



## UNIT

# 4

# The Crisis of Union

1848–1877

## Why It Matters

*The growing sectional crisis in the 1800s led to the Civil War, the most wrenching war in American history. The peace that was forged after four years of internal conflict reunited the nation and ended slavery. It did not, however, end the problems of racial inequality. Understanding the war and the Reconstruction period that followed will help you understand the challenges of a multicultural society that our nation still faces today. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.*

### Primary Sources Library

See pages 1050–1051 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 4.



Use the **American History**

**Primary Source Document Library**

**CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about the Civil War.



Cap of a Confederate soldier



Union flag flown at Fort Sumter before surrender to the Confederates



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

—Abraham Lincoln, 1862







## CHAPTER

# 10

# Sectional Conflict Intensifies 1848–1860

## Why It Matters

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

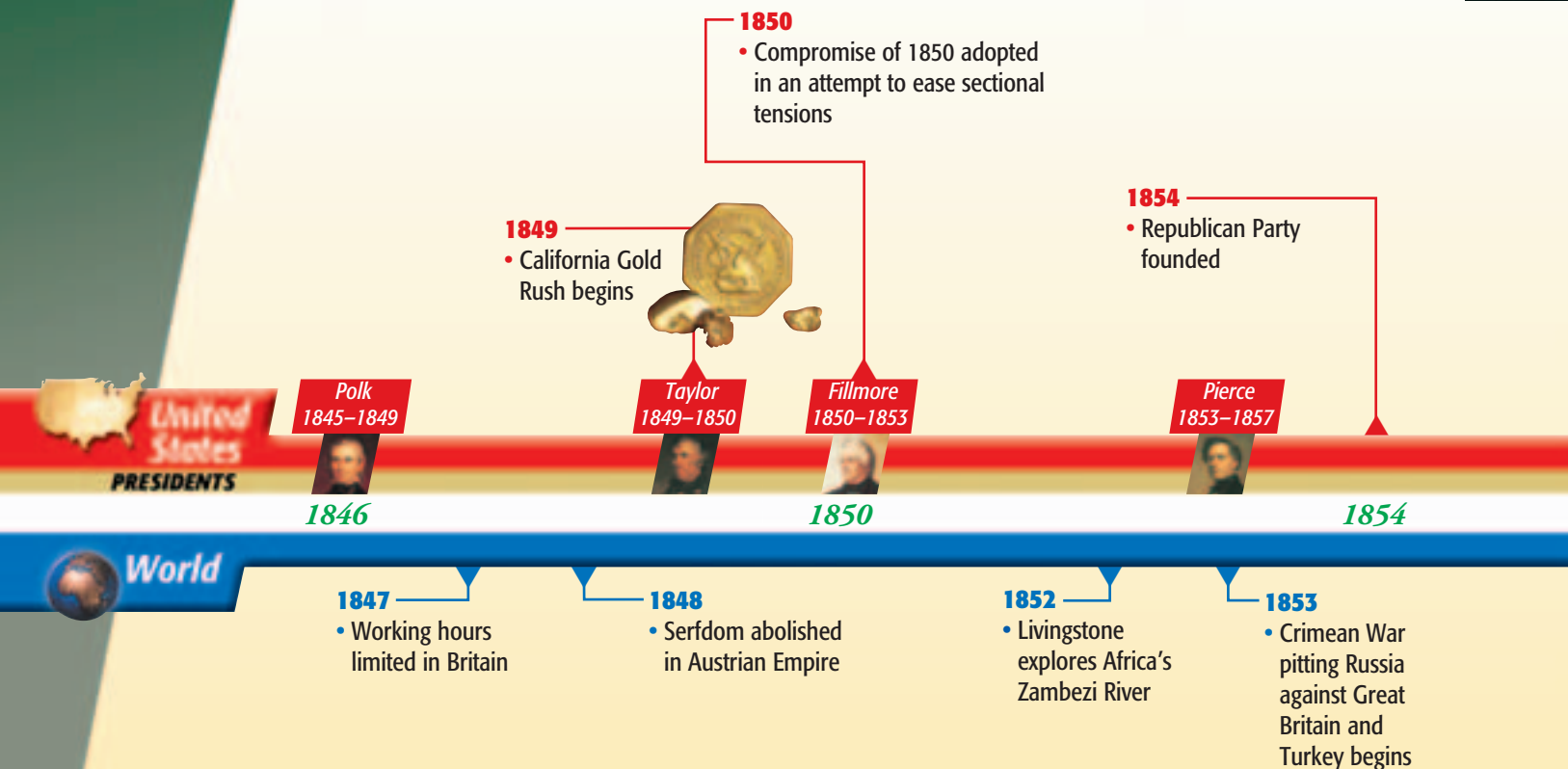
## The Impact Today

The political and social debates of this period continue to have influence.

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



**The American Vision Video** The Chapter 10 video, “Tales From the Underground Railroad,” features a dramatization of enslaved African Americans using the Underground Railroad to reach freedom.





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

**1858**

- Lincoln-Douglas debates take place during the Illinois Senate campaign

**1856**

- Conflict between pro-slavery and antislavery forces causes riots in Lawrence, Kansas

**Buchanan**  
1857–1861

**1859**

- John Brown raids the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia

**1860**

- South Carolina secedes from the Union

**Lincoln**  
1861–1865

**1861**

- Fort Sumter bombarded by Confederate forces; the Civil War begins



**HISTORY**  
*Online*

### Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 10** to preview chapter information.

**CLICK HERE**

1858

1862

**1859**

- Darwin's *Origin of Species* published

**CONTENTS**





# SECTION 1 Slavery and Western Expansion

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

The question of whether to admit new states to the Union led to new tensions between the North and South over slavery.

### Key Terms and Names

Wilmot Proviso, Lewis Cass, popular sovereignty, Conscience Whigs, Cotton Whigs, Free-Soil Party, "Forty-Niners," secession

### Reading Strategy

**Categorizing** As you read about the political aftermath of the war with Mexico, complete a graphic organizer like the one below by pairing the presidential candidates of 1848 with their positions on slavery in the West.

Candidate	Position

### Reading Objectives

- **Explain** how the government dealt with slavery in the territories acquired after the war with Mexico.
- **List** the major features of the Compromise of 1850.

### Section Theme

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

### Preview of Events

◆ 1847

**August 1846**

Wilmot Proviso presented

◆ 1848

**March 1848**

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed

**August 1848**

Free-Soil Party formed

◆ 1849

**1849**

California Gold Rush begins

◆ 1850

**September 1850**

Compromise of 1850 adopted

## ★ An American Story ★



Notice of escaped enslaved person's capture



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

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

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

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

—adapted from *Black Pioneers: An Untold Story*

## The Impact of the War With Mexico

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



retrieve an enslaved person who fled across state lines. Some Northerners, however, held strong beliefs to the contrary and acted on those beliefs by sheltering runaways and helping them escape.

The Mexican War only heightened these opposing viewpoints and led to increasingly divisive sectional tensions. The war opened vast new lands to American settlers. This territorial expansion once again raised the divisive issue of whether slavery should be allowed to spread westward. As part of the debate over the new western territories, Southerners also demanded new laws to help them retrieve African Americans who escaped to free territory.

**President Polk Sees Trouble Ahead** James K. Polk, a Southern Democrat and a slaveholder, believed any argument about slavery in the new territories acquired from Mexico was “an abstract question.” No one would take enslaved African Americans to the Southwest, Polk thought, because the dry climate would not support the kinds of farming that made slavery profitable.

As an angry debate broke out in Congress, however, Polk realized that the issue of slavery in the territories was not something he could brush aside. His diary reflected his fear that the question “cannot fail to destroy the Democratic Party, if it does not ultimately threaten the Union itself.”

## GOVERNMENT

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

Wilmot was one of a group of Northern Democrats who believed the president was “pro-Southern.” Polk had supported a new tariff that helped the South at the expense of Northern manufacturers. He had then compromised with the British on Oregon, a territory where slavery was likely to be banned, but had gone to war against Mexico for land that Southerners would occupy.

Wilmot’s proposal outraged Southerners. They believed that any antislavery decision about the territories would threaten slavery everywhere. Despite fierce Southern opposition, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Whigs passed the Wilmot Proviso in the House of Representatives. The Senate, however, refused to vote on it.

During the debate, Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, although weak from tuberculosis, prepared a series of resolutions to counter the Wilmot Proviso. The Calhoun Resolutions never came to a vote—moderates in the Senate were unwilling to consider them—but they demonstrated the growing anger of many Southerners.

In the resolutions, Calhoun argued that the states owned the territories of the United States in common, and that Congress had no right to ban slavery in the territories. Calhoun warned somberly that “political revolution, anarchy, [and] civil war” would surely erupt if the North failed to heed Southern concerns.

**Popular Sovereignty** The Wilmot Proviso had stirred passions on both sides in Congress. The issue of slavery’s expansion had divided the country along sectional lines, North against South. Many moderates began searching for a solution that would spare Congress from having to wrestle with the issue of slavery in the territories.

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

Popular sovereignty appealed strongly to many members of Congress because it removed the slavery issue from national politics. It also appeared



Poster calling for antislavery meeting





democratic since the settlers themselves would make the decision. Abolitionists argued that it still denied African Americans their right not to be enslaved, but many Northerners, especially in the Midwest, supported the idea because they believed Northern settlers would occupy most of the new territory and would ban slavery from their states.

