

The Coming of the Civil War (1846–1861)

- SECTION 1 Two Nations
- SECTION 2 The Mexican War and Slavery Extension
- SECTION 3 New Political Parties
- SECTION 4 The System Fails
- SECTION 5 A Nation Divided Against Itself



Stop the Runaway!
\$100 Reward!

Runaway from the subscriber, living in Clay county, Mo., 3 miles south of Haynesville and 15 miles north of Liberty, a negro boy named SANDY, about 35 years of age, about 5 feet 6 inches high, rather copper color, whiskers on his chin, quick when spoken to, had on when he left brown janes pants and coat, black plush cap, and coarse boots. If apprehended a reward of \$25 will be given if taken in Clay county; \$50 if out of the county, and \$100 if taken out of the State, and delivered to me or confined in jail so that I can get him.
ROBT. THOMPSON.
April 3, 1860.



American Events

1845

The United States annexes Texas.

1848

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican War and awards northern Mexico to the United States.

1850

Congress agrees to the Compromise of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Act.

1852

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

1854

Congress passes the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Republican Party organizes to oppose the spread of slavery.

Presidential Terms: James Polk 1845–1849 Z. Taylor 1849–50 Millard Fillmore 1850–1853 Franklin Pierce 1853–1857

1845

World Events

The Taiping rebellion begins in China.

1850

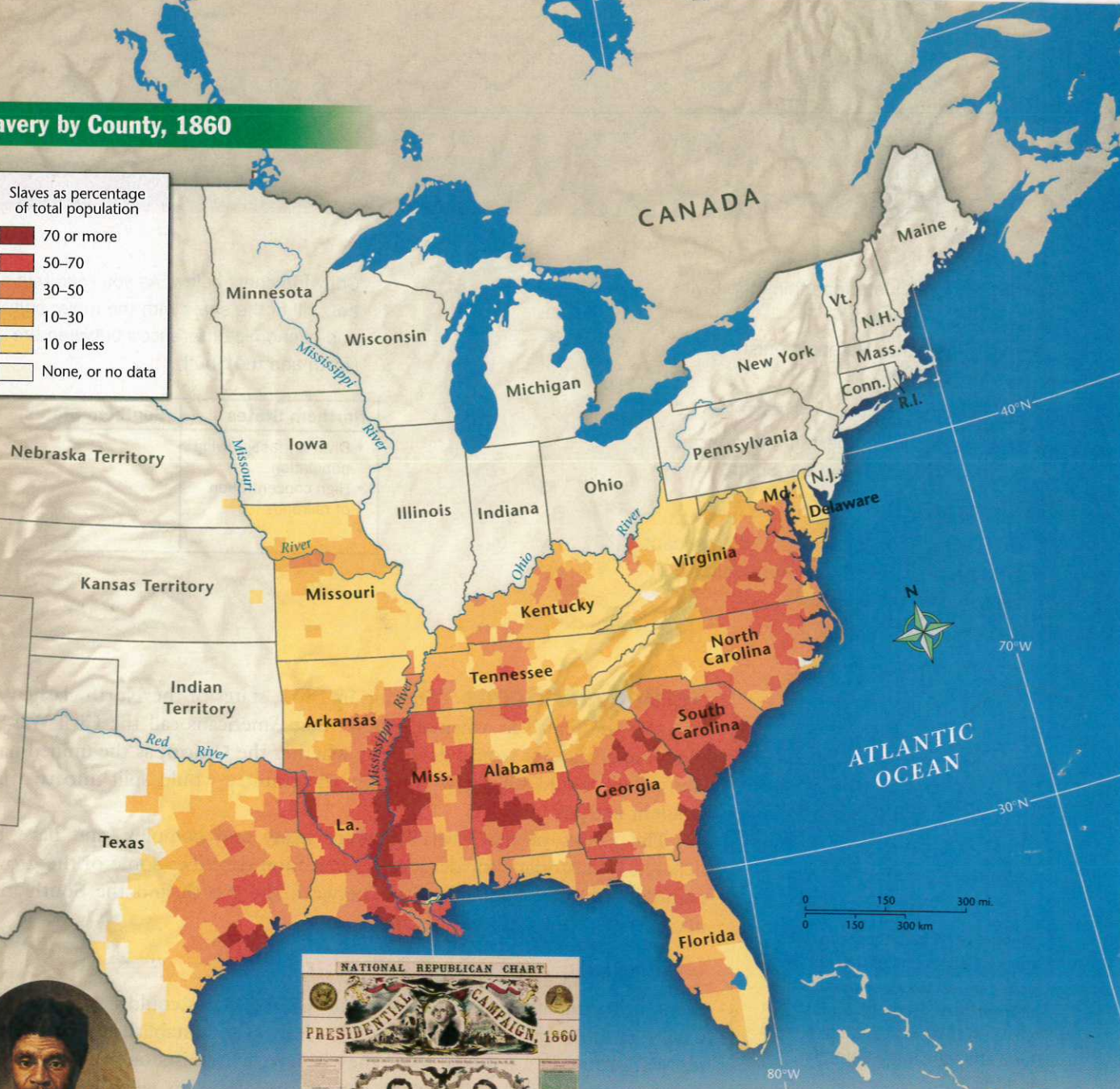
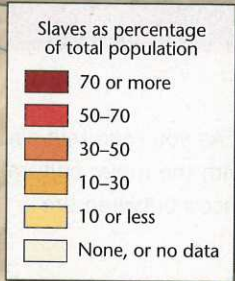
Britain and France join the Crimean War against Russia.

1854

Henry Bessemer discovers a way to mass-produce steel.

1856

Slavery by County, 1860



1857

The Supreme Court rules against Dred Scott.

1860

Abraham Lincoln wins the presidential election with no Southern support.

1860

South Carolina becomes the first of seven Lower South states to secede from the Union.

1861

The attack on Fort Sumter begins the Civil War. Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas join the Confederacy.

James Buchanan 1857-1861

Abraham Lincoln 1861-1865

1860

Hindu and Muslim soldiers in India rebel against British rule.

Charles Dickens publishes *A Tale of Two Cities*.

1865

Victor Emmanuel II proclaims a unified Kingdom of Italy.

1857

1859

1861

Two Nations

READING FOCUS

- Why do some historians think the Civil War was unavoidable?
- What arguments did abolitionists use against slavery?
- How did Southerners view slavery?
- What were some important differences between the North and the South?

MAIN IDEA

In the 1850s, growing numbers of Americans believed that the North and the South were moving in different directions.

KEY TERMS

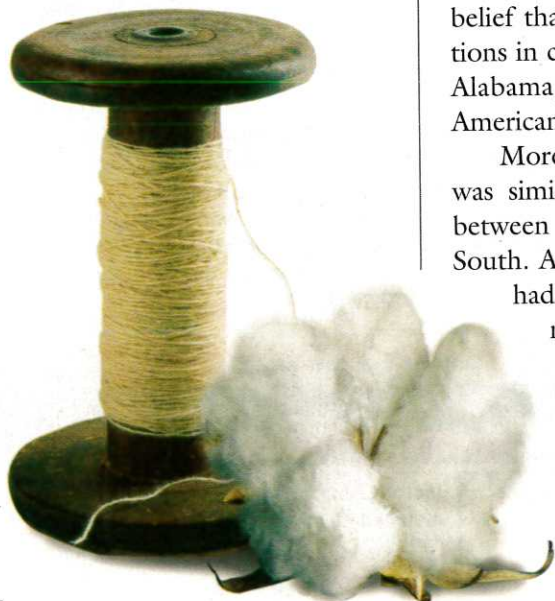
Union
prejudice
obsolete

TAKING NOTES

Copy the chart below. As you read this section, fill in the chart with the major cultural and economic differences between the North and the South.

Northern States	Southern States
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diverse, fast-growing population • High concentration of railroads • 	

A spool of thread spun in a northern mill and a boll of raw cotton grown in the South symbolize the difference between the industrial power of the North and the agricultural strength of the South in the 1850s.



Setting the Scene Starting in 1861, states of the North clashed with states of the South in a brutal conflict that Americans call the Civil War. The outcome of the war would determine whether the **Union**, as the unified nation was called, would survive or whether the country would split into two independent nations.

The causes of the Civil War were many and complex, and have been debated by historians for decades. This section describes some of the growing cultural and economic differences between the North and the South in the decade before the outbreak of war.

Historians and the Civil War

Some historians have suggested that the United States could have avoided the Civil War. If Americans had elected better leaders and established stronger political institutions at a national level, they believe, extremists on both sides would never have been able to force the nation into war. This view is based on the belief that Americans of the mid-1800s had many cultural and political traditions in common and therefore could have settled their differences. Whether in Alabama, Oregon, Indiana, or Massachusetts, according to this belief, Americans supported democracy, free enterprise, and social equality.

More recently, other historians have rejected this idea that American society was similar everywhere. These historians tend to emphasize the differences between the regions, racial groups, and social classes of the North and the South. Although these historians do not claim that the events of the Civil War had to have happened the way they did, they do believe that some kind of major conflict was bound to occur.

The Case Against Slavery

During the early 1800s, many Americans observed sharp contrasts between the North and the South. They said that the two great sections amounted to distinct nations within the United States. The key difference between the North and the South, and the difference to which all other conflicts were connected, was slavery.

