

422 The Ontario, Washington, D. C.,

March 7, 1925.

My dear Miss Tarbell:-

I have heard considerable of late about the cementing of the north and the south and had about concluded that it would be wrong for me to ever publish my article on "Was Lincoln responsible for the civil war"; but yesterday I became so shocked that I not only want it published but I would like to have the best and most fluent writer of the day add to it all the arguments that could be piled up.

I know you are as busy as can be. I read your articles every week in the Sunday Star, but you must take time to learn what shocked me.

Your own Columbia University has given a Kentucky woman her P H D degree on a thesis which she is now using as a lecture before the Daughters of the Confederacy, urging them to work to convince the world that the Lincoln Memorial in Washington should never have been erected to him

~~Also that the University has published as a Study in History her~~ book "The Peaceable Americans of 1860 and 1861". A hasty glance through this book shows that it was written for the express purpose of convincing students that Lincoln alone was responsible for the war. The book is not trash, like Miss Rutherford's writings, but is well written and in a very convincing style for the reader who does not know. I have ordered the book and will study it more thoroughly; but if that is a sample of what our Universities are doing Miss Scrugham is quite right when she says that by 1961 the world will reverse its decision on the civil war. I enclose you a few extracts I made yesterday and hope you will take time to look them over.

Very sincerely yours,

Sniffen

Miss Ida M. Tarbell,

120 East Nineteen street,

New York City

"Peaceable Americans of 1860-1861"

A Study in Public Opinion, by Mary Scrugham.

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, 1921.

To the Great Nationalist,

Henry Clay,

whose genius divined, and whose skill effected, the conciliations which were essential to the perpetuation of national unity based on the common consent of the north and the south, the east and the west, alike.

Preface.

In its most rudimentary form the title of this monograph was "The reconstruction period in Kentucky". x x In its final form it deals with the pre-war period. x x Kentucky's decision in 1861 was, that neither secession nor coercion was a justifiable solution for the governmental problem of the time. Kentuckians felt that the brain of the American people was capable of adjusting the existing difficulties and therefore strenuously opposed an appeal to arms. The following account is in some measure an explanation of the point of view which caused the peaceable Americans of 1861 to arrive at such a conclusion and demand the calling of a national constitutional convention to settle the dispute. Then follows acknowledgment of indebtedness to Cabell Bullock, Grace Everson, Dr. Glanville Terrell, Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, Mrs. Mary Crittenden Haycroft, Sophonisba Breckinridge, John Fitzpatrick, Judge Shackelford Miller, Judge Geo. C. Webb, John Wilson Townsend, Mrs. Thos. H. Clay, Harrison Severall and Prof. Wm. A. Dunning of Columbia University.

Allendale, March 7, 1921.

CONTENTS.

- Chapter 1 American ideas in regard to the abolition of slavery on the eve of the civil war.
- 2 The nationalistic basis of neutrality.
 - 3 The campaign of 1860.
 - 4 Government of, by, and for the people.
 - 5 Political and psychological significance of the firing at Fort Sumter.
 - 6 Kentucky's decision.

Page 12. The defeat of the slave state constitution in Kansas made it certain that none of the land which Douglas had opened to slavery north of 36° 30' would become slave. The purpose for which the Republican party had been organized having thus been accomplished, it would fall to pieces unless it acquired other reasons to continue its existence. Lincoln was unwilling for the Republicans to disband their distinctive anti-slavery organization and have nobody to follow but Douglas, so he had to supply additional material for the sustenance of the party's life

Page 124. When Lincoln took the step which led to the "disturbance of the public peace" he did so with the expectation that public opinion of the future would forgive a civil war which resulted in the abolition of slavery. However, a new current of public opinion has now set in which he did not take into consideration. Public opinion is now turning against war as a just and desirable method of settling disputes between civilized people. Because of this new trend of public opinion the world may yet reverse its decision on the civil war. It is probable that the public of 1961 may hold that there need have been no appeal from the ballot to the bullet in 1861, had the American people preserved sufficient political sagacity to distinguish between appearances and reality.

