

*Lincoln and Prohibition*  
*Blazes on a Zigzag Trail*

BY HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

PROHIBITION will work great injury to the cause of temperance. It is a species of intemperance within itself, for it goes beyond the bounds of reason, in that it attempts to control a man's appetite by legislation and in making crimes out of things that are not crimes. A prohibitory law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our Government was founded. I have always been found laboring to protect the weaker classes from the stronger, and I can never give my consent to such a law as you propose to enact. Until my tongue be silenced in death I will continue to fight for the rights of man." Abraham Lincoln.

When, where, why did Lincoln say that? He never did? Very well, then who did?

We find the words first connected with Lincoln's name on handbills passed out in Atlanta, Georgia, in November, 1887, at a special election on the licensing of the sale of liquor in the city of Atlanta and the county of Fulton. At least, I have found nothing earlier.

Be it said here and now that the question is not about Lincoln and liquor, but about the connection between Lincoln and this quotation on prohibition. It is not whether Lincoln was a total abstainer, a constant drinker, was opposed to the sale of liquor, was willing to accept its sale and use as "the will of the people." It is merely and solely what connection he had with the words here quoted.

The election was held on Saturday, the 26th of November, 1887. The General Local Option Liquor Law of Georgia, no. 182 (*Statutes of Georgia*, 1884-85, part I, pp. 121-4) provides that the Ordinary<sup>1</sup> shall order an election on the petition signed by one-tenth of the qualified voters of the county, the Ordinary being responsible for telling the results. After one election, two years at least must pass before another can be called.

The call for this election to be held on Saturday, 26 November, was printed in the *Atlanta Constitution* of 28 October. What seems to be the first meeting in the campaign came on the 1st of November and is reported in the *Constitution* of the 2nd, with John B. Goodwin, chairman of the anti-prohibition forces, taking the stand. In one paragraph of his speech (*Constitution* of the 2nd, p. 5) we find Lincoln brought forward:

Mr. Goodwin had a few words to so [*sic*] say regarding the stand taken on the prohibition question by Mr. Jefferson Davis. As soon as the president of the confederacy was mentioned somebody in the crowd called out: "Three cheers for Jeff Davis," and they were given lustily, one old veteran throwing his hat up against the ceiling. The speaker explained how Mr. Davis had defined his views touching sumptuary laws and had taken an unequivocal stand against prohibition as running counter to the genius of the Constitution and menacing the inalienable rights of every freeman. Some of the colored men seemed impatient at this part of the speech and one of them said something about Jeff Davis trying to keep them in bondage. "Yes," remarked Mr. Goodwin, "but now that he is advocating your freedom, why should you not follow his steps." ("We will, we will," cried a dozen negroes.) Then let me tell you about another great man, one of the best and greatest this country has ever produced, the man that broke the bonds that held you in slavery—Abraham Lincoln. (Vociferous applause.) He and Jefferson Davis stood on precisely the same platform with respect to this question. They believed in freedom and opposed the attempt to make people moral by law."

<sup>1</sup>The Georgia "Ordinary" is much the same as the "probate judge" or "surrogate" in other States.

This is the only mention of Lincoln in the speech of the 1st of November as reported on the 2nd. On the 8th, however, we find what is probably a revised text printed in full, where both Davis and Lincoln are brought out thus:

I know that some effort has been made in certain sources to drive the colored people from the position of anti-prohibition, and an effort made to get up an alarm and to drive you away because Mr. Jefferson Davis is opposed to it. But if he opposed liberty once, but [*sic*] if he favors it now stand by him. (Applause. Cries of "Hurrah for Jeff Davis.") Mr. Davis stands upon the same platform with another of the greatest men this country ever produced—the great emancipator of your race, Abraham Lincoln. (Applause. A voice: "Three cheers for Lincoln.") Indeed, my friends, the great men of the republic—the men who have gone down in history as the founders of this country—stand upon the same platform that Davis and Lincoln stood upon in this question.

On the 3rd we hear how the "colored orator," W. A. Pledger, held his audience on the evening before (*Constitution*, p. 3):

The great and noble emancipator of the race, Abraham Lincoln, was an anti-prohibitionist. (Wild applause.) So am I, and ever will be. (Yells of "Me, too: I am one.") George Washington was an anti-prohibitionist in his day. So were Webster, Clay, Calhoun and all those great men whose fame added luster to this country and whose princely heritage of liberty we now enjoy.

So far the liquor side seems to have the floor. No question seems to have been raised as to the authority for joining Lincoln and Davis. No query as to where this information came from. If the "colored orator" and Colonel Goodwin said the founders of the Republic were all against prohibition, enough said! To ask where and when and how they showed their position in this matter is surely nothing but foolish faultfinding! Why bother about asking for authority!

However, at this stage the other side begins to talk about Lincoln too. On 14 November, six days after the second reference to Lincoln by Goodwin, we hear from Bishop

Turner, the Methodist Negro, who speaks thus according to the newspaper of the 15th (p. 1, 5):

It is claimed that Lincoln was an anti. He used to sell liquor, and sold it to Stephen A. Douglas. But in 1846 or 1847 he joined the temperance army and remained in it to his death. With his own hand during the war he wrote passes for temperance speakers to go into the camps. What did he say to a colored delegation? "Tell your people that they now are free, and if they let liquor alone and take care of their earnings there is a future for them." The logic of this is that if they did not, they had no future.

Words, words, aplenty so far, but nothing more than the speaker's words, nothing to bolster his story, words, words, words. Now comes a picture to give life to the scene. On 25 November, close to the end of the campaign, Yellowstone Kit appears. So far, his place in community life had been set forth by his advertisement of "Yellowstone Kit's Surgical and Medical Institute, 72 Wheat St., Atlanta, Ga. for the treatment of all diseases, rheumatism, catarrh, Paralysis, all Blood Diseases . . . \$1,000 for any case undertaken which is not cured." (*Constitution*, Saturday, 5 November 1887, p. 8.)

On the 25th of November he faced a group of anti-prohibitionists and "a Crowd packed with negro men," to whom he gave this logical plea:

He then reviewed to his audience a careful, concise history of the race, and held up a picture of the devil—on a placard issued by the prohibitionist—in one hand one of Abraham Lincoln—issued by the anti—in the other—asked: "Now, my kind people, which will you take? The devil issued by the prohis [*sic*], or Abe Lincoln, the man who gave you your liberty?" "Lincoln, God bless him," yelled the crowd. [*Constitution*, 26 November, pp. 1, 3.]

Hitherto Lincoln has been a name, nothing more. We now have his "picture," distributed by the "wets." Nothing to tell us which portrait was given, nothing to tell whether or not the "picture" stood alone or bore a message with it.

On that same evening we get more news about a "picture," this time with description enough for identification, as we hear Dr. W. H. Felton, "the noted statesman from Bartow county," tell how and where he stands on the question now so soon to be decided. He spoke thus, as recorded in the same issue of the *Constitution* as carried Yellowstone Kit's appeal:

I have on my desk a miserable cartoon, representing Abraham Lincoln striking off the shackles of freedmen, and just below appears language [*sic*] in quotation marks as if used by Lincoln against prohibition.

I have reliable authority for stating that these words are a declaration of the Liquor Dealers' Association of the United States. Here is what Abraham Lincoln did say:

"And when the victory shall be complete, when there shall be neither a slave or a drunkard on the earth, how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and cradle of both these revolutions that shall have ended in that victory. How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species."

This cartoon is a miserable fraud to deceive the ignorant and unsuspecting. Go to the ballot box and enter your protest against this miserable fraud. (Cries of "that's what we will do.") A party guilty of such a fraud would re-enslave you tomorrow.

Who can say what weight these two references to Lincoln could have carried in the election voting? All we know is that on the next day the sale of liquor was voted, 5,189 for it, 4,061 against, a plurality of 1,128. "Not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church-door, but 'tis enough, 'twill serve," to quote Mercutio. A change of 565 would have swung the result the other way.

In the heat of the campaign with words of fire pouring from the speaker's platform one dare scarcely demand that the speaker fix his quotations or assertions by chapter and verse. It's a pity we have scarcely enough detail as to the artist painting the portrait of Lucifer or of Lincoln. It's

some comfort to find that Dr. Felton did quote accurately from Lincoln's speech on the 22nd of February, 1842, before the Washingtonian Society of Springfield, Illinois.<sup>2</sup>

I have not been so fortunate in running down Dr. Felton's "reliable authority" that he said he had "for stating that these words are a declaration of the Liquor Dealers' Association of the United States."<sup>3</sup>

It may be well to say here that in the 1842 speech we find no "prohibition" or "prohibitory." The plea is essentially for temperance. However, in fairness we must not overlook the paragraph with "Whether or not the world would be vastly benefited by a total banishment from it of all intoxicating drinks seems not now an open question. Three-fourths of mankind confess the affirmative with their tongues, and I believe all the rest acknowledge it in their hearts."

It certainly is plain that the concept of total prohibition was not unknown to the 33-year-old Lincoln. Evidence is equally clear that the phrase was not common then, if indeed in use at all. "Banishment," not "prohibition."

Another puzzle in this connection is why Lincoln, the floor leader of his party in the Illinois House, just a little before this 1842 address, should in December, 1840, have moved to table an amendment that would have fixed total prohibition on Illinois; why any conclusion can be drawn from this as to Lincoln's leading the anti-prohibition forces as a matter of principle, or whether as leader he felt then that on that particular day there was no chance to carry action in favor, he hoping then to leave the way open for reconsideration at a more favorable time.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolay and Hay's *Complete Works*, I, 57-64.

<sup>3</sup> *My Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, Atlanta, 1911, gives a detailed picture of the part played by Dr. Felton in the field of politics. It is written by his widow, is a volume of 680 pages, with something like 270,000 words. It has no index, but careful leafing of it page by page brings to light nothing about this election or this speech by Dr. Felton. In view of Mr. Felton's life-long support of the temperance cause this omission seems strange; it may probably explain, however, why Dr. Felton did speak at such a time and place as this.

One more failure must be noted here, namely the location of one of these handbills. I have tried diligently (and I hope, intelligently) to find one in any of the libraries or collections one would turn to naturally, such as Atlanta, the Library of Congress, Springfield, Chicago, New York, Worcester, Boston, Philadelphia, the Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, or the Lincoln National Life Foundation at Fort Wayne, Indiana, Fisk University, others too, not to drag the list on to weary length. Individual collectors or students of Lincolnlore report no copy held or, in several cases, none known. Mr. Frederick Meserve and his daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Meserve Kunhard, Mr. Alfred Whitall Stern, Professor J. G. Randall, Mr. Carl Sandburg, Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn were patient and kindly but could help not at all. Letters to Mr. Alexander Woldman, the Moorland Foundation at Howard University, Mr. Henry P. Slaughter were neither answered nor returned.

As to help from "the Liquor Dealers' Association of the United States," trying to trace it led to a stimulating, merry, but fruitless, chase, to the Wine and Spirits Wholesalers of America, Inc., to the Distilled Spirits Institute of Georgia, to the Repeal Associates in Washington, to dozens of helpless victims in Georgia, all kind enough to reply but none with knowledge on this point nor with fruitful suggestions as to whither else to turn.

Light, however, physically as well as metaphorically, comes from the East. This time we get a flicker that leads to real advance. Thanks to Mr. David C. Mearns and his staff in the Manuscripts Division in the Library of Congress, we hear of a folder in the Nicolay-Hay papers holding a letter written on the 23rd of December, 1887, to the Lincoln editors by Mr. A. H. Hamilton, editor and proprietor of the *Courier* of Ottumwa, Iowa. He encloses an editorial from his newspaper quoting in full an editorial in the *Western*

*Christian Advocate* of Cincinnati dated the 7th of December, 1887, just eleven days after the Atlanta election. Here we have a detailed description of a handbill sent to the *Advocate* from Atlanta as "one of the dodgers" circulated in the recent election. It is headed "A trick too mean for characterization," and goes on to say that "President Thirkield, of Gammon School of Theology, has sent us one of the dodgers circulated by the anti-prohibitionists of Atlanta to induce Negroes to vote in favor of the saloon. At the top of it, in bold black letters are the words: 'For Liberty! Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation!' Below these strong headlines is a picture of Lincoln with a Negro kneeling before him, while the wife stands near with one child clinging to her clothes and a babe in her arms. With his left hand Mr. Lincoln holds the kneeling Negro's right hand, while with the first finger of his own uplifted right hand the martyr President points to the words printed above the picture. On the ground lie broken manacles and chains, to suggest the great act of emancipation. Below the picture is the following in quotation marks." Then follows the quotation as set forth at the beginning of this paper. Next: "there is no statement that Mr. Lincoln ever uttered these words, but they are so printed as to make the impression that he did. Then follows this exhortation printed in about this form: 'Colored voter, he appeals to you to protect the liberty he has bestowed upon you. Will you go back on his advice? Look to your rights! Read and Act! Vote for the Sale!'"

