

# Civil War and Reconstruction

## Why It's Important

Because of the issue of slavery, relations between the North and the South grew more hostile. Soon the two sides met in the most horrible war the country had ever seen. With the North's victory slavery was ended, but the reunited nation faced key issues that would take many decades to reconcile.

- While the North and South had made several compromises on slavery over the years, the issue eventually split the country.
- The Civil War and Reconstruction freed the slaves, but issues related to civil rights and equal opportunity still exist today.

(r)CORBIS, (br)Courtesy of the United States Naval Academy Museum

1820

1820

Congress passes Missouri Compromise

1840

1850

Congress passes Compromise of 1850

*Dred Scott* ▶



1857

Supreme Court announces *Dred Scott* decision

1824

Chumash Indians revolt at California missions

1846

Bear Flag revolt takes place

1850

California is admitted to Union as a free state

1848

*The Communist Manifesto* is published

1853

Commodore Perry arrives in Japan

*Commodore Perry* ▶

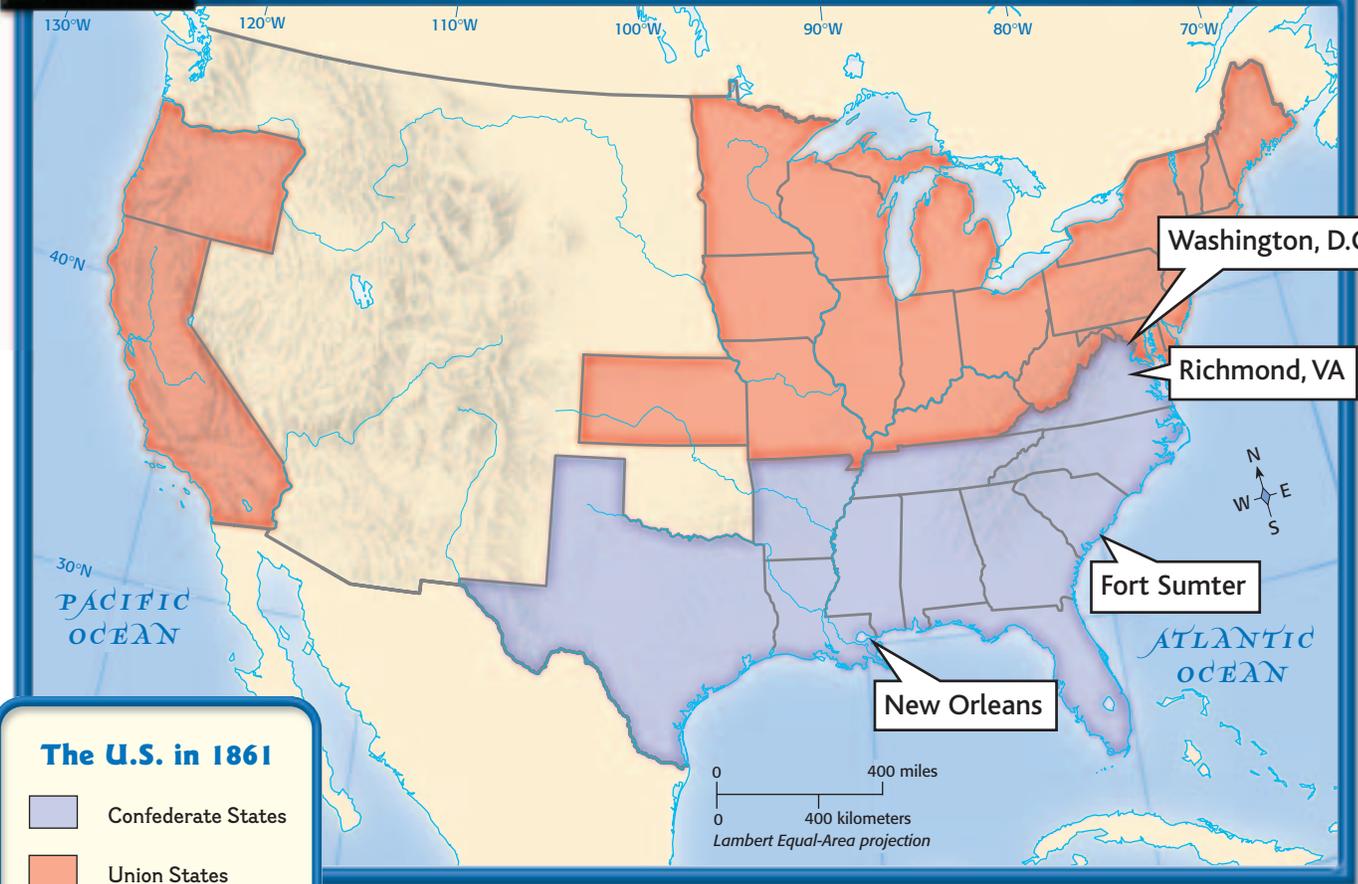


U.S. EVENTS

CALIFORNIA EVENTS

WORLD EVENTS

# Where in the United States?



## The U.S. in 1861

-  Confederate States
-  Union States

**1860**

**1861**  
The Civil War begins



◀ Union and Confederate flags

**1880**

**1877**  
Reconstruction ends

**1900**

**1890**  
Poll taxes and literacy tests begin in Mississippi

**1870**  
Ward v. Flood keeps African Americans out of white schools

**1872**  
Modoc War is last Native American armed resistance

**1879**  
New California Constitution is adopted



◀ Captain Jack, Modoc Chief

**1869**  
Suez Canal completed

**1871**  
Bismarck unifies Germany



◀ Otto von Bismarck

1

**FORT SUMTER**



See *Road to Civil War*  
Chapter 12

2

**GETTYSBURG**



See *The Civil War*  
Chapter 13

## People to Meet



**Frederick Douglass**

c. 1817–1895

African American leader

Chapter 12, page 532



**Sojourner Truth**

c. 1797–1883

African American leader

Chapter 12, page 532



**Dred Scott**

c. 1800–1857

Subject of Supreme Court case on slavery

Chapter 12, page 549



**Abraham Lincoln**

1809–1865

Sixteenth president of the United States

Chapter 12, page 552



**3** APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE

See *The Civil War*  
Chapter 13

**4** FORD'S THEATER

See *Reconstruction*  
Chapter 14

**Ulysses S. Grant**  
1822–1885  
Union general  
Chapter 13, page 611

**Robert E. Lee**  
1807–1870  
Confederate general  
Chapter 13, page 611

**Clara Barton**  
1821–1912  
Civil War nurse  
Chapter 13, page 601

**Andrew Johnson**  
1808–1875  
Seventeenth president of the United States  
Chapter 14, page 628

# Chapter 12

# Road to Civil War

▼ Fort Sumter is where the Civil War began.



NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

## Where & When?



1820

**1820**  
Missouri  
Compromise  
is passed

1845

**1845**  
Texas  
becomes  
a state

1870

**1860**  
Abraham  
Lincoln  
elected  
president

**1861**  
Civil War  
begins

# The Big Ideas

**Section****1**

## Abolitionists

**Reactions to social injustice can lead to reform movements.** Many reformers turned their attention to eliminating slavery.

**Section****2**

## Slavery and the West

**Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs and practices can lead to division within a nation and have lasting consequences.** The question of whether to admit new states as free states or slave states arose.

**Section****3**

## A Nation Dividing

**Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs and practices can lead to division within a nation and have lasting consequences.** Growing tensions over slavery eventually led to violence in the new territories.

**Section****4**

## Challenges to Slavery

**Conflict often brings about great change.** A new antislavery party and a Supreme Court decision divided the nation further on slavery.

**Section****5**

## Secession and War

**Conflict often brings about great change.** In response to Lincoln's election as president, most Southern states left the Union.



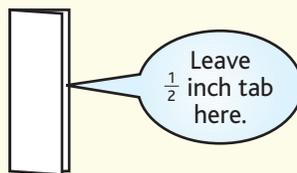
View the Chapter 12 video in the Glencoe Video Program.

### FOLDABLES™

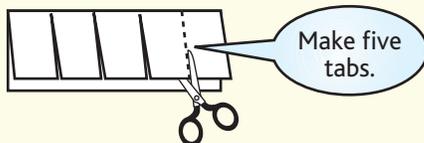
#### Study Organizer

**Sequencing Events** Make and use this foldable to sequence some of the key events that led to the Civil War.

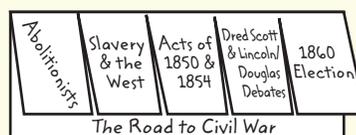
**Step 1** Fold a sheet of paper in half from side to side, leaving a  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch tab along the side.



**Step 2** Cut the top flap to make 5 tabs.



**Step 3** Label your foldable as shown.

**Reading and Writing**

As you read, write facts about the events under each appropriate tab of your foldable. How did these events lead to the Civil War?

# Chapter 12

# Get Ready to Read

## Making Inferences



### 1 Learn It!

Good readers make inferences to help them understand text. Another way to describe this skill is “reading between the lines.” Use this skill to look for clues that might explain what is occurring in the passage even though it may not be explicitly stated. Think about what you already know and draw conclusions based on this knowledge. Because it is impossible to include every detail, the author relies on a reader’s ability to infer. Making inferences will draw on many of the other reading strategies you have been using in this book, including recognizing bias and questioning. When you read the paragraph below, answer the question “What did the people in Boston think of slavery?”

On May 24, 1854, the people of Boston erupted in outrage. Federal officers had seized Anthony Burns, a runaway slave who lived in Boston, to send him back to slavery. Abolitionists tried to rescue Burns from the federal courthouse, and city leaders attempted to buy his freedom. All efforts failed. . . . In a gesture of bitter protest, Bostonians draped buildings in black and hung the American flag upside down.

—from page 533

### Reading Tip

As you read, ask yourself  
“What facts or information  
does the author expect me  
to already know about this  
topic?”

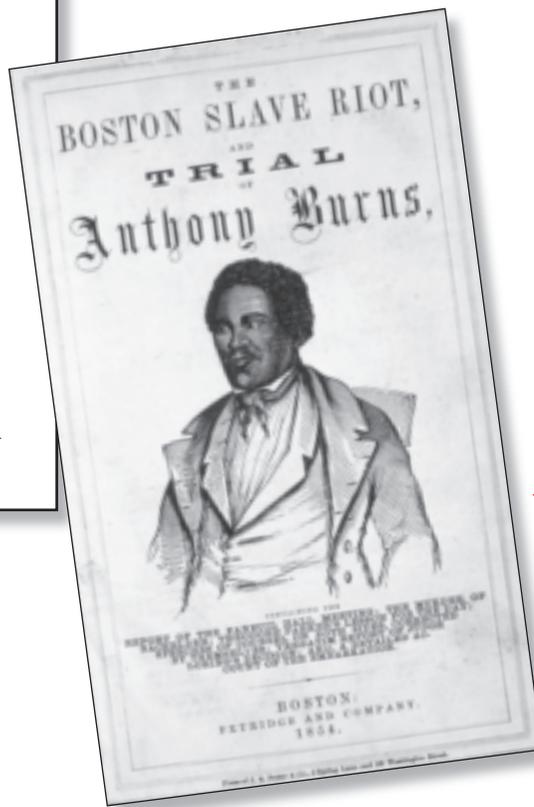
## 2 Practice It!

With a partner, discuss these questions to make more inferences from the passage about Anthony Burns. Be sure to discuss why this account may have been included by the author.

- What was the opinion of the Boston public? The city leaders?
- What message did they want to send to the federal government?
- A flag flown upside down is a naval distress signal. Why did they choose this signal?
- The issue of slavery divided Americans in the 1850s. What are some issues today that divide Americans? What distinguishes a divisive issue from one that can be solved through compromise?

### Read to Write.....

Can you rewrite the passage about Anthony Burns from his perspective? Use the same facts but convey a different impression.



◀ Pamphlet, 1854

## 3 Apply It!

As you read this chapter, practice your skill at making inferences by making connections and asking questions. Try to think about the information “between the lines.”

# Abolitionists

## Guide to Reading



### History Social Science Standards

**US.8.9** Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence.

### Looking Back, Looking Ahead

You learned earlier that slave labor was important to the South. You will now read about how groups and individuals worked to end slavery and to free individual enslaved people.

### Focusing on the **Main Ideas**

- By the early 1800s, a growing number of Americans had begun to demand an immediate end to slavery in the South. (page 529)
- The issue of slavery became the most pressing social issue for reformers, beginning in the 1830s. (page 530)
- Abolitionists established a network of routes and risked their lives to help African Americans escape slavery. (page 533)

### Meeting People

William Lloyd Garrison  
Sarah and Angelina Grimké  
David Walker  
Frederick Douglass  
Sojourner Truth

### Content Vocabulary

**abolitionist** (A • buh • LIH • shuhn • ihst)

### Underground Railroad

(UHN • duhr • GROWND RAYUHL • ROHD)

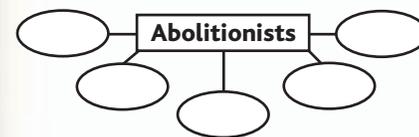
### Academic Vocabulary

**notion** (NOH • shuhn)

**publication** (PUH • bluh • KAY • shuhn)

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing Information** Create a diagram like the one below. As you read the section, identify five abolitionists. Below each name, write a sentence describing his or her role in the movement.



