

Stark County Teaching American History Grant

Stark County Educational Service Center
2100 38th Street NW
Canton, Ohio 44709

Secession: Federal v. States: Union or Secession?

Created by Larry Snyder
Glenwood Middle School



Grade Level: 8th Grade

Created by Larry Snyder
Glenwood Middle school

Duration: 3-4 days (Classes are 60 minutes long.
This lesson can be adapted.)

Overview

The United States government was formed to safeguard against the formation of a tyrannical government. One of the most fundamental issues was balancing the power between the federal government and that of the states. The Tenth Amendment reserved all rights to the states that were not prohibited to the states or granted to the federal government, thus creating the basis for a states' rights doctrine. This lesson will show the divisiveness and diversity of opinion that existed prior to the Civil War on the question of federal and state power regarding the issue of secession. Students will interpret and analyze the information gathered and construct an opinion on who broke the "social contract" first and illustrate their selected turning point in an essay. Teachers will need a Smartboard or a white board in the classroom for students to record data.

Ohio Academic Content Standards (Current)

Standard: History

Benchmark G: Analyze the causes and consequences of the American Civil WarHistory

Indicator 9: Explain causes of the Civil War with emphasis on:

- a. Slavery;
- b. States' rights;
- c. The different economies of the North and South;
- d. The extension of slavery into the territories, including the Dred Scott

Decision and the

Kansas-Nebraska Act;

- e. The abolitionist movement and the roles of Frederick Douglass and John Brown;
- f. The addition of new states to the Union and their impact on the balance of power in the Senate, including the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850;
- g. The emergence of Abraham Lincoln as a national figure in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the presidential election of 1860, and the South's secession.

Revised Ohio Academic Content Strands

Strand: History

Topic: Civil War and Reconstruction. Sectional differences divided the North and South prior to the American Civil War. Both the American Civil War and the resulting period of Reconstruction had significant consequences for the nation.

Content Statement 11: Disputes over the nature of freedom, complicated by economic developments in the United States, resulted in sectional issues, including slavery, which led to the American Civil War.

Historical Background

Western expansion, states' rights and the overarching issue of slavery had increasingly bedeviled relations between the North and South for years, and the election of Abraham Lincoln proved to be the match that ignited the powder keg for the South.

Secessionists used the theory of states' rights to defend leaving the Union. This exalted the powers of the individual states over those of the Federal government. It generally rested on the theory of state sovereignty-that in the United States the ultimate source of political authority lay in the separate states.

This debate about states' rights had been embedded in politics since the ratification of the Constitution. In 1789, Senator Pierce Butler threatened the secession of South Carolina. He called the impost bill, which imposed tariffs on certain imported goods, oppressive and calculated to hurt the sale of South Carolina's agricultural exports. Thomas Jefferson implied a state's right to secede in the Kentucky Resolution of 1798, drafted in opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts. James Madison in the Virginia Resolution made the same statement. The next application of secession came as the New England states, opposed to the War of 1812, discussed secession at the Hartford Convention, but did not recommend it.

In 1832 John C. Calhoun of South Carolina resigned as vice-president to lead the fight against the Tariff of Abominations, which protected Northern manufacturing interests but drove up the price of manufactured goods bought by Southerners. A South Carolina Convention adopted an Ordinance of Nullification, declaring the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void, and customs

duties went uncollected at Charleston until President Andrew Jackson threatened to bring an army in to quash the rebellion.

Sectional tensions over the extension of slavery and possible secession mounted in the 1850's. Henry Clay devised the Compromise of 1850 bill, passed as separate pieces of legislation based on purely sectional votes. The plan called for the admission of California as a free state; the division of the rest of the Mexican cession into two territories in which their citizens could decide on whether to be free or slave states; abolishing the slave trade in Washington, D.C. but not between the slave states; and the establishment of a stricter fugitive slave law. The North and South seemingly switched positions on states' rights. The South now sought federal protection for slavery with the Fugitive Slave Act, but some Northern states called for nullification of the Fugitive Slave Act on the grounds of state personal liberty laws.

The Supreme Court's 1857 Dred Scott decision that ruled that black men were not citizens and that the federal government had no right to outlaw slavery in U.S. territories helped give rise to a new Republican Party, which pledged to exclude slavery from the territories. They nominated Abraham Lincoln for president in the 1860 election.

The Democratic Party chose Charleston, South Carolina for its presidential nominating convention. When it didn't guarantee the right to take slaves into federal territories, Southerners walked out and later nominated their own candidate, John Breckenridge. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas.

This split democratic ticket and assured Lincoln of victory.

The close connection between the right to revolution and separation from the governing power in the spirit of 1776 was an early theme in the provisional Confederacy. To be sure, the revolution was originally viewed as a peaceful one. Separation from a Union perceived to be under the control of a tyrannical power that would destroy Southern institutions was the objective. As the Civil War began in April 1861 the question yet remained: Did the North impede the rights of the South, or did the South constitutionally not have the right to secede?

Enduring Understanding

Political and social differences can create sectional issues that cause civil wars.

Essential Question

How do different viewpoints on the same issue create conflict that leads to civil war?

Instructional Strategies

Day 1

Whole group instruction

Brainstorm: What is a contract? What is a social contract? Student answers may vary but the definition for contract should include an agreement between two people or two groups of people. Explain the history behind the term "social contract." John Locke was one of the philosophers who espoused this idea. He said the government was essentially a contract between the people and the government. If the government ever broke its side of the contract, the people had the right to overthrow it. (See *Declaration of Independence*.)

Whole group instructions or divide into like-ability pairs

Pass out to every student the Background Information Packet and have students read and discuss the documents.

Whole group instruction: Model Document Analysis

Pass out political cartoon, "The Schoolmaster Movement," Currier and Ives, 1861. Dimes caricatures, March 1861. Discuss and complete the analysis together.

Cooperative Learning: Document Analysis

Hand out the political cartoon, "The Secession Movement," Currier and Ives, 1861. Students will complete in the groups the document analysis sheet and the question sheet.

Day 2

Cooperative Learning

Hand out to six groups a document and each with a T-chart for comparison. Groups should record information on the chart according to the argument presented.

Whole group instruction

Have each group report their findings and complete the T-chart.

Whole group instruction

Political cartoons 1-3: discuss meanings using questions from the Document Analysis Worksheet.

