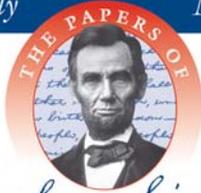


LINCOLN EDITOR

The Quarterly

Newsletter of



April - June 2011

Volume 11 Number 2

Abraham Lincoln

"a great honor and a great labor" A. Lincoln, October 26, 1863

SEARCH COMPLETE AT ARCHIVES II

After five years of intensive research, the Papers of Abraham Lincoln has completed its search for documents at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland (Archives II). Initially expected to take approximately three years to complete, the search discovered far more documents than initially expected.

Archives II houses the records of the State, Treasury, Interior, and Justice Departments for the period of Lincoln's life and presidency. Roy P. Basler and his fellow editors who prepared *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* cited 455 documents to the record groups now housed at Archives II. The staff of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln searched more than one thousand entries in twenty-nine record groups, and located 29,217 documents in the project's scope. These new letters, petitions, orders, and other documents will form the basis

for a much richer understanding of the organization, operation, and impact of Lincoln's administration during one of the most turbulent periods of American history.

Seven different members of the editorial staff and four different support staff worked at Archives II at various times over the past five years to locate and scan these documents. Assistant Editor Ed Bradley was a member of the team that conducted the initial searching in the summer of 2006, and he completed the search of the final series in June of this year.

The project appreciates the assistance of many members of the National Archives staff who helped identify relevant document series, pulled documents for review, assessed conservation needs, facilitated digitization, and aided in the transfer of the completed digital images.

TOM SCHWARTZ LEAVES ALPLM, JOINS EDITORIAL BOARD

After a career of two-and-a-half decades with the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, Illinois State Historian Thomas Schwartz has accepted a position as



Schwartz Greets Guests at Farewell Reception

(from left: Schwartz, Guy Fraker (long-time project supporter), Stacy McDermott, and Carmen Morgan)

Executive Director of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum in West Branch, Iowa. Schwartz came to work for the State of Illinois in 1985 as the Curator of the Lincoln Collection at the Illinois State Historical Library. Schwartz served as the lead historian in the design of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum.

His role was equally dramatic in the development

of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln. As State Historian, Schwartz was the most important champion of transforming the Lincoln Legal Papers into the Papers of Abraham Lincoln in 2001. Without his support, there would be no Papers of Abraham Lincoln project.

Although the project will not have the benefit of his guidance on a regular basis, Schwartz has agreed to continue his service to the Papers of Abraham Lincoln as a member of the Editorial Board. Schwartz will replace Philip S. Paludan, who served on the Editorial Board until his death in 2007. The Editorial Board is made up of historians and documentary editors who offer advice to the director and staff of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln.

The staff members of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln will miss Tom's friendly support and wise counsel, but we all wish him well in his new position leading the Herbert Hoover Library and Museum.

PROJECT AND STAFF NEWS

NHPRC AWARDS SECOND RECORD GRANT

In June, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) announced an award of \$143,446 to the Papers of Abraham Lincoln for the 2012 fiscal year. This award represents level funding with last year's award, which was the largest ever provided to the Papers of Abraham Lincoln by NHPRC. This year's award is a particularly noteworthy vote of confidence in the project, as the NHPRC's budget had been cut by \$1.5 million (17 percent) from the previous year.

This funding from NHPRC is vitally important to the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, as it allows the project to continue progress both on searching at the National Archives in Washington and on editorial work on Series II in Springfield.

PROJECT'S SCANNING VIRTUOSO ILES DEPARTS AND RETURNS

After scanning more than 7,000 documents in the collections at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, Helena Iles resigned in May from her temporary position as a project research assistant. A British citizen, Iles returned to England for her wedding to Stefan Papaioannou, an American historian. The couple will settle in the DC area. Helena has accepted an offer to return to the project, this time scanning documents at the National Archives Building. Her impressive scanning productivity made possible the completion of work at Archives II this summer.



SCANNING CONTINUES

In March, the project received images of two documents from Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia. The project appreciates the assistance of Sonia Yaco in making these images available and of Robert Kennedy for facilitating this request.