NATIONAL  
GEOGRAPHIC

## Where & When?



1815

**1816**  
American  
Colonization  
Society is  
formed

1830

**1822**  
First African  
Americans  
settle in  
Liberia

1845

**1831**  
William Lloyd  
Garrison founds  
*The Liberator*

1860

**1847**  
Liberia becomes  
an independent  
country



## Early Efforts to End Slavery

**Main Idea** By the early 1800s, a growing number of Americans had begun to demand an immediate end to slavery in the South.

**Reading Connection** Can you think of an issue that caused disagreement in your family or group of friends? Read to learn how divisive the issue of slavery was to the nation.

### An American Story

William Lloyd Garrison, a dramatic and spirited man, fought strongly for the right of African Americans to be free. On one occasion, Garrison was present when Frederick Douglass, an African American who had escaped from slavery, spoke to a white audience about life as a slave. Douglass electrified his listeners with a powerful speech. Suddenly, Garrison leaped to his feet. "Is this a man," he demanded of the audience, "or a thing?" Garrison shared Douglass's outrage at the **notion** that people could be bought and sold like objects.

The spirit of reform that swept the United States in the early 1800s was not limited to improving education and expanding the arts. It also included the efforts of **abolitionists** (A•buh•LIH•shuhn•ihsts) like Garrison and Douglass—members of the growing band of reformers who worked to abolish, or end, slavery.

Even before the American Revolution, some Americans had tried to limit or end slavery. At the Constitutional Convention in 1787, the delegates had reached a compromise on the difficult issue, agreeing to let each state decide whether to allow slavery. By the early 1800s, Northern states had ended slavery, but it continued in the South.

The religious revival and the reform movement of the early and mid-1800s gave new life to the antislavery movement. Many Americans came to believe that slavery was wrong. Yet not all Northerners shared this view. The conflict over slavery continued to build.

Many of the men and women who led the antislavery movement came from the Quaker faith. One Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, wrote:

“I heard the wail of the captive;  
I felt his pang of distress, and the  
iron entered my soul.”

—from *Historical Collections of Ohio*

Lundy founded a newspaper in 1821 to spread the abolitionist message.

**American Colonization Society** The first large-scale antislavery effort was aimed at resettling African Americans in Africa or the Caribbean. The American Colonization Society, formed in 1816 by a group of white Virginians, attempted to free enslaved workers gradually by buying them from slaveholders and sending them abroad to start new lives.

The society raised enough money from private donors, Congress, and a few state legislatures to send several groups of African Americans out of the country. Some went to the west coast of Africa, where the society had acquired land for a colony. In 1822 the first African American settlers arrived in this colony, called Liberia, Latin for “place of freedom.”

In 1847 Liberia became an independent country. American emigration to Liberia continued until the Civil War. Some 12,000 to 20,000 African Americans settled in the new country between 1822 and 1865.

The American Colonization Society did not halt the growth of slavery. The number of enslaved people continued to increase at a steady pace, and the society could only resettle a small number of African Americans. Furthermore, most African Americans regarded the United States as their home and were not prepared to migrate to another continent. Many were from families that had lived in America for several generations. They simply wanted to be free in American society.

**Reading Check Explain** How did the American Colonization Society fight slavery?





**US8.9.1** 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).

## The New Abolitionists

**Main Idea** The issue of slavery became the most pressing social issue for reformers, beginning in the 1830s.

**Reading Connection** Think of a person or a leader whom you admire. Does he or she stand up for others? Read to learn how abolitionists worked to end slavery.

**The Movement Changes** Reformers realized that the gradual approach to ending slavery had failed. Moreover, the numbers of enslaved persons had sharply increased because the cotton boom in the Deep South made planters increasingly dependent on slave labor. Beginning in about 1830, the American antislavery movement took on new life. Soon it became the most pressing social issue for reformers.



### Picturing History

In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison began publishing a newspaper called *The Liberator*. **What was Garrison's position regarding slavery?**

**William Lloyd Garrison** An abolitionist named **William Lloyd Garrison** stimulated the growth of the antislavery movement. In 1829 Garrison left Massachusetts to work for the country's leading antislavery newspaper in Baltimore. Impatient with the paper's moderate position, Garrison returned to Boston in 1831 to found his own newspaper, *The Liberator*.

Garrison was one of the first white abolitionists to call for the "immediate and complete emancipation [freeing]" of enslaved people. In the first issue of his paper, he wrote: "I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD."

Garrison *was* heard. He attracted enough followers to start the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832 and the American Anti-Slavery Society the next year. The abolitionist movement grew rapidly. By 1838 the antislavery societies Garrison started had more than 1,000 chapters, or local branches.

**The Grimké Sisters** Among the first women who spoke out publicly against slavery were **Sarah and Angelina Grimké**. Born in South Carolina to a wealthy slaveholding family, the sisters moved to Philadelphia in 1832.

In the North, the Grimké sisters lectured and wrote against slavery. At one antislavery meeting, Angelina Grimké exclaimed:

“As a Southerner, I feel that it is my duty to stand up . . . against slavery. I have seen it—I have seen it.”

—Angelina Grimké, lecture, 1838

The Grimkés persuaded their mother to give them their share of the family inheritance. Instead of money or land, the sisters asked for several of the enslaved workers, whom they immediately freed.

The Grimkés and Angelina's husband, abolitionist Theodore Weld, wrote *American Slavery As It Is* in 1839. This collection of firsthand accounts of life under slavery was an influential abolitionist **publication**, selling more than 100,000 copies in its first year.

**African American Abolitionists** White abolitionists drew public attention to the cause, but African Americans played a major role in the abolitionist movement from the start. The abolition of slavery was an especially important goal to the free African Americans of the North.

Many African Americans in the North lived in poverty in cities. Although they were excluded from most jobs and were often attacked by white mobs, a great many of these African Americans were intensely proud of their freedom and wanted to help those who were still enslaved.

African Americans took an active part in organizing and directing the American Anti-Slavery Society, and they subscribed in large numbers to William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*. In 1827 Samuel Cornish and John

Russwurm started the country's first African American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*. Most of the other newspapers that African Americans founded before the Civil War also promoted abolition.

Born a free man in North Carolina, writer **David Walker** of Boston published an impassioned argument against slavery, challenging African Americans to rebel and overthrow slavery by force. "America is more our country than it is the whites'—we have enriched it with our blood and tears," he wrote.

In 1830 free African American leaders held their first convention in Philadelphia. Delegates met "to devise ways and means for the bettering of our condition." They discussed starting an African American college and encouraging free African Americans to emigrate to Canada.

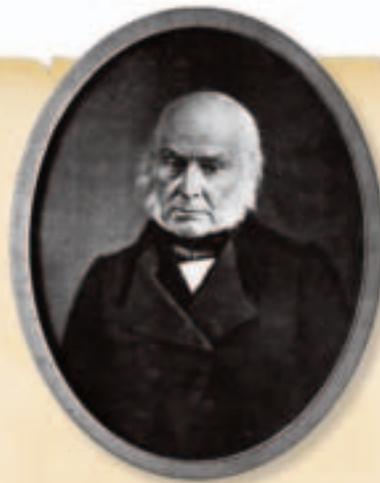
## Primary Sources

### Abolishing Slavery

While serving in the House of Representatives, former President John Quincy Adams battled slavery. In 1839 he proposed a constitutional amendment that provided for the abolition of slavery. Its three provisions follow.

1st From and after the 4th of July, 1842, there shall be, throughout the United States, no hereditary slavery; but on and after that day every child born within the United States, their Territories or jurisdiction, shall be born free.

2d. With the exception of the Territory of Florida, there shall henceforth never be admitted into this Union any State, the constitution of which shall tolerate within the same the existence of slavery.



◀ John Quincy Adams

3d. From and after the 4th of July, 1845, there shall be neither slavery nor slave trade at the seat of Government of the United States.

### DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. How would each part of the amendment bring about the end of slavery?
2. Was Adams providing for its immediate or gradual end? Why do you think he chose this method?

**Frederick Douglass** Frederick Douglass, the most widely known African American abolitionist, was born enslaved in Maryland. After teaching himself to read and write, he escaped from slavery in Maryland in 1838 and settled first in Massachusetts and then in New York.

As a runaway, Douglass could have been captured and returned to slavery. Still, he joined the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and traveled widely to address abolitionist meetings. A powerful speaker, Douglass often moved listeners to tears with his message. At an Independence Day gathering, he told the audience:

“What, to the American slave, is your [Fourth] of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham . . . your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless . . . your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery.”

—from *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*

For 16 years, Douglass edited an antislavery newspaper called the *North Star*. Douglass won admiration as a powerful and influential speaker and writer. He traveled abroad, speaking to huge antislavery audiences in London and the West Indies.

Douglass returned to the United States because he believed abolitionists must fight slavery at its source. He insisted that African Americans receive not only their freedom but full equality with whites as well. In 1847 friends helped Douglass purchase his freedom from the slaveholder in Maryland from whom he had fled.

**Sojourner Truth** “I was born a slave in Ulster County, New York,” Isabella Baumfree began when she told her story to audiences. Called



Collection of William Gladstone

**Picturing History**

Sojourner Truth learned about abolition in 1843 when she was preaching in Massachusetts. **How did Sojourner Truth get and keep her freedom?**

“Belle,” she lived in the cellar of a slaveholder’s house. She escaped in 1826 and gained official freedom in 1827 when New York banned slavery. Quaker friends then helped her recover one son who had been sold as a slave. She eventually settled in New York City with her two youngest children. She supported her family by doing domestic work. During this time, she began preaching in the streets.

In 1843 Belle chose a new name. “**Sojourner Truth** is my name,” she said, “because from this day I will walk in the light of [God’s] truth.” She dedicated her life to the movements for abolition and for women’s rights.

**Reading Check Explain** Why did Frederick Douglass return to the United States?



**US8.9.1** 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).

## The Underground Railroad

**Main Idea** Abolitionists established a network of routes and risked their lives to help African Americans escape slavery.

**Reading Connection** Can you think of an example in recent times when people fled to avoid oppression? Read and find out about the Underground Railroad.

### An American Story

On May 24, 1854, the people of Boston erupted in outrage. Federal officers had seized Anthony Burns, a runaway slave who lived in Boston, to send him back to slavery. Abolitionists tried to rescue Burns from the federal courthouse, and city leaders attempted to buy his freedom.

All efforts failed. Local militia units joined the marines and cavalry in Boston to keep order. Federal troops escorted Burns to a ship that would carry him back to Virginia and slavery. In a gesture of bitter protest, Bostonians draped buildings in black and hung the American flag upside down.

**The Fugitive Slave Act** The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 required all citizens to help catch runaways. Anyone who aided a fugitive could be fined or imprisoned. People in the South believed the law would force Northerners to recognize the rights of Southerners. Instead, enforcement of the law led to mounting anger in the North, convincing more people of the evils of slavery. After passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, slaveholders stepped up efforts to catch runaway slaves.



Slaveholders even tried to capture runaways who had lived in freedom in the North for years. Sometimes they seized African Americans who were not escaped slaves and forced them into slavery.

**Resistance to the Law** In spite of the penalties, many Northerners refused to cooperate with the law’s enforcement. The **Underground Railroad**, a network of free African Americans and whites, helped runaways make their way to freedom. Antislavery groups tried to rescue African Americans who were being pursued or to free those who were captured. In Boston, members of one such group followed federal agents shouting, “Slave hunters—there go the slave hunters.” People contributed funds to buy the freedom of African Americans. Northern juries refused to convict those accused of breaking the Fugitive Slave Law.

**Harriet Tubman** Born as a slave in Maryland, Harriet Tubman worked in plantation fields until she was nearly 30 years old. Then she made her break for freedom, escaping to the North with the help of the Underground Railroad. Settling in Philadelphia, Tubman met many abolitionists who shared her desire to bring Southern slaves to the North. Realizing the risks of being captured, Tubman courageously made 19 trips back into the South during the 1850s to help other enslaved people escape. Altogether she assisted about 70 individuals—including her parents—to escape from slavery. Tubman became the most successful conductor on the Underground Railroad. She was known as the “Moses of her people” for leading slaves to freedom in the North.

**Reading Check Identify** What was the Underground Railroad?

**History** *online*  
**Study Central** Need help understanding abolitionism? Visit [ca.hss.glencoe.com](http://ca.hss.glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

## Section I Review

### Reading Summary

#### Review the Main Ideas

- In the early 1800s, one major antislavery movement worked to resettle freed slaves in the country of Liberia in Africa.
- The antislavery movement became stronger in the 1830s, spurred on by a number of abolitionists, both white, such as William Lloyd Garrison and the Grimké sisters, and African American, such as Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth.
- Abolitionists helped runaway slaves escape, but many others in both the North and the South opposed abolition.

### What Did You Learn?

1. Describe the American Colonization Society’s solution to slavery.
2. How did William Lloyd Garrison help the abolitionist movement?
4. **The Big Ideas** What role did Harriet Tubman play in the antislavery movement?  
**CA HIT.**
5. **Compare** How did the goals and strategies of the American Colonization Society differ from those of the abolitionist movement?  
**CA HR5.**

### Critical Thinking

3. **Organizing Information** Use a diagram like the one below to identify actions that abolitionists took to free enslaved people.  
**CA CSI.**



6. **READING Making Inferences** Reread the primary source quotes from this section. Write a paragraph that makes inferences to describe each person’s views of slavery. **CA 8RC2.0**

# Slavery and the West

## Guide to Reading

### Looking Back, Looking Ahead

As you know, abolitionists tried to end slavery. At the same time, the possible spread of slavery into the West was an issue that repeatedly divided the nation.