Day 3

Cooperative Learning

Presidential election of 1860 activity. Groups should collect data about their candidate. The groups will then collate their data as each group reports back and writes information on a Smartboard.

Whole Group Instruction

Politic cartoons 4-6: discuss meanings using questions from the Document Analysis Worksheet.

Whole Group Instruction

- Introduce essay.
- Instruct all student to review a'' primary sources and secondary sources and charts completed.
- Review directions for the essay, going over what makes a good thesis statement
- Review rubric
- Assign essay for homework. Allow two to three days for completion. You might want to give one in-class day the start the writing, depending on class ability.

Resources

- “The Schoolmaster Movement,” Currier and Ives, 1861. Dimes caricatures, March 1861.
- “The Secession Movement,” Currier and Ives, 1861.
- Christine Dee. *Ohio’s War*. “The Election of 1869 and the secession Crisis. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 20006. p. 33-52.
- Dr. James C. Kelly. “A Union Divided.” *The History Channel Magazine*, 2010. p. 26-32.
- J. G. Lewin and P.J Huff. *Lines of Contention: Political Cartoons of the Civil War*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2007. P. 2-25, 26-54.
- James M. McPherson. *Ordeal by Fire., The Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2001. p. 5-158.
- Jonathan Turley, “Uncivil Action.” *America’s Civil War Magazine*. November 2010, p. 44-51.
- http://www.viriniamemory.com/online_classroom/union_or_secession/?mode=pv
- <http://www.territorialkansas.org>
- Excerpt Letter: Unidentified cousin in Senatobia, Mississippi to Callie Anthony. Letter. 13 November 1860.
- Excerpt newspaper: “Resolution of Rockbridge Workingmen.” *Lexington Valley Star*. 10 January 1861.
- Excerpt speech: Waitman Willey. Virginia Convention, 4 March 1861
- Excerpt speech: Robert Montague. Virginia Convention. 2 April 1861.
- Excerpt speech: Jefferson Davis, Inaugural Address. Washington, D.C. 18 February 1861.
- Excerpt speech: Abraham Lincoln. Inaugural Address. Washington, D.C. 4 March 1861.
- “The Old Man and His Sons.” Political cartoon. *Harper’s Weekly*. 2 February 1861.
- “Miss Columbia Calls Her Unruly School to Order.” *Leslie’s Illustrated*. 7 January 1860.
- “New Application to the Rarey System.” *Leslie’s Illustrated*. 26 January 1861.
- “Doctor North to Patient South.” Unattributed Southern broadside. 1861.
- “Columbia Awake at Last.” *Harper’s Weekly*. 8 June 1861.

- “I Say Old Fellow.” Patriotic envelope. C.1861.
- “The Secession Movement.” Currier and Ives, c. 1861.
- “The Schoolmaster Abroad at Last.” *Strong’s Dime Caricatures*. March 1861.

Materials

- Secession Background Information Handout (Appendix Aa-e)
- Document Analysis Worksheet (Appendices B and C)
- T-chart Pro-secession/Anti-secession (Appendix L)
- Presidential candidates worksheets(Appendix P)
- Handouts 1-4 Presidential Candidates Information Sheets (Appendix Qa-d)
- Political cartoons (Appendix Da-b and Ea-b))
- Political cartoons 1-3 (Appendix Fa-b and G a-b)
- Political cartoons 4-6 (Appendix L, Ma-b, and Oa-b)
- Student handouts: Political cartoon analysis (Appendix F-K)

Summative Assessment (or Question)

Union or Secession?

Students will use evidence gathered in primary source documents, background handouts, and other source work to write an essay that answers the question below. Students will determine which side-North or South- broke the constitutional contract and choose a turning point to illustrate why they picked that side.

- DIRECTIONS:

Student Name: _____

Which side (North or South) was the first to break the social contract of the Constitution? Determine a turning point event to illustrate why you chose either the North or South. Using primary source readings and other supporting sources explain your reasoning. Be sure to include the turning point event’s influence on the North’s impeding the rights of the South or the Southern states decision to secede, rather than use other methods to solve the differences.

- Include your thesis statement in your introductory paragraphs.
- Make certain your introduction is attention getting.
- Use evidence from the primary sources in the main body of your essay.
- Support your view with facts from the Background Information sheet and primary source documents.
- Summarize your opinion in your conclusion.
- History Is An Argument About The **Past**
- **Total Score /28 Grade**

Assessment or Answer Key or Acceptable student responses

Opinion: The North impeded the rights of the South.

Students should indicate that the North's intention was to trample the rights of the South. Students may address the issue by using as evidence the Davis speech and its references to the Declaration of Independence. Students can also examine the thoughts of the Founders on slavery and states' rights. In addition students should use information from at least two other letters, speeches or political cartoons that are primary sources used in the lesson.

Opinion: The South did not have the right to secede. They should have chosen other constitutional measures.

Students should be encouraged to give reference to Lincoln's speech and its references to the Declaration of Independence. In addition students may also look at the thoughts of the Founders on slavery and states' rights. Political cartoons, presidential candidate platforms, letters and other speeches from the primary sources should be used.

Assessment Rubric

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Thesis Statement	The thesis statement is that sentence or two that contains the focus of your writing and tells your reader what the writing is going to be about. The thesis statement clearly signals what the rest of the paper is going to do.	The thesis statement somewhat signals what the rest of the paper is going to do.	The thesis statement is partly there but does not finish the task.	The thesis statement is not there at all or lacks any clarity.
Facts that support your view.	Your facts are accurate, create a logical argument, and show a clear understanding. X2	Your facts are accurate but do not create a cohesive argument. You show a fairly clear understanding of the topic. X2	Your facts are partly accurate but they do not create any argument. You show limited understanding of your topic. X2	You lack facts that support your point of view. You show little if any understanding of the topic. X2
Evidence from sources.	You use the evidence to accurately support your facts. You account for bias in the sources in your use of the sources. You show a clear understanding of the sources you use, citing at least 4 primary sources X2	You use the evidence to support your facts for the most part, but you fail to account for bias of the sources. You show a fairly clear understanding of the topic. You use only 3 sources. X2	You use some of the primary sources in a manner that supports your argument, but you show limited understanding of the sources. You use only 1-2 sources. X2	You do not use the primary sources in a manner that supports your argument. You show limited or no understanding of the sources. X2
Uses a sound three-part format (attention-getting introduction, main points, and a strong conclusion)	Your writing uses a strong three-part format.	Your writing partially uses a strong format.	Your writing shows a limited use of a writing format.	Your writing shows little or no use of a writing format.
Writes using correct mechanics, word choices, and sentence structure.	Your writing uses correct mechanics, word choices, and sentence structure.	Your writing uses some correct mechanics, word choices, and sentence structure.	Your writing shows limited use of correct mechanics, word choices, and sentence structure.	Your writing show little or no use of correct mechanics, word choices, and sentence structure.

