggling spies and medicines to the Confederacy. His art stands as a visual embodiment of the political atmosphere which led a group of Maryland men (and one D. C. pharmacist's assistant) eventually to murder President Lincoln. John Wilkes Booth, a Maryland native, led the group.

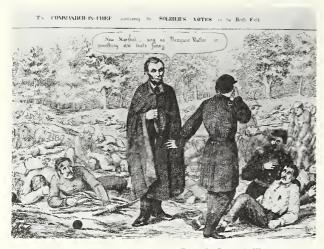
By 1864 printmakers knew more about Lincoln, and their work during his bid for reelection seized on some entirely new themes. The rail was gone, and no single symbol so dominated cartoons as it had done four years earlier. Its nearest competitor was Lincoln's reputation for telling jokes. This quality endears him to twentieth-century Americans, but it was less clearly a political asset in Lincoln's earnest Victorian era. Cartoonists frequently attacked him as a mere frontier joker — too small for the job of President.

Two of the better cartoons of the 1864 campaign capitalized on Lincoln's reputation as a lover of Shakespeare's works. J. H. Howard depicted Lincoln's Democratic rival for the Presidency, George B. McClellan, as Hamlet, holding the



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 8. A crowded but effective cartoon.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 9. A cartoon for the ugly mood of 1864.

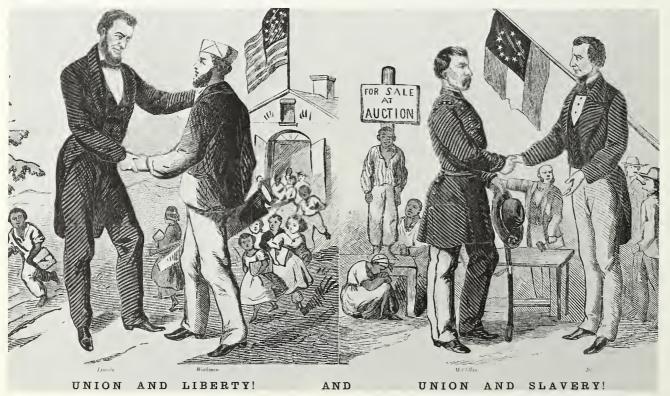
skull of Lincoln as Yorick and asking, "Where be your gibes now?" Thus the artist combined his knowledge of Lincoln's reputation for joking and for reading Shakespeare's works. Another cartoonist moved away from merely associating Lincoln with black people to turning Lincoln into a black man himself. Shakespeare provided the artful mechanism for doing so: the cartoonist depicted Lincoln as Othello. This print lacked the simplicity of conception of Howard's cartoon, but the crowded stage contained other figures who symbolized controversial acts of the Lincoln administration. Secretary of State Seward, seated at Lincoln's left, had once been in charge of arrests of disloyal persons in the North. Rumor had it that Seward had once boasted to the English ambassador that he could ring a little bell and cause the arrest of anyone in the United States.

The story about Seward was doubtless untrue, but its fame was revealing of the anxiety aroused by the suspension of some traditional American liberties in the North during the Civil War. The Democrats were bereft of their traditional appeals to economic discontent by high wartime employment. Lincoln frustrated some of their appeals to racism by claiming that the Emancipation Proclamation was essential to provide the man power necessary to win the war. The issue of civil liberties was about the only one left in the Democratic arsenal. "The Grave of the Union" added to the traditional figures of Lincoln, Greeley, and a black baby (under Henry Ward Beecher's arm), portraits of those "War Democrats" who served the Lincoln administration, most notably the driver of the hearse, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

Lincoln's reputation for humor did not prevent the creation of sinister images of the President. The story that Lincoln had asked his friend Ward Hill Lamon to sing a vulgar and humorous tune on a visit to the Antietam battlefield led to one of the most darkly effective anti-Lincoln cartoons of the Civil War. In truth, Lincoln asked for the tune to cheer him up after the gloomy visit. He was miles from the battlefield when the event occurred. All the bodies on the field had been buried long ago. The spurious charge was so effective, however, that Lincoln prepared a long letter for the press explaining the event. In the end, he decided not to issue it, and the story was not effectively scotched until 1895 when Lamon published a facsimile of Lincoln's letter in his Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865.

The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation brought rapid (and, unfortunately, temporary) changes in the customary depiction of black people in popular art. "Union and Liberty! And Union and Slavery!" contained the common message of Republican cartoons that McClellan's election was tantamount to a victory for Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy. It also contained in the background an unusual depiction of racial harmony, as white and black children emerged from a school. Such an image was unthinkable four years earlier.

This issue of *Lincoln Lore* has focused principally on the satirical vein in popular prints of Lincoln. There was a sentimental counterattack, and the next issue will focus on those prints in the exhibit which made Lincoln's image what it is today. In the meantime, if you happen to be in the Washington area, please drop by the Cannon Office Building to view "BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE: Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865."