The editorial condemns the affair as "Another illustration of the character of our foe. He is as heartless as granite, and as unscrupulous and cunning as Satan," well over two hundred words.

The *Advocate* makes the first mention of the Lincoln picture outside of Atlanta, but the entire quotation was printed on the 2nd of December, five days earlier, by *The*



*Democrat* of Ottumwa, leaded, in its editorial column. This led to denouncement of it by the *Ottumwa Courier* on the 14th of December (the clipping sent by Hamilton on the 23rd to Nicolay and Hay), and all in all we see here one of the newspaper tourneys so characteristic of the time. *The Democrat* insisted that Lincoln wrote those very words, the *Courier* scorched that on the 14th. On the 21st *The Democrat* snapped back that it stood by its guns, supported by the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, who told *The Democrat* that he did not know who "prepared the circulars for use in our local election, but have never before heard the authenticity of the quotation by Lincoln questioned. It is an extract from a speech made by Lincoln in Faneuil Hall, Boston, at a temperance meeting some time before his election to the presidency, but the exact date I am unable to give."

The sweet comment by *The Democrat* suggested that "The *Courier* now has the floor to read Lincoln out of the republican party because he dared hold and give utterance to such sentiments. By the time it sufficiently digests the above, we have some other material on the same subject if it is found to be necessary. So far it would seem that *The Democrat* in completing the 'job of rascality in plain terms' confined itself strictly to the truth, while the *Courier* allowed its prejudices to so warp its good sense that it is placed in a most ridiculous position."

It took the *Courier* no time at all to swing back, on this same 21st of December with all the joy and lust of combat. "Mr. Lincoln," it said, "never made a speech at a temperance meeting in Boston, as Mr. Howell affirms. February 27, 1860, he made his celebrated Cooper Institute speech in New York City, and from there went into New England, and made some speeches, but in none of them alluding to the temperance question which then the public gave no

attention to.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Howell is a silly falsifier to talk about Lincoln going about addressing temperance meetings at the time when the Kansas trouble was rife and rebellion in embryo. This was the only time Lincoln ever visited New England before he became President. *The Democrat* cannot remember what journal it clipped from, nor can Howell tell what date Lincoln delivered the speech. We do not pretend to say that Lincoln was a prohibitionist: in the time preceding his election to the Presidency there were weightier subjects occupying the public mind, but for any man to suppose that Lincoln ever said prohibition struck at the very principles upon which our government was founded; that he had always been found protecting the weaker class and could not therefore give his consent to a prohibitory law, as the said extracts [*sic*] declares he did say—is for such men as the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* and the editor of *The Democrat* to suppose they must know to be false. We will give this some further attention at another time.”

No record has come down to us about “further attention at another time” by the *Courier* or about the “some other material on the same subject” *The Democrat* held in reserve.

The Nicolay-Hay folder in the Library of Congress shows that Hamilton on the 21st of December had sent clippings to James Harlan, ex-Senator from Iowa, an intimate friend of Lincoln, father of the wife of Robert Todd Lincoln, political figure of some importance in the sixties and later. Harlan acknowledged Hamilton’s letter from Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, on the 22nd of December, saying “I concur with you in the conviction that President Lincoln never gave utterance to the speech attributed to him in the article

<sup>4</sup> Thanks to Dr. Shipton and the American Antiquarian Society staff I can report that Worcester and Boston newspapers at the time carried no stories about temperance speeches by Lincoln then, indeed made no mention of his trip. There is no record at Faneuil Hall as to temperance meetings then, or about Lincoln’s greeting of any audience for any purpose.

you send me," and suggesting the appeal to Nicolay and Hay.

Nicolay wrote to Hamilton on 30 December:

"I have the honor to state that we have a catalogue of all Mr. Lincoln's state papers, speeches, letters, writings or utterances of any kind, as complete as it has been possible to make it, after long years of diligent search and comparison; and we find no record in it that Mr. Lincoln made a speech on the temperance question 'in Faneuil Hall, Boston, at a temperance meeting sometime before his election to the Presidency.'

"We do not believe that in the short tour of speech making in New England about the month of March, 1860, he discussed the question of prohibition in any form whatever. So far as we know he never made a speech containing the passage quoted in your letter [of December 23 enclosing the clipping from the *Courier*] of Dec. 14, 1887."

Hoping to find more about the handbill and its fate, about the whole quotation, I wrote to the *Courier* and to the *Western Christian Advocate* asking if the records on hand today have anything to say. Accepting the odds as a thousand to one against, it was not surprising to get a kindly but "sorry we can not help" reply, the *Courier* telling that Major Hamilton had lived in Ottumwa until his death in 1920, had sold the paper in 1890, his papers and correspondence having left the office when he did. Throughout his whole life he "was an ardent dry . . . Inquiry of local sources, including the remaining distant relatives of Major Hamilton, reveals none of his papers or other prohibition documents are in Ottumwa."

Letters to Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta and to Clark College in Atlanta brought no reply from Gammon, but word from Clark that its records give no help. This inquiry evidently should have started in 1887.

Interest in the quotation swings now from the Mississippi valley to the Atlantic seaboard. New York followed Cincinnati and Ottumwa, *The National Temperance Advocate* of New York printed on page 5 of its issue for January, 1888, a "Fac-Simile of Poster circulated in Atlanta," the text that went with it offering "the picture and reading matter photographed from the original." The picture on the handbill is evidently engraved from the well known Currier and Ives print. The description given by the *Western Christian Advocate*, and from it quoted by Major Hamilton, is so accurate as to call for noting more here than mention. It may be said, however, that the original Currier and Ives print—one edition, at least—shows but two links in the chain, *The Advocate* picture showing seven.

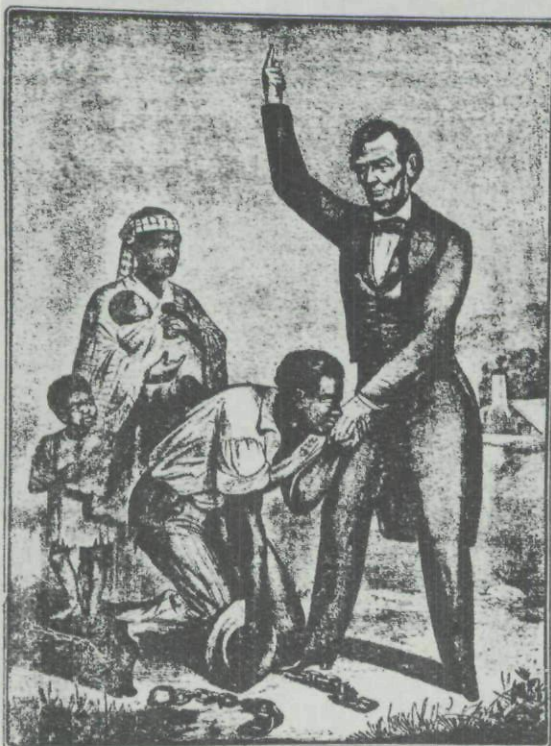
Another New York Temperance newspaper, *The Voice*, reproduced the cut in its issue of 19 January, 1888, crediting *The Advocate* "for the cut and the circular." The cut was evidently made from a line drawing of the other print, not a photographic reproduction. In general it follows *The Advocate* closely, but omits the landscape background, with other changes of no essential character or importance. The text of the comment by *The Voice* denounces the effort, denies the authenticity of the quotation, insists that Lincoln "was a total abstainer, if not a Prohibitionist."

We now have two pictures said to be reproductions of one of the handbills circulated at the November election. *The Advocate* cut was "photographed from the original." *The Voice* credits *The Advocate* for "the cut and the circular." The former differs from the—or at least one of the—Currier and Ives prints now extant. Of the two cuts the second is evidently, as said before, a reproduction of a line drawing that follows the original print but differs in a few slight and unimportant details. These two seem to be the nearest we can come to the Atlanta original.

[Fac-Simile of Poster circulated in Atlanta.]

# FOR LIBERTY!

## Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation!



Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. It is a species of intemperance within itself, for it goes beyond the bounds of reason, in that it attempts to control a man's appetite by legislation and in making crimes out of things that are not crimes. A prohibitory law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our Government was founded. I have always been found laboring to protect the weaker classes from the stronger, and I can never give my consent to such a law as you propose to enact. Until my tongue be silenced in death I will continue to fight for the rights of man."

**Colored voter, he appeals to you to protect the liberty  
he has bestowed upon you. Will you go  
back on his advice**

**LOOK TO YOUR RIGHTS! READ AND ACT!  
VOTE FOR THE SALE!**

### AN INFAMOUS WHISKEY FORGERY.

The anti-prohibitionists of Atlanta sent out a cartoon among the colored people of the city just before the election, representing Abraham Lincoln striking off the shackles from the slave, and giving a pretended extract from one of his addresses, warning them against prohibition. We give a facsimile of the picture and reading-matter, photographed from the original.

It is needless to say to our readers that the so-called "advice" of Lincoln was a base forgery, and that he never uttered any such sentiment. On the contrary, he was a consistent total abstainer and an avowed enemy of the saloon. This only shows the infamous nature of the traffic, and the desperate measures its minions resort to in order to defeat the onward march of prohibition. The negroes honor and revere the very name of Lincoln. His sentiments are law and gospel to them. Surely he who was the instrument in God's hands of delivering them from the bondage of slavery, would not lead them into another bondage worse than death. They had no means to disprove the pretended "advice," and almost in a mass they worked and voted against prohibition, which would "take away their liberties." But Mr. Lincoln was not against prohibition. He was the outspoken friend of temperance. He looked forward to the day when there should not be a dram-shop in the land. Here is an extract from one of his addresses:

"Of our political revolution of 1776 we are justly proud. It has given us a degree of political freedom far exceeding that of any other nation of the earth. In it the world has found a solution of the long-mooted problem as to the capability of man to govern himself. In it was the germ which has vegetated, and still is to grow and expand into universal liberty of mankind.

"Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery unsummed, a greater tyrant deposed; in it, more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it, no orphans starving, no widows weeping; by it, none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest—even the dram-maker and dram-seller will have glided into other occupations so gradually as never to have felt the change, and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness. And what a noble ally this to the cause of political freedom! With such an aid its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition the sorrow-queening draughts of perfect liberty. Happy day, when, all appetites controlled, all passions subdued, all matter subjected, mind, all-comparable mind, shall live and move the monarch of the world! Glorious consummation! Hail, fall of fury! Reign of reason, all hail!

"And when the victory shall be complete—when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth—how great the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions that shall have ended in that victory! How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species!

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

We sincerely wish that the above extract could be placed in the hands of every colored voter of the land that they might see the deceit and treachery of their liquor leaders. We appeal to them in the name of Abraham Lincoln, who was always true to the cause of right and freedom, never again to be so deceived. Abraham Lincoln desired their freedom from the drink curse and vice of every form as earnestly as from the slave thralldom, and, could he have spoken in the Atlanta campaign, would have thundered anathemas against legalizing liquor-selling and drink-dealing.