In April...

The San Diego History Center in San Diego, California, sent images of two Lincoln documents, including a declaration in Lincoln's hand from the case of *Short and Short v. Blankenship and Miller* (1841). We appreciate the assistance of Jane Kenealy in sending images.

Director Daniel Stowell scanned documents from a repository, a private collector, and a manuscript dealer. The project thanks Colleen McFarland, Archivist at the Mennonite Church USA Archives in Goshen, Indiana; Richard Prentis in North Carolina; and Kenneth Hosley at Grey Parrot Books in Atlanta, Georgia, for their assistance in making these documents available.

The project received images of nineteen documents from the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul. Thank you to Tracey Baker and Duane P. Swanson for their assistance. Macalester College, also in St. Paul, generously provided the funding to allow the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society to prepare the images. Thank you also to Helen B. Warren and President Brian Rosenberg of Macalester College and Philip O. Geier of the Shelby Cullom Davis Charitable Fund for their vital roles in obtaining these images.

Daniel Stowell participated in a symposium at the National Archives at Atlanta, entitled "Civil War: America's Long Struggle." While there, he learned of a pardon signed by Lincoln in the holdings of this regional branch of the National Archives. Staff there scanned the document and sent it to the project. Thanks to Rob Richards and Sara Brewer for their assistance in obtaining these images.

Daniel Stowell, Assistant Editor Daniel Worthington, and Research Assistants Sam Wheeler and Marilyn Mueller made presentations as part of the educational programming for Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum volunteers. Entitled "Document Stories," each panelist discussed a Lincoln document and provided interesting historical context. Stowell talked about a letter President Lincoln wrote to the son of an old Indiana friend asking him to take a position on Gen. McClelland's staff (see "President Lincoln Offers to Hold a Captain's Horse" on page 4). Worthington discussed a letter from a Washington, DC, resident who was worried about threats against Lincoln's life and offered his home as a safe haven away from the Executive Mansion. Sam Wheeler analyzed an 1830 petition signed by 21-year-old Abraham Lincoln. Mueller examined Lincoln's first use of the telegraph with a telegram sent from the 1848 Whig National Convention in Philadelphia.

Sam Wheeler delivered a lecture at Hudson Valley Community College in Troy, New York, entitled "Christianizing Lincoln: Historical Memory and the Religious Views of Abraham Lincoln." He also filmed

an interview with eighth-grader Anish Bhattacharya about the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The interview was part of the Illinois History Fair.

Assistant Editor Sean Scott resigned his position with the project to conduct research for his second book. The project wishes him well in his future endeavors.

In May...

Daniel Stowell, Associate Editor Stacy McDermott, and Daniel Worthington traveled to Chicago to scan documents at several repositories. They completed the scanning of legal documents from Series I at the University of Chicago and located a dozen new legal documents from the cases surrounding the settlement of Robert S. Todd's estate. Todd was Abraham Lincoln's father-in-law. Thanks to Daniel Meyer and Eileen Ielmini for their assistance in completing the digitization of materials at the University of Chicago.

The team also scanned seven documents at the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop. Thank you to Daniel Weinberg and Sylvia Castle for their assistance in making these materials available.

The Chicago History Museum allowed the project to scan an additional letter to Lincoln located since initial scanning there in 2004. In addition, they generously permitted the project to borrow twenty issues of nineteenth-century newspapers to scan on a planetary scanner at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library in Springfield. Thank you to Julie Katz and Lesley Martin at the Chicago History Museum and Carla Smith at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Museum for their assistance in arranging this loan.

Daniel Worthington and Sam Wheeler visited the home of Don and Diana Dean in Streator, Illinois, to scan one document, a bond for costs in the case of *S. C. Davis & Co. v. Gibson*. The project thanks them for their gracious hospitality.

The project received an image from Hawaii of an April 1865 endorsement signed by Abraham Lincoln. Thank you to Alexander Gaston for providing this image of his Lincoln document to our project.