By the 1850s, many white Northerners had come to believe that slavery violated the basic principles of both the United States and the Christian religion. Most white opponents of slavery were members of the democratic Protestant faiths that had been on the rise since the Second Great Awakening. The members of these faiths believed that all humans, free or enslaved, had the right to choose their own destiny and to follow God's laws.

Slavery's white opponents did not necessarily believe that blacks and whites were equal. Many, in fact, were deeply prejudiced against African Americans. (A **prejudice** is an unreasonable, usually unfavorable opinion of another group that is not based on fact.) Nevertheless these people believed that slavery was an evil that could not be tolerated.

Uncle Tom's Cabin Without question, the most powerful statement made during this period about the impact of slavery was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Published in 1852, Stowe's novel became an instant bestseller and sold millions of copies in the United States and abroad.

The story is set in the pre-Civil War South. In the novel, a slave named Eliza Harris escapes from her home on Shelby plantation in Kentucky when her child is about to be sold. As Eliza heads north, she avoids the hired slave catchers and finds help along the Underground Railroad. Another slave, Uncle Tom, is "sold down the river" to another owner and is eventually killed by his brutal master, Simon Legree.

Stowe did not depend only on the sharp contrast between the kind slave Uncle Tom and his cruel master to make her case against slavery. She also tried to show that slavery was opposed to beliefs that many Northerners cherished: the importance of women and the ideal of the family. In the novel, the neat, orderly world of Uncle Tom's cabin, formed around his happy family, comes to a tragic end when Uncle Tom's owner has to sell him. Eventually Uncle Tom falls into the hands of the cruel slaveholder, Simon Legree.

By contrast with the saintly Uncle Tom, Simon Legree is everything Stowe's audience in the North feared and despised: an unmarried, anti-Christian, heavy-drinking bully. Not only does he brutalize the enslaved women of his plantation, but in the end he beats Uncle Tom to death with a whip. It was not by accident that Stowe made Legree a Northerner who had moved to the South. She wanted to show that slavery also could corrupt those born outside the system.

To contrast these stark images of the immoral effects of slavery, Stowe wrote powerful scenes in which northern women influence their husbands to do what is right. For example, in one scene set in a house in Ohio, a wife persuades her husband, a senator, to permit some escaped slaves to continue their journey to Canada. When her husband tries to argue with her, she replies:

"I don't know anything about politics, but I can read my Bible; and there I see that I must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and comfort the desolate; and that Bible I mean to follow."

Her husband points out that to help escaped slaves would involve breaking the law. The wife replies:

READING CHECK

How did the Second Great Awakening draw people to abolitionism?



VIEWING HISTORY Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* offered antislavery forces new encouragement in resisting the slavery system. **Distinguishing Fact From Opinion** Identify two ways that the drawing adds drama to Eliza's escape from slavery.



American BIOGRAPHY

"If I could use my pen as you can, I would write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is," wrote Harriet Beecher Stowe's sister. Born in Connecticut in 1811 and part of the well-known Beecher family, Stowe would become one of the best-known writers of the antislavery movement. Stowe found herself on the front lines of the slavery debate after she moved to Cincinnati, Ohio in 1832. Although Ohio was a free state, Stowe's new home was located just across the Ohio River from the slave state of Kentucky. She drew on her encounters with fugitive slaves and her visits to the South to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. After her initial success, Stowe wrote novels, essays, and poetry on diverse themes that included slavery, literature, and religion. She returned to Connecticut during the Civil War and lived in Hartford until her death in 1896.



Harriet Beecher
Stowe
1811–1896

“Obeying God never brings on public evils. I know it can't. It's always safest, all round, to do as He bids us.”

Impact of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Although a work of fiction, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had as powerful an effect in Stowe's time as Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* had in his. According to a family story, when Stowe met President Lincoln during the Civil War he said, "So this is the little lady who made this big war?"

Stowe's novel presented a vivid picture of slavery in the South that northern readers found believable, even if it was in fact exaggerated. As they read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, many Northerners became convinced that slavery would be the ruin of the United States. They worried about the impact of slavery not just on African Americans, but on whites and American society in general. Of this they were sure: they would never allow the United States to become a land of Simon Legrees.

Southern Views on Slavery

Southern intellectuals and politicians reacted very differently to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. To them, Stowe's bestseller was a book of insulting lies. While they admitted that some masters did treat enslaved people badly, they argued that few were as cruel as Simon Legree. Some white Southerners had their own exaggerated view of slavery, in which plantation households were like large and happy families.

Southerners did more than protest northern criticism. Many spoke out to defend slavery and attack the evils they saw in the North. They claimed that most planters took a personal interest in the well-being of the enslaved people who worked for them and provided them with the basic necessities of life. Northern industrialists, they argued, took no personal responsibility for their workers because they had no strong connection to them. Northerners could easily replace their workers and therefore, Southerners believed, northern employers did not care if they paid workers enough to buy decent food, clothing, and shelter. Most Southerners believed that northern business owners mistreated their workers because they were motivated solely by profit.

Perhaps the most direct statement of this point of view appeared in a book by George Fitzhugh published in 1857, titled *Cannibals All!* Attacking northern industrialists, whom he saw as no better than cannibals, Fitzhugh wrote:

“You, with the command over labor which your capital gives you, are a slave owner—a master, without the obligations of a master. They, who work for you, who create your income, are slaves, without the rights of slaves. Slaves without a master!”

—George Fitzhugh

Outraged by antislavery Northerners who pretended to be better than Southerners, Fitzhugh exclaimed:

“What is falsely called Free Society, is a very recent invention. It proposes to make the weak, ignorant and poor, free, by turning them loose in a world owned exclusively by the few . . . to get a living.”

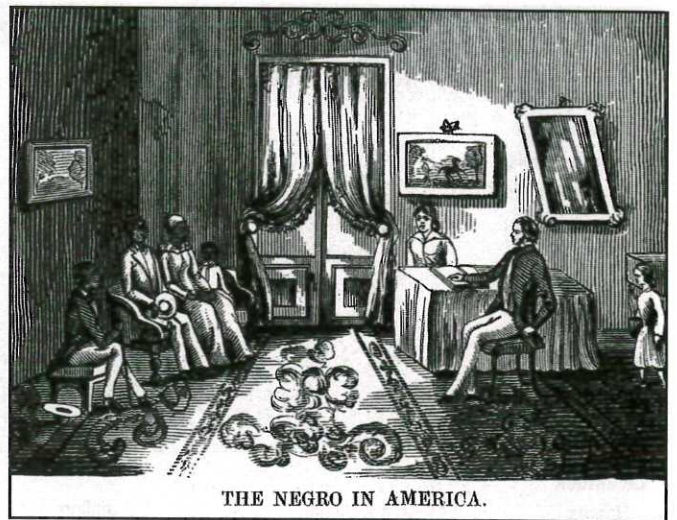
—George Fitzhugh

READING CHECK

In what ways did Southerners criticize labor practices in the North?



THE NEGRO IN HIS OWN COUNTRY.



THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

Many white Southerners argued that they represented the true spirit of the American Revolution. After all, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and many other Revolutionary leaders had owned slaves. These Southerners believed that their households possessed an order, a grace, and a sense of liberty that Northerners could not begin to understand. On one point almost all Southerners agreed: they were not about to let Northerners, whom they saw as arrogant and self-righteous, tell them how to live.

Differences Between the North and the South

The differences between the North and the South were not simply a product of exaggerated fiction and propaganda. Hard facts illustrate how differently the two regions had developed since 1790. Each year the North was becoming ever more urban and industrialized than the South. Its population, already more than twice as large as the South's, was becoming even larger and more diverse as Irish and German immigrants crowded into northern cities. By 1860, nine of the country's ten largest cities were located in the North.

Trains and Trade Like immigration, new technology had a heavier impact on the North than on the South. One critical innovation was the railroad. Railroads dramatically reduced the cost and time needed to ship goods from factory or farm to the marketplace. The most efficient form of transportation the world had yet known, railroads made canals **obsolete**, or outdated, in a matter of years.

By 1840, approximately 3,000 miles of track had been laid in the United States. African American and Irish immigrant workers added another 5,000 miles during the 1840s. It was in the 1850s, however, that the railroads truly came into their own. More than 20,000 miles of track were laid in that decade.

During this railroad boom, remote places suddenly became centers of bustling trade. Railroads took advantage of Chicago's central location to transport goods such as corn and wheat between the east and the west. As a result, Chicago grew from a small trading village to an important regional center in only a few years.

The railroads, however, had a positive effect primarily in the North. In 1860, 70 percent of the railroad track in the United States were in the North. In the 1850s, the South attempted to catch up with the North in terms of transportation. The total length of railroad tracks in the South doubled, and then doubled again in that decade as railroads invested in new links. Railroads contributed to the

VIEWING HISTORY Southern proslavery writers promoted the myth that slavery "raised Africans from savagery" and "civilized" them. These before-and-after pictures are from a pamphlet titled *Bible Defence of Slavery*. **Recognizing Bias** What other claims did proslavery activists make to justify slavery?

