

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES – SPRINGBOARD TO THE WHITE HOUSE



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Lincoln stands during one of the seven Lincoln-Douglas debates. Douglas is seated on Lincoln's right.

IN THE YEARS LEADING UP TO THE CIVIL WAR, THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY DIVIDED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND NEWLY FORMED REPUBLICAN PARTY. ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT DEMOCRATS WAS THE U.S. SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS STEPHEN DOUGLAS. WHEN HE RAN FOR RE-ELECTION IN 1858 AGAINST REPUBLICAN ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE TWO MEN HELD A SERIES OF DEBATES. FOCUSED ON THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY, THE DEBATES

ATTRACTED INTENSE NATIONAL PRESS COVERAGE AND ULTIMATELY AFFECTED THE OUTCOME OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE IN 1860.

The issue of slavery divided the nation from its beginning. Although many of them opposed slavery, the framers of the U.S. Constitution largely ignored the issue. They recognized that the Southern states

would not join the new nation without it. They did not challenge the institution of slavery, believing it would remain limited to the South and would eventually die out.

As the nation expanded and new states entered the Union, however, the issue re-emerged. The Northern states wanted to keep slavery limited to the South. The South feared that if new states entered as free states, it would be outnumbered in Congress, and the institution of slavery could be threatened.

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 more than doubled the territory of the United States. It also fueled a prolonged debate over the question of slavery in the new lands. Finally, in 1820, Congress passed the Missouri Compromise. Among other things, it banned slavery in what had been the Louisiana Territory north of latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes except for the new state of Missouri, which would enter as a slave state. ▶

CONFLICTS

This edition of *Bill of Rights in Action* looks at historical and current conflicts. The first article focuses on the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, which helped propel Abraham Lincoln into the White House two years later. The second article examines the battle over Sudan, fought in the late 19th century. The last article explores the ongoing issue of Bible readings in public schools.

U.S. History: The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

World History: Sudan, Imperialism, and the Mahdi's Holy War

Government: Are Bible Readings Ever Allowed in Public Schools?

Guest writer Lucy Eisenberg, Esq., contributed the article on the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Our longtime contributor Carlton Martz wrote the article on Sudan and the Mahdi. CRF staff writer Damon Huss wrote the piece on Bible readings.

U.S. HISTORY

Following the Mexican War (1846–48), the U.S. acquired vast new territory in the Southwest. After much turmoil, Congress passed the Compromise of 1850. Crafted by Senator Henry Clay, a Whig from Kentucky, and pushed through Congress by Senator Stephen Douglas, a Democrat from Illinois, the compromise allowed California to enter as a free state. But the compromise also left the decision over slavery to the residents of the large Utah and New Mexico territories. This political doctrine of leaving the decision to the people was known as popular sovereignty. Douglas believed popular sovereignty would help defuse the controversy over slavery.

Four years later, Douglas returned to popular sovereignty when addressing the question of the Nebraska Territory. He introduced a bill in the Senate to repeal the Missouri Compromise, split the Nebraska territory in two (the southern one to be called Kansas), and leave the decision on whether slavery would be allowed to the inhabitants of the territories. After long and acrimonious debates, the bill passed Congress in May 1854 and became known as the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The new law polarized the nation along North-South lines. Once active in both the North and South, the Whig Party lay in ruins. Many Whigs in the North joined the new Republican Party, formed in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Douglas came under attack as having opened all unorganized territories to slavery and placing the country under the “yoke of slaveholding despotism.” Douglas denied opponents’ claims that he was opening up the whole country to slavery. Writing to a New Hampshire newspaper, he said, “Why do they not state the matter truly and say that it opens the country to *freedom* by leaving people *perfectly free* to do as they please.”

While Douglas was championing the Kansas-Nebraska Act in Congress, lawyer Abraham Lincoln was out of the political arena. As a member of

the Whig Party, he had previously served four terms in the Illinois state legislature (in 1834, ’36, ’38, and ’40) and one term to the U.S. Congress (1847–1849). After his two years in Congress, Lincoln returned to the practice of law. But the political turmoil caused by the Kansas-Nebraska Act brought him back. In the summer of 1854, Lincoln decided to run again for the state legislature, this time as a Republican. Three times in his campaign speeches he directly responded to speeches by Douglas, and on one occasion Douglas answered with a long rebuttal. This exchange previewed what four years later became the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates.

‘House Divided’

Two years after passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Republican Party in Philadelphia held its first national convention. It nominated as its 1856 presidential candidate California’s John C. Fremont, who strongly opposed extending slavery outside the South. In Illinois, the Republican Party was just gathering strength. Lincoln attended the party’s first convention in Bloomington and worked on Fremont’s during his unsuccessful presidential campaign. Lincoln’s tireless work and his fervent opposition to the spread of slavery attracted many Republican activists. They saw Lincoln as a worthy opponent of Douglas in Illinois’ upcoming election for the Senate.

When the Illinois Republican Party met in June 1858 in Springfield, the delegates nominated Lincoln for the Senate. In his acceptance speech, Lincoln spoke for 35 minutes and closed by warning of the danger Douglas posed if he were re-elected to the

Thousands of people flocked to the debates to hear the ‘Little Giant’ and ‘Honest Abe’ speak.

Senate. The fight against slavery, Lincoln said, cannot be led by someone who has proclaimed indifference to that evil. “Our cause . . . must be entrusted to, and conducted by its own undoubted friends — those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work.” The theme of his campaign would be, as he proclaimed, to end the crisis over slavery. In memorable words, Lincoln quoted from the Gospel of Mark: “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” He then expressed his belief that someday slavery would either be extinguished or spread throughout the country:

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.

Many of Lincoln’s supporters disapproved of the “House Divided” speech, fearing that it would be interpreted as a threat to make war on the Southern states and would alienate voters who might otherwise have voted for Lincoln. And indeed the “House Divided” speech became a key point in the campaign.

Unlike today, U.S. senators were not popularly elected. The state legislature selected the U.S. senators. Thus, in a campaign for Senate, each party tried to win a majority of seats in the state legislature.

Agreement to Debate

Lincoln faced a formidable opponent in Douglas. Standing 5 feet 4 inches tall and often called the “Little Giant,” Douglas was one of the best-known politicians in the country. After serving in the Illinois legislature and in the U.S. House of Representatives, he was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1846 and was re-elected in 1852. As author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and a supporter of limited government, Douglas drew strong support from Southern Democrats and their sympathizers, including many Democrats who lived in central and

southern Illinois. Many believed that Douglas was the sure winner of the Senate race — and a probable contender for president in 1860. But even his supporters recognized that defeating Lincoln would be hard work. One pro-Douglas correspondent described Lincoln as a good lawyer who “tells a story better than anyone else.” He is not Douglas’ equal “in dignity, intellect and majesty of mind,” the correspondent wrote, but was “remarkably able” and would give Douglas “the fight of his life.”

