



The Emancipation Proclamation

THE DOCUMENT THAT SAVED AMERICA

ROBERT A. SIEGEL AUCTION GALLERIES, INC.
AND SETH KALLER, INC.

SALE 1025A • TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 2012

unless in necessary
they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.]

Done at the CITY OF WASHINGTON this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President :

Abraham Lincoln

Sale 1025—Tuesday, June 26, 2012

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Sale 1025 (Lot 108A)—Tuesday, June 26, 2012, at 1:30 p.m.

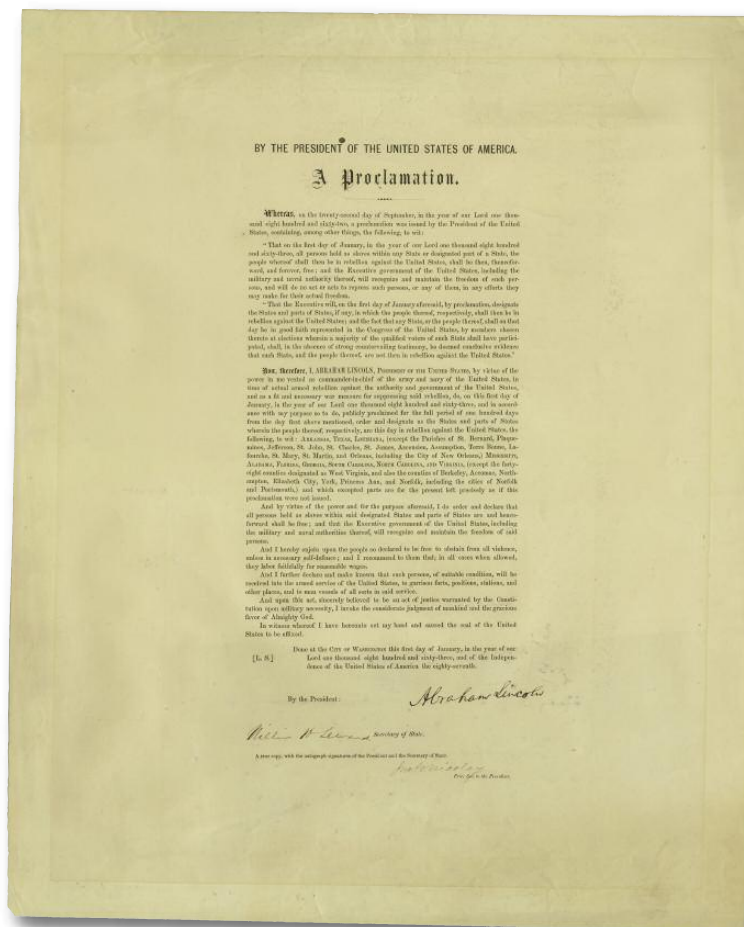
THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

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This lot will be sold for the final bid plus the buyer's premium
at the rate of 15% of the first \$1,000,000 of the final bid
plus 10% of the excess amount of the final bid over \$1,000,000
and any applicable sales tax (or customs duty for non-U.S. buyers)



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- 3) Phone Bidding:** Bidders can be connected to the sale by phone and bid through a member of staff. Requests for phone bidding are subject to approval (please contact our office at least 24 hours before the sale). A signed Bid Form is required.
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Seth Kaller is a leading expert in acquiring, authenticating, and appraising American historic documents and artifacts. Kaller has built museum-quality collections for individuals and institutions, as well as legacy collections for philanthropists to donate. He has handled important manuscripts and documents relating to the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution; leaves from a draft of George Washington's inaugural address; Abraham Lincoln's "House Divided" manuscript and signed copies of the Thirteenth Amendment; and Robert E. Lee's farewell to his troops. Gilbert Stuart's and Rembrandt Peale's portraits of George Washington, Jean-Antoine Houdon's bust of Thomas Jefferson, and Childe Hassam's flag painting, *Fourth of July, 1916*, are among the important works of art Kaller has acquired for clients.

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free; and the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: ARKANSAS, TEXAS, LOUISIANA, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans,) MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, NORTH CAROLINA, and VIRGINIA, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the consideration of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

[L. S.]

By the President:

Abraham Lincoln

William H. Seward Secretary of State.

A true copy, with the autograph signatures of the President and the Secretary of State.

John A. Nicolay
Private Secy. to the President.

Afternoon Session
Tuesday, June 26, 2012, at 1:30 p.m.

Lot 108A°

**The Emancipation Proclamation:
Signed “Authorized Edition” of the Document That Saved America**

*“All persons held as slaves within said designated States
and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free.”*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Document Signed as President, “Authorized Edition” of the Emancipation Proclamation, co-signed by William Seward as Secretary of State, and John Nicolay as Private Secretary to the President. Washington, D.C., January 1, 1863 [but printed and signed 1864]. 1 p., 17¼ x 21¾ in., J. Whatman watermarked paper.

President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. With this Executive Order, he took a decisive stand on the most contentious issue in American history, redefined the Union’s goals and strategy, and sounded the death knell for slavery.

The text of his proclamation reveals the major issues of the Civil War: slave labor as a Confederate resource; slavery as a central war issue; the status of African Americans who escaped to Union lines; courting border states; Constitutional and popular constraints on emancipation; hopes of reunion; questions of Northern acceptance of black soldiers; and America’s place in a world moving toward abolition. The President took the action, “sincerely believed to be an act of justice,” knowing that it might cost him the election.

This “Authorized Edition” was created in 1864 to aid Union troops. It was signed by Abraham Lincoln, Secretary of State William Seward, and John Nicolay, the President’s private secretary, to be sold at the Philadelphia Great Central Sanitary Fair. In Lincoln’s words, the fairs raised money “to relieve and comfort our brave soldiers.”

Of only 48 copies signed by Lincoln, 26 are known to survive; nearly all are in (or are expected to be donated to) institutions.

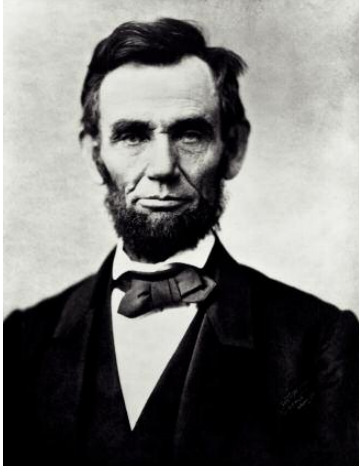
Condition. Large, bold Abraham Lincoln signature. The signatures of William Seward and John Nicolay are fine, but as is typical, lighter than the President’s. Conservator’s condition report available on request.

Provenance. Private collection since at least the 1960s.

Estimate \$1,800,000 – \$2,400,000

Historical Background

The Emancipation Proclamation was the single most important act of Lincoln's presidency. Its text reveals the major themes of the Civil War: the importance of slavery to the war effort on both sides; the courting of border states; Lincoln's hopes that the rebellious states could somehow be convinced to reenter the Union; the role of black soldiers; Constitutional and popular constraints on emancipation; the place of African Americans in the United States, and America's place in a worldwide movement toward the abolition of slavery. In sounding the death knell for slavery and the "Slave Power," the president took a decisive stand on the most contentious issue in American history.