Economic Advantages of the North and South

	Northern States	Southern States
Agriculture		
Corn (bushels)	✓ 446 million	280 million
Wheat (bushels)	✓ 132 million	31 million
Oats (bushels)	✓ 150 million	20 million
Cotton (bales)	4 thousand	✓ 5 million
Tobacco (pounds)	✓ 229 million	199 million
Rice (pounds)	50 thousand	✓ 187 million
Finance		
Bank Deposits	✓ \$207 million	\$47 million
Specie	✓ \$56 million	\$27 million
Livestock		
Horses	✓ 4.2 million	1.7 million
Donkeys and Mules	300 thousand	✓ 800 thousand
Milk Cows	✓ 5.7 million	2.7 million
Beef Cattle	6.6 million	✓ 7 million
Sheep	✓ 16 million	5 million
Swine	✓ 16.3 million	15.5 million
Manufacturing		
Number of Factories	✓ 110.1 thousand	20.6 thousand
Number of Workers	✓ 1.17 million	111 thousand
Value of Products	✓ \$1.62 billion	\$155 million
Population		
	✓ 21.5 million	9 million
Railroad Mileage		
	✓ 21.7 thousand miles	9 thousand miles

SOURCE: *The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War*

INTERPRETING CHARTS The economic contrasts between the North and the South were sharp. **Analyzing Information** Summarize the types of advantages held by the North and the South.

much in common. They both cherished their democratic traditions, for example. Nevertheless, the two regions held competing visions of what American society should become. As economic and political power shifted in favor of the North, people in the South worried that they would lose their voice in the debate.

growth of many southern cities, such as Atlanta, Georgia. Still, in 1860 the southern railroad network was much less developed than railroad networks in New England or the Midwest. Southern planters and farmers were more likely to transport their crops by water than by rail.

The Telegraph Like the railroad, the telegraph magnified the differences between the North and the South. This historic advance in communication, patented by Samuel F. B. Morse in 1844, allowed people to send messages over wires by using a code of short and long pulses of electricity. A combination of “dots” and “dashes” represented each letter of the alphabet. Because telegraph wires were strung along the ever-growing network of railroad tracks, the communications revolution in the North advanced more quickly than in the South.

Together, railroads and improved communications nourished the booming industries of the North. In 1860, the North had 110,000 factories, compared to 20,000 in the South; it produced over \$1.6 billion worth of goods, compared to the South’s \$155 million. In fact, in terms of numbers, the South outranked the North in only two notable ways: it had more enslaved people and it produced more cotton. As the chart illustrates, the South also grew more rice and matched or exceeded the North in many categories of livestock.

Certainly, the North and the South in 1860 had

Section

1

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

- How did slavery affect the views that Northerners and Southerners had of each other?
- What **prejudice** was common to most whites in all parts of the country?
- How did the economic trends that occurred in the 1800s affect the North and the South differently?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

- Recognizing Cause and Effect** Why was *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* successful in changing many people’s attitudes toward slavery?
- Writing an Opinion** Write a short paragraph summarizing the two main views held by historians on the issue of whether the Civil War could have been avoided.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Constructing a Graph

Use historical census data to construct a graph of agricultural or manufacturing production in different states in 1850 or 1860. What do the data tell you? Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com

The Mexican War and Slavery Extension

READING FOCUS

- What events led to the annexation of Texas?
- Why did the United States go to war with Mexico?
- Why did the Wilmot Proviso lead to conflict?

MAIN IDEA

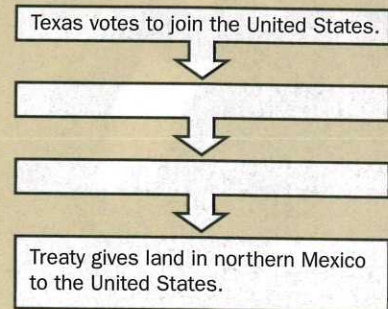
The annexation of Texas and the Mexican War of 1846–1848 extended the boundaries of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

KEY TERMS

manifest destiny
annex
Mexican War
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Gadsden Purchase
Wilmot Proviso

TAKING NOTES

Copy the flowchart below. As you read, fill in the chart with events that led to the acquisition of California and the Southwest.



Setting the Scene Migration from the United States into western territories surged in the 1830s and 1840s. That started some Americans dreaming of an empire stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. These Americans believed that the United States had a divine mission to spread liberty across the continent. A New York journalist named John L. O’Sullivan captured this sense of mission when he coined the phrase **manifest destiny**, meaning “obvious or undeniable fate.”

Writing in 1845, O’Sullivan claimed that it was the nation’s “manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us.” In the 1840s, Americans believed that no other nation should be allowed to keep the United States from fulfilling its destiny.

Annexation of Texas

In 1836, after winning independence from Mexico, Texans voted to be **annexed** by the United States. To annex means to “join” or “attach.” Texans encouraged the United States to absorb their new republic, partly to protect themselves from invasion by Mexico.

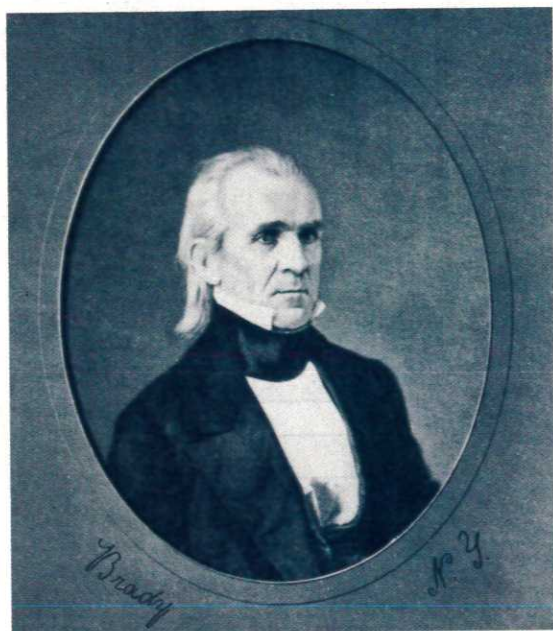
Americans, however, were far from united on the question of annexation. Most Southerners and Democrats supported it. They looked forward to carving one or more slave states out of the Texas territory. Northerners and Whigs generally opposed it. They feared that the addition of even one slave state would shift the balance of power to the South.

Many people in both the North and the South worried that annexation would lead to war with Mexico. Their fear proved justified in August 1843, when Mexican leader Santa Anna warned that annexation would be “equivalent to a declaration of war against the Mexican Republic.” Despite this warning, President John Tyler signed a treaty of annexation with Texas in April 1844. Two months later the Whig-controlled Senate defeated the treaty.

Later that year Democrat James K. Polk won the presidency. The victory of Polk, a strong advocate of expansion, suggested that the majority of Americans



The Texas flag reflects the new republic’s informal name: the Lone Star Republic.



VIEWING HISTORY The election of President James K. Polk in 1844 paved the way for the annexation of Texas. **Recognizing Cause and Effect** How did Mexico react to the annexation?

wanted to acquire more territory. Legislators' views on the Texas question began to shift. In February 1845, before Polk even took the oath of office, Congress approved annexation. In December 1845, after Texas voters added their approval, Texas became the twenty-eighth state in the Union.

War With Mexico

In March 1845, one month after Congress approved annexation, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the United States. The Mexican government had taken the first step toward war. Even if the United States could persuade Mexico to accept the annexation, a dispute about the southern boundary of Texas remained an explosive issue. The United States claimed that the Rio Grande was the official American-Mexican border. Mexico claimed that the Nueces River, located quite a few miles farther north, was the border.

President Polk and other southern Democrats wanted much more from Mexico than just Texas. Polk had dreams of acquiring the entire territory stretching from Texas to the Pacific. In a final

attempt to avoid war, he sent Ambassador John Slidell to Mexico City in November 1845 with an offer to buy New Mexico and California for \$30 million. But the Mexican government refused even to receive Slidell, let alone consider his offer.

Determined to have his way, Polk sent more than 3,000 American troops under General Zachary Taylor into the disputed area of southern Texas. Taylor crossed the Nueces in March 1846 and set up camp near the Rio Grande. Mexico considered Taylor's advance an invasion of Mexican territory and prepared to take action.

Mexican troops engaged in a skirmish with Taylor's forces in late April 1846. Several Americans were killed. This was the excuse Polk had been waiting for. Expressing outrage at the loss of "American blood on American soil," the President pushed for a declaration of war. Despite some opposition, Congress gave it to him on May 13, 1846, and the **Mexican War** was declared. Meanwhile, an American expedition under the command of Captain John C. Frémont moved into California, probably under orders from President Polk.

American settlers in California declared their independence under the Bear Flag in 1846.

Bear Flag Revolt Before news of the war with Mexico even reached California, a group of American settlers took matters into their own hands. Led by William B.

Ide, these settlers launched a surprise attack on the town of Sonoma on June 14 and proclaimed the Republic of California. The settlers' flag pictured a grizzly bear and a single star, so the uprising became known as the Bear Flag Revolt. Frémont quickly assumed control of the rebel forces and then drove the Mexican army out of northern California.

In July 1846, United States troops under General Stephen Kearny crossed into New Mexico. Meeting little resistance, American forces occupied Santa Fe by mid-August. Kearny then took part of his army and marched west



to California to join Frémont. Together they defeated the Mexican army. By January 1847 the United States had taken control of the territories of New Mexico and California.