The campaign began early in July, with Douglas speaking from the balcony of a hotel in Chicago. In his speech, Douglas castigated Lincoln’s “House Divided” speech and touted his own platform of popular sovereignty. Lincoln, he said, wanted to impose uniformity throughout the country, perhaps by war. He contrasted Lincoln’s position to his belief in “the great principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the right of the people to decide for themselves.”

Lincoln responded the next evening, speaking from the same balcony. Answering Douglas’ criticism of his “House Divided” speech, Lincoln said that prior to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the country had “endured” being half slave and half free because the public had believed that slavery ultimately would disappear. But the Kansas-Nebraska-Act had undermined this belief by permitting slavery to spread where it had previously been banned.

During July, the Douglas campaign seemed to be winning. Lincoln often followed Douglas from town to town and spoke after the senator’s rallies. The pro-Douglas press said that following Douglas around was the only way Lincoln could attract a crowd. Worried that he was behind, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates. Douglas agreed to debate in towns in seven different districts. The candidates decided to speak on an alternating basis: one man would speak for 60 minutes; the other would reply for 90 minutes; and the first speaker would conclude

The Constitution and Slavery

The Constitution deals with slavery in three places, yet it avoids using the words “slave” or “slavery.” Note the language it uses to:

Determine how to count slaves as part of a state’s population. “Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States . . . according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons . . . [and] three fifths of all other Persons.” (Art. I, §2)

Allow Congress to end the slave trade with foreign countries in 1808. “The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight . . .” (Art. I, §9)

Ensure that states will return escaped slaves. “No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.” (Art. IV, §1)

for 30 minutes. With the first debate scheduled for August 21 in Ottawa, the candidates went back on the road, and the press began to prepare.

On August 10, a leading newspaper in Richmond, Va., proclaimed, “The great battle of the next Presidential election is now being fought in Illinois.” Even before the debates began, the press recognized that the contest between Douglas and Lincoln would interest people around the country. Reporters from as far away as New York and Oregon came to Illinois to cover the debates. Two papers took an unusual step and decided to publish verbatim transcripts of the debates. The *Chicago Times* (a pro-Democratic paper) and the *Chicago Press and Tribune* (a pro-Republican paper) both hired reporters (then called “phonographers”) to record the entire debates in shorthand. The shorthand transcripts would be rushed by train back to Chicago, edited, and published, often the very next day.

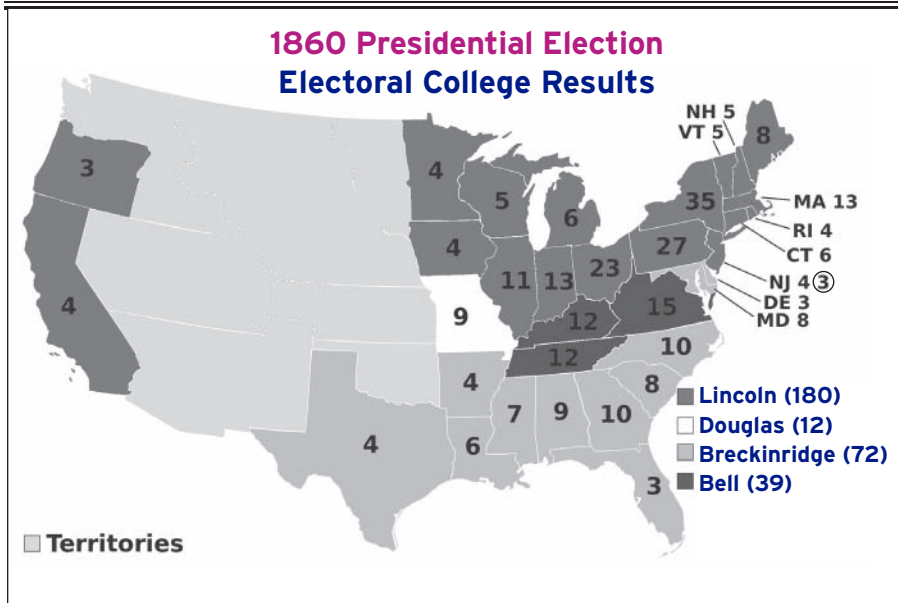
As the reporters were preparing, so too were the towns where the debates were scheduled to take place. One correspondent from New York wrote, “The prairies are on fire.” On August 21 in Ottawa, the town overflowed with people from surrounding communities and counties. People came by foot, on horseback, in wagons, by railroad, and by boat. At eight o’clock in the morning, one reporter wrote, “The streets

and avenues leading from the country were so enveloped with dust that the town resembled a vast smoke house.” Military bands with huge brass tubas surrounded the courthouse and the public square. Peddlers were hawking their wares, and huge amounts of food were served at long tables by a local committee. For many people going to political gatherings was a form of wonderful — and free — entertainment. Thousands of people flocked to the debates to hear the “Little Giant” and “Honest Abe” speak.

Is Slavery Morally Wrong?

Senator Douglas spoke first in the Ottawa debate. Not surprisingly, he went right to the slavery issue and accused Lincoln of being an abolitionist whose beliefs would result in separating the Union. Lincoln and his party, Douglas claimed, “are trying to array all the Northern states in one body against the South, to excite a sectional war between the free states and the slave states.”

Douglas based his accusation on Lincoln’s “House Divided” speech. Why, Douglas asked, should the Union not continue to exist, half slave and half free, as it had for 70 years, and as the founders had intended? Douglas repeated his own commitment to popular sovereignty, letting the people decide whether to allow slavery in their territory or state. Douglas claimed although he



believed blacks to be inferior, he did not believe they necessarily should be slaves. That decision, he said, was one for the people in each state or territory to decide.

Lincoln responded by denying that he had ever intended to cause a war between the North and the South. His main intent, he said, was to shine a light on those (like Douglas) who by passing the Kansas-Nebraska Act were trying to encourage the spread of slavery — “to make it perpetual and universal.” My goal, he said, “is to arrest the further spread of [slavery] and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction.”

Lincoln was more equivocal on the issue of black inferiority. Douglas had stated clearly that he believed that “the Negro is our inferior.” Lincoln did not disagree. “There is a physical difference between the two [races], which in my judgment will probably forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality.” And he added that, “I . . . am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position.” But, he continued, “there is no reason in the world why the Negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man.” And he insisted, the black

man, like the white man, has “the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns.”

