

The Nation Splits Apart

THE BIG PICTURE

After the war with Mexico ended, one question stirred national politics: Would these new territories be slave or free? By 1860 the nation had split along sectional lines—North and South—and hostile camps took steps that would lead to war.



North Carolina Standards

Social Studies Objectives

3.01 Trace the economic, social, and political events from the Mexican War to the outbreak of the Civil War.

3.02 Analyze and assess the causes of the Civil War.

Language Arts Objectives

3.03 Use argumentation for:

- establishing and defending a point of view.



READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Nowhere was the fight over slavery more pronounced than in Kansas territory. In the Marais des Cygnes Massacre, a gang of 30 pro-slavery men rounded up a group of eleven antislavery settlers and gunned them down in a small ravine, killing five and wounding four.

Interpreting Visuals Why weren't the victims of the massacre fighting back?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H30

U.S.



1850

1850

Congress reaches the Compromise of 1850, admitting California as a free state and passing the Fugitive Slave Act.



World

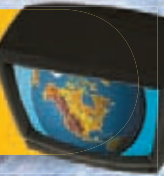
1851

The Great Exhibition, the first World's Fair, opens in London.



History's Impact video program

Watch the video to understand the impact of Dred Scott.



1852

Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel about slave life.

May 1854

Kansas-Nebraska Act becomes law.

May 21, 1856

Proslavery group attacks antislavery stronghold of Lawrence, Kansas.

October 1859

John Brown seizes the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

1852
Republic of South Africa is established.

1854
Japan and the United States sign an agreement opening Japan to trade.

1857
Uprising against British rule in India begins with Sepoy Rebellion.



1860
Russian serfs are emancipated.

The Politics of Slavery

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

The issue of slavery dominated national politics during the 1850s. The federal government forged policies in attempts to satisfy both North and South.

READING FOCUS

1. What factors made slavery in the United States an issue before 1850?
2. How did the Compromise of 1850 seek to settle issues between North and South?
3. In what ways did the North and South each hope to benefit from the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
4. How did people in the North and South react to the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

radical
Millard Fillmore
Compromise of 1850
Fugitive Slave Act
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Uncle Tom's Cabin
Stephen Douglas
popular sovereignty
Kansas-Nebraska Act
free-soilers
Republican Party
nativism

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes identifying actions the federal government took to satisfy the South over the issue of slavery. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown below.

Actions to Satisfy the South

A MINISTER Defies the PRESIDENT

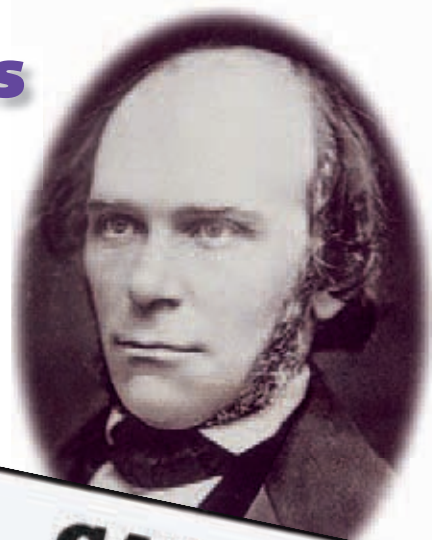
THE INSIDE STORY

What happened when a minister hid two enslaved people? Husband and wife William and Ellen Craft escaped from slavery in Georgia in 1848 and made their way to Massachusetts, where slavery had been outlawed. William, a skilled cabinetmaker, found work in Boston.

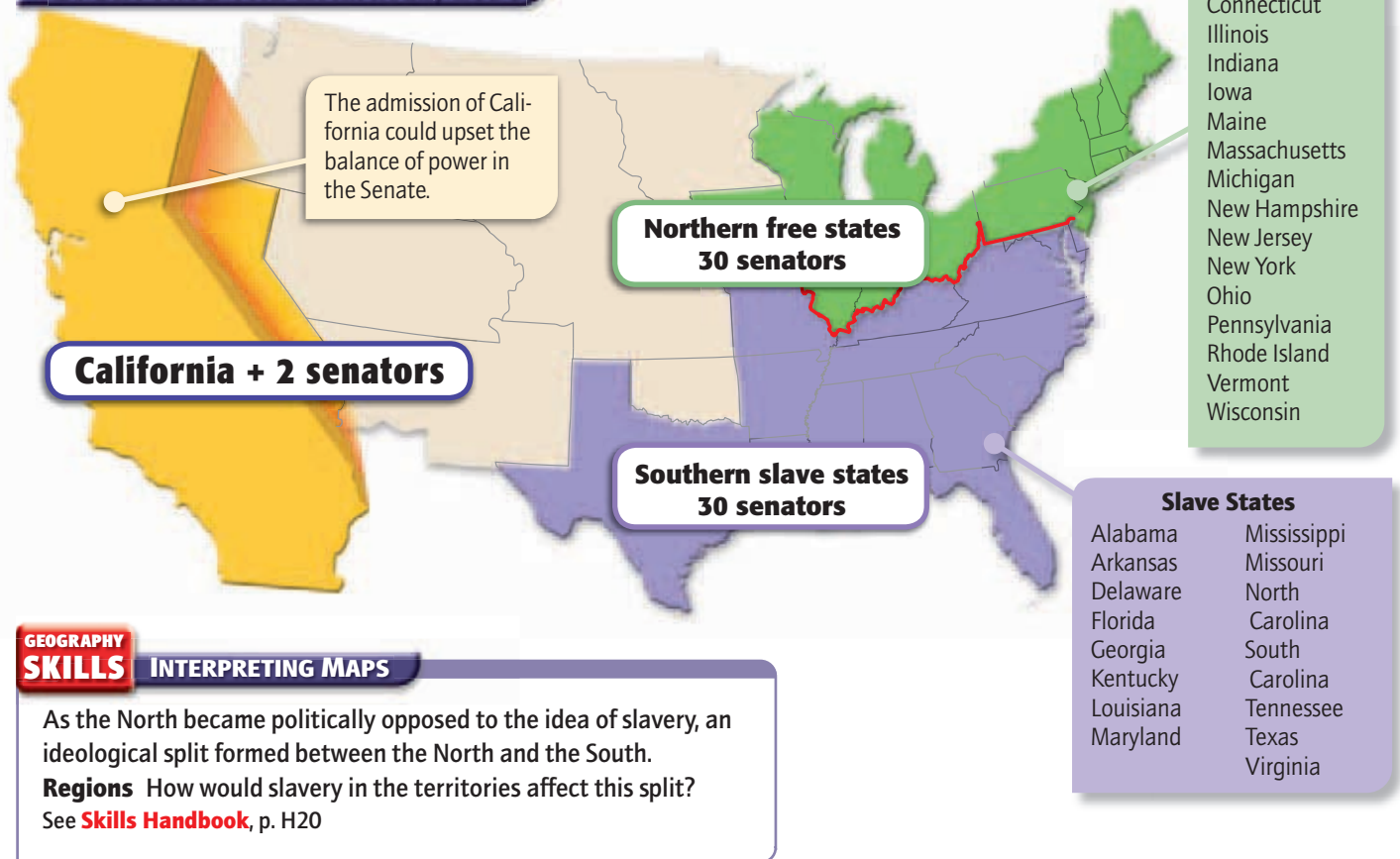
The Crafts joined the church of well-known abolitionist Theodore Parker and lived quietly. Parker was one of the most important ministers of his day. His powerful sermons attracted so large a crowd that he preached not from a church pulpit but from the city's enormous Music Hall. Each Sunday thousands of people gathered to hear Parker denounce slavery and call for women's rights.

After learning of the Crafts' whereabouts in 1850, their slaveholder in Georgia sent two men to Boston to capture them. William fled to the home of a local African American abolitionist. There he was guarded by barrels of gunpowder that the homeowner placed on his front porch. Ellen hid in Parker's home. When President Millard Fillmore threatened to send U.S. troops to seize the Crafts, Parker's followers put them on a ship to England. "I would rather lie all my life in jail, and starve there, than refuse to protect one of these parishioners of mine," Parker angrily informed the president. "You cannot think that I am to stand by and see my church carried off to slavery and do nothing." ■

► The minister Theodore Parker (above right) issued this broadside cautioning African Americans to avoid police.



UPSETTING THE BALANCE, 1850



Slavery in the United States

By 1850 slavery had existed for more than 200 years in America. Under British rule slavery had existed in every colony, north and south. After the Revolutionary War, the northern states began to end the practice.

Freedom in the North did not always come quickly. Some northern states freed only children born after slavery had been banned. Their mothers remained enslaved. In several northern states, slavery continued to exist in some form until the 1840s.

Even at its peak, however, northern slavery never equaled that of the South. By 1790 more than 90 percent of enslaved Americans lived to the south of the Mason-Dixon line.

By 1850 the nation was divided. Two societies existed—the North where workers labored for wages and the South where a large number of workers were enslaved. Many southerners believed the health of their economy depended on slave labor. “It is, in truth, the slave labor in Virginia which gives the value to her soil and her habitations,” said Virginian Thomas Dew.

The developing debate over slavery was largely one of property rights versus human rights. Those who supported slavery believed that property rights came first. “We take it for granted, that the right of the owner to his slave is to be respected,” argued Dew.

To the northerners who were truly concerned about slavery, the issue was one of basic democratic ideology. “Shall the Government be a commonwealth where all are citizens, or an aristocracy where man owns his brother man,” Theodore Parker asked. “Shall a man have a right to his own limbs, his liberty, his life?”

The treatment of slaves in the South varied widely. Northern opponents of slavery emphasized its harshness. Escaped slaves told stories of mistreatment and abuse. William Wells Brown, who had once been enslaved in Missouri, wrote that the whip was used “very frequently and freely, and a small offense on the part of the slave furnished an occasion for its use.”

Those opposed to slavery believed that their arguments were valid. Still, many Americans in the early 1800s thought that the property

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

ideology set of beliefs that form the basis of a culture or political system

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

valid meaningful or justifiable

rights of slaveholders were more important than the human rights of slaves. It was difficult for opponents of slavery to overcome the claim that slaveholders' rights were protected by the Constitution, just as the rights of all property owners were protected. This was one reason why the abolition movement was slow to gain popular support in the North.

After winning the Mexican-American War, the United States added more than 500,000 square miles of new territory. New states would eventually be formed from this vast area. Would these states ban or allow slavery?

The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had banned slavery in most of the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase. Now some antislavery activists wanted to do the same to this new territory. Other people, mainly southerners, wanted to allow slavery in the new lands. By 1850, the political argument over slavery no longer centered on its existence in the South. Instead, the debate shifted to the spread of slavery into places where it did not yet exist.

The question of the expansion of slavery was also a struggle for control of the Congress. New states would mean additional seats in the Senate and the House of Representatives, and these new legislators might work for or against slavery. If northern legislators could block the

expansion of slavery and gain control of Congress, laws might be passed that would end slavery in the South.

Then in March 1850, California applied to become a state, just two years after the area had become part of the United States. At that time the number of free states and slave states were equal. The balance of political power was about to change.

READING CHECK

Summarizing What arguments existed for and against ending or limiting the institution of slavery?

The Compromise of 1850

Only about 14,000 non-Indians lived in California in 1848. So many forty-niners moved there during the gold rush, however, that by 1850 California's population had jumped to 93,000. Residents quickly approved a constitution banning slavery and applied for statehood.

This request brought the issue of slavery to the surface. In 1820 Kentucky senator Henry Clay had crafted the Missouri Compromise. Now, nearing the end of a long political career, he hoped for one more compromise between North and South. On January 29, 1850, he introduced a plan to Congress in which he proposed compromises on several slavery issues.

The Senate debate over Clay's resolutions was one of the greatest in its history. Two political giants of the time, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, faced off. Calhoun made his opposition to compromise clear. Gravely ill and unable to speak, he sat grimly in his chair while his speech was read to the other senators.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“The South asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take . . . Nothing else can, with any certainty, finally and forever settle the question at issue, terminate agitation, and save the Union.”

—Senator John C. Calhoun, March 4, 1850

Three days later, Webster rose to reply. He personally opposed slavery and its spread, but he was dismayed by Calhoun's threat that the South might secede, or withdraw from the Union, over this issue. He believed that the preservation of the Union was more important than the disagreement over slavery.

TERMS OF THE COMPROMISE OF 1850



Admission of California—September 9, 1850
Admitted California to the Union as a free state.

Texas and New Mexico Act—September 9, 1850
Set the Texas-New Mexico border and organized the New Mexico Territory with slavery to be decided by its residents.

Utah Act—September 9, 1850
Organized the Utah Territory with slavery to be decided by its residents.

Fugitive Slave Act—September 18, 1850
Strengthened the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 by imposing heavy penalties on persons who aided runaway slaves or who blocked or refused to help in their capture.