Fighting in Mexico While Frémont and Kearny were securing Mexico's northern territories, General Taylor had taken the war into Mexico. After crossing the Rio Grande, Taylor won a series of victories, leading finally to the Battle of Buena Vista in February 1847.

Here he met Santa Anna, who had brought an army of 20,000 Mexican troops north from Mexico City. Taylor's army won the hard-fought battle, which left hundreds killed and wounded on both sides. When it was over, Santa Anna chose to declare victory and return to Mexico City rather than continue the struggle.

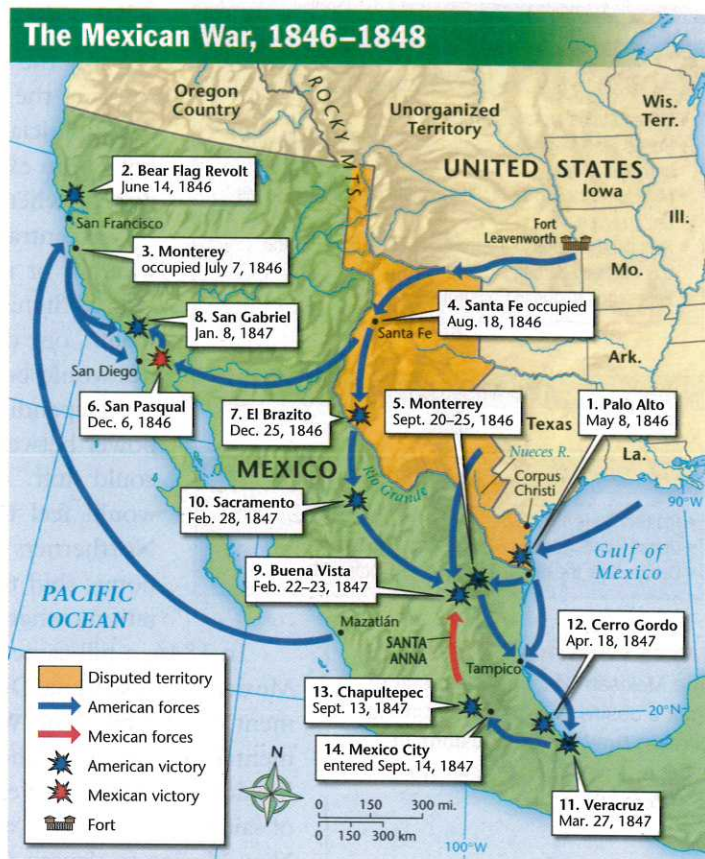
Santa Anna abandoned northeastern Mexico to Taylor in part because of a serious threat to his capital. Pressing for complete victory, Polk had dispatched forces under General Winfield Scott to take Mexico City. In March 1847, Scott captured the port city of Veracruz. Then he marched his army of 10,000 men toward Mexico City along the route once taken by Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés. After fierce fighting, Scott defeated Santa Anna's forces and captured the Mexican capital on September 14, bringing the war to an end.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo With the defeat of its troops and the fall of the country's capital, the Mexican government sought peace. The terms of the **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo**, signed on February 2, 1848, reflected Mexico's weak bargaining position:

1. Mexico gave up its claim to Texas and recognized the Rio Grande as the southern border of Texas.
2. Mexico gave New Mexico and California, which together made up more than two fifths of its territory, to the United States.
3. The United States paid Mexico \$15 million.
4. The United States agreed to pay claims made by American citizens against Mexico, which would amount to more than \$3 million.

Five years later, in 1853, the Mexican government sold 30,000 square miles of present-day southern New Mexico and Arizona to the United States for \$10 million. Known as the **Gadsden Purchase**, this land eventually provided a route for the southern transcontinental railroad.

Although the Mexican War is less well-known than other wars the United States has fought, the American victory over Mexico had important effects. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, together with the 1846 division of Oregon and the Gadsden Purchase, established the boundaries of the continental United States as we now know them. Referred to by Mexicans as the North American Invasion, the war also left many Mexicans deeply bitter toward the United States and led to decades of poor relations and misunderstandings. Finally, the acquisition of a vast expanse of territory in the West opened the doors for an even larger wave of western migration.



MAP SKILLS Many Americans, including President Polk, viewed the Mexican War as an opportunity to expand America's borders across the continent. **Movement** What information on this map can you use to predict who won the war?

READING CHECK How did the Mexican War begin?

The Mexican War: Causes and Effects

CAUSES

- United States annexes Texas.
- United States and Mexico disagree about the southern border of Texas.
- Mexico refuses to sell California and New Mexico to the United States.
- Polk sends troops to establish the Rio Grande as the U.S.–Mexico border.
- Polk sends troops to California.

THE MEXICAN WAR

EFFECTS

- Rio Grande is established as the U.S.–Mexico border.
- United States acquires California and New Mexico.
- Debate over the expansion of slavery intensifies.

INTERPRETING CHARTS

The Mexican War was the result of Polk's desire to expand the United States. **Drawing Conclusions** In what way was the Mexican War a success?

The Wilmot Proviso

Possibly the most important effect of the Mexican War was helping to bring the question of slavery to the forefront of American politics. Politicians had long avoided dealing with the question of slavery within existing states. But they had to confront the slavery issue directly when they created new territories or states.

A central issue facing Congress in the 1840s and 1850s was whether or not to allow slavery in the territories acquired by the United States from Mexico. Any states carved out of slave territories would, one day, probably become slave states. Likewise, free territories would become free states.

Depending on what Congress did, the balance of political power between North and South (or between free and slave states) could shift. The Senate, where each state had equal representation, would feel the greatest shock as a result of such a power shift. Northerners also feared that adding slave states could cause an economic shift to the South. They did not want to compete with plantation owners, whose use of slavery drove wages down.

In 1846, a bill came before Congress to provide funds for negotiating with Mexico. Pennsylvania Democrat David Wilmot attached a proviso, or amendment, to the bill. The **Wilmot Proviso** stated that “as an express and fundamental condition of the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico . . . neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory.” If the amendment passed, it would have closed California and New Mexico to slavery as a requirement for their annexation. Congress did not pass the amendment.

Northerners continued to attach this proviso to bills related to the new territories. Some Northerners in the House supported the proviso as a weapon against slavery, while others voted for it to show that northern Democrats could challenge southern Democrats for control of the House. The Wilmot Proviso never became law. Each time it came up for discussion, however, the Wilmot Proviso revealed the growing gap between the North and the South over slavery.

Section

2

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. Why did some Americans oppose the **annexation** of Texas?
2. How did the war against Mexico help the United States achieve its **manifest destiny**?
3. What was the outcome of the **Gadsden Purchase**?
4. What was the purpose of the **Wilmot Proviso**?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

5. **Identifying Alternatives** Do you think that it would have been possible for Texas to remain separate from the United States? Why?
6. **Writing to Persuade** Write a brief editorial in which you explain why the United States should or should not go to war with Mexico in 1846.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Writing a Newspaper Article Select a key event from the Mexican War or the annexation of Texas. Write a newspaper article describing this event in detail. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com

New Political Parties

READING FOCUS

- What were the effects of the Missouri Compromise?
- What did the Compromise of 1850 accomplish?
- How did political parties change in the 1850s?
- Why did Stephen Douglas propose the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

MAIN IDEA

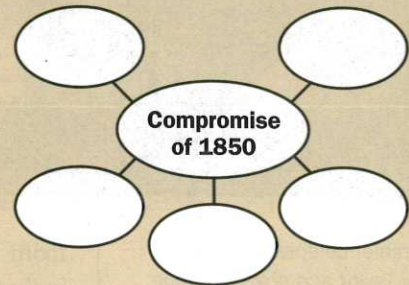
A congressional compromise failed to end disagreement over slavery in the territories. Meanwhile, the political party system broke down as new political parties arose.

KEY TERMS

Compromise of 1850
Fugitive Slave Act
nativism
Kansas-Nebraska Act
popular sovereignty

TAKING NOTES

Copy the web diagram below. As you read this section, fill in the web diagram with important elements of the Compromise of 1850.



Setting the Scene The differences between the North and the South were bound to cause political conflict, but did they have to lead to a lengthy civil war? The answer to this question requires an understanding of politics in the 1850s. The war occurred when it did and in the way it did because politicians could not solve the question of slavery.

Politicians might have been able to keep slavery from tearing the nation apart if Americans had not annexed and settled new lands to the west of the Mississippi. This newly settled land forced an old question back into politics: whether or not slavery would be allowed in the territories. Each new state that joined the Union could tip the balance in Congress in favor of or against slavery in the future.

In the 1840s, Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in opposition to the war with Mexico, “The United States will conquer Mexico, but it will be as the man swallows the arsenic; Mexico will poison us.” As you have read, the United States won the Mexican War and took a large expanse of territory as a reward. Yet the fight to open or close this and other territories to slavery would ultimately destroy relations between the North and the South.

Effects of the Missouri Compromise

Congress had made its first attempt to address the question of whether to extend slavery in the territories with the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In the short run, the compromise maintained the balance in the Senate between slave and free states. It also sought to address the long-term issue of westward expansion by stating that any

The end of the Mexican War brought the vast territories of California and New Mexico under American control, raising new questions about the expansion of slavery.





