



UNIT

2

The Crisis of Union

1848–1877

Why It Matters

The United States faced many challenges in its early years. Internal improvements and industrial development began to reshape the nation but also illustrated the growing differences between the North and the South. These differences eventually led to the Civil War, the most destructive war in American history. The peace that was forged after five years of internal conflict reunited the nation and ended slavery.

Studying the Civil War and the Reconstruction era that followed will help you understand the issues of the civil rights movement and the ongoing racial concerns in the United States today. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.

Primary Sources Library

See pages 930–931 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 2.



Use the **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about the Civil War era.



Cap of a Confederate soldier



Flag flown at Fort Sumter before surrender to the Confederates in 1861



*“We shall nobly save, or
meanly lose, the last best
hope of earth.”*

—Abraham Lincoln, 1862





CHAPTER

6

Sectional Conflict Intensifies 1848–1860

Why It Matters

When the nation gained new territory, the slavery controversy intensified. Would new states be slave or free? Who would decide? States that allowed slavery were determined to prevent free states from gaining a majority in the Senate. Political compromise broke down by 1860, and when Lincoln was elected president, many Southern states decided to secede.

The Impact Today

The political and social debates of this period continue to have influence on the United States.

- Older sectional loyalties still define some regions of the country.
- The modern Republican Party grew in part from opposition to slavery.



The American Republic Since 1877 Video The Chapter 6 video, "Tales From the Underground Railroad," features a dramatization of enslaved African Americans using the Underground Railroad to reach freedom.



1846 Taylor 1849–1850

1849 California Gold Rush begins

1850 Fillmore 1850–1853

1850 Compromise of 1850 adopted in an attempt to ease sectional tensions

1853 Pierce 1853–1857

1854 Republican Party founded



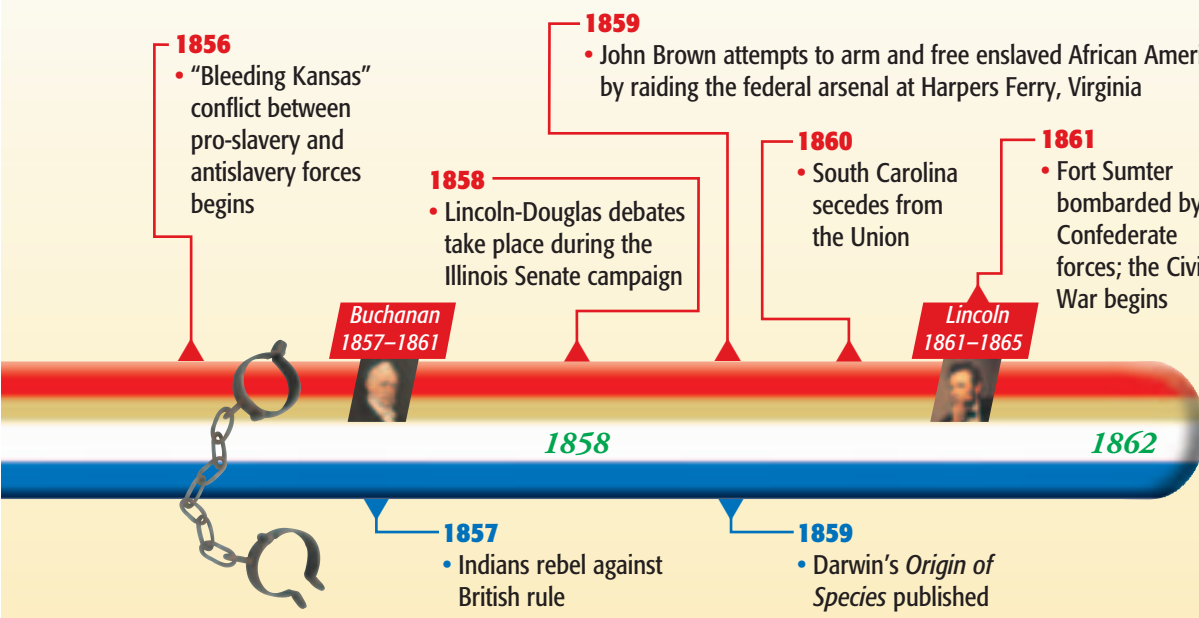
1847 Working hours limited in Britain

1848 Serfdom abolished in Austrian Empire

1853 Crimean War pitting Russia against Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire begins



View of Harpers Ferry by Ferdinand Richardt, 1858, depicts the peaceful town a year before a raid on the federal arsenal there triggered a crisis for the Union.



HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview
Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 6** to preview chapter information.

CLICK HERE

SECTION 1

Slavery and Western Expansion

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

Continuing disagreements over the westward expansion of slavery increased sectional tensions between the North and the South.

Key Terms and Names

Wilmot Proviso, popular sovereignty, secession, Underground Railroad, Harriet Tubman, transcontinental railroad

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about the deepening North–South tensions, complete a graphic organizer identifying key people of the era.

Key Figures	Significance
Henry Clay	
John Calhoun	
Frederick Douglass	
Harriet Tubman	
Harriet Beecher Stowe	
Stephen Douglas	

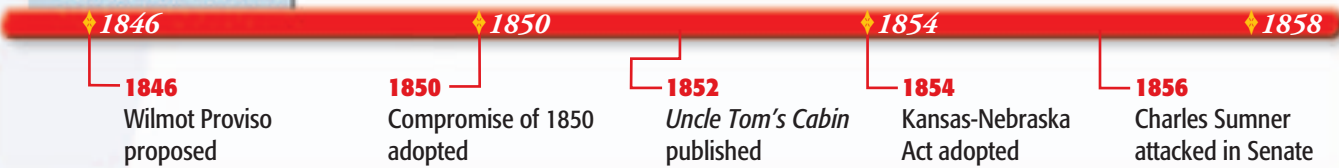
Reading Objectives

- **Explain** how the government dealt with slavery in the territories acquired after the war with Mexico.
- **Evaluate** how both the Fugitive Slave Act and the transcontinental railroad heightened sectional tensions.

Section Theme

Geography and History The acquisition of new lands heightened sectional tensions over slavery.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★

Early one cold morning in January 1847, Mrs. Crosswait woke to the sound of pistol shots. Without a word she rushed to her sleeping children, while her husband ran downstairs to bolt the door. The Crosswaits knew instantly the danger they were facing. Kidnappers had come to snatch them from their Michigan home and drag them back to Kentucky—and slavery.

The family had fled north after learning, to their horror, that the man who held them in slavery planned to sell them away from each other. They ended up in Marshall, Michigan. Home to a strong community of Quakers, Marshall welcomed them warmly.

Now, clutching her children, Mrs. Crosswait peeked fearfully from an upper window as three strangers fired bullet after bullet into their front door and demanded that the family surrender. She heard her husband pushing furniture against the door.

Then over the din came the voice of a neighbor, urging people to aid the family. Soon, friends came running. Shouting threats at the intruders, the townspeople intimidated them into leaving, thereby saving the family.

—adapted from *Black Pioneers: An Untold Story*



Notice of escaped enslaved person's capture

The Impact of the War With Mexico

The Crosswaits' struggle with kidnappers was not unique. Although many people escaped from slavery and headed north into free territory, even there they were not safe. Southerners believed that Article 4, Section 2, of the Constitution gave them the right to



retrieve an enslaved person who fled across state lines. Some Northerners, however, held strong beliefs to the contrary and helped runaways.

The war with Mexico only heightened these opposing viewpoints. The war opened vast new lands to American settlers, again raising the divisive issue of whether slavery should be allowed to spread westward.

GOVERNMENT

The Wilmot Proviso In August 1846, Representative David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, proposed an addition to a war appropriations bill. His amendment, known as the **Wilmot Proviso**, proposed that in any territory the United States gained from Mexico, “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist.”

Despite fierce Southern opposition, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Whigs passed the Wilmot Proviso in the House of Representatives. The Senate, however, refused to vote on it. Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina argued that all the states owned U.S. territories in common, that Americans settling there had the right to bring along their property, including enslaved laborers, and that Congress had no power to ban slavery in the territories. Calhoun warned that civil war would surely erupt if the North failed to heed Southern concerns.

Popular Sovereignty For the next few years, Wilmot’s proposal continued to be raised in Congress, deepening divisions between the North and South. Many moderate politicians began searching for a solution that would spare Congress from having to wrestle with the issue of slavery in the territories.

Senator **Lewis Cass** of Michigan proposed one solution. Cass suggested that the citizens of each new territory should be allowed to decide for themselves if they wanted to permit slavery or not. This idea came to be called **popular sovereignty**.

