

**Political Science 370: Statesmanship of Lincoln
History 322: Civil War and Reconstruction**

**Peter W. Schramm
Spring 2006**

“The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing.” –Archilocus

“To take seriously another’s carefully expressed thought is, after all, the best tribute we can pay to him. That is, indeed, the most noble imitation and worthy of our greatest efforts if we are to understand who we are and what we aspire to.” –George Anastaplo

“Beyond his own country some of us recall his name as the greatest among those associated with the cause of popular government... Yet if he reflected much on forms of government it was with a dominant interest in something beyond them. For he was a citizen of that far country where there is neither aristocrat nor democrat. No political theory stands out from his words or actions; but they show a most unusual sense of the possible dignity of common men and common things... If he had a theory of democracy it was contained in this condensed note which he wrote perhaps as an autograph, a year or two before his presidency: ‘As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.’ --A. Lincoln.” --Lord Charnwood

“The Civil War, even if an exception in one sense, is also the most characteristic phenomenon in American politics, if by characteristic we mean that which reveals the innermost character of that politics.” --Harry V. Jaffa

“That assessment is, to state it plainly, that Lincoln seems to me most impressive in his sure-footedness: he never seemed to step wrong in the major moves he made once he assumed the Presidency. The mistakes he did make were due not to faulty judgment but to mistaken information, and in circumstances where he had to rely on what was told him. Thus throughout the war, he was remarkably adept, knowing both what he wanted and what he was doing. He was, in short, a model of prudential judgment, or at least as fine a practitioner of such judgment as we have had in the Presidency.” –George Anastaplo

“Lincoln was equally dedicated to the principle of equality and the principle of consent. Statesmanship, for him, consisted in finding the common denominator in existing circumstances which was the highest degree of equality for which consent could be obtained.” --Harry V. Jaffa

“It is safer to try to understand the low in the light of the high than the high in the light of the low. In doing the latter one necessarily distorts the high, whereas in doing the former one does not deprive the low of the freedom to reveal itself fully as what it is.” –Leo Strauss

“Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say for one that I have no other [ambition] so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition, is yet to be developed.” Abraham Lincoln (1832)

“Mr. Jefferson...who was, is, and perhaps will continue to be, the most distinguished politician of our history...” Abraham Lincoln (October 16, 1854)

“...I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include *all* men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in *all respects*. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness, in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal in ‘certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’ This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean the obvious untruth, that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet, that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the *right*, so that the *enforcement* of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, 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 in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should re-appear in this fair land and commence their vocation they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.” Abraham Lincoln (June 26, 1857)

“All this is not the result of accident. It has a philosophical cause. Without the *Constitution* and the *Union*, we could not have attained the result; but even these, are not the primary cause of our great prosperity. There is something back of these, entwining itself more closely about the human heart. That something, is the principle of “Liberty to all”—the principle that clears the *path* for all—gives *hope* to all—and, by consequence, enterprise, and *industry* to all.

The *expression* of that principle, in our Declaration of Independence, was most happy, and fortunate. *Without* this, as well as *with* it, we could have declared our independence of Great Britain; but *without* it, we could not, I think, have secured our free government, and consequent prosperity. No oppressed, people will *fight*, and *endure*, as our fathers did, without the promise of something better, than a mere change of masters.

The assertion of that *principle*, at that time, was the word, ‘*fitly spoken*’ which has proved an ‘apple of gold’ to us. The *Union*, and the *Constitution*, are the *picture of silver*, subsequently framed around it. The picture was made, not to *conceal*, or *destroy*, the apple; but to *adorn*, and *preserve* it. The *picture* was made for the apple—not the apple for the picture.

So let us act, that neither *picture*, or *apple* shall ever be blurred, or bruised or broken.

