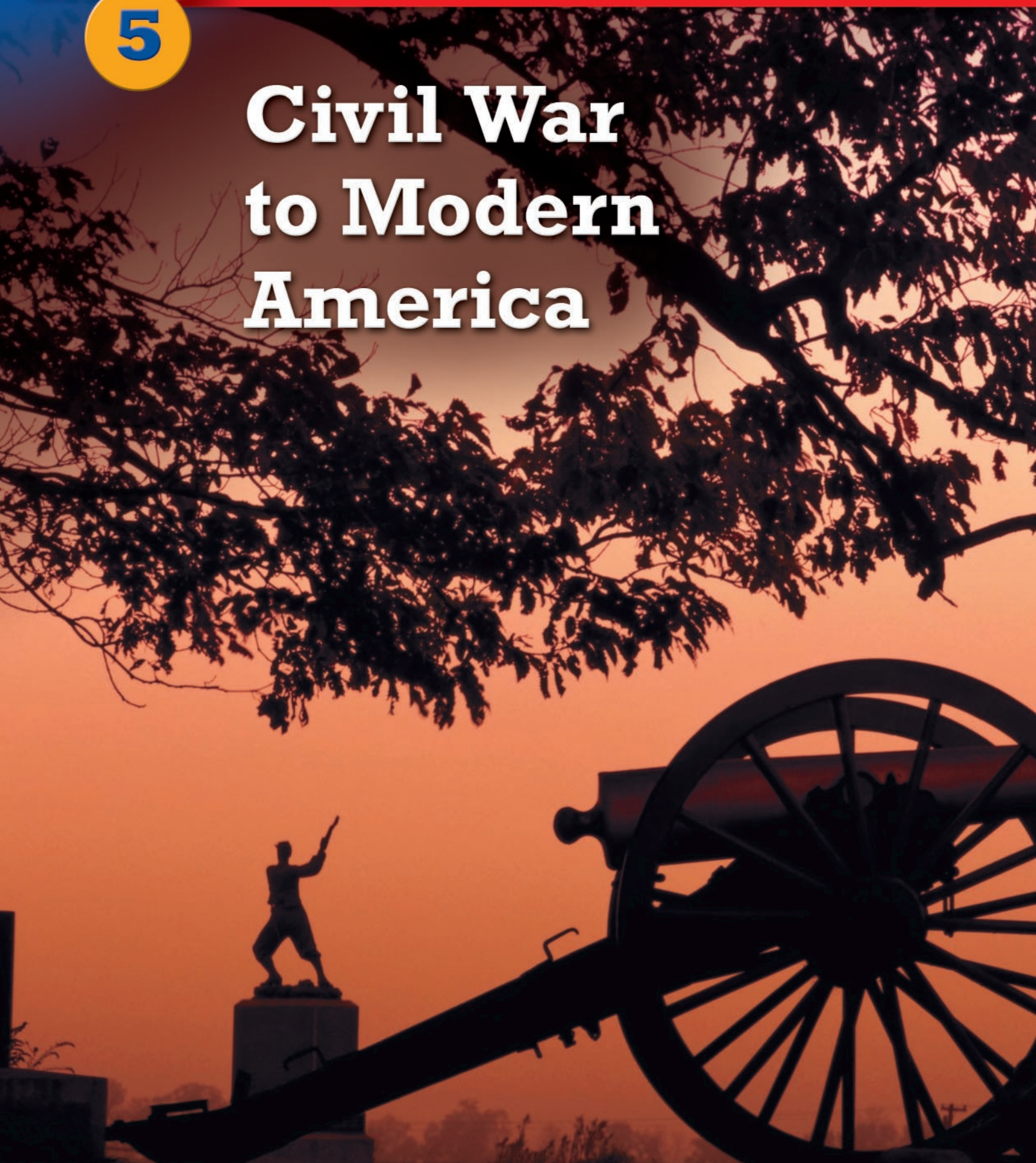



**UNIT**

**1846 to PRESENT**

**5**

# Civil War to Modern America



The background of the page is a photograph of a large tree with dense foliage, silhouetted against a warm, orange-hued sky. In the lower-left corner, the large wooden wheel of a cannon is visible. The overall mood is historical and solemn.

*“Government of the people, by  
the people, for the people, shall  
not perish from the earth.”*

*—Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address*

Gettysburg, Pennsylvania,  
was the site of the most  
decisive battle of the Civil War.



CHAPTER  
**15**

# The Nation Breaking Apart

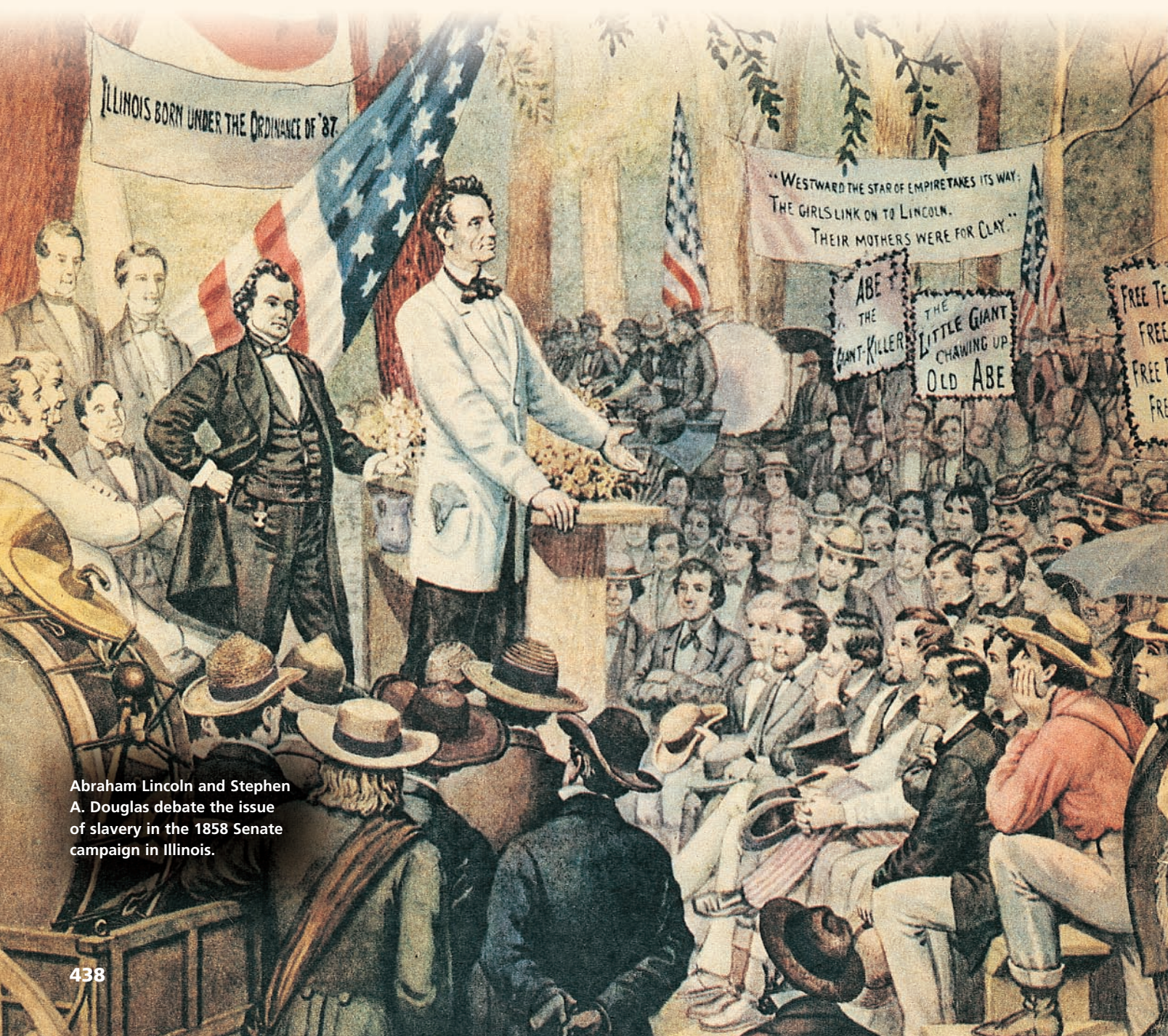
**1846–1861**

**Section 1 Growing Tensions Between North and South**

**Section 2 The Crisis Deepens**

**Section 3 Slavery Dominates Politics**

**Section 4 Lincoln's Election and Southern Secession**



Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas debate the issue of slavery in the 1858 Senate campaign in Illinois.



# Interact *with* History

Disagreements over slavery caused people in the North and the South to lose their tempers. Passions ran so high that fights sometimes broke out between members of Congress.

