Chapter 14: The Politics of Slavery, 1848-1860

Overview
The politics of slavery erupted at a time of tremendous economic growth in the United States. Internal improvements, such as the railroad, canal, steamboats, and the telegraph, helped integrate the U.S. into a single market. But, in truth, the U.S. market was really two different political economies based on two different labor systems. By the 1850s, the differences between North and South were profound. Westward expansion kept the issue of slavery in the political mainstream. Despite previous solutions, such as the Missouri Compromise, an old question arose: should Congress restrict the movement of slavery into the western territories? The Whig party, which was fractured by sectionalism and the Compromise of 1850, was destroyed by nativistic politics. For a time, hostility to immigrants was enough to strengthen the American Party, but northerners were still worried about the expansion of slavery into the west and the growing strength of the Democrat Party. A new party, the Republican Party, replaced the Whig Party. The Election of 1856 was different from previous elections. The distinctions between the parties and their candidates were made based on their positions on the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This election placed the political economy of slavery against the political economy of free labor. The issue was forced into the nation’s political dialog by the presence of a new political party, the Republican Party. The Democrat James Buchanan was the last pro-slavery president. His efforts to silence the slave question resulted in disaster and when he left office in 1861 his party was in chaos and the Union collapsed. Between 1858 and 1860 both the North and the South rejected the sanctity of the Union. Northerners saw John Brown’s execution with horror while southerners saw northerners’ reactions as a sign that the Union was no longer viable. When Abraham Lincoln ran for the presidency in 1860 his name was not on the ballot in the South. His election suggests that the North had abandoned a longstanding pattern of compromise.

Key Topics
The information in chapter 14 introduces your students to the following key topics:

• The social and economic differences between North and South.
• The increasing significance of slavery as a political issue during the 1850s.
• The decline of the Whig Party and the emergence of a Republican Party.
• The role of the West in the sectional crisis.
• The split within the Democratic Party.

Chapter Outline
Frederick Douglass
The Economics of Freedom and Slavery
   A Changing Economy in the North
   Strengths and Weaknesses of the Southern Economy
   The Importance of the West
Slavery Becomes a Political Issue
   David Wilmot Introduces His Proviso
   A Compromise Without Compromises
   The Fugitive Slave Law Provokes a Crisis
   The Election of 1852 and the Decline of the Whig Party
Nativism and the Origins of the Republican Party
   The Nativist Attack on Immigration
   The Kansas-Nebraska Act Revives the Slavery Issue
   The Expansion of Slavery as a Foreign Policy
   Kansas Begins to Bleed
A New Political Party Takes Shape
   The First Sectional Election
The Labor Problem and the Politics of Slavery

An “Irrepressable Conflict”

The Supreme Court Rules on Slavery

The Impending Crisis in the South

The Lecompton Constitution Splits the Democratic Party

Lincoln and Douglas Debate

The Retreat from “Union”

John Brown’s War Against Slavery

Feature: John Brown on Trial

Northerners Elect a President

Conclusion

Annotated chapter outline with review questions

Fredrick Douglass: Frederick Douglass became one of the most influential voices of the abolition movement. Undoubtedly he was the most famous run away slave. An early follower of William Lloyd Garrison and his non-violent moral “suasion” approach, Douglass came to believe that direct political action was necessary to bring down slavery. Douglass’s voice helped bring abolition to the mainstream of social and political dialog and for the first time the mainstream was capable of hearing and acting on the words of a Frederick Douglass.

The Economics of Freedom and Slavery: The politics of slavery erupted at a time of tremendous economic growth in the United States. Internal improvements, such as the railroad, canal, steamboats, and the telegraph, helped integrate the U.S. into a single market. But, in truth, the U.S. market was really two different political economies based on two different labor systems. By the 1850s, the differences between North and South were profound.

- The 1850s were boom years for northern farmers, manufacturers, and even some wage laborers. Farmers quadrupled their productivity. In the cities, the number of wage earners grew. Their numbers were bolstered by increasing numbers of white men, some middle-class and European immigrants, many from Ireland. Individual businesses opened large downtown stores to sell their goods miles away from where they were produced. This growth was a symptom of important social changes. The rural American society was becoming urban; industry was replacing agriculture; wage labor replacing independent labor. A new political economy based on new sources of wealth and new forms of work was being created.

