



Election of 1860: Lincoln's Evolving Ideas TEACHER GUIDE

Lesson Overview

This lesson uses primary source analysis and exploration to examine how the election of 1860 can be used to explore Abraham Lincoln's evolving political ideas and the impact of his leadership on American society. It is designed for students currently studying U.S. history or government in the classroom and scaled to the 11th grade TEKS. Lessons can also be used with younger students with some modifications.

The lesson is designed to be completed in a single 45- to 60-minute class period.

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Essential Question

How did Abraham Lincoln's views about slavery and the balance of state and federal authority change following the election of 1860?

Objectives

- Students will engage with primary sources to help them understand Lincoln's evolving views on key issues during his presidency.
- Students will use multimodal engagement strategies to develop their historical thinking skills.
- Students will analyze, organize, and use information from a variety of primary sources and communicate that analysis through writing and discussion.

Key Vocabulary

Students will need to have an understanding of the following terms to effectively complete the lesson:

- Secession
- Free soil
- Sectionalism

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TEKS

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Lesson Procedure

Warm-Up

There are two possible components for the lesson warm-up: an election snapshot and a primary source document for the class to analyze together. Depending on your classroom needs, you may choose to complete one or both components. The content for both the snapshot and the warm-up document analysis are available as PDF documents and a teacher slide deck.

- 1. Using the election snapshot, briefly review the main ideas, issues, and players of the election of 1860.
 - a. Be sure to remind students that while the election was important for many reasons, the main thing that you'll be focusing on today is what the election teaches us about the evolving ideas that Abraham Lincoln had about liberty, equality, union, and government.
- 2. Using the sample primary source, review with your students how to thoroughly analyze and explore primary sources.
 - a. This lesson uses a simplified version of the <u>National Archives and Records</u> <u>Administration's Document Analysis</u> strategies.
 - b. As a group, use the warm-up exercise to compare "A Prayer for Twenty Millions" to Abraham Lincoln's letter to Horace Greeley. Remind students that it is important to use close reading skills and apply historical context that they have already learned.
- 3. After analyzing the source as a whole, answer the "Checking for Understanding" questions to ensure student comprehension.

Exploring Primary Sources

The purpose of this section is to have students explore primary sources that describe some of the issues at the center of the election of 1860 and how those issues posed unique challenges for Lincoln as a leader.

There are many ways that you can choose to engage with the primary sources with your students. Depending on interest, student level, and classroom goals, you may choose to engage with any or all of the provided primary sources.

Three possible engagement models are suggested here:

Write

Using the worksheets provided, have your students work individually to read and examine the documents and then write their answers to the comprehension questions.

The most important takeaway for this engagement model is determining WHO is writing/speaking and WHAT each primary source is about.

Speak

Divide students into groups and provide one primary source to each group. After reading the source on their own, students should consider the author of the source and their perspective.

The most important takeaway for this engagement model is determining HOW the author is communicating and WHY they are saying what they are saying.

Draw

Have students, working individually or in pairs, design a creative, visual representation of the main argument of one primary source. They may choose to create a Venn diagram, a flow chart, or an identity map.

The most important takeaway for this engagement model is determining WHO is writing/speaking and HOW they are getting their point across.

Discussing Primary Sources

In this section, students will discuss their observations, analysis, and conclusions gleaned from analyzing primary sources about the central issues of the election of 1860.

Lead a discussion of the issues at hand. Students will use the key ideas learned during the warm-up and their analyses of primary sources to answer questions.

- 1. The election of 1860 revealed significant sectional divisions in the United States. What issue was central to those differences?
- 2. How did Lincoln's thinking and writing about slavery show a change in his official position toward slavery over the course of the war?
- 3. Historians have argued that the Civil War was the inevitable result of sectional divisions that had emerged over time. What compromise can you suggest that might have prevented war?
- 4. One of the ultimate results of the Civil War was to change the United States from a republic dominated by states with slavery to a republic dominated by the federal government without slavery. To what extent can this broader national change be seen in the change in Lincoln's thinking?
- 5. Did any of the documents surprise you? Which one(s)? Why/How?