**The Free-Soil Party Emerges** With the 1848 election approaching, the Whigs chose Zachary Taylor, hero of the war with Mexico, to run for president. The Whig Party in the North was split. Many Northern Whigs, known as **Conscience Whigs**, opposed slavery. They also opposed Taylor because they believed he wanted to expand slavery westward. Other Northern Whigs supported Taylor and voted with the Southern Whigs to nominate him. These Northern Whigs were known as **Cotton Whigs** because many of them were linked to Northern cloth manufacturers who needed Southern cotton.

The decision to nominate Taylor convinced many Conscience Whigs to quit the party. They then joined with antislavery Democrats from New York who were frustrated that their party had nominated Lewis Cass instead of Martin Van Buren. These two groups joined with members of the abolitionist Liberty Party to form the **Free-Soil Party**, which opposed slavery in the “free soil” of western territories.

Although some Free Soilers condemned slavery as immoral, most simply wanted to preserve the western territories for white farmers. They felt that allowing slavery to expand would make it difficult for free men to find work. The Free-Soil Party’s slogan summed up their views: “Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men.”

**The 1848 Election** Candidates from three parties campaigned for the presidency in 1848. Democrat Lewis Cass of Michigan supported popular sovereignty, although this support was not mentioned in the South. His promise to veto the Wilmot Proviso, should Congress pass it, however, was often reported. Former president Martin Van Buren led the Free-Soil Party, which took a strong position against slavery in the territories and backed the Wilmot Proviso. General Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, avoided the whole issue.

On Election Day, support for the Free-Soilers split the Whig vote in Ohio, giving the state to Cass. More importantly, it also split the Democratic vote in New York, giving the state to Taylor. When the votes were counted, Taylor had won the election.

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

## The Search for Compromise

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

The 1848 discovery of gold brought thousands to California. By the end of 1849, more than 80,000 “**Forty-Niners**” had arrived to look for gold. Mining towns sprang up overnight, and the frenzy for gold led to chaos and violence. Needing a strong government to maintain order, Californians began to organize for statehood.

### Forty-Niners Rush for Gold

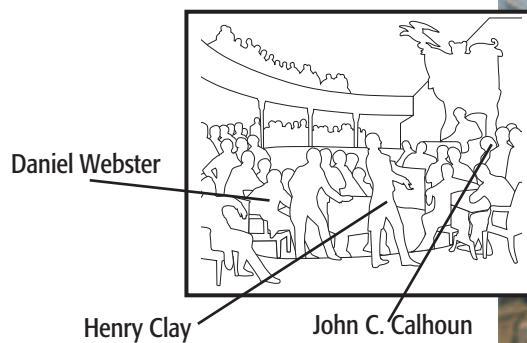
In January 1848, carpenter James Marshall found traces of gold in a stream near a sawmill he was building in Sacramento. Though Marshall tried to keep his discovery a secret, word leaked out by spring, and San Franciscans rushed to the mountains in search of gold. During the summer, news of the find swept all the way to the East Coast and beyond, and the California Gold Rush was on.

*Gold nuggets and \$50 gold coin*



*Forty-niners at slush box in California*

**CONTENTS**



### **Picturing History**

**Crisis Time** The slavery issue led to a memorable debate in the Senate in March 1850. **Who proposed the Compromise of 1850?**



Before leaving office, President Polk had urged Congress to create territorial governments for California and New Mexico. Congress, bitterly divided along sectional lines, had not been able to agree on whether to allow slavery in these territories.

Although Zachary Taylor was from the South and a slaveholder, he did not think slavery's survival depended on its expansion westward. He believed that the way to avoid a fight in Congress was to have the people in California make their own decisions about slavery. California now had enough people to skip the territorial stage and come directly into the Union as a state.

With Taylor's encouragement, California applied in December 1849 for admission to the Union as a free state. Thus, the Gold Rush had forced the nation once again to confront the divisive issue of slavery.

**The Great Debate Begins** If California entered the Union as a free state, the slaveholding states would become a minority in the Senate. Southerners dreaded losing power in national politics, fearing it would lead to limits on slavery and states' rights. A few Southern politicians began to talk openly of **secession**—of taking their states out of the Union.

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

Clay grouped the resolutions in pairs, offering concessions to both sides. The first pair allowed California to come in as a free state but organized the

rest of the Mexican cession without any restrictions on slavery. The second pair settled the border between New Mexico and Texas in favor of New Mexico but compensated Texas by having the federal government take on its debts. This would win Southern votes for the compromise because many Southerners held Texas bonds.

Clay's third pair of resolutions outlawed the slave trade in the District of Columbia but did not outlaw slavery itself. The final two resolutions were concessions to the South. Congress would be prohibited from interfering with the domestic slave trade and would pass a new fugitive slave act to help Southerners recover enslaved African Americans who had fled north. These concessions were necessary to assure the South that after California joined the Union, the North would not use its control of the Senate to abolish slavery.

Clay's proposal triggered a massive debate. Any such compromise would need the approval of Senator Calhoun, the great defender of the South's rights. Calhoun was too ill to address the Senate. He composed a speech in reply to Clay's proposal and then sat, hollow-eyed and shrouded in flannel blankets, as another senator read it aloud.

Calhoun's address was brutally frank. It asserted flatly that Northern agitation against slavery threatened to destroy the South. He did not think Clay's compromise would save the Union. The South needed an acceptance of its rights, the return of fugitive slaves, and a guarantee of balance between the sections. If the Southern states could not live in safety within the Union, Calhoun darkly predicted, secession was the only honorable solution.

Three days later, Senator **Daniel Webster** of Massachusetts rose to respond to Calhoun's talk of





## The Compromise of 1850

Legislative Item	Victory for?
• California admitted to the Union as free state	Clear victory for the North
• Popular sovereignty to determine slavery issue in Utah and New Mexico territories	Moderate victory for both sides
• Texas border dispute with New Mexico resolved	Moderate Southern victories
• Texas receives \$10 million	
• Slave trade, but not slavery itself, abolished in the District of Columbia	Moderate Northern victory
• Strong federal enforcement of new Fugitive Slave Act	Clear victory for the South

### Chart Skills

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

secession. Calling on the Senate to put national unity above sectional loyalties, Webster voiced his support for Clay's plan, claiming that it was the only hope for preserving the Union. Although he sought conciliation, Senator Webster did not back away from speaking bluntly—and with chilling foresight:

“I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American. . . . I speak today for the preservation of the Union. Hear me for my cause. . . . There can be no such thing as a peaceable secession. Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. . . . I see as plainly as I see the sun in heaven what that disruption itself must produce; I see that it must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe. . . .”

—from the *Congressional Globe*, 31st Congress

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

By the end of summer, Calhoun was dead, Webster had accepted the position of secretary of state, and Clay was exhausted, leaving leadership of the Senate to younger men. Thirty-seven-year-old Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois divided the large compromise initiative into several smaller bills. This allowed his colleagues from different sections to abstain or vote against whatever parts they disliked while supporting the rest. By fall, Congress had passed all the parts of the original proposal as Clay had envisioned it, and President Fillmore had signed them into law.

For a short time, the **Compromise of 1850** eased the tensions over slavery. In the next few years, however, the hope of a permanent solution through compromise would begin to fade.

**Reading Check Summarizing** How did the Gold Rush affect the issue of slavery?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

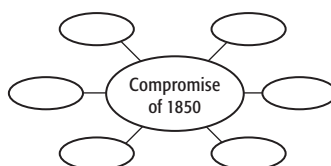
- Define:** popular sovereignty, secession.
- Identify:** Wilmot Proviso, Lewis Cass, Conscience Whigs, Cotton Whigs, Free-Soil Party, “Forty-Niners.”
- Summarize** how Americans responded to the idea of popular sovereignty.

### Reviewing Themes

- Geography and History** How did the war with Mexico and the Gold Rush affect the slavery issue in the United States?

### Critical Thinking

- Explaining** Why did Zachary Taylor win the election of 1848?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the main elements of the Compromise of 1850.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Art** Study the painting of the debate between Clay and Calhoun on page 323. What elements of the painting suggest the seriousness of the slavery issue being debated?

### Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are Henry Clay. Write a speech to present to the Senate. In your speech, try to persuade Congress to pass your compromise.



# Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

## Predicting Consequences

### Why Learn This Skill?

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

### Learning the Skill

Follow these steps to help you accurately predict consequences:

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

### Practicing the Skill

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

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

#### Events of the 1840s

Victory in war with Mexico creates new territory in Southwest.

Wilmot Proviso proposes ban on slavery in any area taken from Mexico.

Members of Congress try to avoid issue of slavery in territories.

Popular sovereignty lets settlers decide whether territories should be free or not.

Whig Party nomination of Zachary Taylor angers some party members.

#### Results and Reactions

➔ Americans torn over whether area should be free or slave territory.

➔ Southerners are outraged.

➔ Northerners and Southerners continue to angrily debate the issue.

➔ Abolitionists argue against popular sovereignty; most Northerners support it.

➔ Many Northern Whigs split and join with others to create the Free-Soil Party.

### Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 347 and the Chapter 10 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

### Applying the Skill

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



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





# SECTION 2 Mounting Violence

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

Resentment over the Compromise of 1850 led to a further increase in sectional tensions.

### Key Terms and Names

*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Fugitive Slave Act, Underground Railroad, Harriet Tubman, transcontinental railroad, Gadsden Purchase, Kansas-Nebraska Act, Charles Sumner

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about the growing sectional conflict over slavery in the West, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the sequence of key events leading from debate to violence.