- The 1850s were also prosperous years for the South. The price of cotton was high and so was the price of slaves. But no matter how profitable or efficient, a political economy based on slavery could not transform the South’s economy the way wage labor changed the North. A prosperous slave economy was rural and non-industrial. A prosperous slave economy based on cotton redistributed the South’s slave population as urban slaves were sold to plantation owners in the lower south. For slave holders in the upper south, the sale of their slaves down south provided investment capital for a more diversified economy. By 1860 only one in four southern families owned slaves. Southerners feared that non-slave holders in the South could become part of the political opposition hostile to slavery.

- Northerners and Southerners coveted western lands and the west figured prominently in their perceptions about their future economic growth. Northerners feared the expansion of slavery into the west; Southerners feared the door would never be opened to them. Northerners came to see a free west as essential to their prosperity. The “Safety Valve Theory” was repeated time and again. It held that the west with its vast lands would regulate relations between capital and labor. For southerners, closing the west to slavery would be an obstacle to their economic vitality and an insult to their moral decency. They argued a constitutional right to carry their property where ever they saw it. The west caused anxiety in the North and South.

What were the major economic and social differences between the North and the South during the 1850s?

Slavery Becomes a Political Issue: Westward expansion kept the issue of slavery in the political mainstream. Despite previous solutions, such as the Missouri Compromise, an old question arose: should Congress restrict the movement of slavery into the western territories?
The expansion or prohibition of slavery into the land acquired from Mexico disrupted the Congress and the major political parties. Wilmont’s Proviso banned slavery in land acquired from Mexico and it all but halted the Congress’s ability to perform. It failed to pass each time it was introduced but Congress had many important issues before it. Utah, California, and New Mexico territories needed territorial governments but the Congress was frozen by sectional differences. By 1850 four positions were clear: 1) ban slavery in the west; 2) extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific; 3) open the west to slavery because the Congress had no right to regulate slavery in the territories; and 4) let the settlers in the territories decide for themselves. This position was called “popular sovereignty”. These four positions fractured the political parties.

Designed to deal with the question of slavery in the western territories the Compromise of 1850, authored by Henry Clay, was doomed from the start until Senator Stephen A. Douglas engineered its passage. Douglas broke up Clay’s bill into component parts, each designed to win different majorities. California entered as a free state, the Texas panhandle border was established, Utah and New Mexico organized around the notion of popular sovereignty, and the slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia. By the time that the compromise was passed, President Taylor had died, Clay had left the capital, and Calhoun, the ardent states’ rights advocate, was on his death bed. The Compromise of 1850 postponed the showdown. Opposition in the North grew in intensity.

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 caused violent opposition in the North. Unlike the older acts dealing with runaway slaves, the new law denied the rights of due process of law to runaways and it allowed commissioners to draft local citizens to assist slave catchers. It took away jurisdiction over fugitive slave cases from northern courts and gave it to a newly established cadre of U.S. Commissioners. In northern black communities free blacks feared enslavement without being able to prove their case in court and long-established runaway slaves feared capture. White abolitionists were in their opposition and moderate whites redefined their opposition. When Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel, Uncle Tom’s Cabin was published, the stark realities of slaves, masters, and slave catchers were bought to life.

The Election of 1852 marked the beginning of the end of the Whig party. White southerners abandoned the party and white northern voters were put off by the party’s support of the Compromise of 1850. Their candidate Winfield Scott was defeated by the Democrat’s Franklin Pierce, a northerner believed to be sympathetic to southern issues. Pierce and the Democrats ran on a platform designed to silence the discussion of slavery by enforcing all aspects of the Compromise of 1850-including enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act.

What is the significance of the Wilmot Proviso?

What were the major terms of the Compromise of 1850?

**Nativism and the Origins of the Republican Party:** The Whig party, which was fragmented by sectionalism and the Compromise of 1850, was destroyed by nativistic politics. For a time, hostility to immigrants was enough to strengthen the American Party, but northerners were still worried about the expansion of slavery into the west and the growing strength of the Democrat Party. A new party, the Republican Party, replaced the Whig Party.

