## UNIT PACING CHART

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### Four-Way Socratic Seminar

This is my favorite Socratic Seminar/class discussion exercise. It works with any unit of study, and is a 1 and ½ period exercise. The best example to use it in is the Slavery/Civil War unit. Count off the students in the class by groups of 1, 2, 3, and 4. Each group gets a different reading. In the case of the slavery issue, two groups would get pro-abolitionist readings (William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass) while two groups would get two pro-slavery readings. Have students read their own readings for homework. The next day, have the four groups meet to share ideas and notes on their readings. After about 10 to 15 minutes into the class, go to each group and separate the members into groups A, B, C, and D. If there are extras in each group that is fine, exact numbering is not important. Split all of the various As, Bs, Cs, and Ds around the classroom, and have them each teach their new group members about their own readings. After about 20 minutes, bring the whole class back to a Socratic Seminar circle, and review all four readings, making sure that all themes and important points were clearly covered. Grading rubrics are easy for Socratic Seminars. If you listen, do not interrupt, discuss a few details about your reading, and take notes you get an easy 10 out of 10 grade. If you talk or are disruptive, each time I have to ask you to focus, I take 1 point off. It works great, I get an assessment and four readings completed in 1 and ½ class periods.
Dear American History Teacher,

It would be impossible to exaggerate the impact of the Civil War on America. The 620,000 soldiers who lost their lives in that war constituted 2 percent of the American population. If the same percentage of Americans were to be killed in a war fought today, the number of American dead would be more than six million. The war also devastated and impoverished the South. Two big questions arise: How and why did the Civil War happen? Were the results worth the cost? These are the overarching questions addressed in this unit. From the time of the Constitutional Convention in 1787 the issue of slavery in this new nation supposedly founded on a charter of liberty split the American polity. That division became stronger as the slave states evolved into a planter-dominated society whose economy rested on slavery and staple-crop agriculture while the free states evolved into a dynamic free-labor economy diversified into agricultural, commercial, and industrial sectors. Each of these socioeconomic systems generated an ideology that rationalized its own social order and portrayed the other as a threat. The contest between them for expansion into the vast new territories acquired by the United States in 1845 and 1848 generated the conflict that provoked most slave states to secede in 1861, after Abraham Lincoln was elected on a platform pledged to contain the further expansion of slavery. The Lincoln Administration refused to acquiesce in the legitimacy of secession. And the war came.

The question whether the results of Union victory were worth the cost is a subjective one on which opinions might differ. What can be said, however, is that the war resolved two festering issues left unresolved by the Revolution of 1776 and Constitution of 1787. Until 1865 it remained uncertain whether the United States would survive as one nation, indivisible, and whether the House Divided would remain half slave and half free. Appomattox resolved those questions definitively. The Reconstruction Amendments to the Constitution (14th and 15th Amendments) mandated equal civil and political rights for all Americans. Imperfectly enforced at the time and partially abandoned after 1877, they remained in the Constitution and became the legal basis of the civil rights movement in the second half of the 20th century.

Senior Author
Focus

Why It Matters

Have students consider the issues of racism and civil rights in the United States today and conduct a class discussion focusing on those issues’ impacts on American society. Then have them make generalizations about how the problems of America’s past contribute to the issues faced by citizens today.

Connecting to Past Learning

Have students recall some of the major differences between the North and the South prior to the Civil War. Ask: Why was compromise between the two regions not possible? (The differences had become too great; the South felt that the North threatened its way of life.) Tell students that in this unit they will learn about the immediate causes of the Civil War, how both sides planned to win the war, and the war’s social and economic impacts on the nation.

Unit Launch Activity

Discuss with students what they know about the causes of the Civil War. For example, they may know that slavery was a root cause of the war, but the firing on Fort Sumter marked the beginning of the armed conflict. Tell students that President Lincoln did not enter the war with the intention of ending slavery in the South. Ask them if they can recall any other issues that fueled the sectional conflict.

Team Teaching Activity

Language Arts Have the language arts teacher discuss the personal accounts of the Civil War contained in letters between soldiers and their families. As a class, discuss the role that bias plays in firsthand accounts of events. Have the language arts teacher point out examples of bias and personal opinions in a letter. Then have students work in groups to review other letters from the Civil War and identify bias in them.
Confederate soldiers of the 6th Virginia Infantry charge troops of the Union 9th Corps at the Battle of the Crater in Petersburg, Virginia, 1864.

**More About the Painting**

**Visual Literacy**  Fought on July 30, 1864, the Battle of the Crater, depicted here, was a part of the Siege of Petersburg in Virginia. Confederate General Robert E. Lee commanded the Army of Northern Virginia, and Major General George Meade commanded the Army of the Potomac.

After the battle, the South claimed losses of more than 1,000 men; the North lost about 5,300 in a stunning defeat. The battle site is now a part of the Petersburg National Battlefield Park, established on July 3, 1926.

**Teach**

**Skill Practice**

**Analyzing Visuals**  Ask students to study the painting and then write a one-paragraph essay describing the scene it depicts. Students’ essays should note that while the Confederate troops are all white, the Union troops in the battle are mostly African American. In addition, students should note that the Union soldiers are fighting from inside the crater, below ground level.

**Skill Practice**

**Identifying Points of View**  Inform students that the battle depicted on this page occurred in the last year of the war. Ask: Why did African Americans enlist to serve in the Union army? (Answers will vary, but should note that Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing people from slavery.)

**Teaching Tip**  The NCLB Act emphasizes reading. Ask students to write down events and people they will encounter in this unit and keep the list with them as they read. When students find a person or item on the list, they should note the page number and write a brief summary. Students can use this list while studying.
## Planning Guide

### Key to Ability Levels
- **BL**: Below Level
- **OL**: On Level
- **AL**: Above Level
- **ELL**: English Language Learners

### Key to Teaching Resources
- **Print Material**
- **Transparency**
- **CD-ROM or DVD**

## Resources

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Note: Please refer to the *Unit 3 Resource Book* for this chapter’s URB materials.  
* Also available in Spanish
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**Teacher Resources**

- Reading Strategies and Activities for the Social Studies Classroom ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- Strategies for Success ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- Presentation Plus! with MindJogger CheckPoint ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- Success With English Learners ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓

### ASSESS

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✓ Chapter- or unit-based activities applicable to all sections.
What is a Self-Check Quiz?
A Self-Check Quiz is a set of 10 or more multiple-choice questions that assess student comprehension of the chapter.

How can a Self-Check Quiz help my students?
A Self-Check Quiz is a quick and easy way for students to check how much they have learned and identify areas needing improvement. It allows students to:

- view their results immediately
- view the correct answers
- e-mail their results to you or themselves
- receive feedback on each question for where students can go to review topics they missed or had trouble answering

Visit glencoe.com and enter a ™ code to go to a Self-Check Quiz.
Additional Chapter Resources

• **Timed Readings Plus in Social Studies** helps students increase their reading rate and fluency while maintaining comprehension. The 400-word passages are similar to those found on state and national assessments.

• **Reading in the Content Area: Social Studies** concentrates on six essential reading skills that help students better comprehend what they read. The book includes 75 high-interest nonfiction passages written at increasing levels of difficulty.

• **Reading Social Studies** includes strategic reading instruction and vocabulary support in Social Studies content for both ELLs and native speakers of English.

