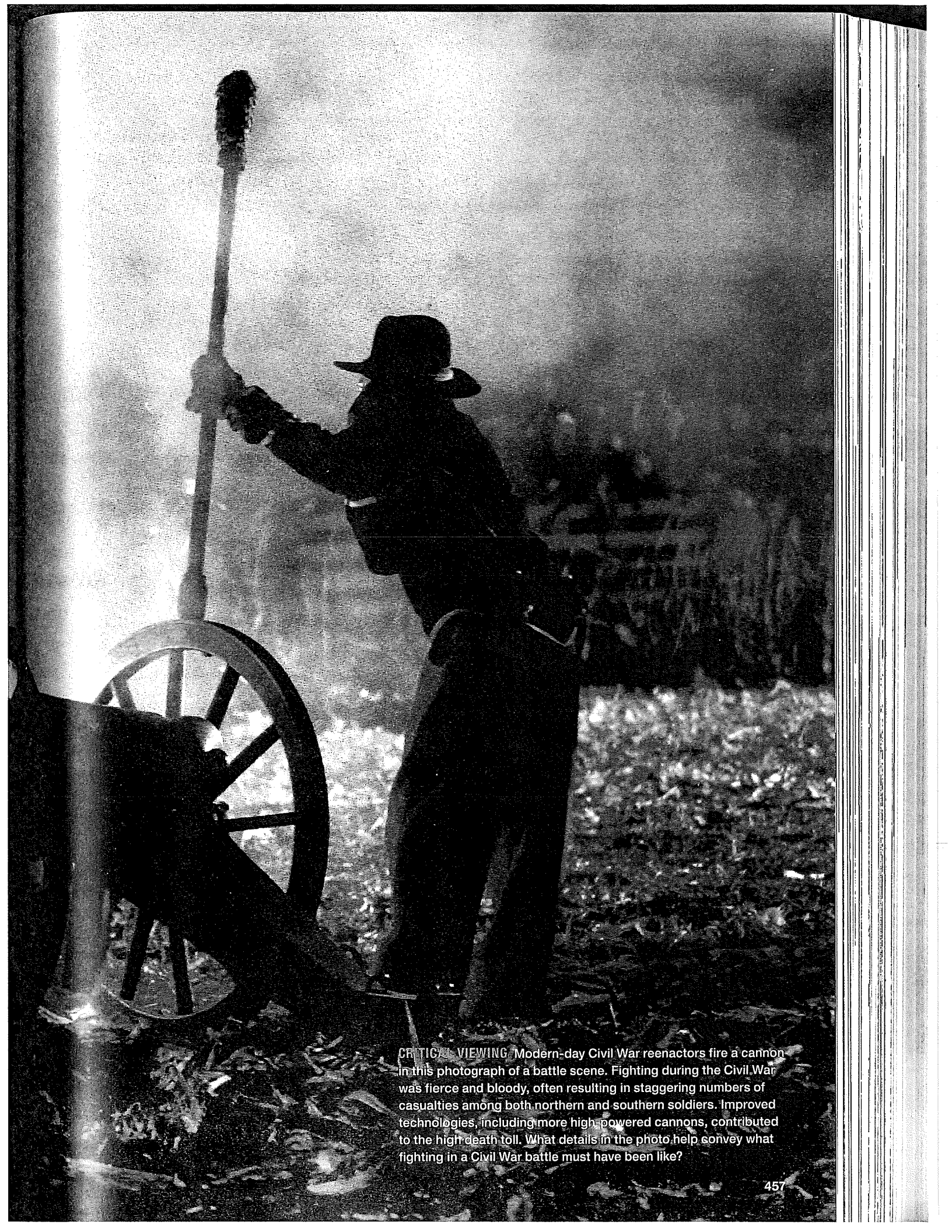


UNIT

6

# CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

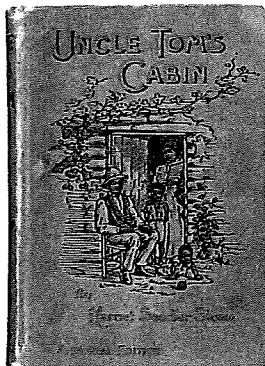




**CRITICALLY VIEWING** Modern-day Civil War reenactors fire a cannon in this photograph of a battle scene. Fighting during the Civil War was fierce and bloody, often resulting in staggering numbers of casualties among both northern and southern soldiers. Improved technologies, including more high-powered cannons, contributed to the high death toll. What details in the photo help convey what fighting in a Civil War battle must have been like?

# CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

## THE UNITED STATES



**1852**  
Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, is published and stirs the debate over slavery. (cover from 1897 edition of the book)



**1860**  
Abraham Lincoln is elected president. Soon after, South Carolina secedes from the Union. (hat worn by Lincoln when he was assassinated in 1865)

**1850**  
Congress passes the Compromise of 1850, which seeks to maintain a balance between slave and free states.

**1861**  
The Civil War begins after the South attacks Fort Sumter, a garrison under federal control.

**1846**  
Because he lives in a free state, Dred Scott sues for his freedom from slavery after his owner dies.

1850

1840

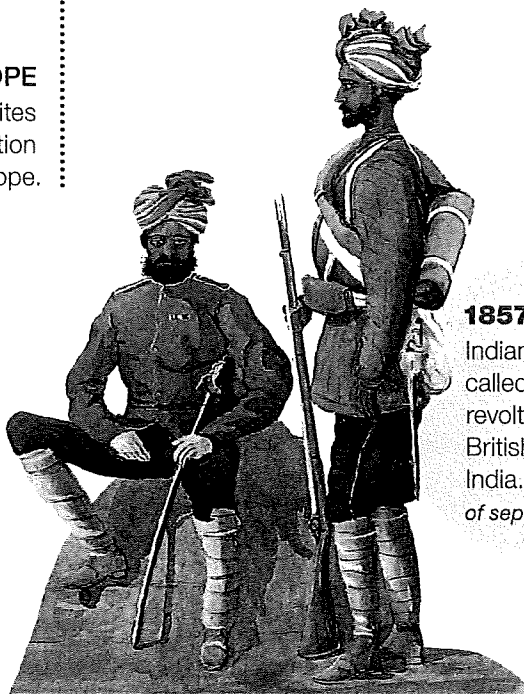
1860

**1848 EUROPE**  
Nationalism incites unrest and revolution across Europe.

**1861 EUROPE**  
The serfs in Russia are freed.

## THE WORLD

**1857 ASIA**  
Indian soldiers, called *sepoys*, revolt against British rule in India. (Illustration of sepoys)

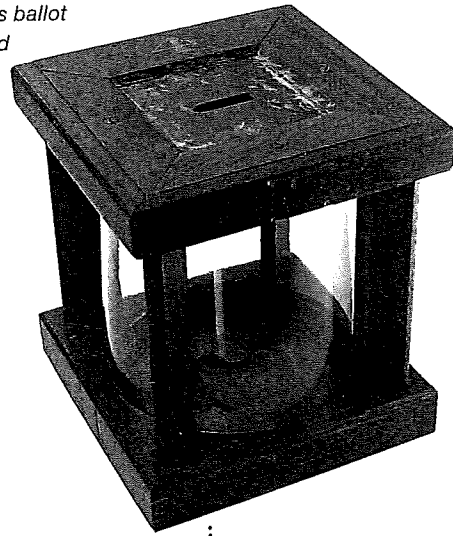


## HISTORICAL THINKING: DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY

How long after Russia freed its serfs did the United States grant African-American men the right to vote?

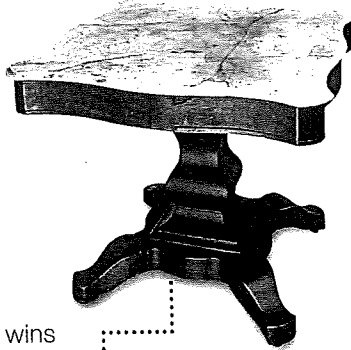
**1870**

The 15th Amendment grants voting rights to African-American men. (1884 glass ballot jar set in a slotted wooden box)



**1865**

On April 9, the Civil War ends when southern general Robert E. Lee surrenders to northern general Ulysses S. Grant. On April 15, Lincoln is assassinated. (Lee signed a letter of surrender at this table.)