Key Events From Debate to Violence

### Reading Objectives

- **Evaluate** how both the Fugitive Slave Act and the transcontinental railroad heightened sectional tensions.
- **Summarize** the effects of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

### Section Theme

**Civic Rights and Responsibilities** As sectional tensions rose, some Americans openly defied laws they thought were unjust.

### Preview of Events

♦ 1851

**March 1852**

*Uncle Tom's Cabin* published

♦ 1853

**May 1854**

Kansas-Nebraska Act adopted

♦ 1855

**November 1855**

"Bleeding Kansas" conflict begins

♦ 1857

**May 1856**

Charles Sumner assaulted in the Senate

## ★ An American Story ★



Harriet Beecher Stowe

One evening in 1851, the comfortable, well-educated, deeply religious Stowe family sat in their parlor in Brunswick, Maine, listening to a letter being read aloud. The letter was from Harriet Beecher Stowe's sister, Isabella, in Boston.

The new Fugitive Slave Act, part of the Compromise of 1850, had gone into effect, Isabella reported, and slave-catchers prowled the streets. They pounced on African Americans without warning, breaking into their houses, destroying their shops, and carrying them off.

Isabella described daily attacks. She also told of outraged Bostonians, white and African American alike, who rallied to resist the kidnappers.

Stowe listened with growing despair. She had lived for many years in Cincinnati, across the Ohio River from the slave state of Kentucky. There she had met many runaways from slavery and heard their tragic tales. She had also visited Kentucky and witnessed slavery firsthand.

As the reading of her sister's letter continued, Stowe, who was an accomplished author, received a challenge. "Now Hattie," Isabella wrote, "if I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is." Stowe suddenly rose from her chair and announced, "I will write something. I will if I live." That year, she began writing sketches for a book called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

—adapted from *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life*

## Uncle Tom's Cabin

After running as a serial in an antislavery newspaper, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* came out in book form in 1852 and sold 300,000 copies in its first year—astounding numbers for the time. Today the writing may seem overly sentimental, but to Stowe's original readers,



mostly Northerners, it was powerful. Her depiction of the enslaved hero, Tom, and the villainous overseer, Simon Legree, changed Northern perceptions of African Americans and slavery.

Stowe presented African Americans as real people imprisoned in dreadful circumstances. Because she saw herself as a painter of slavery's horrors rather than an abstract debater, Stowe was able to evoke pity and outrage even in readers who were unmoved by rational arguments.

Southerners tried unsuccessfully to have the novel banned and strongly attacked its portrayal of slavery, accusing Stowe of writing "distortions" and "falsehoods." One Southern editor told a writer he wanted a review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to be "as hot as hellfire, blasting and searing the reputation of the vile wretch in petticoats."

Despite Southern outrage, the book eventually sold millions of copies. It had such a dramatic impact on public opinion that many historians consider it one of the causes of the Civil War.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** Why was *Uncle Tom's Cabin* so controversial?

## The Fugitive Slave Act

Motivating Harriet Beecher Stowe to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was not the only unintended consequence of the **Fugitive Slave Act**. Although Henry Clay had conceived the law as a benefit to slaveholders, it actually hurt the Southern cause by creating active hostility toward slavery among Northerners who had previously seemed indifferent.

**The Act's Inflammatory Effects** Under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, a person claiming that an African American had escaped from slavery had only to point out that person as a runaway to take him or her into custody. The accused then would be brought before a federal commissioner. A sworn statement asserting that the captive had escaped from a slaveholder or testimony by white witnesses was all a court needed to order the person sent south. African Americans accused of being fugitives had no right to a trial and were not allowed to testify in court.

The law also included a financial incentive for the federal commissioners to find in favor of the slaveholder. The commissioner received \$10 if he decided for the slaveholder but only \$5 if the decision went the other way. The law also required federal marshals to help slaveholders capture African American fugitives and authorized marshals to deputize citizens on

the spot to help them capture a fugitive. Any Northerner could be compelled to help catch African Americans. A person who refused to cooperate could be jailed.

Newspaper accounts of the seizure of African Americans and descriptions of the law's injustice fueled Northern indignation. In New York, Henry Long was waiting tables at the Pacific Hotel when kidnappers seized him. Although Long had been living in New York several months before his supposed escape from a Virginia plantation, he was forced to return to the South and into slavery. The New York *Independent* publicized Long's kidnapping, noting that "almost no colored man is safe in our streets."

**Northern Resistance Grows** As outraged as Northerners were over such incidents, the law's requirement that ordinary citizens help capture runaways was what drove many into active defiance. Frederick Douglass emphasized this part of the law over and over again in his speeches. A powerful orator, Douglass would paint an emotional picture of an African American fleeing kidnappers. Then he would ask his audience whether they would give the runaway over to the "pursuing bloodhounds." "No!" the crowd would roar.

Antislavery activists often used the words of writer Henry David Thoreau to justify defying the Fugitive Slave Act. In his 1849 essay "Civil Disobedience," Thoreau advocated disobeying laws on moral grounds. "Unjust laws exist," he wrote. "Shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?" For many Northerners the answer was to disobey them without delay.

Northern resistance became frequent, public, and sometimes violent. The violence was justified, some believed, by the violence and cruelty of the slaveholders and their hirelings. In a pamphlet, Douglass proposed "The True Remedy for the Fugitive Slave Law—A good revolver, a steady hand, and a determination to shoot down any man attempting to kidnap."

**The Underground Railroad** Although the Fugitive Slave Act included heavy fines and prison terms for helping a runaway, whites and free African Americans continued their work with the **Underground Railroad**. This informal but well-organized system that was legendary during the 1830s helped thousands of enslaved persons escape. Members, called "conductors," transported runaways north in secret, gave them shelter and food along the way, and





saw them to freedom in the Northern states or Canada with some money for a fresh start.

Dedicated people, many of them African Americans, made dangerous trips into the South to guide enslaved persons along the Underground Railroad to freedom. The most famous of these conductors was **Harriet Tubman**, herself a runaway. She risked many trips to the South.

In Des Moines, Iowa, Isaac Brandt used secret signals to communicate with conductors on the Underground Railroad—a hand lifted palm outwards, for example, or a certain kind of tug at the ear. “I do not know how these signs or signals originated,” he later remembered, “but they had become well understood. Without them the operation of the system of running slaves into free territory would not have been possible.”

Levi Coffin, a Quaker born in North Carolina, allowed escaped African Americans to stay at his home in Indiana, where three Underground Railroad routes from the South converged.

“We knew not what night or what hour of the night we would be roused from slumber by a gentle rap at the door. . . . Outside in the cold or rain, there would be a two-horse wagon loaded with fugitives, perhaps the greater part of them women and children. I would invite them, in a low tone, to come in,

and they would follow me into the darkened house without a word, for we knew not who might be watching and listening.”

—quoted in *The Underground Railroad*

An estimated 2,000 African Americans stopped at Coffin’s red brick house on their way to freedom. Coffin later moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he assisted another 1,300 African Americans who had crossed the river from Kentucky to freedom. A thorn in the side to slaveholders, the Underground Railroad deepened Southern mistrust of Northern intentions.

**Reading Check** **Examining** What was an unintended consequence of the Fugitive Slave Act?

## The Transcontinental Railroad

Sectional disagreements did not fade away when settlers left their old homes and headed west into new territories. The settlers firmly retained their identities as Northerners or Southerners. By the early 1850s, many settlers and land speculators had become interested in the fertile lands west of Missouri and Iowa. Unfortunately for the settlers, the territory was unorganized. Until the federal government organized it as a territory, it could not be surveyed and settled.

At the same time, the opening of Oregon and the admission of California to the Union had convinced Americans that a **transcontinental railroad** should be built to connect the West Coast to the rest of the country.

In the 1850s, getting to the West Coast of the United States required many grueling weeks of travel overland or a long sea voyage around the tip of South America. A transcontinental railroad would reduce the journey to four relatively easy days while promoting further settlement and growth in the territories along the route.

The transcontinental railroad had broad appeal, but the choice of its eastern starting point became a new element in the sectional conflict. Many Southerners preferred a southern route from New Orleans, but the geography of the Southwest required the railroad to pass through northern Mexico. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, a strong supporter of the South’s interests, sent James Gadsden,

## Profiles IN HISTORY

### Harriet Tubman c. 1820–1913

Known as “Moses” for her courage in leading enslaved persons to freedom, Harriet Tubman was a heroine of the antislavery movement. Tubman was born into slavery in Maryland and struggled early against the system’s brutality. At age 13, when she tried to save another enslaved person from punishment, an overseer struck her savagely and fractured her skull. Miraculously, she recovered from the injury, but she suffered from occasional blackouts for the rest of her life.

Tubman escaped to freedom in 1849 when she was 29 years old. Upon crossing into Pennsylvania, she later wrote, “I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person. There was such a glory over everything. The sun came up

like gold through the trees, and I felt like I was in Heaven.”

Her joy inspired her to help others. After Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, Tubman returned to the South 19 times to guide enslaved persons along the Underground Railroad to freedom.