Closure

If desired, use the final few minutes of the lesson to write or discuss, or assign as homework, the following prompt, which encourages students to compare the issues in the election of 1860 to contemporary election cycles:

What issues in the United States today create a polarized electorate? Do you think there are compromises that can be reached between the two sides?





Election of 1860: Lincoln's Evolving Ideas Election Snapshot

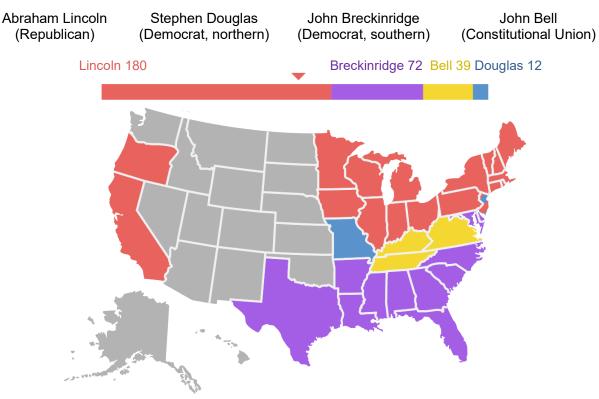
Essential Question

How did Abraham Lincoln's views about slavery and the balance of state and federal authority change following the election of 1860?

Key Ideas

- The election of a Republican candidate in 1860 represented a "point of no return" for many people in slaveholding states who feared an end to slavery. While sectional and political differences had been a part of nearly every prior election, these differences proved irreconcilable in 1860. Seven states seceded from the Union within three months of the election and four more seceded in the months to follow.
- With the Civil War, the United States began the process of resolving two questions that had persisted since the framing of the Constitution:
 - What was the relationship between federal and state authority?
 - Where did the authority to limit the expansion of slavery lie?
- Because he hoped to keep as many states in the Union as possible, Lincoln initially pursued a moderate course regarding abolition, trying not to alienate the slaveholding states that had not seceded: Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware.
- Lincoln's own views about liberty, equality, union, and government are reflected in the speeches he made throughout his presidency.

Candidates and Outcome



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Election of 1860: Lincoln's Evolving Ideas Primary Sources and Questions

Warm-Up

"A Prayer for Twenty Millions" [excerpt], 1862 Horace Greeley, *New York Tribune* <u>American Antiquarian Society</u>

Letter, Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862 Abraham Lincoln Abraham Lincoln Online

Primary Sources

"A House Divided" [excerpt], 1858 Abraham Lincoln Abraham Lincoln made this speech at the 1858 Illinois Republican convention after being nominated as a candidate for senator. <u>The Miller Center</u>

"Free Speech, Free Soil, Free Men" [visual source], 1860 Gavit & Co.

Wide-Awake Clubs were Republican marching clubs formed in the spring of 1860 and active during the campaigns leading up to the election of 1860. They were dedicated to preserving the Union and preventing the extension of slavery.

Library of Congress

First Inaugural Address [excerpt], 1861 Abraham Lincoln When Lincoln gave his first inaugural address, seven states had already seceded from the Union. <u>The Miller Center</u>

Gettysburg Address, 1863 Abraham Lincoln

The Gettysburg Address marked a shift in Lincoln's description of the Civil War from a fight to save the Union to a fight for freedom and equality for all. <u>Library of Congress</u>

Second Inaugural Address [excerpt], 1865 Abraham Lincoln

With this address, Lincoln begins the process of reconstructing the Union and creating a public memory of the Civil War and why it was fought. The Miller Center





Warm-Up: Excerpt from "A Prayer for Twenty Millions" Horace Greeley, New York Tribune August 20, 1862

To ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States

DEAR SIR: I do not intrude to tell you--for you must know already--that a great proportion of those who triumphed in you [*sic*] election, and of all who desire the unqualified suppression of the Rebellion now desolating our country, are sorely disappointed and deeply pained by the policy you seem to be pursuing with regard to the slaves of the Rebels.

. . .