The project received images of a commission and a page from an autograph album from the collections of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington, DC. The project thanks Tracy Elizabeth Robinson for her assistance in providing these images to the Papers of Abraham Lincoln.

The project received images of twenty-five documents from Stanford University in Stanford, California. The project thanks Mattie Taormina at

Stanford for her assistance in providing these images. Thank you also to Steve Rothman for his efforts to facilitate the receipt of these images.

Daniel Stowell was the Featured Speaker at the dedication of the New Berlin Area Veterans Memorial in New Berlin, Illinois, on May 27. He spoke on the relationship between Abraham Lincoln and the common soldier in the Civil War.

The project appreciates generous donations from John Carroll University, the Springfield Civil War Round Table, and Daniel Worthington.

NEW MEMBER ADDED TO THE LINCOLN CORPS OF DISCOVERY

Assistant Editor Christian McWhirter (pictured below with his award) found a new Lincoln document in the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The document



is a letter from Lincoln to William P. Dole in September 1861. In the letter, Lincoln asked a series of questions regarding the appointment of an Indian Agent named John B. Hoffman. Interestingly, the appointment of Hoffman was mired in some controversy concerning Indian mistresses of agents working for the government. Watch for an article about the scandal in an upcoming issue of this newsletter.

LINCOLN DOCUMENT FROM DOWN UNDER

As project staff members seek to locate scattered documents written by or to Abraham Lincoln in repositories and private collections, we continue to seek documents reported to us since our original mail survey. Late in 2003, Robert K. O'Connor QC, an attorney from Perth, Western Australia, contacted us about a Lincoln document he had purchased in the 1990s. We filed the information, along with other responses we were receiving from repositories and private collectors from across the United States. Earlier this year, Daniel Stowell renewed contact with O'Connor after tracking down his new email address through a friends-of-the-library group to which he belongs. He graciously responded and was willing to have a local photography studio make a high-resolution image of his document. He mailed the image to the project's office in Springfield. Although the brief

note is included in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, we now have a high-resolution image of the document.

The note itself reads, “Let private Noble be discharged. A. Lincoln Nov. 6, 1863.” Though the note consists of only ten words, it has the current distinction of being the document farthest away from Papers of Abraham Lincoln offices in Springfield, Illinois, at approximately 10,900 miles.

Robert O’Connor’s assistance points out two major facts about the Papers of Abraham Lincoln. First, we absolutely rely on the kindness of individual owners to let us know about documents and in some cases

provide us with images when we cannot scan those documents ourselves. Second, a significant number of Lincoln documents are currently owned by individuals and institutions outside of the United States. Some of these documents left the nation in the 1860s as diplomatic correspondence to foreign heads of state. Others left more recently as global interest in Abraham Lincoln led individual collectors to purchase Lincoln documents.

The project appreciates the assistance of Robert O’Connor in providing an image of his document, and we encourage all collectors to let us know about their Lincoln documents as well.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN OFFERS TO HOLD A CAPTAIN’S HORSE

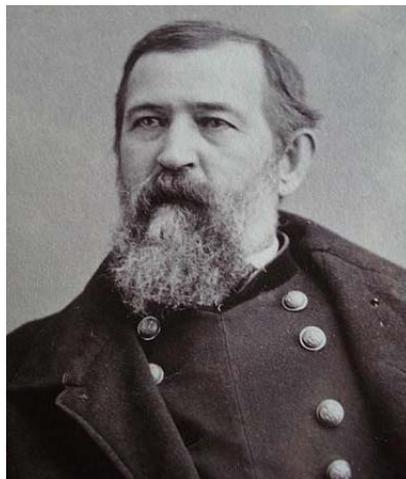
The U.S. Army faced a manpower dilemma during the secession winter of 1860-61. As of January, the regular Army numbered barely 16,000 men. With war looming on the horizon, this small force could not meet the challenge. To remedy the shortfall, Congress in July authorized the creation of a volunteer force of 500,000, as well as the enlargement of the regular Army to 42,000 soldiers. With such an expansion of the military came the necessity of issuing commissions—a process often shaped by political considerations.¹