The extract above, and more of the same speech, is published in handbill tract form, regular Handbill No. 120, entitled "Abraham Lincoln on Temperance," and should be widely circulated among the freedmen of the South. Price is \$1.30 per 1,000 by mail.

terities and dreadful fruits of the liquor traffic; and all legislation that fostered, protected, and perpetuated this traffic is legislative turpitude, and so on in violation of the legislator's oath. "But he proceeded to say, "I am convinced by the proofs and arguments of the lecturer that such is the fact, and it is now clear to my mind that in all this business our permissive legislation is in direct violation of the principles of our Federal and State Constitutions. I delivered the lecture in Indianapolis, from which city Mr. Ritter writes, and the press of that city was pleased to say: "The lecture was a revelation to most of the listeners. . . . He completely amazed the large audience with the freshness of his arguments and the logic of his propositions." Judge Wilson Morrow, of Indianapolis, said: "It was an absolutely unanswerable argument and completely convincing."

These voluntary testimonies show the opinion entertained by competent critics on listening to the argument. W. H. BOGGS, D.D. NEW YORK CITY, JAN. 7.

THAT W. C. T. U. "PERSONALITIES IN POLITICS" Resolution.

Editor The Voice.—The late National Convention at Chicago unanimously approved a resolution adopted by the W. C. T. U. protesting against "personalities in politics," taking it for granted that the Prohibition party is a political moral one. Is not the resolution, to say the least, misleading? Who can honestly or fairly pollinate or moralize on questions (some raised from an impersonal standpoint) Do not persons in all instances represent, or undertake to represent, principles? Had a direct reference been made to "personalities in politics," as exemplified in the present and past history of the old liquor parties, with the recommendation, that the Prohibition party put itself on a higher plane, both politically and morally, then the resolution would have given healthy, sensible advice to Prohibitionists, and would have also administered a stinging rebuke to our unscrupulous financial advertisers. HORACE B. DURRANCE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Turn the Rummy's Logic on Himself.

Editor The Voice.—Theodore Johnson would say, in reply to Wayland Johnson of Bolton, Pa., that he thinks the colored voters of the South should be taken at the vulnerable point he presents. Say to them, the object of Prohibition is to prohibit the wealthy from rearing their children. That Prohibition puts the colored man with an injury on the same level with the white man in the struggle for education—that selling his vote is the first step toward selling his body and his children into a worse slavery which will never receive his and his Turn the rummy's logic squarely upon them in all his tirades on the slavery idea. T. M. J. FITZPATRICK, PA.

A Suggestion to the Preachers—Why Not?

Editor The Voice.—Let the preachers set aside the last Sunday in May, just before the National Conventions, and the last Sunday in October, just before the Presidential election, to thunder from their pulpits all over the land on the awful crime of the liquor traffic. THOMASANDA, N.Y.

Respectfully Referred to the "Bloody Shirt" Brigade.

Editor The Voice.—I am a Prohibitionist and an old Union soldier down here in "Dixie," with the people against whom I once fought, but who I now love with all my heart. DAVID L. SCHNEIDER, RALEIGH, N. C.

For "Skim Milk," a Little More, You Might Borrow "The Tribune."

Editor The Voice.—I don't like Tax Voke. I cannot skip through it and get the cream at a lick as I do most papers. The sustained interest induces my head ache. LOWELLVILLE, O. A. P. HUTCHINSON.

We Had a Greeley Then.

Editor The Voice.—Your paper took the same place in the political world that The Tribune did in '61 and '63. A. I. HASKELL, LAKE PLEASANT, PA.

SHOTS AT RUM AND RUM'S ALLIES.

Fired by "Voice" Correspondents in All Respective Headquarters. "THE saloon—the devil's workshop."—Henry Price, Kenton, O. "RAISIN the saloons, and Sunday will take care of itself."—Wm. C. Towner, Pittsria, Ill. "THE making of laws does not complete the work of Prohibition."—John R. Anderson, New York. "I REGARD the Prohibition movement as next in importance to the achievement of Independence."—F. B. Croxon, Stratton, Va.

AN INFAMOUS RUM FORGEY.

FAC-SIMILE OF A CIRCULAR AND CUT USED IN ATLANTA TO FRIGHTEN THE NEGROES INTO VOTING AGAINST PROHIBITION.

The following circular and cut is a fac-simile of the infamous forgery distributed among the colored voters of Atlanta just previously to the late election in that city, and which caused large numbers of the more ignorant among them to cast their votes against Prohibition. Every effort was made, as the circular plainly indicates, to lead the negroes to believe that a prohibitory law is an entering wedge to force them back to bondage. As to the words of the circular pretended to have been uttered by President Lincoln, not a particle of proof has been advanced to show their authenticity. On the contrary, it is well known that President Lincoln was a total abstainer, if not a Prohibitionist. Vice-President Henry Wilson, in the Centennial Temperance volume, page 890-1, describes Mr. Lincoln's refusal to receive a present of champagne from his neighbors to treat the committee which came to inform him of his nomination to the Presidency, saying, "It won't do here," and again his refusing wine at Cincinnati, on his way to take the reins of Government, with the words, "For 30 years I have been a temperance man, and I am too old to change." While President, in 1863, he signed an act banishing the spirit ration from all ships of war, and in an address before the Sons of Temperance, in Washington, Sept. 29, 1863, he says: "The reasonable man of the world has long since agreed that intemperance is one of the greatest of all evils among mankind," and that its prevention is the duty of every citizen.

For the cut and circular we are indebted to The National Temperance Advocate.

FOR LIBERTY! Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation!



"Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. It is a species of intemperance within itself, for it goes beyond the bounds of reason, in that it attempts to control a man's appetite by legislation and in making crimes out of things that are not crimes. A prohibitory law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our Government was founded. I have always been found laboring to protect the weaker classes from the stronger, and I can never give my consent to such a law as you propose to enact. Until my tongue be silenced in death I will continue to fight for the rights of man."

Colored voter, he appeals to you to protect the liberty he has bestowed upon you. Will you go back on his advice? LOOK TO YOUR RIGHTS! READ AND ACT! VOTE FOR THE SALE!

DIVIDEND NOTICE.

31 Per Cent. Dividend.

Notice is hereby given to the Members of the Mutual Reserve Fund Life Association, 1 Office, Fidelity Building, 28 Park Row, New York, the amount of Dividend on the Credit of the Month of January 1888 equals a Dividend of Thirty-one per cent, upon the Reserve Accumulated during the past five years, to wit: from 1882 to 1887 inclusive, said amount applicable and payable as stated in each Certificate of Membership. The same to appear and dividend has been deposited with Messrs. J. & J. Bond & Co., Bankers, 100 Broadway, New York, and will be paid to the Members of the Mutual Reserve Fund Life Association hereafter provided in full on or before the 15th day of February 1888, at the option of the Members, to wit: One Million Four Hundred Thousand Dollars, and during the same period (1882) has accrued its living interest, by reducing the premium rates below the rate usually charged under the old system of Life Insurance, and thereby approximately Three Millions of Dollars, of which amount an additional Dividend more than Fifty per cent of the entire Dividend was paid by our members.

Our actual Cash profit for 1887 exceeding \$1,000,000 has accrued its living interest, by reducing the premium rates below the rate usually charged under the old system of Life Insurance, and thereby approximately Three Millions of Dollars, of which amount an additional Dividend more than Fifty per cent of the entire Dividend was paid by our members.

OFFICIAL EXAMINATION.

After a most careful and thorough official examination within the past thirty days, the Association has received the unqualified endorsement by three Progressive State Insurance Regulators, to wit: By Hon. Philip C. Thompson, Commissioner of the State of Wisconsin; Hon. Chas. C. Johnson, Insurance Commissioner of the State of Minnesota; and Hon. Edwin W. Smith, Insurance Commissioner of the State of Illinois. In view of these Insurance Commissioners have made a thorough personal examination of the affairs of the Association in the month of November and December, 1887, and after said examination, endorsed the Mutual Reserve Fund Life Association as worthy of the confidence of its members and of the public.

E. B. HARPER, President

Mutual Reserve Fund Life Association, Fidelity Building, 28 Park Row, New York. Permanent LIFE INSURANCE at low rates, ONE HALF THE USUAL RATES. In other words, \$200,000 ASSETS is furnished for usual RATES of \$100,000, and \$100,000 ASSETS for usual RATES of \$200,000. LEVEL PREMIUM system for LIFE. ADMISSION FREE and ONE YEARLY ANNUAL DEPOSIT FOR LIFE INSURANCE. For \$1000 LIFE INSURANCE, \$1000 ASSETS are furnished. Annual dues after the first year, \$2 for each \$1000.

Dr. B. Cross, of the firm of B. Cross & Co., New York, N.Y., writes: "I have used Piso's Catarrh Remedy for my Catarrh of the Bladder, and I can say that it has cured me in all cases of Catarrh of the Bladder, and I can say that it is the best medicine I have ever used."

Piso's Catarrh Remedy. FOR CONSUMPTION. BEST CURE. Sold Everywhere.

HAVE YOU CATARRH? ARE YOU GOING INTO CONSUMPTION? Do You Have Asthma? Piso's Catarrh Remedy. It is the best medicine for Catarrh of the Bladder, and it is the best medicine for Asthma.

In this same January of 1888 we find one more notice in New York City, *The Independent* noting on the 19th the publication in *The Advocate*. It points out that *The Advocate* shows no support for its declaration that the quotation is a forgery. "It simply makes denial and gives some extracts from one of Mr. Lincoln's addresses, in which he speaks of the slavery of temperance as viler than African slavery. The language is inconsistent with Lincoln's attitude, but one must not forget that it is possible he may at some time have found occasion for some such remark, possible though improbable. To settle the point *The Independent* wrote to John Hay, who replied that 'it is hard to assert or prove an exhaustive negative—but neither Mr. Nicolay nor I have ever come across this passage in Mr. Lincoln's Works.' "

*The Independent's* comment is that "this letter gives very strong presumptive proof that the charge of forgery is true. The forgery, if forgery it was, was of the basest character; and no effort should be spared to make the matter a moral certainty, and to lay the crime at the door of the Saloon, where so many other crimes have been laid awaiting a day of judgment."

Once *The Voice* in 1888 struck the note based on the Atlanta election it felt evidently that repetition would strengthen rather than weaken its position. Following the attack in 1888, it sang again next year, the issue of 15 August, 1889, carrying an editorial on "Lincoln as a Temperance Man." As we are not concerned with Lincoln in respect to "temperance," the editorial would at first sight seem out of our scope. Not so, however, for the "flaming circular" of Atlanta serves as introduction for the story that "the shameful Atlanta tactics have been resorted to in the Northern Amendment campaign. A Dakota correspondent sends us the following which he says he clipped from the Sioux Falls *Leader*, credited to Abraham Lincoln." Then

follows our "Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance . . . fight for the rights of man."

*The Voice* then quotes Nicolay writing from Siasconset, Massachusetts, 29 July, 1889, that so far as he and Hay knew "the various quotations touching this topic floating about the newspapers attributed to him are all spurious."

*The Voice* goes on to say that Captain H. Oldroyd, custodian of the Lincoln homestead in Illinois, sent a pamphlet with text of the speech of 22 February, 1842, from which it quotes the familiar closing paragraphs, and then goes on to quote from another letter from Nicolay explaining that the 1842 speech "was in behalf of the Washingtonian movement, and I am satisfied that the question of legal Prohibition was never, in Lincoln's whole career anywhere an issue upon which he expressed an opinion."

The Nicolay-Hay papers in the Library of Congress give patient replies to other queries from time to time, indicating fairly wide distribution of the quotation. For instance, on the 1st of February, 1889, William E. Weld wrote from Boston on the letterhead of A. H. Weld & Son, 6 North Market Street, to Nicolay:

"The enclosed leaf is taken from a pamphlet opposing the principle of Prohibition, and the quotation from President Lincoln was copied from a New York paper. I used this quotation before a Legislative Committee a few days ago, and a person questioned the authenticity of it. I am very anxious indeed to prove its correctness, and wish you would advise me, if you possibly can, where it can be found in any of Mr. Lincoln's speeches or writings. If it is necessary to use any time in looking it up, I shall want to reimburse you for any time or trouble. My apology for asking this favor is that I know of no one so well able to inform me



as yourself, and as an admiring reader of your Century articles I hope I am not asking too much."

Nicolay replied on the 4th of February that in all the Nicolay-Hay material "there is nowhere as far as I know, any expression whatever on the subject of prohibition. I am satisfied that the pretended quotation of which you enclose a printed copy is spurious."

