

# 4



◀ President Buchanan

### WITNESS HISTORY

#### The President Falters

Outgoing President James Buchanan condemned South Carolina's secession from the Union but was unwilling to use force to stop it. Many northerners criticized his weak response to the crisis. In an address to Congress, he seemed almost baffled that the situation had deteriorated so far:

“How easy it would be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country! . . . All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them.”

—President Buchanan, December 3, 1860

Election of 1860

## Lincoln, Secession, and War

### Objectives

- Compare the candidates in the election of 1860, and analyze the results.
- Analyze why southern states seceded from the Union.
- Assess the events that led to the outbreak of war.

### Terms and People

Jefferson Davis      Crittenden Compromise  
 John C. Breckinridge      Fort Sumter  
 Confederate States of America

### Note Taking

#### Reading Skill: Identify Causes and Effects

Use a cause-and-effect chart to show the events that led to secession.



**Why It Matters** Despite repeated attempts at compromise, disagreement between the North and the South over the issue of slavery continued to deepen. With the election of Republican President Abraham Lincoln in 1860, the crisis came to a head. The Union of states that had been formed less than a hundred years before was about to dissolve. **Section Focus Question:** How did the Union finally collapse into a civil war?

### The Election of 1860

John Brown's raid and execution were still fresh in the minds of Americans as the 1860 presidential election approached. Uncertainty about Kansas—would it be a slave state or a free state?—added to the anxiety. In the North, loss of confidence in the Supreme Court resulting from the *Dred Scott* decision and rage about the Fugitive Slave Act's intrusion into the states' independence further aggravated the situation.

The issue of states' rights was on southern minds as well. Would northern radicals conspire to eliminate slavery not only in the territories but also in the original southern states? In the spring of 1860, Mississippi senator **Jefferson Davis** convinced Congress to adopt resolutions restricting federal control over slavery in the territories. The resolutions also asserted that the Constitution prohibited Congress or any state from interfering with slavery in the states

where it already existed. Even southerners way of life and their honor were under attack.

With ill will running so deep, the upcoming election was hard to imagine that either northern or southern Democrat could be elected President from the other region. Could the 1

**Democrats Split Their Support** The Democratic convention in Charleston, North Carolina, failed to issue a platform that had plagued the nation for decades called for a platform supporting federal protection of popular sovereignty. When the Douglas faction of eight southern states walked out and formed the Southern Democrats, who backed Stephen A. Douglas. The southern Democrats were now split into two groups. The southern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas. The southern Democrats nominated **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky for President. Breckinridge promised to expand slavery into the territories.

**Whigs Make a Last Effort** In the north, the Whigs teamed up with the Know-Nothings to create the Free Soil Party. They hoped to heal the split between Northern Democrats and Whigs. John Bell, a little-known moderate from Tennessee, led the Free Soil Party. He promised to uphold the Union of the States and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act.

**Republicans Nominate Lincoln** The Republican Party, since their formation, held their strength in the North. After several ballots, they nominated Abraham Lincoln. When the party convened, several political figures had been the favorite to win the nomination. However, Lincoln had been the favorite to win the nomination. He worried that Seward's antislavery views would alienate the more moderate Lincoln.

### The Candidates

#### Abraham Lincoln

- Republican
- Illinois
- Platform: Slavery must not be allowed in the territories.

#### Stephen A. Douglas

- Northern Democrat
- Illinois
- Platform: Popular sovereignty should be the basis for the territories.



### Vocabulary Builder

Use the information below and the following resource to teach students the high-use words from this section. **Teaching Resources: Vocabulary Builder, p. 10**

#### High-Use Words

#### Definitions and Sample Sentences

stipulate

v. to specify or indicate  
The Supreme Court stipulated that enslaved people were property and did not have the right to sue.

entity

n. something that exists as a single and complete unit  
The North and the South were not separate entities, but they had sharp divisions.

### Differentiated Instruction

#### 11 Special Needs Students 12

Explain that the information below titled "The Election of 1860" describes the political parties and candidates in the presidential election. Suggest that students take notes by creating headings that list the

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With ill will running so deep, the upcoming elections posed a serious dilemma. It was hard to imagine that either northerners or southerners would accept a President from the other region. Could the Union survive?