The story of Thomas G. Pitcher illustrates the desperate need for officers and provides one of the most unusual letters ever written by President Abraham Lincoln. Thomas Gamble Pitcher was born in Rockport, Indiana, on October 23, 1824. Appointed to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1841, he graduated next-to-last in his class four years later. During the conflict with Mexico, Pitcher saw action at Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec. Immediately before the Civil War he served as a captain at Fort Bliss, Texas. Following the fall of Fort Sumter, Pitcher served as the federal mustering officer for Illinois and commandant of Camp Butler, a training ground for Illinois recruits near Springfield.²

In August 1861, Governor Richard Yates and other prominent Illinois Republicans urged Lincoln to commission Pitcher as a brigadier general of Illinois volunteers. A petition from officers of the 18th and 22nd Illinois volunteer infantry regiments to the president requested the same, noting that “he is much better

qualified to perform able service...than many who are Political Generals alone.”³

There was a Lincoln connection to the Pitcher family. John Pitcher, Thomas’s father, was a Connecticut native who studied at Yale before moving to Rockport, Indiana, to practice law. It was there, according to Jesse W. Weik, that a teenage Abraham Lincoln made the acquaintance of John Pitcher, who loaned books to the young man with an intense thirst for knowledge. Pitcher



Thomas G. Pitcher
Image courtesy of findagrave.com

moved to Princeton, Indiana, around 1830, but returned to Rockport in 1844 to hear Lincoln give a speech for Whig presidential candidate Henry Clay. Nearly twenty years later, he appealed to the sixteenth president during the opening months of the Civil War. “I have a son Capt. Thomas G. Pitcher of the 8th Inf. now at Springfield,” he wrote on May 24, 1861. “At Springfield for the first time in his life he has witnessed the tricks of Office hunters, and he is now painfully apprehensive that for the want of a friend at court he will find himself ranked by some party pet taken from the bush. He would like a staff appt. but he will not solicit it. I only ask that in the absence of friends his claims to mere justice may not be overlooked.”⁴

Perhaps recalling the favors bestowed upon him in Rockport by the elder Pitcher, Lincoln offered Thomas Pitcher a position on General John A. McClernand’s staff in August 1861. To the commander-in-chief’s apparent surprise, Pitcher refused the appointment, prompting the following letter currently located in the collections of the New York Public Library.

Abraham Lincoln to Thomas G. Pitcher⁵

Washington DC. Aug. 22, 1861

Captain Thomas G. Pitcher

My dear Sir

I learn with regret that you decline the appointment I have tendered you in Gen. McClelland's staff. Let me beg you to reconsider this. The highest honor now is for every man to take the place assigned him, without question, and play well his part in it. I would, myself hold a horse for you, if it gave the least promise of help to the service. Let me again beg you to reconsider.

Yours truly

A. Lincoln

P. S. Do not let this note be published.

A. L.

This letter is remarkable primarily for its combination of supplication and instruction on duty. Lincoln twice "beg[s]" Pitcher to reconsider, and is willing to tend to the latter's mount if need be. Union General Ormsby Mitchel recalled in a letter to his son that Lincoln, in a meeting with Mitchel and Ohio Governor William Dennison Jr., said that he would "hold [George B.] McClelland's horse, if he will only bring us success" (McClelland had failed to show at the meeting, angering Mitchel and Dennison and prompting the president's observation). Don Fehrenbacher, in his *Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln*, observes that this famous quotation is probably not authentic. Whether Lincoln made this reply or not, in the letter (in his own hand) to Pitcher he offered to hold a mere captain's horse if it would help the Union war effort.⁶

Why did Pitcher decline the appointment? Perhaps he did not wish to serve under McClelland, a prominent Illinois Democrat, former congressman, and

Notes:

¹ Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964), 150-51.

² George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York*, 3 vols. (New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891), 2:248.

³ Richard Yates and others to Abraham Lincoln, 10 August 1861, Allen County Public Library, Ft. Wayne, IN; Petition of Michael K. Lawler and others to Abraham Lincoln, 1861, Box 9, RG 107, Entry 261: Applications for Regular Army Commissions, 1854-1862, National Archives, Washington, DC.