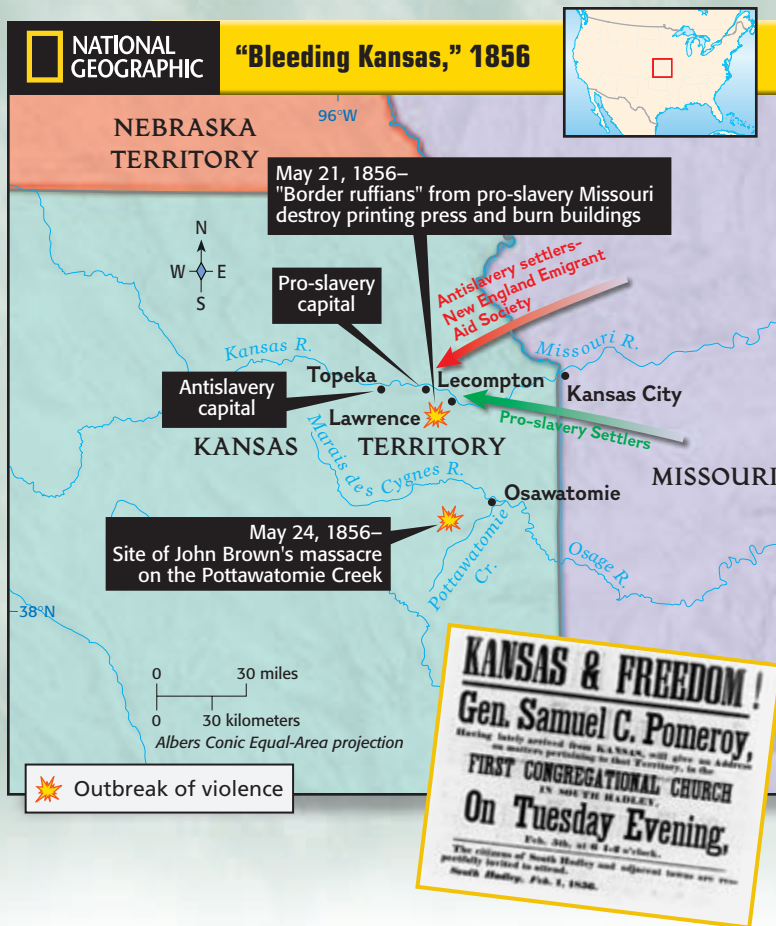
Tubman became notorious in the eyes of slaveholders, but despite a large reward offered for her capture, no one ever betrayed her whereabouts. Furthermore, in all her rescues on the Underground Railroad, she never lost a single “passenger.” Tubman’s bravery and determination made her one of the most important figures in the antislavery movement.





# CONTENTS





*Antislavery supporters in  
"Bleeding Kansas"*



## Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** In 1856, how many governments were there in the Kansas territory?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** What other territory lay to the north of Kansas?

**Two New Territories** At first, Douglas tried to dodge the issue and gain Southern support for his bill by saying that any states organized in the new Nebraska territory would be allowed to exercise popular sovereignty on slavery.

Southern leaders in the Senate were not fooled. If the Missouri Compromise remained in place while the region was settled, slaveholders would not move there. As a result, the states formed in the region would naturally become free states. Determined to get the territory organized, Douglas went a fateful step further. In his next version of the bill, he proposed to undo the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery in the region. He also proposed dividing the region into two territories. Nebraska would be on the north, adjacent to the free state of Iowa, and Kansas would be on the south, west of the slave state of Missouri. This looked like Nebraska was intended to be free territory, while Kansas was intended for slavery.

Douglas's bill outraged Northern Democrats and Whigs. Free-Soilers and antislavery Democrats called the act an "atrocious plot." They charged that abandoning the Missouri Compromise broke a solemn promise to limit the spread of slavery. Despite this opposition, the leaders of the Democrats in Congress won enough support to pass the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** in May 1854.

**Bleeding Kansas** Kansas became the first battleground between those favoring the extension of slavery and those opposing it. Since eastern Kansas offered the same climate and rich soil as the slave state of Missouri, settlers moving there from Missouri were likely to bring enslaved persons with them and claim Kansas for the South. Northerners responded by hurrying into the territory themselves, intent on creating an antislavery majority. Northern settlers could count on the support of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, an abolitionist group founded to recruit and outfit antislavery settlers bound for Kansas. Carrying supplies and rifles, hordes of Northerners headed for the new territory.

Pro-slavery senator David Atchison of Missouri responded by calling on men from his state to storm into Kansas. In the spring of 1855, thousands of armed Missourians—called "border ruffians" in the press—voted illegally in Kansas, helping elect a pro-slavery legislature. Furious antislavery settlers countered by holding a convention in Topeka and drafting their own constitution that excluded slavery. By March 1856, Kansas had two governments.

On May 21, 1856, border ruffians, worked up by the arrival of more Northerners, attacked the town of Lawrence, a stronghold of antislavery settlers. The





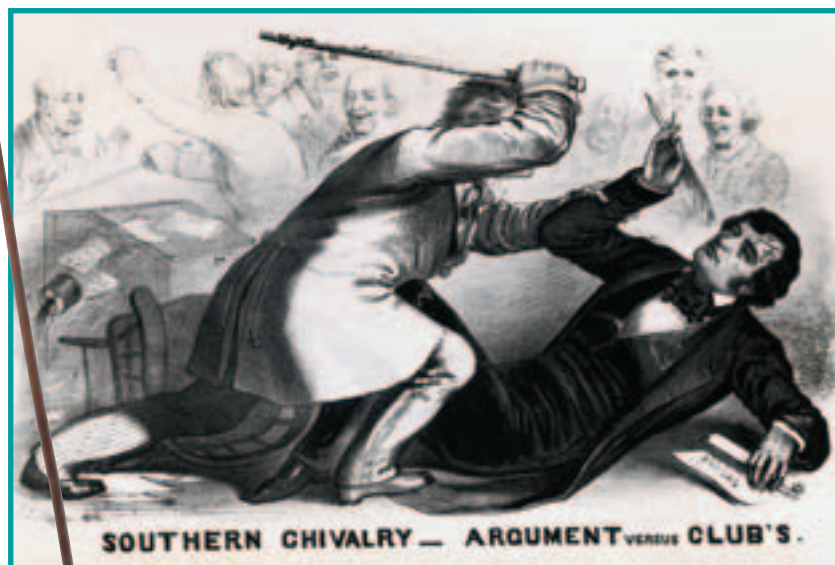
attackers wrecked newspaper presses, plundered shops and homes, and burned a hotel and the home of the elected free-state governor.

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

**The Caning of Charles Sumner** While bullets flew and blood ran in Kansas, the Senate hotly debated the future of the Western territories. In mid-May 1856, Senator **Charles Sumner** of Massachusetts, a fiery abolitionist, delivered a speech accusing pro-slavery senators of forcing Kansas into the ranks of slave states. He singled out Senator **Andrew P. Butler** of South Carolina, saying Butler had “chosen a mistress . . . the harlot, Slavery.”

Several days later, on May 22, Butler’s second cousin, Representative Preston Brooks, approached Sumner at his desk in the Senate chamber. Brooks shouted that Sumner’s speech had been “a libel on South Carolina, and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine.” Before Sumner could respond, Brooks raised a gold-handled cane and beat him savagely, leaving the senator severely injured and bleeding on the floor. The growing violence over slavery had come to the very center of government.

Many Southerners considered Brooks to be a hero. Some Southerners even sent him canes



### Analyzing Political Cartoons

**Violence in the Senate** Representative Preston Brooks beat Senator Charles Sumner savagely for criticizing Brooks’s cousin, Senator Andrew Butler. Many Southerners voiced their approval by sending Brooks canes like the one shown here. **What emotions did the event stir up in the North and South?**

inscribed “Hit Him Again.” Shocked by the attack and outraged by the flood of Southern support for Brooks, Northerners strengthened their determination to resist the “barbarism of slavery.” One New York clergyman confided in his journal that “no way is left for the North, but to strike back, or be slaves.”

**Reading Check** **Describing** Why did Stephen Douglas propose repealing the Missouri Compromise?

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

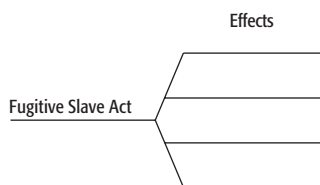
- Define:** **Underground Railroad, transcontinental railroad.**
- Identify:** *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, Fugitive Slave Act, Harriet Tubman, Gadsden Purchase, Kansas-Nebraska Act, Charles Sumner.
- Explain** how the transcontinental railroad intensified the slavery issue.

### Reviewing Themes

- Civic Rights and Responsibilities**  
How did antislavery activists justify disobeying the Fugitive Slave Act?

### Critical Thinking

- Synthesizing** What events led to “Bleeding Kansas”?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the effects of the Fugitive Slave Act.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Interpreting Maps** Study the map of the Underground Railroad on page 329. Consider the entire expanse of the United States and its territories in the 1850s. If slavery failed to expand, what effect would this have on the South’s influence on national policy?

### Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine you are a reporter for a Southern or Northern newspaper in the 1850s. Write an article on public reaction to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

# SECTION 3 The Crisis Deepens

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

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

### Key Terms and Names

Republican Party, Know-Nothings, Dred Scott, referendum, Lecompton constitution, Freeport Doctrine, insurrection

### Reading Strategy

**Categorizing** As you read about the North-South split, complete a graphic organizer like the one below to group events as executive, legislative, judicial, or nongovernmental.

Executive	
Legislative	
Judicial	
Nongovernmental	

### Reading Objectives

- **Analyze** the events that increased sectional tensions in the late 1850s.
- **Describe** the Lincoln-Douglas Senate campaign of 1858.