At all the debates, Douglas refused to take a position on whether slavery was wrong. If new territories were acquired, Douglas believed that should happen “without reference” to slavery. Lincoln responded by emphasizing his strong belief that slavery is morally wrong. In one of the later debates, Lincoln identified this as the primary difference between Republicans and Democrats and between Douglas and himself. Douglas, Lincoln said, won’t acknowledge the conflict between slavery and liberty, and “every sentiment he utters discards the idea that there is any wrong in Slavery.” The “Little Giant” and the Democrats, Lincoln said, “don’t care whether Slavery is voted up or down,” whereas he belongs “to that class in the country who contemplate slavery as a moral, social and political evil” For Lincoln, Douglas’ belief in “popular sovereignty” proved that he did not believe slavery was morally wrong.

The Freeport Doctrine

At the second debate at Freeport, Lincoln forced Douglas to choose between his belief in popular sovereignty and a highly controversial, pro-slavery ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Dred Scott v. Sanford*.

Among other things, the court in *Dred Scott* ruled that the federal government did not have the power to ban slavery in territories. Lincoln asked Douglas:

Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?

According to the Supreme Court’s decision in *Dred Scott*, the answer was no. But Douglas responded:

I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution.

In short, Douglas answered that popular sovereignty trumped the Supreme Court’s decision. His answer became known as the Freeport Doctrine, and it cost him support among Southern Democrats. Many of them viewed it as a betrayal.

Who Won?

The last of the seven debates took place on October 15 in Alton, located on the Mississippi River. After the debate, a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* predicted Lincoln would be the next senator: “Mr. Lincoln is as sure to be successor of Mr. Douglas in the Senate of the United States as there is a sun in the Heavens” And indeed, when the votes were counted after Election Day on November 2, the Republican candidates supporting Lincoln won more votes in total than did the Democratic candidates supporting Douglas. But more Democratic candidates won their races, and the legislature selected Douglas as senator.

Lincoln wrote to a friend that he will now “sink out of view and shall be forgotten.” That did not happen, because Lincoln’s performance in the debates had gained him a national reputation. In December, a Pennsylvania newspaper declared,

“Mr. Lincoln has made for himself a reputation as a great statesman and popular debater, as extensive as the country itself.” Lincoln’s reputation continued to rise as he accepted invitations to speak from Republican committees and candidates both in the Eastern states and in the West.

The Election of 1860

After Lincoln spoke in Ohio in the fall of 1859, the Republican Party committee helped publish a book containing newspaper accounts of all the debates. Printed before the national convention in May 1860, it became a best-seller, bringing Lincoln even further into the spotlight. Some historians believe it helped secure his nomination for president. In the words of historian Don E. Fehrenbacher, “The momentum gathered in their contest for a Senate seat carried both Lincoln and Douglas to the

threshold of the White House, but only one could enter.”

Douglas ultimately got the nomination of the Democratic Party for president. But the party split when delegates to the convention refused to adopt a resolution allowing slavery in territories even if residents voted against it. Many delegates walked out, formed the Southern Democratic Party, and selected John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as their nominee for president. Yet another party formed, the Constitutional Union Party, for those who could not support the Democrats or Republicans. It also nominated a candidate for president.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates had helped Lincoln garner the Republican presidential nomination. They had also helped splinter the Democratic Party.

In the election of 1860, Republican Abraham Lincoln carried 39 percent of the popular vote (more than any other

candidate), and he won the electoral college vote. He was not on the ballot in many Southern states and won none of them. Before his inauguration, seven Southern states declared they were seceding from the Union.

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. Why did the admission of new states to the Union divide the North and South? Prior to the Civil War, what compromises did Congress make on admitting new states?
2. Who was Stephen Douglas? Why was he important? What did he believe about slavery? How did his view of slavery differ from Lincoln’s?
3. What were the Lincoln-Douglas debates? In your opinion, who won the debates? Explain. Why were the debates important?

ACTIVITY

What Would Lincoln Say?

In this activity, students read statements made by Douglas in the debates, discuss how Lincoln would respond, and create responses to each statement.

Form pairs. Assign each pair Statement A or Statement B. Each group should:

- a. Read your assigned statement by Douglas.
- b. Consulting the article, discuss how Lincoln might have responded to the statement.
- c. Write a response that reflects Lincoln’s thinking.
- d. Be prepared to present your response to the class and explain why you think Lincoln might have answered in this manner.

Statement A of Douglas:

Douglas: Mr. Lincoln . . . says that this Government cannot endure permanently in the same condition in which it was made by its framers — divided into free and slave States. He says that it has existed for about seventy years thus divided, and yet he tells you that it cannot endure permanently on the same principles and in the same relative condition in which our fathers made it. Why can it not exist divided into free and slave States? Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and the great men of that day, made this Government divided into free States and slave States, and left each State perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject of slavery. Why can it not exist on the same principles on which our fathers made it?

Statement B of Douglas:

Douglas: He [Lincoln] tells you that I will not argue the question whether slavery is right or wrong. I tell you why I will not do it. I hold that under the Constitution of the United States, each State of this Union has a right to do as it pleases on the subject of slavery. In Illinois we have exercised that sovereign right by prohibiting slavery within our own limits. I approve of that line of policy. We have performed our whole duty in Illinois. We have gone as far as we have a right to go under the Constitution of our common country. It is none of our business whether slavery exists in Missouri or not. Missouri is a sovereign State of this Union, and has the same right to decide the slavery question for herself that Illinois has to decide it for herself. Hence I do not choose to occupy the time allotted to me in discussing a question that we have no right to act upon.

Note: Lincoln and Douglas debated seven times and repeated themselves often in the debates. For examples of how Lincoln responded to these statements, see <http://www.crf-usa.org/lincoln-douglas-debate.htm>.

SUDAN, IMPERIALISM, AND THE MAHDI'S HOLY WAR

DURING THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM, EUROPEAN POWERS SCRAMBLED TO DIVIDE UP AFRICA. IN SUDAN, HOWEVER, A MUSLIM RELIGIOUS FIGURE KNOWN AS THE MAHDI LED A SUCCESSFUL JIHAD (HOLY WAR) THAT FOR A TIME DROVE OUT THE BRITISH AND EGYPTIANS.

In the late 1800s, many European nations tried to stake out pieces of Africa to colonize. In what is known as the “scramble for Africa,” countries sought to acquire territories with valuable resources and to control economically strategic rivers.

Many African tribal chiefs signed treaties with European countries, giving them the sole right to trade along major rivers. In 1884–85, 13 European nations with ambitions for their empires met in Berlin to discuss Africa.

The Berlin Conference agreement dealt mainly with opening up free trade along West African rivers and outlawing the slave trade. The agreement also recognized the idea of European powers carving Africa into territorial zones, in which each could pursue colonization by treaty with tribal chiefs or by conquest.