Popular sovereignty appealed strongly to many members of Congress because it removed the slavery issue from national politics. It also appeared democratic, since the settlers themselves would make the decision. Abolitionists, however, argued that it still denied African Americans their right not to be enslaved.

The Free-Soil Party As the 1848 election approached, both major parties sidestepped the slavery issue. The Whig candidate, General Zachary Taylor, avoided it and stressed his leadership experience in the war with Mexico. The Democrats’ nominee, Lewis

Cass, downplayed his support for popular sovereignty to gain support in the South. Instead he emphasized his promise to veto the Wilmot Proviso, should Congress ever pass it.

Northern opponents of slavery had little enthusiasm for either Taylor or Cass. Many antislavery Whigs and Democrats decided to join with members of the abolitionist Liberty Party to form the **Free-Soil Party**, which opposed the spread of slavery onto the “free soil” of the western territories.

Although some Free-Soilers condemned slavery as immoral, most members of the new party simply wanted to preserve the territories in the West for white farmers. Allowing slavery to expand, they warned, would make it difficult for free men to find work. Adopting the slogan “Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men,” they chose former president Martin Van Buren as their candidate.

On Election Day, support for the Free-Soilers pulled votes away from the Democrats. When the ballots were counted, the Whig candidate, Zachary Taylor, had won a narrow victory.

Reading Check **Evaluating** How did the war with Mexico affect the slavery issue?



Poster calling for antislavery meeting



Congress Struggles for a Compromise

Within a year of President Taylor’s inauguration, the issue of slavery took center stage. The discovery of gold in California had quickly led to that territory’s application for statehood. A decision had to be made about whether California would enter the Union as a free state or a slave state.

Forty-Niners Rush for Gold In January 1848, carpenter James Marshall was building a sawmill in Sacramento for a man named John Sutter. When Marshall found traces of gold in a stream near the sawmill, the two men tried to keep the secret to themselves. Word leaked out by spring, however, and San Franciscans abandoned their homes and businesses to pile into wagons and head to the mountains in search of gold. During the summer, news of the find swept all the way to the East Coast and beyond, and the California Gold Rush was on.

By the end of 1849, over 80,000 “Forty-Niners” had arrived in California hoping to make their fortunes. Mining towns sprang up overnight, and

the frenzy for gold led to chaos and violence. Needing a strong government to maintain order, Californians decided to seek statehood. With the encouragement of President Taylor, California applied to enter the Union as a free state in December 1849.

The Debate Begins At the time, there were 15 free states and 15 slave states. If California tipped the balance, the slaveholding states would become a minority in the Senate. Southerners dreaded losing power in national politics, fearful it would lead to limits on slavery. A few Southern politicians began to talk of **secession**—taking their states out of the Union.

In early 1850, one of the most senior and influential leaders in the Senate, Henry Clay of Kentucky, tried to find a compromise that would enable California to join the Union and resolve other sectional disputes. Clay, nicknamed “The Great Compromiser” because of his role in promoting the Missouri Compromise in 1820 and solving the nullification crisis in 1833, proposed eight resolutions.

The first pair would allow California to come in as a free state but would organize the rest of the Mexican cession without any restrictions on slavery. The second pair would settle a boundary dispute between New Mexico and Texas in favor of New Mexico, but it would compensate Texas by having the federal government take on its debts.

Clay’s third pair of resolutions would outlaw the slave trade in the District of Columbia but not slavery itself. The final two resolutions were concessions to the South. Congress would be prohibited from interfering with the domestic slave trade and would pass a stronger law to help Southerners recover enslaved African Americans who had fled north. These measures were intended to assure the South that the North would not try to abolish slavery after California joined the Union.

Clay’s proposal triggered a massive debate in Congress. Senator Calhoun, the great defender of the South’s rights, was unyielding. Although he was now dying from tuberculosis and too weak to address the Senate himself, he composed a reply to Clay and then sat, hollow-eyed and shrouded in blankets, as another senator read his words. Calhoun asserted that Northern agitation against slavery threatened to destroy the South, and that Clay’s compromise would not save the Union. The South needed an acceptance of its rights, the return of fugitive slaves, and a guarantee of balance between the sections. Otherwise, secession was the only honorable solution.

The Compromise of 1850

Legislative Item	Victory for?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> California admitted to the Union as free state 	Clear victory for the North
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Popular sovereignty to determine slavery issue in Utah and New Mexico territories 	Moderate victory for both sides
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Texas border dispute with New Mexico resolved Texas receives \$10 million 	Moderate Southern victories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slave trade, but not slavery itself, abolished in the District of Columbia 	Moderate Northern victory
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong federal enforcement of new Fugitive Slave Act 	Clear victory for the South

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** Did the new Fugitive Slave Act appeal to the North or the South?
- Generalizing** Which side, North or South, achieved more of its goals in the Compromise of 1850?





Three days later, Senator **Daniel Webster** of Massachusetts pleaded for the Senate to put national unity above sectional loyalties. He voiced his support for Clay's plan, which he believed to be the only hope of keeping the Union intact:

“I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American. . . . I speak today for the preservation of the Union. . . . Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. . . . I see as plainly as I see the sun in heaven what that disruption itself must produce; I see that it must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe.”

—from the *Congressional Globe*, 31st Congress

The Compromise of 1850 In the end, Congress did not pass Clay's bill, in part because President Taylor opposed it. Taylor, however, died unexpectedly in July 1850. Vice President Millard Fillmore succeeded him and quickly threw his support behind the compromise.

By the end of summer, Calhoun had also died, Webster had retired, and Clay was exhausted, leaving leadership of the Senate to younger men. Thirty-seven-year-old Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois deftly divided much of the large compromise initiative into several smaller bills. This allowed his colleagues from different sections to abstain or vote against whatever parts they disliked while supporting the rest. By September, Congress had passed all parts of the **Compromise of 1850** and President Fillmore had signed them into law, fulfilling Clay's original vision.

Reading Check **Summarizing** Why did the Gold Rush create a new crisis over slavery?

The Fugitive Slave Act

To Northerners, one of the most objectionable components of the Compromise of 1850 was the **Fugitive Slave Act**. Under this law, a slaveholder or slavecatcher had only to point out alleged runaways to have them taken into custody. The accused would then be brought before a federal commissioner. With no right to testify on their own behalf, even those who had earned their freedom years earlier had no way to prove their case. An affidavit asserting that the captive had escaped from a slaveholder, or testimony by white witnesses, was all a court needed to order the person sent South. Furthermore, federal commissioners had a financial incentive to rule in favor of slaveholders; such judgments earned them a \$10 fee, but judgments in favor of the accused paid only \$5.



Heroic Figure Harriet Tubman escaped from slavery when she was around 29 years old. She helped many others do the same, guiding them along the freedom route, the Underground Railroad.

The Fugitive Slave Act also required federal marshals to assist slavecatchers. Marshals could even deputize citizens on the spot to help them

capture an alleged fugitive. Anyone who refused to cooperate could be jailed.

Newspaper accounts of the unjust seizure of African Americans fueled Northern indignation. However, it was the requirement that ordinary citizens help capture runaways that drove many Northerners into active defiance. The abolitionist Frederick Douglass, himself an escapee from slavery, would work crowds into a furor over this part of the law. In emotional speeches, he would ask his audience if they would give a helpless runaway over to the “pursuing bloodhounds.” “No!” the crowd would roar.

Northerners justified their defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act on moral grounds. In his 1849 essay “Civil Disobedience,” Henry David Thoreau wrote that if the law “requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then I say, break the law.” In helping runaways, Northerners risked heavy fines and prison terms. Sometimes they even resorted to violence themselves. In a pamphlet, Douglass proposed “The True Remedy for the Fugitive Slave Law—A good revolver, a steady hand, and a determination to shoot down any man attempting to kidnap.”

The Underground Railroad A key to many African Americans' escape from the South was the **Underground Railroad**. This informal but well-organized network of abolitionists began to expand in the early 1830s and helped thousands of enslaved persons flee north. “Conductors” transported runaways in secret, gave them shelter and food along the way, and saw them to freedom in the Northern states or Canada with some money for a fresh start. Conductors used secret signals to communicate about how to proceed safely—a hand lifted palm outwards, for example, or a certain kind of tug at the ear. The most famous conductor was **Harriet Tubman**,

Slavery and the Underground Railroad 1830–1860



Doll of runaway child

Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** How far north did many underground routes reach?
- Applying Geography Skills** How many states had areas where more than 50 percent of the people were enslaved?

herself a runaway. Again and again, she risked journeys into the slave states to bring out men, women, and children.