An Act Abolishing the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia—September 20, 1850
Outlawed the buying and selling of slaves, but not slavery itself, in the nation's capital.

Source: *Encyclopedia of American History*

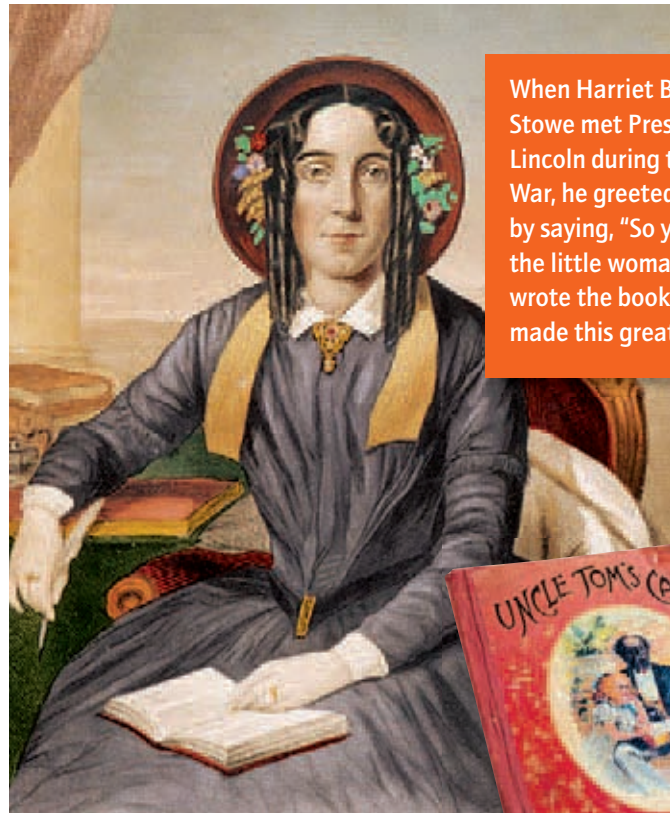
Not all northern senators agreed with Webster. New York's Senator William Seward opposed any compromise on slavery and fiercely attacked slavery itself. Seward's speech caused a stir across the nation. It established him as a **radical**, or a person with extreme views, on the slavery issue.

The debate on Clay's proposals dragged on through the summer. Calhoun's death on March 31 removed one obstacle to compromise. President Zachary Taylor, who also opposed compromise, died a few months later. His successor, **Millard Fillmore**, supported Clay's plan. Finally, in September the Senate passed five laws based on Clay's resolutions. Together, these laws formed what became known as the **Compromise of 1850**.

The Fugitive Slave Act The issues the compromise seemed to solve were soon replaced by others. One part of the compromise itself was very controversial. The **Fugitive Slave Act** made it a federal crime to assist runaway slaves. The law also allowed the arrest of escaped slaves in states where slavery was illegal. People accused of being escaped slaves had to prove that they were not, which was often difficult or impossible. In addition, escaped slaves who had lived in the North for years were returned to slavery if caught. For example, an Indiana man was turned over to a slaveholder who claimed that he had escaped 19 years earlier.

The fugitive slave law was openly resisted by people in the North. "We must trample this law under our feet," one abolitionist urged. Many northerners who had previously been quiet on slavery issues were furious. Mobs rescued slaves from northern police stations. They threatened slave catchers. In turn, the North's reaction angered southern slaveholders. By 1851 some southern leaders were again talking of seceding from the Union.

Uncle Tom's Cabin Among those angry northerners was **Harriet Beecher Stowe**, a magazine writer in Maine. Stowe had once lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, an important stop on the Underground Railroad. There she heard tales of slavery's cruelty and horror. In 1851 she wrote a series of short stories about slave life for an antislavery newspaper. A year later these stories were published as a novel called **Uncle Tom's Cabin**.



When Harriet Beecher Stowe met President Lincoln during the Civil War, he greeted her by saying, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war."

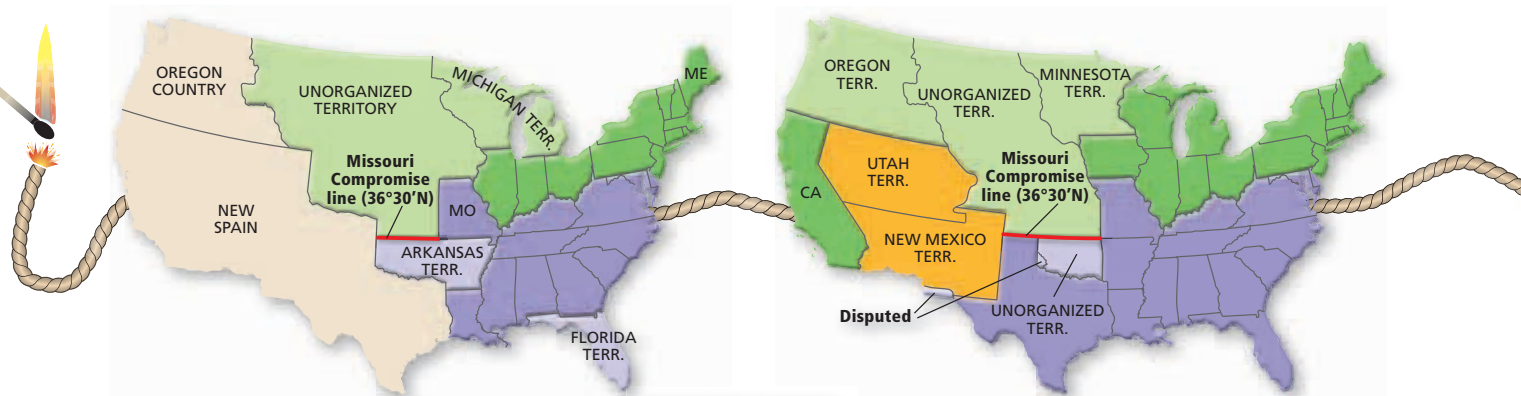
Although Stowe had little firsthand knowledge of slavery or the South, her novel became an enormous success. Within a year, 300,000 copies were sold in the United States and nearly a million more in the rest of the world. The book outraged many southerners. They accused Stowe of writing lies about plantation life. "There never before was anything so detestable or so monstrous among women as this," a New Orleans newspaper declared angrily. Stowe's book raised tensions over slavery to a new height.

READING CHECK **Identifying Cause and Effect** How did the Fugitive Slave Act and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* add to tensions over slavery?

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

The Compromise of 1850 marked the end of an era of political leadership in Congress. Clay and Webster both died within the next two years. Their deaths allowed **Stephen Douglas**, a senator from Illinois, to gain power and influence. As a first-term senator, Douglas had led the fight for the passage of the Compromise

From Compromise to Conflict



The Missouri Compromise, 1820

The nation kept an uneasy balance of power by admitting Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state.

The Compromise of 1850

California's statehood would swing the balance to the North. To maintain the balance, Utah and New Mexico were allowed popular sovereignty.

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government

Today the principle of popular sovereignty is expressed in many states by initiatives and referendums. Initiatives allow voters to accept or reject laws proposed by citizen groups, and referendums enable voters to reject laws passed by the state legislature.

of 1850. By 1854 he was ready to assume the leadership role that would help earn the 5'4" politician the nickname "The Little Giant."

Among the issues that divided North and South was a proposed railroad to connect the new state of California to the rest of the nation. Southerners favored New Orleans, Louisiana, as the railroad's eastern end. Northerners opposed this route, afraid that a railroad which connected California to the South might help bring slavery into the territories organized by the Compromise of 1850.

Douglas believed the proposed railroad could transform Chicago, Illinois, into a major urban center. Before the northern route could be considered, however, the land it crossed had to be officially opened for settlement by the government. In 1854 Douglas introduced a bill into Congress to do that. He proposed that the region west of Iowa and Missouri be organized into the Kansas and Nebraska Territories.

Douglas needed southern support in order to get his bill passed. The Missouri Compromise had closed the Kansas and Nebraska region to slavery. Douglas knew that southerners would not agree to allow settlement in any territories that would someday become free states. For his solution, he turned to the Compromise of 1850. He proposed that as in New Mexico and Utah,

the issue of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska should be settled by **popular sovereignty**. In other words, the people there would decide whether to allow it.

This approach got Douglas the southern support he needed. Southern senators, however, had one more demand. They wanted the Missouri Compromise repealed entirely. When Douglas changed his bill to end the Missouri Compromise's limits on slavery, it took all his political skills to hold on to northern support. In May 1854 his **Kansas-Nebraska Act** became law. Lost in the controversy over the bill was Douglas's proposed railroad to the Pacific Ocean. Congress would not approve the construction of such a railroad until 1862.

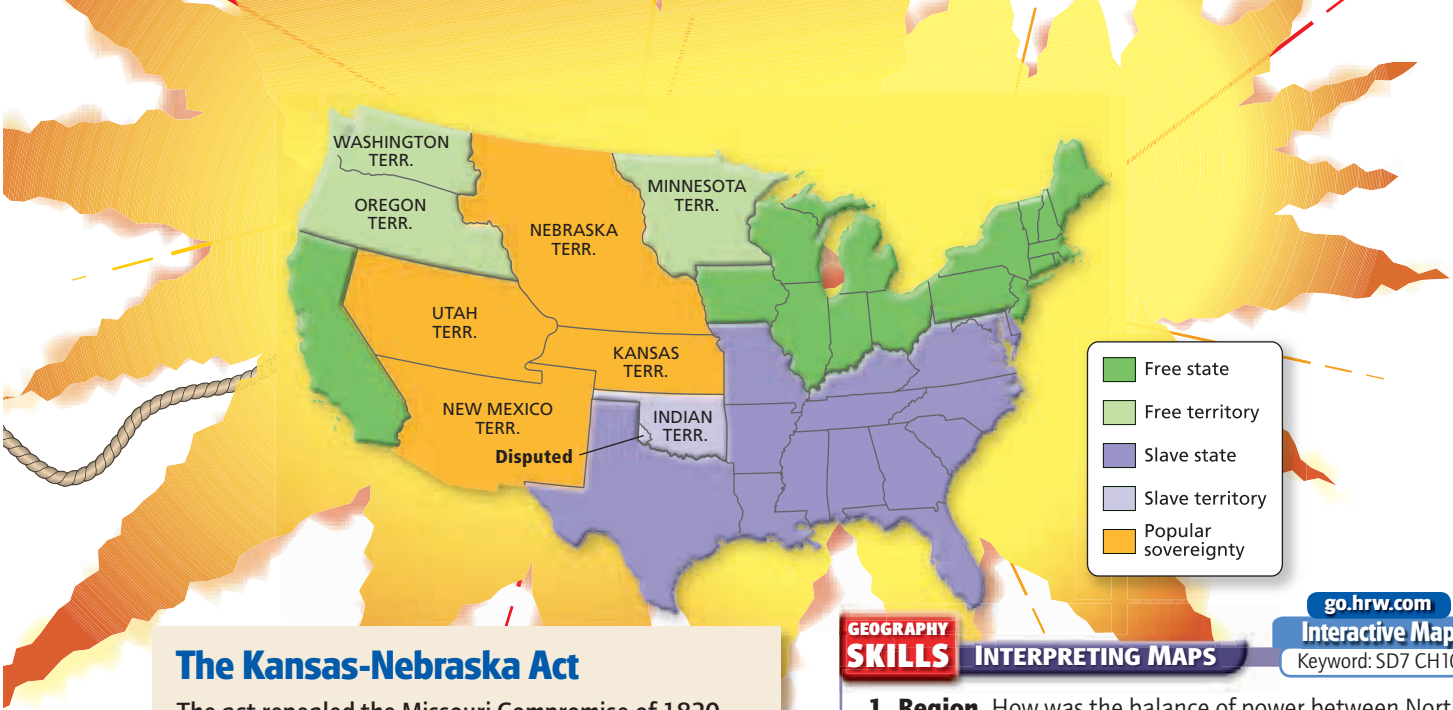
READING CHECK

Identifying the Main Idea

Why did Douglas introduce his Kansas-Nebraska bill?

Reactions in North and South

The North's response to the Kansas-Nebraska Act was intense. Hundreds of meetings were held to protest the law. Northerners sent numerous petitions and resolutions to Congress. "This crime shall not be consummated [completed]," read one. "Nebraska, the heart of our continent, shall forever continue free."



The Kansas-Nebraska Act

The act repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, allowing popular sovereignty—and thus the possibility of slavery—north of the 36° 30' N latitude line.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

INTERPRETING MAPS

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Interactive Map

Keyword: SD7 CH10

- 1. Region** How was the balance of power between North and South maintained through compromise?
- 2. Region** As the territories north of 36° 30' N were organized, how was this balance lost?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H20

Shifts in politics Some northern politicians called the Kansas-Nebraska Act a “gross violation of a sacred pledge.” Such reactions caused major changes in the nation’s political-party system. The controversy greatly weakened the Democratic Party. Northerners were outraged that many northern Democratic members of Congress had voted for the act. A great number of northern Democrats quit the party.