### Focusing on the **Main Ideas**

- The Missouri Compromise helped resolve the issue of whether new states would be slave states or free states. (page 536)
- The Kentucky Resolution first advanced the doctrine of nullification. (page 537)
- In the 1840s, the issue of slavery in new territories was once again at the forefront. (page 539)
- Henry Clay presented a plan to settle the slavery debate that resulted in the Compromise of 1850. (page 541)

### Meeting People

James K. Polk  
Millard Fillmore  
Stephen A. Douglas

### Content Vocabulary

**sectionalism** (SEHK • shnuh • LIH • zuhm)

**nullify** (NUH • luh • FY)

**protective tariff**

(pruh • TEHK • tihv TAR • uhf)

**fugitive** (FYOO • juh • tihv)

**secede** (sih • SEED)

**abstain** (uhb • STAYN)

### Academic Vocabulary

**debate**

**controversy** (KAHN • truh • VUHR • see)

**collapse**

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing Information** As you read the section, describe how these compromises dealt with the admission of new states.

Admission of New States	
The Missouri Compromise	The Compromise of 1850



**US8.9** Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence.

**US8.10** Students analyze the multiple causes, key events, and complex consequences of the Civil War.

## NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC Where & When?



1820

**1820**  
Missouri Compromise is passed

1840

**1845**  
Texas becomes a state

**1848**  
Free-Soil Party nominates Van Buren

1860

**1850**  
Compromise of 1850 diverts war



**USH.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).

## The Missouri Compromise

**Main Idea** The Missouri Compromise helped resolve the issue of whether new states would be slave states or free states.

**Reading Connection** Do you compete with a nearby school in sports or another activity? If so, you probably feel loyalty to the school you attend. Read to learn how in the early 1800s, differences between the North and South led to sectionalism, which is loyalty to a particular region.

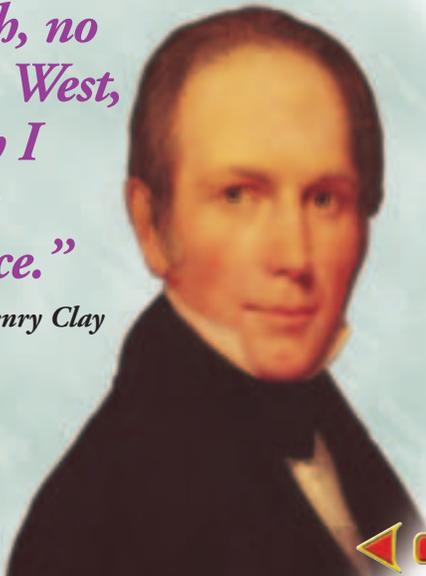
### An American Story

"The deed is done. The . . . chains of slavery are forged for [many] yet unborn. Humble yourselves in the dust, ye high-minded citizens of Connecticut. Let your cheeks be red as crimson. On *your* representatives rests the stigma of this foul disgrace." These biting, fiery words were published in a Connecticut newspaper in 1820. They were in response to members of Congress who had helped pave the way for the admission of Missouri as a slaveholding state.

**What Is Sectionalism?** The request by slaveholding Missouri to join the Union in 1819 caused an angry debate that worried former president Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. Jefferson called the dispute "a fire-bell in the night" that "awakened

*"I know no South,  
no North, no  
East, no West,  
to which I  
owe any  
allegiance."*

—Henry Clay



and filled me with terror." Adams accurately predicted that the bitter **debate** was "a mere pre-amble—a title-page to a great tragic volume."

Many Missouri settlers had brought enslaved African Americans into the territory with them. By 1819 the Missouri Territory included about 50,000 whites and 10,000 slaves. When Missouri applied to Congress for admission as a state, its constitution allowed slavery.

In 1819 eleven states permitted slavery and eleven did not. The Senate—with two members from each state—was therefore evenly balanced between slave and free states. The admission of a new state would upset that balance.

In addition the North and the South, with their different economic systems, were competing for new lands in the western territories. At the same time, a growing number of Northerners wanted to restrict or ban slavery. Southerners, even those who disliked slavery, opposed these antislavery efforts. They resented the interference by outsiders in Southerners' affairs. These differences between the North and the South grew into **sectionalism** (SEHK • shnuh • LIH • zuhm)—an exaggerated loyalty to a particular region of the country.

**Clay's Proposal** The Senate suggested a way to resolve the crisis by allowing Missouri's admittance as a slave state while simultaneously admitting Maine as a free state. Maine, formerly part of Massachusetts, had also applied for admission to the Union. The Senate also sought to settle the issue of slavery in the territories for good. It proposed prohibiting slavery in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36°30'N latitude.

Speaker of the House Henry Clay of Kentucky skillfully maneuvered the Senate bill to passage in 1820 by dividing it into three proposals. The Missouri Compromise preserved the balance between slave and free states in the Senate and quieted the bitter debate in Congress over slavery. However, this would not last.

**Reading Check Explain** How did sectionalism contribute to the ongoing debate about the admission of states?



**US8.10.1** 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 **US8.10.3** Identify the constitutional issues posed by the doctrine of nullification and secession and the earliest origins of that doctrine.

## Nullification

**Main Idea** The Kentucky Resolution first advanced the doctrine of nullification.

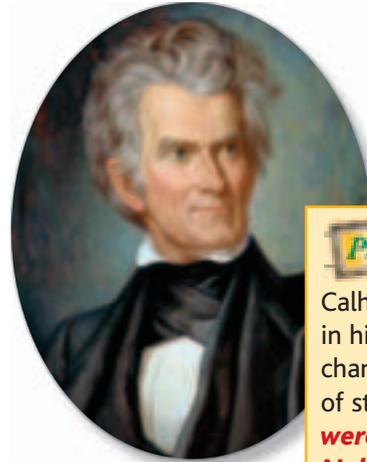
**Reading Connection** Have you ever wanted to overturn a decision that you thought was unfair? Read to learn how nullification legally permitted states to overturn unconstitutional laws.

Southerners argued that states could **nullify** (NUH•luh•FY), or legally overturn, federal laws that they considered unconstitutional. The issue of nullification arose again and again in the nation’s early history.

### Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions

Nullification was first expressed in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798–1799. These resolutions, written by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, declared that the Federalists’ Alien and Sedition laws were unconstitutional. (See page 295-96.) Jefferson and Madison used the ideas of John Locke and the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution to argue that the federal government had been formed by a contract among the states. The federal government possessed only certain powers. Whenever a state decided that the federal government passed a law that went beyond these powers, the state had the right to nullify the law.

**What Was the Hartford Convention?** The issue of nullification reappeared during the War of 1812, this time among Federalists in New England. Many New Englanders opposed the war. One reason was that many people there made their living by trade, which was greatly hurt when the war began. Many Federalists also believed that Republicans in the South and West brought about the war. Delegates from the New England states revived the idea of nullification and proposed amendments to the Constitution at a meeting called the Hartford Convention. (See page 359.) The Federalists made no progress with their demands, and with the end of the war, the power of the Federalist party declined.



### Picturing History

Calhoun was a nationalist in his early career, but he changed to a champion of states’ rights. **How were the Ordinance of Nullification and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions alike?**

**The Tariff Controversy** The nullification controversy arose again in the 1820s and 1830s, this time over the issue of protective tariffs.

**Protective tariffs** (pruh•TEHK•tihv TAR•uhfs) are taxes that are placed on goods that come from another country. Protective tariffs raise the price of goods from other countries. A tax on imported shoes, for example, makes American-made shoes more attractive to consumers.

By the 1820s, most Southerners had become convinced that protective tariffs were harmful to the South. Although such tariffs helped the young industries of the North, they also raised the prices of manufactured goods purchased in the South. People in the South felt that it was unjust for them to bear the expense for the development of another region of the country.

**Ordinance of Nullification** When Congress passed the tariff of 1828, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina argued that the tariff was “unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust.” Calhoun based his argument on the ideas that Jefferson and Madison had used in defending the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. In 1832 Congress passed a new tariff law. Although the tax rates were lower than those of 1828, they were still high. South Carolina called a special convention that voted for an Ordinance of Nullification against the new tariff.



Calhoun had raised an important issue—the supremacy of the national government versus state sovereignty. The states’ rights doctrine, first found in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, had taken a giant step toward secession. If states were sovereign, they had a right to secede from the Union.

**Can a State Nullify a Law?** Early in 1830, Calhoun’s doctrine of nullification came before the United States Senate during a debate over land policy. People in the West were angry because of a bill that would limit the sale of western lands. Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina argued that the western states could nullify the bill if it became law.

Daniel Webster of Massachusetts replied to Hayne. Webster denied that the Constitution

was just a compact between the states, to be interpreted as each state chose. On the contrary, he said, only the Supreme Court could decide whether a law was constitutional. Webster argued that the federal government was sovereign, that the Union was perpetual, and that any attempt to dismember it was nothing less than treason. Webster closed with this ringing statement: “Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.”

In 1833 the nullification crisis was settled by a compromise. The tariff was lowered and, in response, South Carolina withdrew its Ordinance of Nullification. Both sides claimed victory, and the issue was laid to rest—at least temporarily.

**Reading Check Analyze** Why did the South and the Northeast try to use nullification?

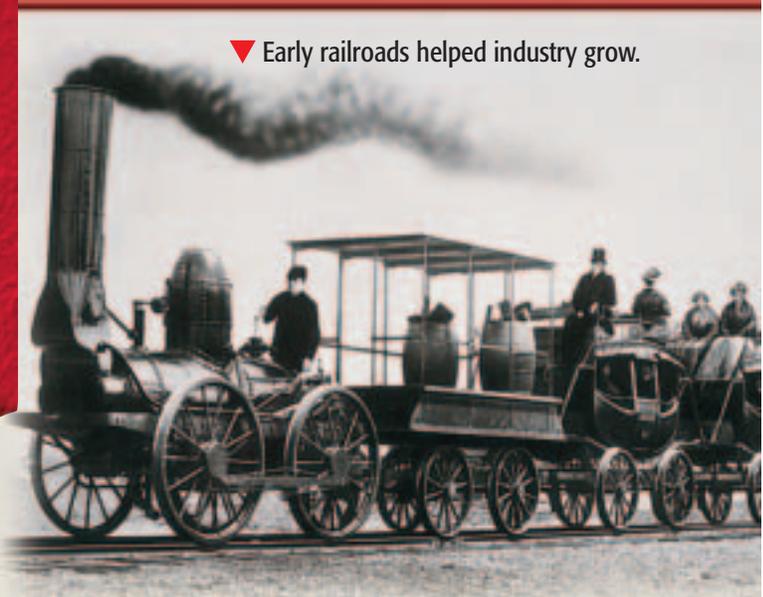
# The Way It Was

## Agrarians and Industrialists

Sectionalism, the rivalry between one region and another, was based on economic and political interests. One rivalry that developed was between agrarians and industrialists.

### Agrarianism

Thomas Jefferson believed that the strength of the United States was its independent farmers. His ideas are sometimes referred to as agrarianism. Jefferson argued that owning land



▼ Early railroads helped industry grow.

enabled people to be independent. As long as most people owned their own land, they would fight to preserve the Republic.

Jefferson believed that too much of an emphasis on industry and trade would lead to a society that was divided between the rich who owned everything and the poor who worked for wages. He also believed that the wealthy would corrupt the government and threaten the rights and liberties of ordinary people.



**US8.9.5** 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).

## New Western Lands

**Main Idea** In the 1840s, the issue of slavery in new territories was once again at the forefront.

**Reading Connection** Can you think of a debate you have been a part of that turned out to be difficult to resolve? Read to learn how Congress continued to struggle with a solution concerning slavery.

For the next 25 years, Congress avoided the issue of slavery's expansion. In the 1840s, however, this heated debate moved back into Congress. Again, the dispute was over slavery in new territories. The territories involved were Texas, which had won its independence from Mexico in 1836, and New Mexico and California, which were still part of Mexico.

Many Southerners hoped to see Texas, where slavery already existed, join the Union. As a result, the annexation of Texas became the main issue in the presidential election of 1844. Democrat **James K. Polk** of Tennessee won the election and pressed forward on acquiring Texas. Texas became a state in 1845. At the same time, support for taking over New Mexico and California also grew in the South. The federal government's actions on these lands led to war with Mexico.

**Conflicting Views** Just months after the war with Mexico began, Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced a proposal in Congress. Called the Wilmot Proviso, it specified that slavery should be prohibited in any lands that might be acquired from Mexico.

During the 1800s, many Americans kept Jefferson's ideal of small, independent farming communities as the model society. Agrarians, particularly in the South, were alarmed at the changes that industrialization was producing in the nation's cities. They viewed independent farming as a way to escape degrading factory work and the unhealthy and overcrowded large cities.

## Industrialism

The Industrial Revolution changed the Northeast from a region where families lived and worked together at farming, crafts, and home-based businesses to one in which people earned their livings by working for others in industry. Many Americans believed that manufacturing and trade were the basis of national wealth and power. They favored policies that would support these areas of the economy.

Although industrial growth caused problems, economic progress also made life

easier in many ways. Improved transportation and mass production meant that more goods were available to more people. American living standards were surpassing those of European countries.

In the cities, people were beginning to enjoy new comforts and conveniences such as gas streetlights and better sewer systems. Some Americans came to believe that they were living in an age of progress. They expected that new inventions, along with America's abundant resources, would improve life for Americans and set an example for other countries of the world.

