

risk the dangerous journey across the mountains. The great plain west of the Missouri was settled by these travelers who found it impossible to reach the extreme west.

Senator Douglas of Illinois, chairman of the committee on territories, had become interested in this "Platte Country"¹ and proposed to organize it into territories. His bill, introduced in January, 1854,² divided this region into two parts, the northern part called Nebraska, and the southern part Kansas. Both of the proposed territories lay within the limits of the Louisiana purchase and north of 36° 30' and were therefore, under the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, free territory. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, however, proposed to set aside this part of the Missouri Compromise and to leave the people of the territory to say, when they asked for admission as a state, whether they would permit slavery. The bill was strongly opposed by those who were fighting slavery. It was condemned as a flagrant violation of the Missouri Compromise, which, by its own terms, was to last forever. Senator Douglas contended that the great compromise Omnibus Bill of 1850 virtually repealed the Missouri Compromise by setting forth the principle that Congress should not interfere with new territory by legislating either freedom or slavery into it, and by declaring the people's right to decide about slavery in their own domain.³ For months, the bill was the subject of debate in

¹ This great plain was called the "Platte Country" from the Platte River, which was its chief physical feature.

² On January 4, 1854, Senator Douglas introduced a bill for the organization of Nebraska Territory. This bill provided that the people, by their own constitution, should decide whether slavery should be permitted within the limits of the state. In other words, the existence of slavery or of freedom within Nebraska was not to be considered by Congress when the territory applied for admission as a state. On January 23, Senator Douglas offered the bill described above as a substitute for the bill of January 4. The second bill expressly repealed that part of the Missouri Compromise (Section 8) which the first bill was said to violate indirectly.

³ The Omnibus Bill provided that New Mexico and Utah should be admitted without any restrictions as to slavery.

Congress. It became a national issue, and was the subject of bitter controversy in the newspapers and on the stump. It was passed in May. It created two new territories. It expressly repealed that part of the Missouri Compromise which said that the territory north of 36° 30' should be forever free. The authority for deciding upon slavery was taken from Congress and was given to the people of the territories.¹

489. The Struggle for Kansas.— Between the North and the South, a struggle began for supremacy in Kansas. Indeed, in the North, preparations to colonize Kansas with free settlers began while the bill was pending. In April, 1854, the Massachusetts Legislature granted a charter to "The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society" which, with a capital stock of five million dollars, prepared to organize a far-reaching system of Kansas emigration.² But this first attempt at colonization was not very successful. The next year, a second charter was granted by the Massachusetts Legislature, this time to the "New England Emigrant Society," which society was duly organized, obtained contributions to the amount of \$140,000, and was more successful than the first one had been. In July, 1854, however, through the influence and direct aid of the original Massachusetts Company, a body of Massachusetts emigrants set out on their way to Kansas. The news of the journey to the West, heralded far and wide in the press, proved a wonderful stimulus in inducing others to aid in getting control of the territory; so that by the end of the year, Kansas had a population of several thousand "sons of freedom." The South made no organized attempt at colonization, but it looked on the Northern movement with a jealous eye. The slave

¹ The settlers in this Western country were often called "Squatters," and their right to decide upon slavery was often spoken of as "Squatter Sovereignty."

² This charter was the result of the work of Eli Thayer, who was a pioneer in Kansas colonization from the North. He was heartily encouraged and supported by such men as Charles Francis Adams, Edward Everett Hale, and Horace Greeley.

holders along the borders of Missouri prepared their own plan for saving Kansas to the South: they proposed to move over into Kansas at the proper time and meet the New England Free-Soilers at the polls. The New England societies had armed their colonists, and the Missouri "Borderers" had guns and knew how to use them. Under such conditions, contests, riots, and bloodshed were inevitable. In the election of a territorial delegate to Congress, the slave-holders were successful. The first territorial Legislature was in favor of slavery. But the free-state settlers claimed that this first Legislature was elected by fraudulent votes of "Border Ruffians" from Missouri. So the free-state colonists elected a Legislature of their own and prepared to form a code of laws. The president recognized the slavery Legislature as the legal one and sent federal troops to suppress any violence or rebellion. There was so much fighting between the factions that the territory came to be known as "Bleeding Kansas."