Author born Lexington Ky 1885. Lecturer to newly enfranchised women in 1920 and 1921.

Confederate Veteran, October, 1924. Lecture given by Dr. Mary Scrugham before the Daughters of the Confederacy, based on a thesis by which she won her P.H.D. degree at Columbia University in 1915. She is also the author of "The Peaceable Americans of 1860 and 1861", published as one of the Columbia University studies in History, Economics and Public Law.

nn "The glory bestowed upon Lincoln for saving the Union is a strange paradox for he did not save the Union. The fact is he came very near to destroying it. The principle on which free government is based is the consent of the governed. xx A union based on force and a union based on consent are as different as day and night. Force is force and the mailed fist is the mailed fist, whether it is raised on the field of Flanders, by the streams of Ireland, or on a "march through Georgia". x x The Union before 1861 was based on consent and after 1876 has been based on consent, but between 1865 and 1877 was based on force. From 1861 to 1865 the Union did not exist. Lincoln was President of the dis-United States. From the surrender of Lee to 1877, when Grant issued the recall for the last Northern troops from Southern States the Union was based on force. x x What Lincoln saved was the Republican party. The road to power is the road which Lincoln took in calling for troops. To this day the Republicans are still in power, still in Federal office, as a result of Lincoln's course. As to the slavery question, it was but a matter of a few years before slavery would have died a peaceful and natural death, because of its unprofitableness to its owners. War was as unnecessary either to save the Union or abolish slavery, as the battle of New Orleans after the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy have rendered a signal service to the perpetuation of government based on the consent of the governed, by keeping alive the memory of the bravery of those who died that such a government might not perish from the Southern States. Their work will not be completed until they have convinced the world that the Greek Memorial to Lincoln is dedicated to the wrong man. The great Unionist who three times laid his election to the presidency on the altar of his country, by insisting that a full, free and fair discussion could settle all problems arising between the States without appeal to arms, is Henry Clay. His procedure was identical with that advocated by the Greeks, who undertook the execution of no policy undiscussed, but thoroughly talked matters over before acting. Lincoln's failure to summon a national constitutional convention in order to enable the people to understand each other before the firing began, puts him entirely out of the Greek class in which Clay is entirely at home. Clay, not Lincoln, deserves that Greek Memorial on the Potomac.

Confederate Veteran, December, 1924. "Statue of the Wrong Man" by Cornelius B. Hite, Washington, D.C.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was a display of hypocrisy seldom equaled, for his army was battling against the Southern army, which stood for a government created by the Fathers, founded on the great principle of "self-determination" or "consent", x x whereas he was bending every effort to pull down this government and set up in its place one the Fathers had utterly rejected, viz. a "national" one. x x The "national" feature that Lincoln tried to put over on the people is a thing of the past and now only is occasionally heard of when some one refers to the country as a "nation". Dr. Scrugham says Congress put the "wrong man" in the Grecian Memorial and I agree. Why did the G.O.P. allow Lincoln to monopolize all this fine Memorial? Why not have given him some congenial company, such as John Brown the celebrated murderer; Wm. Lloyd Garrison the burner of the constitution on Boston Commons; Wendell Phillips who declared the Black Republican Party a sectional one; Henry Ward Beecher who said Sharp's rifles were better than Bibles in dealing with slave-holders; Horace Greeley owner of the mouthpiece of the Black Republican Party; Medill the bitter radical; and many others, including Maria Weston Chapman, secretary to this aggregation of well known dis-unionists. x x Thanks to a kind providence this organization utterly failed, after a few years of despotic misrule, to attain to that climax of infamy, the centralization of our system of government, which the people generally today abhor as much as in 1776.

Proposition in October Veteran to establish at West Point an annual prize for the graduating class of a dress sword to memorialize Jefferson Davis and General Lee on the lines now being done for Commodore Maury at Annapolis.

December Veteran. Historical Committee instructed to take up the matter of producing a Southern Historical Motion Picture. Committee appointed to represent the Daughters of Confederacy in planning the approach to Arlington from the new bridge about to be built by the Government.