Matthew Brady portrait of President Lincoln

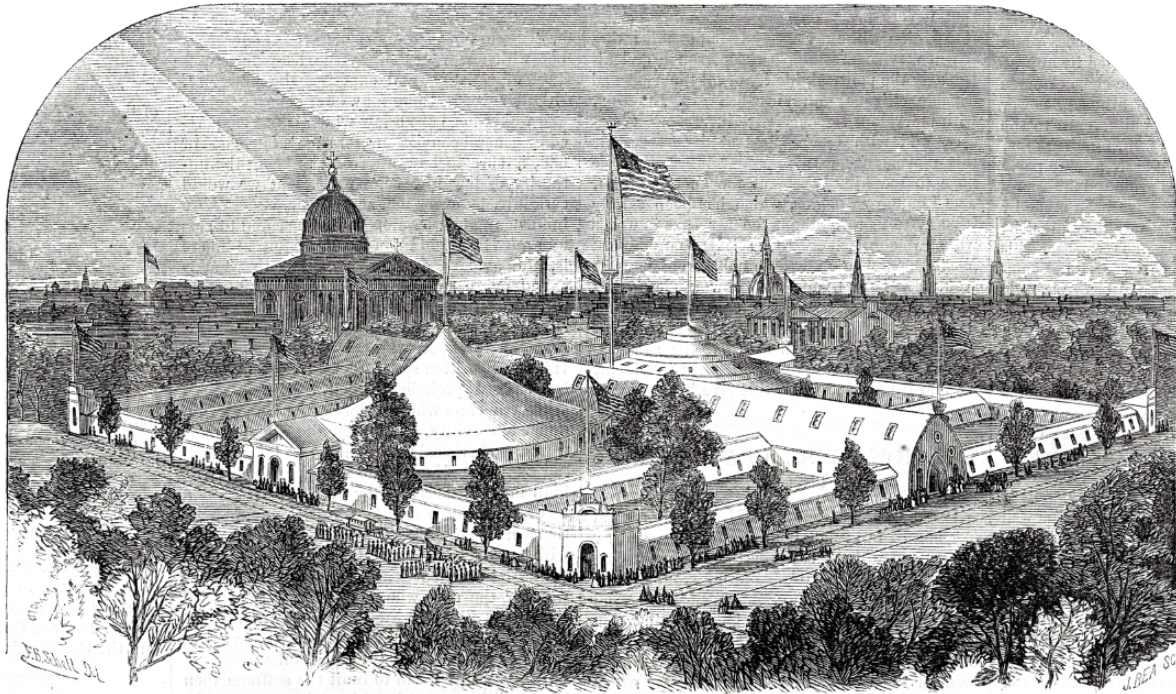
In addition to the moral impact of this "sincerely believed... act of justice," the Proclamation aided the Union cause tangibly and decisively. Because it focused on territory still held by the Confederacy, only small numbers of slaves (compared to the total slave population) were immediately freed. However, the Proclamation deprived the South of essential labor by giving all slaves a reason to escape to Union lines. Failing that, it freed slaves immediately on the Union Army's occupation of Confederate territory. The Proclamation also encouraged the enlistment of black soldiers, who made a crucial contribution to the Union war effort. Moreover, England and France, which had already abolished slavery, were constrained from supporting the Confederacy, even though doing so would have been in their own economic interests. Lincoln summed up the Proclamation's importance in 1864: "no human power can subdue this rebellion without using the Emancipation lever as I have done."

As historian John Hope Franklin wrote, Lincoln's Proclamation "was a step toward the extension of the ideal of equality about which Jefferson had written" in the Declaration of Independence. And in time, "the greatness of the document dawned upon the nation and the world. Gradually, it took its place with the great documents of human freedom."

The "Authorized Edition" – Signed by Lincoln to Aid Union Troops

This "Authorized Edition" was printed and signed in June of 1864, to be sold at the Philadelphia Great Central Sanitary Fair. The fairs were created by the United States Sanitary Commission, which worked to raise money for sick and wounded soldiers, provide nursing, uniforms, and supplies, and to improve conditions in military camps. The Philadelphia fair, held in Logan Square from June 7 to 29, was the only event of its kind attended by Lincoln. On June 16, the president's passionate speech caused such an outpouring of emotions among spectators that officials decided it would be dangerous for him to attend another. The president avowed:

War at its best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration is one of the most terrible... it has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that the 'heavens are hung in black.' Yet the war continues... The Sanitary Commission, with all its benevolent labors... [has] contributed to the comfort and relief of the soldiers... The Commission provides voluntary contributions, given



The grounds of the Philadelphia Great Sanitary Fair, *Harper's Weekly*, June 11, 1864 (Seth Kaller Inc.)

zealously, and earnestly, on top of all the disturbances of business, of all the disorders, of all the taxation, and of all the burdens that the war has imposed upon us, giving proof that the national resources are not at all exhausted, and that the national spirit of patriotism is even firmer and stronger than at the commencement of the war.

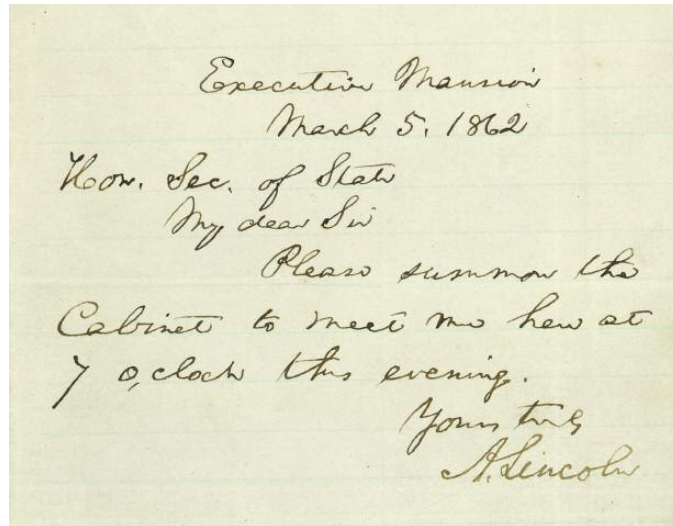
When Northerners attended fairs, donated money or goods, or volunteered their time, they were actively aiding the soldiers on the front lines. Autographs of leading Americans were often sold at the fairs. Lincoln donated a signed autograph manuscript of the Gettysburg Address to the New York Fair, which reportedly sold it for \$1,000. For Chicago's Great Northwestern Fair, Lincoln donated his original signed draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, with an accompanying letter stating his "desire to retain the paper, but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better." It sold for an astounding \$3,000. Unfortunately, that manuscript document was destroyed in the Chicago Fire of 1871.

The present dramatic printing is executed on Whatman paper, known since the 1760s for its high quality. Used by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson for state papers, Queen Victoria for personal correspondence, Napoleon Bonaparte for his will, and John James Audubon for his spectacular bird prints, it is no surprise that the two prominent Philadelphia men who created this Emancipation Proclamation chose it as the medium for their authorized printing.