The Europeans who signed the agreement saw little chance of significant African resistance. But as the Berlin Conference met, a Muslim religious leader in Sudan had assembled a huge army that proved how wrong the Europeans were.

Ottoman Egypt and Sudan

By 1800, Egypt was part of the Muslim Ottoman Empire, ruled by the sultan in Istanbul, Turkey. In 1805, Muhammad Ali, an Ottoman military officer, seized power in Egypt.

Ali sent his son up the Nile River to conquer northern Sudan in 1821. A desert area, it was inhabited by Muslim Arabs who were mainly nomadic herders. Further south was a wetter region populated by black Africans who were Christians or followers of native religions. Arabs took advantage of tribal warfare in southern Sudan to buy and sell black captives in a highly profitable slave trade.

Ali established Sudan’s colonial capital at Khartoum, where the White and Blue Nile rivers join to form the main Nile River, which flows north to the Mediterranean Sea. Khartoum grew into a major trading center.

By the 1860s, a weakened Ottoman Empire ruled Egypt indirectly through a khedive (viceroy). He and most of the top government and military leaders were Turks, but they increasingly identified themselves with an independent Egypt rather than the Ottoman Empire.

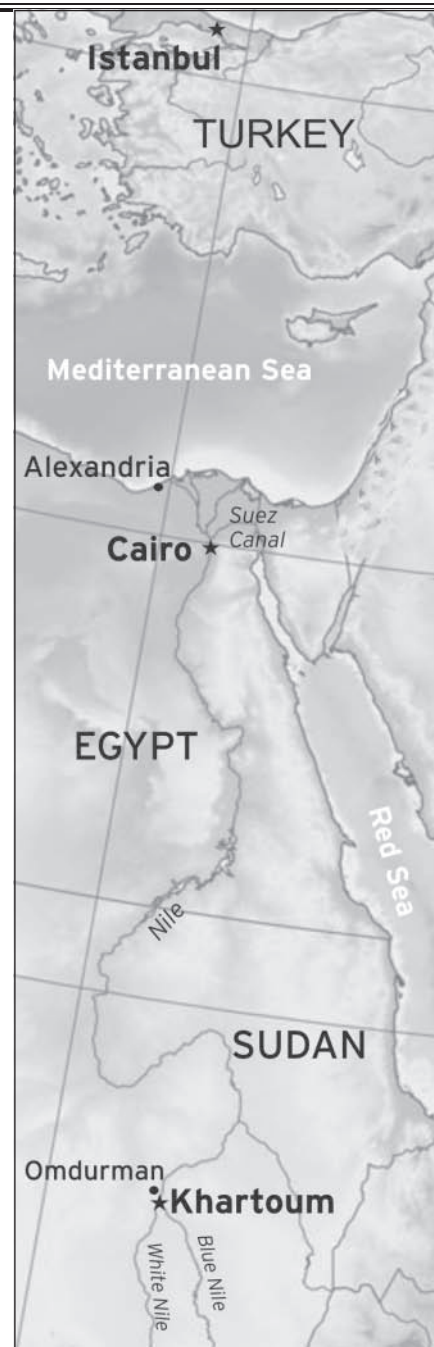
The Suez Canal, connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, was completed by a French company in 1869. For the first time, Britain began to take a strategic interest in Egypt. The British viewed the Suez Canal as a vital link to its empire in Asia, especially India.

At this time, the khedive of Egypt’s economic program had driven the country deeply into debt. Fearing that a financially unstable Egypt could endanger the Suez Canal, Britain and France jointly took control of the country’s finances.

In the 1870s, the khedive wanted to suppress the Arab slave trade in Sudan. He appointed a British army officer, Col. Charles Gordon, as governor-general of Sudan to take on this job.

Gordon enthusiastically pursued crushing Sudan’s widespread slave trade, which Britain had outlawed in its empire. He sent Egyptian troops headed by European officers to track down Arab slave traders. In the process, Gordon and his forces rescued thousands of black African slaves.

Appalled by the brutal living conditions he saw in Sudan, Gordon blamed Egypt’s heavy taxes and corrupt officials. When Gordon finally resigned as governor-general in 1880,



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Arab slave traders bribed Egyptian officials not to interfere with their profitable business.

In Egypt a year later, native Egyptian army officers led a patriotic revolt and overthrew the khedive, who still technically ruled in the name of the Ottoman Turk sultan. They then attempted to break away from both the Ottoman Turks and European powers.

Worried that the Egyptian rebels would seize control of the Suez Canal, Britain and France each sent a fleet of warships to Alexandria to intimidate

the rebels. Enraged mobs rioted in the city and killed about 50 Europeans. The French withdrew their fleet, but the British opened fire on Alexandria and leveled many buildings. Later in the year, Britain sent 25,000 troops to Egypt and easily defeated the rebel Egyptian army. Britain then returned the government to the khedive, who now was little more than a British puppet. Thus began the British occupation of Egypt.

While these dramatic events were happening in Egypt, a spellbinding religious figure, calling himself the Mahdi, was stirring up rebellion against Egyptian rule in Sudan.

'I Am the Mahdi'

The Mahdi, or the "Expected One," is part of the traditions of Islam. According to these traditions, a figure will be sent by God at the end of times to rule the world in preparation for the messiah. Jesus will return and together with the Mahdi defeat the false messiah and bring justice to the world before Judgment Day.

Born on a White Nile island in Sudan, Muhammad Ahmad grew up to be known as a deeply religious Muslim. He studied the Quran in Khartoum and preached a pure form of Islam.

By the 1870s, Ahmad had become a popular religious figure in Arab Sudan. In 1881, he declared himself the long-awaited Mahdi. He claimed he was chosen by God to liberate Sudan from Egypt's tyranny, sweep away the modern ways of "corrupted" Muslims, and restore the pure Islam practiced by the Prophet Muhammad. Ahmad's declaration drew many new followers to him.

The Egyptian governor-general in Khartoum sent soldiers to arrest Ahmad, but he and his supporters defeated them with clubs, swords, and spears. He then led about 10,000 followers to a remote area south of Khartoum.

Ahmad took advantage of the widespread hatred of Egypt's brutal colonial rule and announced a jihad, or holy war, against the "Turks," a term he used for the Ottomans, Egyptians,



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Muhammad Ahmad (1844-1885), an Islamic religious leader, led a rebellion in Sudan against colonial rule.

and other "corrupted" Muslims. "I am the Mahdi," he proclaimed in 1881, "the Successor of the Prophet of Allah. Cease to pay taxes to the infidel [unbeliever] Turks and let everyone who finds a Turk kill him, for the Turks are infidels."