That we may so act, we must study, and understand the points of danger.” A.L. (1861)

“I am a patient man—always willing to forgive on the Christian terms of repentance, [however] it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed.” Abraham Lincoln (1862)

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Political Science 370: Statesmanship of Lincoln
History 322: Civil War and Reconstruction

Spring 2006

Required Texts:

Roy P. Basler, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*
Allen C. Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*
James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*
Lord Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln: A Biography*
Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States of America

Recommended:

Harry V. Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided: An Interpretation of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates*
Harry V. Jaffa, *A New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War*
Allen C. Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*

Reference:

U.S. Territorial Maps, 1775-1920
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MAP/terr_hp.html
Election of 1854, 1860, 1864
<http://www.uselectionatlas.org/USPRESIDENT/frame.txtj.html>
Document Library
<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/>
Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1858)
<http://www.bartleby.com/251/>
John Channing Briggs, *Lincoln's Speeches Reconsidered*
Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*
Lucas Morel, *Lincoln's Sacred Effort: Defining Religion's Role in American Self-government*
William Lee Miller, *Lincoln's Virtues: An Ethical Biography*
Richard Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power*
Harold Holzer, *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech that Made Abraham Lincoln President*
Douglas Wilson, *Honor's Voice: The Transformation of Abraham Lincoln*
David Herbert Donald and Harold Holzer (eds.), *Lincoln in The Times: The Life of Abraham Lincoln as Originally Reported in The New York Times*
William E. Barton, *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*

Ronald C. White, *Lincoln's Greatest Speech*
 Ronald C. White, *The Eloquent President: A Portrait of Lincoln Through His Words*
 Daniel Farber, *Lincoln's Constitution*
 Richard Carwardine, *Lincoln*
 David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861*
 Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln*
 David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln*
 David Herbert Donald, *We are Lincoln Men: Abraham Lincoln and his Friends*
 Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850's*
 Glen E. Thurow, *Abraham Lincoln and American Political Religion*
 Robert W. Johannsen (ed.), *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates*
 Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*
 John Waugh, *Reelecting Lincoln: The Battle for the 1864 Presidency*
 Jay Winnick, *April 1865: The Month that Saved America*
 Daniel Kilham Lodge, *Abraham Lincoln: The Evolution of his Literary Style*
 Douglas L. Wilson, *Lincoln before Washington: New Perspectives on the Illinois Years*
 Harry J. Maihaffer, *War of Words: Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War Press*
 George Anastaplo, *Abraham Lincoln: A Constitutional Biography*
 David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*
 John C. Waugh, *Reelecting Lincoln: The Battle for the 1864 Presidency*
 Stewart Winger, *Lincoln, Religion, and Romantic Cultural Politics*
 William E. Gienapp, *Abraham Lincoln and Civil War America: A Biography*
 Leo Paul S. de Alvarez (ed.), *Abraham Lincoln, The Gettysburg Address and American Constitutionalism*
 T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals*
 Russell F. Weigley, *A Great Civil War: A Military and Political History, 1861-1865*
 Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*
 Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*
 Robert W. Fogel & Stanley L. Engerman, *The Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*
 Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation: 1861-1865*
 Mark Grimsley and Brooks D. Simpson (eds.), *The Collapse of the Confederacy*
 Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War*
 Shelby Foote, *The Civil War*
 Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*
 Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties*
 Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia*
 Phillip Shaw Paludan, *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln*
 Allan G. Bogue, *The Congressmen's Civil War*
 James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union*
 James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*
 John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*
 Kelly, Harbison, and Belz, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development, Vol I*
 Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Slavery, Law, & Politics: The Dred Scott Case in Historical Perspective*
 Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics*
 Herman Belz, *Emancipation and Equal Rights: Politics and Constitutionalism in the Civil War Era*
 William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836*