Appendices

Appendix Aa.

Secession

Background Information

Federalism

Federalism is a system of dual sovereignty. The Constitution provides a federal system in which power is divided between the federal government and state governments. This is what James Madison called a “double security” in Federalist No. 51. The Constitution specifically lists the powers of the Legislative Branch in Article I, the powers of the Executive Branch in Article II, and the powers of the Judicial Branch in Article III. Under a theory of limited government, the federal government is assumed to have no other powers than those listed. The Tenth Amendment also states the principle that the states and the people retain powers not delegated to the federal government. Under our current system, the federal and state governments have reserved and concurrent powers. As the Founders anticipated, the power struggles that sometimes occur between the two types of governments serves as part of the system of checks and balances, designed to prevent an abuse of power and protect individual rights.

<http://www.constitutionbee.org/user/StudentGuide.aspx?id836>

Appendix Ab.

AMENDMENT IX (1791)

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

✎ One of the reasons given for the framers' omission of a Bill of Rights from the original Constitution was their fear that if they unintentionally failed to mention some fundamental rights in such a listing, those rights might go unprotected. That concern caused many of the delegates to fear that any debate over a bill of rights might drag on for weeks or months, as they sought to cover every conceivable right. The Ninth Amendment makes it clear that the list of rights mentioned in the Constitution and its amendments do not constitute all the possible rights to which the people are entitled. Over the years, the courts have defined "unenumerated" rights, such as the right to vote; the right to move about freely; and, perhaps most controversially, the right to privacy, including the right of a woman to have some control over her health and reproductive decisions.

AMENDMENT X (1791)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

✎ When the Constitution was presented for ratification to the people of the thirteen independent states, many were surprised—and alarmed—by the extent to which powers previously exercised by the states (for example, taxation and control over commerce) were now to be exercised by the federal government. In the words of Virginia statesman Patrick Henry, the new government was not really "federal" in character but rather a "consolidated government," one which would render the identity and powers of the states meaningless. The Tenth Amendment reserves all powers not specifically given to the federal government by the Constitution (most of which are contained in Article I, Section 8, in the enumeration of the powers of Congress) to the state governments; it was intended to allay fears about the federal government possessing excessive power.

In one sense, the Tenth Amendment is one of the most important features of the Constitution, for it articulates the principle that the federal government is one of specifically delegated powers, and that it should only exercise those powers explicitly enumerated in the Constitution. But in fact, the Tenth Amendment, because of its generality, has not proven to be much of an impediment to the steady expansion of federal power since the time the Constitution was adopted, although opponents of "big government" have in recent years invoked the Tenth Amendment in their arguments with greater frequency.

Beeman, Richard, The Penguin Guide to the United States Constitution, New York, Penguin Group, 2010.

The Road to Secession

1798 Thomas Jefferson's Kentucky Resolution articulates states' rights.

March 1789 U.S. Sen. Pierce Butler of South Carolina first threatens secession.

1814 The Hartford Convention discusses the possible secession of New England states.

1832 U.S. Sen. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina expounds the idea of nullification.

1832 Thomas R. Dew publishes a defense of slavery:

1833 Slavery abolished in the British Empire.

1846 The Wilmot Proviso bans slavery in territories taken from Mexico.

October 1859 John Brown raids the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Va., to arm a slave revolt.

Spring 1860 The Democratic Party nominates both northern and southern candidates for president.

Nov. 6, 1860 Lincoln is elected president with 39 percent of the popular vote, but with an electoral vote majority.

Dec. 20, 1860 The South Carolina Convention passes the Ordinance of Secession.

Jan. 9-Feb. 1, 1861 Secession ordinances are adopted in Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.
A Union divided. The History Channel Magazine, Nov./Dec., 2010, p. 30

Appendix Ad.

The Missouri Compromise of 1820

The Missouri Compromise was passed because a battle was brewing in Congress over Missouri becoming a new state. Missouri wanted to enter the Union (United States) as a slave state, but Missouri was too far north to be considered a “Southern state.” So Congress came up with a plan. The plan was to allow Missouri to become a state and keep its slaves and Maine would become a state and have no slaves. With both becoming states at nearly the same time and one having slaves and the other none, it maintained the balance in Congress between free and slave states. The other part of the Compromise was that a line would be drawn from Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. Any state wanting to enter the Union south of this line had to be a slave state, and any state entering the Union north of this line would have to be a free state. This compromise worked perfectly until 1849 and was a law until 1857.

The Compromise of 1850

The Compromise of 1850 was passed because California wanted to enter the Union after the Mexican War as a free state, but the line from the Missouri Compromise cut the state in half. The Southern states did not want California (a very large state) to enter the Union as a free state without another state entering the Union as a slave state. The compromise that was worked out started the slide toward sectionalism and secession. The Compromise of 1850 had five different parts:

1. California would enter the Union as a free state.
2. Utah and New Mexico Territories would have the right to decide whether they would enter the Union as slave or free states. This became known as popular sovereignty.
3. Texas would lose land to New Mexico Territory but would get \$10 million to pay off a debt with Mexico.
4. The slave trade would end in Washington D.C. This only ended the sale and trading of slaves, not the ownership of slaves.
5. The Fugitive Slave Law was passed. This allowed slave owners to hunt down runaway slaves and return them to the plantations. This essentially ended the North as a haven for runaway slaves, because slave owners could come after them anywhere in the United States.

This Compromise divides or sectionalizes the North and South a little more. California and Texas were minor issues. Sectionalism grows mainly because of the Fugitive Slave Law and somewhat because of the institution of popular sovereignty in Utah and New Mexico Territories.

www.territorialarisasonline.org

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854

The Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed because people were starting to move west of Missouri into unorganized territories. Congress decided to pass the Kansas-Nebraska Act to help organize the territory into two different states. The policy of popular sovereignty was extended to the territory even though it was in conflict with the Missouri Compromise, (remember the line the Missouri Compromise drew across the nation that did not allow slavery above the line). Congress thought that under popular sovereignty Nebraska would enter the Union as a free state and Kansas would enter the Union as a slave state. This would maintain the balance in Congress between slave and free states. The problem was that anyone could emigrate to Kansas, and some Northerners organized mass migrations of antislavery people to go to Kansas Territory. Many people from the South and Missouri came to Kansas to vote for Kansas to be a slave state. The battle for Kansas caught the attention of the entire nation and caused the divide between the North and the South, known as sectionalism, to grow. The two sides fought many battles and many people died, while the nation watched and waited. The conflict that took place became known as "Bleeding Kansas."