.....The original Proclamation of Emancipation, signed by President LINCOLN, sold at the Chicago Fair for three thousand dollars. A few duplicates, with the "veritable and authenticated" signatures of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Secretary SEWARD and Mr. NICOLAY, are for sale at the 'Daily Fare table; price only ten dollars. Every branch of the Union League, and indeed every patriot, should be proud to own one of these. They were obtained for the Fair, by MESSRS. GEORGE H. BOKER and CHARLES GODFREY LELAND, who guarantee the authenticity of the signatures....." Can

Advertising the Leland-Boker Authorized Edition for sale at the fair (Library Company of Philadelphia)

As in all of Lincoln's presidential documents, he signed this example with his full name instead of the less formal "A Lincoln" that he used on almost all letters and notes. His bold signature stands out from Seward's and Nicolay's partly due to his heavier hand and partly because of his use of a steel-tipped pen.



Executive Mansion
March 5, 1862
Hon. Sec. of State
My dear Sir
Please summon the
Cabinet to meet me here at
7 o'clock this evening.
Yours truly
A. Lincoln

Lincoln's signature on a brief letter to William Seward to gather the Cabinet for a discussion of compensated emancipation (Seth Kaller Inc.)



(Photo: Library of Congress)

Charles Godfrey Leland (1824–1903) studied with transcendentalist Amos Bronson Alcott before attending Princeton. In 1857, he became editor of *Graham's Magazine*, and in 1862, he took charge of the *Continental Monthly*, a Boston newspaper dedicated to the Union cause. In that role, Leland claimed to have “coined the term emancipation as a substitute for the disreputable term abolition.” In 1863, he enlisted in a Pennsylvania artillery regiment that fought at Gettysburg.

George Henry Boker (1823–1890), the scion of a banking family, also attended Princeton. A founder of the Union League Club of Philadelphia, he was active in raising funds for the Union wounded and aiding families of soldiers and sailors. During the war, Boker published “Tardy George,” a poem critical of General George McClellan, and another titled “The Black Regiment.”



(Photo: Library of Congress)

An Evolving Stance on Emancipation

Lincoln had always believed slavery to be immoral, and fought its expansion. At the same time, he recognized that the president did not possess the Constitutional power to abolish the institution. As Lincoln's paramount aim was to restore the Union, he had reason to be cautious. He saw that anti-abolition sentiment was widely shared in large parts of the North, and throughout the army. He also recognized that the Union's hold on the five slave states that had remained loyal (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and West Virginia) was tenuous at best, and that maintaining it was absolutely critical.

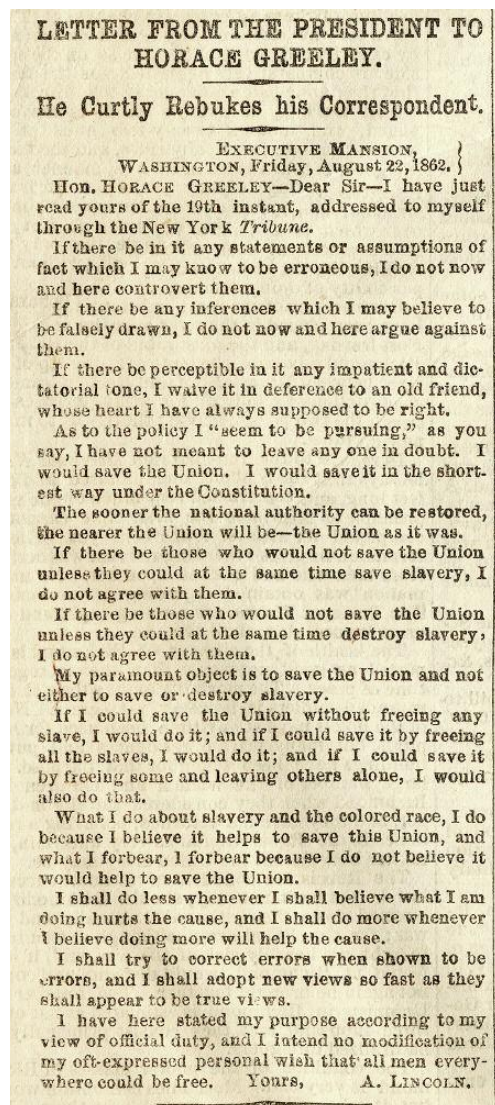
In a message to Congress on July 4, 1861, Lincoln stated that he had "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists." When Generals John C. Frémont, in August 1861, and David Hunter, in May 1862, issued their own emancipation orders, Lincoln was forced to rescind them. His was more incremental. In March 1862, Lincoln supported the Confiscation Act, which was not intended to end slavery but did free slaves in rebellious states as "contrabands" or "captives of war" who would not be returned to "claimants." He also proposed "Compensated Emancipation," offering to pay slave owners and give them time to adjust to a free labor society, and noting that the cost of buying freedom for all slaves would be less than the cost of prosecuting the war. Soon after, Lincoln began to describe slaves as an economic and military "element of strength to those who had their service." He told his advisers, "We must free the slaves or be ourselves subdued." Freeing slaves was becoming, in historian James McPherson's words, "*a means to victory.*"



ABE LINCOLN'S LAST CARD; OR, ROUGE-ET-NOIR.

Lincoln plays the race card, engraving by John Tenniel, *Punch*, October 18, 1862 (Seth Kaller Inc.)

Major Thomas Thompson Eckert, the chief of the War Department's telegraph office, was the first to see the president quietly turn the full force of his intellect on the problem of slavery. Lincoln often sat in Eckert's office, waiting, head in hands, for telegraphed news of battles. In the first week of July 1862, Lincoln asked Eckert for some paper, "as he wanted to write something special." Seating himself at Eckert's desk, he began to write what has been regarded as the first draft of the Proclamation. Eckert later recalled that Lincoln would look out of the window a while and then put his pen to paper, though never writing much at once. After a period of study, he would make up his mind and put down a line or two, then sit for a few minutes to contemplate the next move. Lincoln returned to Eckert's office almost daily over the next few weeks. By the end, Eckert had become "impressed with the idea that he [Lincoln] was engaged upon something of great importance." When Lincoln finished, he told Eckert that he had been "writing an order giving freedom to the slaves in the South... He said he had been able to work at my desk more quietly and command his thoughts better than at the White House, where he was frequently interrupted."



Lincoln's response to Greeley's "Prayer of Twenty Millions," *Philadelphia Enquirer*, August 25, 1862 (Seth Kaller Inc.)

To overcome Constitutional objections, Lincoln wrote the Proclamation as Commander in Chief. He carefully crafted it as a war measure, going so far as to exempt not just the border states, but all areas formerly in the Confederacy that had been taken back into the Union.

In August, *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley assailed Lincoln in print for not doing enough to end slavery. Lincoln's response demonstrated a keen awareness of the Constitutional tightrope he had been forced to walk:

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I don't believe it would help to save the Union... I have here stated my purpose according to my view of Official duty: and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

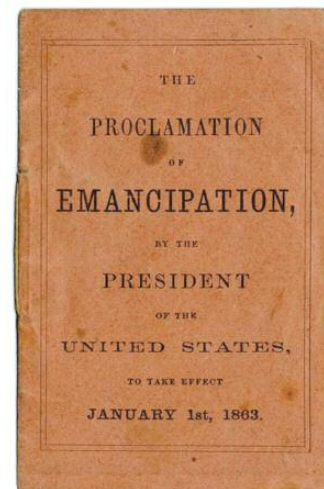


The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation Before the Cabinet.
Painted by F.B. Carpenter, Engraved by A.H. Ritchie, 1866 (Seth Kaller Inc.)