Gary Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg*
 Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*
 Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*
 William C. Harris, *With Charity for All: Lincoln and the Restoration of the Union*
 William C. Harris, *Lincoln's Last Months*
 Daniel Mark Epstein, *Lincoln and Whitman: Parallel Lives in Civil War Washington*
 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
 Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels*
 Richard Slotkin, *Abe: A Novel of the Young Lincoln*
 Gore Vidal, *Lincoln*
 William Safire, *Freedom*

Course Requirements:

- I. SEMINAR PAPER: Each student will be assigned into a group of three and each group will be given a topic. Each student in the group will report on some aspect of that topic, to be determined by the student himself. Thus there will be one research topic assigned to each student; it will be written (circa 3-5 pages each) and each group will make an oral presentation of no more than thirty minutes, after handing in the writing assignment. The research topic will be due throughout the semester (depending on chronology), assignments will be made during the first meeting of the class. The seminar paper, combined with class participation, will be worth 30% of your grade.
- II. TERM PAPER: A term paper (circa 10-12 pages) will be due the last day of class; topics will be determined by the sixth week of class. The paper will be an analytical paper focusing on a document(s), rather than a so-called research paper. An analytical paper is interested in the substance and the logic of the author's arguments and in their historical, political, and philosophical meaning. It is the thought of the author that we aim to analyze. You must try to understand the author as he understood himself. Your reference books for papers will be Turabian, and Strunk & White. The term paper will be worth 50% of your grade.
- III. FINAL EXAMINATION: There will be a two-hour final examination. The final exam will be worth 20% of your grade.
- IV. PARTICIPATION: This is an upper division seminar. Participation is not optional and it will be graded. Your participation in class discussion will be worth 30% of your grade (this includes the research topic and presentation, see I, above).

Research Topics:

Joshua Speed – William H. Herndon – Orville H. Browning – William H. Seward – John Nicolay & John Hay – The Kansas-Nebraska Act – The Republican Party Platform of 1856 – Dred Scott Case – the Election of 1860 – *Uncle Tom's Cabin* – Fugitive Slave Law – the Election of 1864 – slavery in the territories – Missouri Compromise – Clement L. Vallandigham – Ely Parker – Frederick Douglas – George Fitzhugh – Salmon P. Chase – Edwin M. Stanton- Charles Sumner – Henry Clay – Noah Brooks – Horace Greeley – Thurlow Weed – Know Nothing Party – Cornerstone Speech – Roger Taney – Jefferson Davis – Conscriptio Act – Wade-Davis Bill – Radical Republicans – West Virginia – Lincoln's proclamation of Dec. 8, 1863 – Crittenden's Compromise – Freedom's Bureau Act – Lincoln's "lost speech" – Shakespeare – Euclid – Walt Whitman

Course Outline:

I. Introduction: The Statesmanship (and Poetry) of Lincoln

The Great Seal of the United States

Lincoln, "Fragment on the Constitution and the Union" (circa January, 1861, *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 168-169)

Lincoln, excerpt from "Dred Scott Speech," June 26, 1857

Lincoln, Gettysburg Address

II. Slavery and the Founding (one week)

Focus: What did the Founders mean by declaring "all men are created equal?" Given the existence of slavery in Revolutionary America, did they really only mean to say that all "white English Protestant Christian males who own property" are created equal? If, on the other hand, the Founders meant the term "men" to be inclusive of all human beings--black and white, male and female--then how are we to understand the relation between their universal principles (which would condemn slavery) and their actual practice (the fact that slavery continued to exist in America until the Civil War)? How does the requirement of consent as the only legitimate basis of government qualify the pursuit of equality in a free society? Equality is not only the fundamental principle of both free government and the Constitution, but it is also the fundamental principle of justice. Can the people abandon equality through consent?