[www.jamestowneducation.com](http://www.jamestowneducation.com)

The following videotape programs are available from Glencoe as supplements to this chapter:

- Civil War Battlefields (ISBN 0-76-704083-X)
- Civil War Journal (Six Video Set) (ISBN 1-56-501326-3)

To order, call Glencoe at 1-800-334-7344. To find classroom resources to accompany many of these videos, check the following home pages:

A&E Television: [www.aetv.com](http://www.aetv.com)
The History Channel: [www.historychannel.com](http://www.historychannel.com)

The following articles relate to this chapter:


National Geographic Society Products To order the following, call National Geographic at 1-800-368-2728:

- The Civil War (CD-ROM)

Access National Geographic’s new dynamic MapMachine Web site and other geography resources at:

[www.nationalgeographic.com](http://www.nationalgeographic.com)
[www.nationalgeographic.com/maps](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/maps)

Leveled reading suggestions for this chapter:

For students at a Grade 8 reading level:
- Gentle Annie: The True Story of a Civil War Nurse, by Mary Francis Shura

For students at a Grade 9 reading level:
- Virginia’s General: Robert E. Lee and the Civil War, by Albert Marrin

For students at a Grade 10 reading level:
- The Civil War for Kids, by Janis Herbert

For students at a Grade 11 reading level:
- Civil War Ghosts, by Daniel Cohen

For students at a Grade 12 reading level:
- Mathew Brady: Civil War Photographer, by Elizabeth Van Steenwyk

Use this database to search more than 30,000 titles to create a customized reading list for your students.

- Reading lists can be organized by students’ reading level, author, genre, theme, or area of interest.
- The database provides Degrees of Reading Power™ (DRP) and Lexile™ readability scores for all selections.
- A brief summary of each selection is included.
Focus

MAKING CONNECTIONS

What Keeps Nations United?

What can the leaders of nations do to keep their nations united? When nations suffer internal strife, it can erupt into civil war. Discuss with students the reasons why a nation might divide. Students might suggest that a country would divide across ethnic lines, such as in the breakup of Yugoslavia. OL

Teach

Big Ideas

As students study the chapter, remind them to consider the section-based Big Ideas included in each section’s Guide to Reading. The Essential Questions in the activities below tie in to the Big Ideas and help students think about and understand important chapter concepts. In addition, the Hands-on Chapter Projects with their culminating activities relate the content from each section to the Big Ideas. These activities build on each other as students progress through the chapter. Section activities culminate in the wrap-up activity on the Visual Summary page.

Section 1

Slavery and Western Expansion

Essential Question: How did western expansion cause the North and South to confront the issue of slavery? (The new territories or states gained after the Mexican War had to decide whether they would be free or slave.) Point out that in Section 1 students will learn how political leaders sought to hold together the Union through legislative compromise. OL

Section 2

The Crisis Deepens

Essential Question: How did the controversy over slavery break up and create new political parties? (The Kansas-Nebraska Act upset the agreement ironed out in the Missouri Compromise. Political parties with members from both the North and the South became increasingly divided over the slavery issue.) Point out that in Section 2 students will learn about the growing division in the country over the issue of slavery. OL
MAKING CONNECTIONS
What Keeps Nations United?

From the days of the Constitutional Convention until the late 1840s, people in the North and South had made compromises to keep the nation united. That began to change in the 1850s as the nation expanded westward rapidly and the controversy over slavery in the new territories intensified.

• Why do you think Northerners and Southerners became less willing to compromise in the 1850s?
• Was the Civil War inevitable?

More About the Photo

Visual Literacy The Underground Railroad assisted fugitive slaves to freedom. It employed terms much like the steam railroads. “Conductors” led fleeing slaves to safe places, “stations” or “depots,” to eat and rest. Stations were run by “stationmasters.” People who contributed money or goods to the cause were called “stockholders.” Between the years 1810 and 1850, the South lost 100,000 slaves with the help of the Underground Railroad.

Section 3

The Union Dissolves

Essential Question: What is the final outcome of the national split over the slavery issue? (the American Civil War) Point out that in Section 3 students will learn about the outcome of an election in 1860 that was a precursor to America’s Civil War.  

History ONLINE Visit glencoe.com and enter code TAV9399c8T for Chapter 8 resources, including a Chapter Overview, Study Central™, Study-to-Go, Student Web Activity, Self-Check Quiz, and other materials.
**Focus**

Bellringer

Daily Focus Transparency 8-1

**Guide to Reading**

*Answers:* Democrat Lewis Cass supported popular sovereignty; Free Soiler Martin Van Buren opposed slavery in the West; Whig Zachary Taylor did not express a position.

To generate student interest and provide a springboard for class discussion, access the Chapter 8, Section 1 video at glencoe.com or on the video DVD.

**Resource Manager**

**Reading Strategies**

Teacher Edition
- Inferring, p. 286
- Sequencing Info., p. 290
- Making Connections, p. 293

Additional Resources
- Read. Skills Act., URB p. 21
- Content Vocab. Act., URB p. 27
- Prim. Source Read., URB p. 35
- Guided Read., URB p. 46

**Critical Thinking**

Teacher Edition
- Determining Cause/Effect, p. 285
- Identify. Central Issues, p. 288

Additional Resources
- Economics and History, URB p. 7
- Critical Thinking Skills, URB p. 32
- Quizzes and Tests, p. 107

**Differentiated Instruction**

Teacher Edition
- Eng. Learner Act., URB p. 25

Additional Resources
- Academic Vocab. Act., URB p. 29

**Writing Support**

Teacher Edition
- Expository Writing, p. 287

Additional Resources
- Academic Vocab. Act., URB p. 29

**Skill Practice**

Teacher Edition
- Creating a Time Line, pp. 286, 292
- Using Geo. Skills, p. 289
- Creating a Pol. Cartoon, p. 291

Additional Resources
- Hist. Analysis Skills Act., URB p. 22
- Reinforcing Skills, URB p. 31
- Time Line Act., URB p. 33
- Read. Essen., p. 87

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**Section 1**

**Slavery and Western Expansion**

The spread of slavery into new territory became the overriding political issue of the 1850s. Admitting new slave states or new free states would upset the balance of power between Northern states and Southern states in the national government.

**The Search for Compromise**

*Main Idea:* Continuing disagreements over the westward expansion of slavery increased sectional tensions between the North and South.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What do you recall about the compromise Henry Clay previously negotiated between Northerners and Southerners? Read on to learn about the Great Compromise of 1850 and how it allowed California to be admitted to the Union.

As many people in both the North and South had anticipated, the Mexican War greatly increased sectional tensions. The war had opened vast new lands to American settlers raising, once again, the divisive issue of whether slavery should be allowed to spread westward into the new lands. As part of the debate over the new western territories, Southerners also demanded new laws to help them retrieve slaves who escaped to free states.

**The Wilmot Proviso**

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

Wilmot’s proposal outraged Southerners. They believed that any antislavery decision about the territories would threaten slavery everywhere. Despite fierce Southern opposition, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Whigs passed the Wilmot Proviso in the House of Representatives. The Senate, however, refused to vote on it. During the debate, Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina prepared a series of resolutions to counter the Wilmot Proviso. The Calhoun Resolutions never came to a vote, but they demonstrated the growing anger of many Southerners.

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

With the country increasingly divided along sectional lines over the issue of slavery’s expansion in the territories, many moderates began searching for a solution that would spare Congress from having to deal with the issue. Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan proposed one solution. Cass suggested that the citizens of each new territory should be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted to permit slavery. This idea came to be called popular sovereignty.

Popular sovereignty appealed to many members of Congress because it removed the slavery issue from national politics. It also appeared democratic since settlers themselves would make the decision. Abolitionists argued that it denied African Americans their right to freedom, but many Northerners supported the idea because they believed Northerners would settle most of the new territory and then ban slavery there.