▼ Many Americans made their living by farming.





### **Picturing History**

By 1848 the population of San Francisco was about 1,000 residents. The population of the city and the California territory would grow greatly during the gold rush. **What issue during the presidential election campaign of 1848 involved California?**

Southerners protested furiously. They wanted to keep open the possibility of introducing slavery to California and New Mexico. Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina countered Wilmot's proposal with another. It stated that neither Congress nor any territorial government had the authority to ban slavery from a territory or regulate it in any way.

Neither Wilmot's nor Calhoun's proposal passed, but both caused bitter debate. By the time of the 1848 presidential election, the United States had acquired the territories of California and New Mexico from Mexico but had taken no action on the issue of slavery in those areas.

**The Free-Soil Party** The debate over slavery led to the formation of a new political party. In 1848 the Whigs chose Zachary Taylor, a Southerner and a hero of the war with Mexico, as their presidential candidate. The Democrats selected Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan. Neither candidate took a stand on slavery in the territories. They were both afraid of losing votes.

This failure to take a position angered voters. Many antislavery Democrats and Whigs left their parties and joined with members of the old Liberty Party to form the Free-Soil Party. The new party proclaimed "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and endorsed the Wilmot Proviso. The party nominated former president Martin Van Buren as its presidential candidate.

Whig candidate Zachary Taylor won the election, receiving 163 electoral votes to 127 for Cass. The Whig's strategy of maintaining neutrality helped them win the election. Van Buren failed to receive a single electoral vote, and captured only 14 percent of the popular vote in the North. However, several candidates of the Free-Soil Party won seats in Congress.

**Reading Check Explain** How was John C. Calhoun's proposal different from the Wilmot Proviso?



**US8.9.4** 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. **US8.9.5** 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).

## The Search for Compromise

**Main Idea** Henry Clay presented a plan to settle the slavery debate that resulted in the Compromise of 1850.

**Reading Connection** Do you remember an argument you have had recently? How did you resolve the argument? Read to learn how Congress settled its dividing issues in 1850.

Once in office, President Zachary Taylor urged leaders in the two territories of California and New Mexico to apply for statehood immediately. After these lands had become states, he reasoned, their citizens could decide whether to allow slavery. New Mexico did not apply for statehood, but California did in 1850.

Taylor's plan ran into trouble when California's statehood became tangled up with other issues before Congress. Antislavery forces wanted to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, the nation's capital. Southerners wanted a strong national law requiring states to return **fugitive** (FYOO•juh•tihv), or runaway, slaves to their masters. Another dispute involved the New Mexico–Texas border.

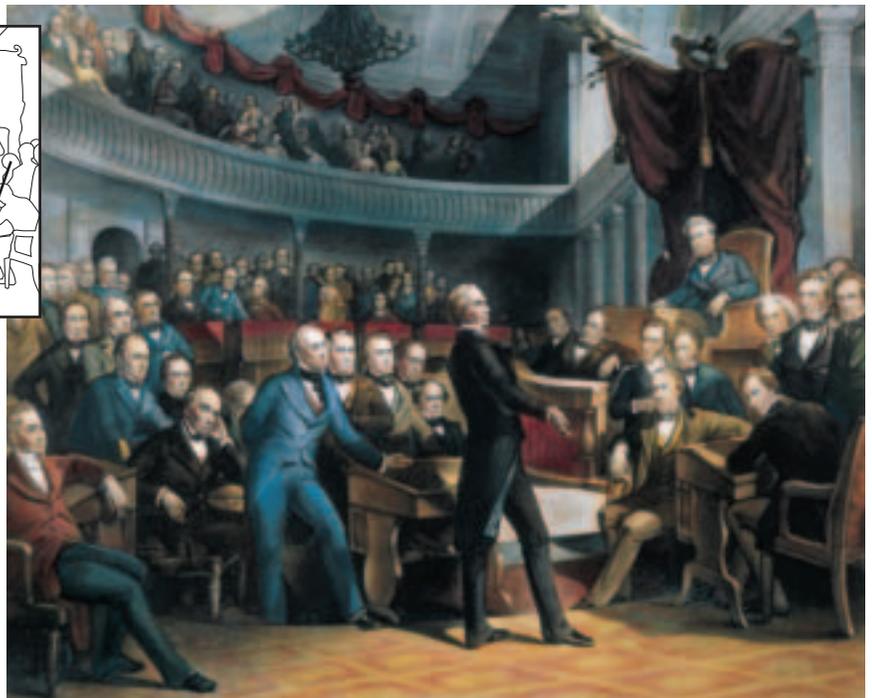
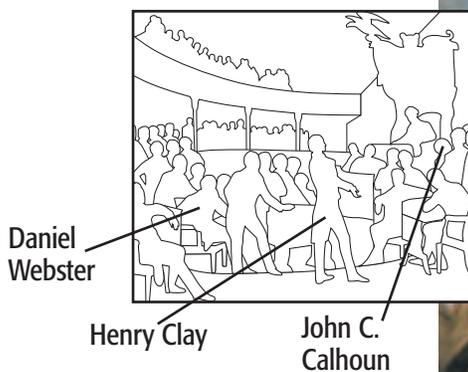
The greatest obstacle to Taylor's plan was concern over the balance of power in the Senate. In 1849 the nation included 15 slave

states and 15 free states. If California entered as a free state—and New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah followed as free states—which seemed likely—the South would be hopelessly outvoted in the Senate. As tension grew, some Southerners began talking about having their states **secede** (seh•SEED) from, or leave, the United States.

**The Debate Begins** In January 1850, Henry Clay, now a senator, presented a plan to settle all the issues dividing Congress. First, California would be admitted as a free state. Second, the New Mexico Territory would have no restrictions on slavery. Third, the New Mexico–Texas border dispute would be settled in favor of New Mexico. Fourth, the slave trade, but not slavery itself, would be abolished in the District of Columbia. Finally, Clay pushed for a stronger fugitive slave law.

Clay's proposal launched an emotional debate in Congress that raged for seven months. Senator Calhoun opposed Clay's plan. He believed that the only way to save the Union was to protect slavery. If Congress admitted California as a free state, Calhoun warned, the Southern states would have to leave the Union.

Senator Daniel Webster supported Clay's plan. He argued that antislavery forces lost little in agreeing to the compromise.



**Picturing History**  
The Great Debate over the Compromise of 1850 raged for months. **Why did Daniel Webster favor this compromise?**

Webster reasoned that geography would prevent slavery from taking root in the new territories, because most of the land was not suited for plantations. What was most important was to preserve the Union.

**The Compromise of 1850** Clay’s plan could not pass as a complete package. Too many members of Congress objected to one part of it or another. On July 4, 1850, before the issue could be decided, President Taylor **collapsed** with a severe stomach illness. He died five days later, having served just 16 months as president. The new president, **Millard Fillmore**, supported some form of compromise. At the same time, **Stephen A. Douglas**, a young senator from Illinois, took charge of efforts to resolve the crisis. Douglas divided Clay’s plan into a series of measures that Congress could vote on

separately. In this way, members of Congress would not have to support proposals they opposed.

President Fillmore persuaded several Whig representatives to **abstain** (uhb • STAYN)—not to cast votes—on measures they opposed. Congress finally passed a series of five separate bills in August and September of 1850. Taken together these laws, known as the Compromise of 1850, contained the five main points of Clay’s original plan. Fillmore believed they settled the conflict between North and South. The president would soon be proved wrong.

**Reading Check Explain** How did the Compromise of 1850 affect the New Mexico Territory? What role did California play in this?

**History online**  
**Study Central** Need help understanding the issue of slavery in the West? Visit [ca.hss.glencoe.com](http://ca.hss.glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

## Section 2 Review

### Reading Summary

#### Review the Main Ideas

- The Missouri Compromise allowed both Missouri and Maine to enter the Union in order to maintain the balance between slave and free states.
- In the 1820s and 1830s, South Carolina threatened to nullify federal tariff laws.
- The acquisition of new territories in the West—Texas, New Mexico, and California—created more conflicts over slavery.
- The Compromise of 1850, developed by Henry Clay, included a number of provisions dealing with slavery that temporarily resolved the debate between the North and South.

### What Did You Learn?

1. List the provisions of the Missouri Compromise.
2. Why did it matter if California entered as a slave state or a free state?
5. **Analyze** What was the Wilmot Proviso? Why was it controversial? **CA CS1.**
6. **Persuasive Writing** Create a poster for the Free-Soil Party presidential candidate. Include slogans and symbols to gain popular support. **CA 8WA2.1.C**

### Critical Thinking

3. **Comparing** Re-create the table below and describe what the North and South each gained from the Compromise of 1850. **CA H11.**

Compromise of 1850	
Northern gains	Southern gains

4. **The Big Ideas** Why was the Free-Soil Party created? **CA H12.**
7. **ANALYSIS Making Connections** Make a time line highlighting key issues of federal sovereignty versus states’ rights. Include the Virginia-Kentucky Resolutions of 1798–99 and the Compromise of 1850. **CA CS2.**

# A Nation Dividing

## Guide to Reading

### Looking Back, Looking Ahead

The Compromise of 1850 seemed to have settled the problem of slavery in new states. When statehood for Kansas and Nebraska drew near, however, slavery again divided the nation.

### Focusing on the **Main Ideas**

- The Kansas-Nebraska Act resulted from another dispute over slavery in Congress. (page 544)
- Violence erupted as proslavery and antislavery forces came to arms when the new proslavery Kansas legislature was elected. (page 546)

### Locating Places

Kansas  
Nebraska

### Meeting People

Harriet Beecher Stowe  
John Brown  
Charles Sumner  
Preston Brooks

### Content Vocabulary

**popular sovereignty** (SAH • vruhn • tee)  
**border ruffians** (RUH • fee • uhns)  
civil war

### Academic Vocabulary

reveal  
**inevitable** (ih • NEH • vuh • tuh • buhl)

### Reading Strategy

**Taking Notes** As you read the section, re-create the table below and describe how Southerners and Northerners reacted to the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Kansas-Nebraska Act	
Southern reaction	Northern reaction



### History Social Science Standards

**US8.9** Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence.



## Where & When?



1850	1853	1854	1856
<b>1850</b> Fugitive Slave Act is passed	<b>1852</b> <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> is published	<b>1854</b> Kansas-Nebraska Act is passed	<b>1856</b> Charles Sumner is attacked in Senate



**US8.9.5** 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).

## The Kansas-Nebraska Act

**Main Idea** The Kansas-Nebraska Act resulted from another dispute over slavery in Congress.

**Reading Connection** Do you know where the present-day states of Kansas and Nebraska are located? Find them on the Reference Atlas maps in the front of your book. Read to learn what happened in this part of the country in the mid-1850s.

Franklin Pierce, a New Hampshire Democrat who supported the Fugitive Slave Act, became president in 1853. Pierce intended to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, and his actions hardened the opposition to slavery. **Harriet Beecher Stowe's** popular book *Uncle Tom's Cabin* added fuel to antislavery feelings with its description of slavery as a cruel and inhuman system.

In 1854 the dispute over slavery erupted in Congress again. The cause was a bill introduced by Stephen A. Douglas, the Illinois senator who had forged the Compromise of 1850. Hoping to encourage settlement of the West and open the way for a transcontinental railroad, Douglas

proposed organizing the region west of Missouri and Iowa as the territories of **Kansas** and **Nebraska**. Douglas was developing a plan for the nation to expand that both the North and the South would accept. Instead his bill reopened the conflict about slavery in the territories.

**Geography of Slavery** Because of their location, Kansas and Nebraska seemed likely to become free states. Both lay north of 36°30'N latitude, the line established in the Missouri Compromise as the boundary of slavery. Douglas knew that Southerners would object to having Kansas and Nebraska become free states because it would give the North more members in the Senate. As a result, Douglas proposed abandoning the Missouri Compromise and letting the settlers in each territory vote on whether to allow slavery. He called this **popular sovereignty** (SAH•vruhn•tee)—allowing the people to decide.

**Passage of the Act** Many Northerners protested strongly. Douglas's plan to repeal the Missouri Compromise would allow slavery into areas that had been free for more than 30 years. Opponents of the bill demanded that Congress vote down the bill.

Southerners in Congress, however, provided solid support for the bill. They expected that Kansas would be settled in large part by slaveholders from Missouri who would vote to keep slavery legal. With some support from Northern Democrats and the backing of President Pierce, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854.

**Division Grows** Northern Democrats in the House split almost evenly on the vote, revealing deep divisions in the party. Many Northerners became convinced that compromise with the South was no longer possible. Sam Houston, senator from Texas, predicted that the bill "will convulse [upset] the country from Maine to the Rio Grande."

**Reading Check Describe** Write a definition of **popular sovereignty** in your own words.



### Picturing History

Stephen Douglas enthusiastically supported national expansion. **Why did the Kansas-Nebraska Act reopen the question of whether slavery should be allowed in the territories?**



## HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

1811–1896

Writer Harriet Beecher Stowe called the Fugitive Slave Act a “nightmare abomination.” Stowe, born Harriet Elizabeth Beecher to a New England minister, moved to Cincinnati with her family when she was 21. There, on the banks of the Ohio River, she saw enslaved people being loaded onto ships to be taken to slave markets. Stowe was introduced to many abolitionists, some of whom owned safe houses along the Underground Railroad. Stowe strongly opposed slavery, but for some time, she did not know how she could help end it. With the help of her children and husband, Stowe developed an antislavery story called *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Packed with dramatic incidents and vivid characters, the novel shows slavery as a cruel and brutal system.