V. We complain that the Union cause has suffered, and is now suffering immensely, from mistaken deference to Rebel Slavery. Had you, Sir, in your Inaugural Address, unmistakably given notice that, in case the Rebellion already commenced were persisted in, and your efforts to preserve the Union and enforce the laws should be resisted by armed force, you would recognize no loyal person as rightfully held in Slavery by a traitor, we believe the Rebellion would therein have received a staggering if not fatal blow.

. . .

VIII. On the face of this wide earth, Mr. President, there is not one disinterested, determined, intelligent champion of the Union cause who does not feel that all attempts to put down the Rebellion and at the same time uphold its inciting cause are preposterous and futile--that the Rebellion, if crushed out tomorrow, would be renewed within a year if Slavery were left in full vigor--that Army officers who remain to this day devoted to Slavery can at best be but half-way loyal to the Union-- and that every hour of deference to Slavery is an hour of added and deepened peril to the Union, I appeal to the testimony of your Ambassadors in Europe. It is freely at your service, not at mine. Ask them to tell you candidly whether the seeming subserviency of your policy to the slaveholding, slavery-upholding interest, is not the perplexity, the despair of statesmen of all parties, and be admonished by the general answer.

IX. I close as I began with the statement that what an immense majority of the Loyal Millions of your countrymen require of you is a frank, declared, unqualified, ungrudging execution of the laws of the land. . .

Yours, Horace Greeley New York, August 19, 1862





Warm-Up: Letter, Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley Abraham Lincoln August 22, 1862

Executive Mansion

Washington, August 22, 1862

Hon. Horace Greeley:

Dear Sir

I have just read yours of the 19th. addressed to myself through the New-York Tribune. If there be in it any statements, or assumptions of fact, which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptable in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing" as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored; the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do *not* believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do *more* whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men every where could be free. Yours,

A. Lincoln.

Warm-Up Exercise: Understanding Perspective Greeley/Lincoln correspondence

Analyzing a Source: Use the chart below (which is based on the National Archives and Records Administration analysis model) to examine and compare the primary sources. Remember that every document is created by a person with a specific point of view that is based on their background, beliefs, and experiences. These questions help you to understand that point of view, or perspective.

Meet the source. What type of source is it? What do you notice first? How would you describe it to someone who hasn't read it?	
Observe its parts. Who created it? Who is the intended audience? When was it created? Where was it created?	
Try to make sense of it. What is it talking about? Why did the maker create it? What was happening at the time in history when this source was created?	
Use it as historical evidence. What did you find out that you might not learn anywhere else? What evidence does the creator present that you should "fact check"? What questions do you have that this source doesn't answer?	

Checking for Understanding: After reviewing the source using the chart above, answer these questions as a class.

- What is Horace Greeley's main purpose for writing this open letter to President Lincoln?
- According to Lincoln's response, what is the president's primary objective?
- What is Lincoln willing to do to achieve his goal?
- What is the implied difference between what Lincoln sees as his "official duty" and his "personal wish"?
- How does each man invoke the meaning of the election of 1860 in their arguments?





Excerpt from "A House Divided" Abraham Lincoln 1858

Context: Abraham Lincoln made this speech at the 1858 Illinois Republican convention after being nominated as a candidate for senator.

* * •

Mr. PRESIDENT and Gentlemen of the Convention.

If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it.

We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object, and *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, *not ceased*, but has *constantly augmented*.

In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.

I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved*—I do not expect the house to *fall*—but I *do* expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become *all* one thing, or *all* the other.

Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its *advocates* will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in *all* the States, *old* as well as *new--North* as well as *South*.

. . .

Abraham Lincoln June 16, 1858

Questions for Excerpt from "A House Divided"

1. In this speech, Abraham Lincoln said that the country was in its "fifth year, since a policy was initiated with the *avowed* object, and *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation." What plan/policy was he referring to?

2. Lincoln argued that not only had this policy on slavery not worked, but it had made the situation worse. What did Lincoln suggest would have to happen to overcome the failure of the policy?

3. What did Lincoln mean when he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand"?

4. Although when he gave the speech Lincoln could not have *known* what would happen, what did Lincoln predict would happen to the Union?