Dred Scott v. Sanford Supreme Court Decision of 1857

The Supreme Court Decision of 1857, about a man named Dred Scott, does not seem to fit with the items already discussed. The fact is the Dred Scott decision was the last straw for many people, and if you look at the date it's not far from the start of the Civil War. Dred Scott was a slave who traveled with his owner to many places including the Minnesota Territory. They lived there for several years. Dred Scott decided to sue for his freedom under the premise that because he had lived in Minnesota Territory (north of the line set up by the Missouri Compromise) he should be free. A lower court agreed with Scott, but on appeal to the Supreme Court the decision was reversed. The chief justice of the Supreme Court wrote the decision for the court. In that decision Chief Justice Taney wrote that not only could Scott not get his freedom but also he and every other black person were considered property and had no rights anywhere in the United States. Also, Taney declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional (meaning it was against the Constitution and the law). Basically the Supreme Court said that slavery could legally exist anywhere in the United States no matter what a state government said because slaves were considered property and property can be taken anywhere. This decision made sectionalism grow even more between the North and South.

The Election of 1860

Another major break between the North and South came in 1860 when Abraham Lincoln was elected president of the United States without winning the votes of a single Southern state. Almost immediately, South Carolina seceded from the Union, thus beginning the final steps toward civil war.

www.territorialkansasonline.org

Appendix B

Document Evaluation Sheet

- Is this a primary or secondary document?
- Type of Primary Document (check one):
 - ☐ Journal ☐ Census ☐ Letter
 - ☐ Contract ☐ Newspaper ☐ Trade Card
 - ☐ Poster/Broadside ☐ Legal Document ☐ Print
 - ☐ Drawing ☐ Painting ☐ Declaration/Bill
 - ☐ Other
- Title of Document:
- Date of Document:
- Author(s):
- Summarize the document's content:
- Quotation from the document that supports your summarization:
- What bias might the author have?

Appendix C

Student Handout : Cartoon Analysis Sheet

Name: _____

“Secession Movement”

Identify the following for this political cartoon:

1. Characters

2. Symbols

3. Setting

4. Main idea

5. Point of view of the author. What is the author trying to convey? Answer in at least one full paragraph.

Federal vs. State

LIBRARY
OF VIRGINIA

37

Appendix D.



THE SCHOOLMASTER ABROAD AT LAST

"Come, boys! They are all waiting for you—you have staid there long enough! I will forgive you this time if you will try to do better in the future. Only think what a bad example you show the other boys!" (Lincoln)

"Boys, he is after us! I reckon I'll reconsider!" (Schoolboy #1)

"Well, we've been playing hooky long enough; I guess I'll go back!" (Schoolboy #2)

"If that's UNCLE "ABE," I'll put my trowsers right straight on again." (Schoolboy #3)

"You let me alone! I will play in the mud if I like!" (South Carolina)

(Strong's Dime Caricatures, March 1861)

THIS CARTOON, published as a broadside immediately following Lincoln's inauguration, portrays Lincoln, as schoolmaster, in a position of authority over erring schoolboys.

A group of schoolboys has decided to play a little hooky, skipping their classes for a skinny-dip in the pool of secession. Some are already in the pool, while others are in various states of getting ready to jump in. But when Lincoln approaches, the fun is over and all make ready to come back, like good boys, to school. All, that is, except one.

South Carolina, with the palmetto flag on the ground beneath her, is in Lincoln's grasp. She is biting him on the hand while shouting defiance.

But the significance is that Lincoln is in charge

That the federal government was in a position of authority over the individual states was a new concept. Up to this point, the states were in charge, and the federal government acted as coordinator rather than as leader. Things were changing with Lincoln.

Novelist and historian Shelby Foote correctly observed that prior to the Civil War, it was perfectly acceptable to say, "The United States are . . .," but that after the war the correct form was to become "The United States is. . . ." The term *United States* was to change in usage from plural to singular. That, too, may have been subtle, but the transformation in attitude was to have profound impact upon the way this society began to define itself.

Student Handout: Political cartoon



Appendix Eb.

Summary from the Library of Congress Bibliographic Record:

The movement of several Southern states toward secession early in 1861 is portrayed as a doomed enterprise. The artist shows Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, all represented by men riding donkeys, following the lead of South Carolina toward a cliff. South Carolina, who rides a pig, pursues a butterfly "Secession Humbug." A sixth man, Georgia, rides down an inclined path rather than follow the group, confessing, "We have some doubts about the end of that road and think it expedient to deviate a little." South Carolina, reaching for the butterfly, says, "We go the whole hog.—Old Hickory is dead, and now we'll have it." His reference to Andrew Jackson ("Old Hickory") is in keeping with the anti-Democratic line of the cartoon. The work is in fact based on an 1837 satire criticizing Jacksonian fiscal policy and its bullionist pursuit of the "Gold Humbug." (See <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2008661307/> "Fifty Cents. Shin Plaster," no. 1837-11.) Florida, immediately behind South Carolina, cries, "Go it Carolina! we are the boys to wreck the Union." Next follows Alabama, who declares, "We go it blind, Cotton is King!" Mississippi says, "Down with the Union! Mississippi repudiates her bonds." Last is Louisiana, who says, "Go it boys! We'll soon taste the sweets of secession," alluding to the state's domination of the sugar trade.

Federal vs. State

LIBRARY
OF VIRGINIA

38

Appendix Fa.

Student Handout 1

Name: _____

Directions: Read the letter extract and answer the questions with your group. Hint: the highlighted portions of the text will help you answer the questions!