For a short time, 1852-1854, slavery as a political issue was almost eclipsed by the anti-immigrant, anti-Roman Catholic American Party. In part the American Party capitalized on workers’ fears of immigrant competition and ethnocentrism, but it was the immigrants’ tendency to support the Democratic Party that frightened northern voters. The Democrats used the immigrants’, especially Irish-American immigrants’ fears of competition with free blacks or freed slaves for jobs. Americans who feared immigrants voted for American Party candidates; those who cared more about the threat of slavery voted the Free Soil Party.

The expansion of slavery in the west was forced back into the spotlight with the political organization of Nebraska Territory. In January 1854 Nebraska was divided into two territories: Nebraska and Kansas. In the final version of the bill, the Missouri Compromise was explicitly repeated. This guaranteed southern support. In the end the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed but it would demand an enormous price. For northerners popular sovereignty was seen as a proslavery swindle. For Democrats, the Kansas-Nebraska Act split the party and damaged the notion of popular sovereignty.

President Pierce supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act and he, too, was hindered by its passage. Pierce sought popularity in expansionist plans: more land from Mexico and filibustering campaigns into Latin
America and Cuba. Northerners denounced the plans, another example of slavery’s insatiable appetite. Pierce discovered that expansionism was now hopelessly tainted by its association with slavery.

- Popular sovereignty in Kansas resulted in voter fraud; the election of two state governments, one free and one pro-slave; and violence. But the gravest indication that compromise might no longer be possible was John Brown’s raid on pro-slavery settlers at Pottawatomie Creek. In May 1856, John Brown and seven men brutally murdered five settlers. Blood flowed in Kansas and the nation’s capital where Preston Brooks caned Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Northern voters, horrified at the bloodshed, flocked to a new political party, the Republican Party, which was dedicated to halting the expansion of slavery.

What is Nativism, and what did it have in common with antislavery sentiment?

A New Political Party Takes Shape: The Election of 1856 was different from previous elections. The distinctions between the parties and their candidates were made on their positions on the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This election placed the political economy of slavery against the political economy of free labor. The issue was forced into the nation’s political dialog by the presence of a new political party, the Republican Party.

- The Republican Party, with its candidate John C. Fremont, articulated a platform based on free labor. To the Republicans, government activism and a free labor economy required the withdrawal of government support for the political economy of slavery. The Republican Party appealed to Northern voters exclusively. The Democrats tried to find a candidate acceptable and appealing to voters in the North and South and a candidate that was not tainted by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Election of 1856 was seen by many as a referendum on this question: is the Union worth preserving?

- Northern Democrats warned that the North’s labor pool would be flooded if slaves were freed. They appealed to Northern workers and their fears of increased competition to win votes. Southern Democrats argued that hardworking white men had the right to accumulate slaves and that it was the reward for those who had worked hard and the inducement for others to keep working hard. Republicans argued that slavery degraded slave and owner alike, depriving both of a work ethic. The Election of 1856 also signaled to all that the slavery issue would not disappear.

An “Irrepressible Conflict:” The Democrat James Buchanan was the last pro-slavery president. His efforts to silence the slave question resulted in disaster and when he left office in 1861 his party was in chaos and the Union collapsed.

- President Buchanan hoped the Supreme Court would settle the issue of slavery so that he and the nation could go on to other things. The Court had a slave case before it but instead of settling the question, the Court’s decision unleashed a firestorm. The Dred Scott v. Sanford (1857) decision is probably the most controversial decision in the Court’s history. When Chief Justice Roger B. Taney’s decision was handed down, African Americans had been denied the right of citizenship because of their ancestry and the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had been declared unconstitutional. Taney proclaimed that Congress had no authority to regulate slavery in the territories and called into question a state’s right to regulate slavery within its borders. It also implicitly undermined the notion of popular sovereignty. The Dred Scott decision effectively split Northern and Southern Democrats.

- Hinton Rowan Helper’s book The Impending Crisis in the South, published in 1857, savagely attacked the ruling class of slave holders and the entire political economy of slavery. A southerner, Helper warned that if slavery was not voluntarily dismantled, it would be overthrown by revolutionary violence. The leaders of the rebellion, Helper argued, would be nonslave owners from the South. Helper’s book and the dialog it stimulated created the environment in which the Democrat party split apart.