Published in 1852, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* quickly became a sensation, selling more than 300,000 copies in the first year. Some people, however, strongly opposed the book. Its sales were banned in the South, and many slaveholders said the book unfairly and inaccurately represented their way of life. To counter these accusations, Stowe published *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and Documents*

*Upon Which It Is Based*. This book detailed Stowe’s extensive research into slavery in the South. The book had such an impact on public feelings about slavery that when Abraham Lincoln was introduced to Stowe during the Civil War, he said, “so you’re the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war.”

After the Civil War, Stowe continued to write. She began to speak publicly and gave readings of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* to many large audiences. In 1896, at the age of 85, Stowe died. Her famous book has since been adapted into plays and songs, and remains a much-read novel from the Civil War era.



**“[I hope these writings] awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race, as they exist among us; to show their wrongs and sorrows. . .”**

—Harriet Beecher Stowe

### Then and Now

Write a short story similar to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* about a group of people who are unfairly treated in today’s world. Be sure to research the topic so that your story remains as factual as possible.



**US8.9.1** 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.)

## Conflict in Kansas

**Main Idea** Violence erupted as proslavery and antislavery forces came to arms when the new proslavery Kansas legislature was elected.

**Reading Connection** Think of an issue that is important to you. What would you be willing to do to stand up for that issue? Read to learn how the rival groups in Kansas clashed in the mid-1800s over slavery.

Right after passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, proslavery and antislavery groups rushed supporters into Kansas. In the spring of 1855, when elections took place in Kansas, a proslavery legislature was elected.

Although only about 1,500 voters lived in Kansas at the time, more than 6,000 people cast ballots in the elections. Thousands of proslavery supporters from Missouri had crossed the border just to vote in the election. These

Missourians traveled in armed groups and became known as **border ruffians** (RUH•fee•uhns). Soon after the election, the new Kansas legislature passed laws supporting slavery. One law even restricted political office to only those candidates who supported slavery.

The antislavery people refused to accept these laws. Instead they armed themselves, held their own elections, and adopted a constitution that banned slavery. By January 1856, rival governments existed in Kansas, one for and one against slavery. Each asked Congress for recognition. To confuse matters further, President Pierce and the U.S. Senate favored the proslavery government, and the U.S. House of Representatives backed the forces that were opposed to slavery.

With proslavery and antislavery forces in Kansas arming themselves, the outbreak of violence became **inevitable**. In May 1856, about 800 slavery supporters attacked the town of Lawrence, the antislavery capital.

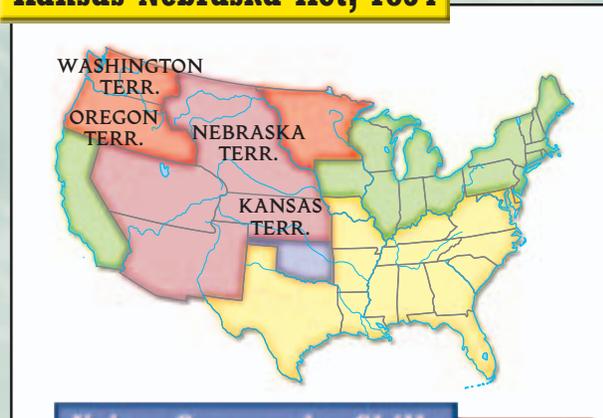


## Slavery and Sectionalism

### The Compromise of 1850



### Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854



### Using Geography Skills

- Region** How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act change the amount of territory that was open to slaveholding?
- Analyze** Which territories were non-slaveholding in 1854?



The slavery supporters destroyed the town, burned the hotel and the home of the governor, and tore down two newspaper offices. Soon after, forces opposed to slavery retaliated.

**“Bleeding Kansas”** **John Brown**, a fervent abolitionist, believed God had chosen him to end slavery. When he heard of the attack on Lawrence, Brown went into a rage. He vowed to “strike terror in the hearts of the proslavery people.” One night, Brown led four of his sons and two other men along Pottawatomie Creek, where they seized and killed five supporters of slavery.

More violence followed as armed bands roamed the territory. Newspapers began referring to “Bleeding Kansas” and “the Civil War in Kansas.” A **civil war** is a conflict between citizens of the same country. Not until October of 1856 did John Geary, the newly appointed territorial governor, stop the bloodshed in Kansas. Geary ordered 1,300 federal troops to suppress the guerrilla forces.

**Violence in Congress** The violence that erupted in Kansas spilled over to the halls of the U.S. Congress as well. Abolitionist senator **Charles Sumner** of Massachusetts delivered a speech entitled “The Crime Against Kansas.” Sumner lashed out against proslavery forces in Kansas. He also criticized proslavery senators, repeatedly attacking Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina.

Two days after the speech, Butler’s distant cousin, Representative **Preston Brooks**, walked into the Senate chamber. He hit Sumner again and again over the head and shoulders with a cane. Sumner fell to the floor, unconscious and bleeding. He suffered injuries so severe that he did not return to the Senate for several years. The Brooks-Sumner incident and the fighting in “Bleeding Kansas” revealed the rising level of hostility between North and South.

**Reading Check Predict** Who do you predict will be the combatants if the United States is torn apart by Civil War?

## Section 3 Review

### Reading Summary

#### Review the Main Ideas

- The Kansas-Nebraska Act abandoned the provisions of the Missouri Compromise and put in place the doctrine of popular sovereignty to decide the issue of slavery in new territories.
- In Kansas antislavery and proslavery forces came into violent conflict.

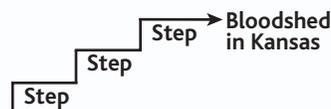
### What Did You Learn?

1. Who were the border ruffians?
2. How many cast votes in the Kansas elections? How did that compare with the population at the time?
4. **The Big Ideas** How did popular sovereignty lead to violence in Kansas? **CA HI2.**
5. **Predicting Consequences** Could the violence in Kansas have been prevented if Congress had not abandoned the Missouri Compromise? Explain. **CA HR3.**

### Critical Thinking

#### 3. Organizing Information

Re-create the diagram below and list the steps that led to bloodshed in Kansas. **CA CSI.**



**History online**

**Study Central** Need help understanding the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its effects? Visit [ca.hss.glencoe.com](http://ca.hss.glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

# Challenges to Slavery

## Guide to Reading



### History Social Science Standards

**US8.9** Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence.

**US8.10** Students analyze the multiple causes, key events, and complex consequences of the Civil War.

### Looking Back, Looking Ahead

You learned that the issue of slavery led to civil war in Kansas. You will next read about how slavery led to the founding of a new political party and additional bloodshed.

### Focusing on the **Main Ideas**

- The Supreme Court's decision in the *Dred Scott* case resulted in even more division in the country. (page 549)
- The Lincoln-Douglas debates helped Lincoln emerge as a leader. (page 552)

### Meeting People

John C. Frémont  
James Buchanan  
Dred Scott  
Roger B. Taney (TAW • nee)  
Abraham Lincoln

### Content Vocabulary

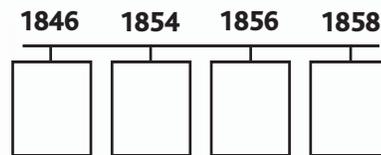
**arsenal** (AHR • suhn • uhl)  
**martyr** (MAHR • tuhr)

### Academic Vocabulary

**restrict**  
**topic**

### Reading Strategy

**Classifying Information** As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and list major events that occurred in each year.



NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

## Who & When?

1854

**1854**  
Republican Party is formed

James Buchanan



1856

**1856**  
James Buchanan is elected president



1858

**1857**  
*Dred Scott* decision states that all slaves are property  
*Dred Scott*

1860

**1859**  
John Brown raids Harpers Ferry, Virginia  
*John Brown*





**US8.9.5** 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).

## The *Dred Scott* Decision

**Main Idea** The Supreme Court's decision in the *Dred Scott* case resulted in even more division in the country.

**Reading Connection** How would you feel if the Supreme Court decided that you were "property"? Read to find out how the decision in the *Dred Scott* case shocked the nation.

### An American Story

Many people considered John Brown to be a radical murderer, but others viewed him as a fighter for the cause of freedom. When he was executed in 1859, a magazine published this imaginative account of Brown's exit from the jail,

“a black woman, with her little child in arms, stood near his way. . . . He stopped. . . and with the tenderness of one whose love is as broad as the brotherhood of man, kissed the child. . . .”

—from *The Anglo-African Magazine*

### Why Was the Republican Party Founded?

Even before Brown's raid, other events had driven the North and South further apart. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Democratic Party began to divide along sectional lines, with Northern Democrats leaving the party. Differing views over the slavery issue destroyed the Whig Party.

In 1854 antislavery Whigs and Democrats joined forces with Free-Soilers to form the Republican Party. The Republicans challenged the proslavery Whigs and Democrats, choosing candidates to run in the state and congressional elections of 1854. Their main message was that the government should ban slavery from new territories.

The Republican Party quickly showed its strength in the North. In the election, the Republicans won control of the House of Representatives and of several state governments. In the South, the Republicans had almost no support.

Almost three-fourths of the Democratic candidates from free states lost in 1854. The party was increasingly becoming a Southern party.

**The Election of 1856** Democrats and Republicans met again in the presidential election of 1856. The Whig Party, disintegrating over the slavery issue, did not offer a candidate of its own.

The Republicans chose **John C. Frémont** of California as their candidate for president. Frémont had gained fame as an explorer in the West. The party platform called for free territories, and its campaign slogan became “Free soil, free speech, and Frémont.”

The Democratic Party nominated **James Buchanan** of Pennsylvania, an experienced diplomat and former member of Congress. The party endorsed the idea of popular sovereignty.

The American Party, or Know-Nothings, had grown quickly between 1853 and 1856 by attacking immigrants. The Know-Nothings nominated former president Millard Fillmore.

The presidential vote divided along sectional lines. Buchanan won the election, winning all of the Southern states except Maryland, and received 174 electoral votes compared to 114 for Frémont and 8 for Fillmore. Frémont did not receive a single electoral vote south of the Mason-Dixon line, but he carried 11 of the 16 free states.

**The *Dred Scott* Decision** Until 1857 some slaves who had lived in free states or territories were successful when they sued for their freedom. Biddy Mason had done this in California. The case of another slave, *Dred Scott*, however, went all the way to the Supreme Court. On March 6, 1857, the Court announced a decision about slavery and the territories that shook the nation.



**Dred Scott** was an enslaved African American who was bought by an army doctor in Missouri, a slave state. In the 1830s, the doctor moved his household to Illinois, a free state, and then to the Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was banned by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Later the family returned to Missouri, where the doctor died.

In 1846 with the help of antislavery lawyers, Scott sued for his freedom. He claimed he should be free because he had once lived on free soil. Eleven years later, in the midst of growing anger over the slavery issue, the case reached the Supreme Court.

**The Court's Decision** The case attracted enormous attention. Although the immediate issue was Dred Scott's status, the Court also had the opportunity to rule on the question of slavery in territories. Many Americans hoped that the Court would resolve the issue for good.

The Court's decision electrified the nation. Chief Justice **Roger B. Taney** (TAW•nee) said

that Dred Scott was still a slave. As a slave, Scott was not a citizen and had no right to bring a lawsuit. Taney could have stopped there, but he decided to address the broader issues.

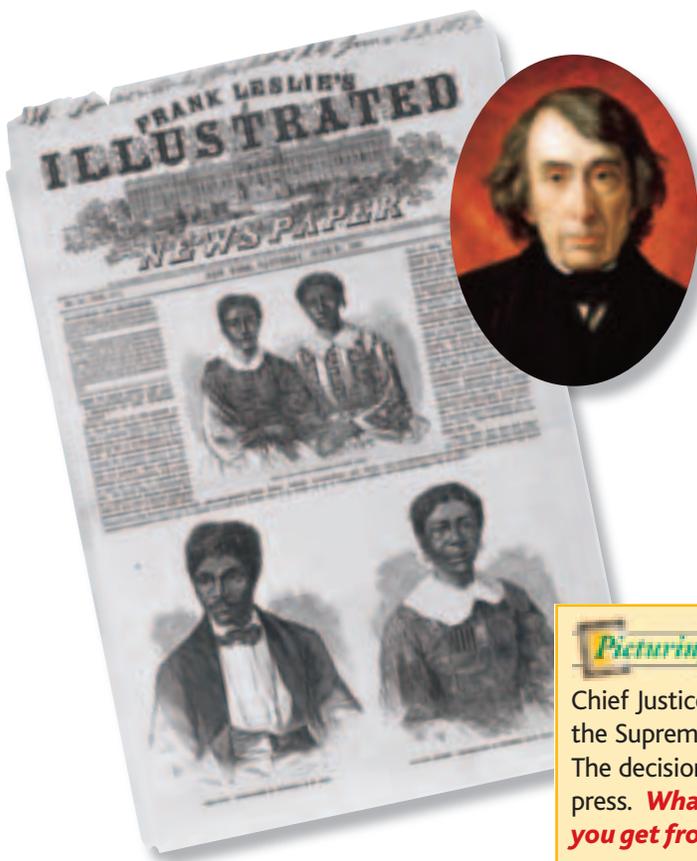
Taney wrote that Scott's residence on free soil did not make him free. An enslaved person was property, and the Fifth Amendment prohibits Congress from taking away property without "due process of law."