The Free-Soil Party Emerges

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

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

Critical Thinking

Determining Cause and Effect

To help students organize the information under the subhead “The Free-Soil Party Emerges,” have them illustrate in a flowchart the cause-and-effect chain that shows how the Free-Soil Party developed. Ask: What caused the development of the Free-Soil Party? (The Whig decision to nominate Taylor led Conscience Whigs to join antislavery Democrats from New York who were frustrated with the nomination of Cass over Van Buren.)

Mapping Events of the Mid-1800s

Step 1: Laying the Foundation

Students will create an outline map of the United States and determine which events from Section 1 to represent on the map.

Directions

Students should work in small groups or as a class for this activity. Students can either copy an outline map (and enlarge it) or draw an outline map of the United States. Each group should select one major topic from Section 1 to illustrate on the map, such as the Underground Railroad, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, or the transcontinental railroad. Groups should depict the topic on the map using images. They should also include captions that explain the importance of the topic.

Locating and Labeling

Students will determine where on the U.S. map to illustrate their topic. Students should use symbols and map keys to clearly label the map.
Although some Free-Soilers condemned slavery as immoral, most simply wanted to preserve the western territories for white farmers. They believed that allowing slavery to expand would make it difficult for free men to find work. The Free-Soil Party’s slogan summed up their views: “Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men.”

Candidates from three parties campaigned for the presidency in 1848. Democrat Lewis Cass supported popular sovereignty, although this support was not mentioned in the South. His promise to veto the Wilmot Proviso, should Congress pass it, however, was often reported. Former president Martin Van Buren led the Free-Soil Party, which took a strong position against slavery in the territories and backed the Wilmot Proviso. General Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, avoided the whole issue. On Election Day, support for the Free-Soilers split the Democratic vote in New York. This enabled Taylor to win the state, and with it, enough electoral votes to win the election.

The Forty-Niners Head to California

Within a year of Taylor’s inauguration, the issue of slavery again took center stage. In 1848 gold was discovered in California, and thousands of people headed west, hoping to become rich. By the end of 1849, more than 80,000 “Forty-Niners” had arrived to look for gold—more than enough people for California to apply for statehood. Congress had to decide whether California would enter the Union as a free state or a slave state.

Before leaving office, President Polk had urged Congress to create territorial governments for California and New Mexico, but Congress had not been able to agree on whether to allow slavery in these territories. Although President Taylor was himself a slaveholder, he did not think slavery’s survival depended on its expansion westward. He believed that the way to avoid a fight in Congress was to have Californians make their own decision about slavery. With Taylor’s encouragement, California applied for admission as a free state in late 1849. Thus, the Gold Rush had forced the nation once again to confront the divisive issue of slavery.

The Great Debate Begins

If California became a free state, the slaveholding states would be in the minority in the Senate. Southerners dreaded this, fearing it...
Clay’s Proposal In early 1850 one of the most senior and influential leaders in the Senate, Henry Clay of Kentucky, tried to find a compromise that would enable California to join the Union. Clay—nicknamed “The Great Compromiser” because of his role in promoting the Missouri Compromise in 1820 and solving the nullification crisis in 1833—proposed eight resolutions to solve the crisis.

Clay grouped the resolutions in pairs, offering concessions to both sides. The first pair allowed California to come in as a free state but organized the rest of the Mexican cession without any restrictions on slavery. The second pair settled the border between New Mexico and Texas in favor of New Mexico but compensated Texas by having the federal government take on its debts. This would win Southern votes because many Southerners held Texas bonds.

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

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

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

Primary Source

“[T]he equilibrium between [the North and the South]... has been destroyed... [o]ne section has the exclusive power of controlling the government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression.”

—John C. Calhoun, speech in the Senate, March 4, 1850

Primary Source

“California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.”

—Henry Clay’s resolution, January 29, 1950

The Compromise of 1850

- California admitted to the Union as a free state
- Popular sovereignty to determine slavery issue in Utah and New Mexico territories
- Texas border dispute with New Mexico resolved
- Texas receives $10 million
- Slave trade, but not slavery itself, abolished in the District of Columbia
- New, stringent Fugitive Slave Law adopted

Activity: Collaborative Learning

Verbal/Linguistic Sometimes inattention is caused by the difficulty of the material. Have students preview Section 1 with a partner to list and assess components that they might find difficult.

Ask volunteers to share items from their lists. Then, discuss with students the factors that might affect their ability to maintain attention. For example, ask the following questions: In which subsection is it easier for you to maintain attention, “The Search for Compromise” or “The Fugitive Slave Act”? Why?
Critical Thinking

Identifying Central Issues
Discuss with students the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Ask: What were the results of the Fugitive Slave Act in the Northern states? (Neither fugitive African Americans nor free African Americans were safe even in the North. The testimony of a white witness held more weight than that of an African American. Federal commissioners who judged the cases were paid to rule in favor of the slaveholder.)

Answer: California’s population increased rapidly with the Gold Rush, which allowed it to qualify for statehood. The decision to admit California as a slave or free state created a heated debate in Congress.

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

The Compromise of 1850

At first, Congress did not pass Clay’s bill, in part because President Taylor opposed it. Then, unexpectedly, Taylor died in office that summer. Vice President Millard Fillmore succeeded him and quickly threw his support behind the compromise.

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

Fillmore called the compromise a “final settlement” between the North and South. For a short time, the Compromise of 1850 did ease the tensions over slavery. In the next few years, however, more conflicts arose, and the hope of a permanent solution through compromise would begin to fade.

Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

Political Science Conduct a class discussion about the reasons senators from the North and the South disagreed on the Compromise of 1850. List the reasons on the board under the headings “North” and “South.” Tell students that much of the reasoning was the result of differences over states’ rights. Ask students to describe examples of such differences. Conclude the discussion by emphasizing the differences between the politics of the North and the South.
**The Underground Railroad**

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

Although the Fugitive Slave Act included heavy fines and prison terms for helping a runaway, whites and free African Americans continued their work with the Underground Railroad. This informal but well-organized system was legendary during the 1840s and 1850s and helped thousands of enslaved persons escape. Members, called “conductors,” transported runaways north in secret, gave them shelter and food along the way, and saw them to freedom in the Northern states or in Canada, with some money for a fresh start.

Dedicated people, many of them African Americans, made dangerous trips into the South to guide enslaved persons along the Underground Railroad to freedom. The most famous of these conductors was Harriet Tubman, herself a runaway. She risked many trips to the South, even after slaveholders offered a large reward for her capture.

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

**Analyzing GEOGRAPHY**

1. **Location** How far north did many Underground Railroad routes reach?
2. **Place** How many of the states shown had areas where more than 50 percent of the people were enslaved?

**Answers:**
1. to Canada
2. 13 (although Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee had relatively few enslaved people, they had areas in which more than 50% of the population was enslaved)
Answers:
1. Answers will vary. Tubman may have meant that she felt that freedom had transformed her so that she was not sure she was still the same person.
2. It further hardened the positions of the abolitionists and slaveholders, helping to bring the Civil War.

Defending Her Work In response to criticism of her work, Harriet Beecher Stowe published *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in 1853. This volume contained documents and testimonies that supported the picture of slavery she had painted in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

Did You Know? Levi Coffin was born to a Quaker family in North Carolina. As a boy, he witnessed a group of African Americans in chains being led to an auction. The incident deeply affected him, and years later, he allowed escaped African Americans to stay at his home in Indiana, where three Underground Railroad routes from the South converged.

Primary Source
"We knew not what night or what hour of the night we would be roused from slumber by a gentle rap at the door. . . . Outside in the cold or rain, there would be a two-horse wagon loaded with fugitives, perhaps the greater part of them women and children. I would invite them, in a low tone, to come in, and they would follow me into the darkened house without a word, for we knew not who might be watching and listening."

quoted in *The Underground Railroad*

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

Uncle Tom’s Cabin

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

The new Fugitive Slave Act, part of the Compromise of 1850, had gone into effect. Isabella reported, and slave catchers prowled the streets. They pounced on African Americans without warning, breaking into their houses, destroying their shops, and carrying them off. Isabella described daily attacks. She also told of outraged Bostonians, white and African American alike, who rallied to resist the kidnappers.