With an Emancipation Proclamation secretly drafted already, Lincoln's response could be considered disingenuous. He was ready to lay the groundwork for emancipation, but he feared that delivering the Proclamation at the wrong time would doom its chances for public acceptance and harm the Union cause. Emancipation threatened one of his most crucial goals in the first half of the war: maintaining the support of the slaveholding border states that remained in the Union. Lincoln reportedly said that while he hoped to have God on his side, he *must* have Kentucky.

Lincoln read an early draft of the proposed Proclamation to his Cabinet in July 1862. Secretary of State William Seward, fearing it would be considered a desperate move, advised the president to wait for a Union victory before issuing the order. Two months later, when Union troops stopped Confederate general Robert E. Lee's invasion of Maryland at Antietam Creek, Lincoln finally had his opportunity.

On September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, giving the South 100 days to end the rebellion or face losing their slaves. On both sides of the Mason-Dixon line, Lincoln's order was condemned as a usurpation of property rights and an effort to start racial warfare. But its supporters had a voice as well. In December, John Murray Forbes, a Boston industrialist and abolitionist who had helped raise troops, including the famous African-American 54th Massachusetts regiment, printed a miniature booklet (just over 2 x 3 inches) to distribute throughout the North, and to blacks in the South via Union troops.



Miniature printing of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, William Forbes, 1862 (Seth Kaller Inc.)

As he had promised, the president carefully worded the final document to affect only those states still in rebellion as of January 1, 1863:

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion... do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons... And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

His final Proclamation showing Lincoln's own progression, eliminated earlier references to colonizing freed blacks and compensating slave owners for voluntary emancipation. It also added provisions for black military enlistment. Pausing before he signed the final Proclamation, Lincoln reportedly said: "I never, in my life, felt more certain that I was doing right than I do in signing this paper."

The Myth of Non-Emancipation

The Emancipation Proclamation has faced criticism as a document of little impact because it offered freedom only to slaves "within any state or designated part of a state... in rebellion against the United States," rather than to slaves in areas that the Union actually controlled. That charge does not withstand scrutiny. By freeing slaves in rebel-held territory, the Proclamation effectively turned Union forces into an army of liberation. Rather than retreating behind arguments that slavery was a state issue,

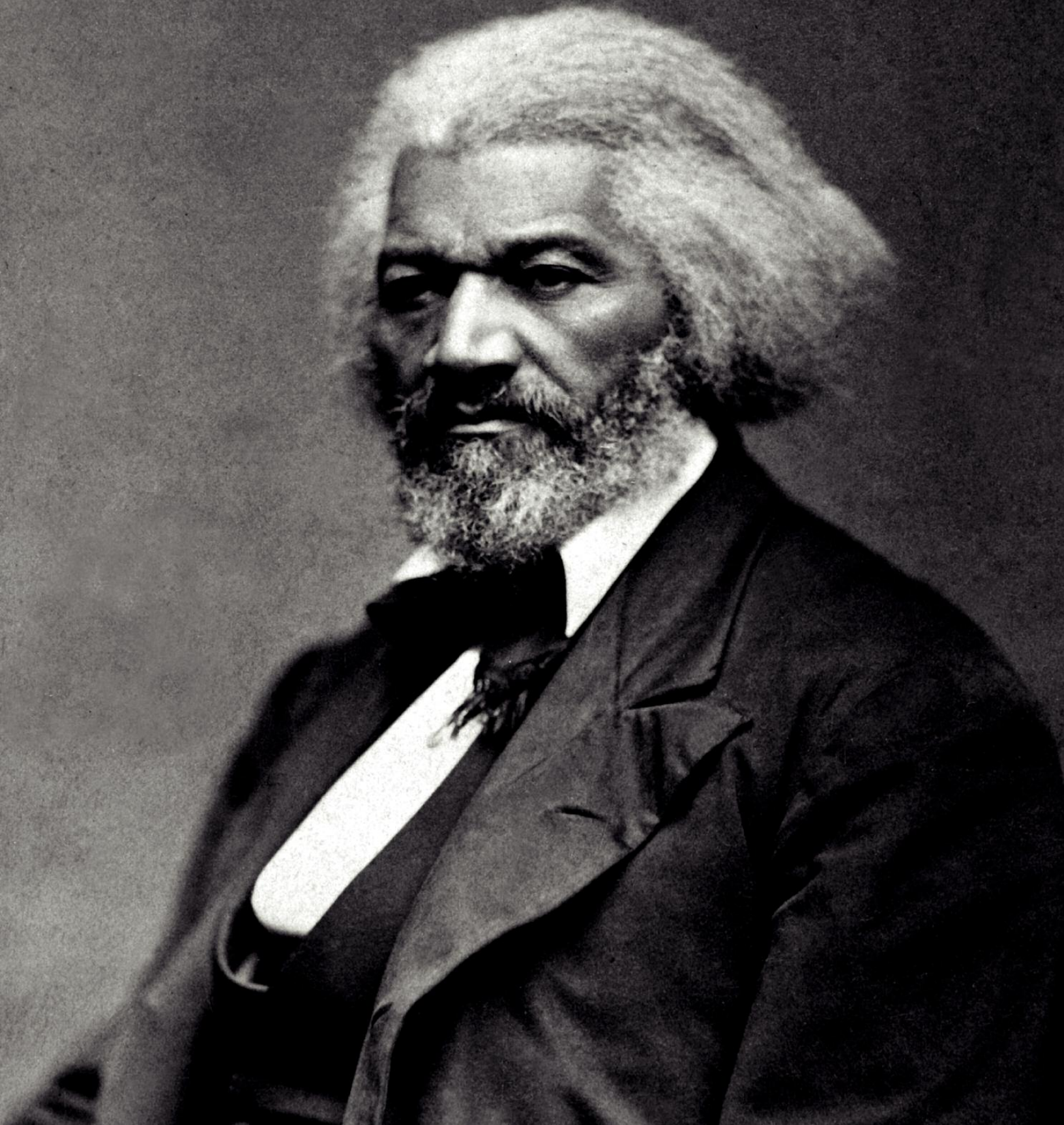


Freedmen and women liberated as Union forces march south, *Harper's Weekly*, February 21, 1863 (Library of Congress)

“I congratulate you, on what may be called the greatest event of our nation’s history.”

– Frederick Douglass

Speech at the Cooper Institute, February 6, 1863



or returning escaped slaves under the Fugitive Slave Act, the federal government, for the first time, acted to guarantee the freedom of African Americans. The “*government of the United States*,” read the Proclamation, “*including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.*” While the Emancipation Proclamation’s reach was limited by exceptions (loyal border states, all of Tennessee, and certain Louisiana parishes), “emancipation was immediate,” Eric Foner writes, in Union-occupied parts of Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Mississippi and the South Carolina Sea Islands. “Overall,” he points out, “tens of thousands of slaves—50,000 according to one estimate—gained their freedom with the stroke of Lincoln’s pen.”

