

CHAPTER

14

*“I then whispered to my wife,
‘Come, my dear, let us make a
desperate leap for liberty!’”*

—William Craft,
Running a Thousand
Miles for Freedom, 1860

What You Will Learn

Section 1

GROWING TENSIONS OVER SLAVERY

With the addition of new western land, debate over the spread of slavery increased.

Section 2

COMPROMISES FAIL

After all efforts at compromise failed, violent fighting broke out in the Kansas Territory.

Section 3

THE CRISIS DEEPENS

As tensions increased, a new antislavery political party emerged.

Section 4

THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR

Abraham Lincoln’s election led seven southern states to leave the Union.

Reading Skill

Analyze Cause and Effect In this chapter, you will learn to identify causes and their effects to help connect and understand historical events and issues.

This painting, *A Ride for Liberty—The Fugitive Slaves*, depicts a black family fleeing toward freedom.



How did the nation try but fail to deal

The Nation Divided, 1848–1861



U.S. Events

1850

Fugitive Slave Act requires citizens to help catch runaway slaves.

1852

Harriet Beecher Stowé publishes *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

1854

Kansas-Nebraska Act leads to violence.

1850

1853

1856

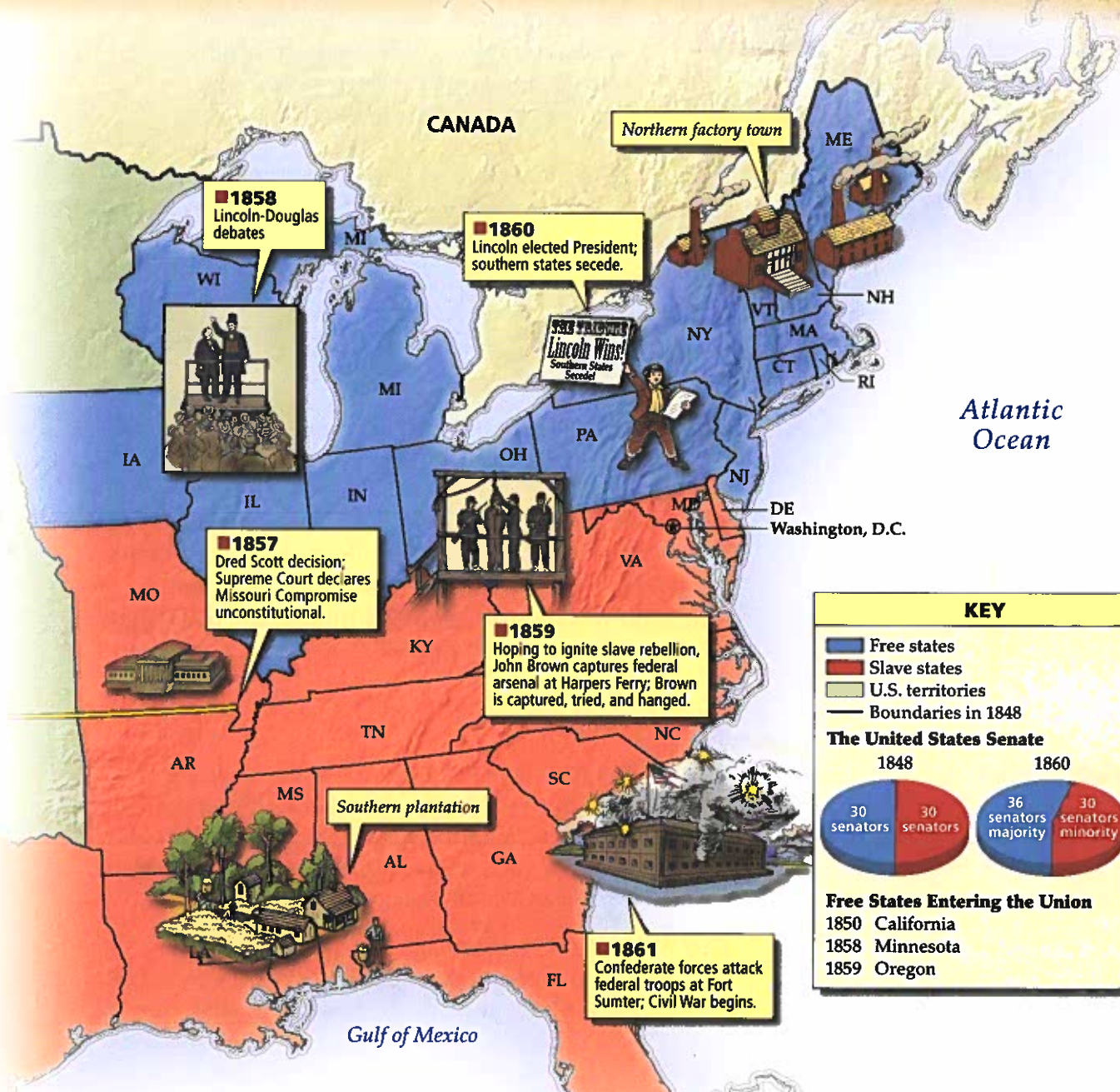


World Events

1853

Commodore Matthew Perry arrives in Japan to open trade.

with growing sectional differences?



KEY

- Free states
- Slave states
- U.S. territories
- Boundaries in 1848

The United States Senate

| Year | Free States | Slave States |
|------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1848 | 30 senators | 30 senators |
| 1860 | 36 senators (majority) | 30 senators (minority) |

Free States Entering the Union

- 1850 California
- 1858 Minnesota
- 1859 Oregon

| | | | | |
|-------------|--|---|-------------|---|
| 1856 | 1857 Supreme Court declares Missouri Compromise unconstitutional. | 1859 Abraham Lincoln is elected President. | 1860 | 1861 Civil War begins with bombardment of Fort Sumter. |
| 1857 | Soldiers in India revolt against the British. | | 1861 | Russian tsar frees serfs. |



The Free-Soil Party

“Two years ago there existed in this State a party calling itself the “Free Soil” party. . . . opposed, not only to the extension, but to the existence of slavery, and carried out their principles by resolves and mutual political action. One principal item in their creed was, that no member of that party should vote for a slaveholder or a pro-slavery man.”

—From a letter to the editor, “The Semi-Weekly Eagle,” Brattleboro, Vermont, 1850

◀ Free-Soil Party presidential campaign poster, 1848

Growing Tensions Over Slavery

Objectives

- Explain why conflict arose over the issue of slavery in the territories after the Mexican-American War.
- Identify the goal of the Free-Soil Party.
- Describe the compromise Henry Clay proposed to settle the issues that divided the North and the South.

Reading Skill

Analyze Causes Causes are the reasons that events happen. As the United States struggled over the issue of slavery, events such as new laws or important speeches had dramatic effects on the struggle. Understanding how these events made such an impact will help you make sense of this turbulent time in American history.

Key Terms and People

popular
sovereignty
secede
fugitive

Henry Clay
John C. Calhoun
Daniel Webster

Why It Matters The Missouri Compromise of 1820 seemed to have quieted the differences between North and South. But the American victory in the Mexican-American War added new territory to the United States. As a result, the states renewed their struggle over slavery and states’ rights.

Section Focus Question: How did the question of admission of new states to the Union fuel the debate over slavery and states’ rights?

Slavery and the Mexican-American War

Between 1820 and 1848, four new slaveholding states and four new free states were admitted to the Union. This maintained the balance between free and slaveholding states, with 15 of each. However, territory gained by the Mexican-American War threatened to destroy the balance.

The Wilmot Proviso The Missouri Compromise did not apply to the huge territory gained from Mexico in 1848. Would this territory be organized as states that allowed slavery? The issue was vital to northerners who wanted to stop slavery from spreading.

Fearing that the South would gain too much power, in 1846 Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania proposed that Congress ban slavery in all territory that might become part of the United States as a result of the Mexican-American War.

This proposal was called the Wilmot Proviso. The provision was passed in the House of Representatives, but it failed in the Senate. Although the Wilmot Proviso never became law, it aroused great concern in the South. Many supporters of slavery viewed it as an attack on slavery by the North.

An Antislavery Party The controversy over the Wilmot Proviso also led to the rise of a new political party. Neither the Democrats nor the Whigs took a firm stand on slavery. Each hoped to win support in both North and South in the election of 1848.

The Democratic candidate for President in 1848, Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan, proposed a solution that he hoped would appeal to everyone. Cass suggested letting the people in each new territory or state decide for themselves whether to allow slavery. This process, called **popular sovereignty**, meant that people in the territory or state would vote directly on issues, rather than having their elected representatives decide.

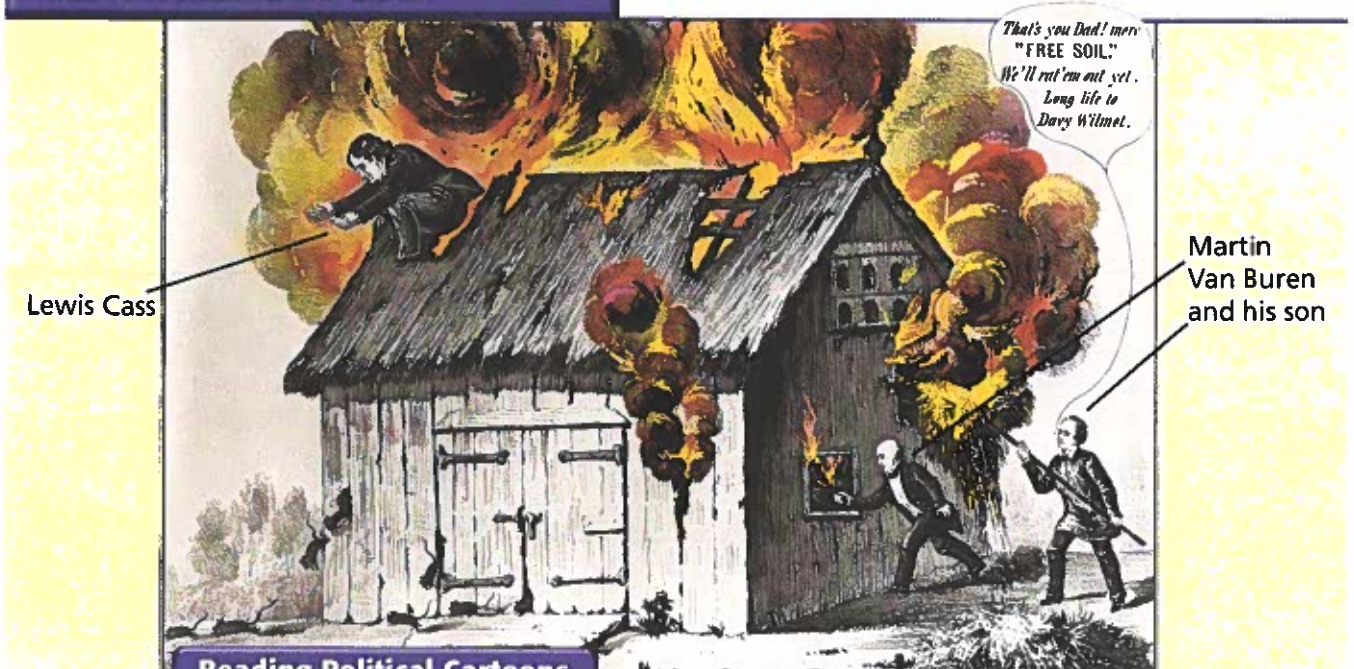
Many Whigs and Democrats wanted to take a stronger stand against the spread of slavery. In August 1848, antislavery Whigs and Democrats joined forces to form a new party, which they called the Free-Soil Party. It called for the territory gained in the Mexican-American War to be “free soil,” a place where slavery was banned.