- The next crisis to arrive in Congress in 1858 originated in Kansas. Proslavery advocates drew up a proslavery state constitution, know as the Lecompton Constitution. Others in Kansas who supported free labor submitted their own constitution to the voters. The Lecompton Constitution bypassed the voters and went directly to the Congress. President Buchanan and many Southern Democrats welcomed the Lecompton Constitution. Steven Douglas tried in vain to resurrect popular sovereignty despite the Dred Scott decision. Southern Democrats not only opposed Douglas’s argument, they branded him a traitor. The result was an irrevocable split in the Democrat Party.

- Douglas’s fight for reelection to the Senate in 1858 brought to the fore a little-known Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln. The campaign featured seven debates during which the candidates played
out the fundamental differences between Republicans and Democrats over the issue of slavery. But much of the campaign rhetoric centered on race relations with Douglas taunting his listeners with threats of interracial marriages and free blacks with the right to work and vote. Lincoln countered with his support of the plan to send freed blacks back to Africa. Douglas and Lincoln represented two clear choices. Douglas was indifferent to slavery and prepared to see it extend wherever whites wanted it. Lincoln believed slavery was wrong and should be put back on the course of extinction. Lincoln lost the election but won a much larger presence in the Republican Party. Democrats, southern & northern, together formed an obstruction in the Congress that transformed every bill into a test of sectional loyalty.

Why did the Kansas-Nebraska Act provoke so much controversy?

Explain the different positions taken by Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln in the Illinois election for the U.S. Senate in 1858.

The Retreat from “Union”: Between 1858 and 1860 both the North and the South rejected the sanctity of the Union. Northerners saw John Brown’s execution with horror while southerners saw northerners’ reactions as a sign that the Union was no longer viable. When Abraham Lincoln ran for the presidency in 1860 his name was not on the ballot in the South. His election suggests that the North had abandoned a longstanding pattern of compromise.

- In October 1859, John Brown took his personal war and “army” of eighteen to Virginia to start an armed slave rebellion. He planned to take the arsenal at Harpers Ferry and arm slaves in the area. The plan was unsuccessful and two days after it was begun John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry was over and Brown faced charges of murder, conspiracy to incite slave rebellion, and treason against Virginia. Brown was tried and convicted and hung in early December 1859. His actions and more importantly his actions after indictment brought many Northerners to see Brown as a martyr. Southerners recoiled at the notion that Northerners would see him as a martyr while they saw him as a threat to their property, their well being and their state. Southerners questioned the value of the Union. In death, John Brown exerted a power over the election of 1860.

- The Election of 1860 presented voters with four candidates and a referendum on the future of the Union and slavery. The Democrats finally split over the fire-eaters’ demand for federal recognition of slavery in the territories and Steven Douglas’s popular sovereignty. The Democrats were so divided that three factions within the party ran their own candidates: Douglas ran as a Democrat, John Breckinridge ran as a southern Democrat, and John Bell tried to revive the Whig party. Of the three Douglas tried to run a national campaign. The Republicans chose the more moderate Abraham Lincoln who could be certain to carry the moderate lower North states including his home state of Illinois. Lincoln’s party platform was a broad-based economic plan of homesteads, land grant colleges, and a high tariff. Lincoln did not campaign in the South. He won on the vote of Northern voters. When Southerners looked at the Election of 1860 they concluded the Union was doomed.

Feature: John Brown’s War Against Slavery: John Brown was charged with murder, conspiracy to incite slave rebellion, and treason against the commonwealth of Virginia and having been found guilty he was hanged. But in death John Brown lived as a symbol of the degradation that slavery brought to all of those who participated in it, whether they were slave owners or not.

Conclusion: The political economies of slavery and freedom had guided the nation on two separate paths. The political tensions that arose from these divergent paths pushed the nation to civil war.

Making links to other ideas Using the maps and websites, in addition to your prepared lectures and other assignments, can give you more resources to enable your students to see that history is much more than memorizing names and dates. You will find that the websites are even more comprehensive and adaptable than described and because they have been collected here in one volume you have a world of information no further away than the click of your mouse. If you are new to the web’s opportunities, you will be pleasantly surprised at the breadth and depth of the information available in these sites.