### Section Theme

**Groups and Institutions** Due to differing opinions within established parties, Americans forged new political alliances in the 1850s.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



Abraham Lincoln

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

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

—quoted in *Abraham Lincoln*

## Birth of the Republican Party

When the Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the Missouri Compromise, it enraged many people who opposed the extension of slavery. A few of these people resorted to violence, but the effect was just as dramatic on political parties—both the Whigs and the Democrats were split. In the Whig Party, pro-slavery Southern Whigs and antislavery Northern Whigs had long battled for control of their party. With passage of the Kansas-Nebraska





## Political Parties of the Era

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

Source: Encarta Encyclopedia

### Chart Skills

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

Act, disaster was complete. Every Northern Whig in Congress had voted against the bill, while most Southern Whigs had supported it. "We Whigs of the North," wrote one member from Connecticut, "are unalterably determined never to have even the slightest political correspondence or connexion" with the Southern Whigs.

Anger over the Kansas-Nebraska Act convinced former Whigs, members of the Free-Soil Party, and a few antislavery Democrats to work together during the congressional elections of 1854. These coalitions took many different names, including the Anti-Nebraska Party, the Fusion Party, the People's Party, and the Independent Party. The most popular name for the new coalition was the **Republican Party**.

**Republicans Organize** At a convention in Michigan in July 1854, the Republican Party was officially organized. In choosing the same name as Jefferson's original party, the Republicans declared their intention to revive the spirit of the American Revolution. Just as Jefferson had chosen the name because he wanted to prevent the United States from becoming a monarchy, the new Republicans chose their name because they feared that the Southern planters were becoming an aristocracy that controlled the federal government.

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

**The Know-Nothings** At the same time, public anger against the Northern Democrats also enabled the American Party—better known as the **Know-Nothings**—to make great gains as well, particularly in the Northeast. The American Party was an anti-Catholic and nativist party. It opposed immigration, particularly Catholic immigration, into the United States. Prejudice and fear that immigrants would take away jobs enabled the Know-Nothings to win many seats in Congress and the state legislatures in 1854.

Soon after the election, the Know-Nothings suffered the same fate as the Whigs. Many Know-Nothings had been elected from the Upper South, particularly Maryland, Tennessee, and Kentucky. They quickly split with Know-Nothings from the North over their support for the Kansas-Nebraska



Act. Furthermore, the violence in Kansas and the beating of Charles Sumner made slavery a far more important issue to most Americans than immigration. Eventually, the Republican Party absorbed the Northern Know-Nothings.

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

## The Election of 1856

To gain the widest possible support in the 1856 campaign, the Republicans nominated **John C. Frémont**, a famous Western explorer nicknamed “The Pathfinder.” Frémont had spoken in favor of Kansas becoming a free state. He had little political experience but also no embarrassing record to defend.

The Democrats nominated **James Buchanan**. Buchanan had served in Congress for 20 years and had been the American ambassador to Russia and then to Great Britain. He had been in Great Britain during the debate over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and had not taken a stand on the issue, but his record in Congress showed that he believed the best way to save the Union was to make concessions to the South.

The American Party tried to reunite its Northern and Southern members at its convention, but most of

the Northern delegates walked out when the party refused to call for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The rest of the convention then chose former president Millard Fillmore to represent the American Party, hoping to attract the vote of former Whigs.


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

**✓ Reading Check** **Identifying** What political party and candidate won the presidency in 1856?

## Sectional Divisions Grow

Despite Buchanan’s determination to adopt policies that would calm the growing sectional strife in the country, a series of events helped drive Americans in the North and South even further apart.

**The Dred Scott Decision** In his March 1857 inaugural address, James Buchanan suggested that the nation let the Supreme Court decide the question of slavery in the territories. Most people who listened to the address did not know that Buchanan had contacted members of the Supreme Court and therefore knew that a decision was imminent.

Many Southern members of Congress had quietly pressured the Supreme Court justices to issue a ruling on slavery in the territories. They expected the Southern majority on the court to rule in favor of the South. They were not disappointed. Two days after the inauguration, the Court released its opinion in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.  (See page 1080 for more information on *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.)

**Dred Scott** was an enslaved man whose Missouri slaveholder had taken him to live in free territory before returning to Missouri. Assisted by abolitionists, Scott sued to end his slavery, arguing that the time he had spent in free territory meant he was free. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court.

On March 6, 1857, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney delivered the majority opinion in the case. Taney ruled against Scott because, he claimed, African Americans were not citizens and therefore could not sue in the courts. Taney then addressed the Missouri Compromise’s ban on slavery in territory north of Missouri’s southern border:

Fact

**Fiction**

Folklore

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





“It is the opinion of the court that the Act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning [enslaved persons] in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution and is therefore void.”

—from *Dred Scott v. Sandford*

Instead of removing the issue of slavery in the territories from politics, the *Dred Scott* decision itself became a political issue that further intensified the sectional conflict. The Supreme Court had said that the federal government could not prohibit slavery in the territories. Free soil, one of the basic ideas uniting Republicans, was unconstitutional.

Democrats cheered the decision, but Republicans condemned it and claimed it was not binding. Instead they argued that it was an **obiter dictum**, an incidental opinion not called for by the circumstances of the case. Southerners, on the other hand, called on Northerners to obey the decision if they wanted the South to remain in the Union.

Many African Americans, among them Philadelphia activist Robert Purvis, publicly declared contempt for any government that could produce such an edict:

“Mr. Chairman, look at the facts—here, in a country with a sublimity of impudence that knows no parallel, setting itself up before the world as a *free country*, a *land of liberty*!, ‘the *land of the free*, and the *home of the brave*,’ the ‘*freest country in all the world*’ . . . and yet here are millions of men and women . . . bought and sold, whipped, manacled, killed all the day long.”

—quoted in *Witness for Freedom*

**Kansas’s Lecompton Constitution** Frustration with the government also fueled the conflict between antislavery and pro-slavery forces in “Bleeding Kansas.” Hoping to end the troubles there, President Buchanan urged the territory to apply for statehood. The pro-slavery legislature scheduled an election for delegates to a constitutional convention, but antislavery Kansans boycotted it, claiming it was rigged. The resulting constitution, drafted in the town of Lecompton in 1857, legalized slavery in the territory.

Each side then held its own **referendum**, or popular vote, on the constitution. Antislavery forces voted down the constitution; pro-slavery forces approved it. Buchanan accepted the pro-slavery vote and asked

Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state. The Senate quickly voted to accept the **Lecompton constitution**, but the House of Representatives blocked it. Many members of Congress became so angry during the debates that fistfights broke out. Southern leaders were stunned when even Stephen Douglas of Illinois refused to support them. Many had hoped that Douglas, a Northern leader and possible future president, understood the South’s concerns and would make the compromise necessary to keep the South in the Union.

Finally, to get the votes they needed, President Buchanan and Southern leaders in Congress agreed to allow another referendum in Kansas on the constitution. Southern leaders expected to win this referendum. If the settlers in Kansas rejected the Lecompton constitution, they would delay statehood for Kansas for at least two more years.



### Picturing History

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

Despite these conditions, the settlers in Kansas voted overwhelmingly in 1858 to reject the Lecompton constitution. They did not want slavery in their state. As a result, Kansas did not become a state until 1861.

✓ **Reading Check** **Summarizing** Why did Dred Scott sue the slaveholder who held him?

## Lincoln and Douglas

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

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

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

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

Born on the Kentucky frontier and raised in Indiana, Lincoln had experienced little more than small-town

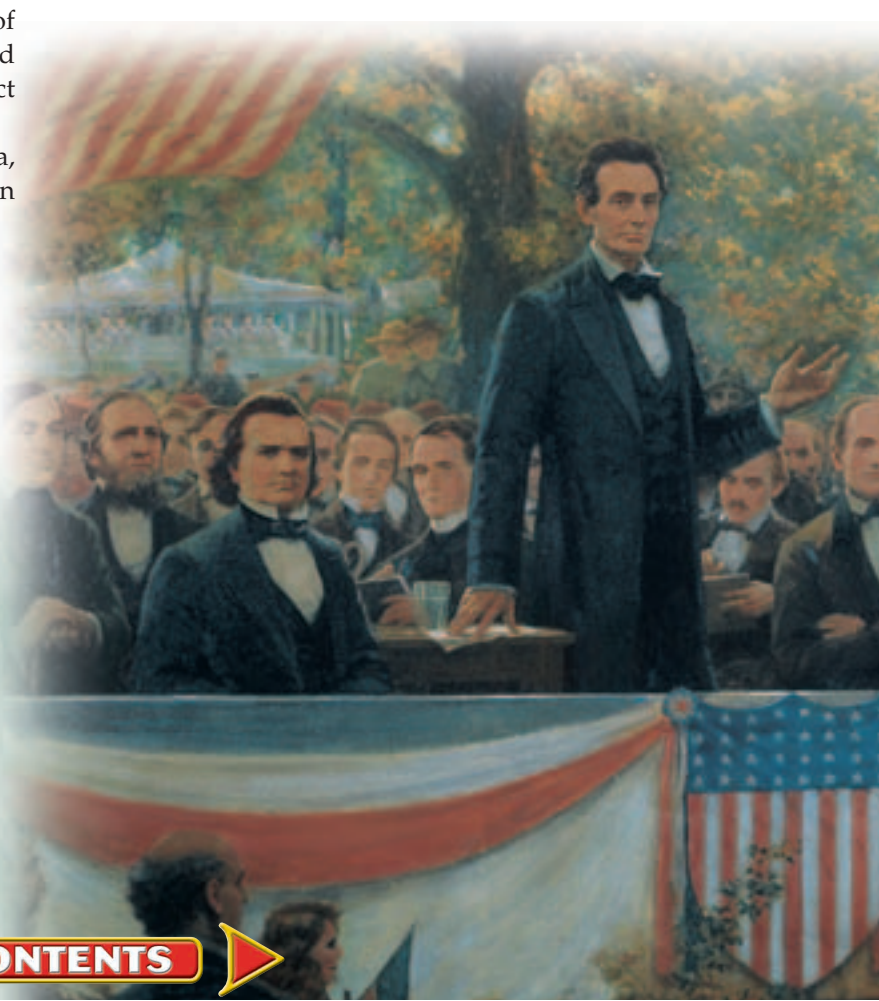
life. A storekeeper, mill hand, and rail-splitter during his youth, he went on to study and practice law. Later he served in the Illinois state legislature and, for a single term, in the U.S. House of Representatives as a member of the Whig Party. Despite this modest background, Lincoln proved himself a gifted debater. Both witty and logical, he regularly illuminated his points with quotations from scripture or appealing homespun stories from everyday life.

