

LincolnLore

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THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

Those Who Voted "Ave" And "Nay" On The Resolution

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution is often called the first of the three Reconstruction Amendments. It contains two clauses, namely,

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except

as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

 The Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

The Amendment when first proposed by a resolution in Congress, was passed by the Senate (Thirty Eighth Congress-1st Session) on April 8, 1864. The vote was 38 to 6. The debates in reference to the Amendment, in both the Senate and House, were vigorous and sometimes vindictive. A great many arguments against the passage of the resolution were advanced. Some senators and representatives felt it was not necessary to enact a Thirteenth Amendment. They asked, "Has not its (slavery) abolition been proclaimed by the president?" Some felt that this was not the proper time to enact an Amendment first the nation would "repose in should "repose in peace." Others felt it was not right to force a 13th Amendment upon the seced-ed states and make

their re-entry into the Union more difficult. A few politicians in their opposition to the Amendment stated their platform was "The Constitution as it is and the Union as it was." One member of Congress said, "Abolish slavery and you destroy the ability of the south to con-

tribute a portion of what they should in justice be held to pay." The Amendment was often branded as "experimental legislation."

One argument against the Amendment was that it

"may delay both peace and Union." It was pointed out that the South might sue for peace on the basis of gradual emancipation. There was a reluctance on the part of many congressmen to vote for a new Amendment. It was often pointed out that the last Amendment dated back to the year 1804 and that "The Constitution was framed by far better and wiser men than ourselves."

Lincoln had even said on an earlier occasion when there were those who would amend it: "No sir, let it stand as it is. New hands have never touched it." It is of interest to state that during his entire lifetime, Lincoln did not witness an Amendment to the Constitution, ratified by the States.

Another group opposed the enactment of the Thirteenth Amendment because freeing the slaves would take \$500,000,000 of property from the rightful owners. Those advocating compensated emancipation pointed out that when England liberated the slaves in the West Indies they appropriated £20,000,000 as compensation to owners.

posed the enactment of the 13th Amendment. They were Davis of Ky., Hendricks of Ind., McDougall of Calif., Powell of Ky., Riddle of Del., and Saulsbury of Del. Buchalew of Pennsylvania was not

able to attend the session, and when his name was called Senator Hendricks said: "I desire to say that Mr. Bucka-

Six senators op-

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Anti-Slavery Constitutional Amendment Picture
Those who voted "aye" on the Resolution

Powell & Co.'s composite photograph entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1865 in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.

lew is not able to be in his seat today, and he expressed a wish that I should say that if he were present he would vote against the proposition. With 38 yeas the Vice-President announced that "the joint resolution, having received the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate present, was passed." At this juncture Mr. Saulsbury arose from his seat and said: "I rise simply to say that I now bid farewell to any hope of the reconstruction of the American Union."

The resolution had rough sailing. On June 15, 1864 it was defeated in the House by a vote of 95 to 66. The Congressional Globe of June 15, 1864 gives the vote as yeas 93, nays 65, not voting 23. There were some changes in votes after these totals were made. According to the Constitution a two-thirds vote was required by both houses of Congress.

Those voting nay follow: James C. Allen, William J. Allen, Ancona, Ashley, Augustus C. Baldwin, Bliss, Brooks, James S. Brown, Chanler, Coffroth, Cox, Cravens, Brooks, James S. Brown, Chanler, Coffroth, Cox, Cravens, Dawson, Denison, Eden, Edgerton. Eldridge, English, Finck, Ganson, Grider, Harding, Harrington, Herrick, Holman, Hutchins, Philip Johnson, William Johnson, Kalbfleisch, Kernan, King, Law, Lazear, Le Blond, Long, Mallory, Marcy, McAllister, McDowell, McKinney, William H. Miller, James R. Morris, Morrison, Noble, John O'Neill, Pendleton, Pruyn, Radford, Samuel J. Randall, Robinson, Rogers, James S. Rollins, Ross, Scott, John B. Steele, William G. Steele, Stiles, Strouse, Stuart, Sweat, Wadsworth, Ward, Chilton A. White, Joseph W. White, and Fernando Wood.