**1867**

The Reconstruction Acts of 1867 are passed, requiring southern states to satisfy several conditions before they can reenter the Union.

**1877**

Newly inaugurated president Rutherford B. Hayes puts an end to Reconstruction.

**1863**

The Union wins the Battle of Gettysburg, but both sides suffer thousands of casualties.

**1870**

**1876 AFRICA**

The European scramble for African territory begins.

**1880**

**1864 AMERICAS**

Napoleon III crowns Archduke Maximilian emperor of Mexico.



**1867 ASIA**

The Tokugawa shogunate is overthrown, and Meiji rule brings a period of modernization in Japan. (Japanese print of a steam engine in a Tokyo station)

CHAPTER  
**14**

# A BROKEN NATION

1846–1861

## ESSENTIAL QUESTION

How did slavery divide the country?

AMERICAN  
STORIES  
ONLINE

## The Pony Express

### SECTION 1 Growing Tensions Between North and South

#### KEY VOCABULARY

federal marshal    racism    segregation

### SECTION 2 Slavery Dominates Politics

#### KEY VOCABULARY

Dred Scott decision    popular sovereignty    Republican Party

### SECTION 3 Lincoln's Election and Southern Secession

#### KEY VOCABULARY

Confederacy    garrison    Unionist  
Crittenden Plan    secede

AMERICAN GALLERY  
ONLINE

## Abraham Lincoln

**CRITICAL VIEWING** This monumental statue of a seated Abraham Lincoln is situated within the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. The memorial was completed in 1922, and the statue, designed by sculptor Daniel Chester French, took four years to carve. At 19 feet tall and 19 feet wide, the imposing statue creates a sense of awe and power. What characteristics does Lincoln's face convey?

## READING STRATEGY

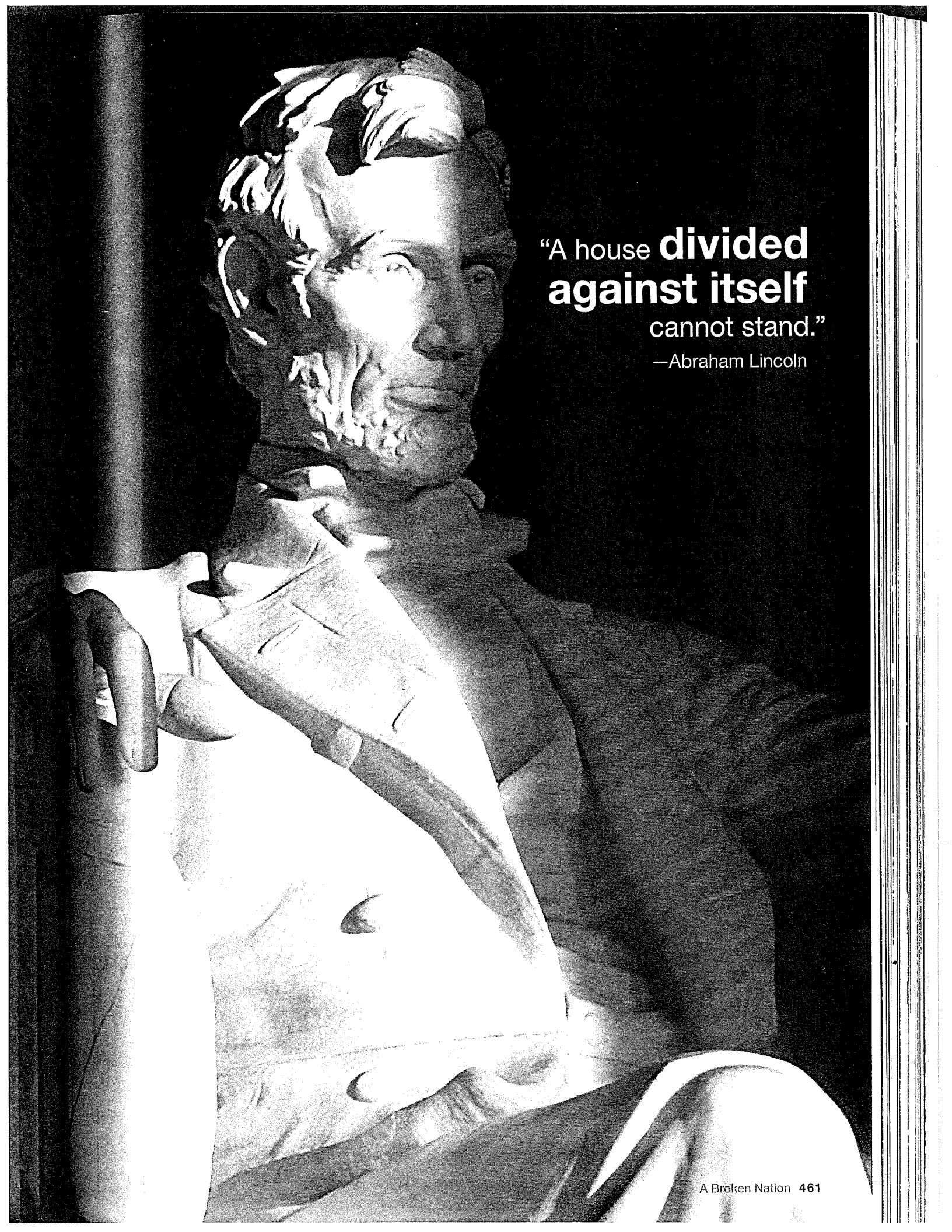
### IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS

When you identify a text's main idea and details, you state the most important idea about a topic and determine which facts support that idea. As you read the chapter, use a graphic organizer like this one to identify main ideas and details relating to the issue of slavery.

Main Idea: Tensions grew between slave states and free states.

Detail

Detail



**“A house divided  
against itself  
cannot stand.”**

—Abraham Lincoln

# 1.1 Controversy Over Territories

Sometimes friends disagree, and sometimes these disagreements can get out of hand. The United States had gained new territory, but the North and the South couldn't agree on how to use it.

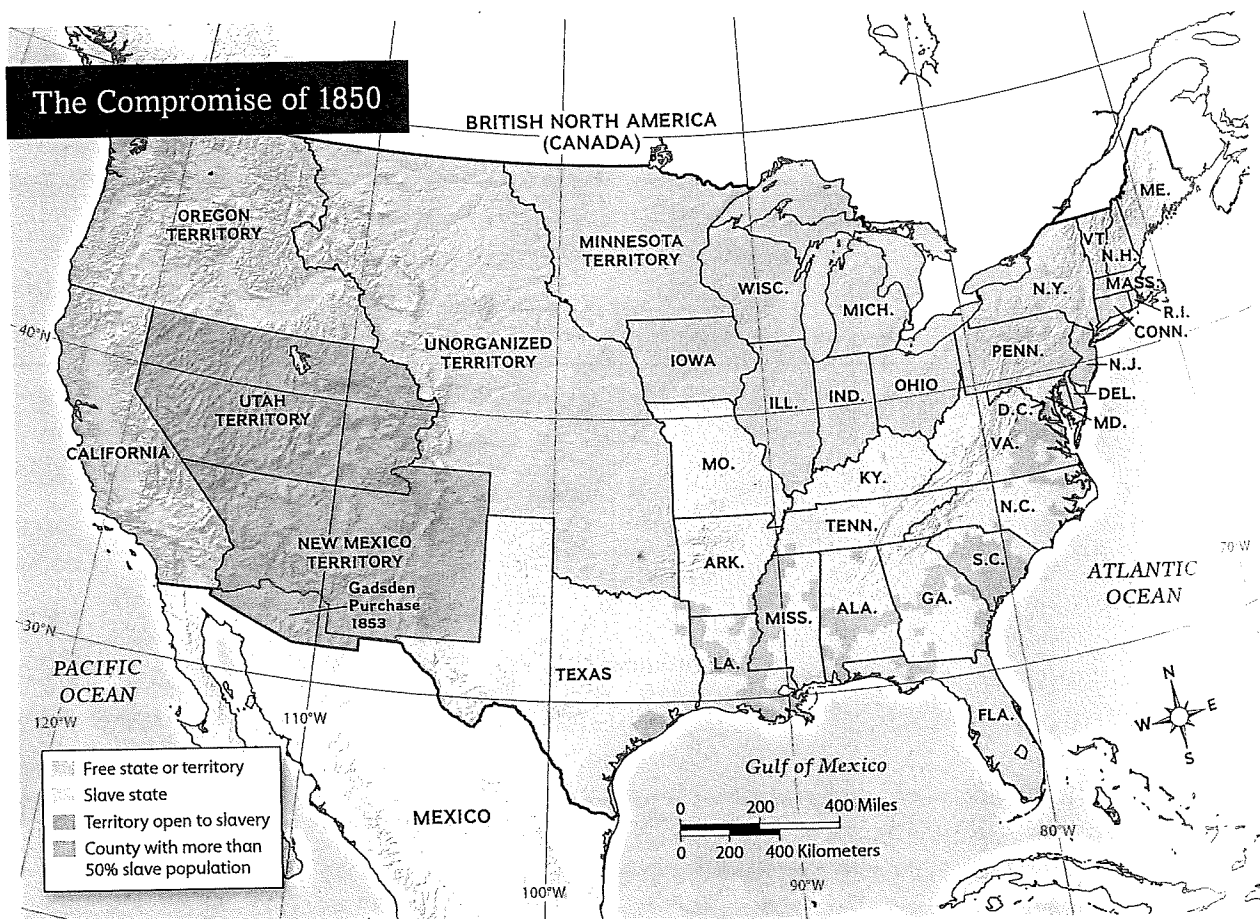
**MAIN IDEA** Disputes over slavery in new territories and states led to growing tensions between the North and the South.

## THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

As the middle of the 19th century approached, slavery had become too divisive, or a cause of conflict, for political leaders to ignore any longer. One of the major issues they debated was whether slaveholding should be allowed in new territories and any new states carved from them.

The Missouri Compromise had temporarily settled the issue in 1820. However, the nation once again split over the debate about the expansion of

slavery into newly created western territories and states, especially after the Mexican-American War and the discovery of gold in California. In the run-up to the presidential election of 1848, people hotly argued over the future of the new western territories. Disappointed in the position taken by their parties' presidential candidates, antislavery Whigs and a few antislavery Democrats joined together to create the **Free-Soil Party**, which was dedicated to keeping slavery out of the new territories and states.



8.9.4 Discuss the importance of the slavery issue as raised by the annexation of Texas and California's admission to the union as a free state under the Compromise of 1850; CST 3 Students use a variety of maps and documents to identify physical and cultural features of neighborhoods, cities, states, and countries and to explain the historical migration of people, expansion and disintegration of empires, and the growth of economic systems.

In 1849, a national crisis erupted when California applied for statehood as a free state. For most of the period after the Missouri Compromise, the United States had been evenly split between free states and slave states. Statehood for California would upset this balance and give free states a majority in the U.S. Senate. They already enjoyed a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives. Fearing loss of political power and the possibility that slavery might be outlawed, the slave states threatened to withdraw from the Union.

Remember Henry Clay, the main force behind the Missouri Compromise? In January 1850, he presented a plan for a new compromise. It called for California to be admitted as a free state and for the issue of slavery to be left open in the other territories won from Mexico. Clay and two other famous legislators, John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster, led a passionate debate over the plan, which lasted for eight months. Finally, in September, the **Compromise of 1850** became law, preventing the Union from splitting apart. Statehood for California that same year would also give rise to the **Pony Express** in 1860. This mail service, delivered by horseback riders, established communication between the East and the West.

### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT

One of the most controversial parts of the Compromise of 1850 was the **Fugitive Slave Act**. The act strengthened an earlier Fugitive Slave Act passed by Congress in 1793 by enforcing greater penalties on runaways and those who aided them. Under this harsh new act, **federal marshals**, or law enforcers who worked for the U.S. government, could force ordinary citizens to help capture runaway slaves. Anyone who helped a slave escape faced penalties, as did any marshal who failed to enforce the law. Further, the law denied accused fugitives the right to a trial by jury.

The law provoked bitter anger in the northern states. Many people defied it, and some states passed new laws that protected runaway slaves. Armed groups confronted slave catchers and freed slaves from jails. Nevertheless, slavery continued to expand in the South.

8.9.5 Analyze the significance of the States' Rights Doctrine, the Missouri Compromise (1820), the Wilmot Proviso (1846), the Compromise of 1850, Henry Clay's role in the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision (1857), and the Lincoln-Douglas debates (1858); 8.10.1 Compare the conflicting interpretations of state and federal authority as emphasized in the speeches and writings of statesmen such as Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun.

### Webster-Calhoun Debate

After Henry Clay proposed his plan, John Calhoun's speech was read in the Senate. Calhoun was too ill to stand and deliver it himself. Three days later, Daniel Webster responded to Calhoun, speaking for more than three hours. In the following excerpts from their speeches, Calhoun speaks for the South, while Webster pleads for saving the Union.

### PRIMARY SOURCES

*The equilibrium [balance] between [the North and the South] . . . has been destroyed. One section has the exclusive power of controlling the government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression.*

—John C. Calhoun, 1850

*I wish to speak today, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American. It is not to be denied that we . . . are surrounded by very considerable dangers to our institutions of government. I speak today for the preservation of the Union. Hear me for my cause.*

—Daniel Webster, 1850

### HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** Why did California's application for statehood upset some people?
2. **COMPARE AND CONTRAST** What conflicting views on state and federal authority are revealed in Webster's and Calhoun's speeches?
3. **INTERPRET MAPS** According to the Compromise of 1850, in which territories would settlers be allowed to decide whether slavery would be legal or illegal?



## 1.2 Slavery and Racism

Enslaved people in the South thought running away from their plantations would change their lives for the better. But would freedom in the North live up to its promise?

**MAIN IDEA** Racism and slavery were defining forces in the lives of African Americans in both the South and the North.

### AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE SOUTH

While some Americans began to harbor misgivings over slavery, the slave trade continued to thrive in the South. Enslaved people from Africa were no longer imported. But since the children of enslaved people in the United States also became slaves, the slave population grew steadily in the South. By 1860, there were nearly four million enslaved African Americans in the region.

**Racism**, or the belief that one race is superior to others, was the foundation upon which slavery was built. Many slave owners justified slavery by

claiming that African Americans were better off under the care of plantation owners than they would be by caring for themselves. But, as you know, many slaves endured lives of unspeakable cruelty. Laws such as the Fugitive Slave Acts made sure their lives could never improve by sharply curbing their freedom and economic opportunities.

Racist attitudes also affected the lives of the more than 250,000 free African Americans in the South. Local laws prevented them from traveling or assembling in large groups. Free African Americans were also discouraged from



**The Impact of Slavery**

The damage done to people by slavery is evident in these two photos. The man above, photographed in 1863, is scarred from being whipped, and fear is evident in the faces of the children at the right.

A writer named **Harriet Beecher Stowe** channeled her anger over slavery into a novel called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This 1852 painting called *An American Slave Market*, by an artist known only as Taylor, depicts a scene in the novel in which a slave trader purchases a child.

Published in 1852, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sold 300,000 copies in that year alone and was also turned into popular plays. It dramatically changed the national debate over slavery and racism.