Although not an abolitionist, Lincoln believed slavery to be morally wrong and opposed its spread into western territories. Douglas, by contrast, supported popular sovereignty. During a debate in Freeport, Lincoln asked Douglas if the people of a territory could legally exclude slavery before achieving statehood? If Douglas said yes, he would appear to be supporting popular sovereignty and opposing the *Dred Scott* ruling, which would cost him Southern support. If he said no, it would make it seem as if he had abandoned popular sovereignty, the principle on which he had built his national following.

Douglas tried to avoid the dilemma, formulating an answer that became known as the **Freeport Doctrine**. He replied that he accepted the *Dred Scott* ruling, but he argued that people could still keep slavery out by refusing to pass the laws needed to

“The right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete.”

—Stephen Douglas







regulate and enforce it. “Slavery cannot exist . . . anywhere,” said Douglas, “unless it is supported by local police regulations.” Douglas’s response pleased Illinois voters but angered Southerners.

Lincoln also attacked Douglas’s claim that he “cared not” whether Kansans voted for or against slavery. Denouncing “the modern Democratic idea that slavery is as good as freedom,” Lincoln called on voters to elect Republicans, “whose hearts are in the work, who *do care* for the result”:

“Has any thing ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You may have a wen [sore] or cancer upon your person and not be able to cut it out lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong.”

—quoted in *The Civil War: Opposing Viewpoints*



### History Through Art

**Charleston Confrontation** Lincoln and Douglas matched wits seven times during the 1858 senatorial campaign. This painting by Robert Root shows them in Charleston, Illinois. [How did the debates help Lincoln?](#)

Douglas won the election, but Lincoln did not come away empty-handed. He had seized the opportunity in the debates to make clear the principles of the Republican Party. He had also established a national reputation for himself as a man of clear, insightful thinking who could argue with force and eloquence. Within a year, however, national attention shifted to another figure, a man who opposed slavery not with well-crafted phrases, but with a gun.



**Reading Check** **Examining** What were the positions of Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln on slavery?

## John Brown’s Raid

John Brown was a fervent abolitionist who believed, as one minister who knew him in Kansas said, “that God had raised him up on purpose to break the jaws of the wicked.” In 1859, he developed a plan to seize the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (today in West Virginia), free and arm the enslaved people of the neighborhood, and begin an **insurrection**, or rebellion, against slaveholders.

On the night of October 16, 1859, Brown and 18 followers seized the arsenal. To the terrified night watchman, he announced, “I have possession now of the United States armory, and if the citizens interfere with me I must only burn the town and have blood.”

Soon, however, Brown was facing a contingent of U.S. Marines, rushed to Harpers Ferry from Washington, D.C., under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee. Just 36 hours after it had begun, Brown’s attempt to start a slave insurrection ended with his capture. A Virginia court tried and

*“Has any thing ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery?”*

—Abraham Lincoln





## Profiles IN HISTORY

### John Brown 1800–1859

John Brown, who believed he was acting with God's approval, helped to bring about the Civil War. A dedicated abolitionist, Brown initially worked with the Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania. When conflict between pro-slavery and free-soil settlers in Kansas became violent, Brown moved to Kansas to help six of his sons and other free-soil settlers in their struggle against slavery.

After pro-slavery forces from Missouri sacked the town of Lawrence, Kansas, on May 21, 1856, Brown vowed revenge. The following day, he learned of the caning of Charles



Sumner in the Senate and, in the words of one witness, he "went crazy—crazy." Two days later, he abducted and murdered five pro-slavery settlers living near Pottawatomie Creek. Later he said of the deaths, "I believe that I did God service in having them killed."

Brown was never arrested for the Pottawatomie Massacre, and for some Northern abolitionists he became a hero for his willingness to fight back. Three years later, he launched his raid on Harpers Ferry. Although the raid ended in disaster and Brown himself was hanged, his desperate act terrified Southerners and brought the nation another step closer to disunion and civil war.

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

—quoted in *John Brown, 1800–1859*

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

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

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

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

☞☞I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done in behalf of [God's] despised poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now

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

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

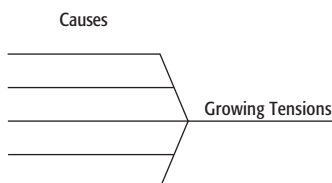
- Define:** *referendum*, *insurrection*.
- Identify:** Republican Party, Know-Nothings, Dred Scott, Lecompton constitution, Freeport Doctrine.
- List** the two rulings in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that increased sectional divisiveness.

### Reviewing Themes

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

### Critical Thinking

- Synthesizing** How did Americans react to John Brown's raid?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list causes of the growing tensions between North and South.



### Analyzing Visuals

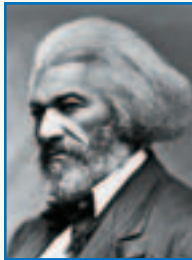
- Studying Charts** Examine the chart on page 333. Did any parties besides the Republican and Democratic survive after 1865? How does this support the idea that the 1850s and 1860s were an important transition era in the nation's history?

### Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine you have just read the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Dred Scott* case. Write a letter to the editor explaining your reaction to the decision.



# American LITERATURE



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

## Read to Discover

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

## Reader's Dictionary

**sentiments:** feelings

**revelation:** discovery

**conscious:** aware

**diligently:** with great effort

## from Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass

by Frederick Douglass

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

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



## Analyzing Literature

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

## Interdisciplinary Activity

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



# SECTION 4 The Union Dissolves

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

Many events pushed the nation into civil war.

### Key Terms and Names

John C. Breckinridge, John Bell, Crittenden's Compromise, Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, martial law

### Reading Strategy

**Taking Notes** As you read about the downward spiral toward civil war in the United States, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The Union Dissolves  
I. The Election of 1860  
A.  
B.  
C.  
II.

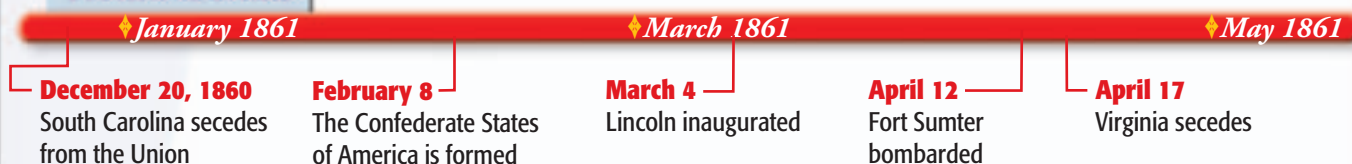
### Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the various attempts to find a compromise between the demands of the North and the South.
- **Explain** how and why the Civil War began.

### Section Theme

**Civic Rights and Responsibilities** After Lincoln's election, many Southerners placed state loyalty above loyalty to the Republic.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



Mary Chesnut

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

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

She ran to the roof, where others had gathered to watch the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Mary Chesnut shivered and felt the first terrifying evidence of the horrors to come.

"The regular roar of the cannon—there it was. And who could tell what each volley accomplished of death and destruction."

—adapted from *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*

## The Election of 1860

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





Although the Republican leaders quickly denounced Brown's raid, many Southerners blamed Republicans. To them, the key point was that both the Republicans and John Brown opposed slavery. As one Atlanta newspaper noted: "We regard every man who does not boldly declare that he believes African slavery to be a social, moral, and political blessing as an enemy to the institutions of the South."

In the Senate, Robert Toombs of Georgia warned that the South would "never permit this Federal government to pass into the traitorous hands of the Black Republican party." In April 1860, with the South in an uproar, Democrats headed to Charleston, South Carolina, to choose their nominee for president.

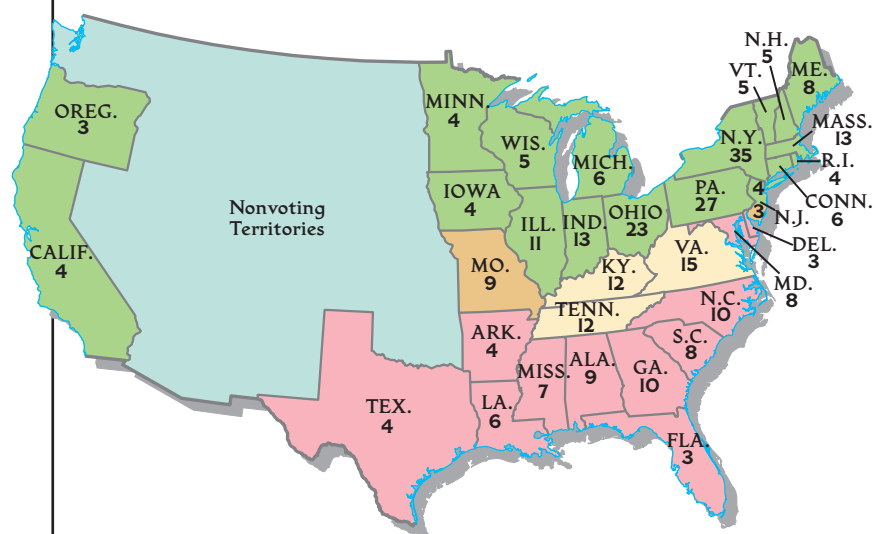
**The Democrats Split** In 1860 the debate over slavery in the western territories finally tore the Democratic Party apart. Their first presidential nominating convention ended in dispute. Northern delegates wanted to support popular sovereignty, while Southern delegates wanted the party to uphold the *Dred Scott* decision and endorse a federal slave code for the territories. Stephen Douglas was not able to get the votes needed to be nominated for president, but neither could anyone else.