Those not voting were: William G. Brown, Clay, Henry Winter Davis, Thomas T. Davis, Dumont, Grinnell, Hall, Benjamin G. Harris, Charles M. Harris, Knapp, McBride, Middleton, Nelson, Perry, Pomeroy, William H. Randall, Edward H. Rollins, Stebbins. Voorhees, William B. Wash-burn, Winfield, Benjamin Wood, and Yeaman.

The chief argument against the Amendment during this session of Congress (Thirty Eighth Congress—1st Session) was that the first twelve amendments were restrictive in character and that "we have no right to amend the Constitution as to enlarge the powers of the General Government." Again the Founding Fathers were lauded as having established a Constitutional government that was inviolate and one member of the opposition stated, "Sir, when you compare the pigmies who undertake to trifle with the Constitution and the legislation of this land upon this floor today with the great men who framed and exponded that constitution in the earlier and better days of the Republic, it is like comparing Hyperion to a satyr."

On January 31, 1865 the resolution was reconsidered by the House (Thirty Eighth Congress-2nd Session) and was passed by a vote of 119 to 56 with 8 not voting. Even though the composition of the House was virtually unchanged, the congressmen reacted to the pressures exerted by Lincoln, who believed the mandate of the people, as evidenced by the election of 1864, indicated a desire for the freedom of the slaves.

Those voting nay were: James C. Allen of Ill., William J. Allen of Ill., Ancona of Pa., Bliss of Ohio, Brooks of N. Y., James S. Brown of Wis., Chanler of N. Y., Clay of Ky., Cox of Ohio, Cravens of Ind., Dawson of Pa., Denison of Pa., Eden of Ill., Edgerton of Ind., Eldridge of Wis., Finck of Ohio, Grider of Ky., Hall of Mo., Harding of Ky., Harrington of Ind., Benjamin G. Harris of Md., Charles M. Harris of Ill., Holman of Ind., Philip Johnson of Pa., William Johnson of Ohio, Kalbfleisch of N. Y., Kernan of N. Y., Knapp of Ill., Law of Ind., Long of Ohio, Mallory of Ky., William H. Miller of Pa., James R. Morris of Ohio, Morrison of Ill., Noble of Ohio, John O'Neill of Pa., Pendleton of Ohio, Perry of N. J., Pruyn of N. Y., Samuel J. Randall of Pa., Robinson of Ill., Ross of N. Y., Samuel J. Randall of Pa., Robinson of Ill., Ross of Ill., Scott of Mo., William G. Steele of N. J., Stiles of Pa., Strouse of Pa., Stuart of Ill., Sweat of Maine, Townsend of N. Y., Wadsworth of Ky., Ward of N. Y., Chilton A. White of Ohio, Joseph W. White of Ohio, Winfield of N. Y., Benjamin Wood of N. Y., and Fernando Wood of N. Y.

Those not voting were Lazear of Pa., LeBlond of Ohio, Marcy of N. H., McDowell of Ind., McKinney of Ohio, Middleton of N. J., Rogers of N. J., and Voorhees of Ind. Rogers of New Jersey was reported ill and Voorhees of Indiana was unable to be in his seat because of sickness in his family. in his family.

With two-thirds voting in favor thereof, as required by the Constitution, the resolution was passed. When Mr. English of Connecticut and Mr. Ganson of New York voted "ay" there was considerable applause by members on the Republican side of the House. With the vote taken the Speaker asked the members of the House to take their seats and observe order. Then with a flair for the dra-matic, the Speaker directed the Clerk to call his name as a member of the House. The Clerk called the name of Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, and Mr. Colfax voted "ay." This incident was greeted with renewed applause.