The party chose former Democratic President Martin Van Buren as its candidate. Van Buren did poorly in the election. However, he won enough votes from the Democrats to keep Cass from winning. General Zachary Taylor, a Whig and a hero of the Mexican-American War, was elected instead.

Vocabulary Builder
controversy (KAHN truh vur see)
n. argument or dispute

✓ **Checkpoint** Why was the Free-Soil Party founded?

The Election of 1848



Reading Political Cartoons

Skills Activity

This 1848 cartoon reflects a view that members of the Free-Soil Party were “barnburners,” ready to burn down the barn (the Democratic Party) to get rid of proslavery “rats.”

- Identify Main Ideas** How does the cartoon relate to the Election of 1848?
- Apply Information** In the cartoon bubble (top right), what are the meanings of “FREE SOIL” and “Davy Wilmot”?

Calhoun Versus Webster

“[If] something is not done to arrest it, the South will be forced to choose between abolition and secession. . . . If you are unwilling we should part in peace, tell us so; and we shall know what to do when you reduce the question to submission or resistance.”

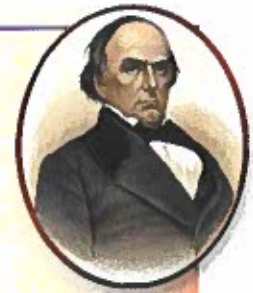
—John C. Calhoun, March 4, 1850



John C. Calhoun

“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. . . . I speak today . . . for the restoration to the country of that quiet and that harmony which make the blessings of this Union so rich, and so dear to us all.”

—Daniel Webster, March 7, 1850



Daniel Webster

Reading Primary Sources

Skills Activity

During the Senate debate on Clay's Compromise of 1850, John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster wrote dramatic speeches evaluating the compromise.

- (a) **Detect Points of View** For what region does Daniel Webster claim to be speaking?
- (b) **Apply Information** Calhoun says “[if] something is not done to arrest it, the South will be forced to choose between abolition and secession.” To what does “it” refer?

A Bitter Debate

After the discovery of gold in California, thousands of people rushed west. California soon had enough people to become a state. Both sides realized that California's admission to the Union as a free state would upset the balance between free and slave states in the Senate.

Northerners argued that California should be a free state because most of the territory lay north of the Missouri Compromise line. But southerners feared that if free states gained a majority in the Senate, the South would not be able to block antislavery attacks like the Wilmot Proviso. Southern leaders began to threaten to **secede, or withdraw**, from the nation if California was admitted to the Union as a free state.

There were other issues dividing the North and South. Northerners wanted the slave trade abolished in Washington, D.C. Southerners wanted northerners to catch people who had escaped from slavery. Southerners called for a law that would force the return of **fugitives, or runaway enslaved people**.

For months it looked as if there was no solution. Then, in January 1850, Senator **Henry Clay** of Kentucky stepped forward with a plan to calm the **crisis**. Clay had won the nickname the Great Compromiser for working out the Missouri Compromise. Now, Clay made another series of proposals that he hoped would forever resolve the issues that bitterly divided northerners and southerners.



Analyze Causes

What event did both southerners and northerners worry would destroy the balance of power between them?

Vocabulary Builder


crisis (KRĪ sih) *n.* turning point or deciding event in history


The Senate's discussion of Clay's proposals produced one of the greatest debates in American political history. South Carolina Senator **John C. Calhoun** was against compromise. Calhoun was gravely ill and just four weeks from death. He was too weak to give his speech, but he struggled to sit upright while his final speech was read to the Senate.

The admission of California as a free state, Calhoun wrote, would expose the South to continued attacks on slavery. There were only two ways to preserve the South's way of life. One was a constitutional amendment to protect states' rights. The other was secession.

Three days later, Massachusetts Senator **Daniel Webster** rose to support Clay's proposals and called for an end to the bitter sectionalism that was dividing the nation. Webster argued for Clay's compromise in order to preserve the Union.

Which view would prevail? The very existence of the United States depended on the answer.

 **Checkpoint** How did California's proposed admission to the Union affect the debate between the North and the South over slavery?

 **Looking Back and Ahead** With the territories acquired by the Mexican-American War, the nation could no longer overlook the slavery issue. Statehood for each of these territories would upset the balance between free states and slaveholding states. For a short while, it seemed to many that Henry Clay's proposed compromise gave concessions to both sides. But, as you will read in the next section, the compromise soon fell apart. When it did, the nation once again plunged down the road to all-out war between the regions.

Section 1 | Check Your Progress

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with instant help

Visit: PHSchool.com

Web Code: mya-5101

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

1. (a) **Recall** What was the Wilmot Proviso?

(b) **Analyze Cause and Effect** Did the Wilmot Proviso successfully address the nation's divisions over slavery? What effect *did* it have on the nation?

2. (a) **List** What were the main issues that led to Henry Clay's proposed compromise?

(b) **Detect Points of View** Write a sentence describing how you would feel about the need to compromise if you were a member of Congress from the North.

Reading Skill

3. **Analyze Causes** What did southerners want Congress to do about enslaved people who had fled to the North?

Key Terms

Complete these sentences so they clearly show your understanding of the key terms.

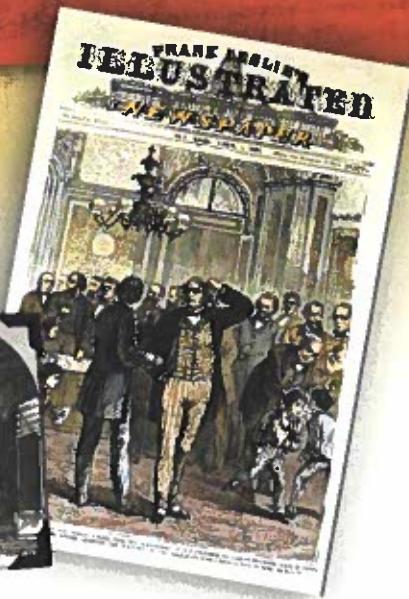
4. The status of new western territories would be decided by **popular sovereignty**, which is _____.

5. If southern states **seceded** from the Union, then _____.

6. Many northerners would not report **fugitives**, who were _____.

Writing

7. Consider the broad topic "Conflicts Between Slave States and Free States Before the Civil War." Divide it into four or five narrower topics. Each of these narrower topics should be covered in a research paper of a few pages.



A Harsh Accusation

“Sir, the Nebraska Bill was in every respect a swindle. It was a swindle by the South of the North. . . . All efforts were now given to the dismal work of forcing slavery on free soil.”

—Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, before being assaulted on the Senate floor, 1856

◀ Newspapers reported Sumner’s caning by a southern congressman.

Compromises Fail

Objectives

- Summarize the main points of the Compromise of 1850.
- Describe the impact of the novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.
- Explain how the Kansas-Nebraska Act reopened the issue of slavery in the territories.
- Describe the effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Reading Skill

Analyze Effects The important events of the 1850s had far-reaching effects around the nation. As you read Section 2, try to identify and understand these effects. Remember that two events do not necessarily have a cause-and-effect link just because they occur in sequence. Use signal words such as *result* to help you identify effects.

Key Terms and People

Harriet Beecher
Stowe
propaganda

Stephen Douglas
John Brown

Why It Matters Many Americans hoped that Henry Clay’s proposed compromise would quiet the controversy over slavery. However, after 1850, the growing divide only worsened.

Section Focus Question: What was the Compromise of 1850, and why did it fail?

The Compromise of 1850

In September 1850, Congress finally passed five bills based on Clay’s proposals. This series of laws became known as the Compromise of 1850. President Zachary Taylor had opposed the Compromise. However, Taylor died in 1850. The new President, Millard Fillmore, supported the Compromise and signed it into law.

To Please the North The Compromise of 1850 was designed to end the crisis by giving both supporters and opponents of slavery part of what they wanted. To please the North, California was admitted to the Union as a free state. In addition, the Compromise banned the slave trade in the nation’s capital. (However, Congress declared that it had no power to regulate the slave trade between slave states.)

To Please the South Under the terms of the Compromise, popular sovereignty would be used to decide the question of slavery in the rest of the Mexican Cession. People in the states created from that territory would vote whether to be a free state or a slave state when they requested admission to the Union. Also, in return for agreeing to outlaw the slave trade in Washington, D.C., southerners got a tough new fugitive slave law.

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 allowed special government officials to arrest any person accused of being a runaway slave. Suspects had no right to a trial to prove that they had been falsely accused. All that was required to deprive them of their freedom was for a slaveholder or any white witness to swear that the suspect was the slaveholder's property. In addition, the law required northern citizens to help capture accused runaways if authorities requested assistance.

Outrage in the North The Fugitive Slave Act became the most controversial part of the Compromise of 1850. Many northerners swore that they would resist the hated new law.

Northerners were outraged to see people accused of being fugitive slaves deprived of their freedom. An Indiana man was torn from his wife and children and given to an owner who claimed the man had escaped 19 years earlier. A wealthy African American tailor was carried back to South Carolina after living in New York for years. His friends quickly raised enough money to buy his freedom. But most who were shipped south remained there. Thousands of northern African Americans fled to the safety of Canada, including many who had never been enslaved.

In city after city, residents banded together to resist the Fugitive Slave Law. When two white Georgians arrived in Boston to seize fugitives, Bostonians threatened the slave catchers with harm if they did not leave the city right away. Another group rescued an accused runaway and sent him to safety in Canada. When the mob leaders were arrested, local juries refused to convict them.