The effect on the Whig Party was even more severe. Whigs were already suffering from serious divisions. Some northern Whigs, called Conscience Whigs, opposed slavery on moral grounds. Other Whigs in both the North and the South, known as Cotton Whigs, strongly supported slavery. The deaths of Clay and Webster, the Whigs’ long-time leaders, further weakened the party at a critical time in national politics.

Cotton and Conscience Whigs in Congress became bitterly divided over Douglas’s proposal. After it passed, the two groups refused to work together. One Connecticut Whig resigned from the Senate in disgust. “The Whig party has been killed off . . . by that miserable Nebraska business,” he complained. With their party basically dead, Cotton Whigs joined their southern Democratic allies in the Democratic Party. Many Conscience Whigs

joined northern Democrats and members of the Free-Soil Party to form a new political party in order to resist the further spread of slavery.

The rise of the Republican Party The Free-Soil Party was formed in 1848 by some northern Whigs and Democrats, and members of a small antislavery party known as the Liberty Party. The Free-Soil Party took its name because opposition to the spread of slavery was its main issue. *Free soil* was a term for land on which slavery did not exist. In fact, people of all political parties who opposed slavery’s spread were often called **free-soilers**.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act caused the Free-Soil Party, northern Whigs, and others to join forces. “Rally as one man for the reestablishment of liberty and the overthrow of the Slave Power,” a free-soiler urged. One such rally was held in a church at Ripon, Wisconsin, in February 1854. The rally’s leaders called for a new political party to be formed. From this meeting the **Republican Party** was born. In July, at a meeting in Jackson, Michigan, the new party’s name was officially adopted.

By the end of 1854, Republican groups were operating in states across the North. They worked with the Know-Nothings, members of

Republican Party Today

Throughout American history, political parties have used the term *republican*. In response to the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, antislavery members of several other parties joined forces. They formed the Republican Party, the same party that exists today.

The first Republican candidate for president was John C. Frémont in 1856. He lost that election, but in 1860 the Republican Party's second presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was elected president of the United States.

Over time, Republican goals have shifted. During much of the nineteenth century, the party focused on rebuilding the Union, and limiting unfair business practices. During the twentieth century, the Republican Party became known for its conservative social policies and a belief in laissez-faire economic policies, which seek to minimize government interference in economic matters.

Analyzing Information How did the Republican Party gain prominence during the nineteenth century?



Delegates at the 2004 Republican National Convention

a political party officially called the American Party, to defeat Democratic candidates for Congress in the elections that year.

The Know-Nothings' **nativism**, or opposition to immigration, was troubling to some Americans. Still, the problems that the Kansas-Nebraska Act caused the Democrats and Whigs briefly gave the Know-Nothings political influence again. At first, the Republicans' association with the Know-Nothings kept

one prominent Whig, William Seward, away from the new party. Not until 1855, after he had been safely re-elected to the Senate, did Seward become a Republican. Another, much less famous northern Whig soon joined him. That politician's name was Abraham Lincoln.

READING CHECK

Summarizing How did passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act affect the nation's political-party system?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP10

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. **a. Identify** How was the nation divided over the institution of slavery?
b. Analyze What effect did the Mexican-American War have on the issue of slavery in the United States? Why did it have this effect?
2. **a. Describe** What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850?
b. Make Inferences Why would the Compromise of 1850 have been controversial in both the North and the South?
c. Evaluate Was the Compromise of 1850 a good solution to the conflict over slavery? Explain why or why not.
3. **a. Recall** What is **popular sovereignty**? Why did Stephen Douglas include it in his Kansas-Nebraska bill?
b. Draw Conclusions How would both the North and the South have expected to benefit from the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

4. **a. Describe** Why was the Republican Party founded?
b. Make Inferences Why would some northerners have been upset over the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

Critical Thinking

5. **Compare and Contrast** Copy the chart below and record the reasons that northerners and southerners in Congress passed the Compromise of 1850.



FOCUS ON WRITING

6. **Expository** Suppose you were a northern senator during the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Write a speech stating your position and the reasons for your stand on Senator Douglas's controversial proposal.

Sectional Conflicts and National Politics

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

Rising tensions over slavery expanded from political rhetoric into outright violence.

READING FOCUS

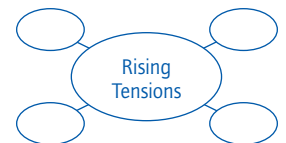
1. Why did popular sovereignty lead to violent struggle in Kansas?
2. In what ways did the presidential election of 1856 illustrate the nation's growing divisions?
3. What events of Buchanan's presidency further divided the nation?
4. Why was John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry an important event in American history?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

"Bleeding Kansas"
 Franklin Pierce
 John Brown
 Pottawatomie Massacre
 guerrilla war
 James Buchanan
 John Frémont
Dred Scott decision
 Lecompton Constitution
 Robert E. Lee

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the acts of violence that resulted from rising tensions between North and South. In each of the smaller circles in a diagram like the one below, identify and briefly describe one violent act.



THE INSIDE STORY

What did John Doy's experience show about conditions in Kansas in the 1850s?

In January 1859, John Doy and his 21-year-old son Charles, agreed to take a group of 13 escaped slaves from Lawrence, Kansas, to freedom in Iowa. Doy, an English physician, had come to Kansas in 1854 to help make the territory a free state. An active abolitionist, Dr. Doy was making the journey as a "conductor" on the Underground Railroad.

Doy and his son moved the escaped slaves in two covered wagons. They were barely 12 miles from Lawrence, however, when they were stopped by a band of slave hunters. The group seized the Doyes and took them to Missouri. There Dr. Doy was tried and convicted of slave stealing and sentenced to five years in prison.

Back in Lawrence, a plan was devised to rescue Doy from jail before he could be moved to the Missouri state penitentiary. In July, a group of antislavery Kansans assembled at St. Joseph, where Dr. Doy was being held. One of them visited Doy in jail and slipped him a note about the plan to break him out. That night they

went to the jail, pretending to have captured a horse thief. Once inside, they overpowered the two jailers and freed Dr. Doy. Crossing the Missouri River in rowboats, they evaded the posse sent after them and arrived in Lawrence to a hero's welcome two days later. ■

THE RESCUE OF DR. JOHN DOY

► John Doy (seated) and the men who rescued him from "that vile iron box" he was jailed in.



The Struggle for Kansas

The kidnapping of Dr. John Doy was one of many acts of slavery-related lawlessness that plagued Kansas Territory. By 1856 so much violence had occurred there that the territory was being called **"Bleeding Kansas."**

Northerners and southerners alike realized what the settlement of Kansas meant for the nation. "We are playing for a mighty stake," Missouri senator David Atchison noted. "If we win we carry slavery to the Pacific Ocean, if we fail we lose . . . all the territories." Northerners were just as eager to keep Kansas free. "We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas," pledged William Seward. "God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right."

Pro-slavery and free-soil forces soon were fighting for control in Kansas. Each side intended to control the territory's elections and, later, a vote on a state constitution. Free-soil settlers flooded into the territory. Groups opposed to slavery raised money to help volunteers move there. People in slaveholding states

also formed emigrant groups. Atchison took a leave of absence from the Senate to lead the effort to establish slavery in the new territory.

Popular sovereignty Settlement of the slavery issue by popular sovereignty did not require settlers to vote on whether to allow it. Instead, the question was settled indirectly. The voters would elect a territorial legislature, which would then pass laws on the subject. Later, a constitution had to be written and approved by voters before the territory could become a state. That constitution would either permit or ban slavery. It was through these processes that Kansas would eventually enter the Union as a slave state or as free soil.

The first election was held in November 1854 to choose the territory's delegate to Congress. About 1,700 armed Missourians crossed into Kansas and threatened violence if they were not allowed to vote. A pro-slavery delegate was elected.

Even greater voting fraud took place in elections for the territorial legislature in March 1855. In some districts the number of

Interactive

HISTORY CLOSE-UP

The Sack of Lawrence

On May 21, 1855, a pro-slavery posse arrived in Lawrence, Kansas, to arrest leaders of the "rebel" antislavery government. The posse looted and destroyed much of the town.

When posse members could not destroy the Free State Hotel with cannon shots, they set it on fire.

The posse burned the office of *The Free State*, one of Lawrence's antislavery newspapers.

ballots cast was more than twice the number of registered voters. A legislature of 36 pro-slavery candidates and 3 free-soilers was elected. “Missourians have nobly defended our rights,” declared an Alabama newspaper.

The legislature met in the town of Leecompton and quickly passed a strict slave code into law. Outraged free-soilers refused to accept the new legislature. They elected an antislavery governor and legislature and set up their own government. By 1856 two governments were passing and carrying out laws, each claiming to be the legal government of Kansas.

The Sack of Lawrence By 1855 the town of Lawrence had become a center of antislavery activity in the territory. In November, shootings of pro-slavery settlers near the town brought some 1,500 Missourians across the border. Nearby federal troops waited for the president’s order to keep peace in the area. No such order was issued. The Missourians decided against attacking Lawrence only when they verified that it was defended by a heavily armed force of free-soilers.


Although President **Franklin Pierce** was a New Hampshire Democrat, he seemed to be under the influence of pro-slavery elements in Congress. In January 1856 Pierce condemned the free-soil government in Kansas as rebels. This prompted pro-slavery Kansas officials to charge free-soil leaders with treason.

On May 21 a pro-slavery sheriff and about 800 men rode into Lawrence to arrest them. The posse destroyed the offices of the town’s two antislavery newspapers, burned the hotel and the free-soil governor’s house, and looted stores and homes. Antislavery newspapers labeled the raid the Sack of Lawrence in an effort to paint the raiders as barbarians and inflame public opinion in the North.

The Pottawatomie Massacre A related event soon inflamed public opinion in the South. Fifty-six-year-old **John Brown** was a committed abolitionist. As a young man, he had used his Pennsylvania home as a station on the Underground Railroad. After several business failures, Brown followed several of his sons to Kansas in 1855. All hoped to obtain land and

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

verified made sure that something is accurate or true



Posse members took the printing press from the office of the antislavery newspaper *The Herald of Freedom* and dumped it in a nearby river.

Members of the posse looted homes and businesses, making off with whatever they could carry.

Skills FOCUS

INTERPRETING INFOGRAPHICS

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Keyword: SD7 CH10

1. Drawing Conclusions Why did the posse want to destroy the two antislavery newspapers in Lawrence?

2. Making Inferences Why did some members of the posse loot private homes and businesses?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H18

help make the territory a free state. Brown settled at the free-soil town of Osawatimie and appointed himself a captain of the local antislavery militia.

Outraged by the Sack of Lawrence, Brown sought bloody revenge. On the night of May 24, 1856, he and a small group of followers dragged five pro-slavery settlers out of their cabins along Pottawatomie Creek and executed them. This brutal act of terrorism became known as the **Pottawatomie Massacre**.

“Bleeding Kansas” The violent events at Lawrence and Pottawatomie Creek ignited a civil war in Kansas. A civil war is a war that involves opposing groups of citizens of the same country. For the next four months, large bands of pro-slavery and antislavery forces ranged over the territory. Several battles took place. Many settlers on both sides saw their property looted or destroyed. An antislavery settler from New Hampshire described that terrible summer.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“We are in the midst of war—war of the most bloody kind—a war of extermination. Freedom and slavery are interlocked in a deadly embrace, and death is certain for one or the other . . . and only God knoweth where it will end.”

—Julia Louisa Lovejoy, August 25, 1856

In September, federal troops finally brought the major fighting to an end. Peace did not return, however. A **guerrilla war**—fighting marked by sabotage, ambushes, and other surprise attacks—continued.

“The Crime Against Kansas” Violence over Kansas also spilled into the halls of Congress. In May 1856, reacting to the raid on Lawrence, Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner delivered an angry two-day speech in the Senate. Sumner called his speech “The Crime Against Kansas.”

Sumner’s speech also attacked several southern senators who had played key roles in passing the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He directed some of his most vicious remarks at South Carolina’s Andrew Butler, who was absent from the Senate at the time.

Two days later, Congress member Preston Brooks walked into the Senate. Brooks was also from South Carolina and was Andrew Butler’s

nephew. The chamber was nearly deserted because the Senate had finished business for the day. Sumner had remained, however, and was at his desk writing letters. Shouting angrily at the senator, Brooks beat him some 30 times with a heavy gold-handled walking stick. Sumner collapsed to the floor, his head covered in blood.

Northerners were incensed by the brutal attack. “Has it come to this, that we must speak with bated breath in the presence of our southern masters?” asked the *New York Evening Post*. “Are we to be chastised [punished] as they chastise their slaves?” Northerners were equally outraged that southerners in the House of Representatives blocked efforts to expel Brooks from Congress for his deed.