Activity: Collaborative Learning

Creating a Thematic Map Organize students into small groups to create a thematic map showing the major Underground Railroad routes. Have students use library and Internet sources to learn more about the extensive network of routes traveled by African Americans as they escaped slavery. Maps should include a title, a map key, and a compass rose. Make arrangements to display the maps.
Harriet Beecher Stowe listened with growing despair. She had lived for many years in Cincinnati, across the Ohio River from the slave state of Kentucky. There, she had met many runaways from slavery and heard their tragic tales. She had also visited Kentucky and witnessed slavery firsthand.

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

After running as a serial in an antislavery newspaper, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* came out in book form in 1852 and sold 300,000 copies in its first year—an astounding number for the time. Today, the writing may seem overly sentimental, but to Stowe’s original readers, mostly Northerners, it was powerful. Her depiction of the enslaved hero Tom and the villainous overseer Simon Legree changed Northern perceptions of African Americans and slavery.

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

Theatrical dramatizations of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* increased the story’s appeal. The plays reached a wider audience than the novel and specifically attracted the working class, which tended to ignore abolitionism.

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

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

**The Kansas-Nebraska Act**

**MAIN IDEA** In the 1850s the debate over the spread of slavery became increasingly heated and sometimes turned violent.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever watched Congress on television? Do you think politicians behave differently when they know the public is watching? Read on to find out how debate gave way to a physical assault on the Senate floor in 1856.

The opening of Oregon and the admission of California to the Union had convinced Americans that a transcontinental railroad should be built to connect the West Coast to the rest of the country. In the 1850s getting to the West Coast required many grueling weeks of travel overland or a long sea voyage around the tip of South America. A transcontinental railroad would reduce the journey to four relatively easy days, while promoting further settlement and growth in the territories along the route.

**Debating the Route of the Transcontinental Railroad**

The transcontinental railroad had broad appeal, but the choice of its eastern starting point became a new element in the sectional conflict. Two routes were initially proposed—a northern route and a southern route.

Many Southerners preferred a southern route from New Orleans, but the geography of the Southwest required the railroad to pass through northern Mexico. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, a supporter of the South’s interests, convinced President Franklin Pierce to send James Gadsden, a South Carolina politician and railroad promoter, to buy the land from Mexico. In 1853 Mexico accepted $10 million for the Gadsden Purchase—a 30,000-square-mile strip of land that today is part of southern Arizona and New Mexico.

Meanwhile, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the head of the Senate committee on territories, had his own ideas for a transcontinental railroad. Douglas wanted the eastern terminus to be in Chicago, but knew that northern route required Congress to organize the unsettled lands west of Missouri and Iowa.

**Activity: Technology Connection**

**Verbal/Linguistic** Have students select one of the people mentioned in the section on the Transcontinental Railroad. Have them prepare a speech that could have been given by that person expressing his or her views on the railroad, its proposed route, and its purpose. Students may need to use library or Internet sources to learn more about the Transcontinental Railroad and the people involved with it. Have students present their speeches to the class.
In 1853 Douglas prepared a bill to organize the region into a new territory to be called Nebraska. Although the House of Representatives passed the bill quickly, Southern senators who controlled key committees refused to go along, and they prevented the bill from coming to a vote. These senators made it clear to Douglas that if he wanted Nebraska organized, he needed to work to repeal the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery in the region. At first he tried to dodge the issue and gain Southern support for his bill by saying that any states organized in the new Nebraska territory would be allowed to exercise popular sovereignty, deciding for themselves whether to allow slavery.

Repealing the Missouri Compromise

Douglas knew that any attempt to repeal the Missouri Compromise would divide the country. Nevertheless, he wanted to open the northern Great Plains to settlement. At first he tried to dodge the issue and gain Southern support for his bill by saying that any states organized in the new Nebraska territory would be allowed to exercise popular sovereignty, deciding for themselves whether to allow slavery.

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

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

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

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

On May 21, 1856, border ruffians, worked up by the arrival of more Northerners, attacked the town of Lawrence, a stronghold of antislavery settlers. The attackers wrecked newspaper presses, plundered shops and homes, and burned a hotel and the home of the elected free-state governor.

“Bleeding Kansas,” as newspapers dubbed the territory, became the scene of a territorial civil war between pro-slavery and antislavery settlers. By the end of 1856, 200 people had died in the fighting and $2 million worth of property had been destroyed.

The Caning of Charles Sumner

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

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

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

Vocabulary


Main Ideas

2. Describing How did Stephen Douglas propose repealing the Missouri Compromise?
3. Explaining How could Uncle Tom’s Cabin be considered a cause of the Civil War?
4. Summarizing How did the Kansas Territory become an arena of civil war?

Critical Thinking

5. Big Ideas How did antislavery activists justify disobeying the Fugitive Slave Act?
6. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the main elements of the Compromise of 1850.

7. Analyzing Visuals Study the photo on page 286. What does the photo reveal about the people who traveled to California to find gold?

Writing About History

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

Answers

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
2. He broke it up into separate bills so that Congress members could vote for, against, or abstain on various parts.
3. The book was widely read and had a dramatic impact on public opinion in the North by evoking outrage and pity for the plight of enslaved people.
4. Proslavery and antislavery settlers tried to establish a majority to ensure that they could control the future of slavery in Kansas. Tensions soon turned into armed conflict.
5. They followed the principle of civil disobedience—that it is immoral to support or follow an immoral law.
6. Answers should include: California entered the Union as a free state, the rest of the Mexican cession did not have any slavery restrictions, the border between New Mexico and Texas was settled in favor of New Mexico, the federal government would take Texas’s debts, the slave trade was outlawed in the District of Columbia, Congress could not interfere in the slave trade, and a new fugitive slave law was passed.
7. Answers will vary.
8. Students’ articles should be well organized with a clear outline, introduction, body, and conclusion.
The controversy over slavery accelerated the breakdown of the major political parties and the formation of new ones, including the party of future president Abraham Lincoln. Friction intensified until the North and South became unable to compromise any further.

The Birth of the Republican Party

MAIN IDEA Continuing disagreements over the expansion of slavery—most notably the Kansas-Nebraska Act—led to the formation of the Republican Party.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know of any foreign governments that are controlled by a coalition of political parties? Read on to learn how the Republican Party was formed by a coalition of political parties.

When the Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the Missouri Compromise, it had a dramatic effect on the political system. Proslavery Southern Whigs and antislavery Northern Whigs had long battled for control of their party, but the Kansas-Nebraska Act finally split the party. Every Northern Whig in Congress had voted against the bill, while most Southern Whigs had voted for it. “We Whigs of the North,” wrote one member from Connecticut, “are unalterably determined never to have even the slightest political correspondence or connexion” with the Southern Whigs.

Another Whig member from the South who had voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Act, John Brown, was determined to revive the spirit of the American Revolution. Just as Jefferson had chosen the name Democratic-Republican because he wanted to prevent the United States from becoming a monarchy, the new Republicans chose their name because they feared that the Southern planters were becoming an aristocracy that controlled the federal government.

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

**The Know-Nothing**

At the same time, Northern anger against the Democrats enabled the American Party—also known as the Know-Nothing—to make gains, particularly in the Northeast. The American Party was an anti-Catholic and nativist party. It opposed immigration, especially Catholic immigration. Prejudice, and fear that immigrants would take away jobs, enabled the American Party to win many seats in Congress and state legislatures in 1854.