Levi Coffin, a Quaker, sheltered a reported 2,000 escaped African Americans in his home in Indiana, where three Underground Railroad routes from the South converged. Coffin later moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he assisted another 1,300 slaves who had come from Kentucky to freedom.

Uncle Tom's Cabin Another Cincinnati resident at one time was the author **Harriet Beecher Stowe**. Her exposure to runaway slaves and the tragic reports she heard later about victims of the Fugitive Slave Law inspired her to “write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is.”

In 1851, from her home in Brunswick, Maine, Stowe began writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. After first running as a newspaper serial, the story came out the next year in book form and sold an astounding 300,000 copies. Stowe's depiction of the enslaved hero, Tom, and the villainous overseer, Simon Legree, aroused passionate antislavery sentiment in the North.

Southerners were outraged at Stowe's novel, and some accused Stowe of writing distortions and falsehoods. Despite Southern outrage, the book eventually sold millions of copies. It had such a dramatic impact on public opinion that many historians consider it a cause of the Civil War.

Reading Check Analyzing In what sense did the Fugitive Slave Act hurt the Southern cause?



New Territorial Troubles

In 1852 Franklin Pierce was elected president. As a pro-slavery Democrat from New Hampshire, he hoped he could help bridge the divide between North and South. Unfortunately, sectional tensions only worsened during his administration.

A Transcontinental Railroad By the early 1850s, many Americans no longer perceived the Great Plains region as the “Great American Desert.” Eager to survey and settle the fertile lands west of Missouri and Iowa, many farmers and land speculators called for the federal government to organize them as a territory.

At the same time, the opening of the Oregon country and the admission of California to the Union had convinced many business leaders, members of Congress, and farmers of the need for a **transcontinental railroad**—one that would cross the whole country. In the 1850s, getting to the West Coast required weeks of grueling overland travel or a long sea voyage around the tip of South America. A transcontinental railroad would reduce the journey to four relatively easy days and promote further growth in the territories along the route.

The transcontinental railroad had broad appeal, but the choice of its eastern starting point became a new cause of tension in the sectional conflict. Two central routes, a northern route, and a southern route were initially proposed.

Many Southerners favored the southern route, from New Orleans to San Diego, but the geography of the Southwest would require the railroad to pass through northern Mexico. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, a strong supporter of the South’s interests, found a solution. He urged President Pierce to send James Gadsden, a South Carolina politician and railroad promoter, to buy land from Mexico. In 1853 Mexico accepted \$10 million for the **Gadsden Purchase**—a 30,000-square-mile strip of land that today is part of southern Arizona and New Mexico.

Meanwhile, Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois had his own ideas for a transcontinental railroad. Douglas was from Illinois, and he wanted the eastern starting point to be in Chicago. He knew, however, that any route from the north would run through the unsettled lands west of Missouri and Iowa.

In 1853 Douglas prepared a bill to organize the region into a new territory to be called Nebraska. Although the House of Representatives passed the

bill quickly, key Southern committee leaders prevented it from coming to a vote in the Senate. These senators made it clear that before Nebraska could be organized, Congress would have to repeal part of the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery in the new territory.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act Stephen Douglas knew that any attempt to overturn the Missouri Compromise would create an uproar. Nevertheless, he wanted to open the northern Great Plains to settlement. At first, Douglas tried to dodge the issue and gain Southern support for his bill by saying that any states organized in the new Nebraska territory would be allowed to exercise popular sovereignty, deciding themselves whether to allow slavery.

This did not satisfy Southern leaders in the Senate. Therefore, in his next version of the bill, Douglas proposed to repeal the antislavery provision of the Missouri Compromise. He also proposed dividing the region into two territories. Nebraska would be the northernmost, adjacent to the free state of Iowa, and Kansas would be to the south, west of the slave state of Missouri. It appeared that Kansas would become a slave state while Nebraska would be a free state.

Northern Democrats and Whigs were outraged by Douglas’s bill. At first, so was President Pierce. However, when Douglas and Jefferson Davis warned the president that failure to go along might cause the South to secede, Pierce gave in and backed the bill.



Picturing History

Bleeding Kansas These antislavery settlers in Topeka, Kansas, were among those on both sides who resorted to violence. [What act triggered violence in Kansas?](#)



The president's support did nothing to calm Northern fury. Free-Soilers and antislavery Democrats charged that repealing the Missouri Compromise would break a solemn promise to limit the spread of slavery. Editorials, speeches, and sermons condemned the bill, and all of the state legislatures in the North except Illinois refused to endorse it. Finally, however, in May 1854, Congress passed the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**.

Bleeding Kansas Kansas became the first battleground between those favoring the extension of slavery and those opposing it. Hordes of Northerners hurried into the territory, intent on creating an antislavery majority. Before the March elections of 1855, however, thousands of armed Missourians—called “border ruffians” in the press—swarmed across the border to vote illegally in Kansas, helping to elect a pro-slavery legislature. Furious antislavery settlers countered by holding a convention in Topeka and drafting their own constitution that prohibited slavery. By March 1856, Kansas had two governments, one opposed to slavery and the other supporting it.

In the spring of 1856, border ruffians, worked up by the arrival of more Northern settlers, attacked the town of Lawrence, a stronghold of antislavery settlers. The attackers wrecked newspaper presses, plundered shops and homes, and then burned a hotel and the home of the elected free-state governor.

“Bleeding Kansas,” as newspapers dubbed the territory, became the scene of a territorial civil war between pro-slavery and antislavery settlers. By the end of 1856, 200 people had died in the fighting and \$2 million worth of property had been destroyed.

The Caning of Charles Sumner The growing violence over slavery soon came to the very center of government. In May 1856, Senator **Charles Sumner** of Massachusetts, a fiery abolitionist, delivered a speech accusing pro-slavery senators of forcing Kansas into the ranks of slave states. He singled out Senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina for an unusually personal attack.

Butler's cousin, Representative Preston Brooks, later approached Sumner at his desk in the Senate chamber. Shouting that Sumner had defamed his home state and his cousin, Brooks raised a gold-handled cane and savagely beat the senator, leaving him severely injured and bleeding on the floor.

Many Southerners considered Brooks to be a hero. Some Southerners even sent him canes to replace the broken original one. Northerners, shocked by the attack and by the flood of support for Brooks, strengthened their determination to resist the “barbarism of slavery.” One New York clergyman confided in his journal that “no way is left for the North, but to strike back, or be slaves.”

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did Stephen Douglas propose repealing part of the Missouri Compromise?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** popular sovereignty, secession, Underground Railroad, transcontinental railroad.
- Identify:** Wilmot Proviso, Harriet Tubman.

Reviewing Facts

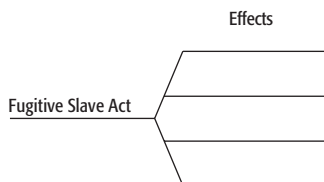
- Explain** why violence broke out in “Bleeding Kansas.”

Reviewing Themes

- Geography and History** How did the war with Mexico, the Gold Rush, and the goal of a transcontinental railroad affect the slavery issue?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** Antislavery activists defied the Fugitive Slave Act on the grounds that it was immoral. Do you think it is better to use civil disobedience or to work through the political or legal system in response to unjust laws?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the main effects of the Fugitive Slave Act.



Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Photographs** Study the poster on page 219 advertising an antislavery meeting. What was one main reason that the poster designers opposed slavery?
- Analyzing Maps** Study the map on page 222 of slavery and the Underground Railroad. What two main cities are shown to be destinations from Southern port cities?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Write a research report about the Underground Railroad, the California Gold Rush, or the Great Compromiser, Henry Clay.



Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

Predicting Consequences

Why Learn This Skill?

Did you ever wish you could see into the future? Although predicting future events is very difficult, you can develop skills that will help you identify the logical consequences of decisions or actions.

Learning the Skill

Follow these steps to help you accurately predict consequences:

- Review what you already know about a situation by listing facts, events, and people's responses. The list will help you recall events and how they affected people.
- Analyze patterns. Try to determine what the patterns show.
- Use your knowledge and observations of similar situations. In other words, ask yourself, "What were the consequences of a similar decision or action that occurred in the past?"
- Analyze each of the potential consequences by asking, "How likely is it that this will occur?"
- Make a prediction.

Practicing the Skill

Candidates for public office often make campaign promises based on how they think voters will respond. Use the information in the chart on this page to help you predict what type of candidate would be elected president in 1848. Then answer the questions that follow.

- 1 What event initially forced candidates to address the issue of slavery in new territories?
- 2 Review the facts and events listed on the chart. Do you notice any patterns? What do the facts tell you about the 1840s?
- 3 What kind of president do you think Northerners would want? Southerners?