Finally, Taney wrote that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in any territory. The Missouri Compromise—which had banned slavery north of 36°30'N latitude—was unconstitutional. For that matter, so was popular sovereignty. Not even the voters in a territory could prohibit slavery because that would amount to taking away a person's property. In effect, the decision meant that the Constitution protected slavery.  (See page 846 of the Appendix for a summary of the Dred Scott decision.)

**Reaction to the Decision** Rather than settling the issue, the Supreme Court's decision divided the country even more. Many Southerners were elated. The Court had reaffirmed what many in the South had always maintained: Nothing could legally prevent the spread of slavery. Northern Democrats were pleased that the Republicans' main issue—**restricting** the spread of slavery—had been ruled unconstitutional.

Republicans and other antislavery groups were outraged, calling the *Dred Scott* decision "the greatest crime" ever committed in the nation's courts.

 **Reading Check Explain** How did the *Dred Scott* decision regulate the spread of slavery?



### **Picturing History**

Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (above 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?**



## BRIDGET MASON

1818–1891

Born a slave in 1818, Bridget Mason had worked on plantations in Georgia and Mississippi. In 1851 slaveholder Robert Smith moved his family and their 12 slaves to California. Among the slaves were Bridget—or Biddy as she was usually called—and her three children. Smith’s plan to start a ranch and mine for gold did not work. In the autumn of 1855, Smith made plans to move to Texas.

Before Smith could leave, charges were filed against him for planning to move enslaved people from California, a free state, to Texas, a slave state. In court, Smith’s attorney argued that Biddy and the other slaves had agreed to come to California and were willing to go to Texas.

Before Judge Benjamin Hayes issued his verdict, he wanted to hear how Biddy felt about moving to Texas. Biddy told the judge, “Mr. Smith told me I would be just as free in Texas as here.” But she admitted she “always feared this trip to Texas since I first heard of it.” In his decision, Hayes said that Biddy and the others were “entitled to their freedom and cannot be held in slavery or involuntary servitude . . . [they] are free forever.”

In 1856 when Biddy was declared free, she and her family decided to settle in Los Angeles. Biddy first worked as a servant, then was hired by Dr. John Strother Griffin to help care for his patients. Saving her money, she purchased her first home in 1866. Biddy soon bought and sold more property, making money during the mid-1870s when property in Los Angeles was in demand.

Biddy devoted her life to helping others. She helped form the First African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1872, visited jail inmates, and provided food and shelter for the poor. When floods struck the Los Angeles area in the 1880s, Biddy paid to feed the flood victims.



*“If you hold your hand closed, nothing good can come in. The open hand is blessed, for it gives in abundance, even as it receives.”*

—Bridget Mason

### Then and Now

Read the quote above. Can you think of anyone today who lives by that motto? Explain.



**US8.10.4** 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).

## Lincoln and Douglas

**Main Idea** The Lincoln-Douglas debates helped Lincoln emerge as a leader.

**Reading Connection** If you really wanted something, what risks would you be willing to take? Read to learn how Lincoln, who was nearly unknown, challenged Douglas to a series of debates and emerged as a leader.

In the congressional election of 1858, the Senate race in Illinois was the center of national attention. The current senator, Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, ran against Republican challenger **Abraham Lincoln**. People considered Douglas a likely candidate for president in 1860. Lincoln was nearly an unknown.

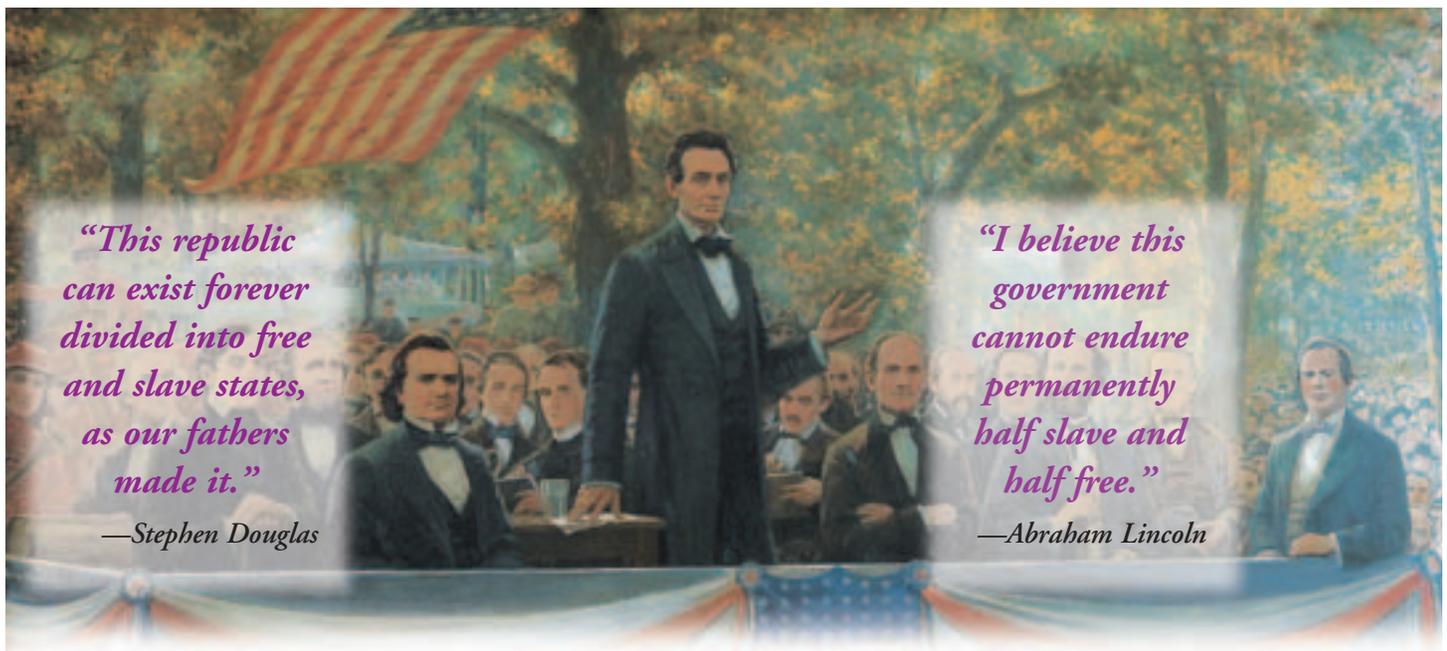
Short and powerful, Douglas was called "the Little Giant." He disliked slavery but thought that the controversy over it would interfere with the nation's growth. He believed the issue could be resolved through popular sovereignty.

Born in the poor backcountry of Kentucky, Abraham Lincoln moved to Indiana as a child, and later to Illinois. Like Douglas, Lincoln was intelligent, ambitious, and a successful lawyer. Lincoln started his campaign with a memorable speech, in which he declared:

“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.”

**The Lincoln-Douglas Debates** Not as well known as Douglas, Lincoln challenged the senator to a series of debates. Douglas reluctantly agreed. The two met seven times in August, September, and October of 1858 in towns throughout Illinois. Thousands came to these debates. The main **topic**, of course, was slavery.

During the debate at Freeport, Lincoln questioned Douglas about his views on popular sovereignty. Could the people of a territory legally exclude slavery before achieving statehood? Douglas replied that the people could exclude slavery by refusing to pass laws protecting slaveholders' rights. Douglas's response, which satisfied antislavery followers but lost him support in the South, became known as the Freeport Doctrine.



*“This republic can exist forever divided into free and slave states, as our fathers made it.”*

—Stephen Douglas

*“I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.”*

—Abraham Lincoln



**US8.9.5** 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).

Douglas claimed that Lincoln wanted African Americans to be fully equal to whites. Lincoln denied this. Still, Lincoln said, "in the right to eat the bread . . . which his own hand earns, [an African American] is my equal and the equal of [Senator] Douglas, and the equal of every living man." The real issue, Lincoln said, is "between the men who think slavery a wrong and those who do not think it wrong. The Republican Party thinks it wrong."

Following the debates, Douglas won a narrow victory in the election. Lincoln lost the election, but the debates had earned him a national reputation.

**The Raid on Harpers Ferry** After the 1858 elections, Southerners began to feel threatened by growing Republican power. In late 1859, an act of violence greatly increased their fears. On October 16, the abolitionist John Brown led 18 men, both whites and African Americans, on a raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia. His target was an **arsenal** (AHR•suhn•uhl), a storage place for

weapons and ammunition. Brown—who had killed five proslavery Kansans in 1856—hoped to start a rebellion against slaveholders by arming enslaved African Americans. His raid was financed by a group of abolitionists.

Brown and his men were quickly defeated by local citizens and federal troops. Brown was convicted of treason and murder and was sentenced to hang. His execution caused an uproar in the North. Some antislavery Northerners, including Republican leaders, denounced Brown's use of violence. Others viewed Brown as a hero. Writer Ralph Waldo Emerson called Brown a **martyr** (MAHR•tuhr)—a person who dies for a cause he believes in.

John Brown's death became a rallying point for abolitionists. When Southerners learned of Brown's connection to abolitionists, their fears of a great Northern conspiracy against them seemed to be confirmed. The nation was nearing disaster.

**Reading Check Identify** What was John Brown's target when he led a raid on Harpers Ferry?

**History Online**  
**Study Central** Need help understanding the nation's division on slavery? Visit [ca.hss.glencoe.com](http://ca.hss.glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

## Section 4 Review

### Reading Summary

#### Review the Main Ideas

- The Republican Party became a major political force, while the Supreme Court ruled in the *Dred Scott* case that the spread of slavery could not be restricted.
- Debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas helped put Lincoln in the national spotlight.

### What Did You Learn?

- Discuss the stages in the development of the Republican Party.
- Who financed John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry?

### Critical Thinking

- Organizing Information** Re-create the table shown here, and describe the positions taken by Lincoln and Douglas in their debates. **CA HI.1**

Lincoln-Douglas Debates	
Lincoln's position	Douglas's position

- The Big Ideas** How did the *Dred Scott* decision reverse an earlier ruling made by Congress? **CA HI.2**
- Making Inferences** Why did Lincoln emerge as a leader after the Lincoln-Douglas debates? **CA CSI**
- Descriptive Writing** Write a short biographical essay on either John Brown, Dred Scott, or Stephen Douglas. Include key events from the person's life that relate to events leading up to the Civil War. **CA 8WA2.1.a**

# Secession and War

## Guide to Reading



### History Social Science Standards

**US.8.10** Students analyze the multiple causes, key events, and complex consequences of the Civil War.

### Looking Back, Looking Ahead

As you know, the *Dred Scott* decision and John Brown's raid further divided the nation. Read to learn how the election of 1860 affected the possible disaster that faced the country.

### Focusing on the **Main Ideas**

- A split occurred in the Democratic Party, which allowed Lincoln to win the election of 1860. (page 555)
- South Carolina led other Southern states in seceding from the Union. (page 556)
- The Civil War began when Confederate forces attacked Fort Sumter in South Carolina. (page 558)

### Locating Places

South Carolina  
Fort Sumter

### Meeting People

John Crittenden  
Jefferson Davis

### Content Vocabulary

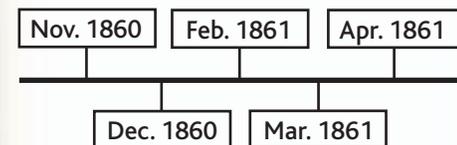
**border states**  
**secession** (sih • SEH • shuhn)  
**states' rights**

### Academic Vocabulary

**eventual** (ih • VEHNT • shuh • wuhl)  
**justify**  
**theory**

### Reading Strategy

**Classifying Information** As you read the section, re-create the time line below and list the major events at each time.



NATIONAL  
GEOGRAPHIC

## Where & When?



1860

1861

1862

**Nov. 1860**  
Abraham Lincoln is elected president

**Dec. 1860**  
South Carolina secedes

**Feb. 1861**  
Southern states form the Confederate States of America

**April 1861**  
Confederate forces attack Fort Sumter; Civil War begins



**US.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).

## The Election of 1860

**Main Idea** A split occurred in the Democratic Party, which allowed Lincoln to win the election of 1860.

**Reading Connection** Think of an issue that you feel strongly about. Do you think your views would affect your choice for president? Read to learn how the slavery issue affected the election of 1860.

### An American Story

After John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry, calls for secession grew. South Carolina’s *Charleston Mercury* declared “The day of compromise is passed . . . [T]here is no peace for the South in the Union.” The *Nashville Union and American* said, “The South will hold the whole party of Republicans responsible for the bloodshed at Harpers Ferry.”

Republicans argued that secession was only a scare tactic, aimed at frightening voters from casting their ballot for Abraham Lincoln. To many Southerners, however, Lincoln’s election would be a signal that their position in the Union was hopeless.

**Many Parties** Would the Union break up? That was the burning question in the months before the presidential election of 1860. The issue of slavery **eventually** caused a break in the Democratic Party. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas for the presidency and supported popular sovereignty. Southern Democrats—vowing to uphold slavery—nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and supported the *Dred Scott* decision. Southern Democrats denounced John Brown’s raid as “among the gravest of crimes.” Northern and Southern moderates formed the Constitutional Union Party and nominated John Bell of Tennessee. This party took no position on slavery. However, voters in the North and South would no longer tolerate neutrality on this important issue.

**Lincoln Nominated** The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln. Their platform, designed to attract voters from many quarters, was that slavery should be left undisturbed where it existed, but that it should be excluded from the territories. Many Southerners feared, however, that a Republican victory would encourage slave revolts.