Soon after the election, the Know-Nothings suffered the same fate as the Whigs. Many Know-Nothings had been elected from the Upper South, particularly Maryland, Tennessee, and Kentucky. They quickly split with Know-Nothing’s from the North over their support for the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Furthermore, the violence in Kansas and the beating of Charles Sumner made slavery a far more important issue to most Americans than immigration. Eventually, the Republican Party absorbed most Northern Know-Nothings.

**The Election of 1856**

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

**Analyzing VISUALS**

1. **Making Inferences** Why do you think that both cartoons are so critical of Fillmore? How is the issue of immigration different or the same today as it was in 1856? (Answers will vary.)

2. **Identifying Points of View** Which cartoon do you think might have appeared in the North and which in the South? Why?

**Activity: Collaborative Learning**

**Forming a Hypothesis** To review the Dred Scott decision, organize the class into groups of four. Have each student present one aspect of the event to the rest of the group. Use the following aspects: President Buchanan’s reasons for letting the Supreme Court decide the issue of slavery in the territories, the reasons for the Supreme Court’s decision, reaction in the North, and reaction in the South. Based on discussion, have each group form a hypothesis stating what might have happened had Northerners not challenged the Court’s decision.
Skill Practice

Explaining a Quote Ask students to explain the words of Robert Purvis that are quoted on this page. Encourage students to look up the meaning of unfamiliar words, such as sublimity and impudence.

Answer:
Instead of removing slavery as an issue, the decision itself became a political issue by stating that the concept of free soil was unconstitutional because the Court stated that the federal government had no right to prohibit slavery in a territory.

The Dred Scott Decision

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

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

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

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

The American Party tried to reunite its Northern and Southern members at its convention, but most of the Northern delegates walked out when the party refused to call for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The rest of the convention then chose former president Millard Fillmore to represent the American Party, hoping to attract the votes of former Whigs.

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

The Supreme Court decided on January 28, 1857, that African Americans could not sue in the courts. Taney ruled against Scott because, he claimed, African Americans were not citizens and therefore could not sue in the courts. Taney then addressed the Missouri Compromise’s ban on slavery in territory north of Missouri’s southern border:

**Primary Source**

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

—from Dred Scott v. Sandford

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

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

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

**Primary Source**

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

—quoted in Witness for Freedom

Additional Support

Activity: Technology Connection

**Auditory/Musical** Have interested students write a script for a “You Are There” radio program on the reaction to the Dred Scott decision. Suggest that the scripts include an introduction that provides background information and interviews with lawyers, Dred Scott, John F. A. Sandford, other eyewitnesses at the court, and various experts on the Supreme Court. Encourage students to “broadcast” their scripts for the rest of the class on the Internet, DVDs, or other presentation tools.
Can the Government Ban Slavery in Territories?

*Dred Scott v. Sandford, 1857*

**Background to the Case**

Between 1833 and 1843, enslaved African American Dred Scott and his wife Harriet had lived in the free state of Illinois and in the part of the Louisiana Territory that was considered free under the Missouri Compromise. When he was returned to Missouri, Scott sued his slaveholder, John Sanford, based on the idea that he was free because he had lived in free areas, and won. That decision was reversed by the Missouri Supreme Court, and Scott’s case went to the U.S. Supreme Court.

**How the Court Ruled**

The 7-2 decision enraged many Northerners, and delighted many in the South. In his lengthy opinion for the Court, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney found that enslaved descendants of enslaved Africans were property, could not be citizens of the United States, or of a state, and that therefore Scott had no rights under the Constitution and no right to sue Sanford. Further, Taney decreed that Congress did not have the authority to prohibit slavery in the territories. This made the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.

**Primary Source**

**The Court’s Opinion**

“[T]he right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. . . . And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description. . . . Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory.”

—Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, writing for the Court in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*

**Dissenting Views**

“The prohibition of slavery north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and of the State of Missouri . . . was passed by a vote of 134, in the House of Representatives, to 42. Before [President] Monroe signed the act, it was submitted by him to his Cabinet, and they held the restriction of slavery in a Territory to be within the constitutional powers of Congress. It would be singular, if in 1804 Congress had power to prohibit the introduction of slaves in Orleans Territory [the future state of Louisiana] from any other part of the Union, under the penalty of freedom to the slave, if the same power, embodied in the Missouri compromise, could not be exercised in 1820.”

—Justice John McLean, dissenting in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*

**DBQ Document-Based Questions**

1. Finding the Main Idea What is the main idea of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney’s opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*?

2. Summarizing What argument does Justice John McLean offer in favor of Congress’s right to prohibit slavery in the territories?

3. Expressing Which argument do you feel is stronger? Explain.

**More About the Case**

Tell students that in this case, the Supreme Court held that an enslaved person was property, not a citizen, and thus had no rights under the Constitution. Point out that this decision was a prime factor leading to the Civil War.

**Answers:**

1. Taney argues that the Constitution protects property, that slaves are property, and that therefore Congress has no right to prohibit the ownership of this “property”—enslaved people—anywhere in the territories.

2. McLean argues that Congress prohibited the introduction of slaves in the Orleans Territory, so therefore, Congress obviously has that right under the Constitution.

3. Answers will vary, but students should express a reasoned argument in support of one side or the other.

**Activity: Collaborative Learning**

**Analyzing Information** Have students work in pairs to analyze the effects of the growth of slavery. Tell them that in 1790, there were about 698,000 enslaved persons in the United States. By 1860, there were almost 4 million enslaved persons in the South. Ask each pair to list reasons why political compromise over the slavery question might have been easier right after the American Revolution than during the 1850s. (Possible reasons: the economy of the South did not yet depend entirely on slavery and a better political climate for compromise may have existed after the Revolution.) Discuss student responses with the class.
The Emergence of Abraham Lincoln

MAIN Idea Stephen Douglas took positions on Kansas and the Dred Scott case that reduced his popularity while Abraham Lincoln gained a reputation within the Republican Party.

HISTORY AND YOU What do you know about Abraham Lincoln? Read on to find out how he rose to national prominence in the 1850s through a series of famous debates.

After losing in 1856, Republicans realized they needed a candidate who could win every Northern state. They also knew that Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois was a rising star in the Democratic Party and a Northerner whom the South might trust with the presidency in order to stop a Republican victory. To win, Republicans needed a candidate who could defeat Douglas in his home state of Illinois. They also needed Douglas to take unpopular positions on the issues under consideration.

By late 1858, both conditions had been fulfilled. Douglas had taken positions on Kansas and the Dred Scott case that made him less popular in both the North and the South. At the same time, Republicans had found a candidate from Illinois who might be able to challenge Douglas—a relatively unknown politician named Abraham Lincoln.

Kansas’s Constitution

Douglas began to lose popularity in the South because of events in Kansas. Hoping to end the troubles there, President Buchanan urged the territory to apply for statehood. The proslavery legislature scheduled an election for delegates to a constitutional convention, but antislavery Kansans boycotted it, claiming it was rigged. The resulting constitution, drafted in the town of Lecompton in 1857, legalized slavery in the territory.

Each side then held its own referendum, or popular vote, on the constitution. Antislavery forces voted down the constitution; proslavery forces approved it. Buchanan accepted the proslavery vote and asked Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state. The Senate quickly voted to accept the Lecompton constitution, but the House of Representatives blocked it. Many members of Congress became so angry during the debates that fistfights broke out. Southern leaders were stunned when even Stephen Douglas refused to support them. Many had thought that Douglas was one of the few Northern leaders who understood the South’s concerns and would be willing to compromise.