490. The Republican Party.— People who were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, or to slavery, joined together in the next election to elect congressmen who were opposed to slavery and to the principles of this act. These voters were at first spoken of as the "Anti-Nebraska Men." They elected a majority of the next House of Representatives. They afterwards took the name of the Republican party.¹ At the time, the organization was strictly a Northern and an anti-slavery party. Its members came from Northern Democrats, Northern Whigs, Free-Soilers, and the American party.² This was the origin of the Republican party of to-day.

¹ The Democrats called the Republicans, "Black Republicans" because they sought to free the negro.

² A secret political organization was formed about 1852. Because outsiders could learn nothing of its purposes, it was called the Know-Nothing party. It took the name of the American party and its object became known. Its design was to hinder or prevent the naturalization of foreigners (see Constitution) and to vote only for American candidates for office.

491. The World's Fair.— In July, 1853, America's first World's Fair was opened at New York City. President Pierce attended the exercises and spoke to a vast audience. The Old World, however, did not extend the patronage that the New World had expected, and financially the fair was a failure. But it demonstrated that Americans were the greatest of all inventors, and that in labor-saving machinery, and notably agricultural implements, America led the world.

492. The Treaty with Japan; Gadsden Purchase.— In the same year (1853), Commodore Perry with a fleet of steamships was allowed to enter one of the ports of Japan. The Japanese had never seen a steamship, and they were very suspicious of Americans; but, on acquaintance, they liked our ships and our representatives so well that they made a treaty with the United States opening the way to commerce between the nations. Since that time, the Japanese have advanced rapidly in civilization, and have borne the most cordial relations with our country.

There was much controversy over the southern boundary of our new acquisitions in the Southwest. In 1853 we paid Mexico \$10,000,000 for 45,000 square miles lying south of the Gila River, fixing the exact boundary of the tract by treaty. This tract is called the Gadsden Purchase, from General Gadsden of South Carolina, who negotiated the purchase.

493. Summary.— The Kansas-Nebraska bill, organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, was passed (May, 1854). By its provisions, the people of the territory were to decide on slavery. A fierce struggle began between the anti-slavery and the slavery people for the possession of Kansas. The preliminary victories were for those who favored slavery. The Republican party, a party opposed to slavery, grew out of the opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Our first World's Fair was held in New York in 1853. A treaty with Japan, made in 1853, established a friendly relation with this country. The Gadsden Purchase was effected.

494. Thought Questions.— Name the states whose admission aroused the slavery controversy. What two bills were violations of the "Missouri Compromise"? What was the most important event of Pierce's administration? Why do you so consider it?

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1857-1861.

495. Services and Character of the New President.—

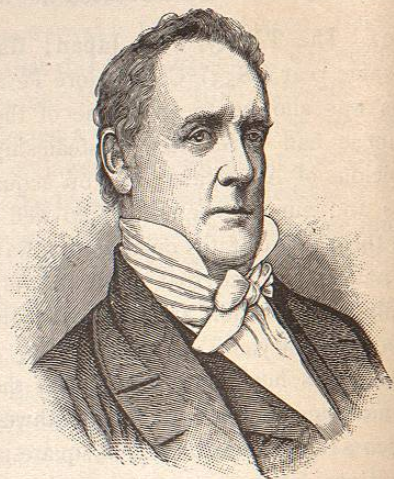
James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was born in 1791. He educated himself for the law. Prior to his entrance into national politics he served

his state as a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

From 1820 to 1831, he was a representative in the Congress of the United States. He was then sent as minister to Russia. For eleven years (1834 to 1845) he was a United States senator. During Polk's administration he

was secretary of state. At the time he was nominated for the presidency he was minister to England. Throughout his entire political career he was a Democrat. He was a man of high character, cautious temperament, and patriotic feeling.

496. Dred Scott Decision.— A few days after Buchanan's inauguration the Supreme Court rendered its decision in the Dred Scott case. Dred Scott was a slave owned by Dr. Emerson of Missouri. While in discharge of his duties as surgeon in the United States Army, Dr. Emerson resided for several years in the free State of Illinois, and in that part of the



James Buchanan.