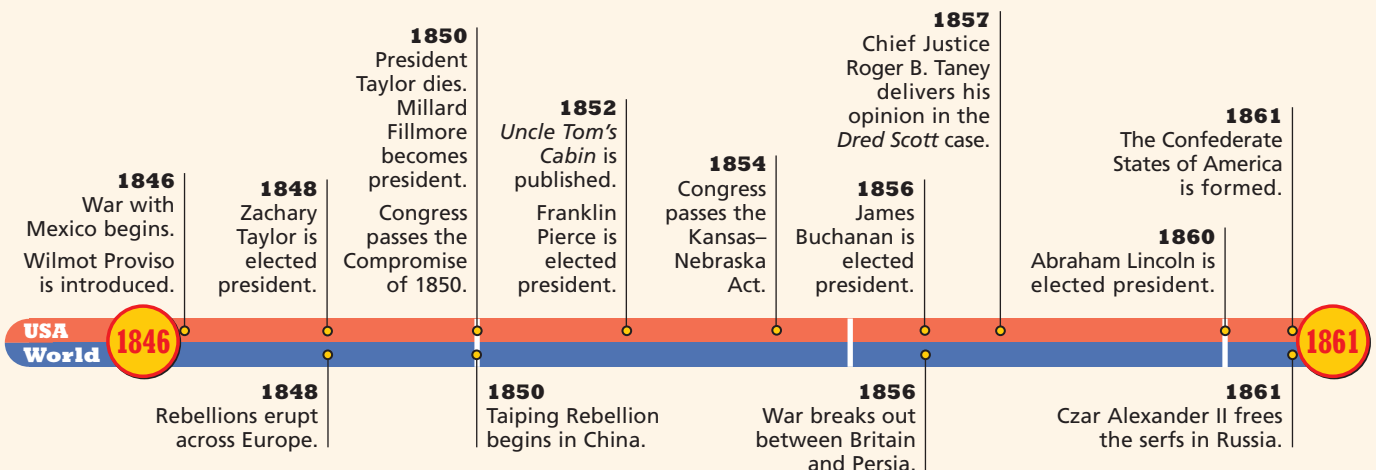


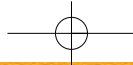
You are a representative in Congress in the 1850s. The issue of slavery is causing heated debates. Tensions over slavery have risen so high that respectable men have turned to violence to settle their differences. You worry that soon this violence may affect the entire nation.

### What Do You Think?

- Why do you think people feel so strongly about slavery?
- Do you think debates, such as those between Lincoln and Douglas, could settle emotional issues without leading to violence?

## How would you keep the nation together?





## Chapter 15 SETTING THE STAGE

### BEFORE YOU READ



#### Previewing the Theme

**Diversity and Unity** As you read in Chapter 14, slavery heightened tensions between Northerners and Southerners. Many people feared that the issue might tear the nation apart. But most Americans hoped that they would be able to solve their problems peacefully. Chapter 15 describes how these tensions led to crisis. It also explains how Americans tried to keep their nation united and how those efforts failed.


#### What Do You Know?

What do you think about when you hear the terms *slavery* and *abolition*? Why do you think the issue of slavery caused so much anger and resentment?

#### THINK ABOUT

- what you've learned about differences between the North and the South from books, travel, television, or movies
- reasons people have violent conflicts today


#### What Do You Want to Know?

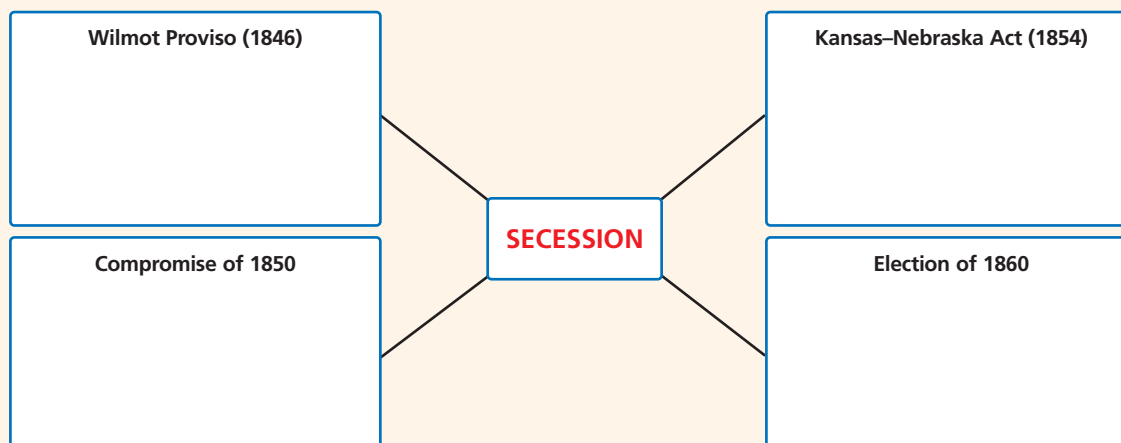
 What questions do you have about the sectional crisis that led to the Civil War? Record them in your notebook before you read this chapter.

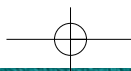
### READ AND TAKE NOTES

**Reading Strategy: Analyzing Causes** Analyzing causes means looking closely at events and describing why they happened. The diagram below will help you analyze some of the causes of secession.

Use the diagram to take notes on how each issue drove the North and the South farther apart.

 See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R11.





# 1 Growing Tensions Between North and South

## TERMS & NAMES

Wilmot Proviso  
Free-Soil Party  
Henry Clay  
Daniel Webster  
Stephen A. Douglas  
Compromise of 1850

### MAIN IDEA

Disagreements between the North and the South, especially over the issue of slavery, led to political conflict.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Regional differences can make national problems difficult to resolve.

## ONE EUROPEAN'S STORY

Alexis de Tocqueville [TOHK•vihl] was a young French government official from a wealthy family. In 1831, he sailed across the Atlantic Ocean to study American prisons and politics.

At one point, Tocqueville traveled in a steamship down the Ohio River. The river was the border between Ohio, a free state, and Kentucky, a slave state. Tocqueville noted what he saw on both sides of the river.

### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The State of Ohio is separated from Kentucky just by one river; on either side of it the soil is equally fertile, and the situation equally favourable, and yet everything is different. Here [on the Ohio side] a population devoured by feverish activity, trying every means to make its fortune. . . . There [on the Kentucky side] are people who make others work for them and show little compassion, a people without energy, mettle or the spirit of enterprise. . . . These differences cannot be attributed to any other cause but slavery. It degrades the black population and enervates [saps the energy of] the white.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey to America*

In this section, you will read about the differences between the North and the South. You will also read about how these differences caused political tensions that threatened to tear the nation apart.

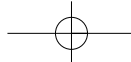


Alexis de Tocqueville

## North and South Take Different Paths

As you read in Chapter 11, the economies of the North and the South developed differently in the early 1800s. Although both economies were mostly agricultural, the North began to develop more industry and commerce. By contrast, the Southern economy relied on plantation farming.

The growth of industry in the North helped lead to the rapid growth of Northern cities. Much of this population growth came from immigration. In addition, immigrants and Easterners moved west and built farms in the new states formed from the Northwest Territory. Most canals and railroads ran east and west, helping the Eastern and Midwestern states develop strong ties with each other.

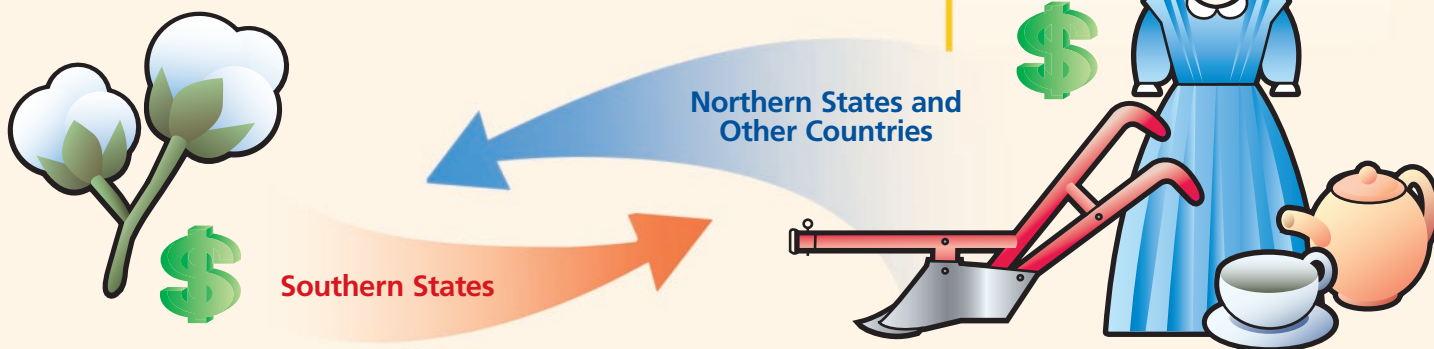


## Economics *in* History

### Trade


Trade is based on a simple idea. If you have something someone else needs or wants, and that person has something you need or want, you exchange, or trade, those two things. After the trade, you should both be better off than before.

The concept of trade works similarly for groups of people. For example, in the early 1800s, the South had few factories. Planters who wanted manufactured goods usually had to buy them from manufacturers in the North or in Europe. To have the cash to buy those goods, Southerners sold other goods, such as cotton, to the North and other countries. Each sold the goods they could produce in order to get money to buy the goods they could not make.



### CONNECT TO HISTORY

**1. Solving Problems** What problem does trade help a country solve? How else could a country solve this problem?

 See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R18.

### CONNECT TO TODAY

**2. Comparing** What goods do Americans sell to other countries today? What goods do Americans buy from other countries?

For more about trade . . .

 **RESEARCH LINKS**  
CLASSZONE.COM

The South developed differently than the North. A few wealthy planters controlled Southern society. They made great profits from the labor of their slaves. Much of this profit came from trade. Planters relied on exports, especially cotton. Because these plantations were so profitable, planters invested in slaves instead of industry. As a result, the South developed little industry.

Most Southern whites were poor farmers who owned no slaves. Many of these people resented the powerful slaveholders. But poor whites accepted slavery because it kept them off the bottom of society.

### Antislavery and Racism

The issue of slavery caused tension between the North and the South. In the North, the antislavery movement had slowly been gaining strength since the 1830s. Abolitionists believed that slavery was unjust and should be abolished immediately. Many Northerners who opposed slavery took a less extreme position. Some Northern workers and immigrants opposed slavery because it was an economic threat to them. Because slaves did not work for pay, free workers feared that managers would employ slaves rather than them. Some workers were even afraid that the expansion of slavery might force workers into slavery to find jobs.