Finally, to get the votes they needed, Southern leaders in Congress agreed to allow Kansas to hold another referendum on the constitution. Southern leaders expected to win this referendum. If settlers in Kansas rejected the Lecompton constitution, they would delay statehood for Kansas for at least two more years. Despite these conditions, the settlers in Kansas voted overwhelmingly in 1858 to reject the Lecompton constitution. They did not want slavery in their state. As a result, Kansas did not become a state until 1861.
Lincoln and Douglas

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

Primary Source

“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.”

—from Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War

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

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

YES
Stephen Douglas
United States Senator

Primary Source

“It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension.”

—speech delivered August 27, 1858

NO
Abraham Lincoln
Former Congressman

Primary Source

“What is Popular Sovereignty? Is it the right of the people to have Slavery or not have it, as they see fit, in the territories? I will state . . . my understanding is that Popular Sovereignty, as now applied to the question of Slavery, does allow the people of a Territory to have Slavery if they want to, but does not allow them not to have it if they do not want it. I do not mean that if this vast concourse of people were in a Territory of the United States, any one of them would be obliged to have a slave if he did not want one; but I do say that, as I understand the Dred Scott decision, if any one man wants slaves, all the rest have no way of keeping that one man from holding them.”

—speech delivered August 21, 1858

Critical Thinking

Drawing Conclusions Have students read the speeches of Lincoln and Douglas on this page, examine their photos, and read the text describing the candidates. Ask: How might the Lincoln-Douglas debates play out on modern television? (Answers will vary, but could include that Lincoln could have the advantage over Douglas in height, but maybe not in appearance.)

Answers:
1. Because the Dred Scott decision said that slavery could not be banned from a territory.
2. Douglas stated that the Dred Scott decision does not really matter, and that a territory will determine on its own by what type of policing it establishes whether or not it will have slavery or be free.
3. Answers will vary, but students should demonstrate an understanding of both points of view.

Mapping Events of the Mid-1800s

Step 2: Mapping a Debate Students will select an event from Section 2 and illustrate it on their outline map of the United States.

Directions Students should work in small groups. Each group will select an event from Section 2 to illustrate on the map. Students will choose an image, for example of the people involved in the event. Students will also color code the map as needed, to portray territories, for example. Students should then create text/caption boxes or images to show each side of the debate. For example, students may show Stephen Douglas’s and Abraham Lincoln’s views on whether slavery should be allowed in western territories.

Summarizing Information Students will determine the main points of each side in a debate and summarize those points succinctly for inclusion on the map.
Douglas tried to avoid the dilemma, formulating an answer that became known as the Freeport Doctrine. He replied that he accepted the Dred Scott ruling, but he argued that people could still keep slavery out by refusing to pass the laws needed to regulate and enforce it. "Slavery cannot exist . . . anywhere," argued Douglas, "unless it is supported by local police regulations." Douglas’s response pleased Illinois voters but angered Southerners.

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

Primary Source

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

—from Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War

Douglas won the election, but Lincoln did not come away empty-handed. He had used the debates to make clear the principles of the Republican Party. He had also established a national reputation for himself as a man of clear, insightful thinking who could argue with force and eloquence. Within a year, however, national attention shifted to another figure, a man who opposed slavery not with well-crafted phrases, but with a gun.
Let's Dive into Abolitionist John Brown's Raid at Harpers Ferry

**Main Idea**
Abolitionist John Brown planned to free and arm enslaved African Americans to stage a rebellion against slaveholders.

**HISTORY AND YOU**
Do you recall a previous time in American history when citizens revolted against what they believed was an unfair government? Read on to learn about John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry.

**Primary Source**
“...I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done in behalf of [God's] despoiled poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle my blood...with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by...the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle my blood...with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done!”

—From The Life and Letters of Captain John Brown

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

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

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

**Reading Strategy**
**Activating Prior Knowledge**
Review the details of the Boston Tea Party. Ask: How does John Brown’s raid differ from the Boston Tea Party? (No one was physically harmed at the Boston Tea Party.)

**Answer:**
Many Northerners viewed Brown as a martyr for the cause of abolition, while Southerners saw his raid as a direct threat of attack by Northerners.

**Assess**

**History ONLINE**
Study Central™ provides summaries, interactive games, and online graphic organizers to help students review content.

**Close**

**Analyzing** Ask students to identify and write one sentence about each of the events that increased sectional tensions in the late 1850s.

**Answers**
1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
2. African Americans could not sue in courts because they were not citizens and the prohibition of slavery established by the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.
3. The settlers in Kansas voted overwhelmingly in 1858 to reject the Lecompton constitution because they did not want a constitution that allowed slavery.
4. Many Northerners saw Brown’s act as heroic, while Southerners saw it as terrifying and threatening.
5. Republican Party: limit the influence of Southern planters and keep slavery out of the territories; American Party: oppose immigration.
7. The figure represents the founding ideals of the nation and freedom from tyranny.
8. Students’ letters will vary, but should express a clear Northern or Southern point of view on the Dred Scott decision.
The Union Dissolves

In the end, all attempts at compromise between the North and South over slavery failed to end the sectional differences. Finally, the outcome of the 1860 election triggered a showdown and the first shots of the long, bloody Civil War.

The Election of 1860

**MAIN Idea**  The election of Abraham Lincoln led the Southern states to secede from the Union.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Is it always important to give someone a chance to keep a promise? Lincoln had promised not to free slaves in the Southern states. Read on to learn how South Carolina decided to secede anyway.

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

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

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

The Democrats Split

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

In June 1860 the Democrats met again, this time in Baltimore, to select their candidate. Douglas’s supporters in the South had organized rival delegations to ensure Douglas’s endorsement. The original Southern delegations objected to these rival delegates and again

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**Guide to Reading**

**Big Ideas**

**Struggles for Rights** After Lincoln’s election to the presidency, many Southerners placed state loyalty above loyalty to the Union.

**Content Vocabulary**

- martial law (p. 307)

**Academic Vocabulary**

- commitment (p. 306)
- impose (p. 307)

**People and Events to Identify**

- John C. Breckinridge (p. 303)
- John Bell (p. 303)
- Fort Sumter (p. 304)
- Crittenden’s Compromise (p. 305)
- Jefferson Davis (p. 305)

**Reading Strategy**

**Taking Notes** Use the major headings of this section to outline the events that led to the U.S. Civil War.
After the slavery issue split the Democratic Party, the election of 1860 evolved into a four-way race. In the cartoon, the artist implies that Lincoln won because he had the best bat, which is labeled “equal rights and free territories,” while the other candidates were for compromise or the extension of slavery.

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

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

Other people, including many former Whigs, were greatly alarmed at the danger to the Union. They created another new party, the Constitutional Union Party, and chose former Tennessee senator John Bell as their candidate. The Constitutional Unionists campaigned on a position of upholding both the Constitution and the Union.

Answers:
1. He won no states south of the Ohio River.
2. Possible answer: The artist labels Lincoln’s larger “bat” with the words “equal rights and free territory,” and adds the words “wide awake” on Lincoln’s belt. Also, Lincoln is saying that you need a “good bat,” to hit a “fair ball.” All these words are positive. Also Lincoln is standing tall, while the others look somewhat ridiculous.

Differentiated Instruction Strategies

**BL** Identify the emotions that are expressed in each selection.

**AL** Choose one selection and paraphrase it for another student.

**ELL** Choose a reading or poem in your native language that expresses similar emotions as the selections in this activity. Paraphrase it for the class.
Lincoln Is Elected

With no chance of winning electoral votes in the South, the Republican candidate had to sweep the North. The most prominent Republican at the time was Senator William Seward from New York. Delegates at the Republican convention in Chicago did not think Seward had a wide enough appeal. Instead they nominated Abraham Lincoln, whose debates with Douglas had made him very popular in the North.