According to The Congressional Globe, January 31, 1865, page 531, the Speaker announced that "The constitutional majority of two thirds having voted in the affirmative, the joint resolution is passed." The announcement was received by the House and by the spectators with a continue of a pathways of anthonisms. with an outburst of enthusiasm. According to a reporter, "The members on the Republican side of the House instantly sprung to their feet, and, regardless of parlia-mentary rules, applauded with cheers and clapping of hands. The example was followed by the male spectators in the galleries, which were crowded to excess, who waved their hats and cheered loud and long, while the ladies, hundreds of whom were present, rose in their seats and waved their handkerchiefs, participating in and adding to the general excitement and intense interest of the scene. This lasted several minutes." The House thereupon adjourned at twenty minutes past four o'clock

The resolution to abolish slavery was approved by President Lincoln on February 1, 1865, "although the

(Continued on page 4)

This damaged copy of the "Key" from the Library of Congress to Powell & Co.'s photographs of Lincoln, Hamlin, Colfax and the Senators and Representa-tives who voted "aye" in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution is the only copy known to be extant. It is hoped that other copies will be discovered as a result of the publication of this issue of Lincoln Lore. This "Key" was brought to the Editor's attention by Miss Mildred F. Crocker, who was former-ly a member of the staff of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. Miss Crocker has done considerable research on this subject and has been unable to find an undamaged copy of the "Key."

The names in the damaged portion of the "Key" are as follows:

- 1. Abraham Lincoln, Pres.
- 2. Hannibal Hamlin, Vice pres-

Representatives

- 3. Schuyler Colfax, Ind.
- 4. Augustus Frank, N. Y.
- 5. Josiah B. Grinnell, Iowa
- 6. John H. Hubbard, Conn. 7. Henry Winter Davis, Md.
- 8. James H. Ashley, Ohio
- 9. Leonard Myers, Penn.
- 10. Charles O'Neill, Penn.
- 11. Daniel W. Gooch, Mass. 12. Samuel Hooper, Mass.
- 13. John A. Kasson, Iowa
- 14. Robert C. Schenck, Ohio 15. E. B. Washburne, Ill.
- 16. H'y, C. Worthington, Nev. 17. Freeman Clarke, N. Y.
- George S. Boutwell, Mass.
 James S. Rollins, Mo.
 William Windom, Minn.

- 21. Edwin H. Webster, Md.
- 22. William D. Kelley, Penn.
- 23. George W. Julian, Ind.
- 24. Hiram Price, Iowa
- 25. James E. English, Conn. 26. James C. Blaine, Mc.
- 27. Nath'l. B. Smithers, Del. 28. James W. Patterson, N. H.
- 29. Henry T. Blow, Mo.
- 30. Jacob B. Blair, W. Va.
- 31. Portus Baxter, Vt.
- 32. James F. Wilson, Iowa
- 33. Thaddeus Stevens, Penn.
- 34. Charles Upson, Mich.
- 35. James T. Hale, Penn. 36. Giles W. Hotchkiss, N. Y.
- 37. Edward H. Rollins, N. H.
- 38. Ralph Bailey, Penn.
- 39. John W. Longyear, Mich.
- 40. Justin S. Morrill, Vt.
- 41. Ebenezer Dumont, Ind.
- 42. Aug. C. Baldwin, Mich.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PICTURE.

KEY TO POWELL & CO.'S PHOTOGRAPHS OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, HANNIBAL HAMLIN, AND OF THE SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

Who voted "AYE" on the Resolution submitting to the Legislatores of the several States a proposition to assemble the Constitution of the United States so as to

PROHIBIT SLAVERY.

Francis in Senate, spril #, 1994. Passed in Figure of Representatives fan. 22, 186%.

SAID RESOLUTION BIANG AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE XIV.

1. Neither stacery no involuntary servicade, except as a quarishment for crime, whereof the purry shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the See, or any place subject to their jurisdation.