The Mahdi appointed three kalifas, or lieutenants. The most important was Kalifa Abdallahi who became the Mahdi's military commander. Abdallahi organized an Arab army of horsemen and infantry that defeated numerous Egyptian garrisons of soldiers and captured their firearms.

In 1883, the khedive sent an expedition of nearly 10,000 Egyptian troops led by British Col. William Hicks and a dozen European officers to smash the Mahdi's army. But Abdallahi's fighters killed nearly every man in the Egyptian force, including Hicks.

Believing these victories proved that Allah had blessed the jihad, huge numbers of fighters from Arab tribes swarmed to the Mahdi. They joined his cause of liberating Sudan and bringing Islam to the entire world.

The worried Egyptian khedive and British government decided to send Charles Gordon, the former governor-general of Sudan, to Khartoum. His mission was to organize the evacuation of all Egyptian soldiers and government personnel from Sudan. British Prime Minister William Gladstone did not want to get entangled in another colonial war.

When Gordon got to Khartoum in February 1884, he found it well fortified with a defense force of 7,000 soldiers. But advance units of the Mahdi's army had already begun to arrive. Gordon soon found himself besieged. He could have evacuated himself earlier by steamboat, but declared he would not abandon the others.

Back in London, pressure grew on the government to "save Gordon." The British did not know that they were up against not just a political revolt against Egypt but a fanatical religious movement.

Finally, the British sent a relief expedition from Cairo up the Nile to Khartoum, a distance of more than 1,000 miles. The commander took his time building boats for infantry transport and training a brand-new camel cavalry.

The siege of Khartoum lasted almost a year. Food ran short. Starvation and disease weakened the soldiers and civilians. The Mahdi's

An Imperialist's Dream

Imperialism is the practice of nations' building empires and holding other nations as colonies or dependent states. Cecil Rhodes was a British businessman and diamond mining baron in South Africa. In the following statement made in 1891, he described British imperialism.

I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. . . . Added to this, the absorption of the greater portion of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars. . . . The furtherance of the British Empire [is] for the bringing of the whole uncivilized world under British rule, for the recovery of the United States, for making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire. What a dream but yet it is probable.

What was Cecil Rhodes' point of view about British imperialism?



This 19th-century wood engraving depicts the expedition down the Nile to rescue General Gordon, which arrived at Khartoum too late.

men continually raked the city with rifle and cannon fire.

Camped near Omdurman, a town directly across the river from Khartoum, the Mahdi finally decided to take the city and defend it against the approaching British. On January 26, 1885, his army stormed the city. The slaughter of the weakened defenders was followed by the mass murder and rape of civilians. Gordon was hacked to death by swords while defending himself at the governor's palace. His attackers cut off his head as a trophy. Altogether, about 10,000 soldiers and civilians were massacred.

Two days later, an advance British gunboat under heavy enemy fire reached Khartoum. The British saw that the city had fallen and presumed Gordon was dead. Since his rescue was impossible, the entire expedition withdrew back to Cairo. The Mahdi was now the master of Sudan. Egyptians were frightened. The British were shocked.

The Mahdist State

The Mahdi established his capital at Omdurman. He sent a letter to the khedive in Cairo, demanding that he join the jihad against the unbelievers or suffer an invasion of Egypt. The Mahdi, however, did not live long enough to carry out his threat.

The Mahdi began to organize a government for his Mahdist state. At its core were the laws of Islam as practiced in the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

The Mahdi demanded his followers strictly follow the Quran and avoid worldly pleasures like drinking, dancing, smoking, and fancy clothes.

Under the Mahdi's laws, women could not own property or divorce. Girls were barred from schooling. He permitted trading and owning slaves, as did the Quran, but called for humane treatment of them.

Punishments were harsh. They included confiscation of property, flogging, cutting off a hand or foot, and beheading. But the Mahdi himself, now 40, increasingly enjoyed luxuries such as fine clothes and a large harem.

Shortly after naming Kalifa Abdallahi his successor, the Mahdi suddenly died of typhus only a few months after the sack of Khartoum. Ismail, one of his followers who wrote his biography three years later, explained the Mahdi's death this way: "The Mahdi's period — as indicated in the Tradition — came to an end. Therefore God transferred the Mahdi to himself."

Muhammad Ahmad remained a sacred and heroic figure among Sudan's Arabs for years. They celebrated him for preaching the true Islam, uniting Sudan's Arab tribes, and driving foreign imperialists from their soil.

Kalifa Abdallahi tried to continue the Mahdi's jihad. He fought a bloody but indecisive war against neighboring Christian Abyssinia

(now Ethiopia). His attempt to invade Muslim Egypt failed.

Abdallahi put on a show of religious devotion. He built a great mosque and a huge domed tomb for the Mahdi in Omdurman. But he became little more than a traditional Arab tribal king, ruling by military force.

The River War

Seven years after the fall of Khartoum, a different British government decided to reconquer Sudan. Britain declared the Nile River from the Mediterranean to its source, a distance of more than 2,000 miles, as a British zone for occupation under the Berlin Conference agreement.

Maj. Gen. Herbert Kitchener was appointed to plan and lead a massive invasion force, consisting of British, Egyptian, and black African Sudanese troops, all commanded by British officers. Their mission was to move up the Nile, destroy Kalifa Abdallahi's army, and occupy all of Sudan.

Winston Churchill, who much later became Britain's prime minister during World War II, was a young officer in Kitchener's army. He wrote a book, titled *The River War*, about Kitchener's epic campaign. Churchill justified the reconquest of Sudan mostly in economic terms. He said it would economically unify Egypt and Sudan while strengthening Britain's trading position along the Nile.

By this time, the British realized that Kalifa Abdallahi's Arab fighters were among the most fierce and courageous in the world. They were driven by the belief that being martyrs in battle guaranteed their place in Paradise.

Kitchener assembled an invasion force of about 25,000 well-trained men. His "grand army of the Nile," as Churchill called it, included infantry, horse cavalry, a camel corps, and steamboat transports. He equipped his men with the most modern bolt-action repeating rifles, heavy artillery, and machine guns.

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Muhammad Ahmed and the 'Turks'

The Sira, the first biography of Muhammad Ahmad, was written in 1888 by one of his followers, Ismail ibn 'Abd al-Qadir. Ismail described Ahmed in heroic terms as the true Mahdi. The following is an excerpt from the Sira about the rule of the "Turks" in Sudan.

[The land] was filled with oppression and tyranny by the Turks, who profaned the [sacredness] of the Religion and imposed the [per person] tax of the Muslims. Falsity, and infamy spread among them, and they obeyed Satan and rebelled against the Merciful [God]. They hastened to obliterate the traces of Islam and they did not fear Allah in the [Muslim] Community of the Lord of Mankind.