**Democrats Split Their Support** The Democrats held their nominating convention in Charleston, North Carolina. For ten days, they argued about the issue that had plagued the nation for decades: slavery. The southern Democrats called for a platform supporting federal protection of slavery in the territories. The northern Democrats, who backed Stephen Douglas, supported the doctrine of popular sovereignty. When the Douglas forces prevailed, the delegates from eight southern states walked out and formed a separate convention.

The Democrats were now split into two parties. The northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas. The southern Democrats nominated the Vice President, **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky. Breckinridge was committed to expanding slavery into the territories.

**Whigs Make a Last Effort** In the meantime, the few remaining Whigs teamed up with the Know-Nothings to create the Constitutional Union Party. They hoped to heal the split between North and South. Their candidate was John Bell, a little-known moderate from Tennessee. Their platform condemned sectional parties and promised to uphold "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States and the enforcement of the laws."

**Republicans Nominate Lincoln** The Republicans, who had gained great strength since their formation, held their nominating convention in Chicago. After several ballots, they nominated Abraham Lincoln as their candidate. When the party convened, seasoned politician William H. Seward of New York had been the favorite to win the nomination. But when many delegates began to worry that Seward's antislavery views were too radical, the convention went with the more moderate Lincoln.

## The Candidates for President

### Abraham Lincoln

- Republican
- Illinois
- Platform:

Slavery must not be allowed in the territories.



### Stephen Douglas

- Northern Democrat
- Illinois
- Platform:

Popular sovereignty should decide the issue of slavery in the territories when they become states.



### John Bell

- Constitutional Unionist
- Tennessee
- Platform:

The federal government should support slavery and also defend the Union.



### John Breckinridge

- Southern Democrat
- Kentucky
- Platform:

The federal government must protect slavery.



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## Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

- 1 Special Needs Students 2 English Language Learners 3 Less Proficient Readers

Explain that the information below the blue heading "The Election of 1860" describes the significant political parties and candidates in the 1860 presidential election. Suggest that students take notes by creating headings that list the four political

parties that participated in the election. Below each heading, students should list how the party formed, the candidate for that party, and the candidate's position on slavery in the United States. Students may wish to use their notes as study guides.

**Vocabulary Builder**

**stipulate**—(STIH-p yuh layt) v. to specify or indicate

The Republican platform called for the end of slavery in the territories. At the same time, the Republicans defended the right of each state to control its own institutions and stipulated that there should be no interference with slavery in the states where it already existed. Abraham Lincoln—with his great debating skills, his moderate views, and his reputation for integrity—was seen as the ideal candidate to carry the Republican platform to victory.

**Lincoln Wins the Election** Benefiting from the fracturing among the other political parties, Lincoln won the election handily, with 40 percent of the popular vote and almost 60 percent of the electoral vote. Still, he did not receive a single southern electoral vote. In fact, he was not even on the ballot in most southern states.

Brekinridge was the clear favorite among southern voters, carrying every cotton state, along with North Carolina, Delaware, and Maryland. The border

states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee were not as closely tied to slavery as the cotton states. Stephen A. Douglas, although running, won only in Missouri and New Jersey.

The election of 1860 demonstrated that there were no longer any national parties competing for southern votes, while Douglas won only in Missouri and New Jersey. The North and South were so far apart that there seemed no way to bridge the gap.

**Checkpoint** How did Lincoln's election divide the North and the South?

**Events That Changed America**

Great Ideas  
Whiteboard

**THE ELECTION OF 1860**



*Ah! ha! Gentlemen! you need not think to catch me napping; for I am a regular Wide awake.*