Senatobia Missi Nov 13th 1860

Miss Callie J Anthony

Dear Cousin Callie

I cant say what position I occupied in this sphere during the Canvas,¹ only I fell from the great Union proclivities² which pervaded my Whole System to the most Ultra States Rights man possible I almost detest the name of Union since it dissolves that principle of Equality, so ably & distinctly set forth in the Declaration of Rights & the federal Compact made and entered into by the wise and Holy fore Fathers of this once glorious Republic Rendered almost despicable by the leaders of Parties, in order to secure to themselves the greatest share in public plunder &c. I am a Southern rights man, I claim that we have been trampled upon long enough & that if ever I cast another vote it will be to secede from any people who openly declare an Irriparable conflict to exist in those privileges, principles, & Rights as delegated to us by the original Compact made and Entered into by the Citizens of this Republic. I am no longer a Democrat in its geographical since—but such a patriot as Emmet H. without the native intellect to govern it yet not a fanatic! I want justice meted to every section & if the equipoise³ ceases then the principles which cause the differences should be the great object of Every Man Every patriot who loves his Country & his God.

1. The 1860 presidential campaign, *Canvas*: to seek votes
2. *Proclivity*: inclined or partial to something, a tendency or preference
3. *Equipoise*: balance, equal force

Citation: Unidentified cousin in Senatobia, Mississippi, to Callie Anthony, November 13, 1860 [from pages 3 and 4], Anthony Family Papers, 1785—1952, Acc. 35647, 35648, Library of Virginia. The letter is available here:

http://www.virginiamemory.com/online_classroom/union_or_secession/doc/anthony_1860_11_13

The Social Contract and Secession LIBRARY
OF VIRGINIA

Appendix Fb.

Student Handout 1

1. Does the author want Mississippi to secede?

2. Look at the first highlighted sentence. Which contracts does the author claim the leaders have broken?

3. Look at the second highlighted sentence. What reason does the author give for Southern secession?

The Social Contract and Secession

**LIBRARY
or VIRGINIA**

Appendix Ga.

Student Handout 2

Name: _____

Directions: Read the extract and answer the questions with your group. Hint: the highlighted portion of the text will help you answer the questions!

Resolutions of Rockbridge County Working Men

1 at. Resolved, that we have an abiding confidence in the provisions of the Constitution of the United States for the redress of all the grievances of which we have now or heretofore had reason to complain, and that we regard it, as one of the peculiar blessings of the American people, that they have such redress, within their reach by constitutional means.

2nd. Resolved, That whilst we feel indignation at the unjust and illegal enactments of some of the States of the Union, toward the South; we are still for using all honorable means to induce them to guarantee our rights in the Union, before we resort to the last means of redress;—Revolution.

3rd. Resolved, That we hereby express our unwillingness to be dragged into secession and its attendant consequences, until the People have had ample time to weigh the matter for themselves, and we will not be driven from our affection for the Union by Northern Abolitionists or Southern fireeating demagogues.

4th. Resolved, That we do not consider nullification or secession, as a remedy for any grievance, but hold them as revolutionary rights, only to be exercised in the last resort.

5th. Resolved, That after all honorable and constitutional means have been exhausted toward a settlement of our present difficulties—we hereby express our firm resolve not to renounce Virginia's fair and equitable proportion of all the common property of the present Union, hereby pledging ourselves to maintain these demands at all hazards.

Citation: The first five of twelve resolutions adopted at a meeting “of the working men, farmers and mechanics” of Rockbridge County, in Lexington, on December 19, 1860, and published in the Lexington *Valley Star*, January 10, 1861. See the full list at http://www.virginiamemory.com/online_classroom/union_or_secession/doc!valleystar_1861_01_10

The Social Contract and Secession LIBRARY
or VIRGINIA

Appendix Gb.

Student Handout 2

1. Do the authors want secession?
2. What do the working men say Virginia should do?
3. What do the working men think of secession?
4. What would these men say about Virginia's contract with the government? Should Virginia break it or keep it?

The Social Contract and Secession

**LIBRARY
OF VIRGINIA**

Appendix H

Student Handout 3

Waitman Willey Speech Excerpt

...there is no constitutional right of secession, that of itself ought, among a law-loving and law abiding people like Virginians, to be an argument of no small consideration.. I never shall be made to believe that Washington, and Madison, and Franklin, and the other great sages who constructed the Union in the first place, and organized our Federal Government, brought their labors to no greater result than this; that is to say, to bring the States of the Federal Union together, give them a simple introduction to each other, and place them side by side under the flag of the country, without any legal bond to bind the Union. Sir, believe in no such voluntary association. In my opinion, if this be the correct construction of the Federal Constitution, we have never had a Union at all; these States have never been united, but they have been living together in a kind of unlawful cohabitation; and when the gentlemen are able to establish that principle, then I will be more willing to enable them to destroy that illicit intercourse. I said, Mr. President, that it was not my purpose to argue the question of constitutional law involved in this proposition, but I trust that it may not be considered improper to advert for a moment to the operation of that principle, if granted to be true. Many times the proper construction of a law may be best ascertained by following it out into its practical results. Well, sir, I never could conceive that when the Federal Government was purchasing the territory of Louisiana, and the freedom of the mouth of the Mississippi, and of the Gulf, for the purpose of protecting and encouraging the great trade of the interior empire of States, which by the sagacity of our wise men was foreseen springing up in the West—I say I could not conceive that this government would have made that purchase at the expense of a great deal of money, and of a great deal of trouble, upon the contingency that the little State of Louisiana might at her own pleasure foreclose these great advantages of commerce against all these interior States. Again, sir, I cannot suppose that the purchase of Florida—another little State—which cost us, in the first place, I believe, some five millions, and a great many more millions in establishing forts and arsenals, and in driving the Indians out of her marshes, until the sum that that little State has cost us will amount perhaps to fifty millions—I say I never can suppose that our government made that purchase, and expended all that money, under the contingency that this little State, after all these services had been rendered, after her territory had been made free, after the savages had been driven from her domain, might quietly walk out of the Union and leave us the bills to pay.

Speech of Waitman Willey, of Mongolia County, in the Virginia Convention, March 4, 1861, printed in

George H. Reese and William H. Gaines, Jr., eds., *Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1965), 1:355—356.

Federal vs. State

LIBRARY
or VIRGINIA

Appendix I

Student Handout 4

Robert Montague Speech Excerpt

Now, sir, I ask, as it is admitted they went into the Union voluntarily, if there is anything in the Constitution which gives Congress or any department of the Federal Government the power to use force to keep them in? If there is, point it out. If any gentleman here shows me one word in the Constitution which gives Congress, or any department of the Federal Government, the power to keep a State in the Federal Union by force, I will yield the point. No, sir, it is not in the Constitution. You cannot find it there—it is not there. On the contrary, sir, in the Convention which framed the Constitution, they expressly refused to give Congress any such power over the States.