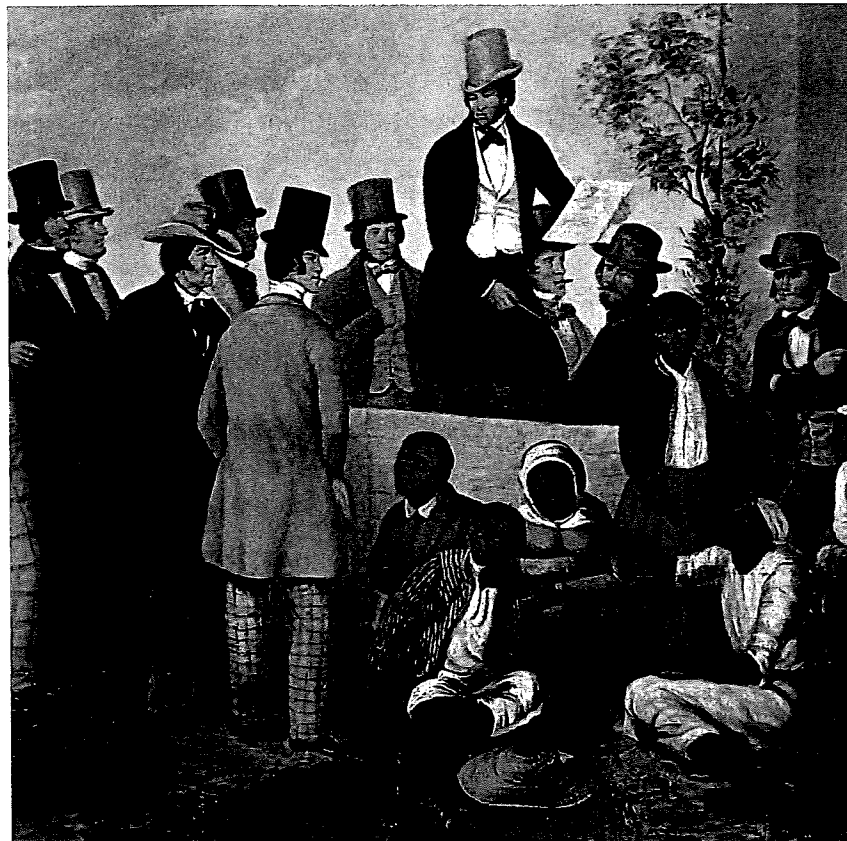
organizing churches, schools, and fraternal orders, or social organizations, like the Masons.

Slavery was central to the economy and culture of the agrarian South. Concerned about the health of the South's economy, southern leaders not only fought for slavery but they also battled against tariffs. They argued that high tariffs favored the industrial North and hurt the South by forcing plantation owners to pay higher prices for manufactured goods.

Some wealthy plantation owners even tried to convince the U.S. government to acquire Cuba from Spain as a slave state. Their proposal was presented in the 1854 Ostend Manifesto and included the provision that the island be taken by force if necessary. The manifesto fell through but became a rallying cry for northern abolitionists.

### AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE NORTH

Though some enslaved people dreamed of escaping to the North, those who succeeded found themselves facing many of the challenges they thought they had left behind. Many northerners held the same racist beliefs that were common among southerners. They did not want to live near, work with, or have their children go to school with African Americans. They cared little about ending slavery and looked upon free African



Americans with scorn. Even as they worked to try to end the institution of slavery, some abolitionists held racist attitudes toward African Americans.

Discrimination took several forms. Some states passed laws restricting the rights of African Americans to vote, own property, and move about freely. **Segregation**, or the separation of people based on race, was common in northern cities, and African Americans often were forbidden from entering white churches, schools, and many other buildings. They were often blocked from employment for skilled jobs. Daily threats included attacks by white mobs and the possibility of being captured and sent back to a life of slavery.

### HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** What was the relationship between racism and slavery?
2. **IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS** What forms of discrimination did African Americans face in the North?
3. **COMPARE AND CONTRAST** How were the situations of free African Americans in the North and the South similar?

8.7.4 Compare the lives of and opportunities for free blacks in the North with those of free blacks in the South; 8.9.6 Describe the lives of free blacks and the laws that limited their freedom and economic opportunities; 8.10.2 Trace the boundaries constituting the North and the South, the geographical differences between the two regions, and the differences between agrarians and industrialists; H1 1 Students explain the central issues and problems from the past, placing people and events in a matrix of time and place.

## 2.1 A Country in Crisis

In 1820 and again in 1850, compromises had held the United States together. But how many times can you compromise before someone finally cries, “enough already”?

**MAIN IDEA** The Kansas-Nebraska Act deepened the conflict over slavery and led to the eruption of violence in these territories.

### THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 had increased interest in building a railroad to the Pacific coast. Stephen A. Douglas, a senator from Illinois, lobbied for the railroad to run through his state. He proposed a route stretching from the Illinois city of Chicago west to San Francisco, California.

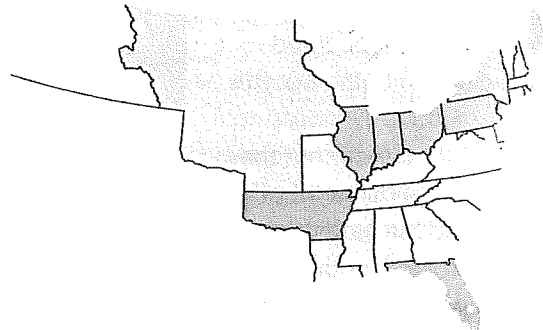
However, there were problems with this route. Before a railroad could cross the territory west of Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, the territory would have to be organized into new states. But the Missouri Compromise had banned slavery in this area. The prospect of new free states infuriated, or enraged, southerners and once again threatened the country's unity.

Douglas introduced a bill that dealt with these issues. It called for the territory to be split into two smaller territories called Kansas and Nebraska, which could then become states. It also called for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which would end the long-standing ban on slavery in the North. The bill, however, did not dictate whether slavery would actually be permitted in the new states. It left that decision to the people. This approach is called **popular sovereignty** (SAHV-run-tee) and allows residents to decide an issue by voting. Despite strong opposition, Douglas managed to push the bill through Congress. It was signed into law in May 1854 as the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**.

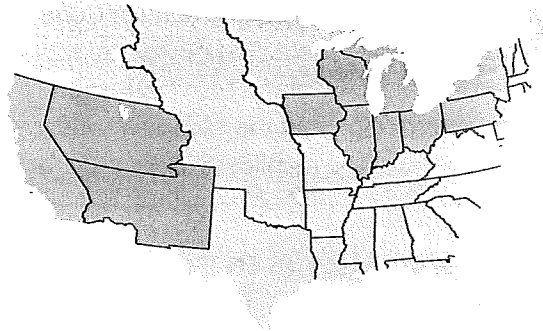
### Three Compromise Acts, 1820–1854

Free states      Slave states  
Territories closed to slavery      Territories open to slavery  
Non-U.S. areas

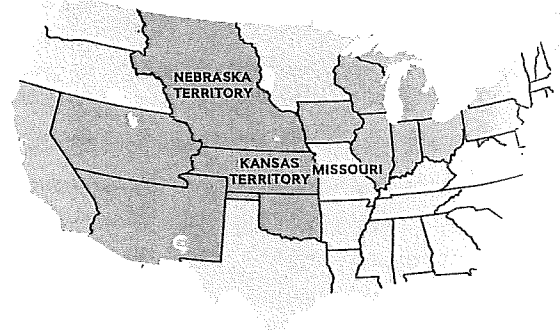
The Missouri Compromise, 1820–1821



The Compromise of 1850



The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854



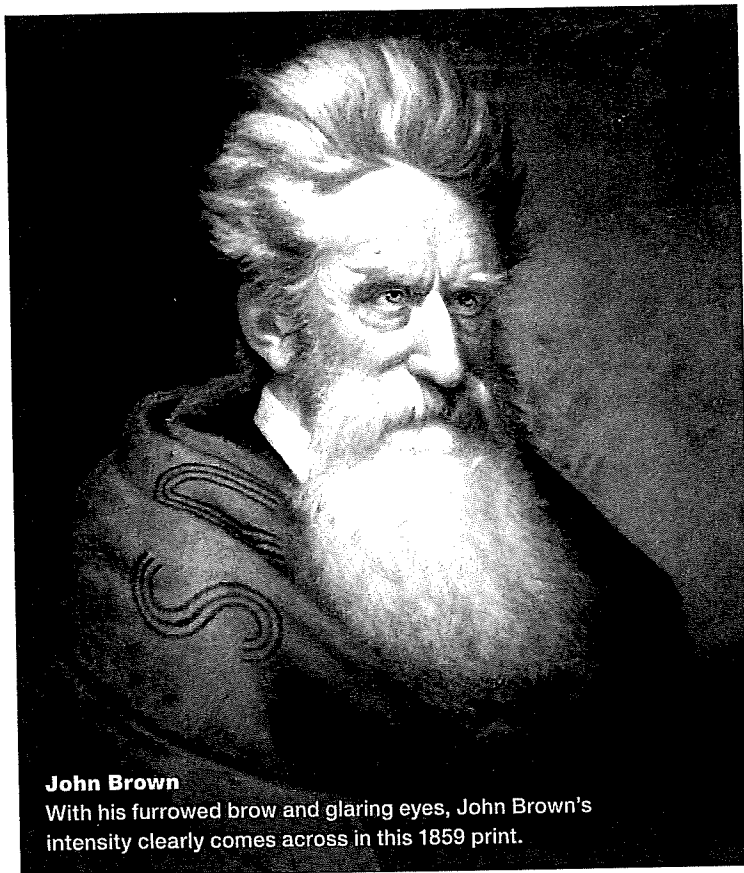
8.7.3 Examine the characteristics of white Southern society and how the physical environment influenced events and conditions prior to the Civil War; 8.9.1 Describe the leaders of the movement (e.g., John Quincy Adams and his proposed constitutional amendment, John Brown and the armed resistance, Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad, Benjamin Franklin, Theodore Weld, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass); 8.9.2 Discuss the abolition of slavery in early state constitutions.