The "enclosed leaf" sent by Weld and its quotation "copied from a New York paper" seem to have been lost, which leaves us nothing more than the joys of speculation as to whether it was *The Advocate*, *The Voice*, *The Independent*, or some other sheet.

Chicago is never to be left out of any controversy, and a month after the Weld letter from Boston came one to Nicolay from Chicago on the business paper of *The Western Brewer*, 177 La Salle Street, Chicago, dated the 23rd of March and signed by H. S. Rich, reading as follows:

"On Saturday last I called upon Hon. Robt. B. Lincoln for the purpose of learning whether or not the inclosed quotation attributed to his father is authentic. Mr. Lincoln could not give me the desired information, but referred me to you. He told me you had all of his father's papers and correspondence in your possession and knew more of his writings and sayings than any man living.

"If you know of Abraham Lincoln having used the language quoted you will confer a great favor by informing me when and where it was used and, if it is in print, by giving the name and page of the work in which it can be found.

"I desire the information for the benefit of my friends the brewers of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania who are engaged in a fight against constitutional prohibition in those States."

Nicolay wrote patiently on the 27th of March that he is "satisfied that the quotation of which you enclose a copy is spurious."

Messrs. Weld and Rich certainly showed unusual care in trying to verify their sources. Once more we—some of us—venture to wish we knew just which newspapers they had used at this time. This particular query from Chicago stemmed from the struggle in the two eastern States. We are left wondering what, if any connection, it may have had with the proposal to make “prohibition” an integral part of the constitutions of the two new States to be carved out of the Territory of Dakota? We must remember that we have here no unquestioned connection between the quotation in Atlanta and in the other places except Cincinnati, Iowa, New York City. It seems likely that Atlanta came first, but what proof have we that the words used there were composed there, or were not gleefully snatched from some other printed source?

I have told already of results of trying to see what help could be got from archives in the offices of Gammon Seminary and Clark College in Atlanta, of the *Western Christian Advocate* in Cincinnati, of the *Courier* in Ottumwa. How about help from the *Temperance Advocate* and *The Voice* in New York? The former seems to have died in May, 1893, and I fail to locate its files. The latter seemed more hopeful, as Funk & Wagnalls, publishers, are still active. It was not until the 9th of March, 1944, that Mr. John Hodgins replied to my query, saying that “the records of ‘The Voice’ have long since disappeared. The writer’s connection with Funk & Wagnalls Company and ‘The Voice’ goes back to 1890 but he has no recollection of the poster you mention . . . nor have we any copies of ‘The Voice’ for the period between ’85 and ’90.”

It seems fair to accept a moderate if not widespread circulation in the midwest, however, the Dakotas on the north, Iowa and Chicago to the southward, and not far distant in time do we hear it brought forward in Texas, and

that from the lips of none other than William Cowper Brann, "Brann, the Iconoclast." Some time in the '90s he was talking at Hillsboro, Texas, and in one of his quieter moments of a typical volcanic outburst he told how the first failure of prohibition came in the Garden of Eden, how "it is not in accord with the Christian Bible, the fundamental law of the land or the lessons of history. Wine has been used in almost every religious rite except Mohammedanism and devil worship. St. Paul recommended it, Christ made and used it and God saved Noah while letting all the good Prohibitionists drown. The Saviour came eating and drinking. Abraham Lincoln declared 'Prohibition a species of intemperance within itself' and 'a blow at the very principles on which our government was founded.'"<sup>5</sup>

This address at Hillsboro on "The local option lunacy" must have been given before 2 April, 1898, the day when Brann ended his days by exchange of shots in Waco with another man who disagreed with him as to the fairness of his comments on the conduct of Baylor University.<sup>6</sup>

Ten years more pass, and then in 1908 we find the words cropping up once more. This time *The Champion of Fair Play: a Journal Devoted to the Interests of the Liquor Trade*, in its issue of 15 February, 1908, proclaims "Lincoln not a prohibitionist," but rather "a bartender," a "can rusher," a rebuker of "the temperance people." It tells at length how "the Prohibs claim Lincoln as their own, and at their national convention in 1904 saw fit to glorify Abraham

<sup>5</sup>*Complete Works*, New York, 1898, XII, 236-7. *Speeches and Writings*, New York, 1908, I, 396.

<sup>6</sup>Brann settled in Waco about 1894. No reply came to a query I sent to the postmaster at Hillsboro in September 1950, asking if he had any suggestion as to persons in his city probably able to help fix the date either from his own memory or from newspaper or other sources. Thanks to Mr. M. B. Lamar, librarian of the University of Texas, I learned of a Master's thesis in typescript in the Library, dated August 1938, written by John Ralph Whitaker on "W. C. Brann: his life and influence in Texas," but this gave no help as to dating the Hillsboro lecture.

Lincoln as a Prohibitionist. The following utterances of Lincoln were prominently displayed as proof of his harmony with the prohibition idea."

Then follow two quotations from the address of 22 February, 1842, fifty words in the first, forty-seven in the second. After that we find a half-column telling how "*The Indianapolis News* traces these utterances to a meeting of the Washington [*sic*] Society of Springfield, Ill., and shows that Lincoln was making a plea for 'personal temperance and moral suasion as against abusive or compulsory methods.'"

*The Champion* then notes how in 1842 Lincoln spoke of the advance of "temperance" as compared with the excessive use of liquors in his early years, and quotes his saying that "Intoxicating liquors were recognized by everybody, used by everybody, repudiated by nobody. . . . Universal public opinion not only tolerated but recognized and adopted its use."

This is an honest and accurate quotation from the 1842 address. *The Champion* explains that "In this same address Lincoln criticized the methods of arbitrary reformers when he said 'When the conduct of man is designed to be influenced, persuasion, kind, unassuming persuasion, should ever be adopted. . . . If you would win a man to your cause, first convince him that you are his sincere friend.'" In the next paragraph it adds, also within quotation marks and apparently as part of the same address: "Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance . . . A prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our government was founded." Unfortunately *The Champion* fails to cite the text it used for joining the last quotation with those from the 1842 speech.

Its next issue, 22 February, carries at the top of page 1: "Listen to the voice of Abraham Lincoln: 'Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. . . . I will

continue to fight for the rights of man,'” this as a six-column spread, though once more with no indication of source.

Mine eyes have seen the text of *The Champion* story and will vouch for the accuracy of the quotation here given. They have found likewise part of this quotation in the Nicolay-Hay text of the speech before the Washingtonian Society on 22 February, 1842. The last part of the quotation will be recognized as from the Atlanta handbill of November, 1887. Nowhere but in *The Champion* of this February, 1908, issue have they beheld the two dwelling together as one body and one soul.

Diligent search by myself, by the Indianapolis Public Library, by *The Indianapolis News* fails to bring to light just where in the *News* files one is to find its tracing of these quotations to a meeting of the Washington (Washingtonian) Society. I have failed also when I tried to learn from Mr. Halle direct.

That Robert J. Halle, editor of *The Champion*, wrote the story just quoted is shown by a pamphlet signed by him as author now in the Library of Congress, received there on 19 February, 1909. The title is “Lincoln and the Liquor Question.” Below a portrait of Lincoln on the title page is printed “‘It is not the use of a bad thing, but the abuse of a very good thing,’” and then follows “compiled from the most reliable authorities, by Robert J. Halle.” The pamphlet was printed in Chicago for “the Literary Bureau of the National Liquor League of America,” and it came to the Library of Congress from the “Liquor Dealers’ Protective Association.”

On pages 3 and 4 we find:

A year ago the writer published an article in the “Champion” on “Lincoln as a Saloon keeper,” which aroused the ire of some very staunch prohibitionists who took exception to the following quotation from a speech of Lincoln:

“Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. It is a species of intemperance within itself, for it goes beyond the bounds of reason, in that it attempts to control a man’s appetite by legislation, and in making crimes out of things that are not crimes. A prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our government was founded.”

Mr. Alonzo E. Wilson, chairman of the Prohibition Committee of Illinois, offered \$50 for proof of the authority of the above message, while the Rev. Royal W. Raymond, superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of the State of Washington (who has since resigned under a cloud), offered \$100 reward ‘for the citation of any accepted authority wherein may be found the words of Abraham Lincoln,’ as quoted above. Mr. Raymond just now does not care what Lincoln said.

This indignant protest on the part of the prohibitionists caused a general research into the Lincoln archives at Springfield which resulted not only in the absolute proof of the trustfulness of the above quotation, but in the production of the most positive proof that Lincoln was not only a moderate drinker but an opponent of prohibition and local option.

The pamphlet goes on to reproduce a page from the ledger of Corneau & Diller, Springfield druggists, charging Lincoln in 1853 for the sale of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pints of brandy on one occasion and 2 quarts on another, along with cream of tartar, sarsaparilla, and other drugs.

The word about “absolute proof” of our quotation as utterance of Lincoln cheered me, of course, and for further light about it I turned to Dr. Paul M. Angle, so long in charge of the Lincoln material in Springfield and now Secretary and Director of the Chicago Historical Society. As to the assertion by Mr. Halle, Dr. Angle wrote on the 5th of May, 1950, that he can say definitely that there is nothing in Springfield to support this statement, that he is thoroughly familiar with the Lincoln material there, and that he can make this statement with no qualification.

Ten years or so passed between Atlanta in 1887 and Brann at Hillsboro, Texas; another ten between Texas with Brann,

and Chicago with Halle. It is not so long after 1908/9 until the quotation swings up again. In 1911 the Reverend William F. Crispin, D.D., brought out in Akron, Ohio, "A new Historical Lecture," and on page 4 he calls the words "a spurious paragraph," and says "A certain paragraph which the liquor people pretend to quote from Lincoln is undoubtedly a forgery; they never cite the time of his saying it and it was never heard of until during the Prohibition campaign in Atlanta, Ga., nearly twenty-five years after Lincoln's death."

Another Ohio addition to the circle comes just about this time in a pamphlet by Samuel Wilson published at Westerville by the American Issue Publishing Company with title *Abraham Lincoln: an Apostle of Temperance and Prohibition*. On pages 12-14 we find the quotation in full, a report that Nicolay and Hay say they cannot find it, and then, from Mr. Wilson:

Nevertheless the liquor press continue to repeat this nasty slander with each recurrence of Lincoln's birthday anniversary. It was recently repeated by the *Champion of Fair Play*, a liquor Journal published in the city of Chicago, with the accompanying statement that Lincoln was not only a liquor dealer and barkeeper, but a can-rusher as well; and the National Model License League, under the management of Col. T. M. Gilmore, editor of *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular*, the leading liquor journal of the country, has joined in circulating the same malicious slander upon the good name and fame of our greatest native American.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming array of evidence, from the mouth and pen of the martyred President himself, from a vice president, from his son, from three private secretaries, from White House attachés, from his law partner, and from a long array of biographers who have made a careful study of his life and his work, the ghoulish liquor traffic will continue to attempt to bolster up their fast-dying cause by dragging in the mire the name and fame of one whom all patriotic Americans honor and love. There surely ought to be a law that will severely punish those who defame and scandalize the good name and reputation of the

dead, just the same as there is a law to protect the living, and just as there is a law that will protect the bodies of the dead. Were there such a law, the very first to come before the tribunal of justice, would be the liquor traffic for their oft-repeated defamation of the good name of Abraham Lincoln.

The Wilson pamphlet accepts also (page 11) the Merwin statement of 1904 that Lincoln in 1855 campaigned for an Illinois "Maine law," which, to be sure, is but incidental to our theme. It accepts fully in confirmation of this "Maine law" campaign word from John G. Wooley in 1914 that he remembered Lincoln's being in Paris, Illinois, in 1855 and saying he had promised to make a temperance speech. No one else seems to have any such recollection, and if Lincoln did take part in this movement his connection has no confirmation from other records, nor does it fit into his otherwise full schedules as noted by newspaper reports or other documents.

Note too how the Wilson quotation uses "prohibitory law" rather than the more usual "prohibition." The reference to *The Champion* article as "recently repeated" shows that it must have been written not long after February, 1908. The Lincoln secretary phrase follows closely the Hay report to the New York *Independent* of January, 1888. The mention of Vice-president Wilson, of "his son," of "three private secretaries," of White House attachés, of "the law years," all must refer to other sides of the question than to our particular inquiry. Colonel Gilmore must have used other mediums for his movement than his *Circular*, unless my search of his publication has been wickedly careless.