Sumner was so badly injured that he could not return to the Senate for more than three years. During that time northerners kept his empty chair on display in the Senate as a reminder of the attack. Meanwhile, southerners sent Brooks hundreds of canes to replace the one he had broken in the assault.

READING CHECK

Sequencing What events led to “Bleeding Kansas”?

The Election of 1856

The controversy over Kansas dominated the presidential election of 1856. Some southern Democrats supported Pierce for a second term. Others favored Stephen Douglas. Disgusted northern Democrats refused to support either candidate. The Democratic Party settled on **James Buchanan**, a former senator from Pennsylvania, as its nominee. Buchanan had been out of the country serving as U.S. minister to Great Britain for years. He had no involvement in the battles in Congress over slavery.

As its first presidential candidate, the new Republican Party chose war hero and California senator **John Frémont**, who had led the force across the Rocky Mountains that helped seize California for the United States during the Mexican-American War. The American Party, or Know-Nothings, nominated former president Millard Fillmore as its candidate.

Buchanan won the election for two main reasons: The North’s heavily immigrant population was repelled by the Know-Nothings’ nativism, and the Democrats painted the

PRIMARY SOURCES

Political Cartoon

As tensions over slavery increased, violence even broke out in Congress. In 1856 South Carolina representative Preston Brooks attacked Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner over an anti-slavery speech Sumner had made.

Although the Senate chamber was nearly empty when the attack occurred, the artist added observers in this portrayal.



Brooks beat Sumner with a cane until it broke in two. Supporters mailed Brooks hundreds of new canes.

Sumner was writing at his desk when the attack occurred.

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**Skills
FOCUS**

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Interpreting Political Cartoons** What does the drawing suggest about the artist's opinion of the event?
- 2. Recognizing Bias** Why do you think the artist added observers to the scene?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29, H33

Republicans as extremists on the issue of slavery. “The Union is in danger and the people everywhere know it,” Buchanan warned. Some southerners helped his cause by hinting at secession if the Republicans won. “The election of Frémont,” warned one southern senator, “would be the end of the Union and ought to be.” As a result, Buchanan was the voters’ choice in both North and South. Frémont, however, won all the states of the Upper North.

READING CHECK

Identifying Cause and Effect

Effect Why did James Buchanan win the presidential election of 1856?

Buchanan's Presidency

In his inaugural address, Buchanan renewed his support for popular sovereignty in the territories and his pledge to not interfere with slavery where it already existed. Coupled with the decreased violence in Kansas, his words gave many Americans hope that the crisis was finally past. Such hopes were fleeting, however. Two events soon reignited the passions over slavery that were tearing the nation apart.

The Dred Scott decision Two days after Buchanan took office, the Supreme Court announced its long-awaited decision in the *Dred Scott* case. (See *Scott v. Sandford* at the end of this section.) Dred Scott, a slave, had sued for his freedom. Scott had lived on free soil during much of the 1830s. His argument was that by living where slavery was illegal, he had become free.

In a complicated decision, a deeply divided Court ruled against Scott in 1857. Chief Justice Roger Taney noted that, among other things, the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution protected the property rights of persons who held others as slaves.

The political firestorm that erupted over the **Dred Scott decision** rivaled that of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Southerners viewed it as a wonderful victory. Northerners feared that slavery could now not be barred in any territory. Republicans, in particular, worried that the Court’s decision had stripped their party of its main issue—blocking the spread of slavery. The decision actually helped the Republican Party, however, by widening divisions between northern and southern Democrats.

THE IMPACT TODAY

Recent Scholarship

Republican William Seward charged that President Buchanan secretly tried to influence the Supreme Court to decide the case in favor of the South. Republicans at the time labeled Seward’s charge as outrageous. Modern historical research, however, has shown it was true.



Dred Scott “had no rights which the white man was bound to respect,” ruled Chief Justice Roger Taney.

QUICK FACTS

Effects of the *Dred Scott* Decision

- Increased northern opposition to slavery
- Deprived free African Americans of citizenship if they were descendants of slaves
- Increased tensions between North and South
- Widened divisions in the Democratic Party

The Lecompton Constitution By late 1857 the controversy over slavery in Kansas Territory boiled over once again. An election of delegates to a constitutional convention in June gave the pro-slavery forces control over the writing of a state constitution. In supervised elections in October, however, free-soilers gained a majority of the seats in both houses of the territory’s legislature.

Pro-slavery leaders recognized that in a fair election, voters would never approve the constitution they had written. Therefore, they refused to submit the **Lecompton Constitution** to a vote. Instead, they proposed that voters decide only a special provision on slavery. If approved, it would allow slavery in Kansas. If defeated, further importation of slaves would be banned, but enslaved African Americans already in Kansas would remain in slavery.

Northerners were again outraged. Even Steven Douglas viewed the proposal as a mockery of popular sovereignty. Buchanan, however, decided to let the vote proceed. When free-soilers in Kansas refused to take part, the provision passed. In their own election in January 1858, the free-soilers rejected the provision, and the entire constitution. Some southerners again threatened secession if Congress accepted the second set of results.

Bowing to southern pressure, Buchanan submitted the Lecompton Constitution to Congress and called for the admission of Kansas as a slave state. The Senate quickly approved the measure, but the House blocked it.

In May a compromise was found. Congress decided to require that Kansans vote on the constitution again. If it passed, the territory would be admitted as a slave state. If not, statehood for Kansas would be delayed until its population reached 90,000. In August 1858, Kansas voters overwhelmingly rejected the Lecompton Constitution. That vote and the *Dred Scott* decision finally put the Kansas issue to rest.

Controversy over the Lecompton Constitution further deepened the sectional divisions in the Democratic Party. Douglas’s break with President Buchanan over the Lecompton Constitution weakened the senator’s position as a party leader. His opposition to the Lecompton Constitution also cost him support among southern Democrats. Finally, the controversy encouraged the belief of some radical southerners that making threats of secession would get the South its way.

READING CHECK

Making Inferences Why was the Lecompton Constitution controversial?

John Brown’s Raid

While the Congress debated the Lecompton Constitution, one Kansas settler hatched an idea. John Brown never shared the belief of most abolitionists in nonviolence. “Talk! Talk! Talk! That will never free the slaves,” he proclaimed. “What is needed is action—action.” In May 1858 Brown and some followers agreed on a plan to establish a nation of freed slaves in the southern Appalachian Mountains.

Brown then approached leading abolitionists to get support for his plan. Theodore Parker and several others agreed to finance a raid on a U.S. arsenal, a place where guns are stored, at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown planned to use the guns to arm a slave revolt in the area.

Brown rented a farm in Maryland, across the Potomac River from the town of Harpers Ferry, in the summer of 1859 and prepared for the attack. Frederick Douglass tried to convince him the plot was unlikely to succeed, but Brown refused to listen.

On the night of October 16, Brown and 21 followers, including five African Americans, easily captured the arsenal. Brown then sent members of his group to spread the word to the area's slaves to rise up in revolt. They returned with a few hostages, but no slaves were willing to run away and join Brown's revolt.

In the morning local townspeople with guns trapped Brown's group inside the arsenal. Several of his followers were killed in the fight that followed, and some others escaped. That night a company of U.S. Marines arrived. They were commanded by Colonel **Robert E. Lee**. The next morning, October 18, the marines stormed the arsenal. They captured what remained of Brown's group without bringing any harm to the hostages.

Brown and his six surviving followers were tried in Virginia. All were sentenced to hang. John Brown's sentence was carried out on December 2, 1859. He remained committed to his cause to the end.

HISTORY'S VOICES

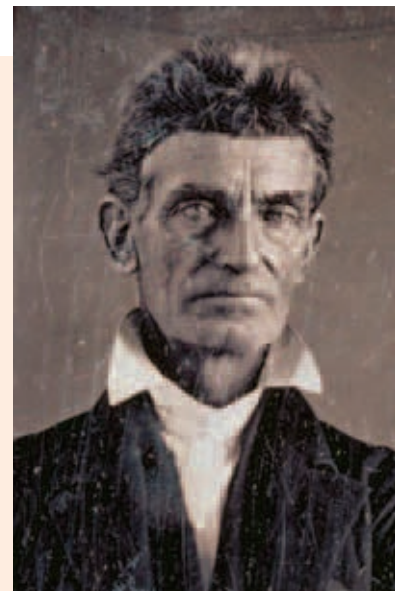
“If it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done.”

—John Brown, November 2, 1859



Effects of John Brown's Raid

- Aroused widespread support for Brown in the North
- Increased southern fears that abolitionists would inspire slave revolts
- United white southerners in support of the South
- Probably speeded the coming of the Civil War



John Brown used violence to oppose slavery.

For southerners, John Brown's raid was at the same time unifying, strengthening, and frightening. In the North, although some questioned Brown's sanity, many people viewed him as a hero. Church bells tolled across the North on Brown's execution day.

READING CHECK Identifying the Main Idea

Why did John Brown launch his raid?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP10

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Identify** Why was Kansas called "Bleeding Kansas"?

b. Make Inferences Why did violence erupt in Kansas?

c. Evaluate Was the exercise of popular sovereignty in Kansas a success or a failure? Explain why.
- a. Recall** Who were the candidates for president in 1856?

b. Analyze In what ways did the presidential election of 1856 demonstrate the nation's deep sectional divisions?

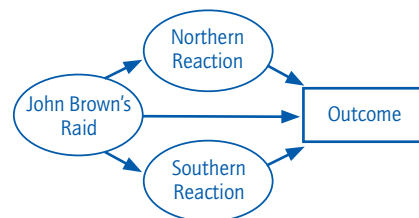
c. Predict How might the nation's history have been different if the Republican had won the 1856 election?
- a. Describe** For what reason did Dred Scott believe that he should be freed from slavery?

b. Draw Conclusions How did the *Dred Scott* decision affect tensions over slavery? Explain why.

c. Predict How would the controversy over slavery have been affected if the Supreme Court had ruled in favor of Dred Scott?

Critical Thinking

- Identifying Cause and Effect** Copy the chart below and complete it with details to explain how the raid of **John Brown** affected relations between North and South.



FOCUS ON WRITING

- Expository** Write a letter to the editor of a northern antislavery newspaper explaining why John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry was or was not justified.

Scott v. Sandford (1857)

Why It Matters As the country expanded during the first half of the nineteenth century, arguments over the role of slavery in the new territories became especially bitter. The Supreme Court's decision in the *Dred Scott* case brought the nation closer to civil war.

Background of the Case

Dred Scott was born a slave in Virginia around 1795. During the 1830s, Dr. John Emerson, the owner of Scott and his wife, Harriet, brought them to live in the free state of Illinois and to the free Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was prohibited under the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The Emersons later returned to St. Louis with the Scotts. In 1846, the Scotts sued for their freedom in the Circuit Court of St. Louis, Missouri. They argued that their years of living in free territories had freed them from slavery. After losing in the Missouri Supreme Court, the Scotts sued in federal court, where they again lost. They then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Decision

Chief Justice Roger B. Taney wrote the majority opinion. He concluded that because Scott was black he was not a citizen and therefore could not sue in federal court. Taney reviewed prior cases to show that slaves were not considered citizens in the Constitution as originally adopted and had not been granted citizenship since that time. Since only a citizen could sue in the federal courts, Scott did not have the right to sue.

Justice Taney's opinion could have stopped there, with the case dismissed because Scott could not sue. But he went on to consider the constitutionality of the entire Missouri Compromise. Taney concluded that by making slavery illegal in certain territories, Congress had exceeded its authority under the Constitution. The decision was popular with southern slave owners but upset many northerners. Instead of resolving the controversy, the case increased the intensity of the conflict over slavery in the country.



THE IMPACT TODAY

In 1868 the *Dred Scott* decision was overturned by the Fourteenth Amendment, which declared that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens. African Americans continued to work to gain the full rights of citizenship. Today they actively take part in civic and political life. Above, U.S. Senator Barack Obama talks to reporters.

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Research Online

Keyword: SS Court

CRITICAL THINKING

- 1. Analyze the Impact** Before he became Chief Justice in 1930, Charles Evans Hughes described the *Dred Scott* decision as a "self-inflicted wound" that harmed the Court's reputation for at least a generation. Explain what you think Hughes meant by this description.
- 2. You Be the Judge** In the 2004 presidential election decision *Bush v. Gore*, the Supreme Court intervened in the Florida ballot recount, leading to George W. Bush's election. Justice Stephen Breyer wrote in dissent that the Court's decision risked "a self-inflicted wound—a wound that may harm not just the Court, but the Nation." Do you agree or disagree? Is his implied comparison to *Dred Scott* justified? Explain your answer in a short paragraph.

SECTION

3

Lincoln's Path to the White House

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

After gaining national prominence in the late 1850s, Abraham Lincoln became president in 1860.