John C. Calhoun had hoped that the Fugitive Slave Law would force northerners to admit that slaveholders had rights to their property. Instead, every time the law was enforced, it convinced more northerners that slavery was evil.

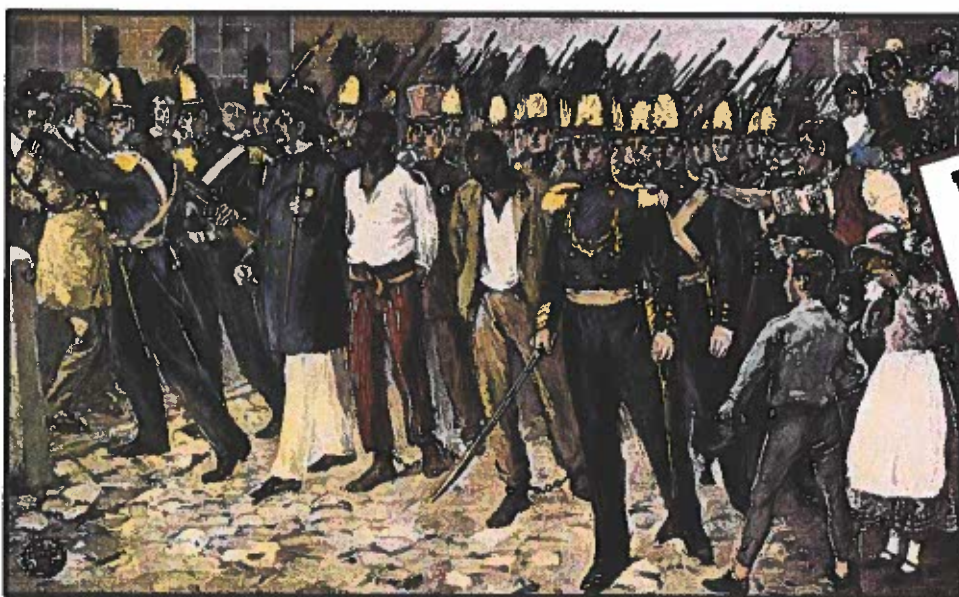
Checkpoint How did the Compromise of 1850 deal with the admission of California to the Union?

Vocabulary Builder

deprive (dee PRĪV) *v.* to keep from happening; to take away by force or intent

Returned to Slavery

Guarded by federal troops, fugitives Anthony Burns and Thomas Sims are captured in Boston and returned to enslavement in South Carolina. Below is a poster distributed by a southern slaveholder. **Critical Thinking: Draw Conclusions** What details show the attitude of Bostonians to the return of Burns and Sims?



Uncle Tom's Cabin

One northerner deeply affected by the Fugitive Slave Act was **Harriet Beecher Stowe**. The daughter of an abolitionist minister, Stowe met many people who had escaped from slavery. She decided to write "something that will make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is."

In 1852, Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel about kindly Uncle Tom, an enslaved man who is abused by the cruel Simon Legree. In this passage, Tom dies after a severe beating:

“Tom opened his eyes, and looked upon his master. . . .
'There an't no more ye can do! I forgive ye with all my soul!
and he fainted entirely away.

'I b'lieve, my soul, he's done for, finally,' said Legree,
stepping forward, to look at him. 'Yes, he is! Well, his
mouth's shut up, at last,—that's one comfort!'"

—Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Chapter 38

Stowe's book was a bestseller in the North. It shocked thousands of people who previously had been unconcerned about slavery. As a result, readers began to view slavery as more than just a political conflict. It was a human, moral problem facing every American.

Many white southerners were outraged by Stowe's book. They criticized it as **propaganda, false or misleading information that is spread to further a cause**. They claimed the novel did not give a fair or accurate picture of the lives of enslaved African Americans.

✓ Checkpoint What impact did *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have?



Analyze Effects

What was one effect of Harriet Beecher Stowe's horror over slavery? What word in this paragraph highlights the cause-effect link?

Discovery
SCHOOL

Explore More Video

To learn more about Harriet Beecher Stowe's book, view the video.

Uncle Tom's Cabin The novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had an impact that lasted long after slavery ended. An original illustration from the book and a scene on a decorative plate are shown here.

Critical Thinking: Identify Costs You are a northerner during the 1850s. A fugitive comes to your door seeking help. Will you help her? List the costs and benefits of helping the person.





Slavery After the Kansas-Nebraska Act

MAP MASTER

Skills Activity

The Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act threatened to upset the balance between slave and free states.

- (a) **Read a Map Key** Which areas did the Kansas-Nebraska Act open to slavery?
- (b) **Clarify Problems** What happened to the Missouri Compromise after 1854?

MapMaster Online

For: Interactive map
Visit: PHSchool.com
Web Code: myp-5012



The Kansas-Nebraska Act

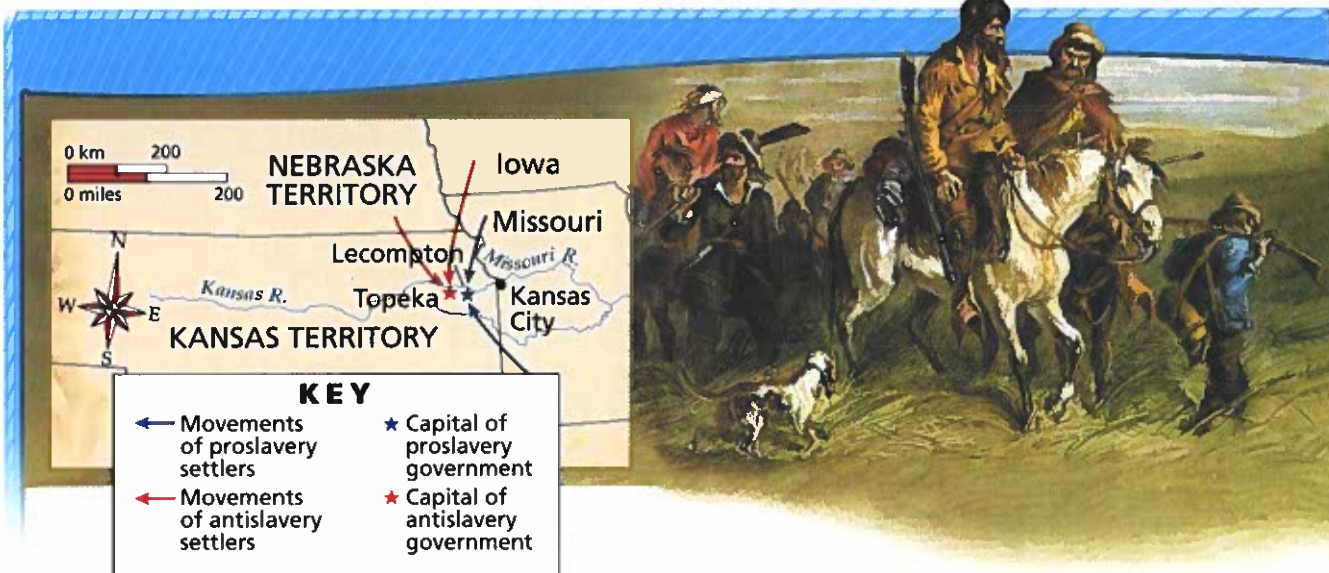
The nation moved closer to war after Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. The act was pushed through by Senator **Stephen Douglas**. Douglas was eager to develop the lands west of his home state of Illinois. He wanted to see a railroad built from Illinois through the Nebraska Territory to the Pacific Coast.

In 1853, Douglas suggested forming two new territories—the Kansas Territory and the Nebraska Territory. Southerners at once objected. Both territories lay in an area closed to slavery by the Missouri Compromise. This meant that the states eventually created from these territories would enter the Union as free states.

To win southern support, Douglas proposed that slavery in the new territories be decided by popular sovereignty. Thus, in effect, the Kansas-Nebraska Act undid the Missouri Compromise.

As Douglas hoped, southerners supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act. They were sure that slave owners from Missouri would move across the border into Kansas. In time, they hoped that Kansas would enter the union as a slave state.

Northerners, however, were outraged by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. They believed that Douglas had betrayed them by reopening the issue of slavery in the territories. "The more I look at it the more enraged I become," said one northern senator of Douglas's bill. "It needs but little to make me an out-and-out abolitionist."



Bleeding Kansas

The migration of proslavery and antislavery settlers into Kansas led to the outbreak of violence known as Bleeding Kansas. **Critical Thinking:** *Interpret Maps* Why did some proslavery settlers take a more southerly route than did antislavery settlers?

After months of debate, southern support enabled the Kansas-Nebraska Act to pass in both houses of Congress. President Franklin Pierce, a Democrat elected in 1852, then signed the bill into law. Douglas predicted that, as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the slavery question would be “forever banished from the halls of Congress.” But events would soon prove how wrong he was.

Checkpoint How did Stephen Douglas’s plan undo the Missouri Compromise?

Bleeding Kansas

The Kansas-Nebraska Act left it to the white citizens of the territory to decide whether Kansas would be free or slave territory. Both proslavery and antislavery settlers flooded into Kansas within weeks after Douglas’s bill became law. Each side was determined to hold the majority in the territory when it came time for the vote.

Thousands of Missourians entered Kansas in March 1855 to illegally vote in the election to select a territorial legislature. Although Kansas had only 3,000 voters, nearly 8,000 votes were cast on election day! Of 39 legislators elected, all but 3 supported slavery. The antislavery settlers refused to accept these results and held a second election.

Vocabulary Builder

impose (ihm POHZ) *v.* to place a burden on someone or something

Growing Violence Kansas now had two governments, each claiming the right to impose their government on the territory. Not surprisingly, violence soon broke out. In April, a proslavery sheriff was shot when he tried to arrest some antislavery settlers in the town of Lawrence. The next month, he returned with 800 men and attacked the town.

Three days later, **John Brown**, an antislavery settler from Connecticut, led seven men to a proslavery settlement near Pottawatomie (paht uh wah TOH mee) Creek. There, they murdered five proslavery men and boys.


These incidents set off widespread fighting in Kansas. Bands of proslavery and antislavery fighters roamed the countryside, terrorizing those who did not support their views. The violence was so bad that it earned Kansas the name Bleeding Kansas.

Bloodshed in the Senate Even before Brown's raid at Pottawatomie Creek, the violence in Kansas spilled over into the United States Senate. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was the leading abolitionist senator. In a fiery speech, Sumner denounced the proslavery legislature in Kansas. He then attacked his southern foes, singling out Andrew Butler, an elderly senator from South Carolina.