This kerchief celebrated General Zachary Taylor and several important battles of the Mexican War.

states to be created out of lands north of 36° 30' N latitude would be free states. The compromise did not, however, settle the issue of whether slavery would be legal while the lands in the west were still territories.

After the Mexican War, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 gave the United States a large piece of land that had been part of Mexico. Because much of this new territory was south of the line set by the Missouri Compromise, Northerners feared that it would eventually be divided into several slave states. This would give the South a majority vote in the Senate and an advantage in the Electoral College. The best way to prevent the creation of more slave states, reasoned antislavery Northerners, was to keep slavery out of these areas while they were still territories.

Southerners were equally firm in insisting that the national government had no right to prevent free citizens from taking their property to the territories. Property, according to the law, included enslaved people.

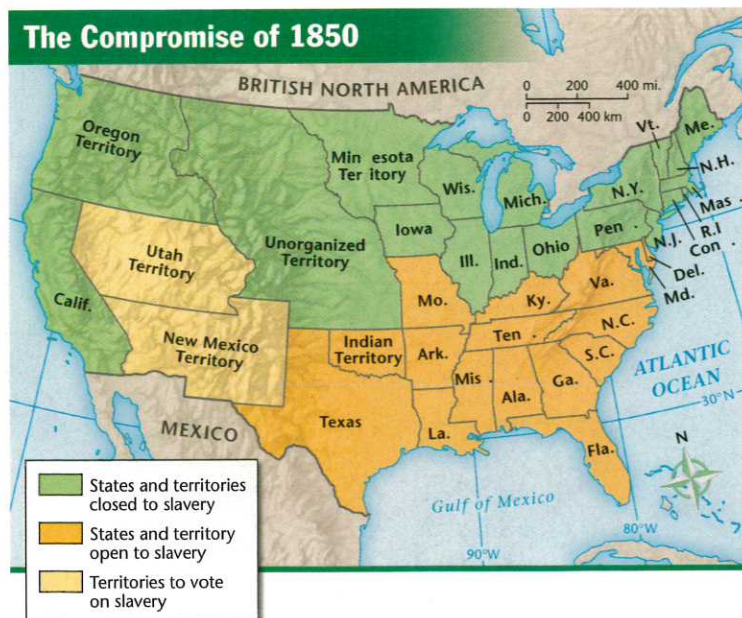
In the presidential election of 1848, both major parties hoped to attract voters from all sides of the slavery debate. Thus they nominated candidates who avoided discussing the slavery issue. The Democrats chose Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan, while the Whigs chose a Mexican War general, Zachary Taylor.

Angered by their parties' unwillingness to confront slavery, some members from both parties who opposed slavery in the territories split off and formed the Free Soil Party. The Free Soilers did not win any states in the 1848 election, but they did take enough votes away from Cass to give Taylor a narrow victory.

MAP SKILLS During the debate that led to the Compromise of 1850, all the great speakers of the Senate had their say. The compromise that resulted is shown in the map below. **Regions** What issues did the Compromise of 1850 attempt to address?

The Compromise of 1850

The issue of territorial slavery resurfaced in 1850 when California, flooded with migrants during the Gold Rush, asked to join the Union as a free state. Admitting California as a free state would upset the fragile balance between free and slave states in the Senate. The stage was set for one of the most dramatic events in American history.



Clay Proposes a Compromise At the center of this drama were three of the most respected senators of that (or any) era: John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. All had begun their long political careers in Congress prior to the War of 1812. When the Senate assembled in 1849, the 73-year-old Clay, who was called “Gallant Harry of the West,” tried to solve the nation’s dilemma with words rather than blood.

Clay’s plan for a compromise over slavery would become known as the **Compromise of 1850**. Seeking a middle ground on the slavery debate, Clay proposed five separate laws, some of which favored the North and some of which favored the South:

1. Congress would admit California as a free state.



VIEWING HISTORY In February 1850, Henry Clay warned that a failure to compromise would lead to “furious” and “bloody” war.
Cause and Effect What led Clay to propose a compromise?

2. The people of the territories of New Mexico and Utah would decide for themselves whether slavery would be legal.
3. Congress would abolish the sale of slaves, but not slavery, in Washington, D.C.
4. Texas would give up claims to New Mexico for \$10 million.
5. A **Fugitive Slave Act** would order all citizens of the United States to assist in the return of enslaved people who had escaped from their owners. It would also deny a jury trial to escaped slaves.

Calhoun Opposes Compromise Debate over the compromise dragged on for months. On March 4, 1850, the Senate gathered to hear the opinion of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. Calhoun, a direct and dynamic speaker, would present one of the great summaries of the southern view of the crisis.

Many in the Senate felt great emotion when Calhoun’s turn to present his views came. They knew that the 67-year-old senator was ill and that he probably did not have long to live. Calhoun was so weak that he asked James Mason of Virginia to read his speech for him.

As the speech began, Calhoun—through Senator Mason—stated the problem the nation faced:

“ I have, Senators, believed from the first that . . . the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion [of the United States]. . . . It has reached a point when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration: How can the Union be preserved?”

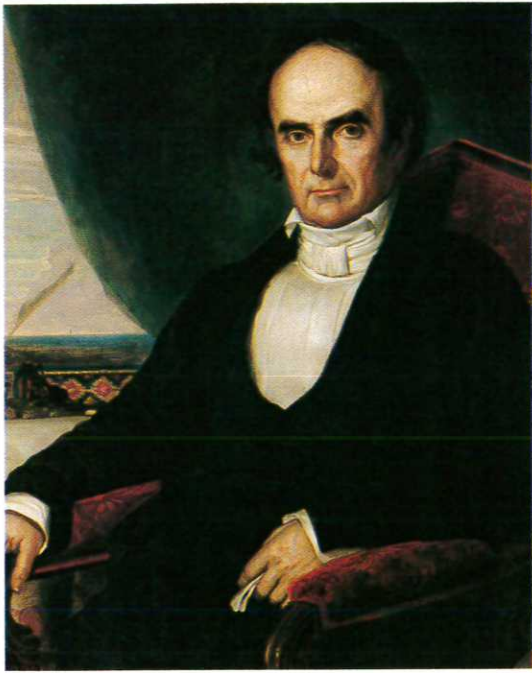
—John C. Calhoun

The “great and primary” cause of the crisis, Calhoun said, was that the North now had “the exclusive power of controlling the Government, which leaves the [South] without any adequate means of protecting itself against . . . encroachment and oppression.” Calhoun was referring to the fact that the North’s growing population had given it more representatives in the House and more



Sounds of an Era

Listen to Calhoun’s speech and other sounds from the 1850s.



VIEWING HISTORY Massachusetts senator Daniel Webster used his powerful oratorical skill to persuade Congress to adopt the Compromise of 1850. **Drawing Inferences** Why did northern businessmen favor the compromise?

votes in the Electoral College. Calhoun believed that southern states had the right to leave the Union if that were necessary for their own protection.

Calhoun made clear that the South did not *want* to leave the Union. He also stated, however, that the South would not give up its liberty to save the Union: “The South asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take,” he stated. “She has no compromise to offer, but the Constitution; and no concession or surrender to make.”

Today, Americans believe that slavery is morally wrong because it robs people of their liberty. Calhoun and other white southern planters believed that stopping slavery was morally wrong, because it interfered with their liberty to own enslaved people as property. Government, they believed, should protect this liberty.

Southern planters held that if the federal government intended to reduce their rights or threaten their property, then it was no longer a government worthy of their respect. From the point of view of Calhoun, it was the northern section, not the southern section, that was twisting the Constitution and the intentions of the Framers. The ringing finale of his speech made this clear: “I have

exerted myself . . . with the intention of saving the Union, if it could be done; and if it could not, [with saving] the section . . . which I sincerely believe has justice and the Constitution on its side.”

Webster Favors Compromise Three days after Calhoun’s speech, Daniel Webster, the nation’s leading orator, stood to speak. Webster was a large man with dark, intense eyes. His voice was both magnetic and persuasive. In the past, Webster had opposed any extension of slavery into the territories. Fearing for the existence of the Union, Webster surprised his audience by giving his support to each of Clay’s proposals:

“I wish to speak today, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a northern man, but as an American. . . . I speak today for the preservation of the Union. ‘Hear me for my cause.’”

—Daniel Webster



One controversial part of the Compromise was the Fugitive Slave Act, which made it easier for slaveholders to recapture escaped slaves.

Webster went on to speak for several hours. Believing that slavery would never be practical in New Mexico, he supported Clay’s compromise. He also maintained that it was a constitutional duty to return fugitive slaves to their owners. Webster’s speech outraged northern abolitionists and many of his longtime supporters. They accused Webster of putting financial matters ahead of issues of freedom and humanity. Northern business owners, however, supported Webster’s stance because they feared the loss of valuable southern trade if the Union were dissolved.

Congress Approves the Compromise As the debate continued over the Compromise of 1850, President Taylor set forth his own set of proposals, causing many to fear a presidential veto of the Compromise. Taylor’s sudden death in July 1850, however, brought Millard Fillmore to the presidency. Working with Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who had taken over for an exhausted Clay, Congress eventually passed the Compromise of 1850.