What was Ismail's purpose in describing the "Turks" in this way?

To transport supplies, Kitchener's men constructed a "Desert Railway," sometimes laying three miles of tracks in a day. Resupplied daily by rail, Kitchener's invasion force slowly moved southward toward Kalifa Abdallahi's capital at Omdurman.

Beginning from Cairo in March 1896, Kitchener's army took two and a half years to work its way more than 1,000 miles to Omdurman. When Kitchener reached the Mahdist capital, he created a half-circle battle line with the Nile at his back. Meanwhile, his gunboats shelled the city, damaging the dome atop the Mahdi's tomb.

The Battle of Omdurman took place on September 2, 1898. More than 50,000 Arab fighters faced Kitchener's army of 25,000. Kalifa Abdallahi's men fought on foot, horse, and camel, but less than half had guns of any kind. The rest carried swords and spears.

Kalifa Abdallahi had a smart battle plan, but his men never broke through Kitchener's battle line. Chanting religious phrases and carrying flags with quotations from the Quran, the Arab fighters were torn to pieces by intense rifle, machine gun, artillery, and gunboat firepower. Still, they kept charging until they covered the battlefield with mounds of dead and dying. An estimated 10,000 of Abdallahi's men were killed. Kitchener lost 48.

At the end of the bloody day, Kitchener entered Omdurman. He ordered the Mahdi's tomb destroyed and his bones cast into the Nile. Kitchener, however, kept the skull. Later, he conducted a memorial at Khartoum for Charles Gordon who had been beheaded there 13 years earlier. (The Mahdi's skull was eventually buried in a Muslim cemetery near Cairo.)

In the meantime, Kalifa Abdallahi escaped south with his surviving soldiers and refugee families. He attempted to reorganize his army. But after evading British troops for a year, he was finally trapped and killed in a battle on November 25, 1899. On that day, the independent Mahdist state in Sudan ended.

Britain and Egypt signed an agreement to jointly rule Sudan, with Britain as the senior partner. The appointed governor-general of Sudan headed the military and made all the laws. The agreement also outlawed the slave trade.

Kitchener became the governor-general of Sudan for a short period. In one of his reports, he wrote, "The country has at last been finally relieved of the military tyranny which started in a movement of wild religious fanaticism." Sudan remained for nearly 60 years a Muslim land controlled by a Christian European nation.

* * * * *

Sudan achieved independence in 1956. But since gaining independence, the nation has suffered famines, military takeovers, civil wars, and genocide. Persecution by Sudan's Muslim Arabs against the largely Christian black African Sudanese finally resulted in the country's division into Sudan and South Sudan in 2011.

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. Why did Britain occupy Egypt and later Sudan?
2. Why were so many Arab Sudanese drawn to the Mahdi's jihad?
3. What were the strengths and weaknesses of Kalifa Abdallahi's army at the Battle of Omdurman? Why did Abdallahi lose?

Common Core Short Written Research Report Questions

In addition to the article, research at least one print and digital source and write a 1–2 page response to one of the following questions.

1. What are the similarities and differences between the Taliban of Afghanistan/Pakistan today and the Mahdists of Sudan 130 years ago?
2. What events led to the division of Sudan into two countries in 2011?

ACTIVITY

Board of Inquiry – The Fall of Khartoum

The fall of Khartoum and the killing of Gordon in January 1885 was a disaster for the British. In this activity, students role play members of a Board of Inquiry, investigating for the British government to find out who was responsible for what went wrong in Khartoum.

1. Form small groups, each will role play a Board of Inquiry.
2. Each group should:
 - a. Examine the article and discuss who might possibly bear the responsibility for the fall of Khartoum.
 - b. Decide on who, if anyone, was responsible.
 - c. Be prepared to report to the class, citing your conclusions, reasons for them, and evidence from the article.
3. Call on a member of each group to come to the front of the room. Each member will report its groups' findings to the class. Members of the class can ask questions following the reports.
4. Ask students to vote on which conclusion they agree with.

ARE BIBLE READINGS EVER ALLOWED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION BEGINS WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE: "CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW RESPECTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION..." THROUGHOUT THE 20TH CENTURY, THE MEANING OF THE ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE PROVOKED DEBATE, ESPECIALLY ON THE ISSUE OF PRAYER. THE RELATED ISSUE OF BIBLE READINGS HAS ALSO PROMPTED GREAT CONTROVERSY.

In 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court took up the issue of official prayer in public schools in the case of *Engel v. Vitale*. In that case, the court struck down a New York law authorizing a short, non-denominational prayer at the beginning of the school day. Writing for the majority, Justice Hugo Black stated that New York's law was an "establishment of religion." He explained that even though the prayers were non-denominational and voluntary, the state cannot promote religious belief generally. Also, he wrote, the law does not have to force anyone to pray in order for it to be unconstitutional. Government sponsorship of religion puts "indirect coercive pressure upon religious minorities to conform to the prevailing officially approved religion."

The very next year, the court decided a similar issue about a law in Abington Township School District of Pennsylvania. The Abington law required that "at least ten verses from the Holy Bible shall be read, without comment, at the opening of each public school on each school day." Exceptions were allowed for any child whose parent or guardian wrote a request for the child to be excused.

The Case of Ellery Schempp

Ellery Schempp was a junior in high school in Abington Township in



Cheryl Casey | Dreamstime.com

In 2009, protesters outside a federal court in Pensacola, Fla., voiced their support for school officials charged with violating a court order against prayers at school-sponsored events.

1956. His school selected students to broadcast the daily reading of Bible verses, the Lord's Prayer, and the Pledge of Allegiance over the school's intercom system. In classes, students were asked to stand and join in reciting the Lord's Prayer and the Pledge. General school announcements followed.

One day, however, Schempp did not stand for the Lord's Prayer in his homeroom class. Instead, he read silently from the Quran, the holy book of the Islamic faith.

Schempp did this as a protest. He and his family belonged to the Unitarian church, a traditionally liberal Christian denomination. He and his parents felt that the readings "without comment" reflected a literal understanding of Scripture that stood against their religious convictions.

The 16-year-old Schempp also felt that the reading of the Bible and the Lord's Prayer offended his Jewish classmates. He had read *Civil Disobedience* by the American Transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau, and it inspired his protest. Schempp said he chose the Quran for no other reason than that he found it among his father's books.

Schempp spent the remainder of the year's homeroom periods in the guidance counselor's office as a consequence. His parents sued the

school district to enjoin, or stop, further Bible readings. At trial, Edward Schempp, Ellery's father, testified that he opted not to excuse Ellery from the Bible readings because it would mean Ellery (and later his siblings) would be "labeled as odd balls."