Events of the 1840s

Results and Reactions

Victory in war with Mexico creates new territory in Southwest.	→ Americans torn over whether area should be free or slave territory.
Wilmot Proviso proposes ban on slavery in any area taken from Mexico.	→ Southerners are outraged.
Members of Congress try to avoid issue of slavery in territories.	→ Northerners and Southerners continue to angrily debate the issue.
Popular sovereignty lets settlers decide whether territories should be free or not.	→ Abolitionists argue against popular sovereignty; many Northerners support it.
Whig Party nomination of Zachary Taylor angers some party members.	→ Many Northern Whigs split and join with others to create the Free-Soil Party.

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 241 and the Chapter 6 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Predicting Consequences Read several newspaper articles about an event affecting your community today. Make an educated prediction about what will happen, and explain your reasoning. Write a letter to the editor, summarizing your prediction. You may want to check back at a later time to see if your prediction came true.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

SECTION 2 The Crisis Deepens

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

The slavery controversy accelerated the breakdown of the major political parties and the growth of hostility between North and South.

Key Terms and Names

Republican Party, Dred Scott, referendum, insurrection, Harpers Ferry

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the widening split between the North and the South, use the major headings of the section to complete the outline started below.

The Crisis Deepens
I. Political Developments
A.
B.
II.
A.
B.

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the origins of the Republican Party and the fate of the Whigs and the Know-Nothings.
- **Explain** the significance of the *Dred Scott* decision, the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, and John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.

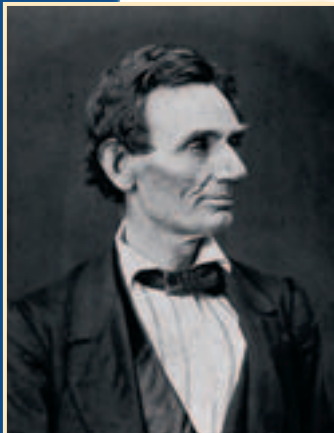
Section Theme

Groups and Institutions Americans forged new political alliances in the 1850s.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Abraham Lincoln

By the 1850s, feelings were running high among Northerners and Southerners over whether slavery should be allowed in new territories. These strong feelings also tore old political parties apart and created new ones. Soon after Abraham Lincoln, a congressman from Illinois, was defeated in his race for senator, he wrote to a Springfield friend:

“I think I am a Whig; but others say there are not Whigs, and that I am an abolitionist. . . . I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. I am not a Know-Nothing. . . . How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people? . . . As a nation, we began by declaring ‘all men are created equal.’ We now practically read it ‘all men are created equal except negroes.’ When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read ‘all men are created equal, except negroes, and foreigners, and catholics.’ When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty—to Russia for instance. . . .”

—quoted in *Abraham Lincoln*

Political Developments

When the Kansas-Nebraska Act made the delicate balance previously maintained by the Missouri Compromise obsolete, it enraged many opponents of slavery because it reopened the territories to slavery. While a few people struck back with violence, others worked for change through the political system.



The Birth of the Republican Party The Kansas-Nebraska Act shattered the Whig Party. Every Northern Whig in Congress had voted against the bill, while most Southern Whigs had supported it. “We Whigs of the North,” wrote one member from Connecticut, “are unalterably determined never to have even the slightest political correspondence or connexion” with the Southern Whigs.

Many Northern Whigs left their party and joined forces with Free-Soilers and a few antislavery Democrats during the congressional elections of 1854. These antislavery coalitions officially organized as the **Republican Party** in July 1854. They chose that name to link themselves to Jefferson’s original Democratic-Republican Party. Just as Jefferson had wanted to prevent the United States from becoming a monarchy, the new Republicans wanted to stop Southern planters from becoming an aristocracy that controlled the government.

Republicans did not agree on whether slavery should be abolished in the Southern states, but they did agree that it had to be kept out of the territories. A large majority of Northern voters seemed to agree, enabling the Republicans to make great strides in the elections of 1854.

At the same time, public anger against the Northern Democrats enabled the American Party—better known as the Know-Nothings—to make gains as well, particularly in the Northeast. The American Party was an anti-Catholic and nativist party. It hoped to prolong the naturalization process, weakening immigrant influence. In the 1840s and early 1850s, a large number of immigrants, many of them Irish and German Catholics, had begun to arrive. Prejudice and fears that immigrants would take away jobs enabled the Know-Nothings to win many seats in Congress and the state legislatures in 1854.

The party quickly began to founder, however. Soon after the 1854 elections, Know-Nothings from the Upper South split with Know-Nothings from the North over their support for the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Furthermore, most Americans considered slavery a far more important issue than immigration. Eventually, the Republican Party absorbed the Northern Know-Nothings, strengthening Republican power in the North.

The Election of 1856 To gain the widest possible support in the 1856 presidential campaign, the Republicans nominated John C. Frémont, a famous

Political Parties of the Era		
Party	Characteristics	Major Leaders
Whig (1834–1854)	Party strongly divided into sectional factions; united only in opposition to Democratic Party	Daniel Webster, Henry Clay
Democrat (1828–present)	Largely controlled federal government from 1828 to 1860 but increasingly dominated by Southern Democrats after 1840	John C. Calhoun
Liberty (1839–c. 1844)	Promoted abolition of slavery; after Liberty Party’s failure, members supported Free-Soil and Republican Parties	James Birney
Free-Soil (1848–1854)	Composed of Liberty Party members, antislavery Whigs, and antislavery New York Democrats	Martin Van Buren, Charles Francis Adams
Republican (c. 1854–present)	Composed of Northern Whigs and Free-Soilers; opposed further expansion of slavery	Abraham Lincoln
American Party (Know-Nothings) (1849–c. 1860)	Anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic	Millard Fillmore (former Whig)

Source: Encarta Encyclopedia

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** Which party had the shortest life span?
- Drawing Conclusions** Which party listed did not have an obvious connection to the slavery issue?





Britain during the debate over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and had not taken a public stand on the issue. Yet Buchanan's previous record in Congress showed that he believed the best way to save the Union was to make concessions to the South.

The American Party tried to reunite its Northern and Southern members at its convention, but most of the Northern delegates walked out when the party refused to call for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The remaining Know-Nothings then chose former president Millard Fillmore to represent them.

The campaign was really two separate contests, Buchanan against Frémont in the North, and Buchanan against Fillmore in the South. Buchanan had solid support in the South and only needed his home state of Pennsylvania and one other in the North to win the presidency. Democrats campaigned on the idea that only he could save the Union. When the votes were counted, Buchanan had won easily.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What events led to the founding of the Republican Party?

Sectional Divisions Grow

Buchanan took office determined to adopt policies that would calm the growing sectional strife in the country. Yet a series of events during the opening months of his presidency helped to drive Northerners and Southerners even further apart.

The Dred Scott Decision Just two days after Buchanan's inauguration, the Supreme Court ruled in a landmark case involving slavery, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. **Dred Scott** was a Missouri slave who had been taken north to work in free territory for several years. After he returned with his slaveholder to Missouri, Scott sued to end his slavery, arguing that living in free territory had made him a free man.

On March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court ruled against Scott. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney first stated that African Americans could not be U.S. citizens and that Scott thus had no right to sue in the federal courts. Taney then held that Scott's residence in free territory did not alter his enslaved status. Furthermore, Taney said, Congress's ban on slavery in the western territories, enacted as part of the Missouri Compromise, was unconstitutional and void. He reasoned that the Fifth Amendment protected slaveholders from being deprived of their property.

Picturing History

Front Page News Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (right) delivered the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Dred Scott* case. The decision made Scott a topic for the nation's press. **What impression of Scott's family do you get from the engravings shown here?**



Western explorer nicknamed "The Pathfinder." Frémont had helped California become a free state and had spoken in favor of Kansas becoming a free state as well. Frémont had little political experience, but he also had few enemies and no embarrassing record to defend.

The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, a Pennsylvanian who could deliver the many electoral votes of his home state, then the second-largest in the Union. Despite his Northern roots, Buchanan also appealed to Southern Democrats because he had been serving as ambassador to



While Democrats cheered the *Dred Scott* decision, Republicans called it a “willful perversion” of the Constitution, containing “gross historical falsehoods.” They also claimed that the decision about slavery in the territories was not binding. If *Dred Scott* could not legally bring suit, they argued, then the Supreme Court should have dismissed the case without considering the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise. 📖 (For more on *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, see page 962.)

Kansas’s Lecompton Constitution After the *Dred Scott* decision, the conflict in “Bleeding Kansas” intensified. President Buchanan, hoping to end the troubles, urged the territory to apply for statehood. The pro-slavery legislature scheduled an election for delegates to a constitutional convention, but antislavery Kansans boycotted it. The resulting constitution, drafted in 1857 in the town of Lecompton, legalized slavery in the territory.