READING FOCUS

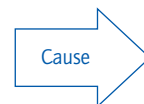
1. How did Lincoln's personal views on slavery differ from his political position on the subject?
2. How did the Lincoln-Douglas debates benefit Lincoln's political career?
3. What circumstances resulted in Lincoln's election as president in 1860?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Abraham Lincoln
Lincoln-Douglas debates
Freeport Doctrine
platform
John C. Breckinridge
John Bell

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the reasons why Abraham Lincoln won national prominence in the 1850s. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.



Lincoln wins national prominence

Debate or Sideshow?

THE INSIDE STORY

How did the Lincoln-Douglas debates differ from political debates today?

Political debates in the 1850s were quite different from the televised debates of modern times. Instead of being media events, they were a mix of carnival and public-speaking contest. The seven great debates of 1858 between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas were no exception.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates were open-air events. People arrived on foot, on horseback, and in wagons and carriages from throughout the countryside. They brought picnic baskets and turned the debates into all-day family outings. Banners flew and bands played as supporters of each candidate tried to outdo each other. Douglas arrived for one debate at the head of a mile-long parade.

The debates themselves were long affairs. The first speech lasted an hour, followed by a 90-minute speech by the opponent. The opening speaker then gave a 30-minute



THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

▲ Crowds gathered to witness debates between Lincoln (in white jacket) and Douglas (in dark suit).

reply. Each speaker's remarks were peppered with applause and cheers from supporters, and with groans and heckling from supporters of the other side. The crowd shouted questions and challenged the speakers' claims. Election politics in the 1850s was typical of the turmoil of the times. ■

Lincoln, Politics, and Slavery

For **Abraham Lincoln**, the debates with Stephen Douglas marked the end of a long road toward national politics. Lincoln, who once summarized his early life as “the short and simple annals [record of events] of the poor,” had less than a year of formal schooling. His mother, Nancy, encouraged him to educate himself by learning on his own. “All that I am or ever hope to be I owe to her,” he said.

A frontier upbringing Abraham Lincoln was born in 1809 in a one-room cabin near Louisville, Kentucky. About 1,000 slaves lived in the area at the time. His parents were poor, however, and like most white southerners, they held no slaves. It is not clear when Lincoln’s distaste for slavery began. His mother was a deeply religious woman. The minister of the family’s church thought slavery was wrong, and the boy probably heard his parents speak against it at home. “I am naturally antislavery,” Lincoln observed years later. “I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel.”

His parents’ opposition to slavery was one reason the Lincolns moved from Kentucky to Indiana Territory in 1816. They settled near the Ohio River, about 75 miles west of Louisville. The boy helped his father build a

cabin and clear enough land for a small farm. The slavery issue continued to swirl around his family, however. Although slavery was banned in Indiana, not all the region’s settlers were opposed to the institution. In addition, slave catchers frequented the area, hunting down runaways who had crossed the Ohio River seeking freedom.

In 1828 Lincoln took a job on a boat moving farm produce down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers from Indiana to New Orleans. There the curious 19-year-old had his first direct contact with slavery when he attended a slave auction. He witnessed men and women bought and sold like livestock. “I saw it all [for] myself,” Lincoln recalled in 1851, “and the horrid pictures are in my mind yet.”

On another trip down river, a similar scene greatly disturbed Lincoln.

HISTORY’S VOICES

“A gentleman had purchased twelve Negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together . . . like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them, from their wives and children.”

—Abraham Lincoln, 1841

Lincoln’s Early Life



Lincoln lived his early years in a small cabin (reconstructed above). Self-educated, he began practicing law in 1836. Six years later, he married Mary Todd (right), an educated woman from a prominent Kentucky family.



Lincoln's early politics As a young man, Lincoln moved to New Salem, a village about 20 miles northwest of Springfield, Illinois. He took a job as a store clerk, and the next year he ran for a seat in the state legislature. Lincoln lost that election, but two years later he ran again and won.

In December 1834, at age 25, Lincoln began the first of four terms in the Illinois General Assembly. During his first term he studied law at home and was licensed to practice law in 1836. As a member of the state legislature, Lincoln protested a resolution passed overwhelmingly by the legislature that denounced abolitionist societies.

Lincoln met Mary Todd, the cousin of his law partner and the daughter of a wealthy Kentucky slaveholder, in 1840. It was a rocky courtship because of differences in temperament and the opposition of Todd's sisters. After a broken engagement, Lincoln and Todd made up and married in 1842. By then Lincoln had retired from the legislature to devote more time to his law practice.

Lincoln in Congress In 1846 Lincoln returned to politics and successfully ran for Congress. He took his seat in 1847 as the Mexican-American War was underway. He soon gained attention by charging President Polk, a slaveholding Democrat, with starting the war in order to spread slavery. Just two weeks into his term, Lincoln introduced a resolution in Congress challenging the president to identify the place where American blood had been shed, which justified going to war.

Lincoln did not take part in the debates on the Wilmot Proviso to ban slavery in territory gained from Mexico. However, he favored the proposal. Each time David Wilmot introduced his amendment in the House, Lincoln voted for it. He believed Congress could regulate slavery in the territories and in Washington, D.C. Lincoln maintained that only the states had the right to decide on slavery within their borders. He believed Congress did not have the authority to end slavery within a state.

In 1849 Lincoln proposed ending slavery in Washington, D.C., by paying slaveholders to free their slaves. This approach to ending slavery, called compensated emancipation, was favored by some abolitionists. It was one solution to slaveholders' arguments that slavery

was protected by the Fifth Amendment guarantee of property rights. However, the amendment also states "... nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." Some people who supported compensated emancipation believed this statement allowed Congress to act against slavery so long as slaveholders were paid for their loss. In 1849, however, this idea was too radical for many members of Congress, and Lincoln's proposal got little support.

Lincoln worked hard to help elect the Whig candidate Zachary Taylor as president in 1848. He expected a job in the Taylor administration as a reward and was bitterly disappointed when he was not offered the position he sought. He resigned from Congress in 1849 and returned home to practice law. Lincoln's second retirement from politics, however, turned out to be no longer than his first.

READING CHECK Identifying the Main Idea

Why did Lincoln not seek the abolition of slavery, even though he personally opposed it?

Lincoln and Douglas Clash

The Kansas-Nebraska Act stirred Lincoln from retirement in 1854. He described himself as "thunderstruck and stunned" by the law's passage. The renewed controversy over slavery in the territories energized him to return to public life. In a speech in Peoria, Illinois, Lincoln clarified his opposition to Stephen Douglas's position on popular sovereignty.

HISTORY'S VOICES

"Near eighty years ago we began by declaring that all men are created equal; but now from that beginning we have run down to the other declaration, that for some men to enslave others is a 'sacred right of self-government.' These principles cannot stand together."

—Abraham Lincoln, October 16, 1854

This speech and many of Lincoln's other remarks expressed the basic beliefs and principles of the newly founded Republican Party. Yet Lincoln still considered himself a Whig. He was elected as a Whig to another term in the state legislature in 1854. However, he resigned in February 1855 because he had decided to seek one of Illinois's two seats in the United States Senate.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Democratic senator Stephen A. Douglas believed that each state or territory should decide for itself whether or not to allow slavery.

“When this government was established by Washington and Madison and Jay and Hamilton, . . . it was composed of free States and slave States, bound together by our common Constitution. We have existed and prospered from that day to this, divided into these free and slave States.”

Stephen A. Douglas,
September 18, 1858

Abraham Lincoln challenged Douglas for the Illinois seat in the Senate. He countered that the framers had intended a gradual end to slavery.

“[T]he fathers of the government intended and expected [slavery] to come to an end . . . It is not true . . . that [they] made this government part slave, and part free . . . The exact truth is that they found the institution existing among us and they left it as they found it . . . because of the . . . absolute impossibility of the immediate removal of it.”

Abraham Lincoln,
October 15, 1858

**Skills
FOCUS**

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Analyzing Primary Sources According to Senator Douglas, what united the states during the early days of the republic?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29

“A house divided” By the mid-1850s the Whigs were nearly dead as a political party. Lincoln needed a new party if he hoped to reenter national politics. The Republicans seemed more in line with his beliefs than the Democratic Party did. With these thoughts in mind, Lincoln helped organize the Illinois Republican Party in 1856. Later that year, Illinois Republicans tried but failed to put him on the ticket with John Frémont as the party’s candidate for vice president.

In 1858 Lincoln decided to oppose Douglas’s bid for a third term in the U.S. Senate. His acceptance of the Republican nomination produced one of the most important speeches of his political career. It focused on what Lincoln planned to make the main issue of his campaign—the controversy over the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the *Dred Scott* decision, and the spread of slavery.

Addressing the delegates at the state Republican convention, Lincoln quoted from the Bible and made a dire prediction.

HISTORY’S VOICES

“‘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.”

—Abraham Lincoln, June 16, 1858

Many viewed this statement as the most radical stance against slavery yet taken by a Republican leader. It suggested that Lincoln’s goals went far beyond limiting slavery’s spread. For months afterward, he tried to explain the remark’s context—that he was making a prediction, not stating a position. From that point on, however, many slaveholders were convinced that Lincoln secretly was an abolitionist.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates Lincoln’s “house divided” speech attracted national attention, and despite the problems it caused, it gave him national name recognition. Weeks later, when he and Douglas debated the issues

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

context the circumstances in which something happens or is to be considered

in their Senate campaign, their remarks were reported in newspapers across the nation. The **Lincoln-Douglas debates** took place from late August to mid-October 1858. Seven debates were held in all, in towns across the state of Illinois. Thousands of people gathered at each place to hear the two men speak.

Lincoln and Douglas were very different in appearance and style. Douglas spoke with great flair, clenching his fists and stamping his feet for emphasis. Lincoln's manner was mild, and he sprinkled his remarks with humor. His strength lay not in theatrics but in the logic and reasoning of his ideas.

The Freeport Doctrine The second debate, at Freeport, Illinois, turned out to be the most critical of the seven. A crowd of 15,000 people gathered to hear the exchange. Lincoln spoke first. He challenged Douglas to explain how people could use popular sovereignty to keep slavery out of a place when the *Dred Scott* decision had said they could not. Douglas's reply came to be known as the **Freeport Doctrine**.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“Slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by the local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation . . . prevent the introduction of it into their midst.”

—Stephen Douglas, August 27, 1858

In the first debates, Douglas had fired back at Lincoln's claim that the nation could not continue half slave and half free. He painted Lincoln as a dangerous radical. If the states “cannot endure thus divided,” Douglas noted, then Lincoln “must strive to make them all free or all slave, which will inevitably bring about a dissolution of the Union.” He called Lincoln's beliefs “revolutionary and destructive of the existence of this government.”

Lincoln's social views Lincoln also emphasized the immorality of slavery in the debates, calling the institution “a moral, a social, and a political wrong.” Douglas evaded the morality issue but attacked Lincoln's other arguments.

Douglas continually referred to Lincoln's party as the Black Republicans and painted what was, to Douglas, the unpleasant image of

a society where the races were equal. Douglas pressed his opponent on this point. “Are you in favor of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship?” he challenged.

Backed into a corner, a frustrated Lincoln made his position clear in the fourth debate, held at Charleston, Illinois.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“I will say then that I am not, nor have ever been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races.”

—Abraham Lincoln, September 18, 1858

The debates' significance The debates illustrated the sharp differences between Lincoln and Douglas on slavery. Deciding who won is difficult. Most historians judge Lincoln to have been the winner even though Douglas retained his Senate seat. (The voters did not elect U.S. senators until 1913. Before then each state's senators were chosen by its legislature.) In the fall election, the Illinois legislature returned Douglas to the Senate.

Even in electoral defeat Lincoln had achieved a victory. He had argued the more famous Douglas to a draw and in the process made himself a national political figure. Douglas's Freeport Doctrine and his opposition to the Lecompton Constitution caused him to lose the support of southern Democrats. This loss proved critical when he faced Lincoln again in the presidential election two years later.

Lincoln's moderate positions increased his standing among northerners. At the same time, however, nothing in the debates gave southerners cause to shed their growing belief that Lincoln was a serious threat to slavery.

Perhaps most importantly, even though the state legislature decided the Senate race, Lincoln and Douglas had taken their arguments directly to the people. By focusing on the most controversial topic of the times, they made clear to the entire nation the issues that were tearing the country apart. In addition, the outcome of the debates directly affected the presidential election of 1860. These factors rank the Lincoln-Douglas debates among the great political events of U.S. history.

READING CHECK Identifying the Main Idea

Why were the Lincoln-Douglas debates such important events?

PRIMARY SOURCES

Political Cartoon

This cartoon tries to show why Lincoln won the election of 1860. The four candidates are portrayed as baseball players, with Lincoln, the victor, standing on home base.

The bat of Stephen Douglas is labeled, "Non Intervention," reflecting his position that the government should leave slavery up to the states.

Skills Focus

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Interpreting Political Cartoons What is the artist's point of view about why Lincoln won the election?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29



Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge took the most extreme position. His bat says "Slavery Extension" and his belt "Disunion Club."