...you see from the journal of the Convention, that so far from being able to find any such thing in the Constitution of the United States, of the formation of that Constitution, itself shows that the Convention which framed it refused, in every instance, to grant any power to Congress to use force or coercion against a State in any form. Then, sir, you see that they went in voluntarily. Can the Federal Government at Washington resort to force to keep them in? Have they any authority to do that, sir? This Convention, in which we are now assembled, has the power to carry Virginia out, and to submit that question to the people to decide for themselves. Can any department of the Federal Government send any force here, under the sanction of the Constitution, to disperse this Convention, because it may do this. Show me where there is such power given in the Constitution and I will give up the whole question. It is not there....

The gentleman [Waitman Willey] says that Florida cost millions of dollars, that Texas cost millions of dollars, that Louisiana cost millions of dollars, and asks whether we shall now permit them to secede after having paid this large amount of money for them ; thus measuring this great principle of American liberty, to which my friend has adverted, and making it subservient to the miserable, picayune argument of dollars and cents.

I scout this argument. With perfect respect, I say to the gentleman that it is unworthy the consideration of any Virginian, to measure sovereignty, to measure the great question of self-government, and the great eternal principles of civil liberty, by dollars and cents. I repeat, sir, it is such an argument as should not be used upon this floor...

Speeches of **Robert** Montague, of Middlesex County, in the Virginia Convention, April 2, **1861**,
printed in

George H. Reese and William H. Gaines, **Jr., eds.**, *Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861*

(**Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1965**), 3:25, 26, 32—33.

Federal vs. State **LIBRARY**
OF **VIRGINIA**

Appendix J

Student Handout 5

Jefferson Davis's Inaugural Address Excerpt

Montgomery, Alabama, February 18, 1861

Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established. The declared compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn was to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion of its exercise they as sovereigns were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct; and He who knows the hearts of men will judge the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit.

The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the bills of rights of the States subsequently admitted into Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States—here represented, proceeded to form this confederacy; and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained. The rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of our just obligations or any failure to perform every constitutional duty, moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defence which soon their security may require.

We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States. We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us with firm resolve to appeal to arms and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause.

It is joyous in the midst of perilous times to look around upon a people united in heart, when one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole, where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance, against honor, right, liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent the progress of a movement sanctioned by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by his blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity; and with a continuance of His favor ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, to prosperity.

Appendix K

Student Handout 6

Abraham Lincoln's Inaugural Address Excerpt March 4, 1861

I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists." I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the dear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration.

A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty. on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case, will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic

citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to “preserve, protect, and defend” it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

**From
McPherson, James M., Ordeal By Fire (3rd Edition), New York, McGraw-Hill Higher
Education, 2001.**

Appendix L

Comparison T-chart

Student Handout 7

Name: _____

Pro-Secession Arguments	Anti-Secession Arguments

Federal vs. State

LIBRARY
of VIRGINIA

30

Appendix Ma

Political Cartoon #1



THE OLD MAN AND HIS SONS

Appendix Mb

Background information for Political cartoon #1

ACCORDING TO this cartoon in *Harper's Weekly*, the strength of the United States lay in the unity that binds individual states into one cohesive unit. *E Pluribus Unum*—one out of many. George Washington is the "Old Man," and the quarreling sons are the individual states. As he reprimands his rebellious offspring, his foot rests upon a fasces.

The fasces, as a symbol, dates to ancient Rome. It is a bundle of sticks, originally birch rods, bound tightly to-

gether, with a red ribbon, around a central ax. As the caption here maintains, the fasces is a symbol of strength in unity.

Further, a fasces is the symbol of strong central authority. And it was exactly a strong federal authority that the South chose to leave. The Southern states were no longer thinking of a strong, centralized Union; they were, instead, thinking more along the lines of a confederacy.

THE OLD MAN AND HIS SONS

An old Man had many Sons, who were often quarreling with one another. When the father had exerted his authority, and used other means to reconcile them, but all to no purpose, he at last had recourse to this expedient: he ordered his Sons to be called before him, and a short bundle of sticks to be brought; then he commanded them each to try if, with all his might and strength, he could break it. They all tried but to no purpose; for the sticks being closely and compactly bound up together, it was impossible for the force of man to do it.

After this, the father ordered the bundle to be untied, and gave a single stick to each of his Sons, at the same time bidding him try to break it, which when each did with all imaginable ease, the father addressed them to this effect: "O, my Sons, behold the power of unity: for if you, in like manner, would but keep yourselves strictly conjoined in the bonds of friendship, it would not be in the power of any mortal to hurt you; but when once the ties of brotherly affection are dissolved, how soon you become exposed to every injurious hand that assaults you!"

MORAL: UNION IS STRENGTH

(*Harper's Weekly*, February 2, 1861)

Appendix Na

Political Cartoon #2



Appendix Nb

Background information for Political cartoon #2

FAIR COLUMBIA was finally awaking to the idea that some of the states were actually going to try to leave the Union; eleven had already adopted resolutions of secession.

Holding the Constitution and again invoking the spirit of George Washington (pictured in the background), Columbia appears aroused. She is far more substantial than are the Southern states. They appear rather scrawny in their planter's caps and their pantaloons emblazoned with "secession" and "treason." But they are armed. They have

torn the Constitution and are attempting to steal away, but Columbia has decided to hold them.

Neither side believed the other would actually carry through its threats. The North didn't think the South would really leave the Union; it was all bluff and bluster in an attempt to get its own way.

The Southern states didn't think the North would try to stop them from leaving; secession would be accomplished without bloodshed and the two regions of the country could go their own way in peace.

Appendix Oa

Political Cartoon #3



Appendix Ob

Background information for Political cartoon #3

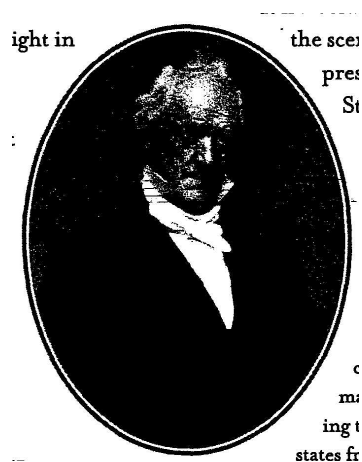
MISS COLUMBIA appears to be annoyed with the students in her class. The lesson she has prepared is on the Constitution. The book is sitting on her desk, and many of her students already have it open and are giving it close study. The Mason-Dixon Line runs right through the middle of the classroom.