Ohio and 1911 rise again when C. A. Windle, of Chicago, editor of *Brann's Iconoclast*, and sworn enemy of the Reverend Billy Sunday, tells us *Why Prohibition is wrong. Folly, Failure, and Fallacies of Prohibition*, a sixteen-page pamphlet published in Chicago reporting a speech he made



at Portsmouth, Ohio, 28 September, 1911. At the start he assures us that "The speech was reported verbatim and printed complete in the Portsmouth *Daily Times*, with accompanying sketches by Shonkwiler." At the end he says: "In conclusion, I want to quote a word or two from Abraham Lincoln, who in 1840 was a member of the Illinois Legislature. A Mr. Murphy introduced a state-wide prohibition bill. Mr. Lincoln moved to lay this bill on the table. You will find this record in the House *Journal* for Dec. 19, 1840. In supporting his motion Mr. Lincoln went on record in opposition to the prohibition idea because he said it would work great injury to the cause of temperance and struck a death blow at the foundation principles of our Republic" (page 15).

We know that Lincoln moved to table a motion in December, 1840. The House *Journal* is plain as to that. It is not plain what was said in debate or where Mr. Windle learned what Lincoln said in support of his motion or what moved Lincoln to take such a step.

Just a little more than three years later we find the quotation rising to the dignity of mention in debate in the House of Representatives in Washington. In this matter we are fortunate to have a *Congressional Record* and thus to be sure of an official report of both action and speeches. On page 544, column 2, of the *Record* for 22 December, 1914, we find this from the lips of Congressman Robert L. Henry of Texas:

Let me quote Abraham Lincoln on this subject: "Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. It is a species of intemperance within itself, for it goes beyond the bounds of reason, in that it attempts to control man's appetite by legislation and makes a crime of things that are not crimes. A prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our Government was founded."

These words were spoken as the Gentleman from Texas was quoting a large array of authorities in opposition to

prohibition, the occasion being the debate on the amendment to the federal constitution proposed by Congressman Hobson forbidding traffic in liquor the country over. At the fall of the gavel early in the morning as the Speaker called the House to order, he warned all to prepare themselves for ten hours of solid and earnest oratory and eloquence. Congressman Henry had the floor at the opening but relinquished it graciously to many before he spoke. His *Record* remarks fail to show any citations in support of his position, but in that respect he differed not a whit from his fellow speakers.

It was some eight years later that the quotation came to my attention, and on the 11th of July, 1922, I wrote to Judge Henry at his home in Texas. No reply came, nor was the letter returned as undeliverable. A second query brought results, in shape of typed copies of two letters passing between him and the *Saint Louis Globe-Democrat*. That paper had written him on the 13th of December, 1922, asking on behalf of a reader just what was the authority for this quotation. He replied on the 15th from Houston with a copy of his speech printed in the *Record* of 22 December, 1914, and as to his authority he went on to say that "my present recollection is that I culled the language out of a magazine article or newspaper statement, the title of which does not now come to mind. If I were in Washington City, I might trace this article in the material available at the Library of Congress. At any rate, I had some authentic information at the time." He added that at the suggestion of Robert R. Hitt, a colleague in the House, he turned to the Illinois House Journals and found that Lincoln (no date quoted) had moved to table an amendment to a bill to amend an act to regulate tavern and grocery licenses. The amendment would have substituted complete prohibition for the licensing fee fixed by the bill before the House.

"This clearly demonstrates that Abraham Lincoln was against Prohibition. . . . The truth of history should not be perverted, and I here submit to you the indisputable record of history. Thus it is demonstrated that Mr. Lincoln did lead the opposition to state-wide prohibition during the year of 1840 in Illinois." He closed with a hope his letter might be printed. The *Globe-Democrat* reported to me on the 8th of August, 1950, that the office records had not traced a published letter from the Gentleman from Texas.

Seven years of quiet seem to have followed 1914, and then in 1921 we find a ripple when F. G. R. Gordon gives us his *Prohibition . . . its Failure* (n. p., 1921), and in it reminds us of the brandy purchase, and then adds that "It has been contended by many that Mr. Lincoln was a prohibitionist, and that furthermore, when he was quoted as having said that 'Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance,' he was being charged with something which he did not utter." In order to prove the claims of the disciples of Personal Liberty and personal rights that Mr. Lincoln not only opposed the doctrine of Prohibition, but that occasionally he even took a drink, Mr. Gordon quotes the druggist's record of 1853 when Lincoln bought 4 pints and 2 quarts of brandy. Mr. Gordon says nothing as to what Lincoln did with the brandy or why he bought it.

This year brings another ripple, and that from a quarter not usually looked on as authority for things of this kind, none other than the original *Life*, the organ of John Ames Mitchell and Edward S. Martin, the weekly stimulant and irritant many of us looked for so eagerly in bygone days.

*Life* does print the quotation on the next to the last page of its issue of 29 December, 1921, beginning with the usual

"Prohibition will work great injury" and closing with "principles on which our government was founded." To run it down calls for careful search, persistent reading of line after line, but patience pays, rejoicing you with the display space there on the next to the last page sandwiched in between the "Neighborly Amenities" of Mrs. Skinner and Mrs. Snapp as they settle the affairs of the nation over the back fence; between this choice bit above and below comes the advertisement of Bell-ans as sure relief for indigestion. Mrs. Skinner's and Mrs. Snapp's remarks are credited to the *Boston Transcript* of an unspecified date. Lincoln must be accepted with *Life* itself as final authority.

If it is fair to call the 1921 remarks "ripples," one must search earnestly for a fitting phrase to measure or sketch the sweep of currents and the height and depth of the waves that break out in the years immediately to follow.

In this connection remember how the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted to the States for action on 18 December, 1917, was declared in effect on the 16th of January, 1920, was kept (on the books) until the 5th of December, 1933. Recall too how during 1917 to 1933 where two or three of us were gathered together we found ourselves sooner or later arrayed and panoplied into pros or cons about nothing more inevitably than the repeal of that amendment. And, during that time the applause for this Lincoln sentiment was equaled only by the vigor of its denunciation as a forgery, a fraud, an imposition, horrid to think of, on the good name of a great man. And, this interest in the quotation was reflected in the spread of appearance of support or denouncement in every medium known to man, printed page or lecture platform, rising to its height in the early twenties.

The advertisements of the National Association against the Eighteenth Amendment began to greet us in the newspapers early in 1922. For instance, the Missouri Branch of

the national association sponsored an advertisement in the *Saint Louis Globe-Democrat* of Thursday, 16 February, 1922 (page 6) reading (except for the list of "a few of our members and fellow-workers," 97 in all):

Citizens! Help Us to End Prohibition. It is destroying civil liberty through creating a Federal army of spies and inquisitors; it has overwhelmed our courts with cases; it has filled our jails and hospitals; it has created a nation-wide traffic in impure strong drink; it has brought forth graft and corruption in high places; it has made this a nation of hypocrites and brought law into disrepute.

"Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. . . . A prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our Government was founded.—Abraham Lincoln."

A campaign of organized protest for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act is the only remedy for present conditions.

We oppose the return of the saloon.

Will you support a National movement by becoming a member of the Missouri Branch Association Against the Prohibition Amendment?

Every member counts—we need you.

Fill out the blank below, attach membership fee of \$1.00 and mail to us today. Membership Card and button will be sent to you. Wear the button.

Then follows the blank for enrollment, not copied here. Later in the same year the newspaper wrote on the 13th of November to Congressman Henry asking on behalf of a subscriber just where he had found "the" quotation. His letters in reply have been quoted already.

Detroit followed Saint Louis with a similar advertisement just a few days later. On Saturday, the 25th of February, 1922, *The Detroit Free Press* gave its readers the following letter:

To the Editor: That a multitude of American homes are today enjoying more comfort, happiness and less poverty as a result of the abolition of saloons, we must admit, but a brief survey of the Eighteenth Amendment is not so encouraging.

It is a law that demands respect, but does it command respect? Is a law that is surreptitiously negotiated by 19 per cent of the people (thereby usurping the rights of the other 81 per cent), a sound law?—a law that refutes the sublime diction of Abraham Lincoln, viz: 'A government of the people, by the people, for the people'—a law that creates an unbounded latitude for the enrichment of its enforcing officers, instigating a most deplorable and degrading traffic in poisoned liquor. Is this a desirable law?

The physician, if he prescribes brandy in emergencies, to obtain the same, violates the law unless he submits to red tape, the implication of which presupposes him to be a criminal, and which ought to be resented by every conscientious physician.

A law that is treated with the utmost levity, the basic principle of which is depotism, a law that says to you that you must not make and drink a wholesome beverage prescribed by that law, is a travesty and mockery of our constitution, and here is what Abraham Lincoln said of just that law:

"Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. . . . A prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our government was founded."

I am sure, my dear reader, that you will concur in the statement that this law, as it stands, ought to be abrogated.

Albert Messner, M.D. Mount Clemens, Mich.

Two days later, on Monday, the 27th, the paper carried a three-quarter column advertisement of the National Association Against the Eighteenth Amendment, headed "What Lincoln Said About Prohibition," followed by a portrait of Lincoln, and then "Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. . . . A Prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our government was founded." And then comes the statement that "Beer and wine, Manufacturer to Consumer. No Saloons! will do more to further the cause of temperance than all the legislation that could be enacted by the militant reformers in a century," with ardent appeal for membership and support.

The usual counterattack opened soon, on the 2nd of March, with a letter from G. L. Conley, dated the 25th of February, headed "Doubts the authenticity of Lincoln quotation." It runs:

Permit me to set Dr. Messner right in the communication published today, in which he quotes Abraham Lincoln as being against prohibition. The Doctor was possibly not aware that the liquor advocates who have used the quotation have been challenged again and again to name the speech or the document in which Lincoln gave utterance to those words, and they have never been able to produce the evidence. It is doubtless a forgery and a slander on the good name of Lincoln.

No more from the Michigan leaders, but the quotation here given us served as basis for the following in the *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem* (Westerville, Ohio, IV [1928]), p. 1559:

In support of the charge that Lincoln was opposed to Prohibition, Robert D. Wardell, secretary of the National Association Against the Eighteenth Amendment, writing in the *Detroit Free Press* of March 3, 1922, said: "Permit me to set G. L. Conley right regarding the authenticity of Abraham Lincoln's statement on prohibition. It was made in a speech in opposition to the state-wide prohibition bill introduced in the Illinois state legislature, of which he was a member in 1840. The bill was defeated by the House on a vote of 78 to 8. These are Lincoln's actual words: 'Prohibition will work great injury . . . you propose to enact.'"

The Encyclopedia goes on to say:

This would sound quite convincing, if true. However, Dr. Porter s shown that this alleged statement by Lincoln was first printed on a handbills and circulated in 1887 in Atlanta, Ga., during an exciting hcampaign to close the saloons of that city.

It adds that Nicolay and Hay had been unable to authenticate the words by means of any of their Lincoln documents, and quotes the reply from the Illinois State Historical Society that it "can find no record of any quotation 'Prohibition will work great injury . . .' in any of the newspapers or published speeches of Abraham Lincoln. In the House

Journal of 1839-40 there is the record on the vote of the Murphy bill, no speeches being given, nor is there anything published in the Springfield papers of that date." The Small affidavit is mentioned, but of that more later.

And now, in 1922, with total prohibition (legally) in effect for two years we shall find the scattering and rather casual notes on Lincoln and his views about prohibition swell to a loud and strongly emotional chorus.

On 29 January, 1922, the *New York Tribune* carried a letter from Hudson Maxim, dated Maxim Park, Landing, N. J., Jan. 24th, 1922, with the heading by the *Tribune* copy reader "‘Denatured Americans’ Hudson Maxim at the Maximum of Indignation." Nearly two columns long, the letter spoke thrillingly of the struggle for personal liberty this land had carried on for generations, of Washington's advice to General Braddock, contrasting that with the way "denatured descendants of a Daniel Boone, an Ethan Allen, an Israel Putnam, a Patrick Henry now sees his home entered without a warrant, and by the merest suspicion searched and ransacked, from cellar to garret, by some contemptible weasel of prohibition." He ended with a call: "O denatured Americans, awaken! Break from the thralldom that is fast smothering the last spark of manhood in your souls. Raise a new battle cry of freedom, personal liberty, inviolability of the home, and patriotism—one and inseparable!"

