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PLANS FOR WORK.

This work would aim to show the political philosophy which motivated President Lincoln, and demonstrate the technique which he employed in attempting to add the 13th amendment to the Federal Constitution. This amendment, abolishing slavery in the United States, was, as a constitutional authority has said, "the first example of the use of the amending process to accomplish a specific reform on a nation-wide scale, outside what may be called, in a narrow sense, the strictly constitutional function." It was, moreover, designed to eliminate the bone of contention from the body politic which had threatened to rend the national fabric.

Lincoln's political prowess was never better exemplified that in this fight to amend the constitution. His far-sightedness and imperious will - rarely imposed save in extreme instances - are here clearly shown. After deciding that his own preferred policy of compensated emancipation was impracticable, and realizing that the legality of his proclamation was questionable, he determined on a constitutional amendment, which, said he, would "finish the job." To this end he pressed on all fronts: in admitting new states on the grounds of "expediency" when the constitutionality of such admissions was questioned; in reorganizing and recognizing the governments of several of the Southern "reconstructed" states when the leaders of his own party were against him; in securing a plank in the Union (Republican) National platform in 1864 declaring for such an amendment; in dangling the bait of compensation before those of the Southern rebellious states which should ratify the amendment; and

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last but not least, in setting in motion the forces of patronage and jobbery which compelled a House whose membership but seven months before had rejected ratification, now to provide the necessary two-thirds majority. In doing this he was not content to wait another year for a new Congress, but insisted that the lame duck session fall into line.

The project is original. It aims to investigate an aspect of Lincoln's genius hitherto undeservedly neglected. It would be hard to find a better example of Lincoln's economic, social and political philosophy, than is exhibited in his handling of this legislation. Such a study should be timely in view of our current thinking and the public interest displayed in our various problems and ways of handling them.

The political side of Lincoln has not received the treatment which it deserves. No other American has exceeded him in political acumen, yet this aspect of the man has been largely disregarded. Of the 3500 and more publications with Lincoln as the central theme, but three volumes and several pamphlets deal exclusively with this phase of the Lincoln theme; two of these volumes do not refer to the amendment at all. For other references to the politically-minded Lincoln, one must cover a wide range of scattered reading. Furthermore, nothing of a specific nature has thus far appeared in connection with Lincoln's legislation, save in his theory of reconstruction, and here the paths of these two allied subjects cross.

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The groundwork of this project has been laid and various data assembled. It would require approximately a year, devoted exclusively to this project, to bring it to completion.

In addition to work which could be done in my own library and the State Library at Harrisburg, much work research among original manuscripts in various libraries and collections would be necessary. This would include the Simon Cameron, S. P. Chase, Andrew Johnson, Edwin M. Stanton, Gideon Welles, James R. Doolittle, Carl Schurz, John Sherman, Lyman Trumbull, and E. B. Washburne papers in the Library of Congress; the Greeley and Colfax papers in the New York Public Library; the Chase and Johnson papers in the Penna. Historical Society, Philadelphia; the Hugh McCulloch and Lincoln papers in the Lincoln National Life Foundation, Fort Wayne, Ind.; the Lincoln papers and photostats in the Illinois Historical Society; and the Lincoln library and papers of the late Dr. Barton in the University of Chicago.

It is my opinion that a volume of 300 pages would result, and that the manuscript could be placed with a reputable publishing house.

My ultimate purpose as a Lincoln scholar is first, to provide a realistic evaluation of Lincoln in relation to the problems of his time, and secondly, to apply the insights thus gained to the problems of the present.

There is much to indicate that American problems are in some

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ways different from the problems of governments in general, and it is my conviction that the study of critical periods in American history may be expected to illuminate contemporary problems better than any other sort of historical investigation.