An antislavery majority then voted down the **Lecompton constitution** in a territory-wide **referendum**, or popular vote on an issue. Under pressure from Southern members of Congress, Buchanan ignored the vote and asked Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state. Stephen Douglas strongly disagreed, but the Senate endorsed statehood. Republicans and Northern Democrats in the House blocked the measure, arguing that it ignored the people’s will.

Finally, in 1858, President Buchanan and Southern leaders in Congress agreed to allow another referendum in Kansas. If settlers did not approve the Lecompton constitution this time, they would have to defer statehood until their population reached 90,000—a significant delay. Nonetheless, the voters in Kansas overwhelmingly rejected the Lecompton constitution. They did not want slavery in their state. Not until 1861 did Kansas become a state—a free one.

✔ **Reading Check Explaining** Why did *Dred Scott* sue the slaveholder who held him?

Lincoln and Douglas

In 1858 Illinois Republicans chose a relative unknown named Abraham Lincoln to run for the Senate against the Democratic incumbent, Stephen A. Douglas. Lincoln launched his campaign in June with a memorable speech about the rift in the country:

“A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure, permanently

Fact

Fiction

Folklore

“Born in a Log Cabin” The image of a “common man” president was appealing to campaign managers in the 1800s. As voting rights spread beyond landowners, the candidate with humble roots was a potent political image. Although many nineteenth-century candidates sought to appeal to the masses, only five presidents were actually born in a log home: Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Abraham Lincoln, and James Garfield. Of these five, Jackson, Lincoln, and Garfield experienced serious poverty in childhood. William Henry Harrison campaigned with images of a log cabin childhood, but he was actually born into an elite Virginia family that was acquainted with George Washington.



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. 🗨️

—quoted in *The Civil War, An Illustrated History*

The nationally prominent Douglas, a short, stocky man nicknamed “The Little Giant,” regularly drew large crowds on the campaign trail. Seeking to overcome Douglas’s fame, Lincoln proposed a series of debates, which would expose him to larger audiences than he could attract on his own. Douglas agreed to seven debates across the state.

Lincoln had entered politics after modest beginnings as a storekeeper, rail-splitter, and frontier lawyer. He proved himself a gifted debater, mixing logic with witty remarks, quotations from scripture, and appealing, homespun stories.

Although he was not an abolitionist, Lincoln believed slavery to be morally wrong, and he opposed its spread into western territories. Douglas, by contrast, supported popular sovereignty. He would accept any decision, for or against slavery, if the settlers voted for it. During a debate in Freeport, Lincoln asked Douglas if the people of a territory could legally exclude slavery before achieving statehood. If Douglas said yes, he would appear to be championing popular sovereignty and opposing the *Dred Scott* ruling, which would cost him Southern



support. If he said no, it would seem as if he had abandoned popular sovereignty, the principle on which he had built his national following.

Douglas tried to avoid the dilemma, formulating an answer that became known as the **Freeport Doctrine**. He replied that he accepted the *Dred Scott* decision, but he argued that people could still keep out slavery by refusing to pass the laws needed to regulate and enforce it. “Slavery cannot exist . . . anywhere,” said Douglas, “unless it is supported by local police regulations.” Douglas’s response pleased Illinois voters but angered Southerners.

Lincoln also attacked Douglas for claiming that he “cared not” whether Kansans voted for or against slavery. Denouncing the idea that slavery was as acceptable as freedom, Lincoln asked:

“Has any thing ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever

threatened our liberty and prosperity save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You may have a wen [sore] or cancer upon your person and not be able to cut it out lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong.”

—quoted in *The Civil War: Opposing Viewpoints*

Douglas won the election, retaining his Senate seat, but Lincoln did not come away empty-handed. He had seized the opportunity in the debates to make clear the principles of the Republican Party. He had also established a national reputation for himself as a clear, insightful thinker who could argue with force and eloquence.

 **Reading Check** **Comparing** How did Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln differ in their positions on slavery?

History Through Art

Charleston Confrontation Lincoln and Douglas matched wits seven times during the 1858 senatorial campaign. This painting by Robert Root shows them in Charleston, Illinois. One Republican and one Democratic newspaper published every word. [How did the debates help Lincoln?](#)





John Brown's Raid

About a year after the Lincoln-Douglas debates, national attention shifted to **John Brown**, a fervent abolitionist who opposed slavery not with words but with a gun. Brown had inflamed the violence in the Kansas conflict. After pro-slavery forces sacked the town of Lawrence, Brown took revenge by abducting and murdering five pro-slavery settlers living near Pottawatomie Creek.

In 1859 Brown developed a plan to incite an **insurrection**, or rebellion, against slaveholders. He would first conduct a raid into the Appalachian foothills, then move southward in hopes of attracting enslaved African Americans as he went. In his efforts, Brown had encouragement and financial aid from several Eastern abolitionists.

To obtain weapons, Brown planned to seize the federal arsenal at **Harpers Ferry**, Virginia (now West Virginia). On the night of October 16, 1859, Brown and about 18 followers attacked the arsenal. To the terrified night watchman, he announced, "I came here from Kansas, and this is a slave state; I want to free all the [African Americans] in this state; I have possession now of the United States armory, and if the citizens interfere with me I must only burn the town and have blood."

Soon, however, Brown was facing a contingent of U.S. Marines rushed to Harpers Ferry from Washington, D.C., and commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee. After 10 of his men were killed, Brown surrendered—less than 36 hours after his attack had begun. A Virginia court tried and convicted him and

sentenced him to death. In his last words to the court, Brown, repenting nothing, declared:

“I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done in behalf of [God’s] despised poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle my blood . . . with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done!”

—quoted in *John Brown, 1800–1859*

On December 2, the day of his execution, Brown handed one of his jailers a prophetic note: "I, John Brown, am now quite *certain* that the crimes of this *guilty land* will never be purged *away* but with Blood. I had . . . *vainly* flattered myself that without *very much* bloodshed it might be done."

Many Northerners viewed Brown as a martyr in a noble cause. The execution, Henry David Thoreau predicted, would strengthen abolitionist feeling in the North. "He is not old Brown any longer," Thoreau declared, "he is an angel of light."

For most Southerners, however, Brown's raid offered all the proof they needed that Northerners were actively plotting the murder of slaveholders. "Defend yourselves!" cried Georgia senator Robert Toombs. "The enemy is at your door!"

Reading Check **Evaluating** In what ways might a Northerner and a Southerner view John Brown's action?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** referendum, insurrection.
2. **Identify:** Republican Party, Dred Scott, Harpers Ferry.

Reviewing Facts

3. **Summarize** the ideas of the Freeport Doctrine.

Reviewing Themes

4. **Groups and Institutions** What were the main goals of the Republican and American Parties?

Critical Thinking

5. **Synthesizing** How did the ruling in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* increase sectional division?
6. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to group key events of the period according to whether they were executive, legislative, judicial, or nongovernmental.

Executive	
Legislative	
Judicial	
Nongovernmental	

Analyzing Visuals

7. **Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 228 of the newspaper clipping depicting the Dred Scott family. What do you notice about the way the family is dressed? How would you describe their social class?

Writing About History

8. **Expository Writing** Imagine you have just read a newspaper report on the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Dred Scott* case or on John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Write a letter to the editor explaining your reaction.

SECTION 3 The Union Dissolves

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

The election of Abraham Lincoln as president and the secession of Southern states pushed the nation into civil war.

Key Terms and Names

Crittenden's Compromise, Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, Fort Sumter, martial law

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read this section, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the chain of events that led to civil war.

Triggering Events	Effects

Reading Objectives

- **Discuss** the presidential election of 1860.
- **Explain** how and why the Civil War began.

Section Theme

Civic Rights and Responsibilities In the troubled days after Lincoln's election, many Southerners who placed loyalty to their states above loyalty to the Union spearheaded secession.

Preview of Events

♦ January 1861

December 1860

South Carolina secedes from the Union

♦ March 1861

February 1861

Confederate States of America formed

♦ May 1861

April 12

Fort Sumter bombarded

April 17

Virginia secedes

★ An American Story ★



Mary Chesnut

"I do not pretend to sleep," wrote Mary Chesnut of the night of April 12, 1861. "How can I?" Hours earlier, her husband, former South Carolina senator James Chesnut, had gone by rowboat to Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. He was delivering an ultimatum to U.S. Army Major Robert Anderson to surrender the fort by four o'clock in the morning or be fired upon by the South Carolina militia.