⁴ Jesse W. Weik, *The Real Lincoln: A Portrait* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), 130; *Indiana Herald* (Rockport, IN), 1 November 1844, 4:2; John Pitcher to Abraham Lincoln, 24 May

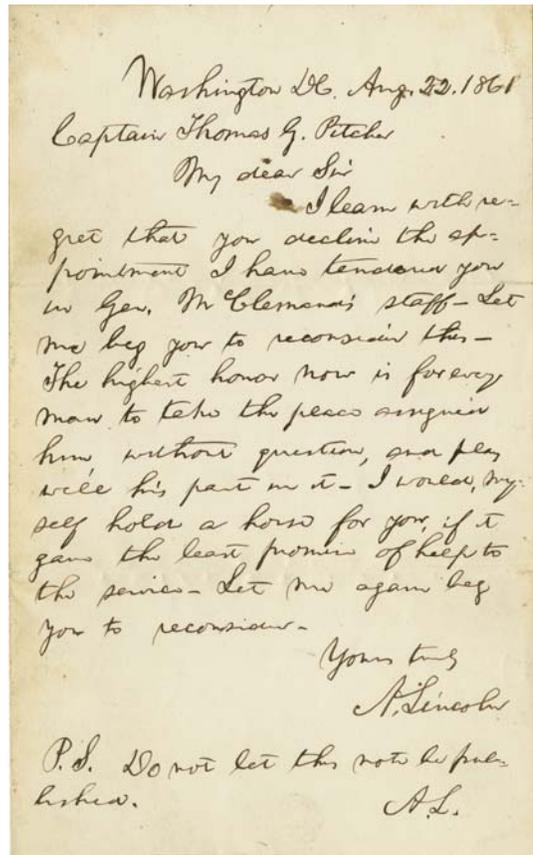


Image courtesy of the New York Public Library

political general of the type his supporters so disdained. Or perhaps a West Pointer like himself did not wish to serve with a volunteer regiment. He did remain in the service, and his gallant conduct and severe wounds at the Battle of Cedar Mountain (August 9, 1862) earned him a brevet promotion to major. Three months later he received a commission as brigadier general of volunteers. Following the war, he served as superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point for four years and as governor of the Soldiers' Home in Washington, DC, for seven years. Thomas G. Pitcher died on October 21, 1895, and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.⁷

Ed Bradley, Assistant Editor

1861, Box 9, Applications for Regular Army Commissions, 1854-1862.

⁵ Abraham Lincoln to Thomas G. Pitcher, 22 August 1861, Abraham Lincoln Papers, New York Public Library, New York.

⁶ Don E. Fehrenbacher and Virginia Fehrenbacher, comps. and eds., *Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 332, 538n.

Mitchel's letter to his son is cited in John G. Nicolay and John M. Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, 10 vols. (New York: Century Company, 1890), 4:469n.

⁷ Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 2:248-49.

Pitcher is not mentioned in the standard biography of McClelland. Richard L. Kiper, *Major General John Alexander McClelland: Politician in Uniform* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1999).

CHISELED IN STONE: WHEN ABRAHAM LINCOLN VISITED TOULON

Chronicling Abraham Lincoln's whereabouts on a day to day basis can be a tricky business. An incorrect turn here, a faulty supposition there, an ambiguous source or two, a few too many leaps in logic, and one has a knotty jumble of historical inaccuracies or half-truths that are difficult to untangle. A case in point: Abraham Lincoln's visit to Toulon, Illinois, during the Senatorial Campaign of 1858.

Lincoln spent considerable time on the stump in 1858, visiting approximately forty towns and cities, traveling 4,350 miles, and delivering sixty-three speeches.¹ A small town thirty miles northwest of Peoria in Stark County, Toulon was originally not on Lincoln's itinerary, and few accounts of the electoral campaign make any reference to Toulon.² In the years and decades following the election, however, residents of Stark County insisted that both Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas spoke in Toulon.