Louisiana territory now embraced in the State of Minnesota. The master carried his slave with him, and after his return to Missouri sold Scott to a Mr. Sanford, a citizen of New York. Suit was instituted against Sanford in the name of Scott. Upon the ground that residence in a free state and territory had secured his liberty, the slave was declared free by the State Circuit Court of Missouri. On appeal by Sanford, this decision was reversed by the State Supreme Court. Scott, claiming to be a citizen of Missouri, then instituted suit in the Federal Circuit Court. If Scott was a citizen of Missouri, then the suit was between citizens of the different states, and could therefore be tried in the United States courts (§ 343). Sanford urged that Scott was not a citizen, but a slave, and, therefore, could not bring suit. This plea was overruled, and a jury awarded Scott as a slave to Sanford. The case was then appealed by Scott and went before the Supreme Court of the United States for decision. After three years, in 1857, the decision was announced. The court, consisting of nine justices, declared that no African, whether slave or free, could be a citizen of a state or of the United States; that Scott, upon his return to Missouri, had again become a slave.

497. Results of the Decision.— The Court has been severely censured for not stopping there. But thinking that the case involved the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, the Court considered that also. This compromise was declared unconstitutional, on the ground that the Louisiana territory was common property, and Congress had no right to discriminate against any state. (Const., Art. IV, Sec. 2, clause 1.) In this decision seven of the nine justices concurred. Thirty-seven years after the passage of the Compromise Bill, the Court had at last an opportunity to express its opinion as to the constitutionality of the measure. The decision was rendered in the hope that the political excite-

ment might be allayed by this settlement of the question. But instead of averting the threatened danger, it added fuel to the flames. The anti-slavery element saw that every department of the government was against their views. The name of Chief Justice Taney was execrated at the North; and although he had held the position of chief justice of the United States for nearly a quarter of a century, he was accused of playing into the hands of the Southern leaders.

498. Mormon Insurrection.— During the first year of this administration, trouble arose with the Mormons in Utah. They objected to the establishment of Federal courts in their territory, and prepared to resist the United States authorities. An army was sent against them, and upon a general proclamation of pardon, quiet was restored.

499. Panic of 1857.— For a number of years the country had been in a prosperous condition. The great gold discoveries had given unusual stimulus to trade. Speculation was rife. A reaction, caused by too great stimulus, came in 1857, and a financial panic occurred. Congress, to relieve the stringency, passed the tariff law of 1857, reducing tariff duties to the revenue level. This period has been called "the free-trade era."

500. The Lincoln-Douglas Debate.— Senator Douglas, of Illinois, by favoring the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, had made himself very popular at the South, though he was severely criticised at the North. He parted company, however, with the South in the Kansas controversy. The Southern party in Kansas adopted a constitution which allowed slavery, and applied for admission to the Union. The convention was held at Lecompton, and the constitution adopted was therefore called the "Lecompton Constitution." The opposition charged unfairness and refrained from voting when the

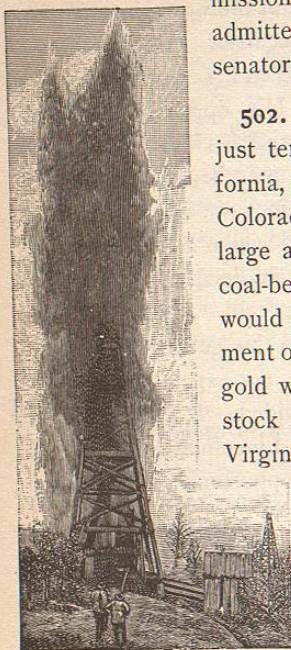
constitution was submitted for adoption by the people of the territory. Congress passed a bill admitting Kansas, but resubmitting the constitution to a vote of the people. The constitution was defeated this time, and Kansas remained a territory. Douglas opposed the enforcement of the Lecompton constitution, and thus regained his hold in the North. He wished also to regain the leadership which he had lost in the South, for he wanted to be elected president. Accordingly, his canvass for the senatorship from Illinois, in 1858, attracted the attention of the whole country. His opponent was Abraham Lincoln, who was soon to be the foremost figure in the United States. The two candidates took the stump in their own interest, and a series of most important debates occurred. Douglas was an experienced debater and had no rival in his ability to present his side of the slavery question. His opponent, Abraham Lincoln, had a strong, logical mind, and his evident sincerity was sure to create a deep impression upon his hearers.