Declaration of Independence (booklet)

Constitution of the United States

Article I, Section 2 (3)

Article I, Section 9 (1)

Article IV, Section 2 (3)

Thomas Jefferson,

Original Draft of the Declaration of Independence

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=4>

Notes on the State of Virginia, Query XVIII, "Manners"

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=529>

Letter to Henry Lee (May 8, 1825) (booklet)

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=3>

Letter to Roger C. Weightman (June 24, 1826) (booklet)

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=5>

Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*

"The Dred Scott Decision" (June 26, 1857), 352-65, esp. 360-61

Recommended:

Harry V. Jaffa

Crisis of the House Divided, Chapter 17 (& chapters 14-15)

Martin Luther King, Jr.

"I Have a Dream," Aug 28, 1963

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=40>

Thomas G. West

Vindicating the Founders, Ch. 1, "Slavery" (Reserve)

<http://www.vindicatingthefounders.com/>

III. Slavery, Ante-Bellum Politics, Westward Expansion, the Dred Scott Decision (four weeks)

Focus: What is "reverence for the laws" and why does Lincoln think it is so important to "the perpetuation of our political institutions?" Who or what is the "towering Genius" that poses the greatest threat to American self-government? What does Lincoln's criticism of "old school" temperance reformers suggest about the proper mode of political debate for a self-governing people? What role does Lincoln believe religion plays in a self-governing society? What does Stephen Douglas mean by "popular sovereignty?" Why does Lincoln view the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 as a reversal of American policy towards domestic slavery? How does the "indifference" about the spread of slavery amount to "covert *real zeal*" for its spread? If public opinion becomes corrupted, what happens to the "electric cord" linking together "the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men"? How does Lincoln justify previous national compromises with slavery? What is Lincoln's definition of self-government and how does it inform his political rhetoric and policy proposals?

Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*, Chs. 1, 2

McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, Chs. 1-6

Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*, Chs. 1- 4

Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*

Jan 27, 1838 speech to the Young Men's Lyceum

Feb 22, 1842 Temperance Address

Aug 11, 1846 Religious Views

July 6, 1852 eulogy on Henry Clay

Two undated fragments

Oct 16, 1854 speech at Peoria, Illinois

Aug 11, 1855 letter to Owen Lovejoy

Aug 24, 1855 letter to Joshua Speed

Dec 10, 1856 speech at a Republican banquet in Chicago

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=409>

June 26, 1857 speech at Springfield, Illinois

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=52>

Dec 28, 1857 letter to Lyman Trumbull

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=410>

July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago

July 17, 1858, Speech at Springfield

June 16, 1858 the House Divided Speech

Frederick Douglass

"What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" July 5, 1852

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=162>

"Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln," April 14, 1876

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=39>

John C. Calhoun

"Slavery as a Positive Good," Feb 6, 1837

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=71>

John C. Calhoun,

"Speech in the Senate on the Oregon Bill," June 27, 1848

<http://www.vindicatingthefounders.com/library/index.asp?document=22>

Recommended:

Harry V. Jaffa

Crisis of the House Divided, Chs. 9,10

Peter C. Myers

“Frederick Douglass’ Natural Rights Constitutionalism: The Postwar, Pre-Progressive Period,” in *The Progressive Revolution in Politics and Political Science*, John Marini and Ken Masugi, (eds.) (photocopied, Reserve)

Diana Schaub

“Frederick Douglass’ Constitution” (photocopied, Reserve)

Richard S. Ruderman

“‘Proclaim Liberty throughout the Land’: Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and the Abolition of Slavery,” in *History of American Political Thought* (eds.) Bryan-Paul Frost and Jeffrey Sikkenga (reserve)

Lucas E. Morel

“America’s First Black President? Lincoln’s Legacy of Political Transcendence,” in *Lincoln Reshapes the Presidency* (ed.) Charles M. Hubbard (Reserve)

Lucas E. Morel

“Lincoln Among the Reformers: Tempering the Temperance Movement,” Winter, 1999, *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*
<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jala/20.1/morel.html>

IV. The Expansion of Slavery and the Lincoln-Douglas Debates (three weeks)

Focus: What is Lincoln's definition of democracy? What role does Lincoln think the Declaration of Independence plays in contemporary political practice? Why does Lincoln advise against a Republican call for repeal of the fugitive slave law? What is the difference between the "mud-sill" theory of labor and capital and the "free labor" theory? What connection does Lincoln make between liberty, union, and the Constitution? Why was the “Freeport question” important? Can the people abandon “the father of all moral principle in them” through consent?

Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*, Ch. 5

Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*, Chs. 3-5

Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*

Aug 1, 1858, Fragment On Slavery

First Joint Debate, Ottawa, Aug 21, 1858

Second Joint Debate, Freeport, Aug 27, 1858

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=104>

Oct 1, 1858, Fragment on Slavery

April 6, 1859 letter to Henry L. Pierce and others

June 9, 1859 letter to Salmon P. Chase

June 20, 1859 letter to Salmon P. Chase

Sept 30, 1859, speech to Wisconsin State Agricultural Society

Dec 20, 1859 letter to Jesse W. Fell

1860, Fragment: The Constitution and the Union

Recommended:

Harry V. Jaffa

Crisis of the House Divided

V. The South, the Election of 1860, and Secession (two weeks)

Focus: As Lincoln recounts the early history of the federal government, what authority did it exercise over slavery? What problems do southerners have with the Republican Party, and how does Lincoln respond to their charges? Why does Lincoln claim that the southern disposition during the 1860 election year was to "rule or ruin in all events"? What is his advice to Republicans as they face opposition over the slavery controversy? In his address to the New Jersey Senate, why does Lincoln call the American citizenry God's "almost chosen people"? What is Lincoln's declared agenda as the incoming president? Why does he think secession unjustified and illegitimate? What is Lincoln's view of the authority of the Supreme Court? What does Lincoln mean by "the better angels of our nature"? How does Lincoln think the country can avoid civil war? What was the basis of Southern secession? How did it differ from the claims advanced by the Americans in 1776? Why? Did secession have to lead to war? Why couldn't the south have been allowed to secede peacefully, as Horace Greeley argued?

McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, Chs. 7-9

Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*, Ch. 6

Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*, Chs. 6-7

Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*

February 27, 1860 speech at Cooper Institute

February 11, 1861 farewell speech at Springfield

February 21, 1861 address to the Assembly of New Jersey

February 22, 1861 address in Independence Hall

March 4, 1861 First Inaugural Address

May 25, 1861 letter to Ephraim D. and Phoebe Ellsworth

Alexander Stephens,

"Cornerstone Speech"

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=76>

"Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union," December 24, 1860

<http://facweb.furman.edu/~benson/docs/decl-sc.htm>

Two Papers Justifying Causes of Secession, S.C. (Rhett & Memminger)

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=614>

Recommended:

Harry V. Jaffa

The New Birth of Freedom, Chs. 4-5

Thomas L. Krannawitter

"John C. Calhoun and the New Science of Race and Politics," in *Challenges to the American Founding: Slavery, Historicism, and Progressivism in the Nineteenth Century*, Ronald J. Pestritto and Thomas G. West (eds.) (Reserve)

Herman Belz

"Lincoln, Secession, and Revolution: The Civil War Challenge to the Founding," in *Ibid.* (photocopied, Reserve)

Will Morrisey

"Jefferson Davis and Self-Government," in *Ibid* (photocopied, Reserve)

VI. The War and Emancipation (three weeks)

Focus: What was Lincoln's impact as a war leader and strategist? Given the disparities in resources between the North and the South, wasn't it a foregone conclusion that the North would triumph in a war of attrition? Compare his performance with that of Jefferson Davis. Lincoln's critics charge that at best, he was not a particularly good judge of competence, and at worst, he was a political trimmer. They claim that his cabinet selections were not particularly impressive, and once established, he had difficulty controlling the cabinet. What are the problems of conducting a war in a democracy? How did Lincoln handle them?