Map 01: Which regions of the south have the most slave populations? Is there a correlation between the location of rivers in the western regions and slave population?
Map 02: What difference would railroad gauge make in transportation? Are there any major routes linking the north and south? What about east and west?

Map 03: What information does this map convey about the economy of the nation?

Map 04: Roughly one third of the nation’s land was added in the 1840s. Identify the regions and the events surrounding annexation.

Map 05: Which states did the Republicans take in this election? The Democrats? Should the Republicans have been hopeful based on their first presidential election?

Map 06: What had the republicans done to convert lost states in 1856 to winning states in 1860? If the electoral votes of Breckenride, Bell, and Douglas had been combined could they have defeated Lincoln?

**Web connections and resources** Consider using these websites to supplement your students’ reading and analytical skills. The sites were chosen because of their relevance to the material in the chapter -- not just to mirror it but to provide additional materials and perspectives. Questions from the student study guide have been included so that you can use or amend them to your own needs. Your students may find it insightful for you to guide them through the site as you help them develop research strategies.

Abolitionists sought to portray slavery as a threat to the freedom of whites. Proslavery Southerners unintentionally strengthened this argument by insisting upon northern cooperation in the capture and return of fugitive slaves. The number of slaves who successfully escaped to the North was small, but the handful of cases in which fugitives were returned to their masters had enormous political impact as the story of Anthony Burns shows. Why did the capture and return of a single slave, among all of the wrongs associated with the "peculiar institution," do so much to turn northern public opinion against slavery?

“Politics and Sectionalism in the 1850s”  [http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/E/1850s/polixx.htm](http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/E/1850s/polixx.htm)
This site contains interpretations of and excerpts from the Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas Nebraska Act. It also details the political debate over slavery in Congress and the influence of abolitionist leaders such as Frederick Douglas.
1. In the Fugitive Slave law what provisions were made for “deputizing” civilians to aid slave catchers? What punishments could be handed down for those who refused to comply with the law?

“The Dred Scott Case: A Summary”  [http://www.umsl.edu/~virtualstl/dred_Scott_case/ texts/summary.html](http://www.umsl.edu/~virtualstl/dred_Scott_case/ texts/summary.html)
This site provides the background on the case and a discussion of the case and its impact. To read the full text version of the Supreme Court decision, see [http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/E/1850s/polixx.htm](http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/E/1850s/polixx.htm).
1. What issue was Scott trying to force the court to decide? Summarize Taney’s findings in the Dred Scott case. What role did politics play in Taney’s decision?

“Lincoln-Douglas Debates”  [http://www.umsl.edu/~virtualstl/dred_scott_case/ texts/lindoug.htm](http://www.umsl.edu/~virtualstl/dred_scott_case/ texts/lindoug.htm)
On this web site, read the actual text of these famed debates between presidential candidates Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas. These debates cast into sharp relief the growing differences between the North and the South.
1. Comapre Lincoln’s and Douglas’s positions on the issues of the day. Is either candidate moderate on any issue? If so, which ones and how can you tell they are moderate?

On this site, explore the growing sectionalism, the Civil War years, and the aftermath of the War through political cartoons of the era.
1. In the political cartoons how are the republicans, democrats, and black Americans portrayed? Why?

“Secession Era Editorials”  [http://history.furman.edu/~benson/docs/index.htm](http://history.furman.edu/~benson/docs/index.htm)
Read perspectives of both North and South through hundreds of contemporary newspaper editorials that address issues such as John Brown’s raid and the Nebraska Bill.

1. Summarize two northern and two southern editorials about the Dred Scott Decision. What issues do the northern editorials have in common with one another; the southern editorials? Do the same with the John Brown raid editorials.

Analytical reading Your students may need more experience analyzing a short reading passage so that he or she can determine its component parts. They may need help identifying primary and supporting information as well as the author’s analysis. The analytical reading passages and the questions from the student study guide have been duplicated in the instructor’s manual for your use. Your students may need direction and encouragement in using them.