The issue of these debates would affect not only the election to the United States Senate, but the decision as to who should be elected as the next president. Lincoln, in spite of the protest of his friends, said in his opening speech, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." Whatever Lincoln may have meant by these words, it gave Douglas an opportunity to represent his opponent as a Disunionist.

In the Dred Scott case Douglas's doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty" (p. 325, footnote), which declared that the people of the territories might decide the question of slavery as they should see fit, had been repudiated by the Supreme Court. Lincoln asked if the people of a territory might legally keep out slavery. If Douglas answered "No," then not only Illinois but the entire North would be incensed; if he said "Yes" then the

support of the South would be totally lost. In this dilemma Douglas replied that as a matter of fact if the people of a territory were hostile to slavery, slavery would not exist there. This answer satisfied the people of Illinois, and he was elected to the Senate, but it offended the South and ruined his chances for the presidency.

501. New States.—During this administration three new states were admitted into the Union: Minnesota in 1858; Oregon in 1859; and Kansas in 1861. All of these states came in as free states. Kansas, which had been refused admission as a free state by the Senate, was admitted in 1861 after some of the Southern senators had withdrawn from the Senate.

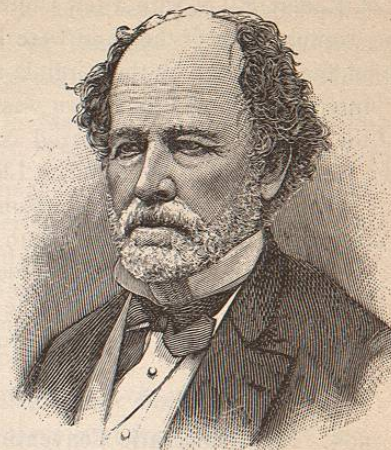


Oil Well.

502. Mineral Discoveries.—In 1858, just ten years after the discoveries in California, gold mines were found at Pike's Peak, Colorado. Already it had been found that large areas of the United States contained coal-bearing strata, and that the cost of fuel would offer no impediment to the development of our country. In the same year that gold was discovered in Colorado, the Comstock Silver Mines were discovered at Virginia City, Nevada. Up to this time it was not known that there were any silver deposits in the United States. Since then the West has produced most of the world's silver.

In 1859, rich underground oil streams were found in Pennsylvania. Wells were sunk and the oil brought to the surface. These wells were richer in usefulness to man than even the great mines of Colorado.

503. Scientific Progress.—The first maps of the winds and currents of the sea were made by Matthew F. Maury, Superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory (see biographical sketch, Appendix B). They proved of world-wide benefit as a means of saving every year millions of dollars and thousands of lives. Maury's observations of the winds and his suggestions based upon them were the beginning of our present elaborate system of weather reports. By the aid of a deep sea sounding apparatus devised by his associate, John M. Brooke, of Virginia, Maury discovered the existence of a plateau in the bed of the northern Atlantic, upon which the first Atlantic cable was afterward laid (§ 614).



Matthew F. Maury.

504. John Brown's Raid.—Prodigious excitement had been produced at the North by the Dred Scott decision. Equally intense was the excitement produced in the South by the John Brown Raid. John Brown was a half-crazy fanatic, who conceived the notion that it was his special mission to overthrow slavery. Recognizing no law but his own conception of right, he had figured as a bloody fanatic in the Kansas struggle. His large family of sons were very like their father. This family and a few friends, under Brown, conceived a plan of liberating and arming the slaves. With the view of securing the necessary arms, they seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry,

Va., in October, 1859. The band numbered less than two dozen. Before they could escape they were easily captured by Col. Robert E. Lee with a few United States troops. In resisting capture most of the band were killed. The survivors were tried and executed by the Virginia authorities.

Intense sympathy for Brown was manifested in many parts of the North. He was eulogized as a martyr. Abolitionists of the Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison type approved his terrible scheme; the expressions of such men caused the gravest apprehension in the South. Brown's plot seemed to foreshadow larger plots for servile insurrection with all its attendant horrors, and it led the South to believe that an Abolitionist president, if elected, would aid such plots.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

505. The Democratic Convention met in Charleston, S.C., April 23, 1860, to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. The Southern members insisted that the Dred Scott decision (§ 496) be endorsed in the platform, and they opposed the nomination of Douglas.