Through the long night Mary Chesnut lay awake, until she heard chimes from a local church ring four times. The hour of surrender had arrived, and, she confessed, "I beg[an] to hope." But her hopes of a peaceful outcome faded when, a half hour later, she heard the cannons begin to boom. "I sprang out of bed. And on my knees . . . I prayed as I never prayed before."

In a nightgown and shawl, Chesnut ran to the roof, where others had gathered to watch the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The sectional conflict that had brewed in debate and broken out in periodic violence had become a war. On her rooftop, Mary Chesnut shivered and felt the first terrifying evidence of the horrors to come. "The regular roar of the cannon—there it was. And who could tell what each volley accomplished of death and destruction."

—adapted from *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*

The Election of 1860

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry was a turning point for the South. The possibility of an African American uprising had long haunted many Southerners. Now they were terrified and enraged by the idea that Northerners would deliberately try to arm enslaved people and encourage them to rebel.



Although Republican leaders quickly denounced Brown's raid, many Southern newspapers and politicians blamed Republicans for the attack. To many Southerners, the key point was that both the Republicans and John Brown opposed slavery. With the elections of 1860 looming, Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia warned that the South would "never permit this Federal government to pass into the traitorous hands of the Black Republican party."

The Democrats Split In April 1860, with the South still in an uproar, Democrats from across the United States began arriving in Charleston, South Carolina, to choose their nominee for president. Southern Democrats wanted their party to uphold the *Dred Scott* decision and defend slaveholders' rights in the territories. Northern Democrats, led by Stephen Douglas, preferred to continue supporting popular sovereignty. When Northerners also rebuffed the idea of a federal slave code in the territories, 50 Southern delegates stormed out of the convention. The walkout meant that neither Douglas nor anyone else could muster the two-thirds majority needed to become the party's nominee. After 57 ballots, the tired and angry delegates decided to adjourn.

In June 1860, the Democrats reconvened in Baltimore. Again, after more wrangling, Southern delegates walked out. The Democrats who remained then chose Stephen Douglas to run for president. The Southerners who had bolted organized their own convention in Richmond and nominated **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky, the sitting vice president.

Meanwhile, many former Whigs and others were alarmed at the prospect of Southern secession. They created a new party, the Constitutional Union Party, and chose former Tennessee senator **John Bell** as their presidential candidate. The party took no position on the issues dividing North and South. Their purpose, they said, was to uphold both the Constitution and the Union.

TURNING POINT

Lincoln Is Elected The Republicans, realizing they stood no chance in the South, needed a candidate who could sweep most of the North. They turned to Abraham Lincoln, who had gained a national reputation during his earlier debates with Douglas.

During the campaign, the Republicans tried to persuade voters that they were more than just an antislavery party. Although they remained true to

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC
The Election of 1860

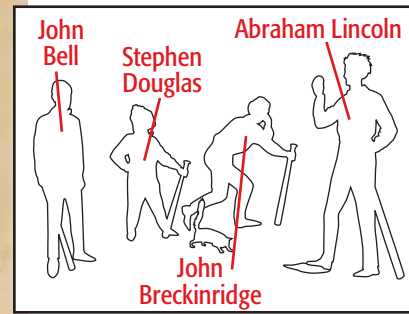
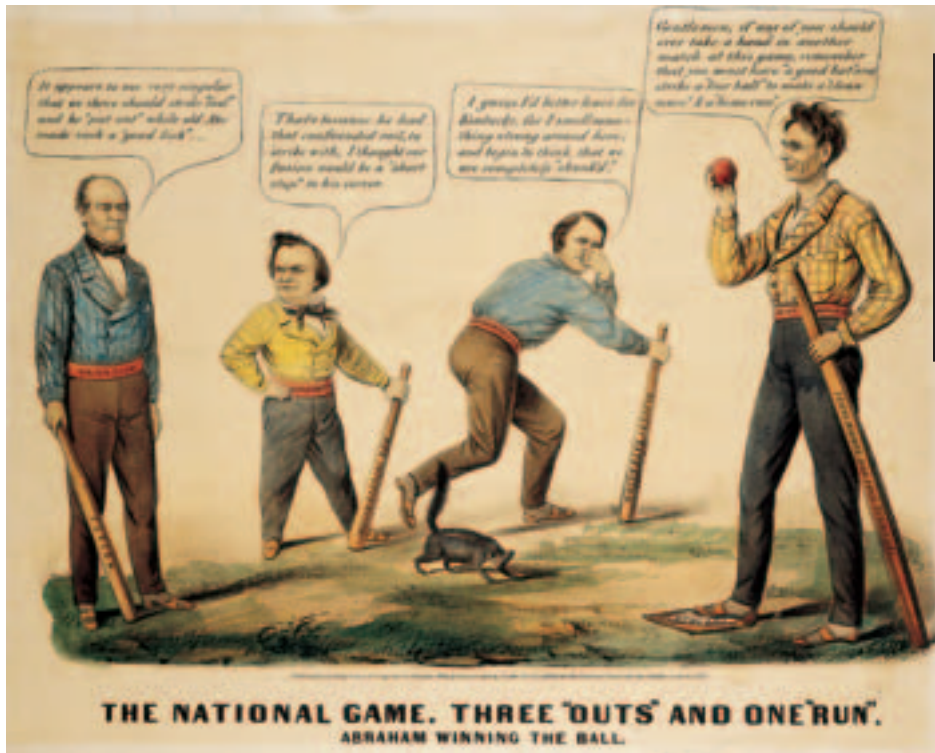
Abraham Lincoln

Geography Skills

1. **Interpreting Maps** How does the map show that Lincoln was a sectional candidate?
2. **Applying Geography Skills** What explains the fact that Stephen Douglas won only one state, Missouri?

Presidential Election, 1860			
Candidate	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote	Political Party
Lincoln	1,865,593	180	Republican
Douglas	1,382,713	12	Northern Democrat
Breckinridge	848,356	72	Southern Democrat
Bell	592,906	39	Constitutional Union





Analyzing Political Cartoons

Baseball and Politics In this cartoon, baseball terms are used to explain Lincoln's 1860 victory. John Bell is sad the opponents struck out. Stephen Douglas claims Lincoln had the advantage of his "rail," and John Breckinridge admits they were "skunk'd." [Why is Lincoln pictured with a rail?](#)

their free-soil principles, they reaffirmed the right of the Southern states to preserve slavery within their borders. They also supported higher tariffs to protect manufacturers and workers, a new homestead law for settlers in the West, and federal funds for a transcontinental railroad.

The Republican proposals greatly angered many Southerners. As expected, Lincoln won no Southern states; in fact, his name did not even appear on the ballot in some states. The Lower South went for Breckinridge, while Douglas divided the votes of the border states with Bell. The Republicans won in only their second national campaign. Lincoln won with the electoral votes of all of the free states except New Jersey, whose votes he split with Douglas.

Secession Many Southerners viewed Lincoln's election as a threat to their society and culture, even their lives. For many, there was now no choice but to secede.

The dissolution of the Union began with South Carolina, where secessionist sentiment had been burning the hottest for many years. Shortly after Lincoln's election, the state legislature called for a convention. On December 20, 1860, amid marching bands, fireworks, and militia drills, the convention unanimously voted to repeal the state's ratification of the Constitution and dissolve its ties to the Union.

By February 1, 1861, six more states in the Lower South—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had also voted to secede. Although some people in these states did not want to

leave the Union, many Southerners viewed secession as similar to the American Revolution—a necessary course of action to uphold people's rights.

Reading Check Identifying What event triggered the secession of the Lower South?

Compromise Fails

Although Lincoln was elected president in November 1860, he would not be inaugurated until the following March. The Union's initial response to secession was the responsibility of President Buchanan. Declaring that the government had no authority to forcibly preserve the Union, Buchanan urged Congress to be conciliatory.

Peace Efforts In December, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky proposed a series of amendments to the Constitution. **Crittenden's Compromise**, as the newspapers called it, would guarantee slavery where it already existed. It would also reinstate the Missouri Compromise line and extend it all the way to the California border. Slavery would be prohibited in all territories north of the line and protected in all territories south of the line.

At Lincoln's request, congressional Republicans voted against Crittenden's Compromise. Accepting slavery in any of the territories, Lincoln argued, "acknowledges that slavery has equal rights with liberty, and surrenders all we have contended for."





Finally, in a last-ditch effort to reverse secession, delegates from 21 states held a peace conference in Washington, D.C., in February 1861. No representatives showed up from the secessionist states, however, and the conference achieved little.