Questions for Excerpt from "A House Divided"

1. In this speech, Abraham Lincoln said that the country was in its "fifth year, since a policy was initiated with the *avowed* object, and *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation." What plan/policy was he referring to?

Lincoln was referring to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which was passed in 1854.

2. Lincoln argued that not only had this policy on slavery not worked, but it had made the situation worse. What did Lincoln suggest would have to happen to overcome the failure of the policy?

Lincoln suggested that the country must either have slavery in every state or slavery in no states. The country could not continue with this internal opposition.

3. What did Lincoln mean when he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand"?

Lincoln meant that the country must stick together on the policy it chose in regard to slavery and that if the country remained divided it would fail.

4. Although when he gave the speech Lincoln could not have *known* what would happen, what did Lincoln predict would happen to the Union?

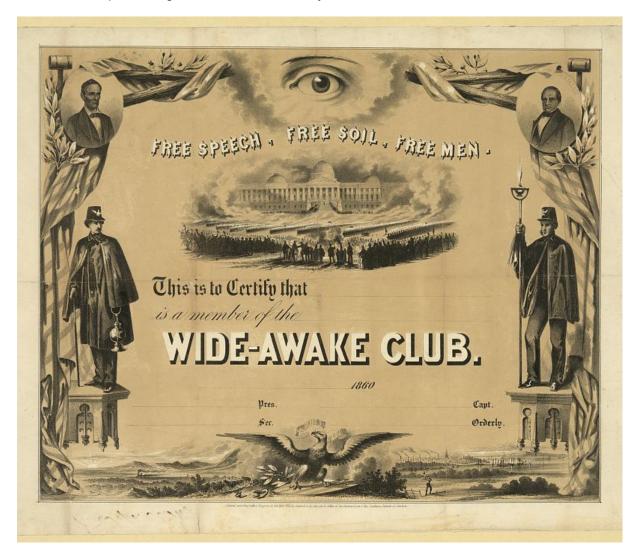
Lincoln stated that the Union could not stay together as half-slave and half-free.





"Free Speech, Free Soil, Free Men" Gavit & Co. 1860

Context: Wide-Awake Clubs were Republican marching clubs formed in the spring of 1860 and active during the campaigns leading up to the election of 1860. They were dedicated to preserving the Union and preventing the extension of slavery.



Questions for "Free Speech, Free Soil, Free Men"

1. Describe and identify the people seen in this certificate.

2. The bottom border of this certificate portrays scenes from across the United States. What elements can you identify? Why might the certificate's creator have chosen these images?

3. What does the phrase "free soil" mean in the context of this image?

4. Several symbols associated with the U.S. government can be found in this certificate. Name and describe them.

Questions for "Free Speech, Free Soil, Free Men"

1. Describe and identify the people seen in this certificate.

Student should use close visual analysis skills to identify each person and describe them. They should identify Abraham Lincoln and his running mate Hannibal Hamlin specifically, and more generally describe the club members found on either side of the certificate. They could also describe the people assembled in front of the U.S. Capitol.

2. The bottom border of this certificate portrays scenes from across the United States. What elements can you identify? Why might the certificate's creator have chosen these images?

Student should describe the mix of geographic locations, including a western scene with a locomotive and a more urban, presumably eastern scene.

Student should make a claim and support it with evidence. Answers should point toward what these two scenes say about the Wide-Awake Clubs' views on the extension of slavery.

3. What does the phrase "free soil" mean in the context of this image?

"Free soil" means preventing the expansion of slavery into the western territories of the United States.

4. Several symbols associated with the U.S. government can be found in this certificate. Name and describe them.

Student should use close visual analysis skills to identify the flag, olive branch, eagle, shield and "e pluribus unum" banner.





Excerpt from First Inaugural Address Abraham Lincoln March 4, 1861

Context: When Lincoln gave his first Inaugural Address, seven states had already seceded from the Union.

_____ *** * * ___**__

. . .

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 full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them.

. . .

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. 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 must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords 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.