There is a disruption right in front of the desk. Horace Greeley, publisher of the *New York Tribune* and ardent abolitionist, appears to be hurrying back to his side of the room and may have stumbled over the Mason-Dixon Line. Below Greeley, another seems to have tripped. This is William Seward, senator from New York. Upon his slate is written “Irrepressible Conflict,” a reference to a speech he made on the Senate floor wherein he predicted that secession would lead to an irrepressible conflict in the land. At the time this cartoon was published, Seward was considered the front-runner for the nomination of the fledgling Republican Party.

In the background, under the planters’ hats, a student scrawls, “Let us alone,” on the wall of the classroom. When the general movement for secession was under way, this was the plea of the Southern states. They hoped to leave in peace. But peace does not appear to reign in the classroom.

It is noteworthy that absent from the scene is James Buchanan, president of the United States.

Below: James Buchanan (1791—1868). The fifteenth president of the United States, elected to office in 1856. Despite the power of his position as chief executive and commander in chief, he did nothing to stop, or even delay, seven states from seceding from the Union and commandeering federal property (including munitions and fortifications), thus setting the country on the path to the Civil War. Most biographies of Buchanan note that the majority of historians rank him among the worst, if not *the* worst, of all who have held the office of president of the United States.







Appendix P

Student Handout: Presidential Candidates Worksheet

Images courtesy of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Lincoln: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/pnp/ppmsca.19305>; Douglas: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/12004663930/>;

I3ell: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004663872/>; I3reckinridge: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/brh2003003451/PP/>

Candidate	Background	Position on slavery	Position on the Union	Other Party Platform topics
Abraham Lincoln 				
Stephen Douglas 				
John Bell 				
John Breckinridge 				

Appendix Qa,

Student Handout: Presidential Candidates Info Sheets

Party Platform

Abraham Lincoln

State: Illinois

Born: 1809

Vice presidential running mate:

Hannibal Hamlin, a United States senator from Maine

Antislavery, but promised to protect slavery in the South

- Denounced proposals to reopen the African slave trade
- Supported safeguards for the rights of immigrants
- Advocated construction of a transcontinental railroad and other internal improvements
- Declared the Union must be preserved

Election of 1860—Dividing Virginia

LIBRARY OF VIRGINIA

Republican Party Candidate



Appendix Qb.

Student Handout: Presidential Candidates Info Sheets

Stephen Arnold Douglas

State: Illinois

Born: 1813

Vice presidential running mate:

Herschel V. Johnson, formerly governor of Georgia

Party Platform

- Douglas proposed a policy of popular sovereignty to allow voters in a territory to decide whether slavery would be legal there.
- Affirmed the right of the Supreme Court to determine Congress's constitutional power over slavery in the territories
- Called for the acquisition of Cuba
- Advocated construction of a transcontinental railroad

Election of 1860— Dividing Virginia **LIBRARY**
or **VIRGINIA**

“Northern” Democratic Party Candidate



Appendix Qc.

Student Handout: Presidential Candidates Info Sheets

John Cabell Breckinridge

State: Kentucky

Born: 1821

Vice presidential running mate:

Joseph Lane, represented the Oregon Territory in the United States House of Representatives

Party Platform

- Advocated the expansion of slavery into the territories and strong enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850
- Affirmed the obligation of the federal government to protect the rights of slaveholders in the states and territories
- Called for the annexation of Cuba
- Advocated the construction of a transcontinental railroad

Election of 1860— Dividing Virginia **LIBRARY**
OF VIRGINIA



“Southern” Democratic Party Candidate

Appendix Qd.

Student Handout: Presidential Candidates Info Sheets

John Bell

State: Tennessee

Born: 1796

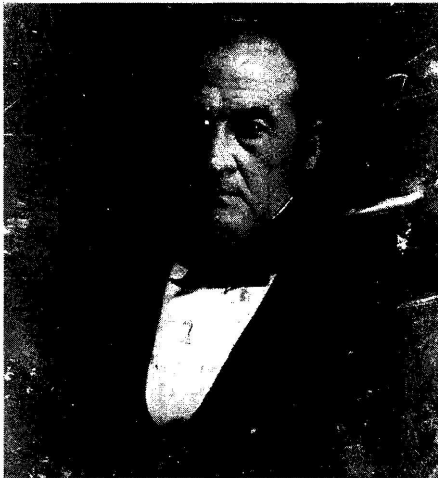
Vice presidential running mate:

Edward Everett, a former U.S. senator from
Massachusetts

Part Platform

- Preserve the Union: the primacy of the Constitution, the Union, and the laws

Constitutional Union Party Candidate



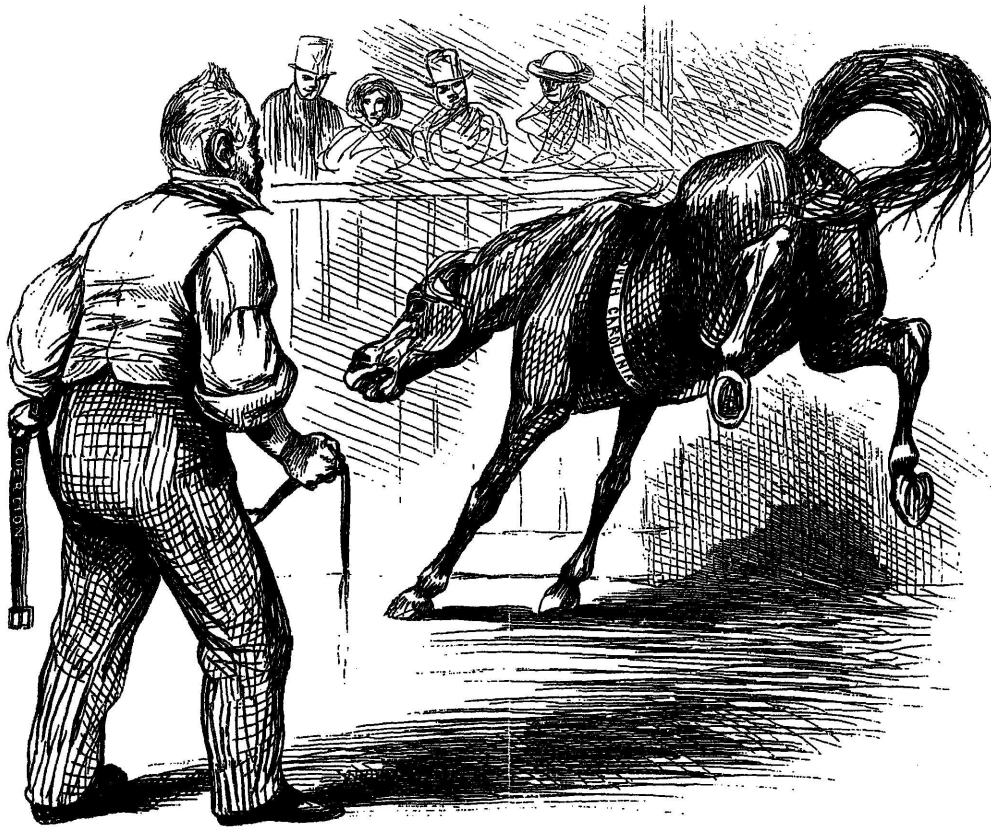
Election of 1860 —Dividing Virginia

LIBRARY OF VIRGINIA

Appendix Ra.

Student Handout

Political cartoon #4



NEW APPLICATION OF THE RAREY SYSTEM

Mr. Rarey Buchanan doesn't see why he can't put the Federal stays on that spunky little colt Miss South Carolina. When he tried to pat her—she bites; when he tried to apply the strap—she kicks. He really doesn't see what is to be done with her—s'poses she'll have to have her own way. To which remark Miss Carolina doesn't say, neigh!

(*Leslie Illustrated*, January 26, 1861)

Appendix Bb

Background information for Political cartoon #4

The Rarey system was a fairly new procedure, in vogue in 1861, for training horses. South Carolina, pictured here as the frisky colt, did not want to be brought under control, and certainly not under the control of President Buchanan.

James Buchanan of Pennsylvania was elected to the office of president on the Democrat ticket of 1856, defeating former president Millard Fillmore, who ran as the American Party (KnowNothing) candidate, and John C. Frémont, the first candidate of the Republican Party. Although he had had a long and distinguished career in the House of Representatives and the Senate and as a diplomat, Buchanan was an attractive candidate primarily because he had been out of the country, serving as minister to Great Britain, during the preceding years of divisiveness. But his skills on Capitol Hill and as a diplomat failed him, and the country, now.

Buchanan was a Northern politician with decidedly Southern inclinations. He tried to walk a fine line between the two camps and, as a result, satisfied neither side. Although he opposed secession, he did nothing to stop it. In fact, several members of his cabinet aided the process by shifting resources (particularly munitions and war materiel) to Southern arsenals, where they might be seized by rebel states.

Appendix S.

Student Handout

Political Cartoon #5

Name: _____

Pro-Secession Arguments Anti-Secession Arguments

Doctor North to Patient South—Help you! Of course! We will first with your assistance, take off your legs & then fix you up nicely on these Constitutional Amendments.

South—Can't see it.



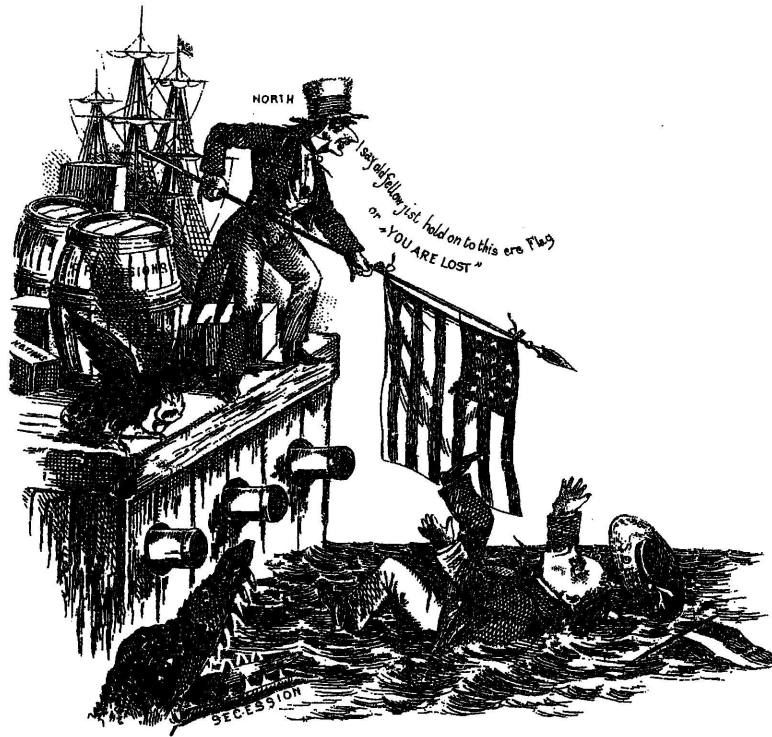
THIS BROADSIDE appeared on the streets of the South as commentary. A patient with a broken arm seeks healing from a doctor. Congress here takes on the persona of “Doctor North” (he may be Thaddeus Stevens, the abolitionist congressman from Pennsylvania). The doctor, eyeing his patient with a broken arm, proposes to amputate the patient’s legs and offers a wooden limb (labeled “Constitutional Amendment”). “Patient South” doesn’t think this is going to help. The course of action being proposed by the North was not only unacceptable to the South, it was also close to absurd, according to this broadside. Congress was attempting to work through the crisis by debating fresh legislation and constitutional amendments. But the South would accept nothing less than absolute guarantees that it would be free from any Northern interference. This was much more than the North was willing to concede

Federal vs. State **LIBRARY**
of **VIRGINIA**

Appendix T.

Student Handout

Political Cartoon #6



I say old fellow, just hold onto this 'ere flag, or YOU ARE LOST.
(*Patriotic envelope, circa 1861*)

The South was in trouble, and about to get even more of it, according to this patriotic envelope. It had fallen off a safe and stable dock, one that had the glory of the American eagle with its military might, provisions, and the recognition of foreign nations. From this dock, it was about to flounder in an unfriendly sea, one that included the monster of secession. All would be lost if it did not cling to "this 'ere Flag" of the Union. Patriotic envelopes such as this were popular in the North throughout the war.