## “BLEEDING KANSAS”

Douglas predicted that the Kansas-Nebraska Act would “impart peace to the country [and] stability to the Union.” Instead, Kansas became a battleground in the slavery conflict. Antislavery “Free-Soilers,” or members of the Free-Soil Party in the North, organized like-minded groups of people to settle in the new territory and vote against slavery there. Free-Soilers hoped that by populating Kansas with people who felt as they did, they could ensure that the territory would become a free state.

But southerners were just as determined to make Kansas a slave state. When elections were held, thousands of slavery supporters from Missouri crossed the border to vote illegally. These “border ruffians,” as they were called, were actually not needed because many southerners and slavery supporters already lived in Kansas. Proslavery forces gained control of the legislature in 1855 and passed a series of harsh laws against those who opposed slavery. Antislavery settlers then created their own government within the state and worked through the summer and fall of 1855 to write their own constitution. Over the winter, the Free-Soilers elected a legislature and governor. Groups sympathetic to their cause in the Northeast sent them rifles, while southerners sent a 300-man expedition to support the proslavery settlers.

The situation soon turned violent. In May 1856, a large group of slavery supporters raided the town of Lawrence, Kansas, a free-soil stronghold. They burned down a hotel, destroyed a newspaper office, and threw printing presses into the river. In revenge, a militant, or extremist, abolitionist named **John Brown** led four of his sons and several other men to a proslavery settlement at Pottawatomie (pot-uh-WAH-tuh-mee) Creek. There, they pulled five men out of their houses and brutally murdered them. Because of these and other grim incidents, Americans began calling the



**John Brown**

With his furrowed brow and glaring eyes, John Brown's intensity clearly comes across in this 1859 print.

territory “Bleeding Kansas.” Eventually, order was restored in Kansas, but the political struggle over slavery continued.

The violence even reached Washington, D.C. Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, had been angered by an antislavery speech given by Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner. When Brooks entered the Senate chamber, he severely beat Sumner with a cane. Soon, the split in the country over slavery would reach the Supreme Court.

## HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** What approach did the Kansas-Nebraska Act take toward the issue of slavery in the Kansas and Nebraska territories?
- 2. ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** What violent incident occurred as a result of a senator's speech opposing slavery?
- 3. INTERPRET MAPS** How did U.S. territories represented in the Compromise of 1850 map change after the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed?

8.9.5 Analyze the significance of the States' Rights Doctrine, the Missouri Compromise (1820), the Wilmot Proviso (1846), the Compromise of 1850, Henry Clay's role in the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), the *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford* decision (1857), and the Lincoln-Douglas debates (1858).

## 2.2 The Dred Scott Decision

When things are going badly, we like to think that, at least, they can't get any worse. Until, of course, they do.

**MAIN IDEA** The Dred Scott case and John Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry further divided the North and the South over the issue of slavery.

### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Kansas-Nebraska Act caused the political differences in the United States to erupt. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the opening of new territories to slavery angered many northerners and deepened North-South divisions in the Whig and Democratic parties. Many northerners began to feel that none of the existing political parties reflected their growing concerns over slavery.

In reaction, antislavery leaders founded a new party in 1854 dedicated to fighting the expansion of slavery. The **Republican Party**, as it was named, found a following among former Whigs, Free-Soilers, Democrats, and Know-Nothings.

When the 1856 presidential election approached, the Republicans picked John C. Frémont, who was well-known for his explorations of the West, as their candidate. The Democrats chose **James Buchanan** to represent their party. Buchanan secured the presidency, but Frémont made a strong showing, winning 11 northern states. From the outset, the Republicans proved they were a force to be reckoned with.

### DRED SCOTT AND JOHN BROWN

In March of 1857, two days after Buchanan took office, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, which had begun in 1846. The case involved a slave named

**Dred Scott**. He had sued for his freedom on the grounds that his master had taken him to live in the free state of Illinois and in the Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was also prohibited.

The Court ruled that Scott should remain a slave, and the **Dred Scott decision** sent shockwaves through the nation. In his explanation of the ruling, Chief Justice **Roger Taney** asserted that "members of the negro African race" were not actually citizens of the United States. Therefore, Scott did not have the right to bring a lawsuit to a federal court. Taney further declared that since slaves were the personal property of slaveholders, Congress had never had the authority to restrict slavery in the territories. This rendered the Missouri Compromise of 1820 unconstitutional. The strongly proslavery decision sparked outrage in the North and raised fears that southerners might

try to extend slavery to the whole country. The chasm between North and South grew even wider.

Two years later, yet another dramatic event in the struggle over slavery took center stage. John Brown, the abolitionist responsible for the Pottawatomie Creek massacre in Kansas, led an attack on the town of Harpers Ferry, in the part of Virginia that later became West Virginia. He and his armed band of 21 men captured a federal arsenal and a rifle-manufacturing plant and took dozens of hostages. Brown hoped to trigger a



Dred Scott was about 60 years old when this photo was taken during his Supreme Court case. His former master's sons purchased and freed Scott after the decision, but he died nine months later.



## Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia

Harpers Ferry is located where the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers meet, as shown in this aerial image taken by National Geographic photographer Ken Garrett. The scene of John Brown's 1859 raid on the armory, the town later became the site of one of the first integrated schools—attended by both former slaves and whites—in the nation.



slave revolt and create an “army of emancipation” that would free slaves across the South. He was wounded and captured, however, and ten of his men were killed. After a short trial, he was hanged just six weeks after the attack. To the dismay of southerners, many northerners refused to condemn Brown. Instead, they viewed him as a hero and a martyr, or a person willing to die for his or her beliefs, to the cause of abolition. The issue of slavery was about to bring the country to the breaking point.

8.9.5 Analyze the significance of the States' Rights Doctrine, the Missouri Compromise (1820), the Wilmot Proviso (1846), the Compromise of 1850, Henry Clay's role in the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision (1857), and the Lincoln-Douglas debates (1858); REP 2 Students distinguish fact from opinion in historical narratives and stories.

### HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** Why did Dred Scott believe he should be freed from slavery?
- 2. IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS** What political ideas led to the formation of the Republican Party?
- 3. DISTINGUISH FACT FROM OPINION** Is Roger Taney's assertion that “members of the negro African race” were not actually citizens of the United States a fact or opinion? Explain your answer.