As time passed, few in the county disputed that Lincoln and Douglas were in Toulon: the point of contention was the dates of their respective appearances. Chroniclers of Stark County history offered conflicting dates. Some citizens that were still alive early in the twentieth century remembered the speeches and claimed Douglas visited on October 5 and Lincoln on October 6, while others insisted it was October 26 and 27, respectively. On August 28, 1912, October 5 and 6 literally became etched in Vermont marble on the east and west sides of the Old Settlers' Monument near the Stark County Courthouse.³

Lincoln scholar Paul M. Angle further muddied the waters in 1933 when he placed Lincoln in Toulon on October 8. Angle relied on the reminiscence of Samuel M. Adams, an eighty-nine-year-old resident of Stark County who remembered that Lincoln was in Toulon in the fall of 1858. He could not precisely remember the month or day but believed it was "about the sixth of October."⁴ Having documented Lincoln's presence in Knoxville, Illinois, on October 6,⁵ Angle concluded that

Adams probably "confused the day *after* the Galesburg debate with the day before it."⁶ Despite this debatable presumption and the presence of the monument in Toulon, Angle's date went unchallenged in the Lincoln scholarly community and continued to proliferate in subsequent Lincoln day-by-day chronologies and other reference works.⁷

So, when exactly did Abraham Lincoln speak in Toulon? That question might have remained unanswered, and the dueling dates unresolved, had not Floyd Ham come knocking at the project's door. An enterprising genealogist from Toulon, Mr. Ham visited the Papers of Abraham Lincoln on January 10, 2011, seeking our assistance in resolving the dilemma. He disputed both the October 6 and 8 dates; he was convinced that Lincoln spoke in Toulon on October 27. Mr. Ham's chief piece of contemporary evidence was a letter from Lincoln to Thomas J. Henderson,⁸ a prominent attorney and Republican politician from Stark County, in which Lincoln committed to speaking at an unnamed town on October 27. The letter in question had appeared in the First Supplement to *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, published in 1974.

Abraham Lincoln to Thomas J. Henderson⁹

Springfield, Oct. 18. 1858

Hon: T. J. Henderson:

My dear Sir

I have concluded to speak at the place you named (I forget the name of the place) on the 27th, and you may give notice accordingly.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN

P.S. Write me to Macomb, the name of the place & other particulars.

A. L.

Unfortunately for those who prefer a quick resolution to their mysteries, Lincoln did not directly identify Toulon as his destination on October 27, though Henderson was a resident of Toulon. Further corroboration came at a meeting on June 8, 2011, at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, when Mr. Ham presented his case to Daniel Stowell, director/editor of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln. Joining Mr. Ham at this meeting were Don Schmidt, president of the Stark County Historical Society; Larry Lock,

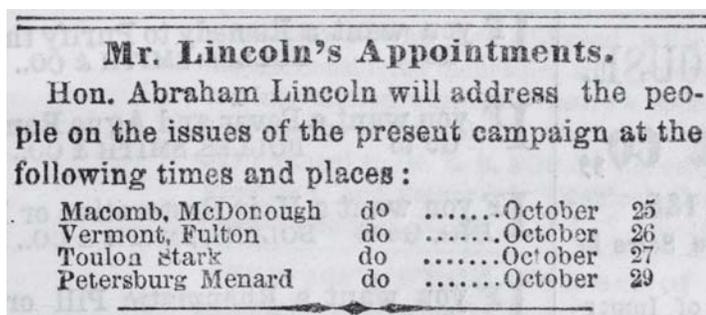


Factual Error Etched on Monument at Stark County Courthouse

president of the Kewanee Historical Society; and Steve Morrison, president of the Henry County Genealogical Society. In September 2009, Mr. Lock discovered a letter from Henderson dated September 23, 1908, and published in the *Kewanee Daily Star-Courier*. Seeking to resolve conflicting reminiscences, Henderson insisted that Lincoln was in Toulon on October 27. In support of his contention, Henderson provided a vivid account of the visit and a transcription of Lincoln’s letter of October 18.¹⁰