To this tempered appeal Mr. Samuel Wilson replied in the *Tribune*, which in turn brought forth a second letter from Mr. Maxim dated the 13th of February and printed on the 19th. In this we find a passage that by this time seems to have a familiar sound: Mr. Wilson has quoted something attributed to Abraham Lincoln, in an attempt to throw the weight of Lincoln's mighty influence on the side of prohibition. Lincoln was not a prohibitionist, as witness the follow-



ing statement quoted from what Abraham Lincoln actually did say upon the subject: "Prohibition will work great injury . . . government was founded."

To this came a Wilson reply printed on the 26th of February. It may be summarized as saying that a quotation from Lincoln on temperance cited by Wilson was accurate and authentic in spite of the Maxim denial, it being part of the 1842 address. He adds that "Mr. Maxim makes an awful break in quoting the following miserable forgery as the words of Lincoln," quoting our well recalled statement in full, and adding "I have given chapter and verse for my Lincoln quotation. I will make this proposition: I will donate \$100 to any reputable inebriate asylum that Mr. Maxim may select (if one be left in the Sahara of Prohibition) if he will find the above statement in any speech, letter or public statement of Abraham Lincoln, or quoted by any reputable historian or biographer of Lincoln; provided that Mr. Maxim will donate a like amount to the Anti-Saloon League of New Jersey if he is unable to find it."

Wilson goes on to speak about the Atlanta handbills and quotes one of John Hay's statements that neither he nor Nicolay had ever found the passage in the material they were working with. His final paragraph follows so closely a paragraph in the Wilson pamphlet noted before with title *Abraham Lincoln: an Apostle of Temperance and Prohibition* as to make almost certain that the Wilson of one is author of the other.

No satisfaction, however, for Mr. Maxim, his reply of 2 March appearing in the *Tribune* of the 5th, and saying among other things that "Mr. Wilson says that I deny the truthfulness of his Lincoln quotation. I did not deny the truthfulness of it. I let Lincoln do it himself. But Mr. Wilson questions the authenticity of my Lincoln quotation, and wants to know where I got it. I quoted

from *Life* of December 29, 1921—a reputable and reliable New York Publication.” He talks also at length about Lincoln and liquor, mentions the counter offers of Wilson and himself for donations to worthy causes, but says nothing more about the matter now concerning us.

Thus ends the exchange between Hudson Maxim and Samuel Wilson, but it does not end this particular newspaper battle. On the 12th of March the *Tribune* gives us a letter from Mr. Charles T. White, dated at Brooklyn, 8 March, a long discussion of Lincoln in relation to liquor, saying “In an extended investigation I find that what appears to have been the earliest use of this quotation was in a pamphlet entitled ‘Lincoln and the Liquor Question,’ compiled by Robert J. Halle. . . . There is no date or place indicating where or when the pamphlet was printed.” Earlier mention of this pamphlet here shows it came from Chicago about 1909.

Mr. Maxim wrote nothing more on this point that I have found, but did not forget it, his secretary writing four years later, in February, 1926, to ask The New York Public Library what help it could give in locating the quotation taken by Mr. Maxim from *Life* of December, 1921. The reply could say little more than that the query had posed a problem unsolved by the Library, give such information it had found, hope a final solution might be not too far distant.

This exchange of letters in the first two months of 1922 saw even hotter sparks fly later in the year. On the 12th of March, the *New York Times* reported (page 3 of the editorial section of that Sunday issue) a statement given out the day before by the Reverend Dr. Charles Scanlon, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Temperance and Moral Welfare, insisting that the quotation is false, he having found that the words were “first published in a circular

issued by the liquor men of Atlanta, Georgia, as an appeal to the Negroes to vote against prohibition," and cites the Reverend Duncan C. Milner as sending copies of the circular to Nicolay and Hay who gave the usual reply.

This all started a chain of reactions that spread far and wide in short order, indeed coming down into our own times. Apropos of the Scanlon statement in the paper of the 12th of March, the *Times* printed on Saturday, 8 April (page 14) a letter from Mr. Charles Tabor Stout, dated, New York, 5 April, 1922, asserting that "the Prohibitionists seem to have forgotten that Abraham Lincoln led the opposition to State-wide prohibition in Illinois in 1840. There is no disputing the official records of the Illinois Legislature. And from these records it appears that Mr. Lincoln himself made the motion by which State-wide prohibition in Illinois was defeated by a vote of 75 to 8."

The Stout letter led Professor Max Farrand to write from New Haven on the 11th of April to The New York Public Library saying that he long had been "very curious about" this matter, had noted that the quotations from the record cited by Mr. Stout did not include the words attributed to Lincoln, and now asked just what the official journal set forth in action and debate.

Professor Farrand wrote on the 11th, and the Library replied on the 12th that Lincoln had made the motion to table the amendment, as Mr. Stout said, but that as the Journal gave no report of debate or speeches, it could scarcely be authority for the remarks quoted. The office memorandum on which the reply was based noted that "Mr. Stout told me by telephone that Lincoln had made this statement on this occasion for the following reasons: First, Lincoln expressed similar sentiments in his address before the Springfield Washingtonian Society on February 22, 1842 (Nicolay and Hay's "Complete Works" of Lincoln, volume 1, pages

57-64); Second, the statement is attributed to Lincoln by Congressman Robert L. Henry as recorded in the Congressional Record, December 22, 1914, page 544. To be sure, this does not say that Lincoln uttered these sentiments on this occasion, but Mr. Stout is sure he did because his motion to table the amendment was so eminently fitting a response to such a sentiment. When I telephoned Mr. Stout today to ask if he had any more conclusive connection than the Henry quotation, he said he was just writing to Congressman Henry at Waco, Texas, asking for his authority, and if Mr. Stout gets further information from Mr. Henry he promises to let us know."

Nothing further came from Mr. Stout, and on the 11th of July the Library wrote him asking if he had heard more, also to Mr. Henry to ask if he recalled his authority for the quotation he had used eight years before. No reply from either then, but it may be recalled that earlier in this tale is told the results of the exchange of letters between the Library and Mr. Henry in March, 1926, and how then Mr. Henry sent copies of his letter to the *Saint Louis Globe-Democrat* in December, 1922.

It may be noted that Mr. Stout in his letter printed in the *Times* said that Dr. Scanlon denied "the authenticity of a statement by Abraham Lincoln quoted from The Congressional Record." Dr. Scanlon's printed statement says nothing about the Congressional Record. This led to trying to locate the original manuscript of Dr. Scanlon's release, first by a query to the Presbyterian Board to ask if office files showed the text as sent out. Once more, however, did I learn I had waited too long. Dr. Scanlon had died and the Board has been dissolved. Mr. Guy S. Klett, Research Historian of the Presbyterian Church, was kind enough to write from his office in Philadelphia, 20 March, 1950, enclosing two quotations from *Moral Welfare*, a periodical

edited by Dr. Scanlon. The first may be passed over here, a notice of the appearance of *Lincoln and Liquor* by Dr. Milner, making no mention of our quotation.

Though the second gives no light on the original text of the release printed by the *Times*, 12 March, 1922, it does sound a familiar note. It may be summarized as saying that "The organized opponents of prohibition have been industriously circulating an alleged statement by Abraham Lincoln against prohibition. This statement first made its appearance many years ago, in a local option contest in the south. It has since done service in Nebraska and South Dakota, and other places." The "wets" have "gone so far as to declare that the speech was reported on page 136 of the Records of the [Illinois] Legislature for 1840." Nicolay and Hay in former days and the Secretary of State of Illinois on 23 June, 1922, all report no record of the quotation in Lincoln papers or other official documents. This paragraph from *Moral Welfare* of September, 1922, page 3 of that issue, could not have been seen by Mr. Stout when he wrote to the *Times* on the 5th of April.

Note too that Dr. Scanlon says here that the quotation had appeared in Nebraska and South Dakota. We have heard about the latter, but I have not located anything more than this about Nebraska; not to lack of effort, however.

Failing once more to locate the original of the release, I turned to Dr. Scanlon's brother, the Reverend David Howard Scanlon, of Durham, North Carolina. He wrote that he had none of his brother's papers, nor had he any idea of their fate or location.

These last few references to the quotation came early in 1922. The summer brings heavy artillery to follow what may seem hitherto merely small arms practice. On the 11th of July, 1922, the *New York Times* carried in its suburban edition, but not in the regular city issues, a news story

headed "Lincoln wet defense declared to be a hoax. Minister Gives Out Affidavit That Quotation Was Fabricated for Georgia Campaign." The "Minister" was the Reverend Dr. Duncan C. Milner, of Chicago, and the text of the release then printed was based on an affidavit signed by Sam W. Small at Alexandria, Virginia, 6 June, 1922. It may be summarized as saying that Small had lived in Atlanta in 1887, had taken active part in the local option election of November, knew of the wide distribution of circulars evidently designed to swing the Negro vote against prohibition. They showed a picture of Lincoln freeing the slave, and were headed "For Liberty! Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation." Below the picture appeared within quotation marks our familiar quotation beginning "prohibition will work great injury" and ending "I will continue to fight for the rights of man." Then came an appeal to the "colored voter" to take Lincoln's advice, "Look to your rights! Read and act! Vote for the sale!"

He went on to tell about the offer of a reward for proof of the genuineness, the lack of any response as to that. "Some time after the excitements of the campaign had disappeared," John B. Goodwin told Small that he had devised the circular, composed the text, directed the circulation and distribution of the sheets "so as to attract the adhesion of the colored voters." Goodwin was later Mayor of Atlanta, and had died in Baltimore "in a very recent year" as Grand Scribe of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

The photostat positive of the affidavit was sent to The New York Public Library by Dr. Milner on the 19th of July in reply to a letter from the Library. The Library explained that it had many queries about the quotation, having answered on the day the dispatch appeared a letter from New Zealand asking about the correctness of the quotation. This New Zealand inquiry was answered by giving a tran-

script of the story in the *Times*, referring also to pages 76-79 of Dr. Milner's *Lincoln and Liquor*.

A few months later I happened to be in Chicago and tried to get more details about the affidavit by talk with Dr. Milner, but found he had gone to Florida for the winter; wrote him there and got reply four years later, dated the 31st of March, 1926, that he knew nothing more about the case than was set forth in the affidavit.

Much the same record clings to the tale of trying to talk with Mr. Small, both of us assuring the other we hoped to get together in Washington, but I missing him when I tried, he writing at length on the 22nd of March, 1926, that he had no copy of the handbill described in the affidavit, knew of no person or place where one could be found; like Dr. Milner knew nothing more than the sworn testimony now before the world.

Mr. Grady had happily been spared from persecution by dying in 1889. As it had been Goodwin through whom Grady had got the loan that let him buy a quarter-interest in the *Constitution*, it seemed not wholly improbable that the men knew one another, and so with high hopes I turned to the life of Grady told by Professor Raymond B. Nixon (New York: Knopf, 1943), but the book said nothing about this incident, and the author wrote in 1944 that he knew nothing on this point.

Colonel Goodwin, the affidavit says, had "died in office in a very recent year" before 1922. Thanks to help from the staff of the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore I got in touch at last with Mr. Harold Simms Goodwin, grandson of Colonel Goodwin. This all took time and called for more than one or two letters, but on 7 April, 1944, Mr. Goodwin wrote that he knew of no letters or papers left by his grandfather helpful in this connection. His grandfather had talked with him freely about his life in Atlanta, but he re-

called nothing about the 1887 election, nor did he know just when or why the talk took place between his grandfather and Sam W. Small that served as basis for the affidavit. He added that his grandfather was fond of citing a man he knew who said he never touched liquor—except when he happened to be sick or well or wanted it—but he was sure his grandfather had never talked to him about Lincoln and liquor. He was interested enough in the matter to promise to keep it all in mind and to let me know of developments. In August, 1950, he told me he had nothing more to report.