Lincoln's bat is shown as a rail, stronger than his opponents' regular bats.

The Election of 1860

Stephen Douglas had his eyes on the presidency at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. After the debates, Lincoln did too. Each faced a hard battle to become his party's nominee.

The Democratic convention Both the nation and the Democratic Party were seriously divided in the spring of 1860. The Democrats held their national convention in Charleston, South Carolina, in April. Southern Democrats arrived with two main goals—to block the nomination of Douglas and to adopt a party **platform** that protected slavery and its spread. (A platform is a declaration of the principles for which a group stands.) Northern Democrats supported Douglas and popular sovereignty.

Amid much bitterness, the northerners managed to push their platform through. The convention could not agree on a candidate, however, and many southerners walked out. The remaining delegates met again in Baltimore in June and chose Douglas as the party's candidate. Later that month southern Democrats nominated Vice President **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky as their presidential

candidate. The split in the Democratic Party was complete. Southern moderates formed the Constitutional Union Party and nominated Tennessee senator **John Bell** for president.

The Republican convention William Seward seemed to be the leading candidate for the nomination when the Republicans met in Chicago in May. However, many Republicans feared that Seward's abolitionist views were too radical for most northern voters. The Republicans settled on Lincoln as the candidate with the most strengths and fewest weaknesses.

The party's platform opposed the spread of slavery. To attract midwestern farmers, factory workers, and northern industrialists, the platform called for free land in the West, improved wages, and tariff increases. In addition, it expressed a firm commitment to the preservation of the Union.

The 1860 campaign As in 1856, the election of 1860 was really two sectional elections. In the North it was Lincoln versus Douglas. In the South the contest was between Breckinridge and Bell. Lincoln's name did not even appear on the ballot in several southern states. Douglas

tried to portray himself as the candidate of national unity. However, many southerners viewed him as a traitor because of the positions he had taken on the Lecompton Constitution and in the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

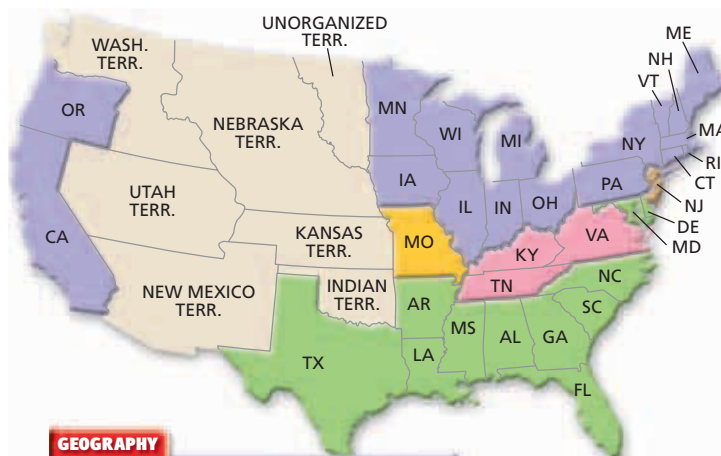
Democrats in the North sought to appeal to voters with an openly racist campaign. The *New York Herald*, the nation's largest Democratic newspaper, predicted that a Lincoln victory would bring "hundreds of thousands" of runaway slaves north to "their friends—the Republicans . . . and be placed by them side by side in competition with white men." Republicans branded the Democrats as corrupt and promised that "Honest Abe Lincoln" would restore good government.

The vote in November was largely along sectional lines. Lincoln won nearly every northern state. In the South, Breckinridge and Bell split the vote, with the Lower South going entirely to Breckinridge. The split in the Democratic Party allowed Lincoln to be elected president with less than 40 percent of the popular vote nationwide. Of the nearly 2 million votes Lincoln received, only 26,000 came from slave states. These election results would spell trouble for the Union.

Many northerners celebrated Lincoln's victory. "The great revolution has finally taken place," one free-soiler wrote. "The country has once and for all thrown off the domination of the slaveholders." Many southerners looked at the election results with concern. "A party founded on the . . . hatred of African slavery is

THE ELECTION OF 1860

Candidate	Political Affiliation	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
Abraham Lincoln	Republican	180	1,866,452
Stephen A. Douglas	Northern Democratic	12	1,375,157
John C. Breckinridge	Southern Democratic	72	847,953
John Bell	Constitutional Union	39	590,631



GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

INTERPRETING MAPS

Region How does this map illustrate the political division in the country in 1860?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H20

now the controlling power," the *New Orleans Delta* warned the slaveholding South.

READING CHECK

Identifying the Main Idea

What was the main issue in the 1860 presidential election campaign?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP10

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Define** What was compensated emancipation?

b. Predict Do you think slaveholders would have accepted compensated emancipation as a way of settling the slavery controversy? Why or why not?
- a. Describe** What were Abraham Lincoln's personal views of slavery and on social equality for African Americans?

b. Evaluate Was Lincoln an abolitionist? Explain.
- a. Identify** What was the Freeport Doctrine?

b. Compare and Contrast How did the views of Lincoln and Douglas differ? In what areas were they similar?

c. Elaborate How did the Freeport Doctrine affect Douglas's chances to become president? Why did it have this effect?
- a. Identify** Who were the presidential candidates in 1860?

- b. Make Inferences** How did the election of 1860 illustrate the nation's deep divisions?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Sequencing** Copy the chart below and complete it to trace Lincoln's rise in politics from state legislator to president of the United States.



FOCUS ON WRITING

- 6. Expository** Write a short essay explaining how the Lincoln-Douglas debates affected the presidential election of 1860.

The South Secedes

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

The election of Abraham Lincoln led to the secession of the southern states.

READING FOCUS

1. What led to the secession of the states of the Lower South from the Union?
2. How and why was the Confederacy formed?
3. Why did compromises and other attempts to save the Union fail?

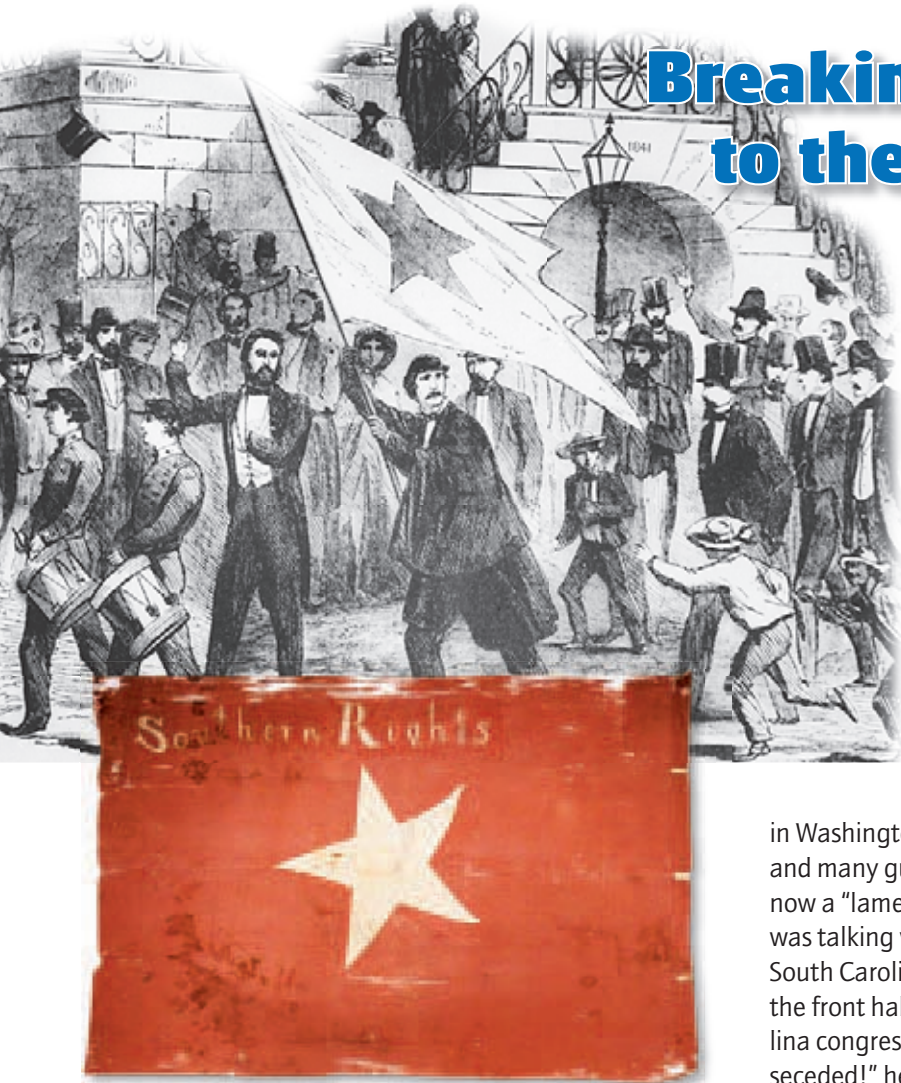
KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Jefferson Davis
provisional
Confederate States of America
Crittenden Compromise
Peace Convention

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the varying points of view people in the South and in the North held on southern secession.

Southern Points of View on Secession	Northern Points of View on Secession



▲ South Carolinians wave a “states’ rights” flag to celebrate secession.

Breaking Bad News to the President

THE INSIDE STORY

Why did President Buchanan leave a party upset?

Everyone in Charleston, South Carolina, was waiting for the news. Soon, a special convention would pass the Ordinance of Secession, taking the state out of the Union. On the morning of December 20, 1860, crowds began to gather in the streets. Finally, the news was announced. “The whole city was wild with excitement as the news spread like wildfire,” an eyewitness wrote. “Old men ran shouting down the street.” Cannons were fired, and church bells rang. The shouts of the crowd drowned out the trumpets and drums of military bands.

On that same December day, President James Buchanan was at a wedding reception in Washington, D.C. The groom was a Louisiana congressman, and many guests were prominent southerners. Buchanan, now a “lame duck” president after Abraham Lincoln’s election, was talking with Sara Pryor, the wife of a congressman from South Carolina. When the president heard unusual noises in the front hall, Sara Pryor went to check. Another South Carolina congressman was waving a telegram. “South Carolina has seceded!” he said excitedly.

Sara hurried inside and whispered the news to Buchanan. Quickly ordering his carriage, the president drove back to the White House. The news was not yet official, but he knew it was true. The thing he dreaded most had occurred. ■

Secession!

The United States began breaking apart on November 13, 1860. On that day, one week after Abraham Lincoln's election, the South Carolina legislature called a state convention to consider withdrawing from the Union. "Black Republicans triumphant—radical Southerners equally so," one woman wrote in her diary.

The 169 convention delegates met at Columbia, the state capital, in December. The air around them was filled with excitement. In this atmosphere, they unanimously passed the following resolution:

HISTORY'S VOICES

"We the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain . . . that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other states under the name of the 'United States of America' is hereby dissolved."

—Ordinance of Secession, December 20, 1860

Four days later the South Carolina delegates issued a statement of the reasons for secession. It noted that the Declaration of Independence established the people's right to abolish an abusive government and create a new one. Among the many abuses the statement claimed was that the federal government had failed to properly protect slavery and safeguard the property rights of slaveholders.

Following South Carolina's lead, the other states of the Lower South quickly withdrew from the Union. Mississippi seceded on January 9, 1861, followed by Florida the next day and Alabama the day after. Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had also seceded from the United States by February 1. Four other southern states—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—warned that if the federal government made any attempt to use force against a state, they also would withdraw from the United States.

Southerners and secession Despite all the excitement, southerners' support for secession was by no means universal. In each of the states that seceded, the action was taken by a state convention made up of delegates. Only in South Carolina's convention was the vote unanimous. In some conventions, between 30 and 40 percent of the delegates voted against secession.

Texas, Virginia, and Tennessee were the only states to later submit their conventions' action to a vote by the people. About 3 in 10 Tennesseans opposed leaving the Union. Texas Governor Sam Houston led the opposition.

HISTORY'S VOICES

"You may, after the sacrifice of countless millions of treasure and hundreds of thousands of lives, as a bare possibility, win Southern independence . . . But I doubt it . . . the North is determined to preserve this Union."

—Sam Houston, 1859

CAUSES OF SECESSION

QUICK
FACTS

CAUSES

The Compromise of 1850

- Admitted California as a free state, ending the balance between the number of free and slave states in the Union
- Tried to settle the dispute over the expansion of slavery into the Mexican Cession by using popular sovereignty

The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)

- Applied the popular sovereignty principle to settle the question of slavery in Kansas Territory
- Caused the North and South to compete to settle the territory
- Led to guerrilla warfare between pro- and antislavery settlers

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1858)

- Emphasized the divisions over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the *Dred Scott* decision
- Brought Lincoln's opposition to slavery's spread to a national audience
- Caused Douglas to lose support in the North and the South

The Election of 1860

- Split in Democratic Party allowed Lincoln's election as president
- Left both houses of Congress in northern hands with an opponent of slavery heading the executive branch

Secession (1860–1861)

- Fears in South Carolina that a northern-controlled government would act against slavery; South Carolina withdrew from the Union
- Several other slave states followed South Carolina's lead and formed the Confederate States of America

THE EAGLE'S NEST



**Skills
FOCUS**

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The slogan about preserving the Union was a popular rallying cry in the North following secession of the southern states.