In June 1860, the Democrats met again, this time in Baltimore, to select their candidate. Douglas's supporters in the South had organized rival delegations to ensure Douglas's endorsement. The original Southern delegations objected to these rival delegates and again walked out. The remaining Democrats then chose Douglas as their candidate for president.

The Southern Democrats who had walked out organized their own convention and nominated the current vice president, **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky, for president. Breckinridge supported the *Dred Scott* decision and agreed to endorse the idea of a federal slave code for the western territories.

The split in the Democratic Party greatly improved Republican prospects, which was what some of the more radical Southern delegates had intended all along. They hoped that a Republican victory would be the final straw that would convince the Southern states to secede.

Other people, including many former Whigs, were greatly alarmed at the danger to the Union.



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



## Geography Skills

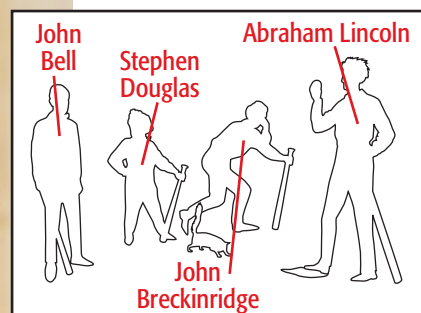
- Interpreting Maps** How does the map show that Lincoln was a sectional candidate?
- Applying Geography Skills** What explains the fact that Stephen Douglas won only one state, Missouri?

They created another new party, the Constitutional Union Party, and chose former Tennessee senator **John Bell** as their candidate. The Constitutional Unionists campaigned on a position of upholding both the Constitution and the Union.

## TURNING POINT

**Lincoln Is Elected** With no possibility of winning electoral votes in the South, the Republicans needed a candidate who could sweep the North. Delegates at the Republicans' Chicago convention did not think their first choice, William Seward, had a wide enough appeal. Instead they nominated Lincoln, whose debates with Douglas had made him very popular in the North.

During the campaign, the Republicans tried to persuade voters they were more than just an antislavery party. They denounced John Brown's raid and reaffirmed the right of the Southern states to preserve



## Analyzing Political Cartoons

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

slavery within their borders. They also supported higher tariffs, a new homestead law for western settlers, and a transcontinental railroad.

The Republican proposals greatly angered many Southerners. Nevertheless, with Democratic votes split between Douglas and Breckinridge, Lincoln won the election without Southern support. For the South, the election of a Republican president represented the victory of the abolitionists. The survival of Southern society and culture seemed to be at stake. For many, there was now no choice but to secede.

**Secession** The dissolution of the Union began with South Carolina, where anti-Northern secessionist sentiment had long been intense. Shortly after Lincoln's election, the state legislature called for a convention. Amid a frenzy of fireworks and drills, the convention unanimously voted for the Ordinance of Secession. By February 1, 1861, six more states in the Lower South—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had voted to secede. Many Southerners felt

secession was in the Revolutionary tradition and that they were fighting for American rights.

**Reading Check** **Identifying** What main event triggered the secession of Southern states?

## Compromise Fails

As the states of the Lower South seceded one after another, Congress tried to find a compromise to save the Union. Ignoring Congress's efforts, the secessionists seized all federal property in their states, including arsenals and forts. Only the island strongholds of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor and Fort Pickens in Pensacola Harbor, as well as a few other islands off the coast of Florida, remained out of Southern hands.

Although the confiscation of property horrified Northern members of Congress, they were willing to compromise. To that end, Kentucky senator John J. Crittenden proposed several amendments to the Constitution. One would guarantee slavery where it already existed. Another would also reinstate the



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Missouri Compromise line, extending it to the California border. Slavery would be prohibited north of the line and protected south of it.

Lincoln, however, asked congressional Republicans to stand firm, and **Crittenden's Compromise** did not pass.


### A Last Attempt at Peace

Finally, Virginia—a slave state but still in the Union—proposed a peace conference in a last-ditch effort at peace. Delegates from 21 states attended the conference in Washington, D.C. The majority came from Northern and border states. None came from the secessionist states. The delegates met for three weeks but came up with little more than a modified version of Crittenden's Compromise. When presented to Congress, the plan went down in defeat.

**Founding the Confederacy** On the same day the peace conference met, delegates from the seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama. There, in early February, they declared themselves to be a new nation—the Confederate States of America—or the **Confederacy**, as it became known.

Their convention drafted a constitution based largely on the U.S. Constitution but with some important changes. It declared that each state was independent and guaranteed the existence of slavery in Confederate territory. It also banned protective tariffs and limited the presidency to a single six-year term.

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

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What did Virginia do to try to reverse secession?

## The Civil War Begins

In the months before Lincoln took office, he had watched the nation fall apart. Preparing for his inauguration, he faced a splintered Union, a newly declared nation to the south, and the possibility that other states would soon secede.

**Lincoln Takes Office** In his inaugural speech on March 4, 1861, Lincoln addressed the seceding states directly. He repeated his commitment not to interfere with slavery where it existed but insisted that “the Union of these States is perpetual.” Lincoln did not threaten the seceded states, but he said he intended to “hold, occupy, and possess” federal property in those states. Lincoln also encouraged reconciliation:

“In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without yourselves being the aggressors. . . . We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.”

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

### TURNING POINT

**Fort Sumter Falls** In April Lincoln announced that he intended to resupply Fort Sumter. President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy now faced a dilemma. To tolerate federal troops in the South's most vital harbor seemed unacceptable for a sovereign

*“The time for compromise has now passed.”*

—Jefferson Davis



### Picturing History

**Southern Leader** A former soldier, representative, and senator, Jefferson Davis became the first president of the Confederacy. **Why did Davis give up on compromise?**





nation, as the South now saw itself. After Lincoln's warning, however, firing on the supply ship would undoubtedly lead to war with the United States.

Davis decided to take Fort Sumter before the supply ship arrived. If he was successful, peace might be preserved. Confederate leaders then delivered a note to Major Robert Anderson demanding Fort Sumter's surrender by the morning of April 12, 1861.

Anderson stood fast. The fateful hour came and went, and cannon fire suddenly shook the air. Confederate forces bombarded Fort Sumter for 33 relentless hours, wrecking the fort but killing no one, until Anderson and his exhausted men finally surrendered. The Civil War had begun.

**The Upper South Secedes** After the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the military for 90 days. The call for troops created a crisis in the Upper South. Many people there did not want to secede, but faced with the prospect of civil war, they believed they had no choice but to leave the Union. Virginia acted first,

passing an Ordinance of Secession on April 17, 1861. The Confederate Congress responded by moving the capital of the Confederacy to Richmond, Virginia. By early June of 1861, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee had also seceded.

### **GEOGRAPHY**

**Hanging on to the Border States** With the Upper South gone, Lincoln was determined to keep the slaveholding border states from seceding. Delaware seemed safe, but Lincoln worried about Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland. Virginia's secession had placed a Confederate state across the Potomac River from the nation's capital. If Maryland seceded, Washington would be surrounded by Confederate territory.

To prevent Maryland's secession, Lincoln imposed martial law in Baltimore, where angry mobs had already attacked federal troops. Under **martial law**, the military takes control of an area and replaces civilian authorities, and it suspends

 **NATIONAL  
GEOGRAPHIC**

## **MOMENT in HISTORY**

### **RUSH TO THE COLORS**

In the turbulent days following the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861, tens of thousands of young men in the North and South hastened to join their states' volunteer regiments. Most had no idea of the horrors that awaited them. Many saw the war as an escape from the boredom of the family farm or the misery of city tenements. Their only fear was that the fighting might end before they could take part. Here, members of the First Virginia Militia, the "Richmond Grays," pose for the camera before their first taste of battle.



certain civil rights. Anyone supporting secession could be arrested and held without trial. Union Army officers imprisoned dozens of suspected secessionist leaders.