The Sovereign Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was kind enough to report from its office in Baltimore that Colonel Goodwin had indeed been Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, 1879–1880, Deputy Grand Sire, 1900–1902, Grand Sire, 1902–1904, had been appointed Grand Secretary of the Sovereign Grand Lodge on 12 May, 1905, and had served as such until his death, 12 May, 1921. He had been born on the 22nd of September, 1850. None of the staff in service at the time of my query had ever worked with Colonel Goodwin or recalled any office traditions about him or his reminiscences.

I turned to Mr. Henry L. Mencken as a newspaper man with wide connections, hoping he had friends that might recall the campaign. He replied, 2 May, 1944, that his Atlanta friends had by that time either died or moved away, adding that he felt the “affidavit is probably of dubious weight. It offers at best only third-hand information. Such problems are really maddening. I encounter one now and then in my investigations of the American language, and sometimes it keeps me jumping for months.”

Yes, I was willing to admit that this had kept me “jumping” for two or three months, at least.

Thanks to Miss Fanny D. Hinton, retired librarian of the Carnegie Library of Atlanta, I got in touch with friends



possibly able to supplement the Small affidavit by their own recollections. Mr. John Ashley Jones, Ex-Governor John M. Slaton, Mr. Robert B. Blackburn, all listened patiently and sympathizingly, all had either nothing to offer or felt that failure to reply would be answer enough. Walter McElreath, Esq., felt the inquiry had real interest, said he knew nothing about it himself, knew Major [sic] Goodwin well, had never heard him speak about the Lincoln quotation, had never seen any of the handbills. As chairman of the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Historical Society he would report as to help from their collections or publications. He went on to say (31 March, 1950) that "my private opinion is that Lincoln never did make the statement which you quote. Mr. Jack J. Spalding, now deceased, was interested in the liquor election to which you refer and has talked to me many times about it. I know that the liquor people resorted to all manner of tricks in the election, and I would not be at all surprised if somebody did put such an appeal to the negroes as you quote, having invented it for the occasion."

It was heartening to get such a reply, not surprising to see that no further word reached me.

An earlier effort to talk with contemporaries had much the same result. A hot Saturday afternoon in April, 1923, saw me in Atlanta trying to find someone on the staff of the *Constitution* that might know something about November, 1887. That was too far back, but it did lead to my writing to Eugene R. Black, Esq., of Atlanta on the 2nd of May. His reply came a year later, on the 30th of June, 1924, through Mr. J. R. Holliday, who had been secretary to Mr. Grady and at the time he wrote was advertising manager of the newspaper.

Mr. Holliday said that as he recalled it "along about 1886 or 1887 we had in Atlanta a heated campaign pro and con on the liquor question. Mr. Henry W. Grady, who was

managing editor of the *Constitution* at that time, took an extraordinary interest in this campaign and Captain Evan P. Howell, who was editor and chief of the *Constitution* also took quite an active part in the campaign. Each of these gentlemen, although being on the same paper, were on different sides of the question. My recollection is that John B. Goodmen [*sic*], who was at one time Mayor of Atlanta, was very active in this campaign. I don't recall the circular ascribed to Mr. Goodman and if the files of the *Constitution* at that time were looked up I doubt if they would show this circular. Even were the files to show the circular in question doubtless the statement itself would appear credited to Lincoln without telling where this statement was made. You, of course, know that in campaigns such as I have indicated, statements are made frequently without taking trouble to give specific data as to where the information was obtained."

Yes, I agreed that if the "files" did "show the circular in question" the statement itself would doubtlessly be "credited to Lincoln without telling where this statement was made." Once more, a showing was hoped for, but when the pan was emptied no gold showed up.

However, I turned to another son of Georgia, the late Leonard L. Mackall, editing the "Notes for Bibliophiles" column of the books supplement of the New York *Tribune*. When he set out on a chase he rarely came back without his game. I put the problem before him. He in turn passed it on to his friend, Colonel A. R. Lawton, of Savannah, who sent it to Judge George Hillyer of Atlanta. Judge Hillyer replied on 15 July, 1924, that he remembered the 1887 election, felt the appeal to the Negro voters by quoting Lincoln had little to do with the result, but so long after the event as when he wrote he felt he could do no more than add this passing remark.

All of which adds up to admission of one more defeat. I had hoped to find something to support the Small affidavit; something to answer the question as to how long it was after 1887 that Goodwin told his story to Small; something to let us have some way of checking the man's memory so long after the event; something to explain why the affidavit was not made until after "Goodwin's" death "in a very recent year."

And with this comes to an end the tale of the search for first-hand testimony about the election aside from Goodwin's story told "some time after the excitements of the campaign had disappeared."

Now follow brief notes about the appearance of the quotation after the Small-Milner affidavit. With 1922 the heavy artillery battle quieted down a trifle. Action flared up in 1926 in the *New York Times Book Review* of 28 February (page 28, column 1) with a query from C. G. R. for help to find the original text of the quotation. On the 13th of February Charles G. Rupert had written to The New York Public Library from Wilmington, Delaware, enclosing a "card which has a quotation supposed to have been written or spoken by Abraham Lincoln," and asking the same question as C. G. R. posed in the *Times* of the 28th. The Library cited the Small affidavit and the Felton speech when it wrote on the 16th, and asked Mr. Rupert if he knew where the cards came from.

He replied on the 23rd that he had heard about the Georgia election in Samuel Wilson's *Abraham Lincoln: an Apostle of Temperance and Prohibition*, and added that "during a recent campaign here against the Prohibition Amendment this quotation was copied from a newspaper picture of Lincoln published about two years ago with the quotation below it, and the pamphlet was circulated along with other quotations against the Eighteenth Amendment

at the Mass Meeting which was held here. I have in my possession a small pamphlet recently published by the Dry Forces stating that this quotation was erroneously attributed to Lincoln as having been made by him in a speech in Springfield, Ohio, in 1840. I am making search to see if I can find out if there is any grounds for believing this report to be true. In the *Detroit Free Press* of March 3, 1922, Mr. Robert D. Wardell published an article attributing the quotation to Lincoln in a speech made in Illinois in 1840. I have written to Mr. Wardell about this but have not yet received his reply."

I have reported on letters in the *Free Press* on 25 February, 1922, 27 February, 2 March, but failed to find the Wardell letter in the issue of the 3rd of March. Such a letter is referred to in the *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem* as noted earlier in this paper.

Mr. Rupert replied on the 1st of March that the card he had sent was "printed also in Wilmington by a gentleman who is interested in opposing the Prohibition Amendment and they have been circulated widely in this vicinity. I think his name is Mr. Burnley."

"Mr. Burnley" now became the victim of the hunt, which led to further letters to Wilmington, and from them came the suggestion to turn to Captain W. H. Stayton, national chairman of the Association Against the Eighteenth Amendment. From him came a letter, Lexington Building, Baltimore, 12 March, 1926. It said in substance that he had asked the authority for the quotation when he first had noted its use by his staff. Told it was quoted from the Congressional Record speech of Congressman Henry, he wrote to Mr. Henry, "a Congressman of very high standing," who replied that he "had made no special record of the matter, but felt confident he would not have used the quotation without being thoroughly satisfied as to its authenticity." Captain

Stayton then stopped use of the quotation, had "never since been able to convince myself that it is authentic. I have heard the story about the invention of the quotation in Georgia, but I have not been inclined to take that very seriously. However, I believe that the quotation was invented by somebody who believed that it was substantially a statement of Lincoln's Attitude." He said he had sent a representative to Springfield who found "there are notes showing that Lincoln had made a speech against a prohibition measure which had then come to a vote and had been defeated, but not even a summary of his speech was given. So far as this organization is concerned, I have repeatedly within the last few years notified our branches and our friends that we do not think the quotation ought to be used and attributed to Lincoln."

The Wilmington incident led to a letter in *Every Evening*, the Wilmington newspaper, in the "Public Opinion" column of the issue of Friday, 12 February, 1926. It was signed by Lewis W. Brosius, dated the 11th of the month, referred to the card distributed in Wilmington, also to a recent meeting where Senator Edwards spoke against prohibition and quoted the passage as a Lincoln utterance, and then went on to give a brief summary of the Small affidavit, and cracked the whip by saying "This false statement has been used several times by the wets and as many times the falsehood has been exposed in the papers, and it is a surprise that a man of the intelligence of Senator Edwards should not have known the facts. That he should use it certainly shows that he is not very careful as to the truthfulness of his statements and therefore a very unreliable leader."

An editorial note printed below said "Many persons are under the impression that Lincoln opposed prohibition in a speech in the Illinois Legislature in 1840. An inquiry has

been sent to Springfield, Ill., and the facts will be published at a later date." So far as I can learn nothing later appeared.

The librarian of The News-Journal Company, publishers of *Every Evening*, wrote on 6 October, 1950, that "Mr. Brosius had been an educator prior to coming to Wilmington in 1886, for the six years immediately prior he was principal of the Martin Academy at Kennett Square, Pa. Before that, he had taught in public schools in Chester County, Pa., and Harrison County, Ia. A member of the Society of Friends, he was an ardent Prohibitionist."

Go back a moment to Mr. Rupert's letter of 13 February asking about the quotation. On the 26th of the month the *New York Times Book Review* headed its Queries from Readers with a note from C. G. R. asking who could tell him where to find the original text of the quotation.

On the 14th of March the *Review* (pages 26-7) carried several replies, the first from George H. Smyser saying that he found "in turning over my collection of Lincolniana, that the remark he mentions has been made several times, but has never been traced back to Lincoln. The statement was printed in Atlanta, Ga., during an exciting campaign to close the saloon." He then refers to the handbills, quotes the passage in full, goes on to say that "Wet Slanders of Abraham Lincoln refuted," by Albert Porter tells that a copy was sent to Nicolay and Hay, and that both were unable to verify it. "Mr. Porter states that the President of the Model league admitted he could not tell where the original of the quotation could be found and that prominent liquor journals, on challenge, have failed to produce any verification of the alleged utterances. . . . Mr. Samuel Wilson in his *Abraham Lincoln: an Apostle of Temperance and Prohibition* quotes practically what Porter said." The *Times* mentions also replies to much the same effect from William E. Barton,

of Hartford, Connecticut; William D. Bosler, of New York City; Samuel Wilson, of Jersey City.

It adds that "H. C. Pennington, Wilmington, Del., sent a clipping from *Every Evening*, of Feb. 12, 1926, which gives an account of the story from which we quote this interesting bit: 'Colonel John B. Goodwin, a man of influence and standing and several times Mayor of Atlanta, was a director of the wet forces and there are affidavits extant he has since stated that he (Colonel Goodwin) himself devised and composed the alleged words of Lincoln, so as to secure the adhesion of the colored voters, and had done so because to win them was the forlorn hope of the wets.'"

It was enough for the National Association Against the Eighteenth Amendment to quote Lincoln no further, but that was not enough to settle the others. On the 15th of June, 1927, Abbie N. Warren wrote from Somerset Bridge, Bermuda, to the *New York Times* (her letter appearing in the Sunday issue of June 26, section 8, page 20, column 2): "Regarding Mr. Borah's statements as to Lincoln's attitude toward prohibition, which were challenged by William Fish in the *Times* of May 22, it would seem to me that Lincoln's own words, which, I am informed will be found in the Congressional Record, Sixty-third Congress, third session, page 629, give the answer to his attitude. Lincoln's statement made in the controversy of 1840 was as follows: 'Prohibition will work great injury . . . our government was founded.'"

Samuel Wilson replied in the *Times* of 3 July correcting the citation from the Congressional Record as to the page, pointing out that Congressman Henry gave no authority, and that rewards for conclusive evidence as to use by Lincoln have been offered but never justified award.

This exchange of letters brought another to the *Times*, this from Ira L. Larue of Plainfield, New Jersey, dated 3 July, 1927, printed on the 12th. He went on to say: "I

thought when I read Abbie's letter that it did not sound at all like Lincoln. I suspect there must be something wrong about the authenticity of her statement. I would like to mention herewith 'A Presidential Declaration.' This absolutely authentic."