Founding the Confederacy On the same day the peace conference opened, delegates from the seceding states met at a convention in Montgomery, Alabama. There, on February 8, they declared themselves to be a new nation—the Confederate States of America, also known as the **Confederacy**. They drafted a frame of government based largely on the U.S. Constitution but with some important changes. The Confederate Constitution acknowledged the independence of each state, guaranteed slavery in Confederate territory, banned protective tariffs, and limited the president to a single six-year term.

The convention delegates chose former Mississippi senator **Jefferson Davis** to be president. In his inaugural address, Davis declared, “The time for compromise has now passed. The South is determined to . . . make all who oppose her smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel.” He then called on the remaining Southern states to join the Confederacy.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What measures were taken to try and reverse the South’s secession?

The Civil War Begins

In the months between his election and the time he took office, Lincoln had watched anxiously as the nation fell apart. In his inaugural speech on March 4, 1861, Lincoln addressed the seceding states directly. He repeated his commitment not to interfere with slavery where it already existed, but insisted that “the Union of these States is perpetual.” He did not threaten to attack the seceded states, but he did announce his intention to “hold, occupy, and possess” federal property in those states. Lincoln also made an eloquent plea for reconciliation:

“In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no

conflict, without yourselves being the aggressors. . . . We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.”

—from Lincoln’s Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861

Fort Sumter Falls In April Lincoln announced that he intended to send needed supplies to **Fort Sumter** in Charleston Harbor, one of the few federal military bases that Southerners had not already seized. The Confederacy now faced a dilemma. To tolerate U.S. troops in the South’s most vital Atlantic harbor seemed unacceptable for a sovereign nation. However, firing on the supply ship would undoubtedly provoke war with the United States.

President Jefferson Davis decided to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter before the supply ship arrived, but U.S. Army Major Robert Anderson stood fast. Confederate forces then bombarded Fort Sumter for 33 hours on April 12 and 13, until Anderson and his exhausted men gave up. No one had been killed, but the Civil War had begun.



Jefferson Davis

GEOGRAPHY

Hanging On to the Border States After the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the military for 90 days. Lincoln’s action created a crisis in the Upper South. Many people in those states did not want to secede, but they were not willing to take up arms against fellow Southerners. Between April 17 and June 8, 1861, four more states chose to leave the Union—Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. The Confederate Congress then established Richmond, Virginia, as the capital.

With the Upper South gone, Lincoln could not afford to lose the slaveholding border states as well. Delaware seemed safe, but Lincoln worried about Kentucky, Missouri, and particularly Maryland. Virginia’s secession had placed a Confederate state

CLICK HERE

HISTORY
Online

Student Web Activity Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 6** for an activity on sectional conflicts.

across the Potomac River from the nation's capital. If Maryland joined the South, Washington, D.C., would be surrounded by Confederate territory.

To prevent Maryland's secession, Lincoln imposed **martial law**—military rule—in Baltimore, where angry mobs had already attacked federal troops. Under martial law, anyone supporting secession could be arrested and held without trial. Although many people objected to this suspension of their rights, Maryland stayed in the Union.

In the border states of Kentucky and Missouri, fighting erupted. Kentucky initially declared neutrality in the conflict, but when Confederate troops occupied part of Kentucky, the state declared war on the Confederacy, and Lincoln sent troops to help. In Missouri, despite strong public support for the Confederacy, the state convention voted to stay in the Union. A struggle then erupted between convention leaders who organized a pro-Union government and secessionists led by the governor.

In the end, Missouri stayed in the Union with the support of federal forces. There and elsewhere, the war shattered old loyalties and made enemies of former friends. For the next several years, the bloody war between the states divided Americans and resulted in hundreds of thousands of casualties.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why was Maryland important to the Union?

Causes and Effects of the Civil War

Causes

- Disagreement over the legality, morality, and politics of slavery
- Kansas-Nebraska Act sparked violence in Kansas.
- *Dred Scott* ruling voided any limitations on expansion of slavery.
- John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry polarized North and South.
- Southern states seceded from the Union.
- Confederates attacked Fort Sumter in South Carolina.

Effects

- Slavery was outlawed in the United States.
- Southern states rebuilt their economy.
- African Americans gained citizenship and voting rights.
- The first U.S. civil rights laws were passed.

Graphic Organizer Skills

Mounting sectional tensions erupted into open warfare in 1861.

Analyzing What do you think was the most important cause of the Civil War? Why?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** *Confederacy, martial law.*
2. **Identify:** Crittenden's Compromise, Jefferson Davis, Fort Sumter.

Reviewing Facts

3. **State** who the president of the Confederacy was.

Reviewing Themes

4. **Civic Rights and Responsibilities** Secessionists believed they had the right to break from the Union, just as the American colonists felt they had the right to declare independence from Britain. How were the two situations similar? How were they different?

Critical Thinking

5. **Evaluating** Although Confederates fired the first shots of the Civil War, Jefferson Davis argued that the North was to blame for having provoked the Fort Sumter attack. In your opinion, which side began the war? Explain.
6. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the candidates in the 1860 election and their political positions.

Party	Candidate	Position
Northern Democrats		
Southern Democrats		
Constitutional Unionists		
Republicans		

Analyzing Visuals

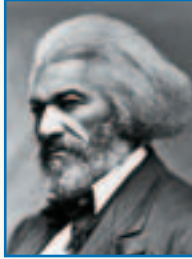
7. **Examining Maps** Study the map on page 233 showing the results of the presidential election in 1860. Which candidate won the border states between the North and the Deep South?
8. **Analyzing Political Cartoons** Study the cartoon on page 234 about the presidential election of 1860. What does the use of a baseball comparison imply about politics?

Writing About History

9. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are an adviser to President Lincoln, and you have just heard about the firing on Fort Sumter. Write a brief report for the president, advising him on what steps to take next.



American LITERATURE



Frederick Douglass was born into slavery in Maryland in 1818. During the course of his incredible life, he escaped from slavery and eventually became renowned for eloquent lectures and writings for the causes of abolition and liberty. One of his most famous works is his autobiography about growing up under the shadow of slavery. In the following excerpt, Douglass is around eight years old, and Mrs. Auld, the wife of his slaveholder, has begun to teach him to read. Mr. Auld discovers what his wife has been doing, and his reaction causes young Frederick to decide to learn to read on his own, no matter what.

Read to Discover

Why did some slaveholders not want the enslaved to learn to read?

Reader's Dictionary

sentiments: feelings

revelation: discovery

conscious: aware

diligently: with great effort

from Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass

by Frederick Douglass

"Now," said [Mr. Auld], "if you teach that [boy] how to read, there would be no keeping him. It would forever unfit him to be a slave. He would at once become unmanageable, and of no value to his master. As to himself, it could do him no good, but a great deal of harm. It would make him discontented and unhappy." These words sank deep into my heart, stirred up sentiments within that lay slumbering, and called into existence an entirely new train of thought. It was a new and special revelation, explaining dark and mysterious things, with which my youthful understanding had struggled, but struggled in vain. . . . From that moment, I understood the pathway from slavery to freedom. It was just what I wanted, and I got it at a time when I least expected it. Whilst I was saddened by the thought of losing the aid of my kind mistress, I was gladdened by the invaluable instruction which, by the merest accident, I had gained from my master. Though conscious of the difficulty of learning without a teacher, I set out with high hope, and a fixed purpose, at whatever cost of trouble, to learn to read. . . . That which to [Mr. Auld] was a great evil, to be carefully shunned, was to me a

great good, to be diligently sought; and the argument which he so warmly urged, against my learning to read, only served to inspire me with a desire and determination to learn. In learning to read, I owe almost as much to the bitter opposition of my master, as to the kindly aid of my mistress. I acknowledge the benefit of both.



Analyzing Literature

- 1. Recall** Why did Mr. Auld oppose the idea of Douglass learning to read?
- 2. Interpret** What do you think Douglass means when he speaks of "a revelation, explaining dark and mysterious things"?
- 3. Evaluate and Connect** How would you feel if someone had forbidden you to learn to read?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Art Design a poster promoting literacy. Include reasons why everyone should learn to read and write and get an education.

Looking Back...

The Declaration of Independence

Why It Matters As late as 1860, Jefferson Davis was delivering speeches calling for peace and discouraging Southern secessionists. In 1861, however, delegates from seceding states met in Montgomery and elected Davis president of the Confederacy. Despite his fears about the South's ability to win the war, Davis spoke eloquently in his inaugural address about the justice of the Southern cause. Like many Southerners, Davis believed they were following the principle on which the nation was founded: that people should not have to live under a government that infringes on their basic rights.

The North's point of view was quite different: Southerners were destroying the nation by placing their authority above that of the federal government. The origins of this feud trace back to the Declaration of Independence. In crafting this document, the Founders advocated an entirely new relationship between a government and its citizens. They prompted a continuing debate over how to balance individual and states' rights with the power of a central authority.