As Calhoun had foreseen, Southerners were not satisfied with the compromise, although it did bring a brief calm to the nation. In reality, the Compromise of 1850 solved nothing beyond determining that California would be a free state. It did not settle the issue of slavery in the area newly acquired from Mexico. Part of the compromise, the Fugitive Slave Act, actually made the situation worse by infuriating many Northerners—including Harriet Beecher Stowe, who expressed her outrage in her book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Changes in Political Parties

During the early 1850s, the system of two powerful national parties began to break down. One sign of this breakdown was the decline of the Whig Party. In 1852 the Whigs, rejecting President Fillmore because of his support for the Compromise of 1850, nominated Winfield Scott, a general from the Mexican War. The Democrats chose Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. Pierce won the election in a landslide.

Decline of the Whigs The Whigs never won another presidential contest, and by the end of the 1850s the Whig Party had largely disappeared. The slavery issue had badly hurt the Whigs. Many of the northern Whigs had been Protestants who became disgusted with the willingness of Whig leaders to compromise on slavery.

Another reason the Whigs faded away was that the old issues that had divided political parties in the 1830s had been resolved. Few people argued about banks as long as the United States was prosperous and expanding. The men at the center of the Jacksonian-Whig struggles—Jackson, Clay, Webster, Calhoun—were either dead or dying. Political parties seemed to exist only to protect their hold on government jobs and contracts.

Many believed the time had come for a new generation of leaders to come forward. Those leaders who rose to power in the 1850s would have to face the new issues dividing the nation.

Rise of the Know-Nothings Slavery and unhappiness with politics were not the only issues that brought down the Whigs. The equally powerful issue of **nativism** also played a part. Nativism was a movement to ensure that native-born Americans received better treatment than immigrants. It arose in response to a surge in immigration between 1846 and 1854, when close to 3 million Europeans arrived in the United States. Many evangelical Protestants were particularly disturbed by the high number of Catholics among the immigrants.

The fear of immigrants led in 1849 to the formation of a secret nativist society called the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. Within a few years, its membership totaled around one million. Members of the group insisted on complete secrecy, using passwords and special handshakes to identify each other. They always replied to questions about the organization with the answer, “I know nothing.”

In 1854, nativists went public by forming a political organization, the American Party. It pledged to work against Irish Catholic candidates and to campaign for laws requiring immigrants to wait longer before they could become citizens. Because it was closely associated with the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, the American Party was also called the Know-Nothings.



VIEWING HISTORY Democrat Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire defeated the Whig candidate for President in 1852. **Recognizing Cause and Effect** Why did the Whig Party decline in the 1850s?



The Know-Nothings called themselves “Native Americans”—by which they meant Americans born in the United States—and whipped up fears against immigrants.

Focus on GOVERNMENT

Federalism The term “federalism” describes a system of government in which power is divided between a central government and smaller governments.

The Historical Context A central issue in the debates of the 1850s was the proper division of authority between the federal government and the states. Northerners and Southerners disagreed over whether the federal government could limit slavery in the territories and whether states could secede from the Union.

The Concept Today Through most of the 1900s, the federal government gained power at the expense of the states. In recent years, however, the states have become increasingly active and powerful in areas such as social welfare policy.

Know-Nothings claimed that they were committed to “the great work of Americanizing Americans.” They declared:

“ [E]very American and naturalized Protestant citizen throughout the Union, [should] use his utmost exertions to aid the cause by organizing and freeing the country from that monster [Catholicism] which . . . is only waiting . . . to approach to plant its flag of tyranny, persecution, and oppression among us.”

—The American Party

The Know-Nothings did very well in local elections in northern states. Their main supporters were voters worried that immigration would lead to crime and vice, and working men fearful of losing jobs to Irish and German immigrants.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

Amid growing turmoil over immigration and religion, Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois again raised the issue of slavery in the territories. Douglas had two conflicting ambitions.

First, Douglas wanted Chicago to benefit from the development of the West. The sooner the territories of Kansas and Nebraska became states, the sooner railroads could be built across their land to link Chicago, the largest city in his state, with the West. Chicago would boom as newly-settled farmers in the Midwest sent their crops there via railroads to be sold.

Second, Douglas wanted to run for President. To do that, he needed the support of southern Democrats. Pushing statehood for Kansas and Nebraska would benefit Chicago but it would cost Douglas supporters in the South. Under the terms of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, Kansas and Nebraska would become free states. The North would then become still more powerful as four new free state senators joined Congress, and Southerners would blame Douglas.

To win the support of both Northerners and Southerners, Douglas introduced the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** in the Senate in January 1854. The Kansas-Nebraska Act supported the practice of **popular sovereignty**, or letting the people in a territory decide whether to allow slavery there, instead of restricting the decision-making power to Congress. In effect, Douglas was asking the nation to repeal the Missouri Compromise and its boundary line of 36° 30' N and rely instead on popular sovereignty. As Douglas wrote to a Southerner in April 1854:

“ The great principle of self-government is at stake, and surely the people of this country are never going to decide that the principle upon which our whole republican system rests is vicious and wrong.”

—Stephen A. Douglas

Douglas knew that the Kansas-Nebraska Act would make Southerners happy. After all, it raised the possibility that Kansas and Nebraska might enter the union as slave states, which would have been impossible under the Missouri Compromise. Douglas also thought that Northerners would back the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Northerners, he believed, would decide that slavery would never take hold on the Great Plains, where the weather was relatively harsh and cotton could not grow.

READING CHECK

Why did Northerners and Southerners react differently to the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

The people of Kansas and Nebraska would no doubt vote peacefully to become free states.

After nine months of debate, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. But instead of applauding the bill, as Douglas had expected, Northerners were outraged by it. Senator William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, a Whig, called the Kansas-Nebraska Act “a terrible outrage.” He said, “The more I look at it the more enraged I become. It needs but little to make me an out & out abolitionist.” Northern members of Douglas’s own party, the Democrats, denounced Douglas for what they saw as a sellout to the South. Most northern Democrats in the Senate voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Act out of loyalty to their party, not because they approved of the principles behind it. As you will read, Douglas was also wrong about a peaceful vote in the territories.

The Creation of the Republican Party

During the summer of 1854, people throughout the North held meetings to protest the Kansas-Nebraska bill. During one of these meetings in Michigan, disgusted Northerners launched a new Republican Party, the direct ancestor of today’s party by the same name. Its members dedicated themselves to stopping the “Slave Power,” as they called the South. They declared that slavery was a great moral evil and vowed to fight against its extension into new territories. They also demanded the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Act.

The new Republicans drew their support almost entirely from antislavery Democrats, Whigs, and Free Soilers in the North. Farmers, professionals, small business owners, and craftworkers made up the Republican Party.

New parties appear frequently in American history. Few last very long. In the mid-1850s, however, the disappearance of the Whigs and the emotional issues of nativism and slavery produced two strong parties, the Know-Nothings and the Republicans. It remained to be seen which of the two would become the more powerful.



INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS Stephen Douglas champions popular sovereignty in this 1858 cartoon. **Recognizing Bias** What role did Douglas’s political ambitions play in his proposal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

Section

3

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. List the five parts of the **Compromise of 1850**.
2. What roles did Senator Calhoun and Senator Webster play in passing the Compromise of 1850?
3. Why did some people support the Know-Nothing Party?
4. (a) Why did the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** upset many northern voters?
(b) How did northern voters respond to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

5. **Identifying Point of View** Describe why the Missouri Compromise satisfied neither Northerners nor Southerners. Did the Compromise of 1850 satisfy them? Explain.
6. **Writing to Persuade** Write a persuasive speech from the point of view of either a Southerner or a Northerner supporting or opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Analyzing Primary Sources Read the text of an important act of Congress from the 1850s and write a thorough analysis. Be sure to discuss how the document was written for a specific audience. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.
www.phschool.com



Analyzing Political Speeches

The goal of political speeches has always been to persuade listeners to take a particular view. Speeches can also serve as valuable evidence about historical figures and events. Political speakers use a variety of techniques. Sometimes they appeal to the listener's self-interest: "What I propose will make your life better." Sometimes they appeal to social conscience: "What I propose will benefit the community (or the nation, or the world)." Political speeches often appeal to patriotism.

Part of a speech Henry Clay made during the Senate debate over the Compromise of 1850 is shown below.

LEARN THE SKILL

Use the following steps to analyze political speeches:

- 1. Identify the main topic of the speech and the speaker's position, or stand, on the issue.** Recall what you already know about the speaker, his or her political ideas, and the circumstances of the speech. Skim through the speech to get a general idea of its topic and purpose.
- 2. Analyze the persuasive techniques the speaker uses.** Political speakers appeal to both the hearts and minds of their listeners. Evaluate the speaker's persuasiveness and how he or she achieves it. Be sure to consider the speaker's audience.
- 3. Study the speech for clues about the historical period.** Look for hints about events and how people felt about those events, as well as the style of speeches at that time.