▲ Election propaganda for Lincoln

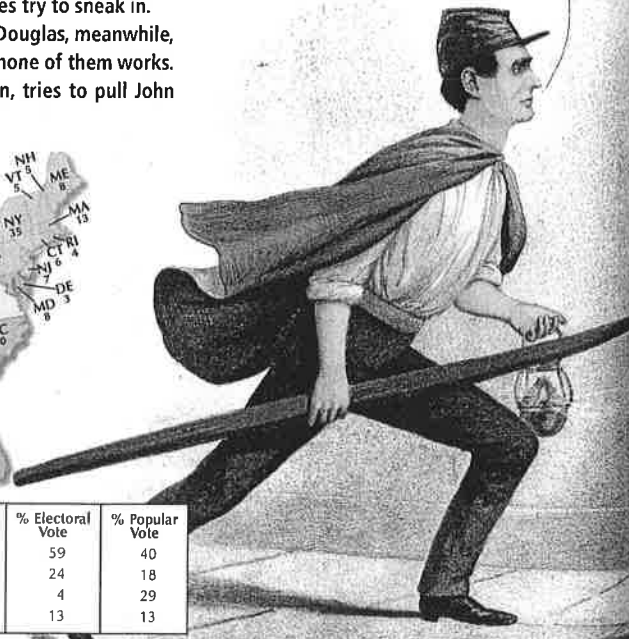
**The Election of 1860** The election of 1860 was a turning point for the United States. Looking at an election map shows clearly how the country was divided.

Look at the cartoon to the right to see one viewpoint of the campaign for the presidency. Try to figure out what the cartoonist thinks of each of these candidates. Lincoln is on the left, dressed as a member of a Republican support group called the "Wide Awakes." As he approaches the White House, the other candidates try to sneak in.

John Bell tells Stephen Douglas to hurry up. Douglas, meanwhile, tries to unlock the door with different keys, but none of them works. In the far right, the current President, Buchanan, tries to pull John Brekinridge in through the window.



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
<input type="checkbox"/> Abraham Lincoln (Republican)	180	1,866,452	59	40
<input type="checkbox"/> John C. Brekinridge (Southern-Democratic)	72	847,953	24	18
<input type="checkbox"/> Stephen A. Douglas (Democratic)	12	1,380,202	4	29
<input type="checkbox"/> John Bell (Constitutional Union)	39	590,901	13	13



**Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners**

- 1 Special Needs Students
- 2 English Language Learners
- 12 Less Proficient Readers

Ask pairs of students to work together to predict how people in the North and people in the South voted in the presidential election of 1860. Tell students to list their predictions on separate sheets of paper and write brief paragraphs explaining their reasoning. Then, have students examine the map on

this page. Ask partners to name the areas of the United States in which each candidate won electoral votes. Tell students to compare their predictions with the outcome shown on the map. Ask partners to discuss why the division between North and South existed.

**Differentiated Instruction**

- 14 Advanced Readers
- 14 G

Have students write newspaper editorials that have been written in 1860 summarizing the outcome of the presidential election and explaining what the election's outcome means for the territories. In their editorials, students should discuss how the election's outcome means for the region of the United States voted, and

end of slavery in the territories. At the right of each state to control its own would be no interference with slavery in Abraham Lincoln—with his great debating talent for integrity—was seen as the platform to victory.

from the fracturing among the other candidates, with 40 percent of the popular vote. Still, he did not receive a single southern ballot in most southern states, among southern voters, carrying every Delaware, and Maryland. The border