Steps to . . . the Declaration of Independence

Over many centuries, there was little development in political theory that addressed the relationship between the individual and the government. The changes that came about after the period known as the Enlightenment culminated in the 1700s with the American Declaration of Independence.

Government by and for the People With very few exceptions, the world knew only monarchies and absolute rulers at the time the Declaration of Independence was written.

Drawing from new political theories, the Declaration put forth a different idea: governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." In other words, governments exist to serve the people.

The main function of a government, the document declared, was to protect the "unalienable rights" of its citizens—the most important of which were the rights to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." When a government failed to live up to this obligation, the people had the right to "throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

In shaping this political philosophy, the Founders looked to the works of many people, including such classical thinkers as Aristotle, who had identified

"Our present condition . . . illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established."

—Jefferson Davis, 1861



Signing of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia

three forms of government—democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy. The Founders believed the best government would combine all three forms of government and balance them against each other. The Constitution partly reflects these ideas. The president received powers similar to a monarch; the Senate was intended to protect the elite; and the House of Representatives, elected by the people, was the most democratic. The Founders also looked to the ideas of eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers. The greatest influence on American thinking, however, was probably the English philosopher John Locke. Locke's writings promoted the idea that power in society rested ultimately with its citizens.

A List of Grievances In declaring their independence from Britain, colonial leaders argued that the British government had failed to live up to its obligations to the colonists. In a section that has become known as the list of grievances, the Declaration of Independence spells out precisely how the British king had suppressed the rights of the colonists and failed to look out for their interests.

These 27 charges against the king were patterned after several documents, including the English Bill of Rights (1689), which criticized various actions of the king. Ideas for the Declaration's list of grievances also came from several papers of the Stamp Act Congress and the First and Second Continental Congress.

A Debate Over the Constitution The underlying belief of the Declaration of Independence was that government derives its power from the people. This core idea led to a great debate in 1787 over whether to ratify the U.S. Constitution. Those who supported the Constitution, known as Federalists, favored a strong central government in order to create a more organized and unified nation. Antifederalists, those who opposed the Constitution, feared that the creation of a strong central government eventually would lead to

the same kind of tyranny that the colonists had endured under Britain.

In particular, the Antifederalists criticized the fact that the proposed Constitution did not contain a bill of rights to protect the personal liberties of the people. The absence of such protections, argued one Antifederalist leader, "put Civil Liberty and happiness of the people at the Mercy of Rulers who may possess the great unguarded powers given."

Promoting Limited Government In the end, the Federalists agreed to add a bill of rights to the Constitution. The Bill of Rights is the name given to the first ten amendments to the Constitution. These amendments guarantee Americans protection of their basic civil rights, some of which they had demanded in the Declaration of Independence. These included the right to oppose or petition the government for change, the right to a trial by jury, and the right to refuse the quartering of soldiers.

In various other ways, the U.S. Constitution sought to limit the power of government and promote the rights of the people. It created three distinct branches of government: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The colonists distrusted concentrated political power, and so the separation of power among the branches was meant to prevent any such concentration.

To reinforce the Founders' goal of limited government, the Constitution also implemented a system of checks and balances among the branches so that no one branch could become too powerful. It also granted members of Congress only a certain number of years in office before they had to run again for election. These limits were meant to prevent any one person or groups of persons from gaining too much political power over the nation.

Checking for Understanding

1. According to the Declaration of Independence, what is the main duty of a government?
2. How did Aristotle's ideas influence the Founders' approach to the Constitution?

Critical Thinking

1. How is the U.S. Constitution a compromise between the Federalists and Antifederalists?
2. Do you agree or disagree that the secession of the Southern states marked a second American Revolution? Explain.

Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- popular sovereignty
- secession
- Underground Railroad
- transcontinental railroad
- referendum
- insurrection
- Confederacy
- martial law

Chapter Summary

Key Events of the 1850s:

- California entered Union as a free state, giving free states a Senate majority
- Fugitive Slave Act passed to help Southerners recover enslaved people who escaped to North; act caused outrage in North
- Uncle Tom's Cabin* published, angered many Southerners
- Kansas-Nebraska Act passed

Kansas-Nebraska Act heightened tensions:

- Angered Northerners by repealing Missouri Compromise
- Popular sovereignty regarding slavery issue led to violence in "Bleeding Kansas"
- Republican Party formed by former Whigs and members of Free-Soil Party
- Dred Scott* decision by Southern-dominated Supreme Court angered Northerners
- Debates in Senate over Kansas led to caning of Charles Sumner
- Events in Kansas angered John Brown, who then raided Harpers Ferry

Election of 1860:

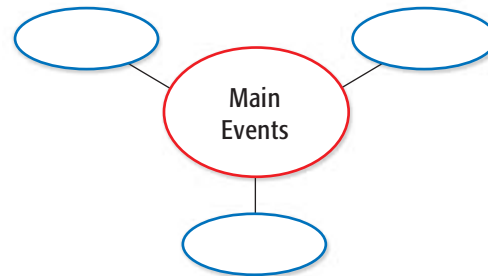
- Democratic Party split between North and South
- Republicans nominated eventual winner Abraham Lincoln
- Southern states established Confederacy in February 1861
- Fort Sumter fired upon in April 1861, starting the Civil War

Reviewing Key Facts

- Identify:** Harriet Tubman, John Brown, Fort Sumter.
- What were the main elements of the Compromise of 1850?
- Why did Southern politicians begin talking about secession?
- Why did Northerners resist the Fugitive Slave Act?
- How did the Republican Party appeal to voters in the presidential election of 1860?
- Why is John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid considered a turning point on the road to war?
- Why was Lincoln able to win the 1860 election?
- What efforts were made to prevent the outbreak of war?
- What border states did Lincoln want to keep in the Union?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities** How did the Fugitive Slave Act and the *Dred Scott* decision affect formerly enslaved African Americans living in the North?
- Evaluating** Why did many members of Congress support popular sovereignty?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the main events that pushed the nation into civil war.



- Interpreting Primary Sources** Many people have written essays on the causes of the Civil War. Edward A. Pollard of Virginia was the editor of the *Daily Richmond Examiner* during the Civil War. He wrote a book, *The Lost Cause*, about the Civil War from a Southern point of view. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

“In the ante-revolutionary period, the differences between the populations of the Northern and Southern colonies had already been strongly developed. The early colonists did not bear with them from the mother-country to the shores of the New World any greater degree of congeniality than existed among them at

Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 6** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

home. They had come not only from different stocks of population, but from different feuds in religion and politics. There could be no congeniality between . . . New England, and the . . . South. . . .”

—from *The Lost Cause*

- a. According to Pollard, when did the differences between the North and South begin?
- b. According to Pollard, what caused the differences between Northerners and Southerners?

Practicing Skills

22. **Predicting Consequences** Review the skill on predicting consequences on page 225. Then read the following statements and predict three consequences for each. Rank the three consequences in order of most likely to occur to least likely to occur.
 - a. A person elected to a political office does not support the issues he or she claimed to represent while campaigning for election.
 - b. Engineers develop an effective, efficient automobile powered by solar energy.

Writing Activity

23. **Portfolio Writing: Mock Peace Convention** Hold a mock peace convention to try and reverse the secession of the Southern states. As a class, create a convention in which students are delegates from Union or secessionist states. Students should write a position paper for their assigned state proposing an idea that could help the states compromise. Write a summary of the proceedings and place it in your portfolio.

Chapter Activity

24. **Technology Activity: Developing a Multimedia Presentation** Use the Internet and other sources to find a map showing the routes of the Underground Railroad, photos of conductors and fugitive slaves, and primary source documents from conductors and fugitive slaves, such as diaries or journals. Create a multimedia report about the Underground Railroad. Present your report to the class.



Geography and History

25. The map above shows seceding states from 1860 to 1861. Study the map and answer the questions below.
 - a. **Interpreting Maps** Which slave states remained in the Union after the Fort Sumter attack?
 - b. **Applying Geography Skills** Which states did not secede until after the Fort Sumter attack?

Standardized Test Practice

Many Northerners saw John Brown as a martyr to the cause of the abolition of slavery. Southerners were afraid of John Brown because they felt he might

- A increase the chances of electing a Republican president.
- B destroy the Underground Railroad.
- C convince Native Americans to fight against the South in the Civil War.
- D encourage a slave revolt.

Test-Taking Tip: Look for clues in the question to help you find the answer. For example, if John Brown believed in the *abolition of slavery*, it is unlikely that he would have destroyed the Underground Railroad (answer B).