During the campaign, the Republicans tried to persuade voters they were more than just an antislavery party. They denounced John Brown's raid and reaffirmed the right of the Southern states to preserve slavery within their borders. They also supported higher tariffs, a new homestead law for western settlers, and a transcontinental railroad.

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

Secession Begins

The dissolution of the Union began with South Carolina, where anti-Northern, secessionist sentiment had long been intense. Shortly after Lincoln's election, the state legislature called for a convention. The convention unanimously voted for the Ordinance of Secession. By February 1, 1861, six more states in the Lower South—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had voted to secede. Many Southerners believed secession was in the tradition of the American Revolution and that they were fighting for their rights.

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

Although horrified at the seizure of federal property by the secessionists, many members of Congress were still willing to compromise to avoid civil war. To that end, Kentucky senator John J. Crittenden proposed several amendments to the Constitution. One would guarantee slavery where it already existed. Another would also reinstate the Missouri Compromise line, extending it to the California border. Slavery would be prohibited north of the line and protected south of it. Lincoln, however, asked congressional Republicans to stand firm, and Crittenden’s Compromise did not pass.

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

Founding the Confederacy

On the same day the peace conference met, delegates from the seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama. There, in early February, they declared themselves to be a new nation—the Confederate States of America—or the Confederacy, as it became known. The convention then drafted a constitution based largely on the U.S. Constitution but with some important changes. It declared that each state was independent and guaranteed the existence of slavery in Confederate territory. It did ban the import of slaves from other countries. It also banned protective tariffs and limited the presidency to a single six-year term.

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

Skill Practice

Creating a Thematic Map

Have students create a map that John J. Crittenden could have used as a visual aid when he presented his compromise to Congress. BL

Answer:
the election of Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, to the presidency

Analyzing TIME LINES

Answers:
1. 10 years until Lincoln is elected; 11 years until the first shots are fired
2. the Wilmot Proviso

Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

Geography
Provide students with an outline map of the United States that shows the current state boundaries. Have students create a thematic map by first labeling and shading in one color all the states that were part of the Union on June 10, 1861. Next, have students use a different color to label and shade all the states that had seceded. Finally, have students use a third color to shade the remaining area and label it “Territories.” OL
The Civil War Begins

**MAIN Idea** The plan to resupply Fort Sumter triggered the beginning of the Civil War.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you think it is ever appropriate for the government to declare martial law? Why or why not? Read to learn how Lincoln used martial law to keep Maryland from seceding.

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

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

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

— from Lincoln’s first Inaugural Address

Fort Sumter Falls

In April Lincoln announced that he would resupply Fort Sumter. Confederate President Jefferson Davis now faced a dilemma. Leaving federal troops in the South’s most vital harbor was unacceptable if the Confederacy was to be an independent nation. Firing on the supply ship, however, would undoubtedly lead to war with the United States.

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

Anderson stood fast. The fateful hour came and went, and cannon fire suddenly shook the

**Answer:**

because the shelling and fall of Fort Sumter began the Civil War, which was a test of the strength of the Union

### Mapping Events of the Mid-1800s

**Step 3:** Secession and the Confederacy

Students will represent the division of the Union on their map.

**Directions** Students will represent the seceding states and border states. Students should include a timeline of events leading to secession on the side of their maps.

**Representing Information** Students will need to show the events for Step 3 in a way that does not interfere with the images, colors, and text that they have already placed on it. They will have to label information clearly and concisely. (Chapter Project continued on Visual Summary page)
**The Upper South Secedes**

After the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the military for 90 days. The call for troops created a crisis in the Upper South. Many people there did not want to secede, but faced with the prospect of civil war, they believed they had no choice but to leave the Union. Virginia acted first, passing an Ordinance of Secession on April 17, 1861. The Confederate Congress responded by moving the capital of the Confederacy to Richmond, Virginia. By early June of 1861, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee had also seceded.

**Hanging On to the Border States**

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

To prevent Maryland’s secession, Lincoln imposed martial law in Baltimore, where mobs had already attacked federal troops. Under martial law, the military takes control of an area, replaces civilian authorities, and suspends many civil rights. Fearing that Confederate agents in Washington, D.C., were plotting against the Union government, Lincoln suspended the right of habeas corpus, which protects citizens from illegal imprisonment without evidence. Union Army officers imprisoned dozens of suspected secessionist leaders and held them without trial. Chief Justice Robert Taney ruled that Lincoln had wrongly denied the right of habeas corpus, but Lincoln ignored this in the face of impending war.

Kentucky stayed neutral until September 1861, when Confederate forces occupied part of the state, prompting Union troops to move in as well. The Confederate invasion angered many in the Kentucky legislature, which now voted to fight the Confederacy. This led other Kentuckians who supported the Confederacy to create a rival government and secede.

The third border state Lincoln worried about was Missouri. Although many people in the state sympathized strongly with the Confederacy, its convention voted almost unanimously against secession. A struggle then broke out between the convention and pro-secession forces led by Governor Claiborne F. Jackson. In the end, Missouri stayed with the Union with the support of federal forces. From the very beginning of the Civil War, Lincoln had been willing to take political, even constitutional, risks to preserve the Union. The issue of its preservation now shifted to the battlefield.

**Critical Thinking**

**Drawing Conclusions**

Ask: How does martial law restrict the civil rights of citizens? (Answers will vary but should include some aspect of personal freedoms being restricted.)

**Answers:**

If Maryland seceded, Washington, D.C., would be surrounded by Confederate states. Kentucky was important for its control of the southern bank of the Ohio River.

**Vocabulary**

1. Explain the significance of: John C. Breckinridge, John Bell, Fort Sumter, Crittenden’s Compromise, Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, martial law.

**Main Ideas**

2. Explaining How did problems in the Democratic Party help Abraham Lincoln win the 1860 election?

3. Identifying Where and under what circumstances did the American Civil War begin?

**Critical Thinking**

4. Big Ideas How did Lincoln prevent Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland from seceding? Was Lincoln justified in his actions? Why or why not?

5. Categorizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the various parties’ candidates and political positions in the 1860 election.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Democrat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Democrat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitutional Unionist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Analyzing Visuals Examine the map on the election of 1860 on page 303. Explain why Douglas won only one state.

**Writing About History**

7. Persuasive Writing Suppose you are an adviser to President Lincoln and have just heard about the firing on Fort Sumter. Write a brief report for the president, advising him on what steps to take next.
Narrative Writing  Have students select one cause, effect, or visual in the Visual Summary as a short story starter for a piece of realistic fiction. Encourage students to do additional research to find historical details that will enrich their work. Encourage students to read their stories to the class.  

Chapter 8 • Visual Summary

Chapter 8

Causes of Sectional Tensions
• Disagreement continues over the legality, morality, and politics of slavery.
• Congressman David Wilmot proposes the Wilmot Proviso to ban slavery in territory acquired from Mexico.
• The concept of popular sovereignty—that local settlers can decide whether their state will be a free state or slave state—is popularized.
• The California Gold Rush leads to Californians applying for statehood as a free state, creating the possibility of more free states than slave states in the Senate.
• The Compromise of 1850 leads to the Fugitive Slave Law.
• Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in 1852.
• The Kansas-Nebraska Act repeals the Missouri Compromise.
• The Dred Scott case results in the Supreme Court declaring the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.
• John Brown launches a raid on Harpers Ferry, hoping to incite a slave rebellion.
• Lincoln wins the presidency in 1860.