He quotes every President of the United States from James Madison through Andrew Jackson (except Monroe and Harrison) as signing a statement that as to the use of "ardent spirits" they "hereby express our conviction that should the citizens of the United States, and especially the young men, discontinue entirely the use of it, they would not only promote their own personal benefit but the good of our country and the world."

Such an array of presidential signatures may bring the raising of an eyebrow and a questioning scrutiny on first reading, but the questioner may care to glance at the following paragraph in the *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem* (V, 2196): "In 1833 Edward C. Delavan of New York called on ex-President Madison in Virginia and secured his signature to the above document. Almost immediately thereafter the signatures of former Presidents John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were obtained. Delavan followed the matter up and secured the signature of each of the subsequent Presidents down to and including President Johnson, with the exception of William Henry Harrison, who died a month after taking the office and before an appointment for signature was presented. For several decades the 'Presidents Declaration' was circulated throughout the world."

Monroe died on the 4th of July, 1831. Any recollection of the constant fight Edward Cornelius Delavan made against the use of liquor may quiet the questioning of the energy and persistence that would lead to such a mission from 1833 through at least 1865 or 1866. Though the



"Declaration" is of no help in our search for the source of the Lincoln quotation serving as text for this study, the fact that this 1927 letter was called out by a reference to "the" quotation may justify this passing reference.

Next year, thanks to that kindly soul, accurate scholar, Dr. James A. Robertson, at the time archivist of Maryland, I turned to Professor Francis B. Simpkins of Emory University and to Mr. Thomas C. Whitner of Atlanta in May, 1928. Both were kind enough to express interest, both confessed nothing to offer as help.

That same year, 4 September, 1928, one of the editorials in the *Times* was headed "Lincoln and Temperance." It began "Inquiry has been made about an alleged utterance of Abraham Lincoln on prohibition. What appears to be a forged quotation from him has been circulated, though it cannot be found in any of his published speeches or writings. What he did say touching on temperance may, however, be recalled."

Then follows a summary of the address of 22 February, 1842, but nothing further about "the" quotation. On the day the editorial appeared the Reverend William E. Barton wrote to the *Times* from Foxborough, Massachusetts, approving the editorial and saying that "The editorial is correct in saying that the widely circulated warning alleged to have been uttered or written by Lincoln against prohibition cannot be found in his writings; it is a barefaced forgery. I wish no lies had been said on the other side." (*Times*, 7 September, 1928, page 22, column 7.)

Two years pass, and on the 6th of November, 1930, we find in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* (page 6, column 3) a letter from "L. B." asking for publication of "the inclosed copy of a clipping from the *New York Times* of April 11, 1926, regarding a statement made in the Illinois House of Representatives, December 18, 1840, by Abraham Lincoln,

and which can be found on page 36 of the Journal of the House of that date: 'Prohibition will work great injury . . . our government was founded.' If the wise, the sane, the humane, the prophetic Abraham Lincoln were alive today could he improve upon this statement? It needs no comment."

So far as the *Times* of this date is concerned, the only reference with any possible connection was a letter from Samuel Wilson (section 10, page 14) dated the 5th of April about a proposed change in the Volstead Act that would let each State define intoxicating liquors, nothing about "our" quotation.

Kentucky, however, and Louisville come into the fray soon once more, when the Louisville *Herald-Post* of 18 April, 1932, gives us the following (page 6, column 3):

#### LINCOLN MISQUOTED

Editor *Herald-Post*:

It is a low kind of meanness to use a false statement to uphold what a man always condemned as wrong, when the man is no longer living to denounce the statement attributed to him.

Bruce Haldeman, head of the Kentucky Association Against Prohibition, in a recent wet screed attributes this utterance to Abraham Lincoln: "Prohibition will work great injury . . . on which our government was founded."

Mr. Haldeman says that Lincoln said this in a speech against prohibition in the Illinois House of Representatives December 16, 1840, and that it can be found in the Journal of the House of that date on page 36. But it is not in the House Journal on any page. He also says it was reprinted in the *New York Times* April 11, 1926, and in the *Courier-Journal* November 6, 1930, and he could have added a second time in the *Courier-Journal* last summer, each time in the Point of View column.

But all this does not make it true. It simply shows the persistency of the wets in giving currency to the falsehood when they think it will help them to break down prohibition in the interests of booze.

Here is the truth about the alleged utterance of Lincoln.

The letter then gives a summary of the Atlanta campaign and of the Small affidavit, closing with "This affidavit is still in existence, and Col. Sam W. Small is still living, so far as this writer knows," signed "An admirer of Abraham Lincoln."

The letter then says that Lincoln made many speeches in Illinois for the prohibition movement in 1855. As "our" quotation has nothing to do with this trip we need say nothing more about the latter than that whether Lincoln ever made such a trip at such a time is questioned, the whole matter being discussed temperately, carefully, exhaustively, objectively in chapter 6 of *Lincoln and Liquor* by William H. Townsend (New York, 1934). It does have slight connection, however, in that the whole rests on two statements made many years after the event, both by the same man, one forty-nine years and the other fifty-four years after the event.

The letter says too (in the part summarized here) that Milner broke the news about the Small affidavit in a letter dated 4 July, 1922, to the editor of the *American Issue*. He may have written on that date, but the *Issue* noted the matter, not by printing the letter, but by a news story (volume 29, number 29, pages 1-2 of the issue of 22 July).

A year later (in 1934) came to The New York Public Library an order for a photostat of the *Advocate* and *Voice* stories of January, 1888, which was answered on 27 May, with the hope the prints helped Mr. Townsend on his book just mentioned.

And again in 1934 do we find the first two sentences of the quotation in Burton Stevenson's *Home Book of Quotations* (New York, 1934, page 1619, number 10) giving the Porter "Wet Slanders" and *Every Evening* as sources (but with no date for either), they too repeating the news about Nicolay and Hay's replies and about the Small affidavit.

With the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment comes a quiet or at least a lull of firing on the battlefield, mere sporadic outbursts now and then. *Lincoln Lore*, published by the Lincoln National Life Foundation of Fort Wayne, Indiana, carried in its issue of 6 November, 1939, a story about "sources of traditional quotations," six in all, the paragraph about "our" quotation running thus: "Whenever the prohibition question is brought to the front the following statement said to have been made by Lincoln is often quoted: 'Prohibition will work great injury . . . rights of man.' Atlanta, Georgia, was in the midst of a local option campaign in 1887, and the alleged Lincoln statement above was widely circulated in the campaign. Some time after the excitement of the campaign had disappeared, Colonel Samuel [*sic*] W. Small was told by Colonel John B. Goodwin, who had been the director of the Anti-Prohibition forces, that he himself composed the alleged words of Lincoln to influence the colored voters to vote the wet ticket."

Another issue of *Lincoln Lore* (26 September, 1938) takes up "Lincoln's attitude towards liquor" but makes no mention of this quotation.

In May, 1950, *Harper's Magazine* gives us "Lincoln never said that," a summary of various striking passages charged to Lincoln, but none with satisfactory authentication, Albert A. Woldman, Esq., of Cleveland, Ohio, the author. He says (page 73) in this connection: "It is a statement which was concocted by a leader of the Anti-Prohibition forces of Atlanta, Georgia, to influence Negro voters to vote wet during a local option campaign in 1887." I hoped Mr. Woldman could cast more light on the matter, but got no reply to my letter.

No later mention of the words has been noted, but I've not given up trying to run down originals of the handbills and

to find contemporary references—to no avail. The Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, writes by Mr. Gerald McMurty that their records show no copy of the circular, indeed never noted its existence until the reproduction by Mr. Townsend in 1934.

In February, 1950, *American Notes & Queries* (North Bennington, Vermont) carried on page 168 a query from "J. H." asking about another quotation frequently given with a Lincoln tag, "I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me. . . . Corporations have been enthroned, an era of corruption in high places will follow," etc. On 19 March I wrote calling attention to what *Lincoln Lore* had said about this "corporations" quotation in its issue of 6 November, 1939; and then this "Mr. Dick" brought in his own head of King Charles by asking further light about "the" quotation. I find no reply in the March number, and hope with all my heart that this query from me had nothing to do with the life of the periodical, for this March number seems to have been its last, so far.

And now, what do we know after all this? What can we accept as sure?

We know that Atlanta voted in November, 1887, to license the sale of liquor. We know that in the election campaign one speaker held up a picture of Lincoln, another told of a handbill he had that showed Lincoln freeing the slave, with heading "President Lincoln's Proclamation," and below the picture appeared our familiar quotation, text inside of quotation marks, Abraham Lincoln next, in capitals, not quoted. Then followed a plea to Negroes to protect the liberty "he has bestowed upon you . . . look to your rights, read and act, vote for the sale."

We know that the second speaker called the quotation a forgery, quoted in rebuttal from the Washingtonian Society speech for temperance in 1842.

We know that the President of Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta sent one of these handbills to the *Western Christian Advocate* in Cincinnati, where the text was printed in full in December, with strong denunciation of the quotation as false, a forgery. We know that two newspapers of Ottumwa, Iowa, referred to the quotation and the handbill in December. We know that in the following January three papers in New York City either printed the quotation or referred to it, all doubting or denying its authenticity.

We know that Nicolay and Hay were busy for the next few years saying they found no record of the quotation in any documents they had or knew of. We know too that nothing like it is found in official records in Illinois.

We know that the office files of the Iowa and New York City newspapers give no help in locating the original handbills, nor have any been found in the Library of Congress or in other Lincoln collections in Springfield, Chicago, elsewhere.

We know that the quotation was used in many places throughout the country from those days down to our own, constantly denied, constantly brought up again.

We know that in 1922 the Reverend Dr. Duncan C. Milner of Chicago released an affidavit sworn to in June of that year by Sam W. Small at Arlington, Virginia, saying that John B. Goodwin "some time after the excitements of the campaign had disappeared" told Small that Goodwin had composed the words and distributed the circulars to win the Negro vote in the Atlanta election of November, 1887, the affidavit being published after Goodwin's death.

We know that diligent efforts for corroboration of the statement have failed. Know too that after 1887-8 the words are cited in about ten years, with frequent references to them until about 1921 when the effects of the Eighteenth

Amendment were so closely before our eyes and so readily on our lips. From 1921 through 1933 we find it used over and over again by speakers for the "wet" cause, quite as often denied by the "drys," never without what seems to be complete conviction of accuracy or falsity. Know too that after 1933 it appears less often, but persists even to our own times.

We know that this "Proclamation of President Lincoln" appears in no official compilation, such as Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Why this omission?

We know that if Lincoln spoke thus in the Illinois House in December, 1840, he connected "prohibition" and "prohibitory" with control of liquor traffic eleven years before 1851, the earliest use recorded in our dictionaries. Know too that neither word in this sense appears in any authorized record of Lincoln's speeches or writings. "Prohibition" does appear in the First inaugural when Lincoln told how "all the vital rights of minorities and individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversy never arises concerning them."

We know that though Lincoln spoke often of "temperance" and "intemperance" he never, early or late in life, used "prohibition" in this sense.

So much for facts. Let us look for a moment at intangibles, perhaps less obvious than facts, but not infrequently somewhat more weighty.

Would the mind that gave us the Gettysburg address, that voiced in the second Inaugural "with malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," conceivably have said that "prohibition . . . goes beyond the bounds of reason, in that it attempts to control a man's appetite by legislation and in making crimes out of things that are not crimes"?

Rhetoricians, not I, must settle such questions. It would indeed gladden one's heart to find in print enough of John B. Goodwin's written or spoken words to justify comparison with Lincoln's at comparable times or occasions. Here one more failure must be charged against my account. I find nothing from his lips but the quotations given in the newspapers of the day, scarcely enough for a final verdict.

It all mounts up to a moving demonstration of the power and weight of a great name. Does the Small affidavit, made after the death of the principal and "some time after the excitements of the campaign had disappeared," remind us of how "An old man's memory is often greener than the event"? Or, how sure some of us are that "If you see it in print it's so"? It all makes me hark back to one, Edward Gibbon, writing nearly two hundred years ago and telling of one zealous soul that "Whatever he wished, he believed, whatever he believed, he saw."



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