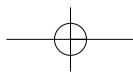
Despite their opposition to slavery, most Northerners, even abolitionists, were racist by modern standards. Many whites refused to go to

#### ReadingHistory

##### A. Making

##### Generalizations

How did the economies of the North and the South differ?



school with, work with, or live near African Americans. In most states, even free African Americans could not vote.

### Vocabulary

**racist:** having prejudice based on race

When Northern attacks on slavery increased, slaveholders defended slavery. Most offered the openly racist argument that white people were superior to blacks. Many also claimed that slavery helped slaves by introducing them to Christianity, as well as providing them with food, clothing, and shelter throughout their lives. Slaveholders were determined to defend slavery and their way of life. In this way, the different ideas about slavery brought the North and the South into conflict.

## The Wilmot Proviso

After the Missouri Compromise in 1820, political disagreements over slavery seemed to go away. But new disagreements arose with the outbreak of the War with Mexico in 1846. Many Northerners believed that Southerners wanted to take territory from Mexico in order to extend slavery. To prevent that, Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania proposed a bill, known as the **Wilmot Proviso**, to outlaw slavery in any territory the United States might acquire from the War with Mexico.

But slaveholders believed that Congress had no right to prevent them from bringing slaves into any of the territories. They viewed slaves as property. The Constitution, they claimed, gave equal protection to the property rights of all U.S. citizens. The Wilmot Proviso removed the right of slaveholders to take their slaves, which they regarded as property, anywhere in the United States or its territories. Southerners claimed that the bill was unconstitutional.

The Wilmot Proviso divided Congress along regional lines. The bill passed the House of Representatives. But Southerners prevented it from passing the Senate.

Even though the Wilmot Proviso never became law, it had important effects. It led to the creation of the **Free-Soil Party**, a political party dedicated to stopping the expansion of slavery. The party's slogan expressed its ideals—"Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." The Free-Soil Party won more than ten seats in Congress in the election of 1848. More important, the party made slavery a key issue in national politics. Politicians could ignore slavery no longer.

### Reading History

**B. Recognizing Effects** What were the effects of the Wilmot Proviso?

**Connections TO**  
**WORLD HISTORY**

**EXPANDING SLAVERY**

William Walker, a Tennessee-born adventurer, wanted to take over land in Central America. In 1855, he joined an army of Nicaraguan rebels and seized power. Walker declared himself president of Nicaragua in 1856. As president, he legalized slavery there.

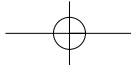
Troops from nearby countries drove him from power in 1857. The actions of men like Walker helped to convince Northerners that slaveholders were intent on expanding slavery beyond the U.S. South.



## Controversy over Territories

By 1848, the nation's leaders had begun to debate how to deal with slavery in the lands gained from the War with Mexico. The proposed addition of new states threatened the balance in Congress between North and South. The discovery of gold in California brought thousands of people into that territory. There would soon be enough people in California for it to apply for statehood. Most California residents wanted their state to





be a free state. But this would tip the balance of power clearly in favor of the North. Southerners wanted to divide California in half, making the northern half a free state and the southern half a slave state.

In 1849, President Zachary Taylor proposed that California submit a plan for statehood that year, without going through the territorial stage. By skipping this stage, Taylor's plan gave Southern slaveholders little time to move to California with their slaves.

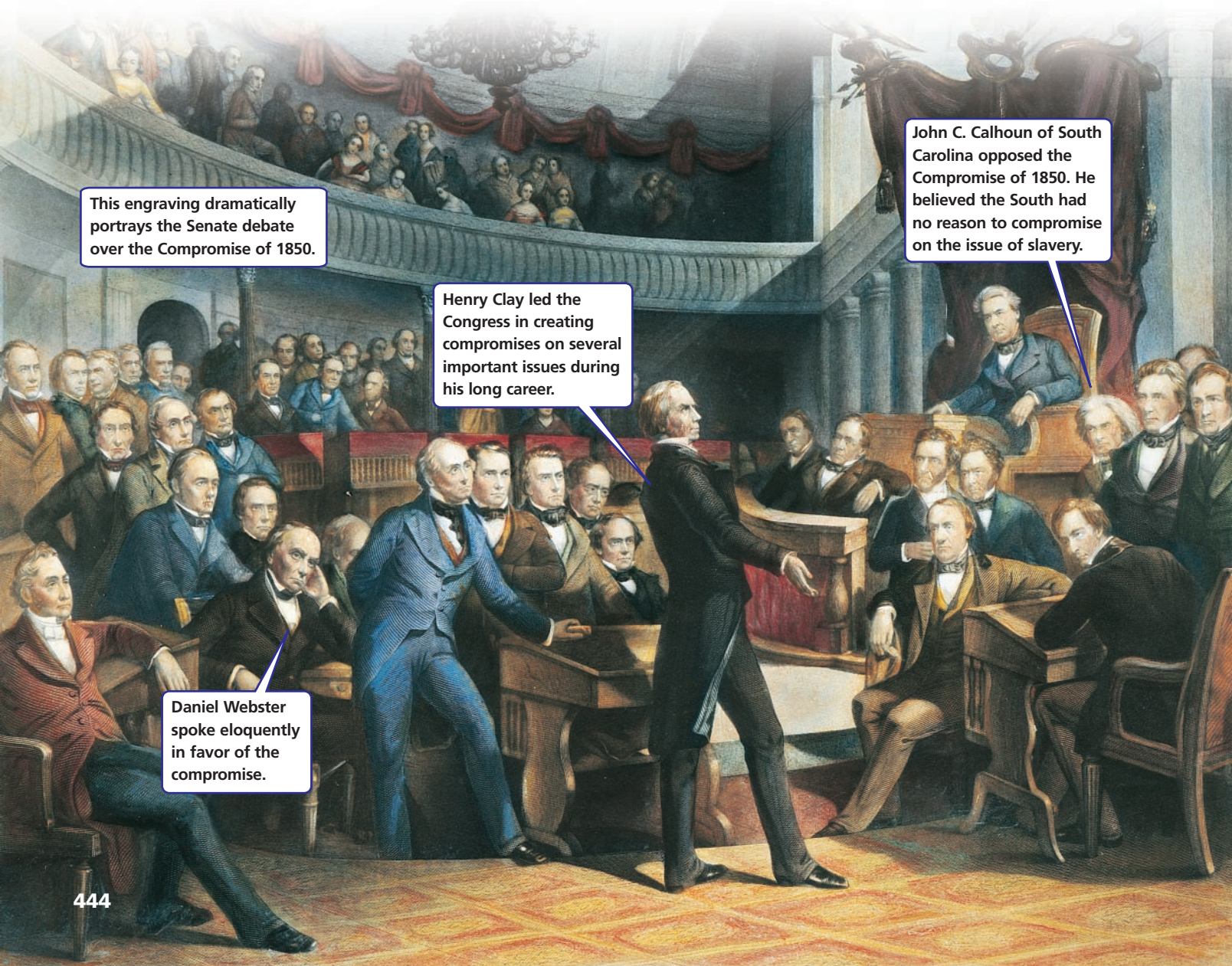
In March 1850, California applied to be admitted as a free state. With California as a free state, slave states would become a minority in the Senate just as they were in the House. Jefferson Davis, a senator from Mississippi, warned, "For the first time, we are about permanently to destroy the balance of power between the sections."

### Background

U.S. land gains from the War with Mexico included all or parts of the future states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado.

## The Compromise of 1850

California could not gain statehood, however, without the approval of Congress. And Congress was divided over the issue. Behind the scenes, statesmen sought compromise. Taking the lead was Senator Henry Clay

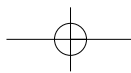


This engraving dramatically portrays the Senate debate over the Compromise of 1850.

Henry Clay led the Congress in creating compromises on several important issues during his long career.

Daniel Webster spoke eloquently in favor of the compromise.

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina opposed the Compromise of 1850. He believed the South had no reason to compromise on the issue of slavery.



of Kentucky. Clay had helped create the Missouri Compromise in 1820. Now Clay crafted a plan to settle the California problem.

**ReadingHistory**

**C. Reading a Map**

Look at the map on page 448 to see how the Compromise of 1850 affected the territories open to slavery.

1. To please the North, California would be admitted as a free state, and the slave trade would be abolished in Washington, D.C.
2. To please the South, Congress would not pass laws regarding slavery for the rest of the territories won from Mexico, and Congress would pass a stronger law to help slaveholders recapture runaway slaves.

Many people on both sides felt they had to give up too much in this plan. But others were tired of the regional bickering. They wanted to hold the Union together. **Daniel Webster**, senator from Massachusetts, supported the compromise for the sake of the Union.

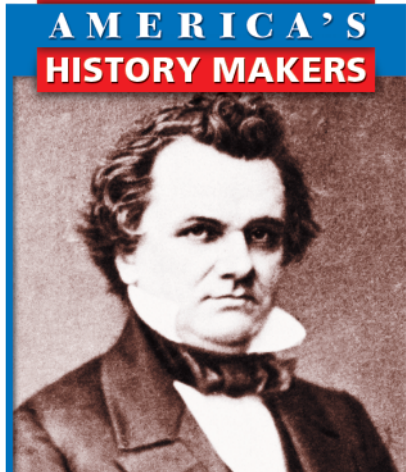
**A VOICE FROM THE PAST**

I wish to speak today, 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.