Congress shall have poselve to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

neoln, Pres. ulin, V. Pres. ves. Ind. N. Y ell, Iowa. 6 John H. Hubbard, 7 Henry Winter Davis, 8 James M. Ashley, 9 Leonard Myers, 1 9 Charles O'Neill, 1 Md Penn. Penu. 1 Daniel W. Gooch, 2 Samuel Hooper, Moss. John A. Kasson, Robert C. Schenck, Ohio E. B. Washburne, H'y C. Worthington, Nev. Freeman Clarke, leorge S. Boutwell, Mass ames S. Rollins, Mo. Minn Villiam Windom, Mid Illiam D. Kelly, George W. Julian, Hiram Price, Ind. Iowa. James E. English, James C. Blaine, Jath'l B. Smithers, Me unes W. Patterson, N. H. T. Blow, acob B. Blair, West. Va prins Baxter, Vt. imes F. Wilson, Iowa. saddens Stevens, Penn. arles Upson, nes T. Hale, Mich. Penn W. Hotchkiss ward H. Rollins, N. H ph Bailey, W. Longyear, n S. Morrill, Penn. Mich Treveweger Dumont, 42 Aug. 6. Baldwin, Mich Francia W. Kellogg, Mich. 41 John R, McBride, Oregon 41 John K, McBride, O. Y 45 Orlando Kellogg. 46 Nathan F. Dixon, R. I. 47 Henry W. Traey, Penn. 48 Sidney Perham, Me. 49 William G. Brown, W. Va. 49 William G. Brown, W. Vs. 50 Henry L. Dawes, Mass. 51 Anson Herrick, N. Y. 52 Ephraim R. Eckley, Ohio. 53 Ebon C. Ingersoll, Ill. 64 Joseph W. McClurg, Mo. 55 Thomas A. Jenckes, R. I. 56 John M. Broomall, Penn. Amasa Cobb. 58 Kellian V. Whaley, W. Va 59 Francis Thomas, 56 A. W. Habbard, Md. Iowa. 61 William Highy. Cal. 62 Ignatius Donnelly, Minn.

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63 M. Russell Thayer, Penn. 63 M. Russell Theyer, 64 Fernando C. Beaman, Mich. 65 Robert B. Van Valken-beeck N. Y.

burga,
66 Oakes Ames, Mass.
67, Rafas P. Spalding, Ohio.
68 Archibald McAllister, Pa.
68 Archibald McAllister, Wis. 70 Austin A. King, 71 Daniel Morris, Mo N Y 72 Jesse O. Norton, Ill. 73 Alexander H. Rice, Mass.

74 John A. J. Creswell, Md. 75 James K. Moorhead, Penn. 76 John B. Alley, Mass. 77 Calvin T. Hubbard, N. Y. 78 Thomas D. Eliot. 79 James M. Marvin, N. Y 80 Isaac N. Arnold, 81 John A. Griswold, 80 Isaas 81 John A. Griss 82 Thomas Williams, Pennas 82 Thomas T. Davis, N. Y. Waomas T. Davis, N. Y. 85 Augustus Brandegee, Ct.

86 Alex, H. Coffrorff, Penn. 87 William Radford, N. Y. 88 Wm. B. Washburne, Mass. 88 Gedlove S. Orth, Ind 90 William H. Randall, Ky 91 Glenni W. Scofield, Penn. 92 DeWitt C. Littlejohn, N. Y. Ind. 93 George H. Yeaman, Kv 94 Cornelius Cole, 95 Lucien Anderson, Ky Me 96 John H. Rice, 97 John B. Steele. N. Y

98 John F. Starr, N. J. 19 Theo. M. Pomeroy, 100 Walter D. McIndoe, 101 John F. Driggs, 102 Homer A. Nelson, 103 Wm. B. Allison, Wis Mich. 104 Samuel F Miller, Wis. 105 Ezra Wheeler, Wis. 106 Ambrese W. Clark, N. Y. 107 James A. Garfield, Ohio. 108 Amos Myers, Penn. 108 Thomas B. Shannon, Cal. 110 A. Carter Wilder, Kansas. 111 Fred'k E. Woodhridge, Vt. 112 Frederick A. Pike. Me. 113 John F. Farnsworth, TII 114 John Ganson, 115 John D. Baldwin, × Mass. 116 Benjamin F. Leon, 117 Green Clay Smith, Mo Ky. Ohio. 118 Wells A. Hutchins, 119 Henry C. Deming, Conn. 120 Samuel Knox, Mo. 121 Sempronius H. Boyd, Mo.

Senators.