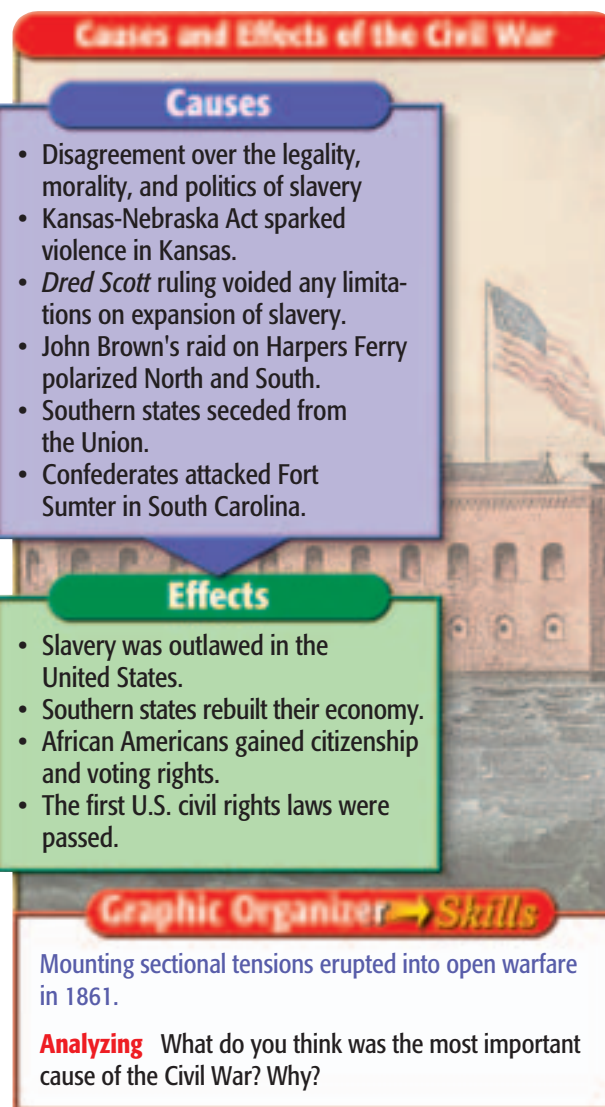
Lincoln knew that Kentucky was divided over whether to secede and that its control of the Ohio River's south bank was strategically important. When Kentucky declared itself neutral, Lincoln promised to leave the state alone so long as the Confederacy did the same.

Kentucky's neutrality lasted until September 1861, when Confederate forces occupied the southwest corner of the state, prompting Union troops to move in as well. The Confederate invasion angered many in the Kentucky legislature, who now voted to go to war against the Confederacy. This decision led other Kentuckians who supported the Confederacy to create a rival government and secede.

The third border state Lincoln worried about was Missouri. Although many people in the state sympathized strongly with the Confederacy, its convention voted almost unanimously against secession. A struggle then broke out between the convention and pro-secession forces led by Governor Claiborne F. Jackson. In the end, Missouri was held to the Union's cause with the support of federal forces.

From the very beginning of the Civil War, Lincoln had been willing to take political, even constitutional, risks to preserve the Union. The issue of its preservation now shifted to the battlefield.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** Why were the border states of Maryland and Kentucky important to the Union?



**Causes**

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

**Effects**

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

**Graphic Organizer Skills**

Mounting sectional tensions erupted into open warfare in 1861.

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

## SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** *Confederacy*, *martial law*.
2. **Identify:** John C. Breckinridge, John Bell, Crittenden's Compromise, Jefferson Davis.
3. **List** two provisions of Crittenden's Compromise.

### Reviewing Themes

4. **Civic Rights and Responsibilities**  
How did Lincoln prevent Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland from seceding? Was Lincoln justified in his actions? Why or why not?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Analyzing** Why did Virginia's secession surprise Northerners?
6. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the various parties' candidates and political positions in the 1860 election.

Party	Candidate	Position
Northern Democrat		
Southern Democrat		
Constitutional Unionist		
Republican		

### Analyzing Visuals

7. **Analyzing Political Cartoons** Study the cartoon on page 342 about the presidential election of 1860. What does the use of a baseball comparison imply about politics?

### Writing About History

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

# CHAPTER 10 ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES

## Reviewing Key Terms

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

1. popular sovereignty
2. secession
3. Underground Railroad
4. transcontinental railroad
5. referendum
6. insurrection
7. Confederacy
8. martial law

## Chapter Summary

### Key Events of the 1850s:

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

### Kansas-Nebraska Act heightened tensions:

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

### Election of 1860:

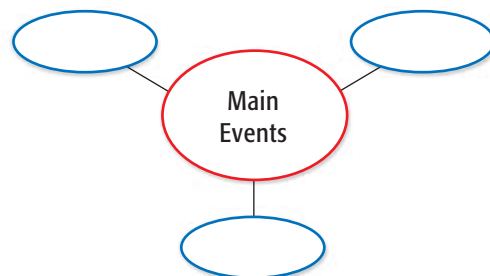
- Democratic Party split between North and South
- Republicans nominated eventual winner Abraham Lincoln
- Southern states established Confederacy in February 1861
- Fort Sumter fired upon in April 1861, starting the Civil War

## Reviewing Key Facts

9. **Identify:** Wilmot Proviso, Fugitive Slave Act, Harriet Tubman, Kansas-Nebraska Act, Charles Sumner, Dred Scott, John C. Breckinridge, John Bell.
10. What were the main elements of the Compromise of 1850?
11. Why did Southern politicians begin talking about secession?
12. Why did Northerners resist the Fugitive Slave Act?
13. How did the Republican Party try to gain Southern voters in the presidential election of 1860?
14. Why is John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid considered a turning point on the road to war?
15. What efforts were made to prevent the outbreak of war?
16. What border states did Lincoln try to keep in the Union?

## Critical Thinking

17. **Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities**  
How did the Fugitive Slave Act and the *Dred Scott* decision affect formerly enslaved African Americans living in the North?
18. **Evaluating** Why did many members of Congress support popular sovereignty?
19. **Forming an Opinion** John Brown's goal in seizing the arsenal at Harpers Ferry was to begin a rebellion against slaveholders. Do you think John Brown should have been executed for this action? Why or why not?
20. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the main events that pushed the nation into civil war.



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

“In the ante-revolutionary period, the differences between the populations of the Northern and Southern colonies had already been strongly developed. The



### Self-Check Quiz

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early colonists did not bear with them from the mother-country to the shores of the New World any greater degree of congeniality than existed among them at home. They had come not only from different stocks of population, but from different feuds in religion and politics. There could be no congeniality between . . . New England, and the . . . South. . . .”

—from *The Lost Cause*

- According to Pollard, when did the differences between the North and South begin?
- What did he believe caused the differences between the people of the North and the South?

## Practicing Skills

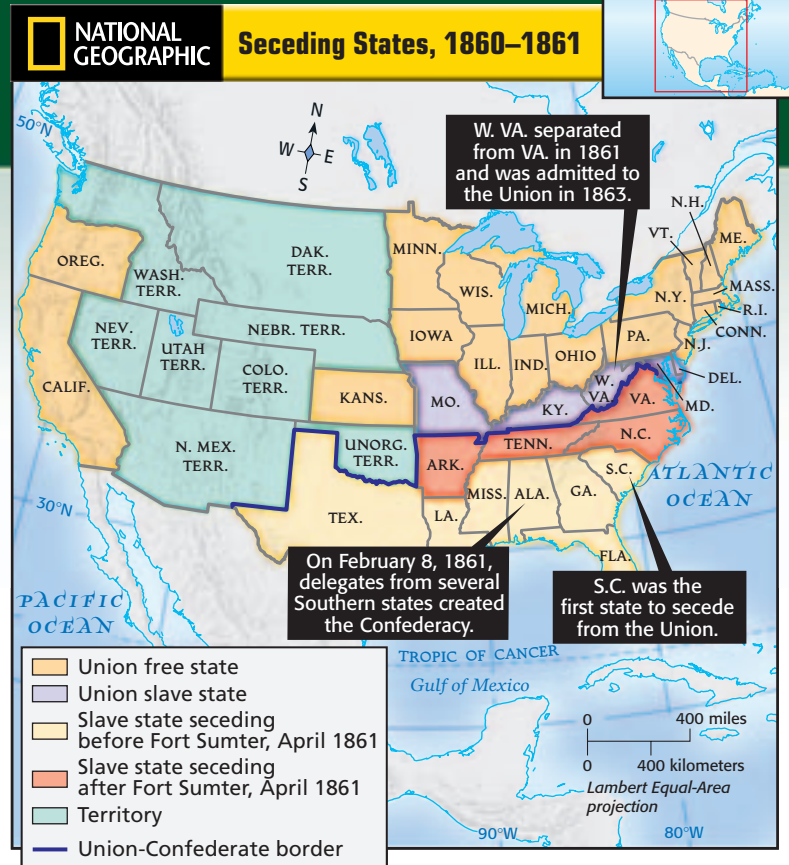
- Predicting Consequences** Review the skill on predicting consequences on page 325. Then read the following statements and predict three consequences for each. Rank the three consequences in order of the one most likely to occur to the one least likely to occur.
  - A person elected to a political office does not support the issues he or she claimed to represent while campaigning.
  - Engineers develop an effective, efficient automobile powered by solar energy.

## Writing Activity

- American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** Read the decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* by Roger B. Taney, under *Civil War and Reconstruction*. Work with your classmates to outline the major points. Then prepare a counter-decision, addressing each major point and explaining why it could or should be overturned.

## Chapter Activity

- Research Project: Mental Mapping** Mental maps are the images people have in their minds of places they know or imagine. Based on what you have read in the chapter and additional research, sketch a possible escape route on the Underground Railroad as an enslaved person in the South might have drawn it. Make sure to include important geographic features. Share your findings with your class.



## Geography and History

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

## Standardized Test Practice

**Directions:** Choose the best answer to the following questions.

Several events in the 1850s caused anger in both North and South, making war more likely. Which of the following was not a cause of increasing tension?

- The Fugitive Slave Act
- The publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
- John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid
- Crittenden's Compromise

**Test-Taking Tip:** Be careful—overlooking the words *not* or *except* on a question is a common error. Also, answer D refers to a compromise, which does not suggest a cause of anger.