Lincoln claimed to be fighting a war that would lead to "a new birth of freedom," yet some claim he violated civil liberties on an unprecedented scale. How can a war for liberty be reconciled with such violations of civil liberties? Were the steps he took during the war constitutional?

The Emancipation Proclamation did not free a single slave under the authority of the Federal government, e.g., the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, or Missouri. What did it accomplish? On emancipation, Lincoln moved too slowly for the radicals and abolitionists and too fast for the Democrats. Was the Emancipation Proclamation an "unrivaled act of American statesmanship" and "the most moral blow ever struck by an individual in American political history"?

McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, Chs. 10-27

Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*, Chs. 7-9

Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*, Chs. 8-10

Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*

December 3, 1861 Annual Message to Congress

July 4, 1861 Message to Congress in Special Session

May 19, 1862 Presidential Proclamation

July 28, 1862 letter to Bullitt

August 22, 1862 letter to Horace Greeley

September 1862 meditation on the Divine Will

September 22, 1862 Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=31>

September 24, 1862 Proclamation Suspending the Writ of Habeas Corpus

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=425>

September 28, 1862 letter to Hannibal Hamblin

September 30, 1862 Meditation on the Divine Will

December 1, 1862 Annual Message to Congress

December 23, 1862 Letter to Fanny McCullough

January 1, 1863 Emancipation Proclamation

January 8, 1863 letter to John A. McClernand

June 12, 1863 letter to Erastus Corning and others

July 13, 1863 letter to Ulysses S. Grant

July 14, 1863 letter to George S. Meade

July 30, 1863 Presidential Order

August 5, 1863 letter to Nathaniel P. Banks

August 17, November 2 1863 letters to James H. Hackett

August 26, 1863 letter to James C. Conkling

November 19, 1863 Gettysburg Address

December 19, 1863 Presidential Proclamation

December 8, 1863 Annual Message to Congress
 December 15, 1863 Letter to Thomas Cottman
 March 13, 1864 letter to Michael Hahn
 April 4, 1864 letter to Albert G. Hodges
 April 30, 1864 letter to U.S. Grant
 June 9, 1864 Reply to Delegates from the Nation Union League
 July 8, 1864 Presidential Proclamation
 September 12, 1864 Draft of a Letter to Isaac M. Schermerhorn
 September 19, 1864 letter to William T. Sherman
 October 19, 1864 Response to a Serenade
 November 10, 1864 Response to a Serenade
 November 21, 1864 letter to Lydia Bixby
 December 6, 1864 Annual Message to Congress
 December 26, 1864 Letter to William T. Sherman
 January 19, 1865 letter to U.S. Grant

Recommended:

Harry V. Jaffa,

A New Birth of Freedom, Ch. 6

John Greenleaf Whittier

“Barbara Fritchie”

Allan Guelzo

Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation

Allan Guelzo

“The Emancipation Moment: Abraham Lincoln and the 1st of January, 1863”

(audio file) lecture at Ashbrook Center, February 27, 2004

<http://www.ashbrook.org/events/colloqui/2004/guelzo.html>

James McPherson

“Colloquium on the Battle of Antietam,” (audio file) lecture at Ashbrook Center,
 February 11, 2005

<http://www.ashbrook.org/events/colloqui/2005/mcpherson.html>

Peter W. Schramm

“One Last Card to Play,” *Claremont Review of Books*, Spring 2004

<http://www.claremont.org/writings/crb/spring2004/schramm.html>

William E. Gienapp

“Abraham Lincoln and the Border States,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln
 Association*, Vol 13, Issue 1, 1992

<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jala/13/gienapp.html>

VII. The New Birth of Freedom

Focus: When Lincoln called for a “new birth of freedom” at Gettysburg, did he mean a simple return to the original founding order? Or, did he mean the re-birth of the regime purged of the imperfection? What does that have to do with the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?