At first glance it is unclear why the fugitive slave law of 1850 caused so much trouble. It was one of the least debated features of the compromise. The Constitution always had a fugitive slave clause, and a congressional law enforcing the clause had been in place since 1793. Why, then, did the new fugitive slave law provoke such an uproar? The reason was that many northern states had passed laws to restrain fugitive slave catchers by guaranteeing the rights of due process to accused runaways. The 1850 statute was designed to thwart those northern efforts. It took jurisdiction over fugitive slave cases away from northern courts and gave it to a newly established cadre of U.S. Commissioners. These Commissioners were paid 10 dollars if they ruled that a black captive should be returned to slavery but only 5 dollars if they ruled that the captive was legitimately free. Abolitionists naturally charged that this amounted to a bribe to send captives into slavery. Even more galling, the fugitive slave law allowed Commissioners to draft local citizens to assist slave catchers, thereby forcing northerners against their wills to send their neighbors into slavery.

1. What fundamental change in the Fugitive Slave law caused the law to become so controversial?
2. Did the Fugitive Slave law cause moderate abolitionists or those “on the fence” to redefine their positions? If so, why?

Writing The questions or writing prompts from the student study guide have been duplicated here for your use. These writing topics make good lecture topics especially if you help your students see the development of the idea in lecture format before they refine the idea in their writing assignments.

1. Compare the social and political difference between the north and the south by 1860. Had these differences appeared overnight?
2. What role did immigrants and labor play in the political party divisions of the 1850s?
3. What was it about the decade of the 1850s that brought the issue of slavery to a head? Could anyone have done anything to redirect the crisis?
4. What role did the Dred Scott decision play in the sectional politics of the 1850s?
5. When he met Harriet Beecher Stowe in the White House, Abraham Lincoln is believed to have credited her with starting the Civil War. What role did her book Uncle Tom’s Cabin play in changing the dialog about slavery?
6. Discuss the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Lecompton Constitution, and Bleeding Kansas in destroying the national political parties.
7. In 1858 both northerners and southerners rejected the sanctity of the south. Why?
8. Discuss this statement: The election of 1860 was a referendum on the sanctity of the Union.

Lecture Strategies Ultimately the lecture is where you impart, or profess, your knowledge for the benefit of your students. These strategies were designed around the textbook and if your classroom strategy is to use the organization of the text to organize your course content, these lecture ideas may prove helpful. However, if you lecture around themes please see the section entitled “Thematic Lecture Topics.” You may find that you are more comfortable with and your students are more responsive to a combination of the two. Consider, too, the projects
suggested in the student study guide. If your students complete these before your lecture, their comprehension will surely be enhanced.

“The Politics of Slavery” brings together what your students may have believed to be seemingly unconnected threads from all of the previous chapters -- regional economies, the role of the west and manifest destiny, reform movements, the market economy, politics, and so on. By 1848, the threads are now woven in such a way as to be inseparable. Your students may want you to discuss whether the civil war was inevitable or could it have been averted. With your help, this could be a question that they come to answer for themselves. The twelve years between the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the election of 1860 was one crisis after another -- each important in its own way and vital to understanding the decade and the results. Chapter fourteen includes economic regionalism, David Wilmot's proviso and the politicization of slavery, the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Lecompton Constitution, the Lincoln Douglas debates, and John Brown's raid. Any one of these topics could take days to fully examine, but your challenge is to examine them in such a way as to convey their importance and their relationship to one another. The culmination is the election of 1860 where the winning candidate who was not on all of the states' ballots. If South Carolina felt isolated in the 1820s, in 1860 there was no more question in their minds.

**Penguin Classics**


In Immigrant Voices: Twenty-four Narratives on Becoming an American, edited by Gordon Hunter, New York: A Signet Classic, 1999, Hunter has chosen twenty-four narratives of immigrants to tell the stories of immigrants’ transformations to Americans. Added to the predominantly European immigrant stories in this late 19th century section of the text are Joseph Pickering, "Inquiries of an Emigrant" features an excerpt from the 1831 guidebook for immigrants; Rebecca Burlend, "A True Picture of Emigration," written in 1846 is the story of her experiences; Anna Howard Shaw, "Story of a Pioneer" is the story of her adjustment to life in the United States in the 1880s. She was a physician and suffragette.

Andrew Delbanco, editor, The Portable Abraham Lincoln, edited and with an introduction by Andrew Delbanco. New York: Penguin Books, 1992. The speeches, the Gettysburg Address, and Lincoln's second inaugural address are among the works collected here along with a host of letters and notes.