Many prior presidents had imagined or hoped for a nation without slavery, but could not, or would not, act on their ideals. Thomas Jefferson famously wrote, “I see not how we are to disengage ourselves from that deplorable entanglement, we have the wolf by the ears and feel the danger of either holding or letting him loose. I shall not live to see it but those who come after us will be wiser than we are...”

With the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln dramatically tied the Union’s war aims to the ultimate goal of putting an end to slavery. Whether they approved or not, after January 1, 1863, Americans could no longer deny that emancipation was central to the Union war effort. “We shout for joy that we live to record this righteous decree,” wrote Frederick Douglass. From black soldiers, to European statesmen, to Lincoln’s Northern political enemies, to outraged Southern rebels, observers understood that America could no longer ignore the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

As the war dragged on, the “military necessity” of emancipation grew more apparent, and African Americans became instrumental in forcing Lincoln and the Northern public to make freedom a central goal of the war. In historian Ira Berlin’s words, Lincoln and the slaves played “complementary roles” in bringing about emancipation:

By abandoning their owners, coming uninvited into Union lines, and offering their assistance as laborers, pioneers, guides, and spies, slaves forced federal soldiers at the lowest level to recognize their importance to the Union’s success. That understanding traveled quickly up the chain of command. In time, it became evident even to the most obtuse federal commanders that every slave who crossed into Union lines was a double gain: one subtracted from the Confederacy and one added to the Union. The slaves’ resolute determination to secure their liberty converted many white Americans to the view that the security of the Union depended upon the destruction of slavery.

Perhaps no one understood the implications of the Emancipation Proclamation better than Frederick Douglass. Never one to mince words regarding freedom and equality for his race, he marveled at the changes brought about by Lincoln’s act and saw immediately the long-term consequences for African Americans.

Slavery is now in law, as in fact, a system of lawless violence, against which the slave may lawfully defend himself... The change in attitude of the Government is vast and startling. For more than sixty years the Federal Government has been little better than a stupendous engine of Slavery and oppression, through which Slavery has ruled us, as with a rod of iron... Assuming that our Government and people will sustain the President and the Proclamation, we can scarcely conceive of a more complete revolution in the position of a nation... I hail it as the doom of Slavery in all the States.



Recruiting black soldiers after Emancipation (African American Civil War Memorial and Museum)

The Emancipation Proclamation redefined the role of the federal government in relation to African Americans. It altered war goals, immediately freed nearly 50,000 slaves in Union-held parts of the Confederacy, and offered freedom to slaves as the Union Army pushed further into rebel territory. Its contemporary detractors saw it as an act to free slaves, while supporters, including African Americans' most eloquent spokesman, considered it a sea change for the nation. It is a clear fallacy that Lincoln's bold action emancipated no one.

The Proclamation and Black Troops

One of the more controversial and successful aspects of the Proclamation was its support of black troops. Lincoln declared that "such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service." The Proclamation's impact manifested itself immediately. Black men, at last fighting for their own liberation, redoubled their efforts to join the army. The military finally accepted them, abandoning the notion that the conflict was "a white man's war." Nearly a year after the Proclamation, Lincoln reported in his December 8, 1863 State of the Union message that close to 100,000 black troops had joined the Union Army and Navy. Almost half were soldiers or sailors in arms. "So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any," Lincoln reported. He was also quick to allay early fears of the Proclamation's opponents: "No servile insurrection or tendency to violence or cruelty has marked the measures of emancipation and



A black soldier in the Union Army, tintype (SKI)

arming the blacks.” Moreover, the move had been watched internationally, and debated at length inside the United States. Foreign relations had much improved since emancipation, and results of the intervening election had been “highly encouraging,” confirming that emancipation had brought a “new reckoning” to the United States. None of the dire consequences predicted had occurred, and the “crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union” was past.

As the Union Army advanced through the South, Lincoln again noted the changed condition of the military in his 1864 message to Congress: “thousands, white and black, join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines.” By some estimates, 300,000 African Americans fought for the Union between 1863 and

1865. By war’s end, they made up ten percent of federal forces and performed key roles in the Union victory. Military service also provided crucial support to future claims of citizenship, although African Americans’ battle for full military participation, with equal wages and opportunities, was yet to be won. Still, this provision of the Emancipation Proclamation marked an important new stage in the evolution of Abraham Lincoln—and the nation.

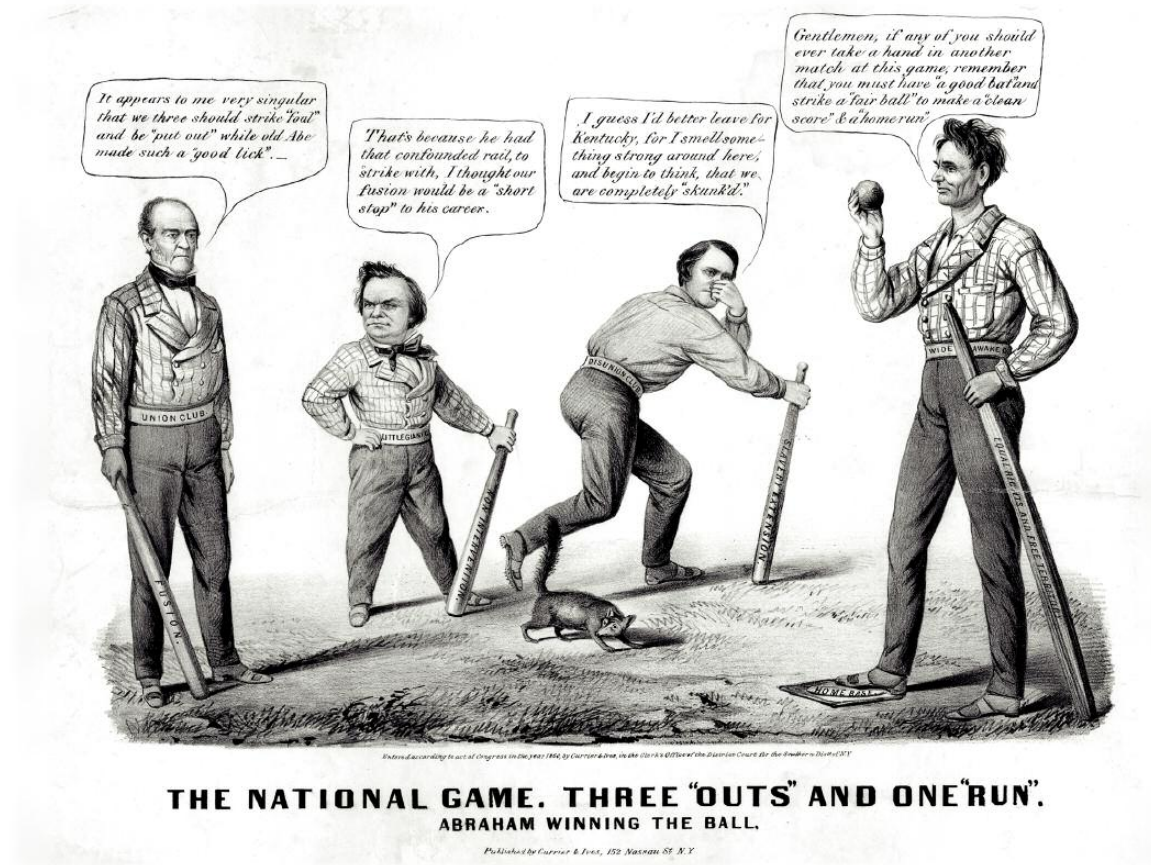
The Political Risk of Emancipation

In 1860, Lincoln had been elected with less than half the popular vote and no mandate for abolition. By 1863, when his Proclamation took effect, emancipation found increasing support among both the Northern public and Union soldiers. An Indiana colonel wrote that few soldiers were abolitionists, but they wanted “to destroy everything that in aught gives the rebels strength,” so “this army will sustain the emancipation proclamation and enforce it with the bayonet.”