What are Lincoln's objectives as the newly re-elected president in the Second Inaugural Address? Why emphasize that both sides tried to avoid war? Why is there no explicit mention of the South as the cause of rebellion in the Second Inaugural Address? According to Lincoln, who or what was the cause of the Civil War? Why does he appeal to God's judgment to discern the meaning of the Civil War? How does the Second

Inaugural Address forge a connection between America's past and America's future? In other words, why does Lincoln use his Second Inauguration Address to explain the meaning of the preceding four years?

McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, Ch. 28

Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*, Ch. 10, Epilogue

Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*, Chs. 11-12

Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*

October 3, 1863 Proclamation for Thanksgiving

November 19, 1863 Gettysburg Address

September 4, 1864 letter to Eliza Gurney

October 20, 1864 Proclamation for Thanksgiving

November 21, 1864 letter to Mrs. Bixby

December [6?] 1864 story written for Eliza Brooks

March 1, 1865 reply to notification committee

March 4, 1865 Second Inaugural Address

March 15, 1865 letter to Thurlow Weed

April 10, 1865 Response to a serenade

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=616>

April 11, 1865 Last Public Address

Recommended:

Scot J. Zentner, "Review Essay"

Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Vol. 25, No. 1, Winter 2004

<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jala/25.1/zentner.html>

Lucas Morel, *Lincoln's Sacred Effort*, Ch. 5

"The Political Limits of Reason and Religion: An Interpretation of the Second Inaugural Address" (photocopied, Reserve)

Julia Ward Howe

"The Battle Hymn of the Republic"

T. & E. Snowden & Daniel Decatur Emmett

"Dixie"

Walt Whitman

"O Captain! My Captain!"

"When Lilacs in the Dooryard Bloom'd"

Herman Melville

"The Martyr"

Final Exam: May 2 (Tuesday) 6:30 p.m.

THE MEANING OF GRADES

These are my standards of judgment:

“A”: Excellent work demonstrating unusually thorough preparation, genuine comprehension and synthesis, insight and even originality. It is remarkably well-written and presented. The grade signifies not simply very good work but exceptionally fine work. In a word, MASTERY.

“B”: Very good, thorough work. The work demonstrates thorough preparation, a grasp of the subject matter and a thorough command of the materials of the course. It may not show any special insight or originality, but it demonstrates clear understanding of the material with comprehensive answers presented in a clear and logically correct style. In a word, COMPETENCE.

“C”: The work is acceptable for degree credit. It does not mean “poor” work because we should not award degrees for poor work. The work demonstrates an adequate, though not comprehensive grasp of the subject matter. Significant information might be overlooked. The work may not display a full appreciation of the meaning or implication of a question. Answers might be too brief to allow sufficient development. An essay might read as a list of facts rather than a well-developed argument. It might appear to be derived wholly from lecture material, ignoring relevant readings or references to the readings. Though imperfect, the work is, on the whole, of a quality that is acceptable in the sense that the award of the degree for this level work is warranted. In other words, ACCEPTABLE or SATISFACTORY.

“D”: Work that only barely qualifies for academic credit. The student has clearly learned something from the course, but the work is shoddy and shows poor or inconsistent preparation. The general impression is of an examination or essay that is inadequately prepared or understood and poorly presented. A student who performs consistently at this level should not expect to be awarded a college degree. In other words, POOR BUT PASSING.

“F”: Work that shows little or no preparation or comprehension. Many facts or references are missing or are misunderstood. There is little or no analysis, and the style is poor, confused or incomprehensible. **IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT NO WORK WAS DONE, NO CLASSES WERE ATTENDED, NO ESSAYS WERE WRITTEN OR NO LEARNING HAS TAKEN PLACE.** A student can attend classes (or at least some or most of them), do the reading (perhaps inconsistently), and hand in the required work and yet earn an “F” if the product does not reflect some minimal command of the materials of the course. In a word, UNACCEPTABLE.