The Northern members refused to endorse the platform submitted. To do so would, they feared, cause defeat in their own states. The Southern members refused to accept less than the endorsement of the Dred Scott decision.

506. First Split in Democratic Party.—The convention split in two. Many of the Southern delegates withdrew and decided to meet later in Richmond. The rest of the convention, though largely Douglas men, could not agree on a candidate. On May 3 the convention adjourned to give time for the vacancies caused by the seceding members to be filled. They adjourned to meet in Baltimore.

507. Constitutional Party.—While the Democratic Convention had been in session at Charleston, the Constitutional

Union party had met. This was composed mainly of the old Know-Nothing sympathizers. They were joined also by a large number who were weary of the agitation of the slavery question. They nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for the presidency, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for the vice-presidency.

508. Republicans.—On May 16 the Republican Convention assembled at Chicago. The general expectation was that W. H. Seward would be nominated, and on the first ballot he received the largest number of votes. There was strong opposition to him, however, and it was thought best to conciliate it. On the third ballot Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated for the presidency. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was placed on the ticket for the vice-presidency.

509. Second Split in Democratic Party.—The larger element of the Democratic party containing the Northern delegates convened at Baltimore on June 18. The contested seats were decided in favor of the Douglas men. This caused a second split; and the chairman of the convention, most of the Southern members, and a few Northerners withdrew. Those remaining nominated Douglas of Illinois by adopting the majority vote.

The second set of seceders adopted the platform which caused the division in Charleston. Their nominees were John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon. Their action was endorsed by the first set of seceders when they met in Richmond.

Thus we find four strong parties with candidates for the presidency.

510. Position of the Parties on Slavery.—The Republican party, under the leadership of Lincoln, declared that slavery was a local institution, and owed its existence to state laws; that it had no rights in the territories, and that Congress should prohibit its extension.

The Southern wing of the Democratic party, with Breckinridge as their champion, affirmed that Congress should protect all property in the territories, and therefore the property in slaves. They based their demands on the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Northern Democrats declared their willingness to abide by the Supreme Court decision, yet adhered to the "Squatter Sovereignty" doctrine. With their leader, Douglas, they held that it was possible to exclude slavery from any territory if the people of the territory voted to do so.

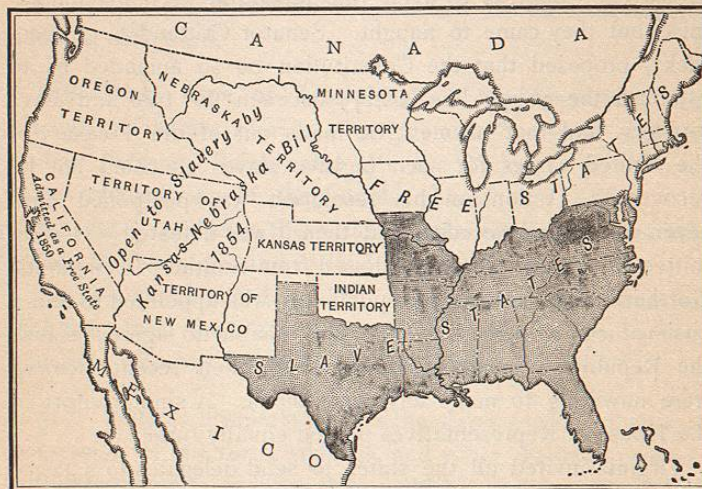
The Constitutional Union party desired to avoid the slavery issue. They merely declared their loyalty to the Constitution and devotion to the Union.

511. The Election. — The Republicans went into the campaign with the utmost enthusiasm. In convention they denounced the John Brown Raid, but the Abolitionists constituted a large and aggressive element of the party.

As the number of Abolitionists increased, their crusade against slavery grew in intensity. They now hoped, through the election of Lincoln, to strike a fatal blow at slavery, even by subverting the Constitution, if necessary (§ 439 *et seq.*). It is not strange that the masses of the Southern people began to conclude that Lincoln's election would make it necessary for the Southern states to secede if the inherent rights of the states were to be preserved. The Republicans won the election chiefly because their opponents were divided. Lincoln carried the Northern states, Breckinridge the South, Bell the border states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Douglas carried Missouri. The vote of New Jersey was divided between Lincoln and Douglas. Douglas's strength lay in the same states as Lincoln's, but Lincoln carried all of these states except New Jersey, and received the majority of the votes of that state. The popular vote gave Lincoln 1,866,541; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckin-

ridge, 847,953; Bell, 590,631. Thus we see that the opposition to Lincoln was very strong, and that he received far less than a majority of the popular vote. By electoral votes the result stood: Lincoln, 180; Breckinridge, 72; Bell, 39; Douglas, 12.