**Daniel Webster**, quoted in *The Annals of America*

The job of winning passage of the plan fell to Senator **Stephen A. Douglas** of Illinois. By the end of September, Douglas succeeded, and the plan, now known as the **Compromise of 1850**, became law.

Some people celebrated the compromise, believing that it had saved the Union. But the compromise would not bring peace. In the next section, you will learn how sectional tensions continued to rise.



**STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS**

1813–1861

Stephen A. Douglas was one of the most powerful members of Congress in the mid-1800s. In fact, he was called the “Little Giant” because he commanded great respect even though he was only five feet four inches tall.

Perhaps the most important issue that Douglas faced during his career was the expansion of slavery into the territories. Douglas privately hated slavery. But he did not believe a debate on morality would do any good. He suggested that the people of each territory should decide whether or not to allow slavery.

**What groups of Americans agreed with Douglas’s position on slavery?**

**Section 1 Assessment**

**1. Terms & Names**

**Explain the significance of:**

- Wilmot Proviso
- Free-Soil Party
- Henry Clay
- Daniel Webster
- Stephen A. Douglas
- Compromise of 1850

**2. Taking Notes**

Use a chart like the one below to explain the effects of each cause.

Causes	Effects
Abolitionism	
Wilmot Proviso	
California’s application for statehood	

Which issue do you think most threatened national unity?

**3. Main Ideas**

- a. What were two ways that the North and the South differed by the mid-1800s?
- b. In what ways was racism common in both the North and the South?
- c. How did the War with Mexico lead to conflict between the North and the South?

**4. Critical Thinking**

**Comparing and Contrasting** How was the Compromise of 1850 similar to and different from the Missouri Compromise?

**THINK ABOUT**

- the regional tensions at the time the compromises were proposed
- who proposed each bill
- the provisions of the bills

**ACTIVITY OPTIONS**

**TECHNOLOGY  
SPEECH**

Imagine you are a television news director. Plan a five-minute **documentary** or organize a **panel discussion** on the Compromise of 1850.



## 2 The Crisis Deepens

### TERMS & NAMES

Harriet Beecher Stowe

*Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Fugitive Slave Act

popular sovereignty

Kansas–Nebraska Act

John Brown

### MAIN IDEA

Turmoil over slavery led to acts of violence.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Violence can make compromise more difficult.

### ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

**Harriet Beecher Stowe** was outraged when she heard about the part of the Compromise of 1850 that would help slaveholders recapture runaway slaves. She described her feelings about the law.

#### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Since the legislative act of 1850, when [I] heard . . . Christian and humane people actually recommending the remanding [returning of] escaped fugitives into slavery, as a duty binding on good citizens, . . . [I] could only think, These men and Christians cannot know what slavery is.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Stowe's anger motivated her to write ***Uncle Tom's Cabin***, a novel that portrayed slavery as brutal and immoral. In this section, you will learn how the Compromise of 1850 deepened the division between the North and the South.



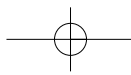
Harriet Beecher Stowe

### The Fugitive Slave Act

The 1850 law to help slaveholders recapture runaway slaves was called the **Fugitive Slave Act**. People accused of being fugitives under this law could be held without an arrest warrant. In addition, they had no right to a jury trial. Instead, a federal commissioner ruled on each case. The commissioner received five dollars for releasing the defendant and ten dollars for turning the defendant over to a slaveholder.

Southerners felt that the Fugitive Slave Act was justified because they considered slaves to be property. But Northerners resented the Fugitive Slave Act. It required Northerners to help recapture runaway slaves. It placed fines on people who would not cooperate and jail terms on people who helped the fugitives escape. In addition, Southern slave catchers roamed the North, sometimes capturing free African Americans.

The presence of slave catchers throughout the North brought home the issue of slavery to Northerners. They could no longer ignore the fact that, by supporting the Fugitive Slave Act, they played an important role in supporting slavery. They faced a moral choice. Should they



obey the law and support slavery, or should they break the law and oppose slavery?

## Uncle Tom's Cabin

### Reading History

#### A. Analyzing

#### Points of View

How does Harriet Beecher Stowe present slavery in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*?

Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. It dramatically portrayed the moral issues of slavery. In fact, a play based on the book increased the popularity of theater as well as abolitionism. The book's main character was Uncle Tom, a respected older slave. The plot centers on Tom's life under three owners. Two of the owners were kind, but the third was cruel. The novel includes dramatic scenes, such as the dangerous escape of a slave named Eliza and her baby across the Ohio River.

#### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

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

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Stowe's book was wildly popular in the North. But white Southerners believed the book falsely criticized the South and slavery.

## The Kansas–Nebraska Act

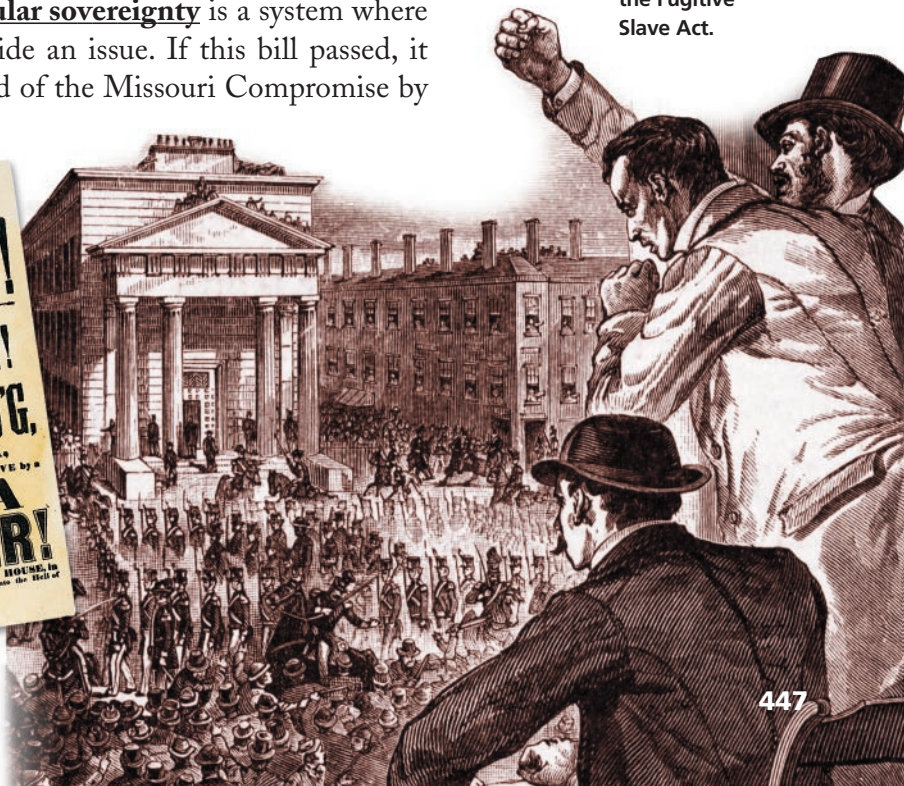
While the Fugitive Slave Act and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* heightened the conflicts between the North and the South, the issue of slavery in the territories brought bloodshed to the West. In 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois drafted a bill to organize territorial governments for the Nebraska Territory. He proposed that it be divided into two territories—Nebraska and Kansas.

To get Southern support for the bill, he suggested that the decision about whether to allow slavery in each of these territories be settled by popular sovereignty. **Popular sovereignty** is a system where the residents vote to decide an issue. If this bill passed, it would result in getting rid of the Missouri Compromise by

In 1854, Bostonians protested the capture of an African American by federal marshals under the Fugitive Slave Act.