The trial featured expert testimony on both sides. Dr. Solomon Grayzel, rabbi and author of *A History of the Jews*, testified for the plaintiffs (the Schempps) that readings from the New Testament "without comment" are psychologically harmful to Jewish children and generally cause divisiveness in schools. Dr. Luther A. Weigle, a Lutheran minister and co-founder of the National Council of Churches, testified for the defendants (Abington School District) that the Bible itself does not favor any Christian sect. He added that excluding the New Testament would discriminate against Christianity.

A three-judge panel in federal district court agreed with the Schempps. The court held that the Abington law violated the establishment clause as applied to the states through the 14th Amendment. Abington School District appealed. The Schempp children became targets of harassment in school, and the family received some 15,000 letters, many of them hostile and even threatening.

The Murray Case

In the meantime, a second case had made its way through the courts in Maryland. Baltimore City schools had adopted a similar rule under state law, providing for daily Bible readings “without comment.” William J. Murray III was a junior-high student in Baltimore in 1960 when he took a dislike to the Bible readings. Unlike Ellery Schempp, however, Murray was an atheist, and his protest took the form of standing up while his teacher read from the Bible in order to call the reading “ridiculous.”

William was the son of Madalyn Murray O’Hair, an outspoken atheist who later founded the activist organization American Atheists. O’Hair gained notoriety by petitioning the Baltimore school authorities to stop the daily Bible readings. The petition stated that the Bible-reading policy placed “a premium on belief as against non-belief and subjects [the O’Hairs’] freedom of conscience to the rule of the majority.”

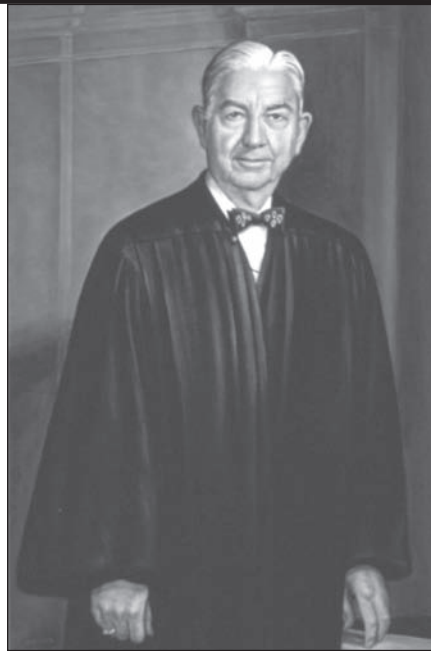
Unlike the *Schempp* case, the O’Hairs lost at state trial court. An appeals court affirmed that the Bible readings were constitutional. The O’Hairs’ home was firebombed, and outraged students physically abused William and his younger brother because of their activist-atheist stance.

When the *Schempp* and O’Hair cases reached the U.S. Supreme Court, the court consolidated the two cases because they dealt with almost identical issues.

In the Supreme Court

During oral arguments, Philip H. Ward, the attorney for Abington School District, argued primarily that the Pennsylvania law’s purpose was to teach morality, not religion. “[T]he people of Pennsylvania have wanted to do this . . . wanted to bring these lessons of morality to the children,” he said. “So what did they do? They picked a common source of morality, the Bible.”

For the *Schempps*, attorney Henry W. Sawyer countered, “You cannot separate the moral leaven



Wikimedia Commons

Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark (1899–1977) wrote the majority opinion in *Abington School District v. Schempp* (1963).

from the religious leaven in the Bible.” (Leaven is a necessary ingredient in baking bread.) In other words, the Bible’s moral teachings are always religious in nature.

On June 17, 1963, the court issued its decision in favor of the *Schempps* and O’Hairs. Chief Justice Earl Warren assigned the writing of the majority opinion to Justice Tom C. Clark, a devout, churchgoing Presbyterian.

In his opinion for the majority, Justice Clark concluded that the government must not interfere with an individual’s religious choices. He wrote:

The place of religion in our society is an exalted one, achieved through a long tradition of reliance on the home, the church and the inviolable citadel of the individual heart and mind. We have come to recognize through bitter experience that it is not within the power of government to invade that citadel. . . .

Justice Clark argued that the government must be neutral toward religion. “In the relationship between man and religion,” he wrote, “the State is firmly committed to a position of neutrality.” Clark maintained, however,

that the Bible was still allowed for the study of literature, comparative religion, and the history of religion “when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education.”

In reaching this decision, Justice Clark also articulated the test of a law’s neutrality. According to Justice Clark, we must always ask what the purpose and primary effect of a proposed law is. “That is to say,” he wrote, “that to withstand the strictures of the *Establishment Clause* there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion.” (Emphasis in original.)

The lone dissenter on the court was Justice Potter Stewart. One year before, he had been the lone dissenter in *Engel v. Vitale* as well. In *Abington School District*, Justice Stewart argued that removing religion from the school setting, in itself, violated the establishment clause. Compulsory, or required, schooling influences children so much that “if religious exercises are held to be an impermissible activity in schools, religion is placed at an artificial and state-created disadvantage.”

Justice Stewart argued that if schools forbid Bible readings, then they are no longer neutral toward religion. “And a refusal to permit religious exercises thus is seen,” wrote Stewart, “not as the realization of state neutrality, but rather as the establishment of a religion of secularism, or at the least, as government support of the beliefs of those who think that religious exercises should be conducted only in private.”

An Unpopular Decision

Reactions against the decision were swift. The Rev. Billy Graham told the press, “Eighty percent of the American people want Bible reading and prayer in the schools. Why should a majority be so severely penalized . . . ?” Sen. Barry Goldwater announced that the court had “ruled against God.” In 1964, *Life* magazine dubbed Madalyn Murray O’Hair the “most hated woman in America.” ▶

The case also affected the futures of the younger plaintiffs. Ellery Schempp made a career as a scientist at General Electric. He remained a life-long Unitarian Universalist (UU) and currently sits on the advisory board of the Secular Coalition for America, a non-profit advocacy organization for non-theists. (The UU denomination places no judgment on whether an adherent believes in God.)

William J. O’Hair III, on the other hand, did not retain his youthful beliefs. In 1980, he announced his conversion from atheism to Christianity and soon became a Baptist minister. For this act, his mother publicly denounced him, calling his conversion “beyond human forgiveness.” In 1982, he founded the Religious Freedom Coalition, a conservative non-profit advocacy organization, and published an autobiography, *My Life Without God* that details his disillusionment with atheism.

The Ongoing Debate

The *Abington* case informs our current national discourse on religious freedom. The debate about whether the Bible can ever be used in schools is part of an ongoing debate between liberal and conservative groups. The liberal position is generally “separationist,” which seeks to limit schools’ use of the Bible according to the “separation of church and state.” The conservative position is generally “accommodationist,” which seeks to accommodate, or to allow, the practice of students’ and even teachers’ religious beliefs as much as possible. Both sides base their arguments on the First Amendment.