Butler was not present the day Sumner made his speech. A few days later, however, Butler's nephew, Congressman Preston Brooks, marched into the Senate chamber. Using a heavy cane, Brooks beat Sumner until he fell to the floor, bloody and unconscious. Sumner never completely recovered from his injuries.

Many southerners felt that Sumner got what he deserved. Hundreds of people sent canes to Brooks to show their support. To northerners, however, Brooks's violent act was just more evidence that slavery was brutal and inhuman.

 **Checkpoint** What was the outcome of the election to select a legislature in the Kansas Territory?

 **Looking Back and Ahead** By 1856, all attempts at compromise had failed. The bitterness between the North and the South was about to alter the political landscape of the United States.



Analyze Effects

Describe the effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act on Kansas.

HISTORIAN'S APPRENTICE ACTIVITY PACK

To further explore the topics in this chapter, complete the activity in the Historian's Apprentice Activity Pack to answer this essential question:

How can a nation be united and divided at the same time?

Section 2

Check Your Progress

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with instant help

Visit: PHSchool.com

Web Code: mya-5102

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

- (a) **Recall** What parts of the Compromise of 1850 were included to please the North?

(b) **Draw Conclusions** Why do you think northerners were still not satisfied?
- (a) **Recall** What was the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

(b) **Evaluate Information** How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act contribute to tension between the North and the South?



Reading Skill

- Analyze Effects** What was one effect of Harriet Beecher Stowe's book *Uncle Tom's Cabin*?

Key Terms

Complete the following sentence so that the second part further explains the first part and clearly shows your understanding of the key term.

- Many white southerners considered *Uncle Tom's Cabin* **propaganda**; _____ an unfair picture of slavery.

Writing

- Imagine that you are researching the effects of Harriet Beecher Stowe's book *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Write down five questions that would help you focus your research on this topic. The questions should point you to areas where you need to find more information about the influence of Stowe's book.



Uncle Tom's Cabin

by Harriet Beecher Stowe

Prepare to Read

Introduction

Harriet Beecher Stowe rocked the nation in 1851 when she published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The novel won many converts to the antislavery cause. The excerpt below is from the opening chapter. Shelby, a Kentucky slave owner, must sell some of his enslaved servants to Mr. Haley, a slave trader. Haley is especially interested in buying a young woman named Eliza.

Reading Skill

Judging Characters In a work of fiction, characters may say things that the author thinks are wrong. We have to read carefully in order to understand how the author wants us to judge the characters. In the selection below, look for clues as to what Stowe really thinks of Mr. Haley, the slave trader.

Vocabulary Builder

As you read this literature selection, look for the following underlined words:

calculation (kal kyoo LAY shuhn) *n.* ability to figure out exactly what something is worth

humane (hyoo MAYN) *adj.* kind; considerate; merciful

candid (KAN dih) *adj.* frank; honest

virtuous (VIR choo uhs) *adj.* highly moral

★ Background

Much of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is written in dialect that reproduces how different types of characters speak. For example, to show the way Haley speaks, Stowe uses "ha'nt" for "haven't," "this yer" for "this here," "uns" for "ones," and "onpleasant" for "unpleasant."

"Come, how will you trade about the gal?—what shall I say for her—what'll you take?"

"Mr. Haley, she is not to be sold," said Shelby. "My wife would not part with her for her weight in gold."

"Ay, ay! women always say such things, cause they ha'nt no sort of calculation. Just show 'em how many watches, feathers, and trinkets, one's weight in gold would buy, and that alters the case, I reckon."

"I tell you, Haley, this must not be spoken of; I say no, and I mean no," said Shelby, decidedly.

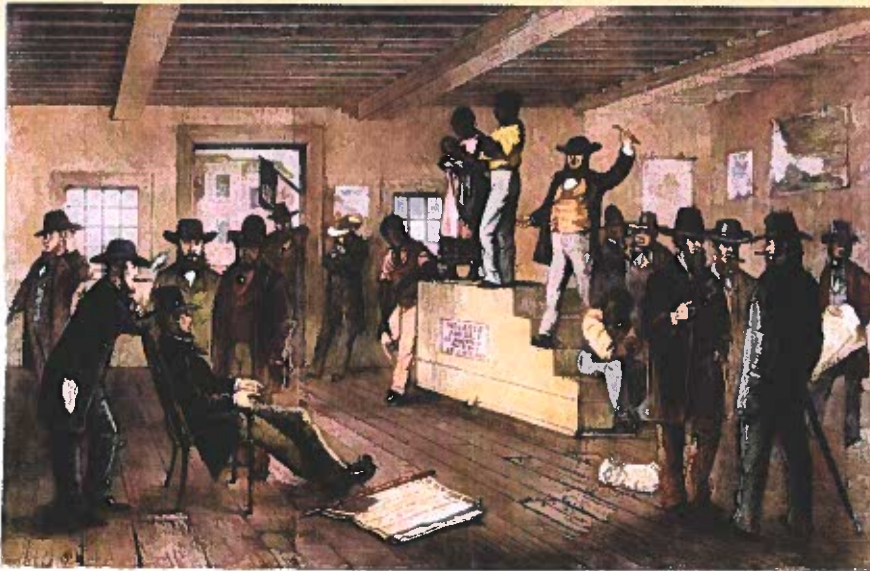
"Well, you'll let me have the boy, though," said the trader; "you must own I've come down pretty handsomely for him."

"What on earth can you want with the child?" said Shelby.

"Why, I've got a friend that's going into this yer branch of the business—wants to buy up handsome boys to raise for the market. Fancy articles entirely—sell for waiters, and so on, to rich 'uns, that can pay for handsome 'uns. It sets off one of yer great places—a real handsome boy to open door, wait, and tend. They fetch a good sum; and this little devil is such a comical, musical concern, he's just the article!"

"I would rather not sell him," said Mr. Shelby, thoughtfully; "the fact is, sir, I'm a humane man, and I hate to take the boy from his mother, sir."

"O, you do?—La! yes—something of that ar natur. I understand, perfectly. It is mighty onpleasant getting on with women, sometimes, I al'ays hates these yer screechin', screamin' times. They are *mighty* onpleasant; but, as I manages business, I generally avoids



Slave auction

'em, sir. Now, what if you get the girl off for a day, or a week, or so; then the thing's done quietly,—all over before she comes home. Your wife might get her some ear-rings, or a new gown, or some such truck, to make up with her."

"I'm afraid not."

"Lor bless ye, yes! These critters ain't like white folks, you know; they gets over things, only manage right. Now, they say," said Haley, assuming a candid and confidential air, "that this kind o' trade is hardening to the feelings; but I never found it so. Fact is, I never could do things up the way some fellers manage the business. I've seen 'em as would pull a woman's child out of her arms, and set him up to sell, and she screechin' like mad all the time;—very bad policy—damages the article—makes 'em quite unfit for service sometimes. I knew a real handsome gal once, in Orleans, as was entirely ruined by this sort o' handling. The fellow that was trading for her didn't want her baby; and she was one of your real high sort, when her blood was up. I tell you, she squeezed up her child in her arms, and talked, and went on real awful. It kinder makes my blood run cold to think on 't; and when they carried off the child, and locked her up, she jest went ravin' mad, and died in a week. Clear waste, sir, of a thousand dollars, just for want of management,—there's where 't is. It's always best to do the humane thing, sir; that's been my experience." And the trader leaned back in his chair, and folded his arm, with an air of virtuous decision, apparently considering himself a second Wilberforce.

From *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe

Analyze LITERATURE

Imagine that you are a northerner in 1851 reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for the first time. Write a letter to a friend explaining how this excerpt made you feel about the slave trade.



Judging Characters

Stowe has Haley refer to enslaved Africans as "critters," showing he does not think of them as human beings. Yet, he also claims that slave-trading has not hardened his feelings. What does this indicate about Stowe's view of Haley?



Background

William Wilberforce was a famous English clergyman who campaigned to end slavery.

If you liked this selection, you might want to read more

about the antislavery movement in *Escape From Slavery: Five Journeys to Freedom* by Doreen Rappaport, illustrated by Charles Lilly. Harper Collins Publishers. 1991.



SECTION 3



▲ Slaves laboring on a southern plantation

Gross Injustice and Cruelty

“This rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence bequeathed by your fathers is shared by you, not by me. . . . What, to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim.”

—Frederick Douglass, Independence Day speech delivered at Rochester, New York, 1852

The Crisis Deepens

Objectives

- Explain why the Republican Party came into being in the 1850s.
- Summarize the issues involved in the Dred Scott decision.
- Identify Abraham Lincoln’s and Stephen Douglas’s views on slavery.
- Describe the differing reactions in the North and the South to John Brown’s raid.

Reading Skill

Analyze Causes and Effects

Historians often disagree over exactly what caused the Civil War. As you read Section 3, watch carefully for cause-and-effect links. Analyzing these links will help you answer this difficult question for yourself. Remember that sometimes the link is not directly stated. Identify an event, then ask yourself: What caused this event to happen? What were the effects of this event?

Key People

Dred Scott
Roger B. Taney

Abraham Lincoln

Why It Matters Bitterness between northerners and southerners weakened the nation’s two major political parties. As a result of the growing struggle over slavery, a new party and new leaders emerged.

Section Focus Question: Why did the Lincoln-Douglas debates and John Brown’s raid increase tensions between the North and South?

A New Antislavery Party

As the Whig Party split apart in 1854, many northern Whigs joined a new political party. It was called the Republican Party, and its main goal was to stop the spread of slavery into the western territories. The Republicans’ anti-slavery stand also attracted northern Democrats and Free-Soil Party members.

The Republicans quickly became a powerful force in politics. The congressional elections of 1854 were held only months after the party was founded. Of the 245 candidates elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, 105 were Republicans. Republican victories in state races also cost the Democrats control of all but two northern state legislatures.

Two years later, in 1856, the Republican Party ran its first candidate for President. It chose John C. Frémont, the army officer who had helped California win independence during the Mexican-American War. The Republicans waged a strong antislavery campaign. Although the Democrat James Buchanan was elected, Frémont won in 11 of the nation’s 16 free states.

Checkpoint What was the result of the election of 1856?

The Dred Scott Decision

In March 1857—only three days after Buchanan took office—the U.S. Supreme Court delivered a shattering blow to antislavery forces. It decided the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.