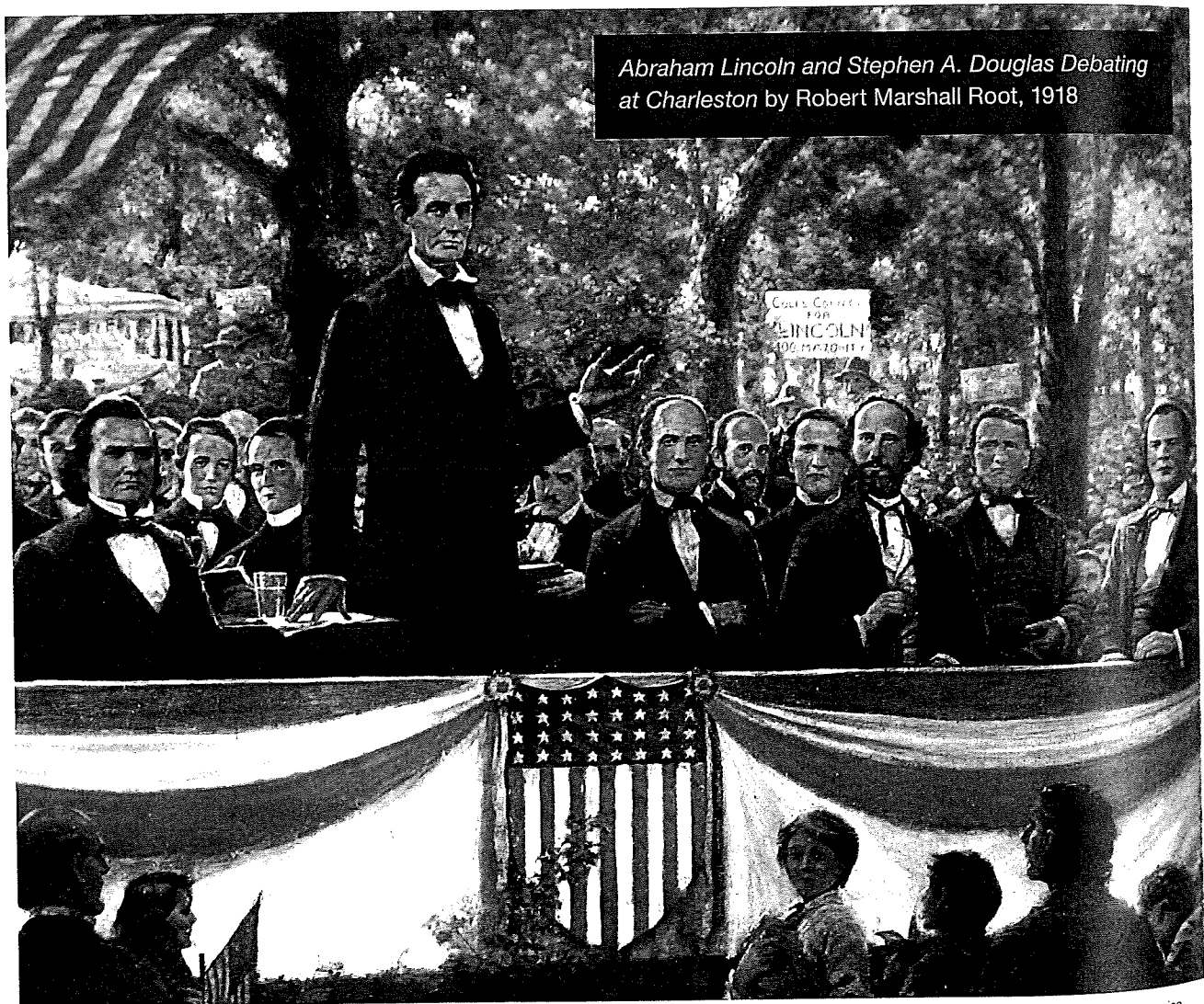
## 2.3 Lincoln and Douglas

Republican Abraham Lincoln and Democrat Stephen Douglas opposed each other in two political races. In 1858, they fought for the U.S. Senate seat in Illinois, which Douglas won. In 1860, they ran against each other for president, with Lincoln the victor. Although both men disliked slavery, they had different views on the issue.

Lincoln and Douglas engaged in a series of debates during their race for the Illinois Senate seat. Their fourth debate was held on September 18, 1858, in Charleston, Illinois. There, Douglas attacked Lincoln by saying that his opponent favored racial equality, an unpopular position at

the time, even in the North. The painting below shows Lincoln speaking to the crowd gathered for the outdoor event. Douglas sits to Lincoln's right, waiting his turn to speak.

**CRITICAL VIEWING** How does the artist portray the debate?



*Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas Debating at Charleston* by Robert Marshall Root, 1918

## DOCUMENT ONE

Primary Source: Speech  
from Abraham Lincoln's speech at the Republican Convention in  
Springfield, Illinois, on June 16, 1858

This speech is known as the "House Divided" speech. Lincoln used a Bible metaphor, comparing the nation to a house, to express his view of the impact that conflicting laws about slavery were having on the country as a whole.

**CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE** What does Lincoln think will happen to the Union if the division continues?

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

## DOCUMENT TWO

Primary Source: Speech  
from Stephen Douglas's speech at the Lincoln-Douglas  
debate in Freeport, Illinois, on August 27, 1858

In a debate held in Freeport, Illinois, Douglas addressed a question that Lincoln had put to him: Could the people of a territory keep slavery out? Douglas believed they could and, in this excerpt, he explains how.

**CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE** Describe how Douglas uses cause and effect to explain how people can keep slavery out of a territory.

The people have the lawful means to introduce it [slavery] or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst.

## DOCUMENT THREE

Primary Source: Political Cartoon  
from *Harper's Weekly*, 1860

This political cartoon suggests that the issue of slavery is tearing the United States apart. Seen here are the four candidates in the 1860 presidential election. From left to right are Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Douglas, John C. Breckinridge, and John Bell.

**CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE** What details in the cartoon suggest that slavery is tearing the United States apart?



## SYNTHESIZE & WRITE

- 1. REVIEW** Review what you have learned about Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas and their debates.
- 2. RECALL** On your own paper, write the main idea expressed in each document.
- 3. CONSTRUCT** Construct a topic sentence that answers this question: What differing positions did Lincoln and Douglas take on the issue of slavery?
- 4. WRITE** Using evidence from this chapter and the documents, write an informative paragraph that supports your topic sentence in Step 3.

8.10.4 Discuss Abraham Lincoln's presidency and his significant writings and speeches and their relationship to the Declaration of Independence, such as his "House Divided" speech (1858), Gettysburg Address (1863), Emancipation Proclamation (1863), and inaugural addresses (1861 and 1865); REP 5 Students detect the different historical points of view on historical events and determine the context in which the historical statements were made (the questions asked, sources used, author's perspectives).



## 3.1 The Election of 1860

Say you belong to a club and two groups within it often disagree.

Should they try to work things out? Or should one group break away and form a new club? Maybe it depends on whether they're into politics.

**MAIN IDEA** The growing divide between the North and the South had a strong impact on the 1860 presidential election.

### POLITICAL PARTIES BREAK APART

"Bleeding Kansas," the Dred Scott decision, John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry: each of these developments had left the United States more divided over slavery. The Democratic Party found it harder to hold itself together as tensions grew between its powerful southern faction, or group, and its smaller northern faction. When the two factions could not agree on a candidate for the 1860 presidential election, the party split in two. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas of Illinois, and southern Democrats nominated John Breckinridge of Kentucky.

Around this same time, a group of former Whigs and Know-Nothings founded the conservative **Constitutional Union Party**. It appealed to people who believed that preserving the Union and protecting the

Constitution outweighed concerns about slavery. For the election, **Unionists**, as members of the Constitutional Union Party were called, sought a compromise candidate who could appeal to both northerners and southerners. They chose John Bell, a highly regarded former U.S. senator from Tennessee.

### Lincoln Campaign Banner

Lincoln's running mate in the 1860 election was Hannibal Hamlin, a senator from Maine. In this cotton flag, Lincoln's first name is spelled "Abram," possibly to enable his name to appear larger. "Abram" is also the original spelling of the biblical Abraham. The portrait of Lincoln may have been printed sideways so the flag could be hung vertically.





## 3.2 Southern States Secede

A crack in a mirror often starts out small, hardly visible. But over time, rough handling causes the crack to deepen and run the length of the glass. Pretty soon, the smallest added pressure will make it snap and break in two.

**MAIN IDEA** The election of Abraham Lincoln as president in 1860 led southern states to secede from the Union.

### THE SOUTH DEBATES INDEPENDENCE

The South had reached its breaking point. Abraham Lincoln's victory in the 1860 election shocked and angered most southerners. They were suddenly faced with a northern president who had not won a single southern state. In fact, his name had not even appeared on the ballot in most of them. After all, Lincoln represented a party founded by people who wanted to keep slavery out of new territories and states.

Although Lincoln had not called for the abolition of slavery many proslavery southerners felt certain this was his goal. You've already read one excerpt from Lincoln's "House Divided" speech, delivered in 1858. In that speech he also said, "Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, . . . or its advocates [supporters] will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States." In the South, many assumed this meant that Lincoln wished to abolish slavery throughout the United States.