Questions for Excerpt from First Inaugural Address

1. Lincoln said that the South's fears that he would interfere with their property rights were misplaced. What property rights, specifically, were southerners most concerned about losing? What evidence did Lincoln use to support his claim?

2. Lincoln stated that a civil war would occur only if what happened?

3. What did Lincoln suggest was the true nature of the relationship between the North and South?

4. In what ways did Lincoln's address demonstrate his leadership in facing the crisis of a civil war?

Questions for Excerpt from First Inaugural Address

1. Lincoln said that the South's fears that he would interfere with their property rights were misplaced. What property rights, specifically, were southerners most concerned about losing? What evidence did Lincoln use to support his claim?

Southerners most feared Lincoln would interfere with their right to own slaves.

He quoted himself from previous speeches to support his claim that he did not intend to interfere, also noting that he was elected by people who knew he thought this.

2. Lincoln stated that a civil war would occur only if what happened?

A civil war would occur only if the South was the aggressor.

3. What did Lincoln suggest was the true nature of the relationship between the North and South?

The North and the South were friends, not enemies, who were bonded by their shared rebellion against British tyranny in the American Revolution.

4. In what ways did Lincoln's address demonstrate his leadership in facing the crisis of a civil war?

Student must make a claim and support their answer with evidence from the text.





Gettysburg Address Abraham Lincoln November 19, 1863

Context: The Gettysburg Address marked the shift in Lincoln's description of the Civil War from a fight to save the Union to a fight for freedom and equality for all.

Nov. 19th 1863.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Questions for the Gettysburg Address

1. According to Lincoln, what was the main founding principle of the United States?

2. What was the "unfinished work" that Lincoln said men fought for at Gettysburg? What was the "task" that remained to be done?

3. What was the tone of Lincoln's speech?

4. In 1860, Lincoln and the Republican platform resolved to oppose the extension of slavery into western territories. At the end of the Gettysburg Address what did Lincoln indicate that the United States should pursue?

Questions for the Gettysburg Address

1. According to Lincoln, what was the main founding principle for the United States?

The United States was founded on the principle of liberty.

2. What was the "unfinished work" that Lincoln said men fought for at Gettysburg? What was the "task" that remained to be done?

The war was still to be won and freedom guaranteed for all.

3. What was the tone of Lincoln's speech?

Lincoln's tone was solemn and respectful. He inspired listeners to stay focused on a task still to be finished.

4. In 1860, Lincoln and the Republican platform resolved to oppose the extension of slavery into western territories. At the end of the Gettysburg Address what did Lincoln indicate that the United States should pursue?

Opposing the extension of slavery was no longer enough. Rather, the United States should have a "new birth of freedom," and fight for freedom for all.





Excerpt from Second Inaugural Address Abraham Lincoln March 4, 1865

Context: With this address, Lincoln begins the process of reconstructing the Union and creating a public memory of the Civil War and why it was fought.

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Fellow-Countrymen:

. . .

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union. but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the fight as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Questions for Excerpt from Second Inaugural Address

1. According to Lincoln, what was one goal of his first inaugural address, delivered four years earlier?

2. Lincoln described the North and South this way: "One of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish." Which is which and how do you know?

3. What did Lincoln identify as the cause of the war?

4. What did the address's final sentence suggest about Lincoln's attitude toward the Confederate states going forward?

Questions for Excerpt from Second Inaugural Address

1. According to Lincoln, what was one goal of his first inaugural address, delivered four years earlier?

The goal of his first inaugural address was to save the Union without war.

2. Lincoln describes the North and South this way: "One of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish." Which is which and how do you know?

South: Make war North: Accept war

Student answers should use evidence from their study of the Civil War about which side attacked first. They can also compare this address with Lincoln's first inaugural about what the North was willing to do to protect the Union.

3. What did Lincoln identify as the cause of the war?

Lincoln identified slavery as the cause of the war.

4. What did the address's final sentence suggest about Lincoln's attitude toward the Confederate states going forward?

Lincoln wished to ensure that no one continued to be punished for the war going forward and that a lasting peace would be formed.