Dred Scott was an enslaved person who had once been owned by a U.S. Army doctor. The doctor, and Scott, lived for a time in Illinois and in the Wisconsin Territory. Slavery was illegal in both places. After leaving the army, the doctor settled with Scott in Missouri.

With the help of antislavery lawyers, Scott sued for his freedom. He argued that he was free because he had lived where slavery was illegal. In time, the case reached the Supreme Court. Neither northerners nor southerners were prepared for what the Court decided.

The Court Decides Chief Justice **Roger B. Taney** wrote the decision for the Court. Scott was not a free man, he said, for two reasons. First, according to Taney, Scott had no right to sue in federal court because African Americans were not citizens. Second, Taney said, merely living in free territory did not make an enslaved person free. Slaves were property, Taney declared, and property rights were protected by the U.S. Constitution.

But the ruling went even further. Taney wrote that Congress did not have the power to prohibit slavery in any territory. Thus, the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.

Reaction Supporters of slavery rejoiced at the Dred Scott decision. The decision meant that slavery was legal in all territories—just as white southern leaders had been demanding all along.

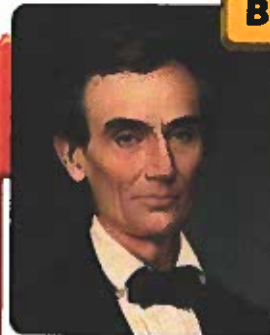
Northerners, however, were stunned. African American leaders such as Frederick Douglass condemned the ruling. Still, Douglass declared, “my hopes were never brighter than now.” He believed that outrage against the decision would bring more whites to the abolitionist cause.

Indeed, white northerners were also shocked by the ruling. Many had hoped that slavery would eventually die out if it were restricted to the South. Now, however, slavery could spread throughout the West.

One northerner who spoke out against the Dred Scott decision was an Illinois lawyer named **Abraham Lincoln**. The idea that African Americans could not be citizens, he said, was based on a false view of American history. In a very short time, Lincoln would become a central figure in the fight against the spread of slavery.

Checkpoint Why did Dred Scott claim he was no longer enslaved?

Biography Quest



Abraham
Lincoln
1809–1865

Abraham Lincoln was not yet a nationally known figure in 1857. But he was well known in Illinois as a clever, successful lawyer and politician.

People liked Lincoln for his quick wit and down-to-earth approach. He was known as a good, straightforward speaker. Even so, a listener once complained that he could not understand a speech of Lincoln's. “There are always some fleas a dog can't reach,” was Lincoln's reply.

Biography Quest

Why was Lincoln voted out of Congress after one term?

For: The answer to the question about Lincoln

Visit: PHSchool.com

Web Code: myd-5013

Links Across Time

Elections and the Media

1858 Americans followed the Lincoln-Douglas debates as telegraph reports circulated around the country.

1960 Americans were for the first time able to watch presidential candidates debate live on television. Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy debated before an enormous television audience. Many experts believe that the debates played a major role in Kennedy's victory.

Link to Today

Elections and the Media Today The digital revolution is again changing American political campaigns. What media do candidates use today?

For: Voting and the media

Visit: PHSchool.com

Web Code: myc-5103



The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Lincoln had had only a brief career in politics. After serving in the Illinois state legislature, he was elected to Congress as a Whig. There, he voted for the Wilmot Proviso. After a single term, he returned to Illinois to practice law.

Lincoln's opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act brought him back into politics, this time embracing the Republican cause. He had long been a rival of Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Their rivalry was personal as well as political. Both men had courted Mary Todd, who married Lincoln.

A House Divided In 1858, Illinois Republicans chose Lincoln to run for the Senate against Douglas. Accepting the nomination, Lincoln made a stirring speech in favor of the Union:

“A house divided against itself cannot stand. I do not believe this government can 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

Lincoln did not state that he wanted to ban slavery. Still, many southerners became convinced that Lincoln was an abolitionist.

Vocabulary Builder

embrace (ehm BRAYS) *v.* to hold tight; to readily accept

Debating Slavery Lincoln then challenged Douglas to a series of public debates. Thousands of people gathered to hear them speak. Newspapers throughout the nation reported what each man said.

Douglas strongly defended popular sovereignty. “Each state of this Union has a right to do as it pleases on the subject of slavery,” he said. “In Illinois we have exercised that sovereign right by prohibiting slavery. . . . It is none of our business whether slavery exists in Missouri.” Douglas also painted Lincoln as a dangerous abolitionist who wanted equality for African Americans.

Lincoln took a stand against the spread of slavery. He declared, “If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong.” Lincoln predicted that slavery would die on its own. In the meantime, he said, it was the obligation of Americans to keep it out of the western territories.

In reply to Douglas, Lincoln stated: “I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races.” But he did clarify this view. He insisted that “there is no reason in the world why the Negro is not entitled to all the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

In the end, Douglas won the Senate election. However, the debates had made Lincoln known throughout the country. Two years later, the men would be rivals again—this time for the presidency.

✓ Checkpoint What position did Douglas take on slavery?

John Brown's Raid

The nation's attention soon was captured by the actions of John Brown. Driven out of Kansas after the Pottawatomie Massacre, Brown had returned to New England. There he hatched a plot to raise an army and free people in the South who were enslaved.

In 1859, Brown and a small band of supporters attacked the town of Harpers Ferry in Virginia. His goal was to seize guns the U.S. Army had stored there. He thought that enslaved African Americans would support him. He would then give them weapons and lead them in a revolt.

Brown quickly gained control of the arms. But troops commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee surrounded Brown's force before it could escape. Ten of Brown's followers were killed. Brown was wounded and captured.

John Brown in Kansas

John Steuart Curry began painting this 10-foot-high mural in 1937. It shows John Brown as a fiery abolitionist with a rifle in one hand and a Bible in the other. **Critical Thinking: Detect Points of View** Based on this painting, do you think Curry admired John Brown?



Vocabulary Builder

clarify (KLAIR ih fi) *v.* to make the meaning of something clear



Analyze Causes and Effects

How did John Brown's raid affect the national debate over slavery?



Death of John Brown

Thomas Hovenden painted this portrait of a saintly John Brown. On his way to his death, Brown stops to kiss a child. Hovenden did not personally witness the events he showed here. **Critical**

Thinking: Contrast Compare this painting to the one on the previous page. How do these two paintings try to stir different emotions?

At his trial, Brown sat quietly as the court found him guilty of murder and treason. Before hearing his sentence, he gave a moving defense of his actions. The Bible, he said, instructed him to care for the poor and enslaved. "If it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice . . . I say, let it be done." He showed no emotion as he was sentenced to death.

When the state of Virginia hanged Brown for treason on December 2, 1859, church bells across the North tolled to mourn the man who many considered a hero. But southerners were shocked. People in the North were praising a man who had tried to lead a slave revolt! More

than ever, many southerners were convinced that the North was out to destroy their way of life.

✓ Checkpoint What was John Brown's goal in launching the raid on Harpers Ferry?

★ Looking Back and Ahead The nation had suffered one dispute after another over the expansion of slavery since the end of the Mexican-American War in 1846. By the election of 1860, talk of the breakup of the United States was everywhere. In the next section, you will read how that breakup came about.

Section 3 | Check Your Progress

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with instant help

Visit: PHSchool.com

Web Code: mya-5103

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

- (a) Summarize** Which groups supported the newly formed Republican Party?

(b) Draw Conclusions How did the outcomes of the elections of 1854 and 1856 affect the Republican Party?
- (a) Identify** On what grounds did Dred Scott sue for his freedom in court?

(b) Draw Conclusions How did Taney's ruling further divide the North and the South?

- (a) Recall** What were the Lincoln-Douglas debates?

(b) Apply Information Why do you think the Lincoln-Douglas debates received national attention?

Reading Skill

- Analyze Causes and Effects** Identify one cause and one effect of John Brown's raid. Why did Brown and his followers attack Harpers Ferry? What happened as a result?

Writing

- Reread the paragraphs in this section that describe the Lincoln-Douglas debates. When you have finished, paraphrase the excerpt from Lincoln's Springfield speech. Remember, when you paraphrase, you restate something said by someone else, using only your own words.



◀ Confederate seal

The Confederate States

“In the exercise of a right so ancient, so well-established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate states . . . passed [laws] resuming all their rights as sovereign and independent States and dissolved their connection with the other States of the Union.”

—President Jefferson Davis, message to the Confederate Congress, April 29, 1861

◀ Newspaper announcing secession of southern states

The Coming of the Civil War

Objectives

- Describe the results of the election of 1860.
- Explain why southern states seceded from the Union.
- Summarize the events that led to the outbreak of the Civil War.

Reading Skill

Analyze Multiple Causes or Effects

Many events in history have more than one cause, as the Civil War certainly did. Other events lead to more than one effect, which is also certainly true of the Civil War. As you read about this turning point in American history, look for causes with multiple effects and effects with multiple causes.

Key Term

civil war

Why It Matters John Brown’s raid increased tensions between North and South. So did the growing power of the Republican Party. The nation was on the verge of a civil war.

Section Focus Question: Why did the election of Abraham Lincoln spark the secession of southern states?

The Nation Divides

As the election of 1860 drew near, Americans everywhere felt a sense of crisis. The long and bitter debate over slavery had left the nation seriously divided.