122 Jacob M. Howard, Mich. 123 Timothy O. Howe, 124 Benjamin Wade, Wis. Ohio. 125 William Sprague, R. L 126 Edgar Cowan, Penn. 127 Alexander Ramsey 128 Daniel Clark, Minn N. H. 129 Henry S. Lane 130 Zachary Chandler, A 131 James Dixon, C 132 P. C. VanWinkle, W. Mich. 133 B. Gratz Brown, 184 J. C. Ten Eyck, N. J. 185 Wm. Pitt Fessenden, Me. 136 J W. Nesnsith, Ore 137 W. T. Willey, West, 138 M. S. Wilkinson, M. 139 B. F. Harding, Ore Oregon. Vest. Va. Minn. Oregon. 140 John Conness 141 Lyman Trumbull TIL 142 Henry Wilson, Mass. 143 Jacob Collamer. Vt. Ohio. 144 John Sherman, 145 Charles Summer, 146 L. F. S. Foster, Mass. Coun. 147 James Harlan, 148 Edwin D. Morgan, S Y 149 James H. Lane, 150 Ira Harris. 151 H. B. Anthony, R. I. 152 S. C. Pomeroy, 153 J. B. Hendersen, Ma. 154 Reverdy Johnson, 155 John P. Hale, Md. N. H. 156 Let M. Morrill, Me: 157 Solomon Foote, Vt. 158 J. W. Grimes, 159 James R. Doolittle,

The regular numerical order commences at the head of Speaker Colfgx (No. 3) in the center, and turning to the right at No. 5, follows around in successive circles. The numbers are placed uniformly at the reader's right hand of the head to which they refer. The Senators are arranged in open order in the two outer circles: the Representatives in close order around the center.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

(Continued from page 2)

Supreme Court had decided in 1798, that the President has nothing to do with the proposing of amendments to the Constitution, or their adoption." As President, it had been Lincoln's custom to approve resolutions and Acts of Congress, but such procedure was unnecessary in amending the Constitution. In fact on February 7, 1865, the Senate fearing lest a precedent be set, passed a resolution asserting that presidential approval was unnecessary. Before this action was taken, however, Lincoln had inscribed the document "Approved February 1, 1865."

In an article appearing in Lincoln Lore, Number 1427, January 1957, the following statement appears: "Senator Lyman Trumbull, in an address printed in The Congressional Globe, February 7, 1865, pp. 629-630, cited a Supreme Court case dating back to 1798 which declared that the president had no authority to approve or disapprove of a proposition submitted for adoption as an amendment to the Constitution." Trumbull did not want inadvertent approval in this instance to be considered a precedent because a future President could defeat an amendment by pocket vote.

The original document is a printed form with the appropriate words filled in by a Clerk. Its phraseology is essentially that of the Ordinance of 1787, repeated in the Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso. The document also bears the signatures of Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Hannibal Hamlin, Vice President of the United States and president of the Senate. There are also several engrossed copies extant bearing the signatures of the President, Vice President, and Speaker of the House, along with signatures of members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

According to the Lincoln Lore article, "Apparently many people thought that Lincoln's signature was necessary to validate the Thirteenth Amendment resolution, and after he had affixed his signature to the document he was honored with a serenade. To this group of admirers he made a brief address. Lincoln stated that, 'The occasion was one of congratulation to the country and to the whole world. But there is a task yet before us—to go forward and consumate by the votes of the States that which Congress so nobly began yesterday.' Lincoln expressed the belief that 'all would bear him witness that he had never shrunk from doing all that he could to eradicate slavery by issuing an emancipation proclamation.'"

In his response to the serenaders Lincoln admitted that his Emancipation Proclamation "falls far short of what the Amendment will be when fully consummated." Then too, he said, "a question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid." He knew that it would be declared that it did not meet the evil. But Lincoln continued, "this amendment is a king's cure for all the evils. It winds the whole thing up."

The Thirty-Eighth Congress on February 1, 1865 submitted the Amendment to the several States. Lincoln was in a genial mood on this date and "he could not but congratulate all present, himself, the country and the whole world upon this great moral victory."