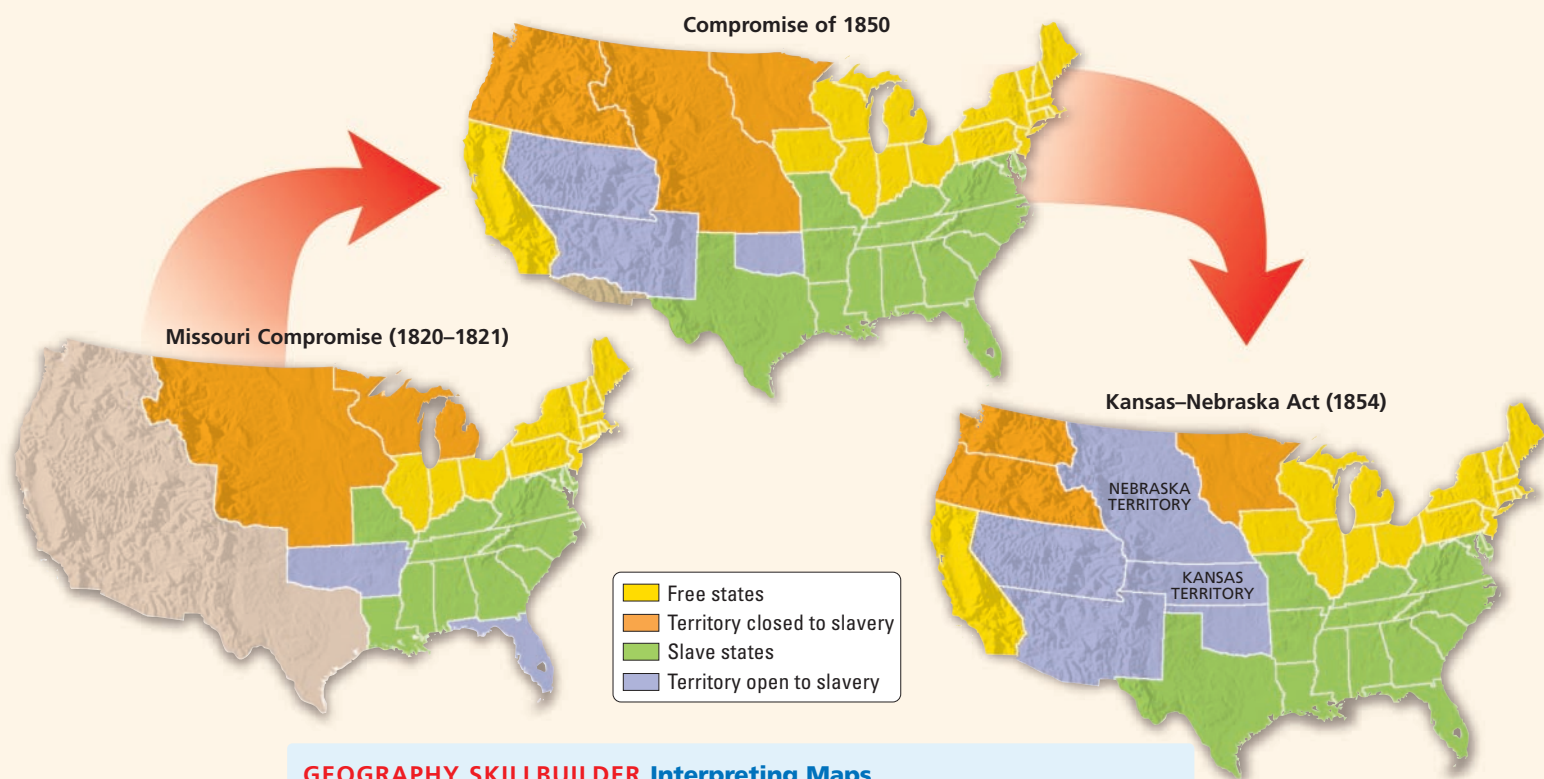
### Background

The Nebraska Territory was part of the Louisiana Purchase. It lay north of the 36° 30' line, so the Missouri Compromise banned slavery there.





## Free and Slave States and Territories, 1820–1854



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Maps

- 1. Region** What new free states and slave states entered the Union between 1820 and 1854?
- 2. Region** How did the Kansas–Nebraska Act change the amount of territory open to slavery?

allowing people to vote for slavery in territories where the Missouri Compromise had banned it.

As Douglas hoped, Southerners applauded the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and supported the bill. Even though the bill angered opponents of slavery, it passed. It became known as the **Kansas–Nebraska Act**. Few people realized that the act would soon turn Kansas into a battleground over slavery.

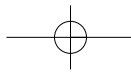
## “Bleeding Kansas”

Proslavery and antislavery settlers rushed into the Kansas Territory, just west of Missouri, to vote for the territorial legislature. At the time of the election in March 1855, there were more proslavery settlers than antislavery settlers in the territory. But the proslavery forces did not want to risk losing the election. Five thousand Missourians came and voted in the election illegally. As a result, the official Kansas legislature was packed with proslavery representatives.

Antislavery settlers boycotted the official government and formed a government of their own. With political authority in dispute, settlers on both sides armed themselves. In May, a proslavery mob attacked the town of Lawrence, Kansas. The attackers destroyed offices and the

### Vocabulary

**boycott:** refuse to participate in



house of the governor of the antislavery government. This attack came to be known as the Sack of Lawrence.

Onto this explosive scene came **John Brown**, an extreme abolitionist. To avenge the Sack of Lawrence, Brown and seven other men went to the cabins of several of his proslavery neighbors and murdered five people. This attack is known as the Pottawatomie Massacre, after the creek near where the victims were found. As news of the violence spread, civil war broke out in Kansas. It continued for three years, and the territory came to be called “Bleeding Kansas.”

**ReadingHistory**

**B. Sequencing**

**Events** What events in Kansas preceded the Pottawatomie Massacre?

## Violence in Congress

While violence was spreading in Kansas in the spring of 1856, blood was also being shed in the nation’s capital. In late May, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts delivered a speech attacking the proslavery forces in Kansas. His speech was packed with insults. Sumner even made fun of A. P. Butler, a senator from South Carolina.

Preston Brooks, a relative of Butler, heard about Sumner’s speech. To defend Butler and the South, he attacked Sumner, who was sitting at his desk. Brooks hit Sumner over the head with his cane. Sumner tried to defend himself, but his legs were trapped. Brooks hit him 30 times or more, breaking his cane in the assault. (The painting on page 439 shows this event.)

Many Southerners cheered Brooks’s defense of the South. But most Northerners were shocked at the violence in the Senate. “Bleeding Kansas” and “Bleeding Sumner” became rallying cries for antislavery Northerners and slogans for a new political party. In the next section, you will learn about the creation of the Republican Party.

### STRANGE but True

**PRESTON BROOKS’S CANE**

Many Americans, Northerners and Southerners alike, were ashamed of the behavior of Sumner and Brooks. But sectional tensions were so high at the time that a large number of Southerners cheered Brooks for his actions.

A number of Brooks’s supporters sent him new canes to replace the one he had broken while hitting Sumner on the head. Some of the canes were inscribed with mottoes such as “Hit Him Again.”

Section **2** Assessment

**1. Terms & Names**

**Explain the significance of:**

- Harriet Beecher Stowe
- *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*
- Fugitive Slave Act
- popular sovereignty
- Kansas–Nebraska Act
- John Brown

**2. Taking Notes**

Use a chart like the one below to compare Northern and Southern views of the issues listed.

Northern View	Issue	Southern View
	Fugitive Slave Act	
	Kansas–Nebraska Act	
	“Bleeding Kansas”	

**3. Main Ideas**

- How did the book *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* influence national politics?
- Why was the Kansas–Nebraska Act so controversial?
- What was the cause of “Bleeding Kansas”?

**4. Critical Thinking**

**Solving Problems** What would you have done to prevent the violence in Kansas?

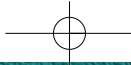
**THINK ABOUT**

- the repeal of the Missouri Compromise
- popular sovereignty
- the actions of John Brown

**ACTIVITY OPTIONS**

**LITERATURE**  
**ART**

Read a chapter of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Write a **book review** or make a series of **drawings** illustrating the story.



# 3 Slavery Dominates Politics

## MAIN IDEA

Disagreement over slavery led to the formation of the Republican Party and heightened sectional tensions.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Democrats and the Republicans are the major political parties of today.

## TERMS & NAMES

Republican Party  
John C. Frémont  
James Buchanan  
*Dred Scott v. Sandford*  
Roger B. Taney  
Abraham Lincoln  
Harpers Ferry

## ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

Joseph Warren, editor of the Detroit *Tribune*, wanted the antislavery parties of Michigan to join forces. In 1854, his newspaper pushed them to unite.

### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

[A convention should be called] irrespective of the old party organizations, for the purpose of agreeing upon some plan of action that shall combine the whole anti-Nebraska, anti-slavery sentiment of the State, upon one ticket [set of candidates endorsed by a political party].

*Detroit Tribune*, quoted in *The Origins of the Republican Party*

By July, antislavery politicians from various parties, including the Whigs, Free-Soilers, and some Democrats, had settled their differences. On July 6, they met to form a new party “to concentrate the popular sentiment of this state against the aggression of the slave power.” In memory of Thomas Jefferson, they called themselves Republicans. In this section, you will learn why the Republican Party was formed and how it changed American politics in the 1850s.



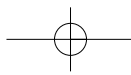
This medal shows an early motto of the Republican Party. It also makes clear the Republican connection to the antislavery position of the Free-Soil Party.

## The Republican Party Forms

The creation of the Republican Party grew out of the problems caused by the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854. The law immediately caused a political crisis for the Whig Party. Southern Whigs had supported the bill for the same reason that Northern Whigs had opposed it: the bill proposed to open new territories to slavery. There was no room for compromise, so the party split.

The Southern Whigs were destroyed by the split. A few joined the Democratic Party. But most searched for leaders who supported slavery and the Union. The Northern Whigs, however, joined with other opponents of slavery and formed the **Republican Party**.

The Republicans quickly gained strength in the North. “Bleeding Kansas” was the key to the Republican rise. Many people blamed the violence on the Democrats. With the 1856 elections nearing, the



Republicans believed that they had an excellent opportunity to gain seats in Congress and win the presidency.

The Republicans needed a strong presidential candidate in 1856 to strengthen their young party. They nominated **John C. Frémont**. Young and handsome, Frémont was a national hero for his explorations in the West, which earned him the nickname the “Pathfinder.”

### ReadingHistory

#### A. Summarizing

Why did the Republicans nominate Frémont for president in 1856?

Republicans liked Frémont for a couple of reasons. He had spoken in favor of admitting both California and Kansas as free states. Also, he had little political experience and did not have a controversial record to defend. Even so, the Republican position on slavery was so unpopular in the South that Frémont’s name did not appear on the ballot there.

## The Election of 1856

The Democrats nominated **James Buchanan** to run for the presidency in 1856. As minister to Great Britain, he had been in England since 1853 and had spoken neither for nor against the Kansas–Nebraska Act.

Buchanan took advantage of his absence from the country. He said little about slavery and claimed that his goal was to maintain the Union. Buchanan appealed to Southerners, to many people in the upper South and the border states, and to Northerners who were afraid that Frémont’s election could tear the nation apart.

The American, or Know-Nothing, Party also nominated a presidential candidate in 1856. They chose Millard Fillmore, who had been president, following the death of Zachary Taylor, from 1850 until 1853. But the Know-Nothings were divided over slavery and had little strength.