Interpreting Political Cartoons What does the eagle represent? What sort of resolution regarding secession does this cartoon suggest? Explain.

"If the Union can only be maintained by new concessions to the slaveholders," said African American abolitionist Frederick Douglass, "let the Union perish."

Other northerners bore southerners no ill will. They merely wanted the South to go in peace. "If the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go," wrote Horace Greeley in an editorial in the *New York Tribune*. "We hope to never live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue [remainder] by bayonets."

Still other northerners worried about the long-term effects of letting secession proceed. "If any minority have the right to break up the government at pleasure, because they have not had their way, there is [the] end of all government," a northern newspaper warned. President-elect Lincoln seemed to agree. "No state can, in any way lawfully, get out of the Union, without the consent of the others," he observed in a letter to a Republican leader.

Lincoln waits In the 1800s, a president's term of office began in March, not in January as it does today. Newspapers pressed Lincoln for a public statement that would calm the nation's fears during this period. Lincoln worried that any public statement might make matters worse. Privately, however, he tried to convince southern leaders that the South had nothing to fear. He wrote to one Georgia leader:

HISTORY'S VOICES

"Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would . . . interfere with their slaves, or with them about their slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you . . . that there is no cause for such fears."

—Letter to Alexander Stephens, December 22, 1860

Lincoln was also committed to preserving the Union. He told Republican Party leaders, "We must settle this question now, whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose."

In the meantime, the outgoing president Buchanan did little to ease the crisis. He agreed that secession was illegal. He also claimed that the Constitution gave the federal government no power to prevent it. "No state has the right to secede unless it wishes to," joked Seward of

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government

In 1933 the president's inauguration was changed from March to January by the Twentieth Amendment. The change was intended to allow a new president to deal with a crisis more quickly. In 1933 the crisis was the Great Depression.

Some southerners wanted their states to issue a final set of demands to the federal government and secede only if those demands were not met. Others asked that Lincoln be given a chance to prove his claims of good intentions toward the South. The radical secessionists prevailed, however. "You might as well attempt to control a tornado as to attempt to stop them," a moderate southerner complained.

Even those who opposed secession thought united resistance to the U.S. government was important, whatever form that resistance might take. "Cooperation before secession was the first object of my desire," a Mississippi moderate noted. "Failing this I am willing to take the next best, . . . cooperation after secession." In mid-January a Georgian worried that four states had already seceded. "In order to act with them, we must secede with them," he urged.

Northern response In the North, the reaction to secession was as varied as it was in the South. Some northerners felt the nation would be better off with the slave states gone.

Buchanan's views, adding, "It is the President's duty to enforce the laws, unless somebody opposes him."

Buchanan did take a stand, however, when South Carolina's governor demanded that all federal property within the state be turned over to state authorities. This included two island forts in Charleston Harbor, Fort Moultrie and Fort Sumter. Buchanan rejected the request but promised that he would not attempt to reinforce the forts. Meanwhile, the forts' commander moved all his troops to the stronger Fort Sumter. He believed that if war came, it would likely start in this place.

READING CHECK **Summarizing** How were feelings about secession similar in North and South?

Forming the Confederacy

In early February 1861, representatives of the seven seceded states met at Montgomery, Alabama, to form a new nation. The convention worked to have a government in place before Lincoln took office. In five days it had written a constitution and selected former Mississippi senator **Jefferson Davis** as **provisional**, or temporary, president. The convention's delegates chose Georgia's Alexander Stephens as vice president. They appointed themselves to serve as the nation's legislature until elections could be held in the fall.

The new nation's constitution was rapidly written because it was modeled on the U.S. Constitution. Two important differences existed, however. The new constitution specifically recognized and protected slavery. Secondly, it recognized the "sovereign and independent" nature of each state. In effect, the delegates created a nation like what the United States had been under the Articles of Confederation. They named their new nation the **Confederate States of America**.

Davis becomes president Jefferson Davis was at home on his plantation near Vicksburg, Mississippi, when the telegram arrived that he had been chosen to be the president of the Confederacy. He was not pleased with the news. He did not want the presidency. A sense of duty drove him to accept, however. The next day he left for Montgomery, stopping briefly at Vicksburg to bid its people goodbye.

FACES OF HISTORY

**Jefferson
DAVIS**
1808–1899



Jefferson Davis received a classical education and graduated from West Point. He served in the U.S. Army on the frontier before

moving to Mississippi to run a plantation. In 1845 Davis won a seat in the House of Representatives but resigned the next year to fight in the Mexican War. After the war, Davis served in the Senate and as secretary of war.

In 1861 Davis resigned from the Senate and was elected president of the Confederate States. He closely controlled military matters and the policies of the Confederacy. After the South's surrender, he was charged with treason and imprisoned. Two years later, the charges were dropped, and Davis was released without going to trial.

Summarizing How did Davis serve the nation before the Civil War?

HISTORY'S VOICES

"Our safety and honor required us to dissolve our connection with the United States. I hope that our separation may be peaceful. But whether it be so or not, I am ready . . . to redeem my pledge to you and the South by shedding every drop of my blood in your cause."

—Jefferson Davis, February 11, 1861

Getting to Montgomery was hard because there was no direct railroad connection. Davis arrived on February 16 and took the oath of office two days later. He gave an encouraging inaugural address to an enthusiastic crowd. Privately, he worried. "We are without means, without machinery, and threatened by a powerful opposition," he wrote to his wife.

Confederate government In many ways Davis's assessment seemed accurate. His office in Montgomery was marked by a sheet of paper pinned on the door. The secretary of the treasury had to buy his own desk and chair. The new nation had no currency or even a press capable of making some. The job of printing Confederate money at first was contracted out to a company in New York.

Davis held his first cabinet meeting in a hotel room. Some of the cabinet members had opposed secession. "There is a perfect magazine [a storehouse for explosives] of discord and discontent," Mary Chesnut, the wife of a former South Carolina senator, said of the leaders of the Confederate government.

No issue seemed too petty to debate. Less than a week after Davis's inauguration, some critics were already accusing the new congress of violating the constitution by providing the president with a house in which to live. The Confederacy did not seem to be getting off to a promising start.

READING CHECK **Sequencing** What steps did southern leaders take to create a new nation?

Compromise Fails

Even after the Confederacy had formed, the U.S. Congress made efforts to keep the Union together. In December 1860 the House and Senate had appointed a special committee to study the situation and possible solutions to it. Eventually, more than 30 plans for compromise were introduced into Congress. Some called for splitting the nation into districts. Others proposed separate presidents for the North and the South.

The Crittenden Compromise In January 1861 a plan came from Senator John Critten-

den of Kentucky. The **Crittenden Compromise** proposed amending the U.S. Constitution to ban slavery north of the old Missouri Compromise line and guarantee that it would not be interfered with south of that line.

Crittenden's plan also proposed an amendment to pay slaveholders for their loss when officers were prevented from arresting escaped slaves. Another amendment would prohibit Congress from interfering with the transportation of slaves from one state to another. A final proposed amendment guaranteed that none of these amendments could ever be repealed by a future amendment.

Powerful leaders in both the North and South opposed the Crittenden Compromise. For many southerners, no compromise could undo their main reason for secession—Lincoln's election as president. "No human power can save the Union, all the cotton states will go," wrote Jefferson Davis, who was still a member of the Senate at the time. Louisiana senator Judah Benjamin agreed that "a settlement [is] totally out of our power to accomplish."

Lincoln remained publicly silent on the ideas for compromise. Privately, however,

PRIMARY SOURCES

Lincoln's Inaugural Address

By the time Abraham Lincoln was sworn into office, the country was already being torn apart. As the nation sat on the brink of civil war, the new president appealed to secessionists.

Lincoln warned the seceded states that he could not let them break up the nation.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail [attack] you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.' . . . We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Lincoln placed responsibility for the future on the South.

Skills FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Analyzing Primary Sources** In Lincoln's view, who will be to blame if war breaks out?
- 2. Evaluating Information** Why does Lincoln believe the two sides should remain together?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29

Lincoln reminded southerners that like northerners, their parents and grandparents had fought and died creating the nation in the American Revolution.

he opposed any plan that allowed the extension of slavery. “There is no possible compromise upon it,” he told one Republican in Congress. “On that point hold firm, as with a chain of steel.”

In particular, Lincoln feared what effect accepting the Crittenden Compromise would have on his presidency and his party. Even the radical Seward urged him to consider it, but Lincoln refused to budge. “We have just carried an election on principles fairly stated to the people,” Lincoln wrote to key Republican leaders. “If we surrender, it is the end of us.”

Without the president-elect’s support, the Crittenden Compromise had little chance of passage. The Republicans on the Senate special committee made sure the committee did not support it. Crittenden then took his plan directly to the Senate floor. A woman in the Senate gallery witnessed his desperate plea for the survival of the nation.

HISTORY’S VOICES

“Mr. Crittenden spoke to-day in a trembling voice and with tearful eyes, beseeching those who could to save the Union . . . It was sad to see that old white-haired man, who had devoted his best years to the country, find himself powerless to help it [now].”

—diary of Mrs. Eugene McLean, January 16, 1861

In the March 1861 vote, Crittenden’s plan was defeated by a vote of 25–23. Although most southern senators refused to vote, all 25 “no” votes came from Republican senators.

The Peace Convention As Confederate leaders met at Montgomery, a **Peace Convention** began on February 4, 1861, in Washington, D.C. Most of the northern states were represented, as were all the remaining slave states except Arkansas. Led by the former president John Tyler, it was nicknamed the Old Gentlemen’s Convention. Like Tyler, many of its members were leaders from a time that was long past in America.

After a month of debate, the best the Peace Convention could offer was a proposal much like the Crittenden Compromise. Just two days before Lincoln was to take office, the Senate rejected the Peace Convention’s plan. Once again, compromise was defeated mainly by Republican votes.

Lincoln’s inauguration On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln became president of the United States. In his inaugural address, he quoted the provisions of the Constitution that protected slavery and offered this assurance. “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists,” he pledged. “I believe I have no lawful right to do so.”

“What more does any reasonable southern man expect or desire?” asked Representative John Gilmer of North Carolina. But would Lincoln’s pledge be enough to save the Union?

READING CHECK **Identifying Problems and Solutions** What were Lincoln’s views on compromise?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP10

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Recall** Why did the states of the Lower South withdraw from the United States?

b. Make Inferences What was the level of public support for secession in the states that seceded?

c. Elaborate How similar were attitudes about secession in northern and southern states? How do you account for this?
- a. Identify** Why was Jefferson Davis important to the Confederate States of America?

b. Compare and Contrast How was the Confederacy’s government similar to and different from that of the United States?

c. Predict How might the Confederate constitution have limited the nation’s ability to handle a national crisis?
- a. Describe** What was the Crittenden Compromise?

b. Analyze Why did attempts to find compromises to save the nation fail?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Sequence** Copy the chart below and complete it to record the secession of the states of the Lower South.

FOCUS ON WRITING

- 5. Decision Making** If you had been President-elect Lincoln, would you have supported the Crittenden Compromise? Write a paragraph explaining why or why not.

Was Secession Justified?

Historical Context The documents below provide different perspectives on the secession of the southern states from the Union.

Task Examine the documents and answer the questions that follow. Then you will be asked to write an essay about secession, using facts from the documents and from the chapter to support the position you take in your thesis statement.

DOCUMENT 1

South Carolina led the way in calling for secession from the Union. In December 1860 the state's leaders issued the Declaration of Immediate Causes, spelling out their complaints and explaining why they felt that secession was the only solution.

"Thus were established the two great principles asserted by the Colonies, namely: the right of a State to govern itself; and the right of a people to abolish a Government when it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted . . .

We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assume[d] the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery . . . They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain, have been incited . . . to servile insurrection . . .

We, therefore, the People of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude [rightness] of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America, is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent State; with full power to . . . contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

DOCUMENT 2

In the months after South Carolina's secession, other slave states followed suit. Several, like Tennessee, cautiously waited until fighting had broken out before seceding. Four slave states never left the Union.