Effects of Sectional Tensions
• The Free-Soil Party, seeking to stop the spread of slavery into western territories, is formed.
• The Republican Party is formed by antislavery Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, and members of the abolitionist Liberty Party.
• Some Northerners actively resist the Fugitive Slave Law and help escaped slaves; the Underground Railroad moves runaway slaves from the South to freedom in Canada.
• Violence erupts between proslavery and antislavery settlers in Kansas.
• John Brown and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* polarized the North and South.
• Missouri Compromise is found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.
• John Brown’s raid convinces many Southerners that secession is necessary to keep the South safe.
• Lincoln’s election is the final straw. Several Southern states secede from the Union and form the Confederacy.
• Confederates attack Fort Sumter in South Carolina and take it.
• Lincoln calls for troops to put down the rebellion; the Civil War begins.

Mapping Events of the Mid-1800s

**Step 4: Wrap Up**  Student groups will summarize the chapter’s content by presenting the map to the rest of the class.

**Directions**  Divide students into groups. Each group will prepare a presentation of the map. Each presentation should include the main topics illustrated on the map. Student presentations should include not only a listing of facts and events, but also explanations of the causes and effects of the events.

**Putting It Together**  Students will analyze the causes and effects of sectional conflict and present them during their oral presentations to the class.  

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When Northern settlers organized to stop slavery from spreading into Kansas (left), their efforts were met with a violent response by Southerners. Ultimately, the struggle over slavery led to Civil War when the Confederacy fired on Fort Sumter (above).  

The Dred Scott decision and the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* fueled the bitter sectional struggle over slavery.  

Hands-On  

Chapter Project  

Step 4: Wrap Up  

When Northern settlers organized to stop slavery from spreading into Kansas (left), their efforts were met with a violent response by Southerners. Ultimately, the struggle over slavery led to Civil War when the Confederacy fired on Fort Sumter (above).  

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When Northern settlers organized to stop slavery from spreading into Kansas (left), their efforts were met with a violent response by Southerners. Ultimately, the struggle over slavery led to Civil War when the Confederacy fired on Fort Sumter (above).  

The Dred Scott decision and the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* fueled the bitter sectional struggle over slavery.
Reviewing Vocabulary
Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

1. To spare Congress from further arguments over slavery, Senator Lewis Cass proposed the idea of ________, which would allow each territory to decide if it wanted to allow slavery or not.
   A. marital law
   B. popular sovereignty
   C. abolition
   D. imposition

2. John C. Calhoun warned that Southern states might agree upon ________ to break away from the national Union, if their way of life was not protected by the federal government.
   A. ratification
   B. imposition
   C. secession
   D. composition

3. In Kansas, antislavery supporters voted in a ________ against the Lecompton constitution.
   A. committee
   B. convention
   C. proviso
   D. referendum

4. To keep Maryland in the Union, Abraham Lincoln declared ________ in Baltimore.
   A. martial law
   B. abolition
   C. secession
   D. popular sovereignty

5. John Brown was executed for his attack on Harpers Ferry and a plan to lead a slave ________ against slaveholders.
   A. demonstration
   B. referendum
   C. insurrection
   D. revolution

Need Extra Help?
If You Missed Questions . . .
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Reviewing Main Ideas
Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 284–293)
6. The Wilmot Proviso declared that there would be no ________ in the United States.
   A. more slavery
   B. slavery in the lands won from Mexico.
   C. further territorial acquisitions.
   D. new states added to the Union.

7. Which of the following was an effect of the Fugitive Slave Law?
   A. Southerners had no more problems with escaped enslaved people.
   B. Enslaved people could now leave slavery whenever they wished.
   C. California was brought into the Union as a free state.
   D. Northerners who had been neutral about slavery were now outraged.

Section 2 (pp. 294–301)
9. In the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court determined that it was unconstitutional to ________.
   A. allow slavery in the territories.
   B. prohibit slavery in the territories.
   C. free slaves in the United States.
   D. bring enslaved people from one state to another.

TEST-TAKING TIP
When a question contains a negative, try to reword the sentence or phrase to make it positive.

Answers and Analyses
Reviewing Vocabulary
1. B Popular means “of the public” and sovereignty means “freedom from external control.” The concept of popular sovereignty means people can determine for themselves how they are ruled. Rather than the government deciding whether or not slavery was allowed, the territories would decide for themselves.

2. C Calhoun wanted Southern states’ rights to be guaranteed, a return of fugitive slaves, and a balance of power between slaveholding states and free states.

3. D Referendum is the only answer choice that is by definition a vote. Choices A and C are types of meetings or groups. A proviso is a clause that introduces a condition (as in a contract).

4. A Martial law is when the military takes over for local government. The military acts as an agent for the federal government, and people’s civil rights are suspended. Declaring martial law is a drastic action. Abolition is to end something, and does not make sense. Martial law was declared in response to secession.

5. C An insurrection is a rebellion. Students may be confused by D, revolution. Although revolution is a type of rebellion, revolution implies an attempt to overthrow a government or to make a drastic change. It is on a much larger scale than an insurrection.

Reviewing Main Ideas
6. B The Wilmot Proviso was suggested as an add-on to a military appropriations bill. Its proposal angered Southerners who felt it would lead to an end to slavery. A is the most likely distractor, but it suggests that the Proviso
10. D Know-Nothings were nativists. They were against immigration. Their formation was in reaction to the wave of new immigrants, especially Irish people, who were Catholic.

11. B The Kansas-Nebraska Act split the Whig party, and the anti-slavery faction joined members of the Free-Soil Party and formed the Republican Party, a turning point in American party politics. Lincoln would run as the Republican candidate in the 1860 election.

12. C Lincoln represented the Republican Party, which was seen as anti-slavery. Therefore, his victory was seen as a victory for abolitionists. A is the opposite of the correct answer. B does not make sense; from the Southern, pro-slavery point of view, Lincoln’s election would not benefit the South in any way.

13. B Students can approach this question in a chronological way. Fort Sumter fell before the events in the other answer choices happened. Virginia seceded right after Sumter fell. Army officers imprisoned suspected secessionists during martial law in Maryland. Shortly after that, Lincoln refused to send troops into Kentucky.

14. C Lincoln first and foremost wanted to preserve the Union. His declaration of martial law showed that he would go to great lengths to achieve this. The declaration of martial law was a risk, because it could backfire and cause greater anger, which it did.

**Critical Thinking**

15. C The slave states that did not secede are shaded in solid dark gray. The only one listed in the answer choices is Missouri.

16. D States that seceded after the Fort Sumter attack are striped. Help students locate these states on the map.
17. "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. . . ."
—Abraham Lincoln, 1858

The “divided house” referred to in this speech was caused primarily by
A  expansionism.
B  war with Mexico.
C  slavery.
D  the suffrage movement.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 8.

18. What do you think this cartoon is satirizing?
A  the Wilmot Proviso
B  the presidential election of 1856
C  the presidential election of 1860
D  the formation of the Republican Party

Document-Based Questions
Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

Edward A. Pollard of Virginia was the editor of the Daily Richmond Examiner during the Civil War. He wrote a book, The Lost Cause, about the Civil War from the Southern point of view. In this excerpt from the book, Pollard gives his view of the causes of the Civil War:

"In the ante-revolutionary period, the differences between the populations of the Northern and Southern colonies had already been strongly developed. The early colonists did not bear with them from the mother-country to the shores of the New World any greater degree of congeniality than existed among them at home. They had come not only from different stocks of population, but from different feuds in religion and politics. There could be no congeniality between . . . New England, and the South . . . ."
— from The Lost Cause

19. According to Pollard, when did differences between the North and South begin?

20. What did he believe caused the differences between the people of the North and the South?

Extended Response
21. Essays will vary, but must be written in a persuasive format. Students must take a definitive position on the issue and support it fully with details and examples from the text.

Need Extra Help?
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