One last obstacle stood in the way: Lincoln’s list of appointments published in the September and early October 1858 issues of the *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, *Illinois State Journal*, and other Republican newspapers never had him in Toulon. Most papers had him in Vermont, Fulton County, Illinois, on October 27. Angle and the sesquicentennial edition of *Lincoln Day by Day* followed suit.¹¹

Perhaps relying on these sources, Roy P. Basler, the editor of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, linked Lincoln’s October 18 letter to his speech in Vermont, missing Henderson’s connection to Toulon and Stark County. What Basler, Angle, and apparently some Republican newspaper editors failed to note was that Lincoln changed his list of speaking engagements sometime between October 16 and 19. On October 19, the editors of the *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune* notified readers in Fulton and Stark counties that Lincoln’s appointment at Vermont had been changed from October 27 to October 26, and that Lincoln would be addressing the people of Toulon on October 27. Toulon continued to appear on the list of Lincoln’s appointments as printed in the *Tribune* (pictured below) from October 20 until October 23, when the paper stopped publishing his itinerary. This revised list of appointments, together with Lincoln’s letter and Henderson’s 1908 recollection, offer strong proof that Lincoln was in Toulon on October 27.¹²



Chicago Press and Tribune, 23 October 1858
Image courtesy of the Chicago History Museum

What lessons can be drawn from this episode? The input of local genealogists and history enthusiasts is vital for the staff of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln as stewards of *The Lincoln Log: A Daily Chronology of the Life of Abraham Lincoln* (www.thelincolnlog.org), the successor to *Lincoln Day by Day*. Recollections and reminiscences can be useful in chronicling Lincoln’s whereabouts, but only if corroborated by contemporary letters, diaries, or newspaper accounts. *Lincoln Day by Day* and similar chronologies remain useful starting points, but mistakes crept in over the years, compounded by misjudgments, over-dependence on reminiscences, and a dearth of contemporary sources.

Published over fifty years ago, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* can provide only a small corrective. As the misidentification of Thomas J. Henderson with Vermont instead of Toulon demonstrates, new discoveries can alter the meaning of documents. The Papers of Abraham Lincoln is dedicated to identifying, compiling, and publishing a complete documentary record—a record that is essential for anyone interested in Lincolniana. Our work is indispensable for an authoritative, reliable account of Abraham Lincoln’s life. And in the case of the inscriptions on the Old Settlers’ Monument in Toulon, it just might illustrate how things chiseled in marble are not necessarily set in stone.

Daniel E. Worthington
Assistant Editor

Notes:

¹ David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 214. Not included in this tabulation are the extemporaneous remarks Lincoln made to civic delegations, serenades, and well-wishers encountered on his travels. The *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, the *Illinois State Journal*, and other Republican papers carried a list of Lincoln’s appointments from August to October. See “Mr. Lincoln’s Appointments,” *Illinois State Journal*, 2 September 1858, 3:1, and “Mr. Lincoln’s Appointments,” *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, 8 September 1858, 2:1.

² Paul M. Angle, ed. *The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 322. Angle erroneously places Lincoln at Toulon on October 8.

³ The west side bears the inscription: “In memory of Stephen A. Douglas, who spoke here October 5, 1858;” the east side, “In memory of Abraham Lincoln, who spoke here October 6, 1858.” See “35th Reunion of Early Settlers,” *The Stark County News*, 4 September 1912, 1:6; 4:3-4; see also Elizabeth Jane (Hall) Shallenberger, *Stark County and its Pioneers* (Cambridge, IL: B. W. Seaton, 1876), 193-95; J. Knox Hall, *Stark County Illinois and its People: A Record of Settlement, Organization, Progress and Achievement* (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1916), 1:288-

29. "Lincoln in Kewanee," *Kewanee Daily Star-Courier*, 21 September 1908, 1:6; "Lincoln's Talk Here in Fifties," *Kewanee Daily Star-Courier*, 25 September 1908, 4:4; 5:3-4.