Such acceptance was by no means universal. A New York newspaper editor told a mass meeting that “when the President called upon them to go and carry on a war for the nigger, he would be damned if he believed they would go.” Draft riots there in July 1863 constituted the worst mob violence in American history. Threatened with being conscripted to fight a war now bound up with emancipation, rioters targeted black people with beatings, lynchings and the destruction of property, including the burning of the Colored Orphan Asylum. More than 100 people were killed.

Lincoln’s issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation posed a serious threat to his re-election in 1864. Henry J. Raymond, chairman of the Republican National Committee, told the president:

The tide is setting strongly against us... Two special causes are assigned to this great reaction in public sentiment,—the want of military success, and the impression... that we can have peace with Union if we would... [but that you are] fighting not for Union but for the abolition of slavery.



In 1860, Lincoln won in a four way race. Currier and Ives, 1860 (Seth Kaller Inc.)

Lincoln denied that emancipation was his only goal, but also pointed to the 130,000 black soldiers and sailors then fighting for the Union cause: "The promise being made, must be kept... Abandon all the posts now possessed by black men... & we would be compelled to abandon the war in 3 weeks." He invoked a moral commitment as well:

There have been men who have proposed to me to return to slavery the black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee. I should be damned in time & in eternity for so doing. The world shall know that I will keep my faith to friends & enemies, come what will.

Lincoln worried that he had failed to convince the Northern public during the campaign and that he would be defeated in 1864. His opponent, General George B. McClellan, campaigned on a platform that protected slavery. Only the timing of critical victories by Generals William Sherman in Atlanta and Philip Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley saved Lincoln's re-election bid.

This Leland-Boker Edition shows Lincoln publicly commemorating his Emancipation Proclamation at a time when disapproval of it threatened his re-election. By offering signed copies to raise money for the Sanitary Commission, Lincoln directly tied the emancipation of slaves to public support for the war effort. This rare document captures the dramatic moment when the nation embraced a new commitment to ending slavery and rededicated itself to the inalienable right of liberty.

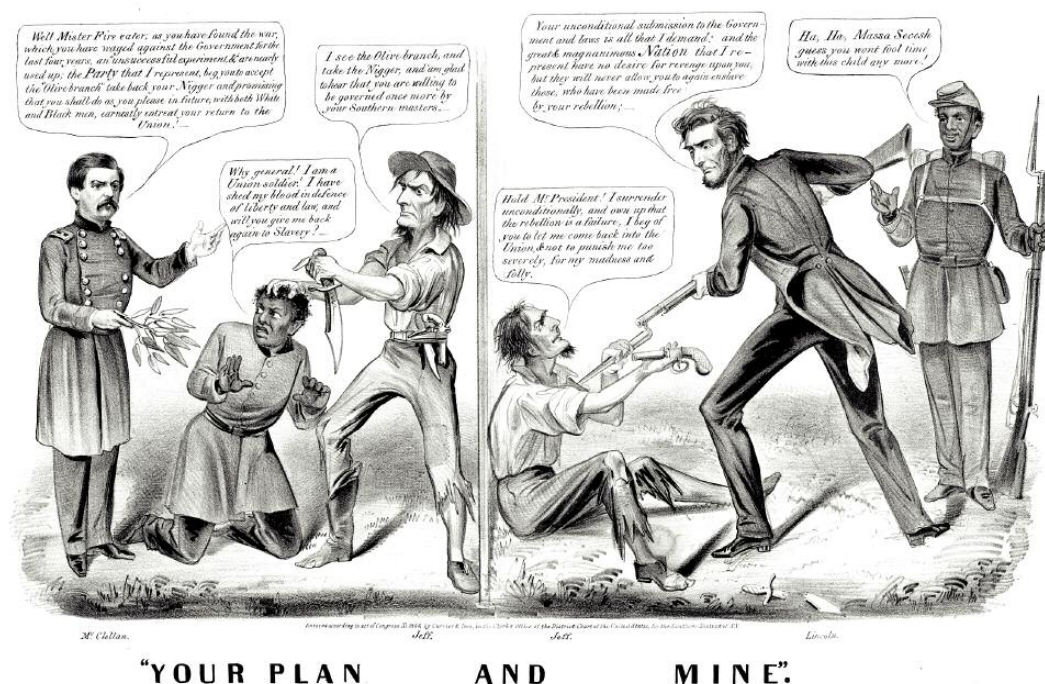
Lincoln, Slavery, and the Declaration of Independence: Toward Resolution

The Emancipation Proclamation ushered in full abolition, helped fulfill the promise of the Declaration of Independence, and rescued the nation's founding philosophy of human liberty from charges of hypocrisy. As James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton note, the history of African Americans "both illustrates and contradicts the promise of America—the principles embodied in the nation's founding documents." Lincoln himself marked the paradox in 1855:

Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal except negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes, and foreigners, and catholics [sic]." When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

Lincoln believed that although the Founders did not accord black people social and political equality, they also did not expect the position of blacks in society to remain static. Lincoln argued that in the Declaration of Independence:

They simply meant to declare the right, so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances would permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for a free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all;... constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere. The assertion that "all men are created equal" was of no practical use to our effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use.



Currier and Ives highlight the differences between the 1864 presidential candidates (Seth Kaller Inc.)

The decision to emancipate had not come easily. Lincoln doubtless saw the war years as a time of particularly rapid transition toward this “free society,” and his Proclamation displays a degree of caution. Like most white Americans, he had doubts about how African Americans would fit into society as free citizens. Lincoln enjoined “upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.”