The arguments offered on both sides in the *Abington* case reflect the separationist and accommodationist perspectives offered in courts and the media today. Whenever a school district’s policy or a state’s law addresses prayer or Bible-reading issues, the arguments Justice Clark and Justice Stewart made long ago appear again.

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. Was either Ellery Schempp’s protest or William J. Murray III’s protest in school more effective than the other, or were neither of them effective? Give reasons to support your answer.
2. What do you think the establishment clause means when it states that Congress shall not make any law “respecting” the establishment of religion? Would other words make its purpose clearer? If so, what words would you choose, and why?
3. In his majority opinion, Justice Clark addressed Stewart’s concern about the “religion of secularism.” “[T]he State,” wrote Clark, “may not establish a ‘religion of secularism’ in the sense of affirmatively opposing or showing hostility to religion. . . . We do not agree, however, that this decision in any sense has that effect.” Do you agree? Why or why not?

ACTIVITY

Theories of the First Amendment

Justice Clark’s opinion in *Abington School District v. Schempp* reflects the Supreme Court’s theory that the government should remain neutral, or have no preference, in religious matters. The major theories followed by different justices on the Supreme Court today are as follows:

Strict separation. This theory holds that government and religion should be separate as much as possible. The government’s laws and policies should be secular, and religion is a private matter for individuals.

Accommodation. This theory maintains that government should accommodate, or make exceptions for, private religious beliefs and practices as much as possible. It also means that government should recognize the importance of religion in our nation’s history, laws, and society.

Neutrality. This theory asserts that government should simply have no preference for one religion over any other, and no preference for either religion in general or secularism (non-religion) in general. Some justices support an endorsement test for neutrality, that government must not be seen as “endorsing” any religion, religion in general, or secularism. Imagine you are a Supreme Court justice. In small groups, do the following:

1. Analyze and discuss the set of facts below with your fellow justices.
2. Answer the question presented from the perspective of strict separation, accommodation, and neutrality theory.
3. Discuss and decide which of the three theories your group supports and what decision your group would make based upon that theory. Be prepared to report your decisions and the reasons for them. If any members disagree with the majority, they may report their dissenting opinion.

Facts: A school district in the hypothetical city of Bookville, USA, has chosen to create a new elective course called Studying the Bible. The course’s purpose is to teach students “biblical literacy” in order to understand contemporary American society and culture, including American literature, music, and public policy. The course will include teacher-led study of the Hebrew Scriptures (aka Old Testament) and the New Testament so that students will be familiar with the people, events, literary style, and influence of the Bible. The course will also include discussion about the moral lessons included in the Bible.

Question presented: Does the Studying the Bible course violate the establishment clause of the First Amendment?

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Standards

Lincoln-Douglas Debates

National High School U.S. History Standard 11: Understands the extension, restriction, and reorganization of political democracy after 1800. (2) Understands the positions of northern antislavery advocates and southern proslavery spokesmen on a variety of issues (e.g., . . . Lincoln-Douglas debates).

California History-Social Science Standard 8.9: Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. (5) Analyze the significance of . . . the Missouri Compromise (1820), . . . the Compromise of 1850, . . . the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), the Dred Scott v. Sandford decision (1857), and the Lincoln-Douglas debates (1858).

Common Core Standard RH.11B12.6: Evaluate authors= differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors= claims, reasoning, and evidence.

Common Core Standard RH.11B12.8: Evaluate an author=s premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.

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National High School World History Standard 36: Understands patterns of global change in the era of Western military and economic dominance from 1800 to 1914. (3) Understands the influence of European imperial expansion on political and social facets of African and Indian society (e.g., . . . the major chain of events in Europe and Africa that led to the “scramble” for African territory, and the role of particular African governments or peoples in the partition of Africa by the Europeans) (6) Understands economic, social and religious influences on African society (e.g., . . . how and why slavery and the slave trade flourished in both West and East Africa . . .). (7) Understands African resistance movements against the British during the period of European imperial expansion (e.g., the nature of the Sudanese resistance to the British, as well as the general success of Mahdi Muhammad Ahmed and the Mahdi uprising against British imperialism).

California History-Social Science Standard 10.4: Students analyze patterns of global change in the era of New Imperialism in a least two of the following regions or countries: Africa (2) Discuss the locations of the colonial rule of such nations as England (3) Explain imperialism from the perspective of the colonizers and the colonized and the varied immediate and long-term responses by the people under colonial rules. (4) Describe the independence struggles of the colonized regions of the world, including the role of leaders and the roles of ideology and religion.

Common Core Standard WHST.11B12.7: Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question . . . synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.

Bible Readings

National High School Civics Standard 25: Understands issues regarding personal, political, and economic rights. (1) Understands the importance to individuals and to society of personal rights (5) Knows major documentary sources of personal, political, and economic rights such as . . . court decisions (6) Understands how personal, political, and economic rights are secured by constitutional government and by such means as the rule of law, checks and balances, an independent judiciary, and a vigilant citizenry

National High School U.S. History Standard 29: Understands the struggle for racial and gender equality and for the extension of civil liberties. (3) Understands how various Warren Court decisions influenced society (e.g., . . . the effectiveness of the judiciary in promoting civil liberties).

National High School U.S. History Standard 31: Understands economic, social, and cultural developments in the contemporary United States. (3) Understands how the rise of religious groups and movements influenced political issues in contemporary American society (e.g., . . . how Supreme Court decisions since 1968 have affected the meaning and practice of religious freedom)

Common Core Standard SL.11B12.4: Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks.

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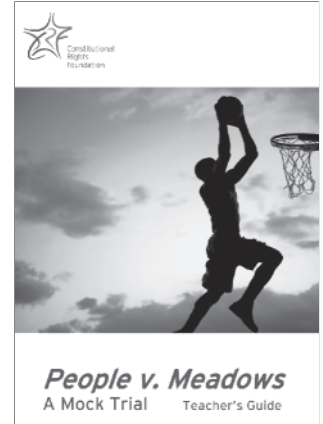
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People v. Vega

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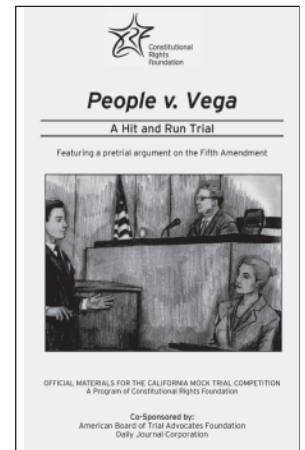
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