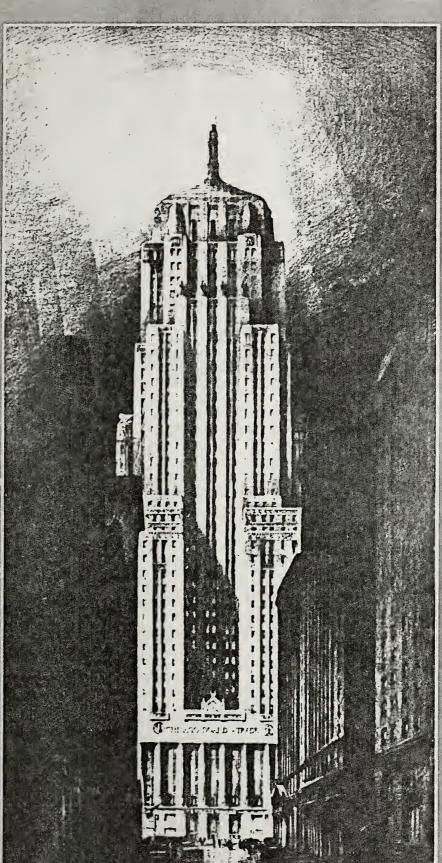


From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 10. This appeal to the white workingman contains an unusual vision of racial harmony.

File Drawer # 9 under Campaign Artifacts Chicago History

FALL 1980



Includes the catalog for the exhibition

Holabird & Roche and Holabird & Root: The First Two Generations

Chicago History

The Magazine of the Chicago Historical Society Fall 1980 VOLUME IX, NUMBER 3

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Looking Backward/inside back cover

Cover: Reproduction of Hugh Ferriss' drawing of the Board of Trade Building, Jackson at LaSalle streets, Chicago, 1929–30, designed by the firm of Holabird & Root. See page 130. CHS, ICHi-00268.

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*

Exhibit

From "THE GREAT AUTUMNAL MADNESS": CAMPAIGNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY, an exhibit of banners, buttons, broadsides, clothing, and other objects on view at the Society through November 30, 1980.



Handpainted in red and blue on cloth, this campaign banner was used in 1860 by a group of Lincoln supporters known as Wide Awakes-hence the watchful eye. Gift of James M. Doubleday, Jr. CHS.

Left Washington, D. C., some time in July, to go home to his mother, in New York. He has not yet reached his mother, who is very anxious about him. He has been seen in Philadelphia, New York City, Hartford, Conn., and at a clam-bake in Rhode Island. He has been heard from at Boston, Portland, Augusta, and Bangor, Maine. From some expressions he has dropped, it is feared that he has become insane upon a subject he calls "Popular Sovereignty."/ He is about five feet nothing in height, and about the same in diameter the other way. He has a red face, short legs, and a large belly. Answers to the name of "Little Giant." Talks a great deal, and very loud; ALWAYS ABOUT HIMSELF. HAS AN IDEA THAT HE IS A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY. Had on, when he left, drab pants, a white vest, and blue coat with brass buttons; the tail is very near the ground.

Any information concerning him will be gratefully received by his afflicted mother.
For further particulars, address

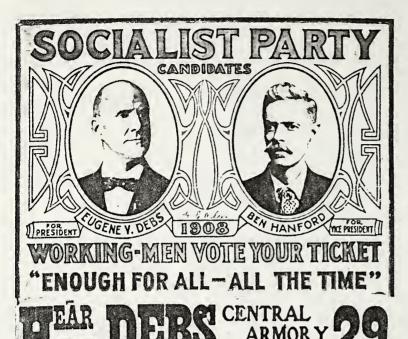
AUGUST BELMONT, New York, WILLIS A. GORMAN, Minnesota. [BULLETIN, No. 1.]

In 1860 Abraham Lincoln's campaign managers issued this mocking poster about his opponent Stephen A. Douglas. From the collections. CHS, ICHi-06441.

MM. MC KINLEY.



In this broadside from his 1896 campaign, William McKinley was billed as "The Advance Agent of Prosperity." From the collections. CHS, 1CHi-06547.



Eugene V. Debs ran for the presidency five times between 1900 and 1920, the last time from prison. From the collections. CHS, ICHi-06478.



The free silver issue, representing populist opposition to big business, surfaced during the 1892, 1896, and 1900 presidential campaigns. From the collections. CHS, ICHI-06473.

Smith, Wallace and Dykstra

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March 11, 1983 (Dictated March 10, 1983)

Dr. Mark Neeley Lincoln Museum 1300 South Clinton Street Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Mark:

Enclosed is a xerox copy of an ephemera item which I just acquired for my collection. You probably have it in the collection but I thought I would pass it along in case you did not. In the item at the bottom, it would appear as if it were printed on a press being pulled through a parade.

Very truly yours,

John Martin Smith

JMS/sg/enc.

Hurrah for Douglas!