The 1856 presidential election broke down into two separate races. In the North, it was Buchanan against Frémont. In the South, it was Buchanan against Fillmore. Buchanan won. He carried all the slave states except Maryland, where Fillmore claimed his only victory. Buchanan also won several Northern states.

Although he lost the election, Frémont won 11 Northern states. These results showed two things. First, the Republican Party was a major force in the North. Second, the nation was sharply split over slavery.

## The Case of Dred Scott

The split in the country was made worse by the Supreme Court decision in the case of Dred Scott. Scott had been a slave in Missouri. His owner took him to live in territories where slavery was illegal. Then they returned to Missouri. After his owner’s death, Scott sued for his freedom. He argued that he was a free man because he had lived in territories where slavery was illegal. His case, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, reached the Supreme Court in 1856.

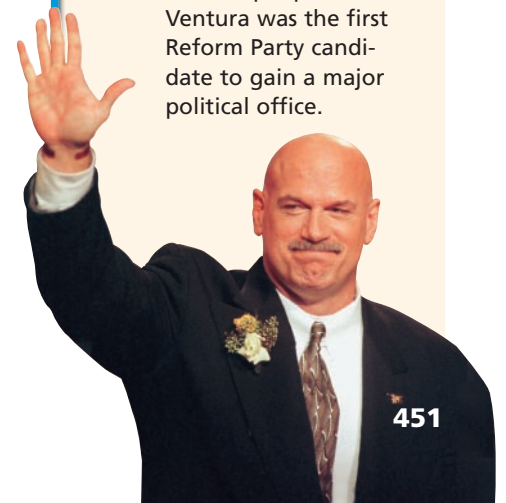
### Now and then

#### THIRD-PARTY CANDIDATES

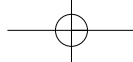
American politics has usually been dominated by two parties. Most third-party candidates, such as the Republican Frémont in 1856, lose elections. In 1998, Minnesotans broke that pattern when they elected for governor Jesse Ventura of the Reform Party (below).

One reason for Ventura’s victory was his celebrity status. He had been a professional wrestler and the host of a popular radio show. His plain speaking appealed to many Minnesotans who felt the major parties were out of touch with the people.

Ventura was the first Reform Party candidate to gain a major political office.







Dred Scott (above) first sued for his freedom in 1846. The Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (right), did not rule on the case until 1857.



In 1857, the Court ruled against Scott. Chief Justice **Roger B. Taney** [TAW•nee] delivered his opinion in the case. In it, he said that Dred Scott was not a U.S. citizen. As a result, he could not sue in U.S. courts. Taney also ruled that Scott was bound by Missouri's slave code because he lived in Missouri. As a result, Scott's time in free territory did not matter in his case.

In addition, Taney argued that Congress could not ban slavery in the territories. To do so would violate the slaveholders' property rights, protected by the Fifth Amendment. In effect, Taney declared legislation such as the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.

Southerners cheered the Court's decision. Many Northerners were outraged and looked to the Republican Party to halt the growing power of Southern slaveholders.

### Reading History

**B. Recognizing Effects** How did Taney's opinion affect the Missouri Compromise?

## Lincoln and Douglas Debate

After the *Dred Scott* decision, the Republicans charged that the Democrats wanted to legalize slavery not only in all U.S. territories but also in all the states. They used this charge to attack individual Democrats. Stephen A. Douglas, sponsor of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, was one of their main targets in 1858. That year, Illinois Republicans nominated **Abraham Lincoln** to challenge Douglas for his U.S. Senate seat. In his first campaign speech, Lincoln expressed the Northern fear that Southerners wanted to expand slavery to the entire nation. He set the stage for his argument by using a metaphor from the Bible.

### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

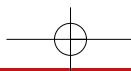
"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Abraham Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858

Later in the year, the two men held formal debates across Illinois. The Lincoln–Douglas debates are now seen as models of political debate. At the time, the debates allowed people to compare the short, stocky, well-dressed Douglas with the tall, thin, gawky Lincoln.

The two men squarely addressed the nation's most pressing issue: the expansion of slavery. For Lincoln, slavery was "a moral, a social and a political wrong." But he did not suggest abolishing slavery where it already existed. He argued only that slavery should not be expanded.

Douglas did not share Lincoln's belief that it was the national government's role to prevent the expansion of slavery. Instead, he argued



## CITIZENSHIP TODAY

### Debating Points of View

Debate has long been an important method of exploring public issues. The Lincoln-Douglas debates drew crowds from all over Illinois to hear Lincoln and Douglas discuss the issues of the day. Debates such as these can help people find out about candidates' views.

Today, the National Forensic League (NFL) sponsors Lincoln-Douglas Debates, competitions for high school students. Many judges, actors, news commentators, and talk show hosts began to develop their debating skills in such competitions.


High school students can benefit from learning to defend their positions in debates. One student explained what she learned from NFL debates. "I learned about how to think really fast and how to respond."

Jessica Bailey of Apple Valley High School in Minnesota won second place in the national Lincoln-Douglas Debates competition in 1998.



### How Do You Debate an Issue?

1. Choose a debate opponent and an issue to debate. (One NFL topic for national competition was whether the federal government should establish an educational policy to increase academic achievement in secondary schools in the United States.)
2. Research the topic you chose.
3. Agree on a format for your debate—how many minutes for presentation, rebuttal, and closing.
4. Debate your opponent in front of the class.
5. Find out how many students in the audience agree with each side, then ask for their reasons.

 See Citizenship Handbook, page 269.

For more about debating . . .



that popular sovereignty was the best way to address the issue because it was the most democratic method to do so.

But popular sovereignty was a problem for Douglas. The Supreme Court decision in the *Dred Scott* case had made popular sovereignty unconstitutional. Why? It said that people could not vote to ban slavery, because doing so would take away slaveholders' property rights. In the debates, Lincoln asked Douglas if he thought people in a territory who were against slavery could legally prohibit it—despite the *Dred Scott* decision.

Douglas replied that it did not matter what the Supreme Court might decide about slavery because "the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please." Douglas won reelection. Lincoln, despite his loss, became a national figure and strengthened his standing in the Republican Party.

### John Brown Attacks Harpers Ferry

In 1859, John Brown, who had murdered proslavery Kansans three years before, added to the sectional tensions. Brown had a plan. He wanted to inspire slaves to fight for their freedom. To do this, he planned to capture the weapons in the U.S. arsenal at **Harpers Ferry**, Virginia.

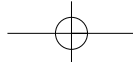
On October 16, 1859, Brown and 18 followers—13 whites and 5 blacks—captured the Harpers Ferry arsenal. They killed four people in the raid. Brown then sent out the word to rally and arm local slaves.

#### ReadingHistory

**C. Making Inferences** Why were popular sovereignty and the opinion in the *Dred Scott* case inconsistent?

#### Vocabulary

**arsenal:** stock of weapons



**HISTORY**  
*through* **ART**

John Stewart Curry painted *The Tragic Prelude* between 1937 and 1942. He shows a wild-eyed John Brown standing on the bodies of Civil War soldiers.

**What do you think Curry's views were on John Brown's role in U.S. history?**

But no slaves joined the fight. The U.S. Marines attacked Brown at Harpers Ferry. Some of his men escaped. But Brown and six others were captured, and ten men were killed.

Brown was then tried for murder and treason. He was convicted and sentenced to hang. On the day he was hanged, abolitionists tolled bells and fired guns in salute. Southerners were enraged by Brown's actions

and horrified by Northern reactions to his death.

As the nation headed toward the election of 1860, the issue of slavery had raised sectional tensions to the breaking point. In the next section, you will read about the election of 1860 and its effect on the nation.

Section **3** Assessment

**1. Terms & Names**

**Explain the significance of:**

- Republican Party
- John C. Frémont
- James Buchanan
- *Dred Scott v. Sandford*
- Roger B. Taney
- Abraham Lincoln
- Harpers Ferry

**2. Taking Notes**

Use a chart like the one below to take notes on the major events discussed in this section.

Election of 1856	
<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>	
Lincoln–Douglas debates	
Harpers Ferry	

**3. Main Ideas**

- What issues led to the creation of the Republican Party?
- What consequences did the *Dred Scott* decision have for free blacks?
- How did John Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry increase tensions between the North and the South?

**4. Critical Thinking**

**Identifying Facts and Opinions** How did Lincoln and Douglas disagree about slavery? Which of their views were facts, and which were opinions?

**THINK ABOUT**

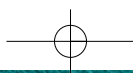
- Lincoln's speech at Springfield in 1858
- Douglas's support of popular sovereignty

**ACTIVITY OPTIONS**

**MATH**

**GEOGRAPHY**

Do research to find election returns from the 1856 presidential election. Make **graphs** or draw a **map** to illustrate the results.



# 4 Lincoln's Election and Southern Secession

## TERMS & NAMES

platform

secede

Confederate States of America

Jefferson Davis

Crittenden Plan

## MAIN IDEA

The election of Lincoln led the Southern states to secede from the Union.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

This was the only time in U.S. history that states seceded from the Union.

## ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

In May 1860, Murat Halstead, a reporter for the Cincinnati *Commercial*, traveled to Chicago to cover the Republican convention. Most people assumed that William Seward of New York would win the party's presidential nomination. But there were other candidates, too.

Throughout the convention, candidates tried to win away Seward's delegates. As the other candidates hoped, Seward failed to win the nomination on the first ballot. Throughout the tense voting, Abraham Lincoln, a lesser-known candidate from Illinois, gained strength. Halstead described the scene as Lincoln received the winning votes.



In 1860, the Republican delegates met in Chicago at a convention hall known as the Wigwam.