⁴ "Interview with Samuel M. Adams, Toulon, Illinois, August 4, 1927," p. 1; "Affidavit of Samuel M. Adams as to the Address Made by Abraham Lincoln in Stark County, Illinois, August 4, 1927," Abraham Lincoln Collection, Vertical File, Reminiscences-Debates, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, IL.

⁵ *Lincoln Day by Day* expunged Angle's reference to Lincoln in Knoxville on October 6. Earl Schenck Miers, *Lincoln Day by Day: A Chronology, 1809-1865* (Washington: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, 1960), 2:232. Research in contemporary newspapers suggests that Lincoln was indeed in Knoxville on that day. See "Galesburg Debate," *Galesburg Semi-Weekly Democrat*, 9 October 1858, 2:1; "The Excursion to Galesburg," *Peoria Daily Transcript*, 9 October 1858, 1:1.

⁶ Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1854 to March 4, 1861* (Springfield, IL: Abraham Lincoln Association, 1933), 249, n23, 380. Angle explained his reasoning: "Lincoln could have easily taken the Burlington to Kewanee and driven to Toulon in time for the meeting. Returning to Kewanee that same evening, he would have taken the Burlington again, this time to Oquawka Junction for this meeting at Oquawka on Oct. 9."

⁷ Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861*, 249; Miers, *Lincoln Day by Day*, 2:232. In a previous Lincoln chronology, Angle and his collaborators had made no reference to Toulon. See Paul M. Angle, in Collaboration with Logan Hay and George W. Bunn Jr., *Lincoln in the Year 1858: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln During that Year* (Springfield, IL: Lincoln Centennial Association, 1926), 44.

⁸ Thomas J. Henderson, b. 29 November 1824, in Brownsville, TN; d. 6 February 1911, Washington, DC. For detailed biographical

information on Henderson, see "Gen. Thomas J. Henderson Dead," *Bureau County Republican*, 9 February 1911, 1:1-3; 6:4, and *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1776-1996* (Alexandria, VA: CQ Staff Directories Inc., 1997), 1199.

⁹ Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, First Supplement, 1832-1865* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1974), 33. Unfortunately, we only have a printed transcription of this letter. The original has not yet been located.

¹⁰ Israel G. Heaps to the Editor of the Star Courier, 23 September 1908; Thomas J. Henderson to Israel G. Heaps, 23 September 1908, both in "Lincoln's Talk Here in Fifties," *Kewanee Daily Star-Courier*, 25 September 1908, 4:4; 5:3-4.

¹¹ "Mr. Lincoln's Appointments," *Illinois State Journal*, 2 September 1858, 3:1, and "Mr. Lincoln's Appointments," *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, 8 September 1858, 2:1; Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861*, 252; Angle, *Lincoln in the Year 1858*, 47; Miers, *Lincoln Day by Day*, 2:234.

To further muddy the waters, John W. Proctor, chairman of the Fulton County delegation to the Republican State Convention in 1858, whose recollections the editors of the Sesquicentennial Commission volume used to prove that Lincoln was in Vermont on the 27th, actually placed Lincoln in Vermont on October 31.

John W. Proctor to James R. B. Van Cleave, 1 July 1908, Lincoln Centennial Association Records, 1908-1909, Box 1, Letters O-P, Manuscript Division, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, IL.

¹² "Mr. Lincoln in Fulton and Stark Counties," *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, 19 October 1858, 1:1. "Mr. Lincoln's Appointments," *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, 20 August 1858, 1:1; 21 August 1858, 1:1, and 23 August 1858, 1:1

The *Illinois State Journal* continued to leave Toulon off its list of appointments. See "Mr. Lincoln's Appointments," *Illinois State Journal*, 27 October 1858, 2:1.

LINCOLN EDITOR

The Quarterly Newsletter of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln

ISSN 1537-226X
(06-11)

A Project of



Cosponsored by Center for State Policy and Leadership
at University of Illinois Springfield
Abraham Lincoln Association
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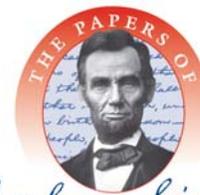
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This project has been supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency, and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.