On the day after the election, South Carolina's legislature gathered to debate the possibility of **seceding**, or formally withdrawing from the Union and becoming independent. Secession was not a new idea. Slave states had threatened to leave the Union on numerous occasions. In fact, South Carolina had come very close to doing so during the nullification crisis of the 1830s.

Supporters of secession justified it in terms of states' rights. The right that southern leaders most wanted to protect was their perceived right to own slaves. They argued that under the Constitution, the states retained certain rights,



1860 campaign buttons feature Lincoln (left) and his running mate, Hamlin (right).

including the right to secede. Just as each state had once decided to join the Union, each state could decide to withdraw from it.

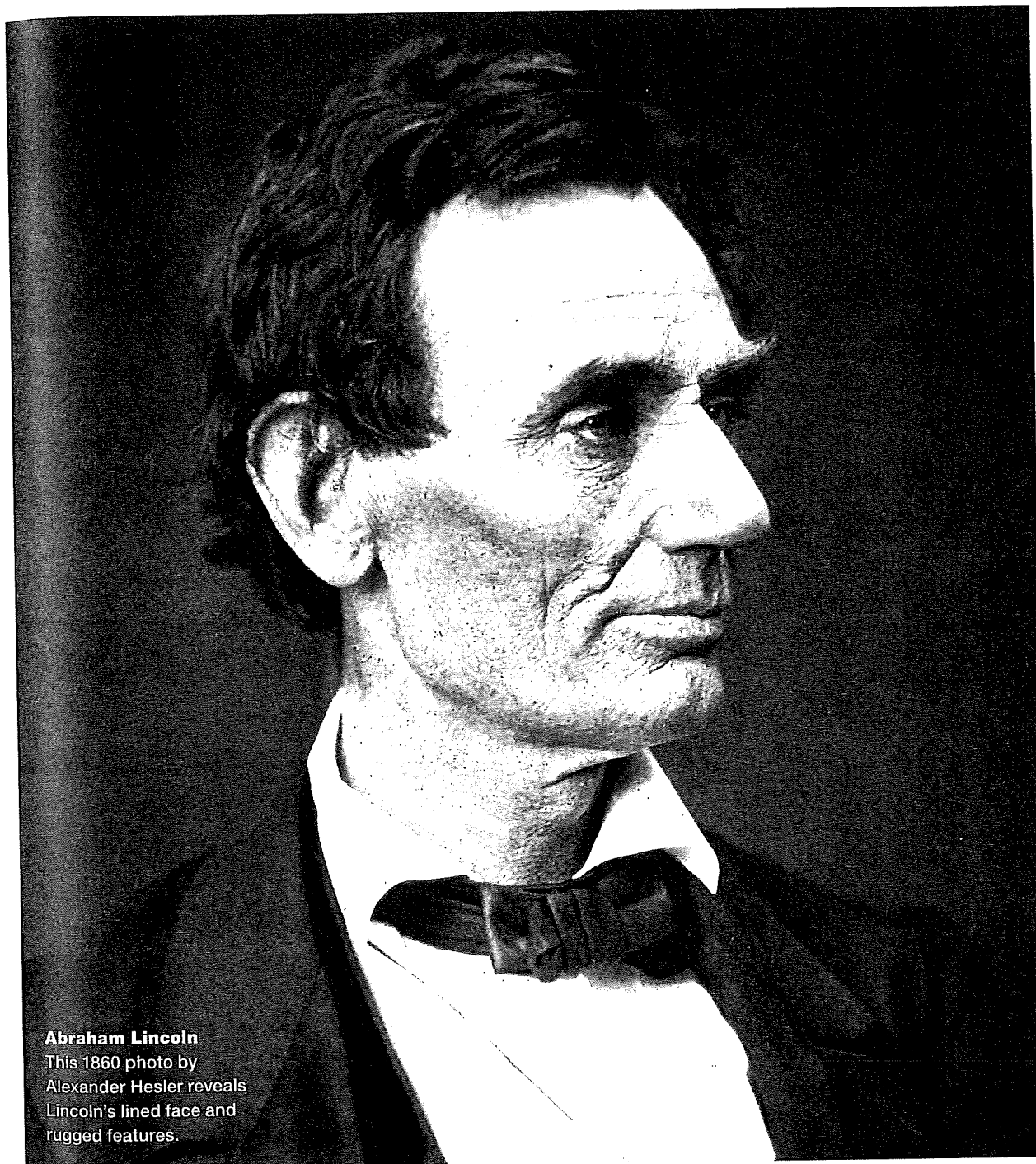
### VOTES FOR SECESSION

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina became the first state in the nation to secede from the Union. The state's secession came in response to the presidential election of Abraham Lincoln the month before, even though he was not to take office until March 1861. South Carolina decided that Lincoln's presidential win as a Republican—a party that supported the Free-Soil platform, not the end of slavery in territories where it already existed—signaled that it could not continue as part of the United States.

South Carolina was joined by 10 other states in the coming months. In March 1861, the **Confederate States of America**, or the **Confederacy**, united and quickly formed a temporary government in Montgomery, Alabama, and adopted a new constitution. It was much like the U.S. Constitution, but it protected slavery and states' rights.

**Jefferson Davis**, a Mississippi senator who had spoken out against secession just weeks earlier, was chosen to be the temporary president of the Confederacy. In his inaugural address, Davis placed the blame for the secessions on the Union,

8.7.2 Trace the origins and development of slavery; its effects on black Americans and the region's political, social, religious, economic, and cultural development; and identify the strategies that were tried to both overturn and preserve it (e.g., through the writings and historical documents on Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey); 8.10.3 Identify the constitutional issues posed by the doctrine of nullification and secession and the earliest origins of that doctrine.



**Abraham Lincoln**  
This 1860 photo by  
Alexander Hesler reveals  
Lincoln's lined face and  
rugged features.

arguing that protecting slavery had been the “well-known intent” of the Founders. Meanwhile, the issue of secession was proving to be divisive in the more northern part of the South. Many people opposed secession, calling it treason. They believed secession would be disastrous for the South. Others thought it would be best to wait before making a decision. For the time being, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas remained in the Union. They still held out hope that the differences between the North and the South could be resolved.

## HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** Why did Lincoln's election drive southern states to secede from the Union?
2. **MAKE INFERENCES** Why do you think the Confederacy adopted a constitution that was very similar to the U.S. Constitution?
3. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** What fundamental challenge to the Constitution did secession and the doctrine of nullification pose?

8.10.4 Discuss Abraham Lincoln's presidency and his significant writings and speeches and their relationship to the Declaration of Independence, such as his “House Divided” speech (1858), Gettysburg Address (1863), Emancipation Proclamation (1863), and inaugural addresses (1861 and 1865).

## 3.3 Efforts at Compromise

Who among your friends is the peacemaker? There's usually one who brings those in conflict together and tries to find common ground and iron out differences. Sometimes these efforts pay off. Sometimes they don't.

**MAIN IDEA** Leaders in the North and the South tried to resolve the secession crisis, but their attempts to reach a compromise failed.

### THE CRITTENDEN PLAN

After South Carolina seceded from the Union, John J. Crittenden, a senator from Kentucky, tried to step in as peacemaker. In 1861, he offered a proposal that came to be known as the **Crittenden Plan**. Under the terms of this compromise plan, the federal government would have no power to abolish slavery in the states where it already existed. Further, the Missouri Compromise line would be reestablished and extended all the way to the Pacific Ocean. Slavery would be prohibited in territories north of the line, but in territories south of it, local residents would decide whether to allow slavery.

The proposal found many supporters in both the North and the South, and President James Buchanan pushed for its speedy approval in Congress. President-elect Abraham Lincoln and many Republicans, however, strongly objected to extending slavery in any new territories. After much debate, the Crittenden Plan was defeated in Congress, and the secession crisis continued.

### LINCOLN BECOMES PRESIDENT

As his inauguration approached, Lincoln put together his government. For his Cabinet, he purposely chose men who represented competing factions within the Republican Party. Some of them could barely stand one another.

Surprisingly, four of the top positions went to men who had competed with Lincoln for the Republican nomination. He would later defend these appointments by saying, "We needed the strongest men of the party in the Cabinet. These were the very strongest men. Then I had no right to deprive the country of their services." Some have called the men he assembled "a team of rivals."