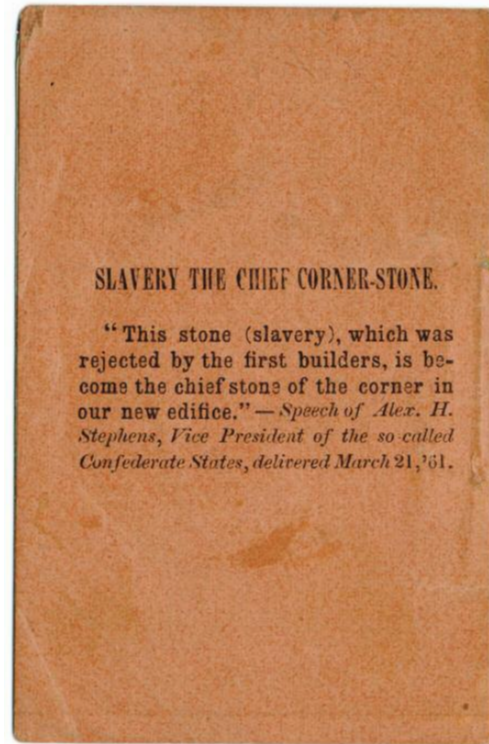
Affirming Slavery’s Role in Precipitating the War

The question of slavery’s role in bringing on the Civil War has provoked one of the most vehement debates in American history. Many Southerners argued that Confederates went to war not to defend slavery but to protect states’ rights. That argument falls flat, however. Southerners looked to Constitutional protections of slavery as the foundation of many of their arguments, and after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, demanded the use of federal marshals to return their runaway slaves. Southern leaders readily admitted the centrality of slavery to most states’ rights disputes, as well as to secession itself. Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens was only stating the obvious when, in March 1861, he called slavery the “cornerstone” of the Confederacy:

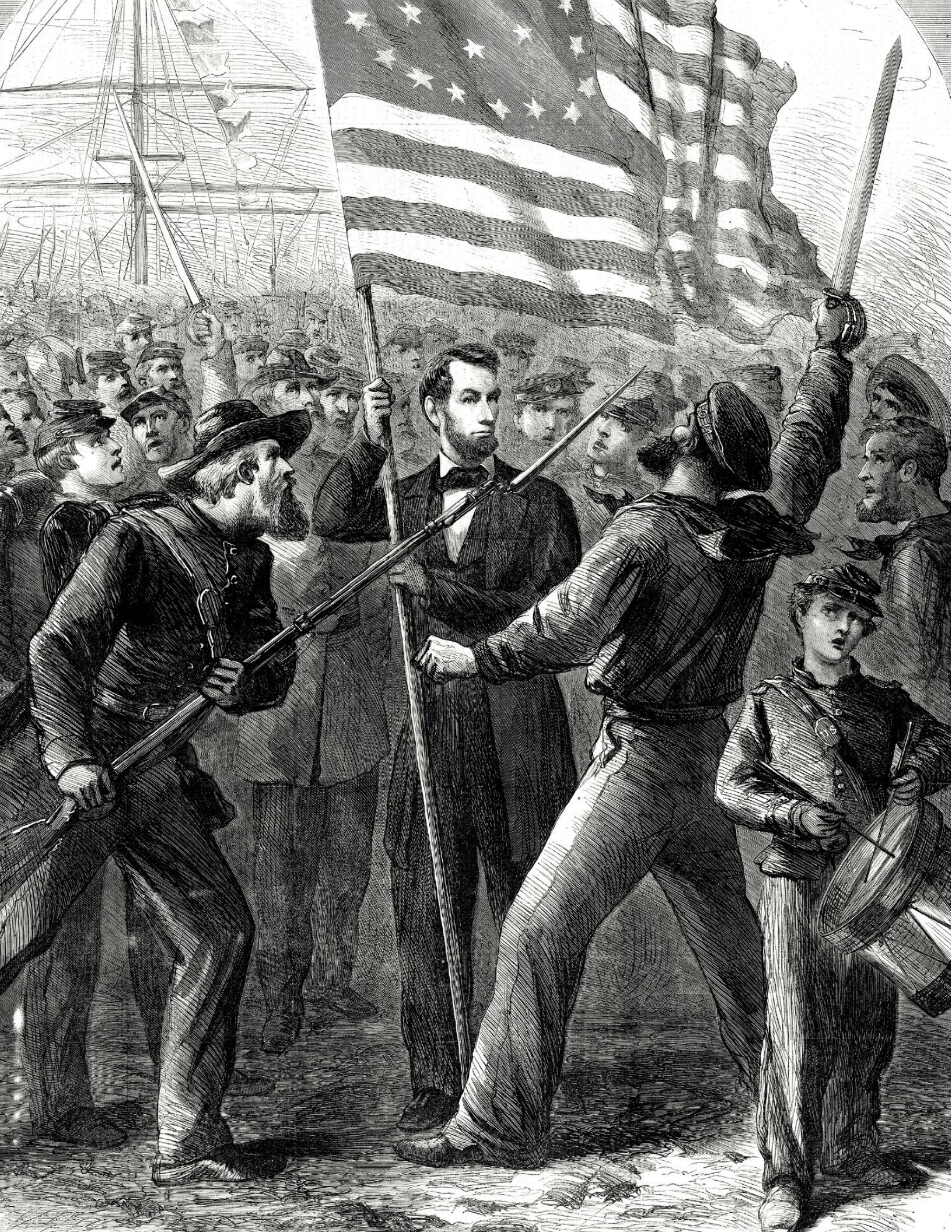
The new [Confederate] constitution has put at rest, forever, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution. African slavery as it exists amongst us the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization... Though not incorporated in the [U.S.] constitution [its framers] rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error... Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

The Confederate Constitution’s major revisions of the U.S. Constitution addressed slavery: “No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed” (Article I, Section 9). In all new territory, “the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the territorial government” (Article IV, Section 3).

The antebellum South had evolved from a society with slaves to one in which every aspect of the social order revolved around slavery. Wealthy slaveholders formed the



Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens endorses slavery; printed on the back of the miniature Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation (SKI)

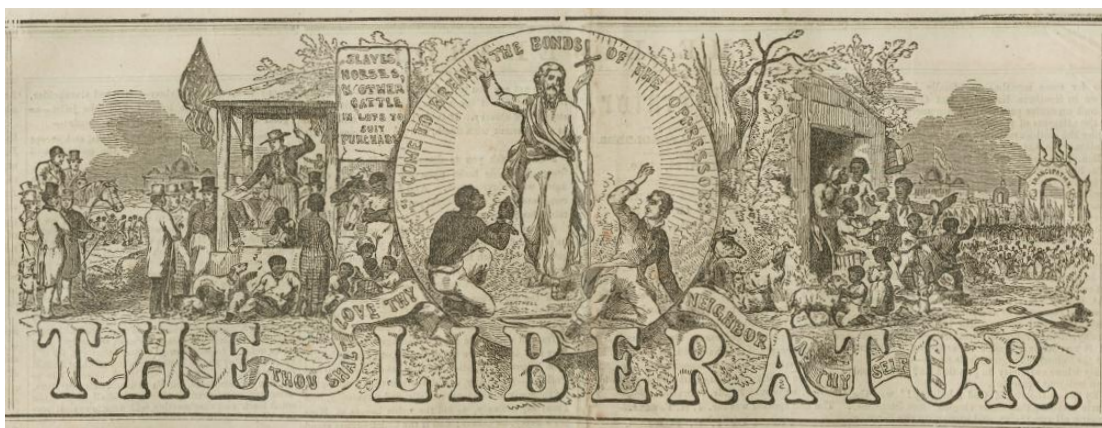


majority of the South's state and national legislators. Slaves were crucial to both the agricultural and industrial labor forces, and many white Southerners whose names were never entered in the census as slave owners regularly depended on hiring or borrowing slaves. Moreover, most white Southerners feared the potential social consequences of emancipation, predicting everything from crime waves, to "miscegenation" (racial intermarriage), to the loss of their labor force, to black demands for citizenship. Ending slavery would pose a significant threat to the wealthy and commoners alike: a total reordering of Southern society. Civil War-era Southerners might well be surprised by modern descendants who dismiss those facts and reject slavery as the cause of the war.