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propaganda for Lincoln

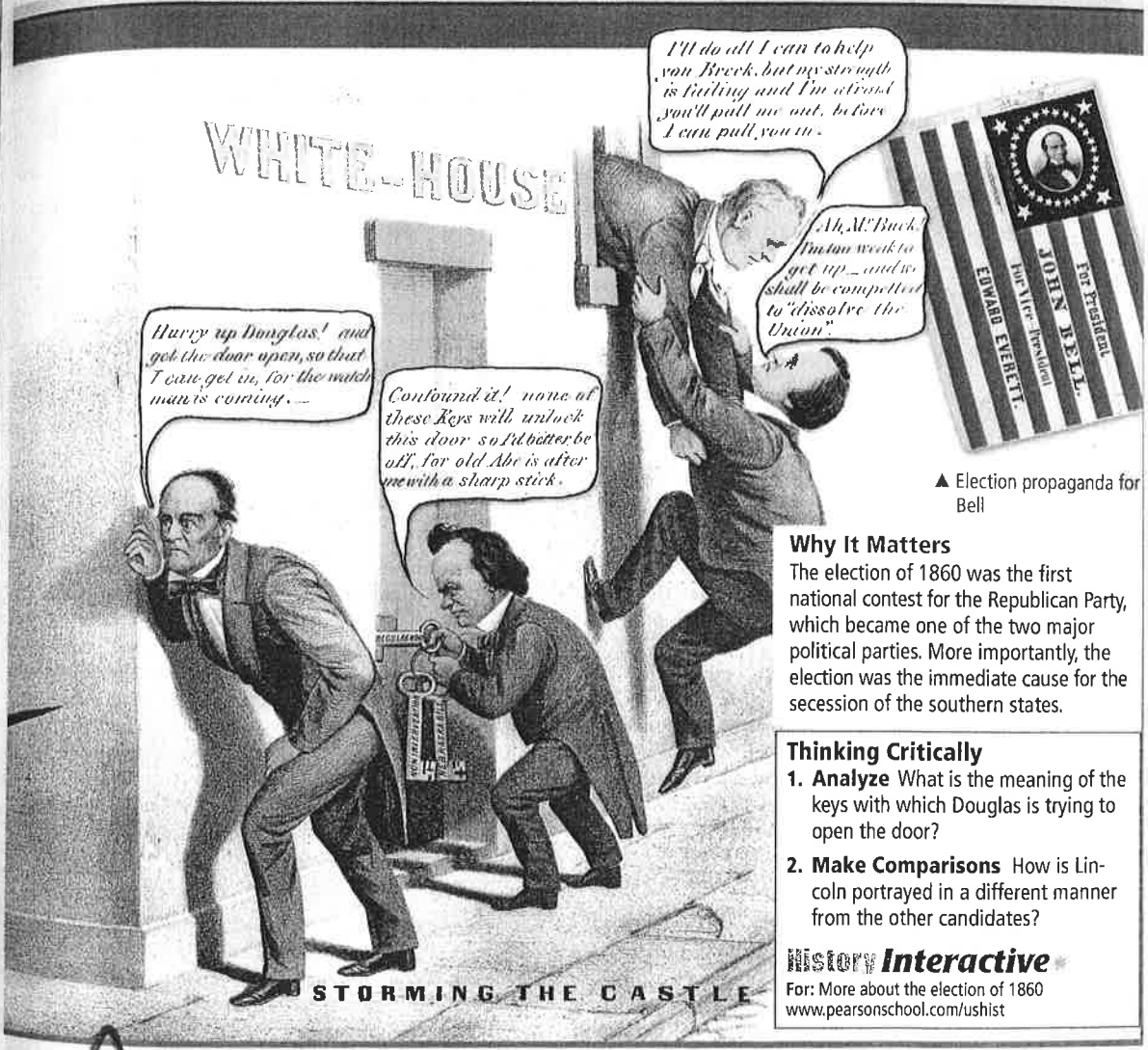
**Assess Proficient Readers**  
to name the areas of the country each candidate won electoral votes. Compare their predictions with the map. Ask partners to discuss between North and South

states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee—whose economic interests were not as closely tied to slavery as the cotton states were—gave their votes to Bell. Stephen A. Douglas, although running second to Lincoln in the popular vote, won only in Missouri and New Jersey.

The election of 1860 demonstrated that Americans' worst fears had come to pass. There were no longer any national political parties. Bell and Breckinridge competed for southern votes, while Douglas and Lincoln competed in the North and West. The North and South were now effectively two political entities, and there seemed no way to bridge the gap.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Lincoln's election reflect the break between the North and the South?

**Vocabulary Builder**  
**entity**—(EHN tuh tee) *n.* something that exists as a single and complete unit



▲ Election propaganda for Bell

**Why It Matters**  
The election of 1860 was the first national contest for the Republican Party, which became one of the two major political parties. More importantly, the election was the immediate cause for the secession of the southern states.

**Thinking Critically**  
1. **Analyze** What is the meaning of the keys with which Douglas is trying to open the door?  
2. **Make Comparisons** How is Lincoln portrayed in a different manner from the other candidates?

**History Interactive**  
For: More about the election of 1860  
[www.pearsonschool.com/ushist](http://www.pearsonschool.com/ushist)

**Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners**

**L4 Advanced Readers** **L4 Gifted and Talented Students**

Have students write newspaper editorials that could have been written in 1860 summarizing the results of the presidential election and explaining what the election's outcome means for the Union. In their editorials, students should discuss how people in each region of the United States voted, who won the

election, how people in each region might respond to the newly elected President, and what might happen to the United States now that the election has ended. Students may wish to research newspaper editorials that were written during the mid-1800s to learn the writing style of the period.