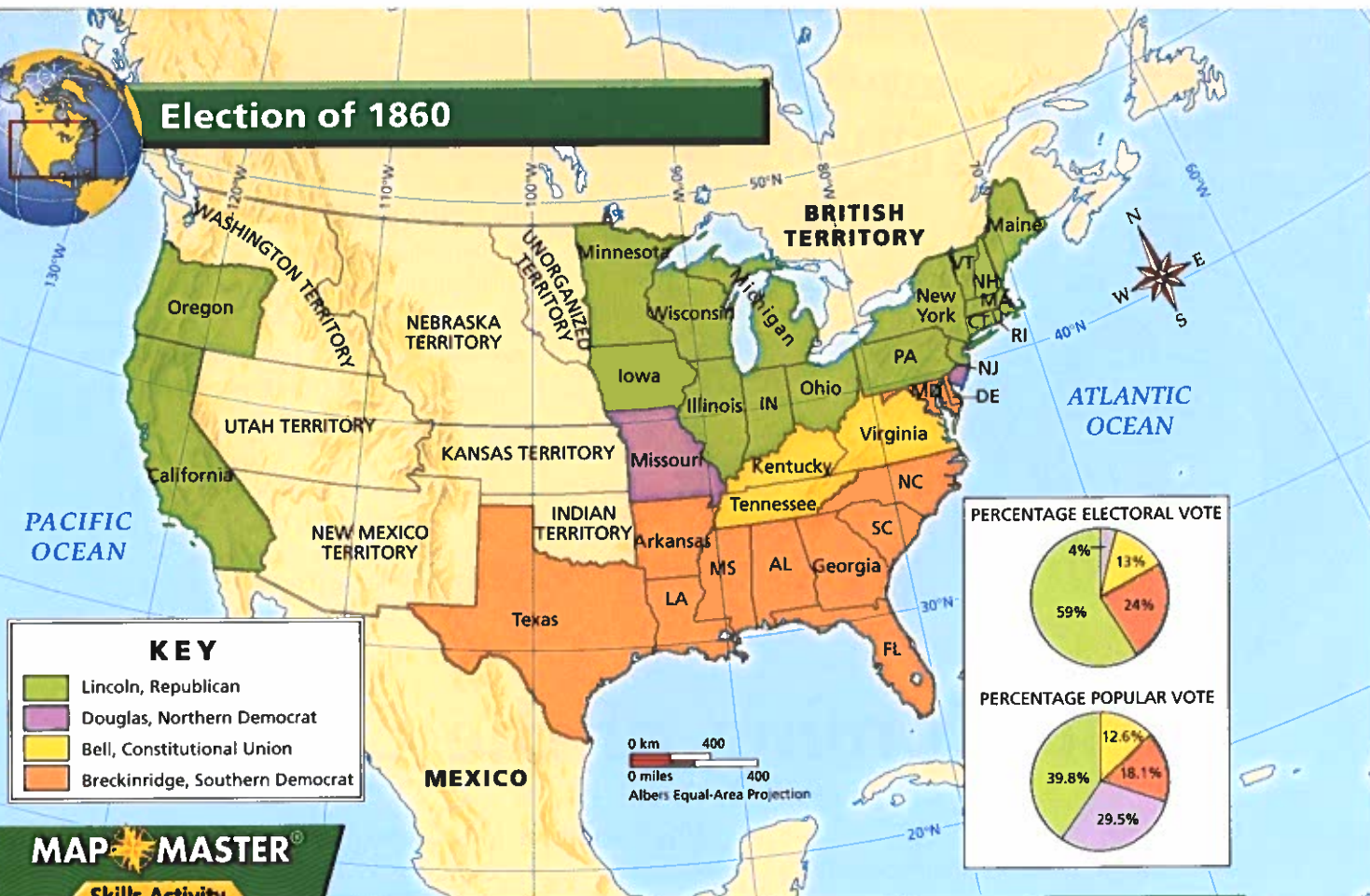
Election of 1860 The Republicans chose Abraham Lincoln as their presidential candidate. His criticisms of slavery during his debates with Douglas had made him popular in the North.

Southern Democrats wanted the party to support slavery in the territories. But northerners refused to do so. In the end, the party split in two. Northern Democrats chose Stephen Douglas as their candidate. Southern Democrats picked Vice President John Breckinridge of Kentucky.

Some southerners still hoped to heal the split between North and South. They formed the Constitutional Union Party and nominated John Bell of Tennessee. Bell promised to protect slavery *and* keep the nation together.

Stephen Douglas was sure that Lincoln would win the election. However, he believed that Democrats “must try to save the Union.” He pleaded with southern voters to stay with the Union, no matter who was elected. However, when Douglas campaigned in the South, hostile southerners often pelted him with eggs and rotten fruit.

Election of 1860



MAP MASTER

Skills Activity

Due to rising tensions between the North and South, the election of 1860 took place in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion.

- (a) **Read a Map Key** What do the four colors on the map stand for? Which party won nearly all the northern states? Which party won nearly all the southern states?
- (b) **Draw Conclusions** How does the map show that sectionalism was important in the election?

MapMaster Online

For: Interactive map
 Visit: PHSchool.com
 Web Code: myp-5104

The election showed just how fragmented the nation had become. Lincoln won in every free state and Breckinridge in all the slave-holding states except four. Bell won Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia—all in the upper South. Douglas carried only Missouri. Although Lincoln got only 40 percent of the popular votes, he received enough electoral votes to win the election.

Southern States Secede Lincoln's election sent shock waves through the South. To many southerners, it seemed that the South no longer had a voice in the national government. They believed that the President and Congress were now set against their interests—especially slavery.

One Virginia newspaper expressed the feelings of many southerners. "A party founded on the single sentiment . . . of hatred of African slavery, is now the controlling power," it observed. "The honor, safety, and independence of the Southern people are to be found only in a Southern Confederacy."

South Carolina was the first southern state to secede from the Union. When news of Lincoln's election reached the state, the

legislature called for a special convention. On December 20, 1860, the convention passed a declaration that “the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other states, under the name of the ‘United States of America’ is hereby dissolved.”

The Confederate States of America With the hope of accommodation all but gone, six more states followed South Carolina out of the Union. However, not all southerners favored secession. Tennessee Senator Andrew Johnson and Texas Governor Sam Houston were among those who opposed it. Yet, the voices of the moderates were overwhelmed. “People are wild,” said one opponent of secession. “You might as well attempt to control a tornado as attempt to stop them.”

In early February, leaders from the seven seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama, to form a new nation that they called the Confederate States of America. By the time Lincoln took office in March, they had written a constitution and named former Mississippi Senator Jefferson Davis as their president.

✓Checkpoint Why did southern states secede from the Union?

The Civil War Begins

On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln became President of a nation facing the greatest crisis in its history. In his inaugural address, he assured the seceded states that he meant them no harm. “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it exists,” he promised. But he also warned them about continuing on the course they had chosen:

“In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of . . . war. The government will not assail [attack] you. . . . We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.”

—Abraham Lincoln, Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861

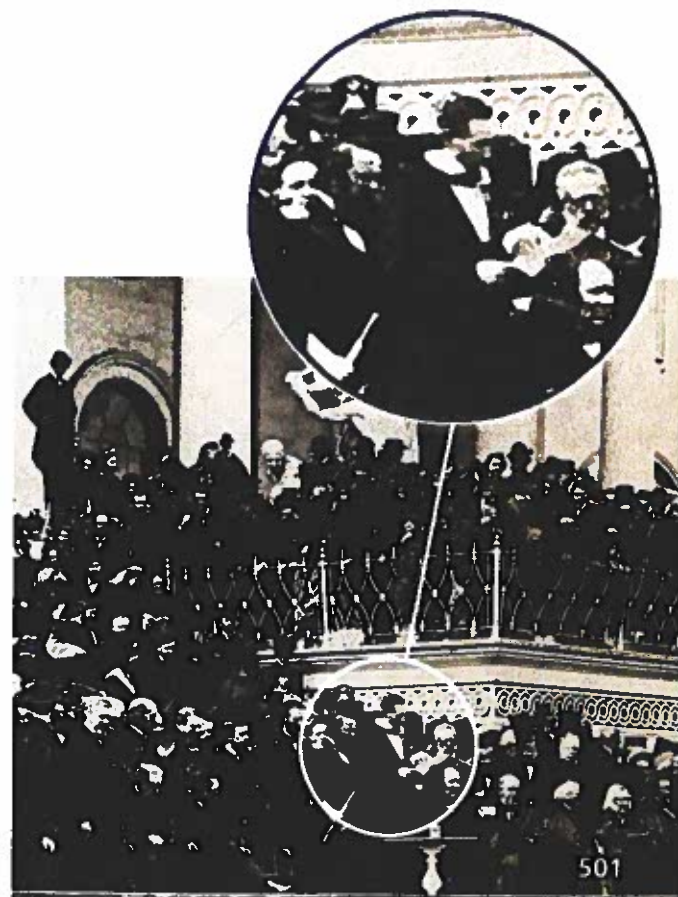
Lincoln’s assurance of friendship was rejected. The seceding states took over post offices, forts, and other federal property within their borders. The new President had to decide how to respond.

Fort Sumter Lincoln’s most urgent problem was Fort Sumter, located on an island in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. The fort’s commander would not surrender it. South Carolina authorities decided to starve the fort’s 100 troops into surrender. They had been cut off from supplies since late December and could not hold out much longer.

Abraham Lincoln speaks at his first inauguration

Vocabulary Builder

accommodation (ak kom moh DAY shuhn) *n.* adjustment; adaptation



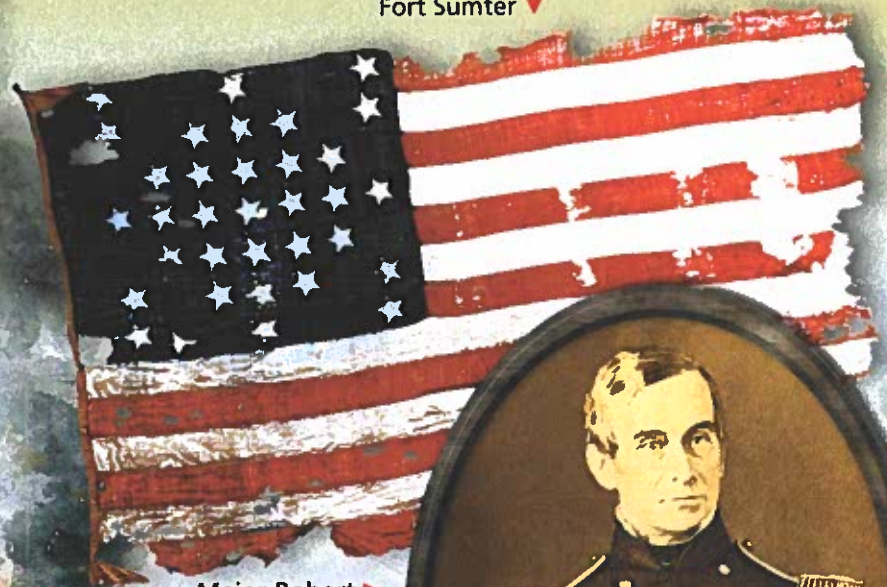
● INFOGRAPHIC

ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER

America's most tragic conflict began early on the morning of April 12, 1861, at Fort Sumter. The dark night was suddenly lit up by Confederate shells fired from the mainland. Within a few hours, the fort's wooden barracks had caught fire and portions of the fort had crumbled. At midday, a Confederate shell knocked over the fort's flagpole. The firing went on throughout the day and evening. By the next day, the Union garrison was exhausted and every wooden structure in the fort was ablaze. "The men lay . . . on the ground, with wet handkerchiefs over their mouths and eyes, gasping for breath."

Critical Thinking: Analyze Cause and Effect What was the cause of the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter? What were the effects?