PRACTICE THE SKILL

Answer the following questions:

- 1. (a)** Who is Henry Clay? Who is the audience for this speech? **(b)** What is the main topic of the speech? **(c)** What evidence in the speech tells you that Clay believes the compromise will work? **(d)** What is Clay's stand on the measure?
- 2. (a)** What does Clay tell his listeners to "disregard" and "forget"? **(b)** Where in the speech does he appeal to reason? **(c)** Where in the speech does he appeal to patriotism? **(d)** How well do Clay's techniques suit his audience? **(e)** How would you evaluate the persuasiveness of this speech?
- 3. (a)** Based on the speech, do you think that people in 1850 regarded the tensions between the North and the South as somewhat serious or very serious? Explain. **(b)** What does the excerpt tell you about the style of speeches during that period?

APPLY THE SKILL

See the Chapter Review and Assessment for another opportunity to apply this skill.

"I believe from the bottom of my soul that this measure is the reunion of the Union. And now let us disregard all resentments, all passions, all petty jealousies, all personal desires, all love of place, all hungering after the gilded crumbs which fall from the table of power. Let us forget popular fears, from whatever quarter they may spring. Let us . . . think alone of our God, our country, our conscience, and our glorious Union; that Union without which we shall be torn into hostile fragments, and sooner or later become the victims of military despotism, or foreign domination. . . .

What is an individual man? An atom, almost invisible without a magnifying glass—a mere speck upon the surface of the immense universe—not a second in time, compared to immeasurable, never-beginning, and never-ending eternity; a drop of water in the great deep, which evaporates and is borne off by the winds; a grain of sand, which is soon gathered to the dust from which it sprung. Shall a being so small, so petty, so fleeting, so evanescent [quick to disappear], oppose itself to the onward march of a great nation? . . . Let us look at our country and our cause; elevate ourselves to the dignity of pure and disinterested patriots, wise and enlightened statesmen, and save our country from all impending dangers. . . . What are we—what is any man worth who is not ready and willing to sacrifice himself for the benefit of his country when it is necessary?"

—Henry Clay, United States
Senator from Kentucky

The System Fails

READING FOCUS

- Why did violence erupt in Kansas in the mid-1850s?
- How did slavery affect national politics in this period?
- What problems did the Lecompton constitution cause?
- What important issues were discussed in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates?
- How did John Brown's raid increase tensions between the North and the South?

MAIN IDEA

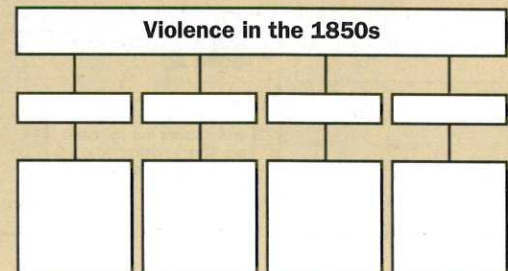
After a series of violent clashes between proslavery and antislavery forces, Americans on both sides of the slavery issue became convinced that the other side was acting against law and morality.

KEY TERMS

free soiler
Dred Scott v. Sandford
 Lincoln-Douglas Debates
 arsenal

TAKING NOTES

Copy the flowchart below. As you read, complete the chart to show some of the violent events leading up to the final split over slavery.



Setting the Scene After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, national attention turned to the Kansas Territory. Under the new law, voters in the territory would decide whether to become a free or slave state. Both proslavery and antislavery groups organized to try to win a majority of voters in the region.

Proslavery forces had won the first battle by successfully passing the Kansas-Nebraska Act. William H. Seward, an antislavery senator from New York, announced to proslavery senators that abolitionists would fight for a free Kansas:

“Since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is right.”

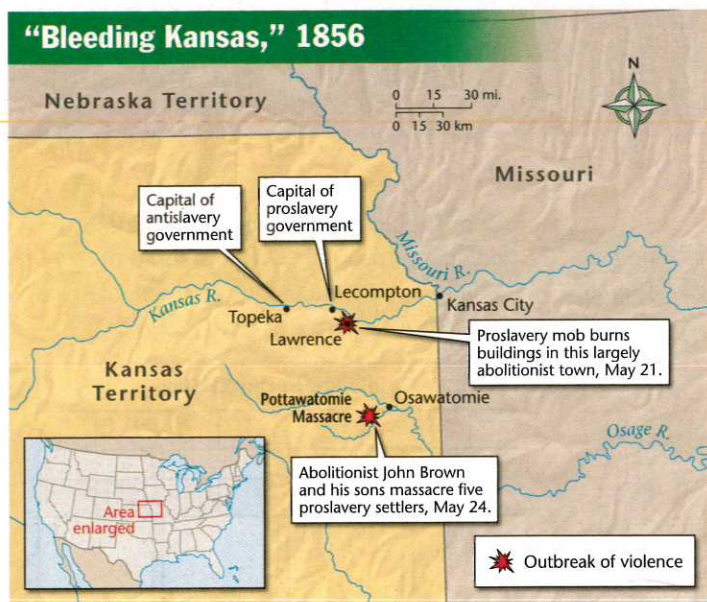
—William H. Seward

VIEWING HISTORY Abolitionists and proslavery forces clash in the “Battle of Hickory Point,” about 25 miles outside of Lawrence, Kansas. **Predicting Consequences** Why did the Kansas-Nebraska Act lead to violent competition for control of the territory?

Violence Erupts

Antislavery groups in the Northeast set up so-called Emigrant Aid societies in 1854–1855 to send some 1,200 New Englanders to Kansas to fight against slavery. The new settlers were known as free soilers. Like the Free Soil party founded in 1848, **free soilers** worked to end slavery in the territories. Meanwhile, proslavery settlers in Missouri organized secret societies to oppose the free soilers. Many proslavery settlers crossed into Kansas to vote illegally in territorial elections. By 1855, Kansas had two competing capitals: an antislavery capital at Topeka and a proslavery capital at Lecompton.





MAP SKILLS Outsiders from both slave and free states tried to influence the political future of Kansas. **Location** About how far apart were the two Kansas capitals, and what effect might that have had on the political tensions?

READING CHECK
How did “Bleeding Kansas” affect the presidential election of 1856?

In 1856, tensions in Kansas escalated into open violence. The clashes began on May 21, when a group of Southerners, with the support of a proslavery federal marshal, looted newspaper offices and homes in Lawrence, Kansas, a center of free-soiler activity.

“Bleeding Kansas” The action of the proslavery looters stirred a swift response from Connecticut-born and Ohio-raised John Brown, a stern evangelical who believed that he was God’s chosen instrument to end slavery. On the night of May 24, Brown led several New Englanders to a proslavery settlement near Pottawatomie Creek. There, Brown and his men roused five men from their beds, dragged them from their homes, and killed them in front of their families.

The looting in Lawrence and Brown’s brutal response at Pottawatomie sparked a summer of murderous raids and counterraids throughout Kansas. The violence won the territory the grim label of “Bleeding Kansas.”

“Bleeding Sumner” Violence was not confined to the Kansas frontier. On May 22, it spread to the United States Capitol. Two days earlier, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts had given a fiery speech later titled “The Crime Against Kansas.” Sumner, a leading Republican and one of the most powerful antislavery voices in Congress, bitterly attacked Southerners for forcing slavery on the territory. In particular, he made bold insults against Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina.

Preston Brooks, who was both a member of the House of Representatives and Butler’s nephew, was angered by Sumner’s remarks and determined to defend the honor of the South. Two days after Sumner’s speech, Brooks approached Sumner at his Senate desk and beat him with his cane.

Sumner was badly injured by the attack and never returned to full health. Brooks resigned his House seat, but was immediately reelected. People across the South voiced their support for Brooks. One Southerner sent him a cane inscribed with the words “Hit him again.” Northerners were outraged by Brooks’s action and the support he received. Sumner’s empty Senate seat served as a reminder of that hatred.

Slavery and National Politics

The violence of 1856 passed and peace returned to the country. Still, the issue of slavery continued to dominate national politics, from the presidential election to Supreme Court cases to proposed state constitutions.

The Election of 1856 At their convention in Cincinnati, Democrats nominated James Buchanan for President. Buchanan had been out of the country during the debate over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the violence in Kansas. The Republicans chose John C. Frémont, a dynamic Mexican War hero with no experience in politics and, like Buchanan, with no ties to “Bleeding Kansas.” The American Party, or Know-Nothings, nominated former President Millard Fillmore.

During the campaign, the Democrats supported the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. In direct opposition, the Republicans declared

that the federal government had the right to restrict slavery in the territories and called for the admission of Kansas as a free state.

While the Republicans received strong northern support, Buchanan won the election with a few key northern states and the solid support of the South. He pledged to his supporters in the South that as President he would stop “the agitation of the slavery issue” in the North.

In fact, Buchanan stated that the slavery issue was now “approaching its end.” He expressed his hope that the Supreme Court would use its power to resolve the slavery issue for good. Two days after Buchanan’s inauguration, however, the Supreme Court did just the opposite. It announced a decision that would outrage Northerners even more and further divide the country over the issue of slavery.

The Dred Scott Decision In March 1857, the Supreme Court handed down one of the most controversial decisions in its history, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. The case had started when Dred Scott, an enslaved man living in Missouri, had filed suit against his owner. Scott argued that because he and his wife, Harriet, had once lived in states and territories where slavery was illegal, the couple was in fact free.