During the war, slavery created additional class tensions within the Southern union, notably when a law exempted owners of twenty or more slaves from the draft. As the Confederacy's fortunes grew more desperate in the second half of the war, Southerners even debated arming slaves, with emancipation and land as potential rewards. However, the concept of arming black men, and rewarding them with freedom for themselves and their families, was too fundamental a challenge to Southern ideas of manhood, citizenship, and race.

Seizing the Moment

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation as soon as the exigencies of war first made the radical step of abolition possible. Even though he realized that it might cost him re-election, by 1864 he insisted on both reunion and emancipation as preconditions to any peace negotiation. Though the battle for civil rights would have to follow, Lincoln rightly regarded the Proclamation as "the central act of my administration, and the great event of the nineteenth century."



Detail of the masthead from William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*. Its motto was "No Union With Slaveholders" (Seth Kaller Inc.)

Opposite:

Lincoln and his allies stand for the Union in the 1864 election.
From *Harper's Weekly*, October 1, 1864 (Seth Kaller Inc.)



**Appendix: Census of the Leland-Boker
“Authorized Edition” of the Emancipation Proclamation**

Of the 48 copies signed by Lincoln, we locate the following.

INSTITUTIONAL COLLECTIONS

- 1 Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, IL
- 2 Boston Athenaeum, Boston, MA
- 3 British Library, London, UK
- 4 Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, NY
- 5 Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, OK
- 6 Gilder Lehrman Collection on deposit at The New-York Historical Society**
- 7 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
- 8 Huntington Library, Pasadena, CA
- 9 Indiana University, Lilly Library, Bloomington, IN
- 10 Library of Congress, Washington, DC
- 11 Lincoln Financial Collection, Indiana State Museum, Indianapolis, IN**
- 12 Meisei University, Tokyo, Japan
- 13 National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, PA (on deposit)**
- 14 Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
- 15 Union League Club of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA
- 16 University of Chicago, Chicago, IL
- 17 University of Delaware, Wilmington, DE
- 18 University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

- 19 Private, ex-Robert F. Kennedy, Sotheby's December 10, 2010
- 20 Private, CT, museum deaccession, 2010**
- 21 David Rubenstein, Washington, DC, ex-Malcolm Forbes. On loan to the White House**
- 22 Private, NY, ex-Sotheby's October 31, 1989**
- 23 Private, CT, ex-Christie's May 22, 2001**
- 24 Private, Los Angeles, CA
- 25 Private, Northern CA
- 26 The present copy, Siegel Auction Galleries with Seth Kaller, Inc., June 26, 2012**

The copies listed in bold were bought, brokered, or sold through Kaller. One or more copies reportedly sold privately in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with no way for us to trace current ownership or to know if those are already included on this list. For the privately-owned copies, auction dates have been included to allow for continued tracking. Most of the copies known in private hands are not expected to return to the market.

Additional census details can be found at www.sethkaller.com/emancipation

Opposite:

The opportunities of Emancipation: The possibility of freedom, education, military service, and citizenship
(The Gilder Lehrman Collection, on deposit at the New-York Historical Society)

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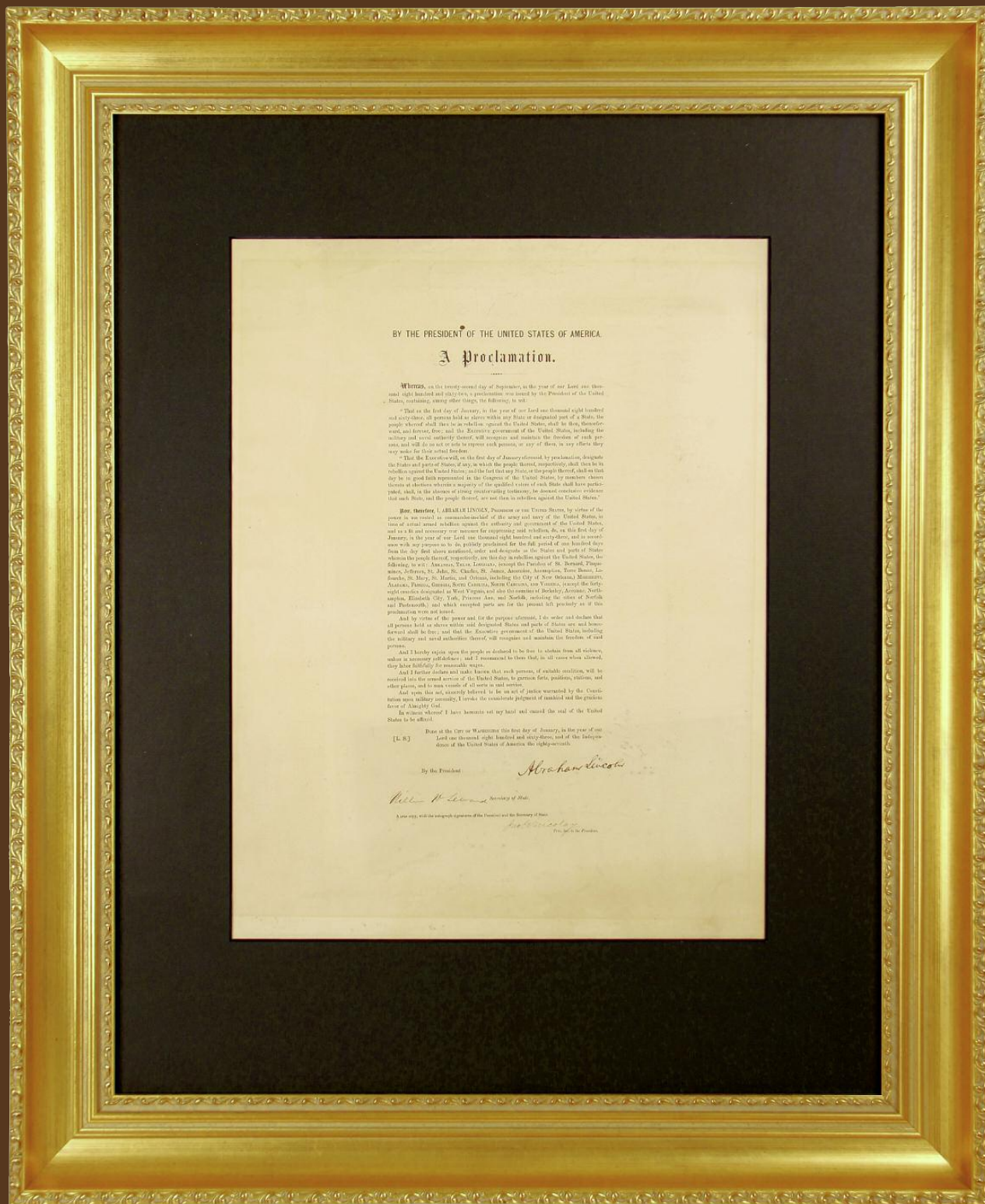
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