**Lincoln Elected** Lincoln won a clear majority of the electoral votes—180 out of 303. He received 40 percent of the popular vote. Douglas was second with 30 percent of the vote.

The vote was along purely sectional lines. Lincoln’s name did not even appear on the ballot in most Southern states, but he won every Northern state. Breckinridge swept the South, and Bell took most **border states**. These states were located between the North and the South. They were divided over whether to stay in the Union or join the Confederacy. Douglas won only the state of Missouri and three of New Jersey’s seven electoral votes.

**Reading Check** **Examine** What caused the split in the Democratic Party in 1860?



#### **Picturing History**

Patriots used these mottos on this secessionist ribbon during the American Revolution. **What did they mean during the Revolution? Why do you think secessionists used these mottos?**





**US8.10.3** Identify the constitutional issues posed by the doctrine of nullification and secession and the earliest origins of that doctrine. **US8.10.4** 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).

## The South Secedes

**Main Idea** South Carolina led other Southern states in seceding from the Union.

**Reading Connection** Have you ever been so angry that you needed to leave a room? Read to find out about the South's decision to leave the Union.

In the election of 1860, the more populous North had outvoted the South. The victory for Lincoln was a short-lived one, however, for the nation Lincoln was to lead would soon disintegrate.

Lincoln and the Republicans had promised not to disturb slavery where it already existed. Many people in the South, however, did not trust the party, fearing that the Republican administration would not protect Southern rights. On December 20, 1860, the South's long-standing threat to leave the Union became a reality when **South Carolina** held a special convention and voted to secede.

**Attempt at Compromise** Even after South Carolina's action, many people still wished to preserve the Union. The question was *how*. As other Southern states debated **secession** (seh • SEH • shuhn)—withdrawal from the Union—leaders in Washington, D.C., worked frantically to fashion a last-minute compromise. On December 18, 1860, Senator **John Crittenden** of Kentucky proposed a series of amendments to the Constitution. Central to Crittenden's plan was a provision to protect slavery south of 36°30'N latitude—the line set by the Missouri Compromise—in all territories "now held or hereafter acquired."

Republicans considered this unacceptable. They had just won an election on the principle that slavery would not be extended in any territories. "Now we are told. . .," Lincoln wrote,

“the government shall be broken up, unless we surrender to those we have beaten.”

—letter to James T. Hale,  
January 11, 1861

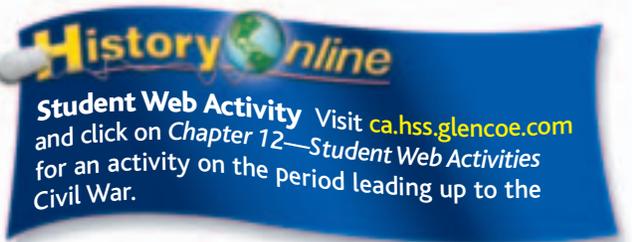
Leaders in the South also rejected the plan. "We spit upon every plan to compromise," exclaimed one Southern leader. "No human power can save the Union," wrote another.

**The Confederacy** By February 1861, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Georgia had joined South Carolina and also seceded. Delegates from these states and South Carolina met in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4 to form a new nation and government. Calling themselves the Confederate States of America, or the Confederacy, they chose **Jefferson Davis**, a senator from Mississippi, as their president.

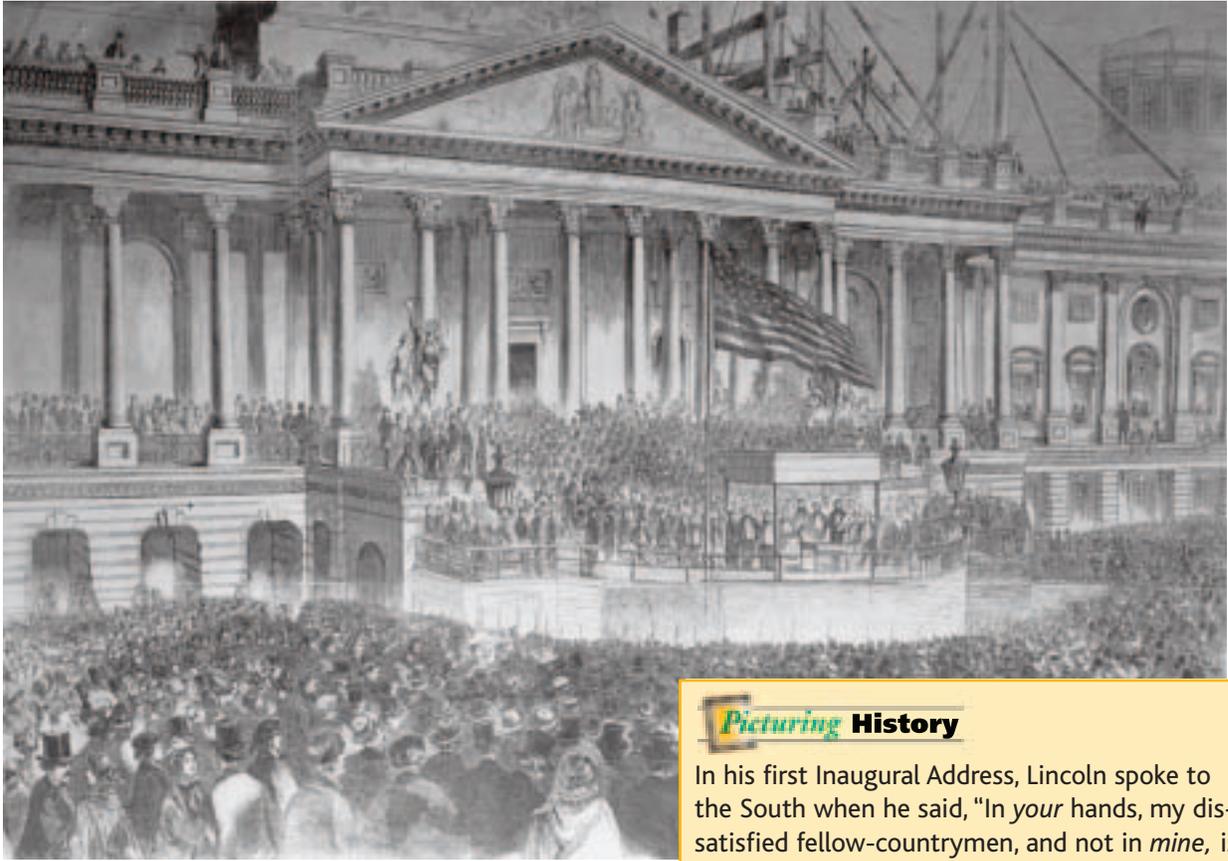
Southerners **justified** secession with the **theory of states' rights**. The states, they argued, had voluntarily chosen to enter the Union. They defined the Constitution as a contract among the independent states. Now because the national government had violated that contract—by refusing to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act and by denying the Southern states equal rights in the territories—the states felt justified in leaving the Union.

**Reactions to Secession** Many Southerners welcomed secession. Senator Albert Brown of Mississippi said in a speech to a Southern audience "disunion is a fearful thing, but emancipation is worse." In Charleston, South Carolina, people rang church bells, fired cannons, and celebrated in the streets. A newspaper in Atlanta, Georgia, said the South "will never submit" and would defend its liberties no matter what the cost.

Other Southerners, however, were alarmed. A South Carolinian wrote, "My heart has been rent [torn] by . . . the destruction of my country—the dismemberment of that great and glorious Union."



**History Online**  
Student Web Activity Visit [ca.hss.glencoe.com](http://ca.hss.glencoe.com)  
and click on Chapter 12—Student Web Activities  
for an activity on the period leading up to the  
Civil War.



### **Picturing History**

In his first Inaugural Address, Lincoln spoke to the South when he said, "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war." **How did Southerners feel about secession?**

Virginian Robert E. Lee expressed concern about the future. "I see only that a fearful calamity is upon us," he wrote.

In the North, some abolitionists preferred to allow the Southern states to leave. If the Union could be kept together only by compromising on slavery, they declared, then let the Union be destroyed. Most Northerners, however, believed that the Union must be preserved. For Lincoln the issue was "whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose."

**Presidential Responses** Lincoln had won the election, but he was not yet president. James Buchanan's term ran until March 4, 1861. In December 1860, Buchanan sent a message to Congress saying that the Southern states had no right to secede. Then he added that he had no power to stop them from doing so.

As Lincoln prepared for his inauguration on March 4, 1861, people in both the North and the South wondered what he would say and do. They wondered, too, what would happen in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky,

Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas. These slave states had chosen to remain in the Union, but the decision was not final. If the United States used force against the Confederate States of America, the remaining slave states also might secede. In his Inaugural Address, the new president mixed toughness and words of peace. He said that secession would not be permitted, vowing to hold federal property in the South and to enforce the laws of the United States. At the same time, Lincoln pleaded with the people of the South for reconciliation:

**“We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.”**

—from *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents*

**Reading Check Explain** How did the seceding states justify their right to leave the Union?



**US8.10.6** Describe critical developments and events in the war, including the major battles, geographical advantages and obstacles, technological advances, and General Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

## Fort Sumter

**Main Idea** The Civil War began when Confederate forces attacked Fort Sumter in South Carolina.

**Reading Connection** Have you ever been startled by a loud noise? Read to learn how Fort Sumter was attacked on April 12, 1861, and what it was like from inside the fort.

The South soon tested President Lincoln's vow to hold federal property. Confederate forces had already seized some United States forts within their states. Although Lincoln did not want to start a war by trying to take the

forts back, allowing the Confederates to keep them would amount to admitting their right to secede.

On the day after his inauguration, Lincoln received a dispatch from Major Robert Anderson, the commander of **Fort Sumter**, a United States fort on an island guarding Charleston Harbor. The message warned that the fort was low on supplies and that the Confederates demanded its surrender.

**The War Begins** Lincoln responded by sending a message to Governor Francis Pickens of South Carolina. He informed Pickens that he was sending an unarmed expedition with supplies to Fort Sumter.



**Using Geography Skills**

After the attack on Fort Sumter, four more Southern states joined the seven that had already seceded from the Union.

- Region** Which slave states remained in the Union after the Fort Sumter attack?
- Analyze** Which states did not secede until after the Fort Sumter attack?

Lincoln promised that Union forces would not “throw in men, arms, or ammunition” unless they were fired upon. The president thus left the decision to start shooting up to the Confederates.

Confederate president Jefferson Davis and his advisers made a fateful choice. They ordered their forces to attack Fort Sumter before the Union supplies could arrive. Confederate guns opened fire on the fort early on April 12, 1861. Union captain Abner Doubleday witnessed the attack from inside the fort:

“Showers of balls . . . and shells . . . poured into the fort in one incessant stream, causing great flakes of masonry to fall in all directions.”

—as quoted in *Voices of the Civil War*

High seas had prevented Union relief ships from reaching the fort. The Union garrison held out for 33 hours before surrendering on April 14. Thousands of shots were exchanged during the siege, but no lives were lost on either side. The Confederates hoisted their flag over the fort, and all the guns in the harbor sounded a triumphant salute.

Once Fort Sumter was attacked, both the North and South took action. President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 troops to fight to save the Union, and volunteers quickly signed up. Meanwhile, volunteers signed up to fight for the South, and Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas voted to join the Confederacy. The Civil War had begun.

**Reading Check Explain** What action did Lincoln take after the attack on Fort Sumter?

## Section 5 Review

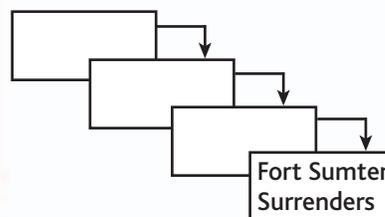
### Reading Summary

#### Review the Main Ideas

- In a contest in which votes were split between four candidates, Abraham Lincoln came out the winner of the 1860 presidential election.
- Following Lincoln’s election, a number of Southern states seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America.
- The Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, marked the beginning of the Civil War.

### What Did You Learn?

1. What was Senator John Crittenden’s last-minute proposal to save the Union?
2. Who served as the president of the Confederate States of America?
3. **Sequencing Events** Re-create the diagram below. Fill in the events leading up to the surrender of Fort Sumter and the start of the Civil War. **CA CS2.**
4. **The Big Ideas** What role did sectionalism play in Lincoln’s victory in the 1860 election? **CA CS1.**
5. **Drawing Conclusions** Based on what you read, how would you describe President Lincoln’s priorities as he took office in March 1861?
6. **Expository Writing** Write a paragraph describing what you consider to be key reasons for the Civil War. **CA 8WA2.3**



# You Decide . . .



**US8.10.5** Study the views and lives of leaders (e.g., Ulysses S. Grant, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee) and soldiers on both sides of the war, including those of black soldiers and regiments.

## Union or Confederacy?

*President Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, were inaugurated just several weeks apart. These excerpts from their Inaugural Addresses will help you understand differing points of view about secession from the United States in 1861.*

### Abraham Lincoln—Union

I hold, that . . . the Union of these States is perpetual [forever]. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments.