Lincoln took office on March 4, 1861, as the 16th president of the United States. In his inaugural address, Lincoln spoke sternly and directly about the crisis facing the country. He said his first task was to reunite the nation. Secession was illegal, he declared; no state could simply decide on its own to leave the Union. The Union was therefore

#### A Perpetual Union

At the beginning of his inaugural address, Lincoln stated that he was going to get directly to the point and talk about the matter of greatest concern to the country at that moment: the threat of southern secession. He assured the South that he did not support freeing its slaves. But he also emphasized that there was no constitutional basis for withdrawing from the Union.

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

*I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual [everlasting]. Perpetuity [This permanence] is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law [system of laws] for its own termination [end]. . . . The Union will endure forever.*

—from Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861

### Lincoln with His Cabinet and Generals

In this engraving from 1866, Lincoln meets with his Cabinet and military leaders to discuss their response to the South's secession. Lincoln did not want war with the South, but he wanted to be prepared for it if it couldn't be avoided.



still intact, and he vowed to use his powers as president to protect places and property belonging to the federal government. He assured the South, however, that he did not intend to interfere with slavery where it already existed, and there would be no invasion or use of force by the government. "We are not enemies, but friends," Lincoln said. "Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."

Lincoln's words had little effect. The day after his address, a message arrived in Washington from Fort Sumter, which lay at the entrance to the harbor in Charleston, South Carolina. The fort was under threat from Confederate forces, and

its **garrison**, or defense force, of about 85 federal soldiers would soon run out of food. Lincoln faced the decision of whether to try to resupply the fort. He wanted to avoid conflict, but a civil war looked more and more likely.

### HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** What compromise did the Crittenden Plan propose?
2. **IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS** Who did Lincoln choose to be in his Cabinet, and why did he appoint these individuals?
3. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** Why did Confederate forces threaten Fort Sumter?

8.10.4 Discuss Abraham Lincoln's presidency and his significant writings and speeches and their relationship to the Declaration of Independence, such as his "House Divided" speech (1858), Gettysburg Address (1863), Emancipation Proclamation (1863), and inaugural addresses (1861 and 1865); HI 1 Students explain the central issues and problems from the past, placing people and events in a matrix of time and place.

## 14

## REVIEW

## VOCABULARY

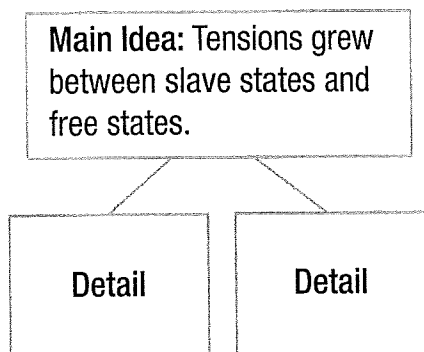
Use each of the following terms in a sentence that shows an understanding of the term's meaning.

- secede **HSS.8.10.3**  
Southern states *seceded*, breaking away from the United States.
- federal marshal **HSS.8.9.6**
- racism **HSS.8.9.6**
- segregation **HSS.8.9.6**
- popular sovereignty **HSS.8.9.5**
- Dred Scott decision **HSS.8.9.5**
- garrison **HSS.8.10.4**
- Confederacy **HSS.8.10.3**

## READING STRATEGY

## IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS

If you haven't done so already, complete your chart to identify the main ideas and details relating to the issue of slavery. List at least four main ideas and their supporting details. Then answer the question.



- What impact did Lincoln's "House Divided" speech have on the South and slavery? **HSS.8.10.4**

## MAIN IDEAS

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

- How did the Compromise of 1850 help save the Union? **LESSON 1.1** **HSS.8.9.5**
- How did segregation affect free African Americans living in northern states? **LESSON 1.2** **HSS.8.9.6**
- Why did the Kansas Territory become known as "Bleeding Kansas"? **LESSON 2.1** **HSS.8.9.6**
- How did the Supreme Court decision in the Dred Scott case widen the divide between the North and the South? **LESSON 2.2** **HSS.8.9.5**
- Why did Jefferson Davis blame the Union for the secession? **LESSON 3.2** **HSS.8.10.3**
- Why did the election of Abraham Lincoln cause southern states to secede from the Union? **LESSON 3.2** **HSS.8.10.3**
- Under the terms of the Crittenden Plan, how would the issue of slavery be handled south of the Missouri Compromise line? **LESSON 3.3** **HSS.8.9.5**

## HISTORICAL THINKING

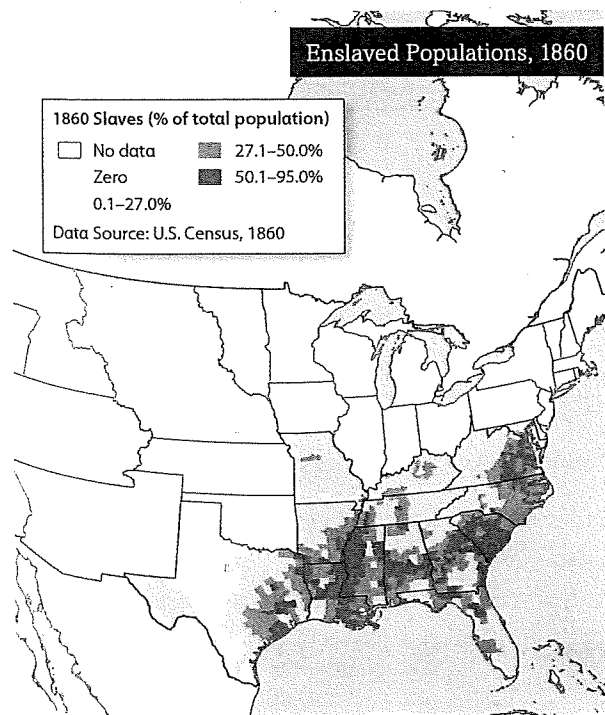
- SYNTHESIZE** Why didn't the compromises made in the first half of the 19th century last? **HSS.8.9.5**
- DRAW CONCLUSIONS** How did John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry increase tensions between the North and the South? **HSS.8.9.6**
- MAKE CONNECTIONS** How did slavery as a political, economic, and social institution divide the country and lead to civil war? **HSS.8.9.5**
- IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS** Why did the Supreme Court rule that Dred Scott should remain a slave? **HSS.8.9.5**

21. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** Based on the slavery-related developments of the 1850s, was it inevitable that southern states would eventually decide to separate from the Union? Support your opinion with evidence from the chapter. **HSS.H.2**

22. **MAKE INFERENCES** What do you think might have been the strengths and weaknesses of having a “team of rivals” in Lincoln’s Cabinet? **HSS.B.10.4**

### INTERPRET MAPS

The map below shows the percentage of enslaved people throughout the United States in 1860. The darkest green shading indicates areas in which more than 50 percent of the residents were enslaved. The lightest green shading indicates areas with no slaves. Look closely at the map and then answer the questions.



23. What does this map reveal about the general geographic distribution of slavery across the South? **HSS.GST.3**

24. In which sections of the country were there zero populations of enslaved people? **HSS.GST.3**

### ANALYZE SOURCES

In Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, Eliza is an enslaved woman whose child has been sold to another plantation owner. Rather than see her son turned over to a new slaveholder, Eliza flees with her son in the early spring across the Ohio River to the free state of Ohio. The river is still partly frozen, and she crosses it by jumping from one block of ice to another. Read the following excerpt from the novel and then answer the question.

Eliza made her desperate retreat across the river just in the dusk of twilight. The gray mist of evening, rising slowly from the river, enveloped her as she disappeared up the bank, and the swollen current and floundering [shifting] masses of ice presented a hopeless barrier between her and her pursuer.

25. What details in the excerpt help build suspense? **HSS.REP.3**

### CONNECT TO YOUR LIFE

26. **INFORMATIVE** Think about what you have learned about slavery and how deeply it divided the United States. What issues divide the country today? Choose one issue and write a paragraph summarizing it and discussing its impact on the country. **HSS.HI.3**

#### TIPS

- Introduce the topic with a clear main idea statement.
- Develop the topic with relevant facts and concrete details. Be sure to present both sides of the issue.
- Compare the impact of the issue you have chosen to the impact of slavery.
- Provide a concluding statement that follows from and supports the information that you have presented.