American flag from Fort Sumter ▼

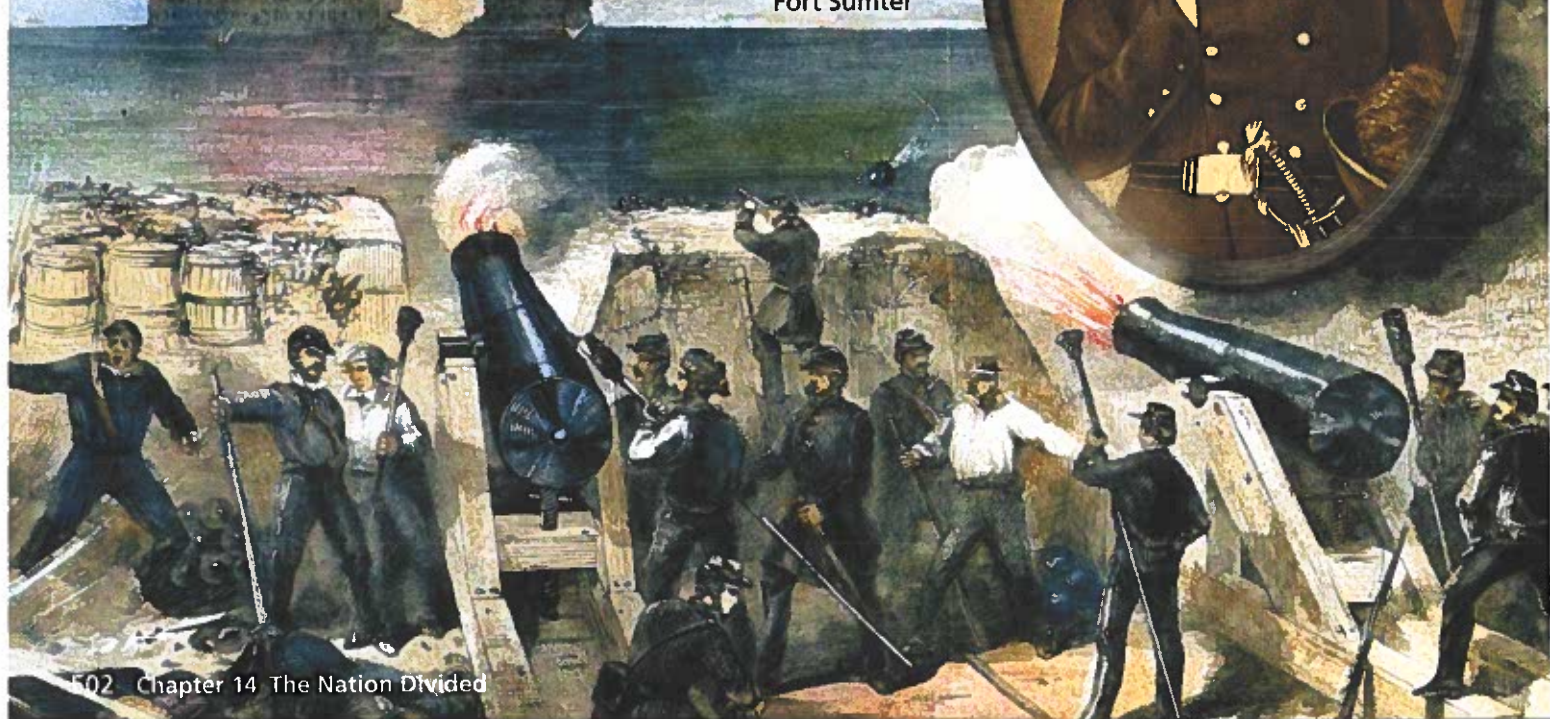


History Interactive
Inside Fort Sumter

Visit: PHSchool.com
Web Code: myp-5107

▼ **Confederate Troops Fire on the Fort**
Confederate artillery pounded Fort Sumter for 34 hours. Fires raged out of control and threatened to ignite the fort's magazine, where many barrels of gunpowder were stored. Facing shortages of food and ammunition, the Union commander surrendered. The bloodiest of all American wars had begun.

Major Robert Anderson, Union commander of Fort Sumter ▶



Lincoln did not want to give up the fort. But he feared that sending troops might cause other states to secede. Therefore, he announced that he would send food to the fort, but that the supply ships would carry no troops or guns.

Confederate leaders decided to capture the fort while it was isolated. On April 12, Confederate artillery opened fire on the fort. After 34 hours, with the fort on fire, the U.S. troops surrendered.

Was War Avoidable? The Confederate attack on Fort Sumter marked the beginning of a long civil war. A **civil war** is a war between opposing groups of citizens of the same country.


The Civil War probably attracts more public interest today than any other event in American history. Americans continue to debate why the war took place and whether it could have been avoided.

In 1850, southerners might have been satisfied if they had been left alone. But by 1861, many Americans in both the North and the South had come to accept the idea that war could not be avoided. At stake was the nation's future. Four years later, a weary Lincoln looked back to the beginning of the conflict. He noted:

“Both parties [condemned] war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.”

—Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865

 **Checkpoint** Why was Lincoln reluctant to give up Fort Sumter?

 **Looking Back and Ahead** Confederate cannons had nearly destroyed Fort Sumter. To many, it seemed like a huge fireworks display. No one knew that the fireworks marked the beginning of a terrible war that would last four years.

Vocabulary Builder

isolate (i sah layt) **v.** to set apart; to separate



Analyze Multiple Causes or Effects

According to this section, what were two causes of the Civil War?

Section 4

Check Your Progress

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with instant help

Visit: PHSchool.com

Web Code: mya-5104

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

- (a) Recall** How did divisions among the Democrats help lead to the election of Republican Abraham Lincoln in 1860?

(b) Explain Problems What was the South's reaction to Lincoln's election? How did Lincoln try to reassure the South?
- (a) Identify** What event marked the start of war between the North and the South?

(b) Evaluate Information

Explain what Abraham Lincoln meant by the following remark: "Both parties [condemned] war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive. . . ."



Reading Skill

- Analyze Multiple Causes or Effects** What were three effects of Lincoln's warning to the South?

Key Terms

- Write two definitions for the key term **civil war**. First, write a formal definition for your teacher. Second, write a definition in everyday English for a classmate.

Writing

- Based on what you have read in this section, write a thesis statement for an essay explaining why the election of Abraham Lincoln caused the South to secede.

Not everything a writer includes in a selection is equally important. Some information is relevant because it is directly related to the subject of the text. Other information is less relevant because it does not directly relate to the subject. When you read, you must focus your attention on the main topic and the most relevant information. Read the fictional letter below to determine relevance.

The letter below is historical fiction. That means that it is based on history, but is not a primary source. In the letter, William, a farmer who had moved to Kansas Territory, writes to his brother Joseph in Vermont.

November 20, 1854

Dear Joseph,

I was pleased to receive your last letter. The success of your store is a great achievement. Our new farm continues to prosper and little Sarah has recovered from the fever that had sickened her for a month. Of course, the issue of the Kansas-Nebraska Act continues to trouble me. I do not agree with your support of Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois; however, I enjoy reading his speeches. Those who oppose slavery, as I do, do not want that cruel system in place in a territory where it had been banned. Under the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, it is up to the people to decide the issue peacefully by voting their hearts. Yet, settlers who are for and against slavery in the territory seem intent on using force, instead of the ballot box. The elections next year will settle the issue once and for all.

Your loving brother,
William

Learn the Skill

Use these steps to determine which information is relevant and which is irrelevant.

- 1 **Identify the subject or topic.** What is the main topic of the selection?
- 2 **Identify your purpose for reading the selection.** Ask yourself: What am I trying to find out?
- 3 **Identify the information that is relevant to the topic.** What information is directly related to the subject? Why is it relevant?
- 4 **Identify the information that is irrelevant to the topic.** What information is not directly related to the subject? Why is it irrelevant?

Practice the Skill

Answer the following questions about the letter on the page.

- 1 **Identify the subject or topic.** What is the main topic of the letter?
- 2 **Identify the purpose for reading the selection.** Why am I reading this letter?
- 3 **Identify the information that is relevant to the subject.** (a) What are two statements that are directly related to the topic of the letter? (b) Why is each statement relevant?
- 4 **Identify the information that is irrelevant to the topic.** (a) What are two statements that are not directly related to the subject? (b) Why is each statement irrelevant?

Apply the Skill

See the Review and Assessment at the end of this chapter.



How did the nation try but fail to deal with growing sectional differences?

Section 1 Growing Tensions Over Slavery

- The acquisition of new territories in the West reopened the issue of slavery.
- Lawmakers debated how to keep a balance of power between free and slave-holding states.

Section 2 Compromises Fail

- The Compromise of 1850 attempted to settle the slavery question, but northerners refused to accept the Fugitive Slave Act.
- *Uncle Tom's Cabin* increased northern hatred of slavery and antagonized southern slaveholders.
- Popular sovereignty established by the Kansas-Nebraska Act triggered bloody fighting in Kansas.