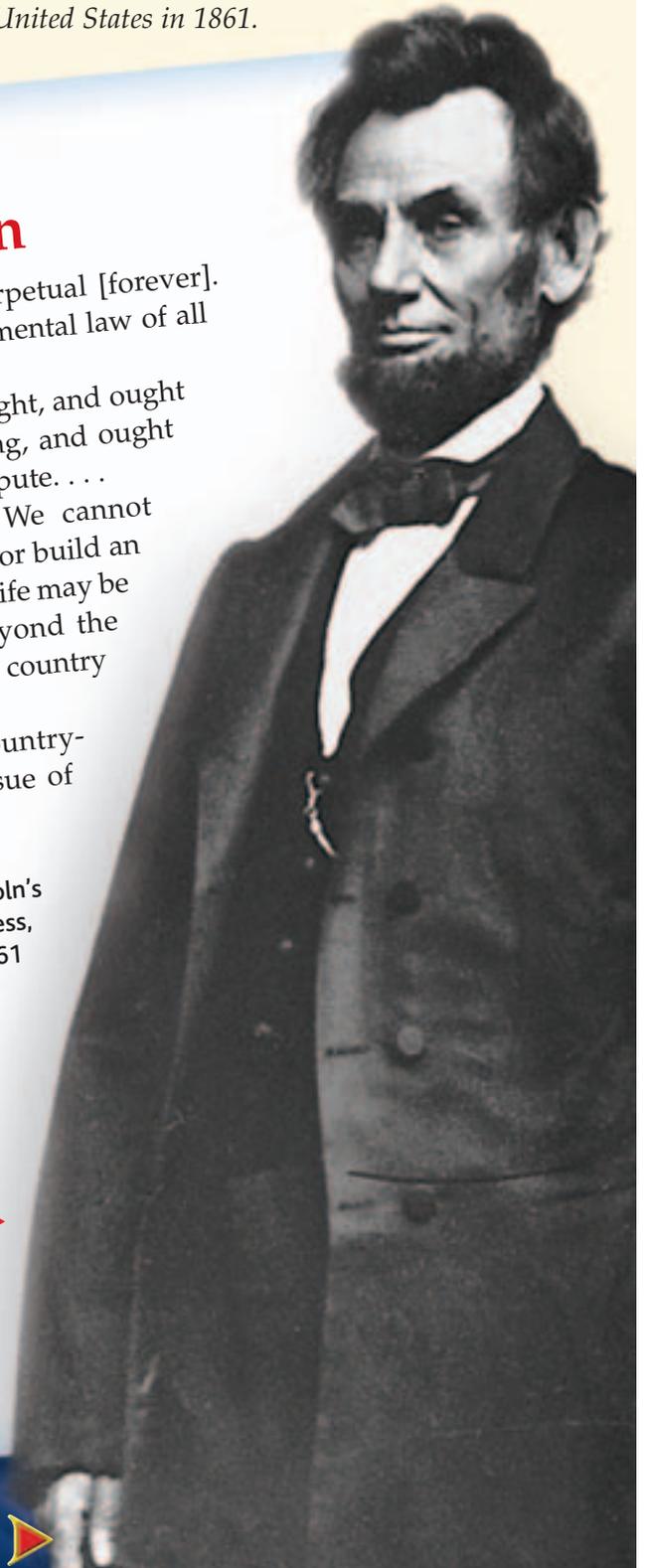
One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. . . .

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. . . .

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war.

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

Abraham Lincoln ►



## Jefferson Davis—Confederacy

Our present condition [as a new confederacy] . . . 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 of the ends for which they were established. . . . In this they [the people of the Confederacy] merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 had defined to be inalienable. . . . [I]t is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated [called] a revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained, the rights of person and property have not been disturbed. . . .

As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the [continuation] of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied to us . . . [we will be forced] to appeal to arms. . . .

—from Jefferson Davis's  
Inaugural Address,  
February 18, 1861

◀ Jefferson Davis

### You Be The Historian

#### DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. According to Lincoln, what was the major disagreement between the North and South?
2. What did Lincoln compare the United States to? **CA HR3**
3. Did Lincoln and Davis say anything in their addresses that was similar? Explain. **CA HR3**

# Analyzing Primary Sources



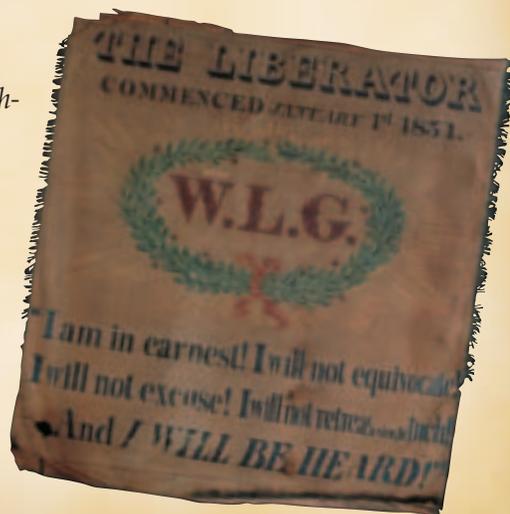
**US8.9** Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence.

## Challenging Slavery

*In the days leading up to the Civil War, people throughout the United States debated about economics, states' rights, and the institution of slavery. Antislavery society and religious group members were vocal, as were politicians, businesspeople, and plantation owners. In some cases, the voices of both free and enslaved African Americans could be heard.*

*Read the passages on pages 562 and 563 and answer the questions that follow.*

**Banner celebrating Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*** ▶



## Reader's Dictionary

**severity** (suh • VEHR • uh • tee): being strict, stern, or harsh

**moderation** (MAH • duh • RAY • shuhn): limiting or controlling something so as not to be extreme or excessive

**ravisher**: one who carries somebody or something off by violent force

**extricate** (EHK • struh • KAYT): to release somebody or something with difficulty from being constrained

**equivocate** (ih • KWIH • vuh • KAYT): to speak vaguely, especially in order to mislead

**dissolution** (DIH • suh • LOO • shun): the act or process of dissolving

**atone** (uh • TOHN): to make amends

## The Liberator

**T**hrough his newspaper, *The Liberator*, abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison demanded the immediate emancipation of all slaves. Founded in 1831 in Boston, *The Liberator* continued publishing antislavery messages under Garrison's leadership for 35 years. In one edition, he wrote:

[I support] the "self-evident truth" . . . that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . .

I am aware that many object to the **severity** of my language; but is there not

cause for severity? I *will be* as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think or speak, or write with **moderation**. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of a **ravisher**; tell the mother to gradually **extricate** her babe from the fire into which it has fallen—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest; I will not **equivocate**; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. . . .

## On the Eve of War

Mrs. Eugene McLean kept a diary of her experiences as an Army officer's wife during the Civil War. This passage describes her thoughts after the fall of Fort Sumter. Her husband joined the Confederate Army.

Strange, strange, strange, how we have accustomed ourselves to the thought, and accept the **dissolution** of the Union as a natural consequence! Whom have we to blame for bringing us to this state . . . ? Wherever the fault lies, I do not envy them their feelings in this hour, and fear both sections will **atone** in mourning and ashes for the crime.

## Swing Low, Sweet Chariot

*Spirituals—songs of salvation—provided the enslaved African Americans who wrote and sang them with not only a measure of comfort in bleak times but with a means for communicating secretly among themselves. Here is an example of a popular song that was sung by enslaved African Americans at work:*

Swing low, sweet chariot,  
Coming for to carry me home,  
Swing low, sweet chariot,  
Coming for to carry me home.  
I looked over Jordan, and what did I see,



▲ The spiritual is a unique and important part of African American history.

Coming for to carry me home;  
A band of angels coming after me,  
Coming for to carry me home.  
If you get there before I do,  
Coming for to carry me home;  
Tell all my friends I'm coming too,  
Coming for to carry me home.  
Swing low, sweet chariot,  
Coming for to carry me home,  
Swing low, sweet chariot,  
Coming for to carry me home.

—Selected Famous Negro Spirituals



### Document-Based Questions

#### The Liberator

1. Who do you think Garrison is referring to when he states that he is aware that many object to the severity of his language?
2. What analogies does Garrison use to make his point about the need for severity over moderation?

#### On the Eve of War

3. How does the author feel about secession?
4. Does she blame either the Union or the Confederacy for the war? Explain.

#### Swing Low, Sweet Chariot

5. What does the phrase “swing low, sweet chariot” mean? What is meant by the lines “If you get there before I do . . . Tell all my friends I’m coming too”?
6. Why do you think enslaved African Americans sang this song?

#### Read to Write

7. Review each of the readings. Do you think these were written to inform, to entertain, to tell a story, or to persuade the reader? Write a one-page paper and give reasons for your answer. **CA 8WA2.4**

# Chapter 12

# Assessment

## Standards US8.9 & US8.10

### Review Content Vocabulary

- Use the following terms to write a brief paragraph describing events in the United States just prior to 1860.  
 secede  
 fugitive  
 civil war  
 abolitionist

### Review the Main Ideas

#### Section 1 • Abolitionists

- How was William Lloyd Garrison effective in the antislavery movement?
- What was the purpose of the American Colonization Society?

#### Section 2 • Slavery and the West

- What was the purpose of the Missouri Compromise?
- List the five parts of the Compromise of 1850.

#### Section 3 • A Nation Dividing

- What was Stephen Douglas's solution to the slavery issue in the Kansas and Nebraska territories?
- How did abolitionists and African Americans resist the Fugitive Slave Act?

#### Section 4 • Challenges to Slavery

- How did Abraham Lincoln become a national figure in politics?
- What was the *Dred Scott* decision? What did it mean for those opposed to slavery?

#### Section 5 • Secession and War

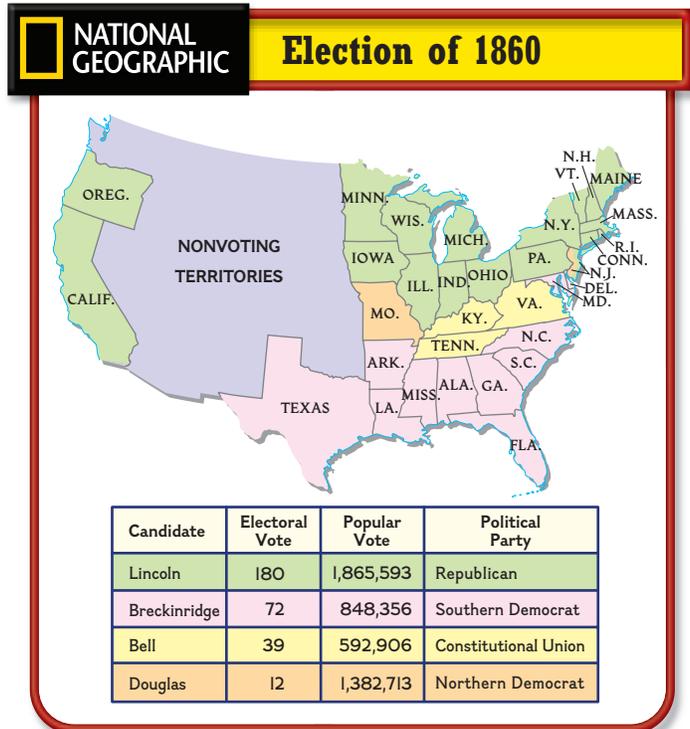
- Why were there four parties and candidates in the presidential election of 1860?
- How did Lincoln plan to prevent secession?

### Critical Thinking

- Evaluate** Why was the balance of free and slave states in the Senate such an important issue? CA HR3.
- Analyze** What contributions did Frederick Douglass make to the abolitionist movement? Was he successful? Describe your conclusions in a paragraph. CA HI2.

### Geography Skills

Study the map below and answer the following questions. CA CS3.



- Location** Which states supported Douglas?
- Region** In what region(s) was the Republican Party strongest?
- Region** In what region did Breckinridge find support?

## Read to Write

### 17. **The Big Ideas** Conflict and War

Make a list of 10 important events that you read about in this chapter. Select the two events that you think did the most to create conflict between the North and South. Write a one-page essay in which you explain how these events led to war. **CA 8WS1.1**

### 18. **Using Your FOLDABLES** Use the information you listed in your foldable to create a brief study guide for the chapter. For each section, your study guide should include at least five questions that focus on the main ideas. **CA 8RC2.0**

## Using Academic Vocabulary

### 19. Write two words that are related to each of the following academic vocabulary words. publication controversy inevitable

## Building Citizenship

### 20. **Making Compromises** With a partner, think of a controversial issue that is a source of disagreement today. Take opposite sides on the issue; then work together to come up with a list of three compromises that would make the solution to this problem acceptable to both sides. **CA CSI**

## Linking Past and Present

### 21. **Political Parties** Search the Internet for a list of political parties in existence today. Research to find the date that the party was founded and its current goals. Create a table that briefly summarizes this information. Then compare your table to the political parties discussed in Chapter 12. **CA 8WS1.4**

## Reviewing Skills

### 22. **READING SKILL** Making Inferences

Reread Jefferson Davis's Inaugural Address on page 561. How do you think Davis feels about his new role? How does he feel about the prospect of war? Write a paragraph explaining your conclusions. **CA 8RC2.0**

### 23. **ANALYSIS SKILL** Sequencing Information

Draw two time lines highlighting key figures, dates, and milestones in the abolitionist movement and the political battle over slavery. **CA CS2**



## Standards Practice

Use the map below to answer the following question.



### 24 Which of the following statements is true?

- A The Compromise of 1850 allowed the Oregon Territory to be open to slaveholding.
- B The Compromise of 1850 did not make any land on the Pacific Ocean open to slaveholding.
- C The Compromise of 1850 made every state touching the southern border of the United States open to slaveholding.
- D The Compromise of 1850 gave the Minnesota Territory the authority to choose whether it would allow slaveholding.