## A VOICE FROM THE PAST

There was a moment's silence. The nerves of the thousands, which through the hours of suspense had been subjected to terrible tension, relaxed, and as deep breaths of relief were taken, there was a noise in the Wigwam [convention hall] like the rush of a great wind [just before] a storm—and in another breath, the storm was there. There were thousands cheering with the energy of insanity.

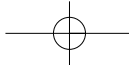
Murat Halstead, *Caucuses of 1860*

Having won the nomination, Lincoln could turn his attention to winning the general election. In this section, you will learn about the election of 1860 and its role in pushing the nation toward civil war.

## Political Parties Splinter

In April, a few weeks before the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln, the Democrats held their convention in Charleston, South Carolina. Northern and Southern Democrats disagreed over what to say about slavery in the party's **platform**, or statement of beliefs.

The Southerners wanted the party to defend slavery in the platform.



But Northerners wanted the platform to support popular sovereignty as a way of deciding whether a territory became a free state or a slave state. The Northerners won the platform vote, causing 50 Southern delegates to walk out of the convention.

The remaining delegates tried to nominate a presidential candidate. Stephen A. Douglas was the leading contender, but the Southerners who stayed refused to back him because of his support for popular sovereignty. Douglas could not win enough votes to gain the nomination.

Finally, the Democrats gave up and decided to meet again in Baltimore in June to choose a candidate. But as the Baltimore convention opened, Northerners and Southerners remained at odds. This time, almost all the Southerners left the meeting.

With the Southerners gone, the Northern Democrats nominated Douglas. Meanwhile, the Southern Democrats decided to nominate their own candidate. They chose John Breckinridge of Kentucky, the current vice-president and a supporter of slavery.

As you read in *One American's Story* on page 455, the Republicans had already nominated Abraham Lincoln. In addition to Lincoln, Douglas, and Breckinridge, a candidate from a fourth party entered the race. This party was called the Constitutional Union Party, and its members had one aim—to preserve the Union. They nominated John Bell of Tennessee to run for president.

### ReadingHistory

**A. Recognizing Effects** How did slavery affect U.S. political parties in 1860?

## The Election of 1860

The election of 1860 turned into two different races for the presidency, one in the North and one in the South. Lincoln and Douglas were the only candidates with much support in the North. Breckinridge and Bell competed for Southern votes.

Lincoln and Breckinridge were considered to have the most extreme views on slavery. Lincoln opposed the expansion of slavery into the territories. Breckinridge insisted that the federal government be required to protect slavery in any territory. Douglas and Bell were considered moderates because neither wanted the federal government to pass new laws on slavery.

The outcome of the election made it clear that the nation was tired of compromise. Lincoln defeated Douglas in the North. Breckinridge carried most of the South. Douglas and Bell managed to win only in the states between the North and the Deep South. Because the North had more people in it than the South, Lincoln won the election.

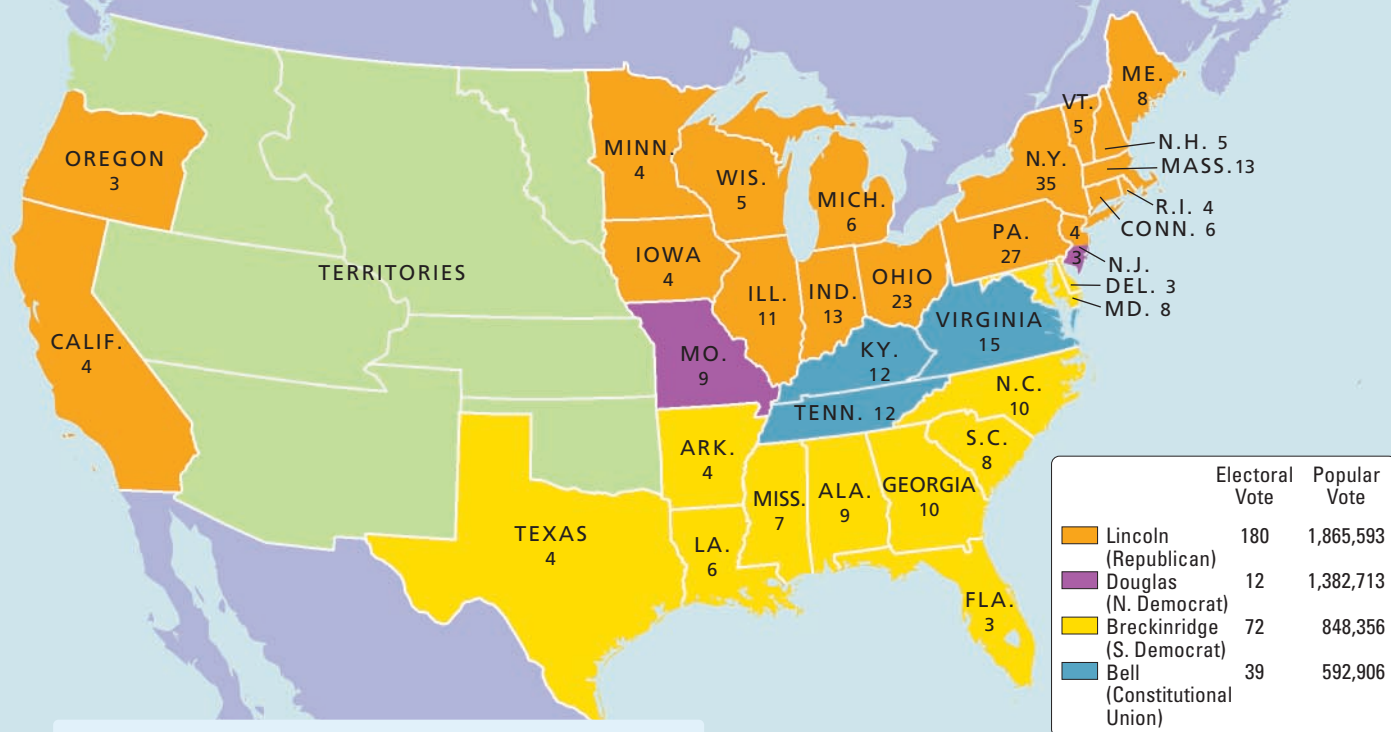
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This cartoon of the long-legged Abe Lincoln shows him to be the fittest candidate in the 1860 presidential election.





## The Election of 1860



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Maps

- Region** Which state split its vote, and which candidates received those votes?
- Region** How many states did Lincoln win?

Despite Lincoln's statements that he would do nothing to abolish slavery in the South, white Southerners did not trust him. Many were sure that he and the other Republicans would move to ban slavery. As a result, white Southerners saw the Republican victory as a threat to the Southern way of life.

## Southern States Secede

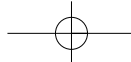
Before the 1860 presidential election, many Southerners had warned that if Lincoln won, the Southern states would **secede**, or withdraw from the Union. Supporters of secession based their arguments on the idea of states' rights. They argued that the states had voluntarily joined the Union. Consequently, they claimed that the states also had the right to leave the Union.

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina became the first state to secede. Other states in the Deep South, where slave labor and cotton production were most common, also considered secession. During the next six weeks, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas joined South Carolina in secession.

In early February 1861, the states that had seceded met in Montgomery, Alabama. They formed the **Confederate States of America**. The convention named **Jefferson Davis** president of the Confederacy.

### Background

Before becoming president of the Confederacy, Davis had been a hero during the War with Mexico and a U.S. senator.



In his First Inaugural Address, Lincoln argued passionately for the North and the South to preserve the Union.

Along with naming Davis president, the convention drafted a constitution. The Confederate Constitution was modeled on the U.S. Constitution. But there were a few important differences. For example, the Confederate Constitution supported states' rights. It also protected slavery in the Confederacy, including any territories it might acquire.

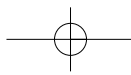
Having formed its government, the Confederate states made plans to defend their separation from the Union. Some believed that war between the states could not be avoided. But everyone waited to see what the Union government would do in response.

## The Union Responds to Secession

Northerners considered the secession of the Southern states to be unconstitutional. During his last months in office, President James Buchanan argued against secession. He believed that the states did not have the right to withdraw from the Union because the federal government, not the state governments, was sovereign. If secession were permitted, the Union would become weak, like a "rope of sand." He believed that the U.S. Constitution was framed to prevent such a thing from happening.

In addition to these issues, secession raised the issue of majority rule. Southerners complained that Northerners intended to use their majority to force the South to abolish slavery. But Northerners responded that Southerners simply did not want to live by the rules of democracy. They complained that Southerners were not willing to live with the election results. As Northern writer James Russell Lowell

**Vocabulary**  
**sovereign:**  
 supreme, self-governing authority



wrote, “[The Southerners’] quarrel is not with the Republican Party, but with the theory of Democracy.”

## Efforts to Compromise Fail

With the states in the lower South forming a new government in Montgomery, Alabama, some people continued to seek compromise. Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky developed a compromise plan. The **Crittenden Plan** was presented to Congress in late February 1861, but it did not pass.

With the hopes for compromise fading, Americans waited for Lincoln’s inauguration. What would the new president do about the crisis? On March 4, Lincoln took the oath of office and gave his First Inaugural Address. He assured the South that he had no intention of abolishing slavery there. But he spoke forcefully against secession. Then he ended his speech with an appeal to friendship.

*“We must not be enemies.”*

Abraham Lincoln

### ReadingHistory

#### B. Making Inferences

What do you think Lincoln meant by “mystic chords of memory”?

#### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Abraham Lincoln, *First Inaugural Address*

Lincoln would not press the South. He wanted no invasion. But he would not abandon the government’s property there. Several forts in the South, including Fort Sumter in South Carolina, were still in Union hands. These forts would soon need to be resupplied. Throughout March and into April, Northerners and Southerners waited anxiously to see what would happen next. You will find out in the next chapter.

## Section 4 Assessment

### 1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- platform
- secede
- Confederate States of America
- Jefferson Davis
- Crittenden Plan

### 2. Taking Notes

Use a time line to fill in the main events that occurred between April 1860 and March 1861.

April 1860	June 1860	Feb. 1861
May 1860	Nov. 1860	March 1861

Do you think secession could have been avoided? Why?

### 3. Main Ideas

a. Who were the candidates in the 1860 presidential election, and what policies did each candidate stand for?

b. Which states seceded right after Lincoln’s election? How did they justify this action?

c. What attempts did the North and the South make to compromise? What were the results?

### 4. Critical Thinking

#### Analyzing Points of View

Do you think the Southern states seceded to protect slavery or states’ rights?

#### THINK ABOUT

- the Southern view of the Fugitive Slave Act
- the Confederate Constitution
- slaveholders’ views of the Republican Party

#### ACTIVITY OPTIONS

#### SPEECH

#### TECHNOLOGY

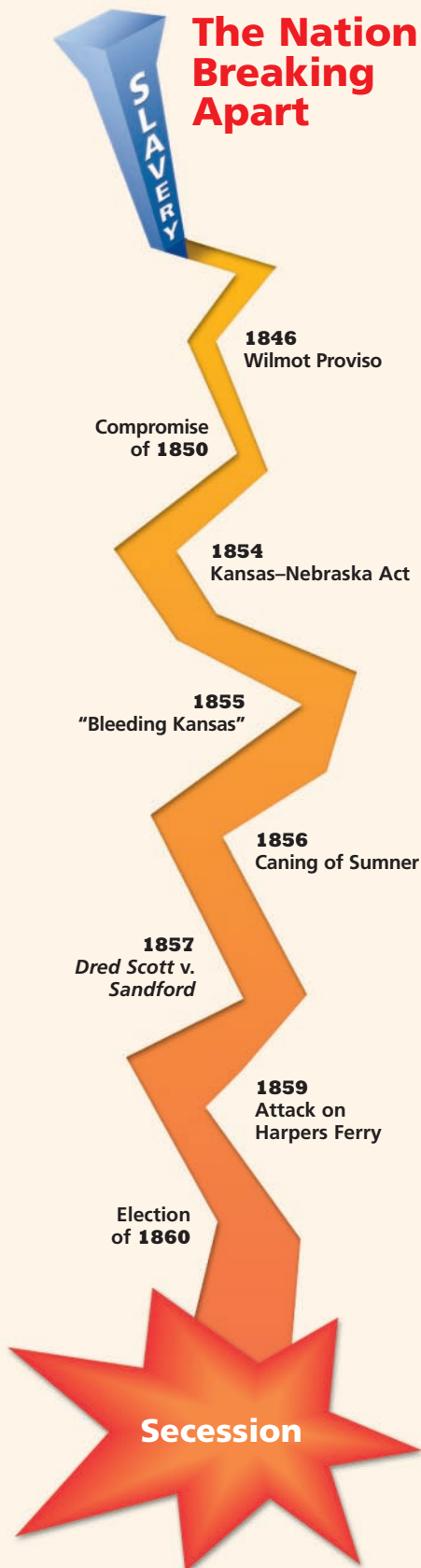
Read Lincoln’s First Inaugural Address. Deliver a section of the **speech** before the class or plan an **electronic presentation** about that day and Lincoln’s message.





**VISUAL  
SUMMARY**

**Chapter 15 ASSESSMENT**



**TERMS & NAMES**

Briefly explain the significance of each of the following.

1. Wilmot Proviso
2. Compromise of 1850
3. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
4. popular sovereignty
5. Kansas-Nebraska Act
6. John Brown
7. John C. Frémont
8. *Dred Scott v. Sandford*
9. secede
10. Confederate States of America

**REVIEW QUESTIONS**

**Growing Tensions Between North and South (pages 441-445)**

1. How did the North and the South differ in the 1840s?
2. How did Southerners react to the Wilmot Proviso?
3. What was Stephen A. Douglas's role in passing the Compromise of 1850?

**The Crisis Deepens (pages 446-449)**

4. How did Northerners react to the Fugitive Slave Act?
5. Why did most Northerners and Southerners disagree about the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
6. How did "Bleeding Kansas" cause problems for Democrats?

**Slavery Dominates Politics (pages 450-454)**

7. What positions did Lincoln and Douglas take in their debates?
8. What was the result of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry?

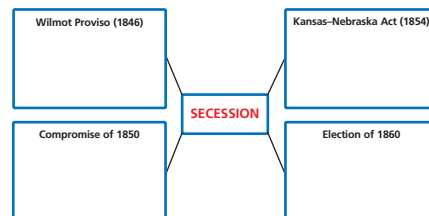
**Lincoln's Election and Southern Secession (pages 455-459)**

9. What were the results of the election of 1860, and what did these results show?
10. How did Southerners justify secession?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**1. USING YOUR NOTES**

Using your completed diagram, answer the questions below.



- a. What did the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act have in common?
- b. Which event do you think caused the most damage to the relationship between the North and the South? Explain.

**2. ANALYZING LEADERSHIP**

Why were the nation's leaders in 1860 unable to compromise like the leaders in 1820 and 1850? Does their failure to compromise in 1860 mean that they were not as capable as earlier leaders?

**3. APPLYING CITIZENSHIP SKILLS**

What alternatives did the states in the lower South have to secession? Which of these alternatives do you think would have been the best choice?

**4. SOLVING PROBLEMS**

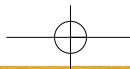
How did slavery divide Americans in the 1850s?

**5. THEME: DIVERSITY AND UNITY**

What could have been done in the 1850s to prevent the Southern states from seceding? What did Americans have in common that could have overcome their differences over slavery?

**Interact with History**

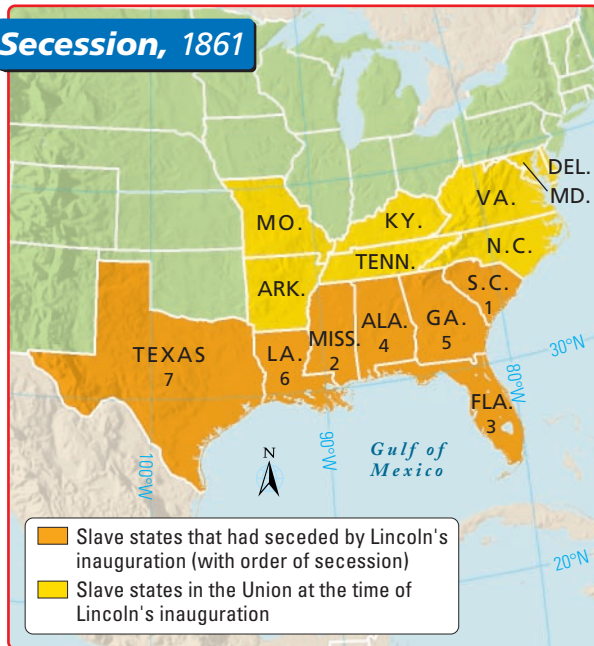
Now that you have read about the sectional crisis of the 1850s, do you think the solution you came up with at the start of the chapter would have helped keep the Union together? Explain.



## HISTORY SKILLS

### 1. INTERPRETING MAPS: Region

#### Secession, 1861



#### Basic Map Elements

- Which states seceded before Lincoln's inauguration in March, 1861?

#### Interpreting the Map

- What geographical characteristics did these states have in common?
- Why do you think these states were the first to secede?

### 2. INTERPRETING PRIMARY SOURCES

A detail of Thomas Hovenden's painting, *The Last Moments of John Brown* (1884), shows Brown being led to the gallows.

- How does Brown appear in this image?
- Based on Hovenden's presentation of Brown, what do you think were the artist's views on Brown?



## ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

### 1. INTERDISCIPLINARY ACTIVITY: Language Arts

**Conducting an Interview** Pick one of the important people in this chapter, such as Stephen A. Douglas or Harriet Beecher Stowe. Think about what questions you would ask that person in an interview. Then research that person's biographies, speeches, or writings to see how he or she might answer your questions. Write the interview in question-and-answer format. Use direct quotes as often as possible.

### 2. COOPERATIVE LEARNING ACTIVITY

**Presenting a Mock Trial** The case of Dred Scott went to the Supreme Court. The Court, led by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, decided against Scott. Did the court reach the right verdict?

Working in a small group, do research on the Dred Scott case. Present a mock trial of the case. Look for information about the roles of Taney, the other justices, Scott, and the other major participants. Have the class render a verdict at the end of the trial. Compare your verdict with the actual historical results.

### 3. TECHNOLOGY ACTIVITY

**Making a Class Presentation** American political parties went through extreme changes in the 1840s and 1850s. Using the Internet or the library, find the election returns of the presidential elections from 1848 to 1860.

For more about presidential elections . . .



Use presentation software to teach your class about U.S. presidential elections. Here are some suggestions.

- Use pie charts to show the percentage of votes that went to each party in each election.
- Use bar graphs to show the growth in total popular vote (nationwide) for each party for each election.

### 4. HISTORY PORTFOLIO

Review the questions that you wrote for *What Do You Want to Know?* on page 440. Then write a short report in which you explain the answers to your questions. Be sure to use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation in your report. If any questions were not answered, do research to answer them. Add your report to your portfolio.

Additional Test Practice, pp. S1-S33