Section 3 The Crisis Deepens

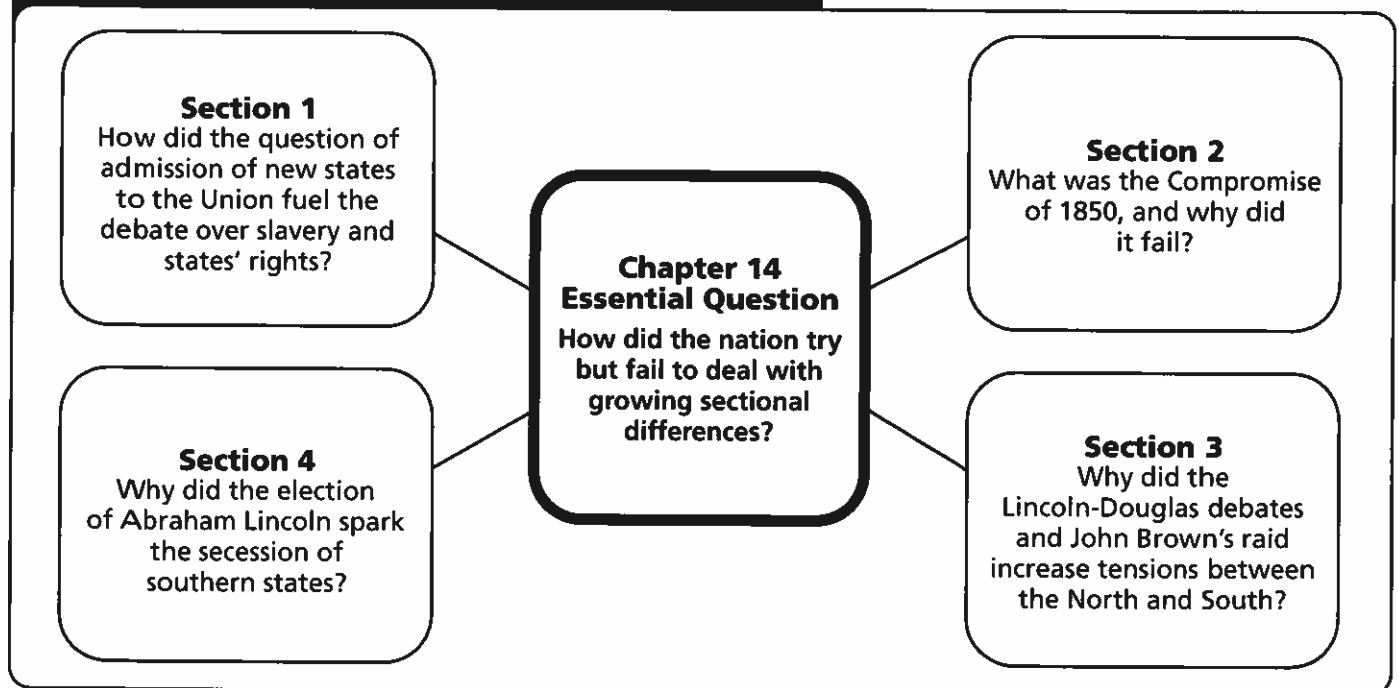
- The Republican Party was formed to oppose the spread of slavery.
- In the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court ruled that Congress could not ban slavery in any territory.
- Abraham Lincoln became a central political figure when he and Stephen Douglas debated slavery.
- John Brown, an abolitionist, and his followers attacked the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, to protest slavery.

Section 4 The Coming of the Civil War

- After Lincoln won the presidential election of 1860, some southern states seceded from the Union.
- The Civil War began when Confederate troops fired on Fort Sumter.

Exploring the Essential Question

Use the online study guide to explore the essential question.



Key Terms

Fill in the blanks with the correct key terms.

1. Many southern states threatened to ____ from the Union if California was admitted as a free state.
2. Southerners claimed that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was ____ because it did not give a fair picture of the lives of enslaved African Americans.
3. Slavery was the main issue that split the nation apart and led to a violent ____.

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

4. (a) **Recall** Why did Senator Stephen Douglas introduce the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
(b) **Understand Sequence** How did the events in Kansas demonstrate the unrest that would eventually take shape throughout the nation?
5. (a) **Summarize** What was the Supreme Court's verdict in the Dred Scott case?
(b) **Detect Points of View** How do you think Harriet Beecher Stowe reacted to the verdict?
6. (a) **Identify** What was the main goal of the Republican Party in the election of 1854?
(b) **Distinguish Relevant Information** How did Abraham Lincoln represent Republican principles during the Lincoln-Douglas debates?
7. (a) **Identify** What is the subject of the painting below?
(b) **Draw Conclusions** Do you agree with the artist's view of this person? Why or why not?

8. (a) **Describe** What happened at Fort Sumter?
(b) **Draw Conclusions** Do you think southerners were justified in seceding despite Lincoln's assurances? Explain.

History Reading Skill

9. **Analyze Cause and Effect** Reread the text in Section 4 under the heading "The Nation Divides." How did the election of 1860 affect the unity of the United States?

Writing

10. Choose one of the following topics for a research report:

- the Kansas-Nebraska Act
- the Dred Scott decision
- the early career of Abraham Lincoln

List five questions you would want to pursue if you were going to research that topic. Write a thesis statement for the topic and find supporting evidence for that thesis from the chapter.

11. **Write a Narrative:**

Imagine you are from a northern farm family and have just heard of the attack on Fort Sumter. Write a narrative describing your hopes and fears about the future.

Skills for Life

Determine Relevance

Use the fictional letter below to answer the questions that follow.

October 18, 1856

Dear Margaret,

When the Republican Party was formed two years ago, we had no idea it would grow so quickly. I am so pleased with the party's choice of John Frémont as the Republican candidate for President. I know Mother would have agreed with me. I only hope you and I will be able to cast our votes in a presidential election soon.

Your loving sister, Ellen

12. What is the letter about?
13. What is one statement directly related to the subject of the letter? Why is it relevant?
14. What is one statement that is irrelevant to the subject of the letter? Why is it irrelevant?



Test Yourself

1. All of the following were causes of the Civil War EXCEPT

- A John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.
- B the Dred Scott decision.
- C the use of child labor in northern factories.
- D the publication of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Refer to the quotation below to answer Question 2.

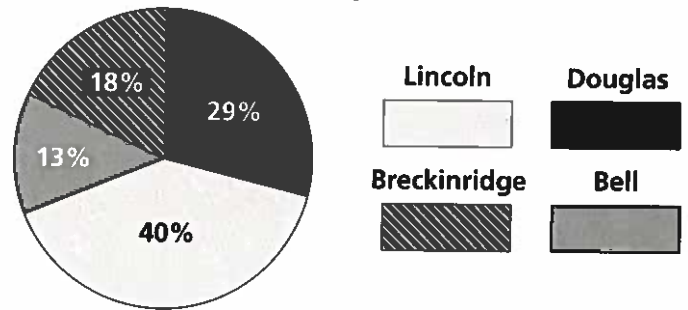
"A house divided against itself cannot stand. . . . I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

2. What division does this quotation describe?

- A church and state
- B free states and slaveholding states
- C the House of Representatives and the Senate
- D Republicans and Democrats

Refer to the pie chart below to answer Question 3.

Percentage of Popular Vote, 1860



3. What conclusion can you draw from this pie chart?

- A Southerners voted for Douglas.
- B Lincoln won most of the popular vote.
- C Bell had little support in the North.
- D The two Democrats combined won more votes than Lincoln.

Document-Based Questions

Task: Look at Documents 1 and 2, and answer their accompanying questions. Then, use the documents and your knowledge of history to complete this writing assignment:

Write a two-paragraph essay comparing the goals of the Fugitive Slave Law with its actual effects.

Document 1: In this speech, Senator John Calhoun of South Carolina explained the need for the Fugitive Slave Law. *According to Calhoun, what would happen if Congress did not pass the law?*

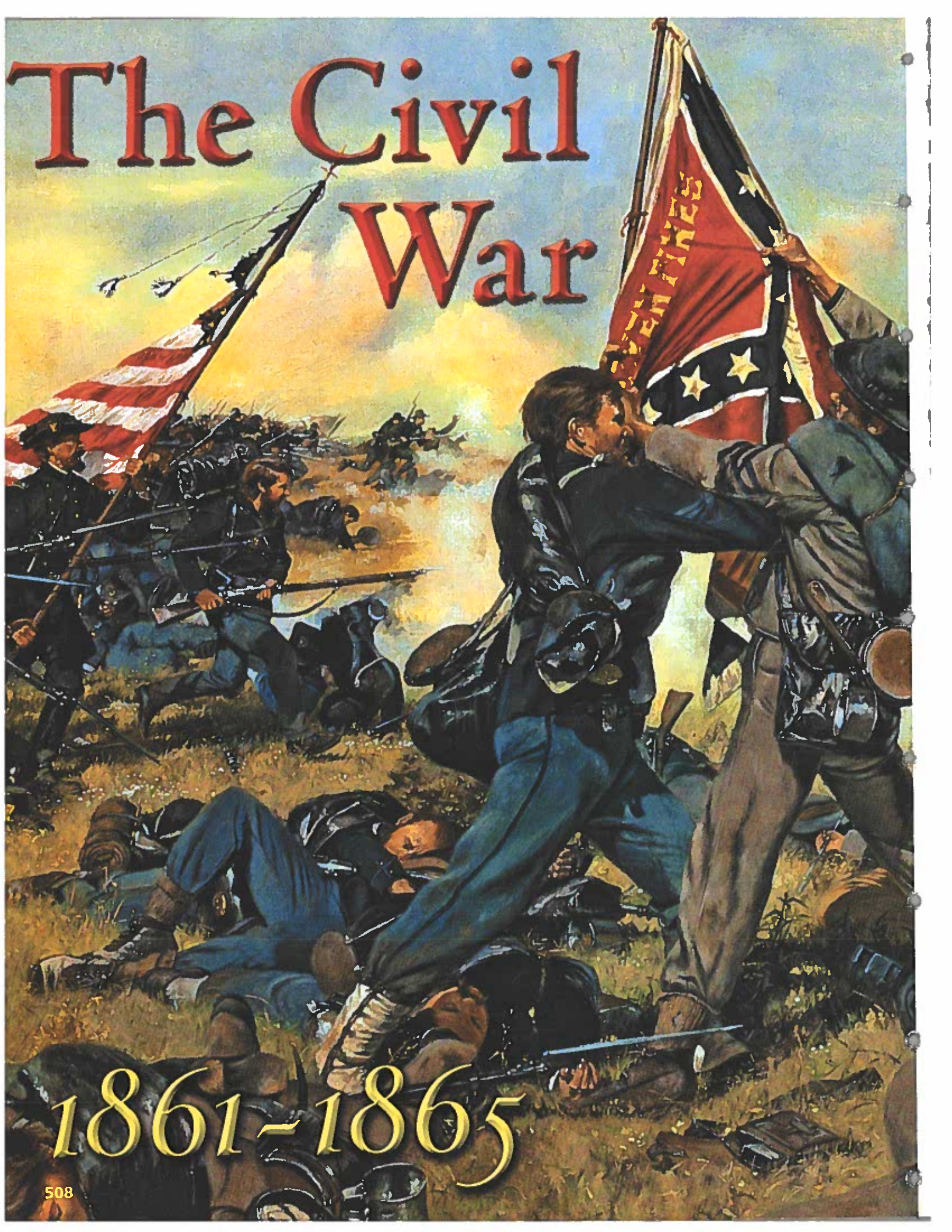
"How can the Union be saved? . . . There is but one way . . . and that is by adopting such measures as will satisfy . . . the southern section that they can remain in the Union consistently with their honor and their safety. . . ."

But can this be done? Yes, easily. . . . The North has only . . . to conced[e] to the South an equal right in [newly] acquired territory, and to caus[e] the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled—to cease the agitation of the slave question. . . ."

Document 2: This poster reveals Bostonians' commitment to protect runaways or kidnapped African Americans. *Why were posters like this illegal?*



The Civil War



1861-1865