512. Effect of the Election. — When it became known that Lincoln was elected, the excitement in the South grew intense. Secession, which heretofore had been viewed as a mere possi-



Area of Slave and Free States.

bility, now seemed to the South a necessity. Yet love for the Union which their fathers had established inclined conservative people North and South still to hope that some way would be found to avert the impending separation; but affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis wherein the North and South would soon be arrayed in deadly opposition to each other.

513. Buchanan's Message. — President Buchanan, in his message to Congress, which met on December 3, 1860, justified in a large measure the attitude of the South. He declared the

Constitution and Federal laws had been nullified by the "Personal Liberty Laws" (§ 483) passed by the Northern states, denounced the so-called "underground railway" (§ 483), and condemned the anti-slavery agitation so prevalent at the North. While he did not admit that secession was a right, he declared that the general government had no power to coerce a state.

514. Efforts at Compromise. — Efforts were made in both Houses of Congress to avert the impending peril by compromise, but they came to naught. Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, proposed that the Constitution be so amended as to establish the 36° 30' line (§ 417) between the free and slave territory, and that payment be made out of the Treasury of the United States for such fugitive slaves as could not be recovered. Action on his resolution was postponed until seven states had seceded, and then it was defeated. A committee of thirteen senators, chosen from Southern Democrats, Northern Democrats, and Republicans, was appointed to find a basis of compromise, but they were unable to agree because the Republican members, flushed with their recent victory,¹ were unwilling to make any concessions. A similar effort in the House of Representatives proved equally futile.

Virginia invited all the states to send delegates to a Peace Congress, which was to meet in Washington on February 4. Twenty-one states responded, and ex-President John Tyler presided over the conference, but the movement was fruitless. Sectional feeling had grown too strong to be arrested by compromise.

¹ In reply to a boastful remark of Senator Seward to the effect that "the North was now to take charge of the Government," Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, said: "Do not forget, it cannot be forgotten, that we, the slaveholders of the South, took our country in her infancy and, after ruling her sixty out of seventy years of her existence, surrender her to you without a stain upon her honor, boundless in wealth, incalculable in strength, the wonder and admiration of the world! Time will tell what you will do for her; but time will never diminish our glory or your responsibility."

515. Secession. — The electors in South Carolina were chosen by the Legislature. After choosing them the Legislature remained in session to await the result of the election. When the news of Lincoln's election was received the Legislature called a convention to be elected by the people. This convention was to take such action as the emergency demanded. It met December 17, and on the 20th, by a unanimous vote, passed the Secession Ordinance, recalling the consent given to the Federal Constitution in 1788 and to the amendments adopted afterward.

516. First Area of Secession. — In January, 1861, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana seceded, and in February Texas also left the Union. In all these states conventions of the people passed the secession ordinances. In Texas the action of the convention was submitted to the people and ratified by popular vote.

As the states seceded, their senators and representatives withdrew from the Federal Congress,¹ and Southern officers generally withdrew from the Federal army and navy.²

517. Federal Property. — As the states seceded they took possession of all forts, arsenals, and other Federal property within their limits, so far as they could do so without bloodshed. Soon the only forts within the seceded states remaining in the possession of the Federals were those at Charleston, Pensacola, Key West, and the Dry Tortugas. The sites on which the Federal buildings stood had been ceded by the states to the

¹ Their grounds for action were shown in the admirable address of Jefferson Davis on leaving the Senate. — (Davis's "Rise and Fall of the Confederacy," Vol. I, pp. 221-225.)

² General Robert E. Lee, who resigned after Virginia seceded, expressed in noble and patriotic language the sentiments of these officers. He showed that he loved the Union, which he had served for twenty-five years, but his loyalty to his state was supreme. "Save in defense of my native state," he wrote to General Scott, "I never desire again to draw my sword."