President Lincoln was pleased when Illinois took the lead in ratifying the Amendment. Governor Richard J. Oglesby of Illinois telegraphed Lincoln on February 1 that the Legislature had approved the Amendment and Lincoln informed his serenaders "that Illinois has already to-day done the work."

Rhode Island and Michigan ratified the Amendment on February 2, followed by Maryland, New York and West Virginia on February 3. By the end of February, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, Nevada, Louisiana, and Minnesota had "done the work." Early in April, Wisconsin, Vermont and Tennessee ratified, thus making a total of twenty States ratifying the Amendment before Lincoln's assassination. The legislatures of Kentucky and Delaware refused to ratify the Amendment, necessitating a favorable action of at least four former Confederate States if a three-fourths majority was to be achieved. In late April came the ratification of Arkansas, followed by

Connecticut's ratification in May, New Hampshire in July, South Carolina in November, and Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia and Oregon by December 11th.

On December 18, 1865 in a proclamation issued by the Secretary of State the Thirteenth Amendment was proclaimed in full effect as the legislatures of twenty-seven States constituting three-fourths of the thirty-six had ratified, only to be followed by ratification by California and Florida in the same year. New Jersey and Iowa in 1866, with Texas attempting ratification on February 18, 1870.

Some of these State legislative efforts were declared invalid and thirty-one States out of thirty-six are credited with a bona fide ratification. The remaining five States which did not take the necessary legal steps were Delaware and Kentucky who rejected it; Texas, it is claimed did not legally act on it, and Alabama and Mississippi ratified the amendment conditionally. Some reference works, however, declare that the 13th Amendment was ratified by 33 of the 36 States.

Slavery as an institution had been in the process of rapid disintegration throughout the early 1860's. While about 200,000 slaves had gained their freedom under the Emancipation Proclamation, up to February, 1865, nearly 1,000,000 were still in bondage when the Thirteenth Amendment was introduced.

Certainly no man had a better right to sign his name to the Thirteenth Amendment than Abraham Lincoln, even though his presidential approval was not a legal requirement. His signature on this particular document again dramatically presented his "oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."

QUERY

After much opposition Alaska was sold to the United States by Russia on March 30, 1867 for \$7,200,000 in gold, through the efforts of William H. Seward, Secretary of State under President Andrew Johnson. The United States took possession at Sitka on October 18, 1867 and the Thirteenth Amendment applied to that territory where slavery had been permitted.

To honor the men responsible for the cessation of slavery in Alaska totem poles were erected of both Lincoln and Seward. These standing figures atop totem poles formerly stood on Tongass Island near Alaska's southern border. The artist was an unnamed Tsimshian professional carver.

According to a generally accepted story, Chief Ebbits headed a little band that was being harried by a stronger group because they had been giving sanctuary to escaped slaves. The Chief appeared at Fort Tongass where the Revenue cutter Lincoln was stationed and had requested permission to settle his people under the guns of the fort. This request was granted and apparently the captain of the Lincoln told Chief Ebbits about the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment that applied to Alaska since the purchase in 1867. It is further believed that Chief Ebbits was given a photograph of Lincoln and from it had the totem pole carved and erected.

The query: What photograph or picture of Lincoln (with arms akimbo) did the captain of the cutter *Lincoln* give to Chief Ebbits? This information is desired by E. L. Keithahn, Curator of the Alaska Library and Museum at Juneau, Alaska.

THE NAMES OF LINCOLN, WARREN AND MCMURTRY ALL IN ONE SENTENCE

A random reading of "Lincoln Day By Day A Chronology" 1809-1848 led to the discovery of this sentence (January 21, 1837): "State road bill in Lincoln's hand is introduced by McMurtry of Warren . . ."

Lincoln wrote the bill to establish a state road from Peoria to Hendersonville, but it was introduced in the Illinois legislature, January 21, 1837, by William Mc-Murtry, a representative from Warren, Knox and Henry Counties.

For the information of new subscribers, Dr. Louis A. Warren was editor of *Lincoln Lore* from April 15, 1929 to June, 1956.