"The Douglas" has Come!

DER Old Dan Turket

The graph flour se non is here.
He'll dike the woolies quake with feur;
They can't conceal their deep chartin
To see the masses pouring in.

Chours Get and of the way. Old Abe Lincole.

Lour party sepirits factors sinking;

Berouf of the way, we all current you.

The Little Glant will surely deat you.

Old Abe may keep a grocery store, May do to pull a flat bust out; At splitting rails he may succeed; But he's not one the People need; Chorus—Get out of the way, etc.

The want a statesman, wound and tree.
To guide our country eately through the country eately through the country eately through the country throug

We've here the very man we reck'—
Will see his face and hear him speak
This very blessed day, and then
How glom will look the Lincoln men.
Chorus—Get out of the way, etc.

The weak inventions of the for He'll tear to tatters, and will show, Despite the operator Lincoln flats, Success awaits the Democrats.

CHORUS-Bet out of the way, etc.

His principles are known to all;

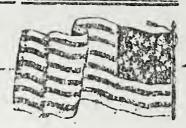
By them be'll stand, or with them fall;
His motto, and that of our came,

11s. "Papal Rights and Eagled Laws."

Charas—Get out of the way, etc.

All honor to "the Douglas," then, And honor to the Douglas men— The gallant Democrats who should The hope and tafety of the land.

Crimina-Get cut of the way, etc.



Red, White, and Blue.

For Poweles the pitte of the nation.
The chairs of the learness and the two points a heart-left ovation.
And the shall our President be tour I oscial in throbbing communion.
Remember the statesman so true.
Who sheltered our glorious Union.
And stands by the Red, White and Blue.

From Tands where the milhons are yearning.
For freedom from tyranny's thain,
Our Pouglas in gludness returning,
Benedds dear Columbia again.
His heart beats with freedom's devotion—
His soul is yet steadfast and true;
"He swears to the Union devotion,"
And stands by the Red, Whik, and Blue.

No factious dissensions shall sever
'The bands that our Washington wrought;
"The Union," unchanging forever,
Is shrined in each patriot's thought.
Our keye and our faith are not hollow;
It strength they were nourished and grew.
The chief we have chosen we'll follow.
And stand by the Red, White, and Blue.

Our voices are joined in communion—
The stars of our flag are above;
Huzza for Douglas and Union!
Huzza for the man that we love!
The old Union ship which he rides in,
Is staunch in her timbers and true,
And now thro' the state she is gliding;
Her flag is the Red, White, and Blue.

Frinted on the Fort Wayne SENTINEL Locamotive Press, in the Procession, at the Grand Tragize Rally, Oct. 2d, 1860.

Drower 9

Another wonderful find!

Part of the thrill that goes with collecting is unearthing previously unknown items, particularly if they serve to fill in gray areas not covered by standard historians. One such example is this sky-blue silk ribbon. Touting the "Lincoln and Hamlin University of Michigan Republican Club," it constitutes a singular 19th century reference to political activity by college students. Most 19th century ribbons citing the activities or support of an organized group mention a trade ("Carpenters for Garfield"), an ethnic group (Fremont ribbons printed in German), or military status ("Boys in Blue for Hayes and Wheeler"). Fairly common is the generic "Young Men's Republican or Democratic Club."

It is a safe assumption that students throughout this period were politically active (a pocket notebook from a University of Rochester student containing Wide-Awake songs, poetry, and Greek lessons just traded hands); however, locating a campaign item containing a college reference is most unusual. Then again, the campaign of 1860 was a most unusual campaign! The DeWitt collection in Hartford contains a fabulous "Charlotte Wide-Awake Girls" campaign ribbon. Where else do you see any reference to involvement by women in mid-19th century major party politics? Perhaps the "politics of inclusion" began with Lincoln in 1860.

This wonderful item surfaced six months ago at a shopping mall's antique show down in Florida.



In the next issue of The Rail Splitter, Richard and Kellie Gutman, noted authors and experts on the imagery of John Wilkes Booth, will share their experience in collecting the photographs of this country's most infamous assassin.





Hamilton Autographers Inc. k 22, New York

66 ASTES

[LINCOLN]. Campaign poster, in colors, entitled "National Republican Chart", about 29" x 35", H. H. Lloyd & Co., New York, 1860. Secured with original strips of wood at top and bottom.

MAGNIFICENT COLORED CAMPAIGN POSTER, PICTURING THE BEARDI ESS LINCOLN. At the top of the poster appears the legend, "Presidential Campaign, 1860", together with a portrait of Washington and various battle scenes. Beneath, in a central panel, are portraits of Lincoln and Hamlin surrounded by log fences, with a large map of the United States, in colors, showing the free and slave areas. Surrounding the portraits and map are smaller portraits of preceding Presidents, together with excerpts from their speeches and outlines of the Republican Party platform. So ornamental and detailed is this handsome poster that it would require several pages to describe it fully.