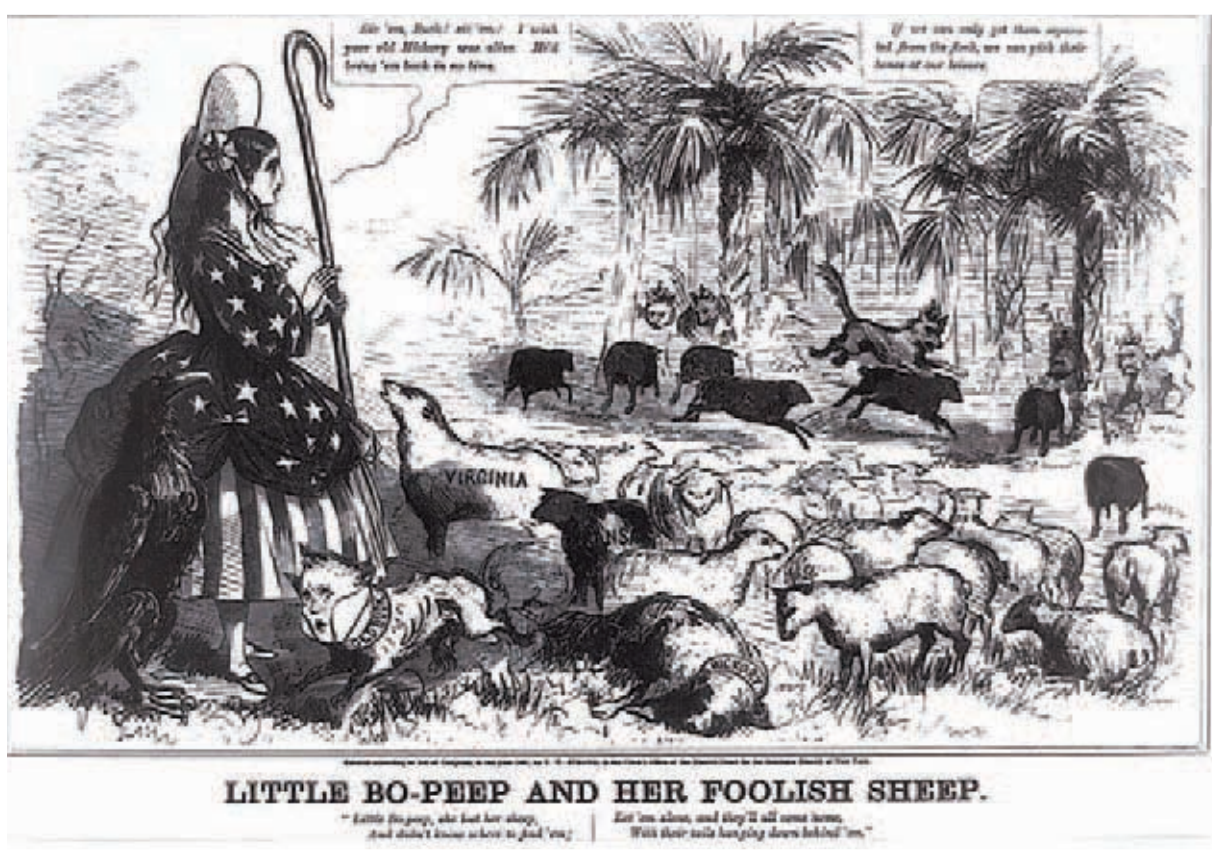
The editorial below appeared in the Tennessee newspaper *The Republican Banner* in January 1861. It urged caution and support for the Crittenden Compromise, which proposed to restore the division between slave and free states that had been established in the Missouri Compromise.

"That the sympathies of Tennessee are emphatically Southern, no one will deny. She will take no course . . . against the interest of her Southern sisters. But the question for her to decide—and it is a question upon which hangs her own and the destiny of the South and the Union—is what course is most judicious, most patriotic, and best calculated to conserve the interests of her Southern sisters, and if possible preserve the Union? Upon this question there is a difference of opinion. Some are for . . . secession. Others for maintaining our present attitude, prepared, when the time comes, to act as mediators upon the basis of the Crittenden [Compromise]. If the policy of the former party is pursued, we lose the advantage of our position as pacificators [peacemakers], and gain nothing that we could not gain at a future time, when it shall be demonstrated, as it unfortunately may be, that a settlement is impracticable. We are therefore opposed to hasty action. We do not think the friends of a fair and honorable settlement, in the seceding States, desire Tennessee to follow their example until all honorable endeavors to secure such a settlement are exhausted . . ."

DOCUMENT 3

The following political cartoon appeared in a New York publication after seven of the southern states had seceded from the Union. Titled “Little Bo Peep and her Foolish Sheep,” it portrays the seceded states as sheep who have run into the woods, only to become the prey

of wolves, representing European powers. Little Bo Peep represents the United States, trying to protect her remaining sheep (states), including ones clearly labeled for slave states that were wavering, such as Virginia.



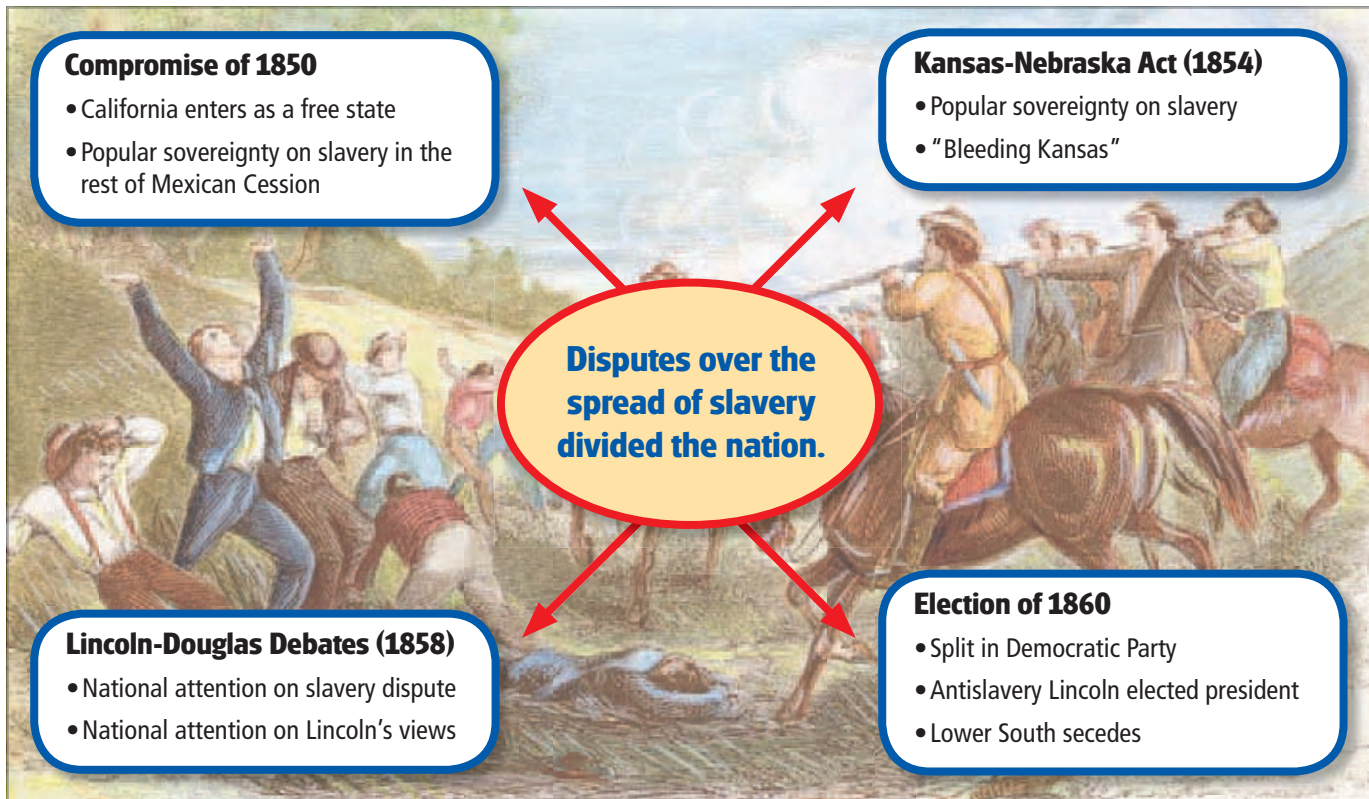
Skills FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

1. **a. Identify** Refer to Document 1. What are the two great rights it says were established by the colonies?
b. Analyze What is the main argument in favor of South Carolina's secession?
c. Evaluate Which southerners would be most attracted, and least attracted, to the argument in this document?
2. **a. Describe** Refer to Document 2. What role does the newspaper believe Tennessee should play in the crisis?
b. Analyze According to the writer, what is the main goal that needs to be achieved?
3. **a. Identify** Refer to Document 3. What is happening to the “foolish sheep”?
b. Interpret What message is the artist sending in drawing this cartoon?
4. **Document-Based Essay Question** Consider the question below and form a thesis statement. Using examples from Documents 1, 2, and 3, create an outline and write a short essay supporting your position. Was secession justified?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29, H31

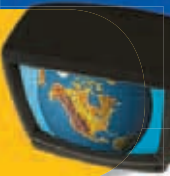
Visual Summary: The Nation Splits Apart



Reviewing Key Terms and People

Complete each sentence by filling in the blank with the correct term or person.

1. An army's guns are stored in an _____.
2. A person who holds extreme views is sometimes called a _____.
3. The _____ resulted from proposals made by Henry Clay to settle the nation's issues regarding slavery.
4. The _____ made it illegal to help runaway slaves.
5. _____ were people who wanted land to be closed to the practice of slavery.
6. A _____ involves fighting from ambush and surprise attacks.
7. The Supreme Court's ruling in the _____ widened the nation's divisions over slavery.
8. A _____ is a statement of principles.
9. In 1856, the divisions between North and South helped _____ to win a three-way election for president.
10. _____ was a radical settler who thought that abolitionists should use violence.
11. The convention that formed the Confederate States of America elected _____ as the new nation's first president.
12. A person who supports _____ is opposed to immigrants and to immigration.
13. Fighting that involves opposing groups of citizens from the same country is called a _____.
14. The presidential candidate who received the least votes in the South in the election of 1860 was _____.
15. The _____ proposed protecting slavery by restoring the Missouri Compromise.
16. The _____, which would have allowed slavery in Kansas, widened sectional divisions.



Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (pp. 322–328)

- 17. a. Identify** What issue was behind the question of the expansion of slavery after the Mexican War?
- b. Analyze** How did the Fugitive Slave Act cause more divisions between the North and South?
- c. Evaluate** What were Stephen Douglas's motives in pushing through the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

SECTION 2 (pp. 329–335)

- 18. a. Describe** Give a description of the civil war that developed in Kansas.
- b. Draw Conclusions** What underlying fear caused voters to turn to James Buchanan for president in the election of 1856?
- c. Predict** How did John Brown's raid foreshadow future events?

SECTION 3 (pp. 337–343)

- 19. a. Recall** Why did Abraham Lincoln re-enter politics after his second retirement?
- b. Analyze** How did Lincoln's acceptance speech for the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate create a national issue?
- c. Predict** Why would the circumstances of Lincoln's election as president 1860 suggest major problems in the future?

SECTION 4 (pp. 344–349)

- 20. a. Describe** What happened to the Union after the election of Abraham Lincoln as president?
- b. Draw Conclusions** Why didn't Lincoln support the Crittenden Compromise?
- c. Evaluate** How strong was the movement for secession on the South? Explain.

Using the Internet

- 21.** Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel

Uncle Tom's Cabin inflamed passions on both sides before the Civil War. Using the keyword above, find excerpts from the book that you think help explain its impact on people of the 1850s. Write a review in which you analyze whether Stowe was concerned with accuracy in the characters and events she created.

go.hrw.com

Practice Online

Keyword: SD7 CH10

Analyzing Primary Sources

Reading Like a Historian In 1859 Texas governor Sam Houston made a speech opposing secession.

“You may, after the sacrifice of countless millions of treasure and hundreds of thousands of lives, as a bare possibility, win Southern independence . . . But I doubt it . . . the North is determined to preserve this Union.”

—Sam Houston, 1859

- 22. Identify** What sacrifice is Houston referring to?

- 23. Make Inferences** Why is Houston convinced that secession cannot succeed?

Critical Reading

Read the passage in Section 2 that begins with the heading “The Sack of Lawrence.” Then answer the questions that follow.

- 24.** According to the passage, the attack on the free-soil government of Kansas was set off by remarks made by
- A. William Seward.
 - B. Franklin Pierce.
 - C. John Brown.
 - D. Charles Sumner.
- 25.** In the last paragraph in this section, the term *barbarians* means
- A. illegal voters.
 - B. fighters who conduct guerrilla war.
 - C. people who act in an uncivilized manner.
 - D. persons who support slavery.

WRITING FOR THE SAT

Think about the following issue:

Congress hoped that the Compromise of 1850 would settle disagreements between the North and South and keep the Union together.

- 26. Assignment:** Did the Compromise of 1850 have a chance of succeeding? Write a short essay in which you develop your position on this issue. Support your point of view with reasoning and examples from your reading and studies.