The Supreme Court ruled 7 to 2 against Scott. The Justices held that Scott, and therefore all slaves, were not citizens and had no right to sue in court. The Court also ruled that living in a free state or territory, even for many years, did not free Scott from slavery. Finally, the Court found that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. Slaves were the property of their owners, reasoned the Court, and Congress could not deprive people of their property without due process of law according to the Fifth Amendment.

In his written opinion on the case, Chief Justice Roger Taney stated that “the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution.” Furthermore, he added:

“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. The only power conferred [granted] is the power coupled with the duty of guarding and protecting the owner in his rights.”

—Chief Justice Roger Taney

Antislavery forces were disgusted with the *Dred Scott* decision. It meant that Congress had no power to ban slavery anywhere, including the territories. President Buchanan, however, supported the Court’s decision. He hoped that the national government would no longer be required to deal with the slavery issue.

The Lecompton Constitution

Events soon proved that the political fight over slavery was far from over. In the fall of 1857, a small proslavery group in Kansas elected members to a convention to write the constitution required to attain statehood. Called the Lecompton constitution, it was as proslavery as its namesake, the proslavery capital.



Effects of *Scott v. Sandford*

- Slaves, because they were not citizens, were denied the right to sue in court.
- Enslaved people could not win freedom simply by living in a free territory or state.
- The Missouri Compromise was ruled unconstitutional and all territories were opened to slavery.

INTERPRETING CHARTS The Supreme Court ruling against Dred Scott (top) was a setback to the antislavery movement. **Predicting Consequences** Why did the Dred Scott decision discourage future compromises in Congress?

READING CHECK

Why did many Kansans reject the Lecompton constitution?

Abraham Lincoln told one audience that he was driven “by something higher than an anxiety for office”—desire to defend the principle of equality established by the Declaration of Independence.



Most Kansans were opposed to slavery and refused to vote in a referendum on the constitution because both options on the ballot would have protected slavery in Kansas. Yet President Buchanan, hoping that the problem of slavery in Kansas would end once the territory became a state, endorsed the Lecompton constitution.

Though Buchanan was a Democrat, his total disregard for popular sovereignty was too much for northern Democrats to swallow. Democratic leader Stephen Douglas spoke sharply against the Lecompton constitution and criticized Buchanan for accepting it. Congress returned the constitution to Kansas for another vote, and the people soundly defeated it in August 1858. For the time being, Kansas remained a territory where slavery was legal according to the *Dred Scott* decision. In reality, however, the free-soiler majority prohibited slavery.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Senator Douglas denounced the Lecompton constitution both out of principle and because he had to be responsive to public opinion. He faced a difficult reelection campaign in Illinois in 1858, where views on slavery were sharply divided.

A short, stout man, Douglas was known as “the Little Giant.” Like many white Americans in the 1850s, he believed that white Americans were superior to African Americans. He went even further, however, and tolerated slavery, because he believed in the absolute right of white citizens to choose the kind of society and government they wanted.

Though Douglas was one of the most important senators in the nation’s history, he has been overshadowed by the man the Republican Party nominated to run against him, Abraham Lincoln. The campaign drew nationwide attention when Douglas and Lincoln met in the **Lincoln-Douglas Debates**, a series of seven debates on the issue of slavery in the territories.

Abraham Lincoln had been born in a log cabin in Kentucky in 1809. As a young man, he studied law and held various jobs, including jobs as a postmaster and rail splitter. In 1837, he settled in Springfield, Illinois, where he practiced law. He served one term in Congress in the 1840s. Known for his strength of character, Lincoln won further recognition for his skillful performance in the debates against Douglas.

Newspapers throughout the country covered the debates. Many reporters commented on the great difference in appearance between the two candidates. While Douglas was stout, Lincoln was tall, awkward, and thin. While Douglas dressed in an elegant new suit, Lincoln wore plain, everyday clothes.

The debates highlighted two important principles in American government, majority rule and minority rights. Douglas supported popular sovereignty. He believed that the majority of people in a state or territory could rule as they wished, including making slavery legal. Lincoln, on the other hand, did not believe that a majority should have the power to deny a minority their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Despite their fundamental differences, Lincoln shared many of Douglas’s views on African Americans. During one of the debates Lincoln stated: “I am not nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races.” He would not propose forbidding slavery in the South because he thought the federal government did not have that power. He hoped that if slavery were confined to the states in which it already existed, it would eventually die out.

Yet Lincoln, like millions of other Northerners, knew that slavery was wrong. Lincoln considered slavery a moral issue. During the debates against Douglas, he quoted both the Bible and the Declaration of Independence to justify his stand:

“The Savior [Jesus] . . . said, ‘As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect.’ He set that up as a standard, and [whoever] did most towards reaching that standard attained the highest degree of moral perfection. So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can.”

—Abraham Lincoln

In a now-famous speech in Springfield in June 1858, Lincoln foresaw the confrontation that the country would soon face. He stated:

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

—Abraham Lincoln

Although Lincoln gained a large following in 1858, Douglas won the election. In a letter to a friend after his defeat, Lincoln wrote that he was glad to have taken part in the campaign. “It gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age. . . . I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone.” To another friend he wrote, “The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one, or even, one hundred defeats.” Despite his defeat, the tall, gaunt lawyer from Springfield earned a reputation for eloquence and moral commitment that would serve him and the Republicans well just two years later.

Focus on GOVERNMENT

The Purpose of the Debates Very few of the spectators at the Lincoln-Douglas debates had the opportunity to vote for either candidate. Until the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913, state legislatures, not voters, elected senators. Public opinion still played an important role because the legislature was elected by the people. By voting for Democratic or Republican candidates for the Illinois state legislature, citizens could vote indirectly for Douglas or Lincoln for senator.

In the 1858 election, Illinois voters cast about the same number of votes for Democratic and Republican legislators, but the Democratic Party won control of the legislature. Although many people believed Lincoln won the debates, Democratic legislators chose their party’s spokesman to be the new senator.

Abraham Lincoln speaks at a debate.





VIEWING HISTORY Behind John Brown's "glittering, gray-blue eyes" lurked a cool willingness to break the law in order to end slavery. **Recognizing Cause and Effect** How did John Brown's raid deepen the divisions between the North and the South?

John Brown's Raid

On October 16, 1859, an event took place that raised the worst fears of the South. Three years after his raid at Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas, John Brown attacked the federal **arsenal** at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. (An arsenal is a place where weapons are made or stored.) With him were 21 men, including five African Americans. Brown and his followers hoped to seize the weapons from the arsenal and give them to enslaved people so that they could rebel. They had a dream of an uprising of enslaved Americans that would end slavery, punish slaveholders, and lead the United States to moral renewal.

Alerted to the attack, United States troops under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee surrounded the arsenal. The troops killed half of Brown's men, including two of his sons, before the rest surrendered. Convicted of treason, John Brown was sentenced to be hanged.

Brown accepted his death sentence. A devout Christian, he believed he was following the example of Jesus by giving up his life for the good of his cause. Just before his execution, Brown wrote a brief note. Although he had failed as a soldier, his final message proved him a prophet:

"I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away; but with Blood."

—John Brown

Northerners hailed Brown as a martyr to the cause of justice. In many churches, abolitionist clergy rang bells and led their congregations in solemn prayer on the day that Brown was hanged.

Northern sympathy for John Brown outraged Southerners, who denounced him as a tool of Republican abolitionists. In the eyes of many white Southerners, Brown was a criminal who had tried to launch a rebellion aimed at their very lives. The strong, opposing reactions caused by Brown's raid only deepened the anger between the North and the South.

Section

4

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. (a) What did **free soilers** hope to accomplish in Kansas? (b) How did they plan to accomplish their goals?
2. What was the legal impact of **Dred Scott v. Sandford** on the issue of slavery in the territories?
3. In your own words, describe the difference between Lincoln's and Douglas's views on slavery.

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

4. **Identifying Central Issues** Explain how the events that occurred in Kansas and in Congress in 1856 support the message of this section's title: "The System Fails."
5. **Writing an Expository Essay** Write a short essay describing what you think was the greatest impact of John Brown's raid.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Organizing a Debate

Research the speaking styles and subject matter of the historic Lincoln-Douglas debates. Then, organize a debate on an issue from the 1850s with your classmates. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com

A Nation Divided Against Itself

READING FOCUS

- How did the election of 1860 demonstrate the split between the North and the South?
- What concerns led the Lower South to secede from the Union?
- What event started the Civil War?

MAIN IDEA

After Lincoln's election as President in 1860, seven southern states left the Union. In April 1861, the first shots were fired, and the nation plunged into civil war.

KEY TERMS

Border States
Lower South
secessionist
Confederate States
of America
Fort Sumter
Upper South

TAKING NOTES

As you read, prepare an outline of this section. The sample below will help you get started.

I. The Election of 1860

A. Democrats split into northern (Douglas) and southern (Breckinridge) factions.

B. Moderates from the South and the Border States form the Constitutional Union Party.

C. _____

D. _____

Setting the Scene As 1860 began and a new presidential election approached, it was clear that most Northerners would not accept leadership by a Southerner. Southerners, likewise, would not accept a leader from the ranks of the antislavery Republicans in the North. The next presidential election was looming. Could the Union survive it?

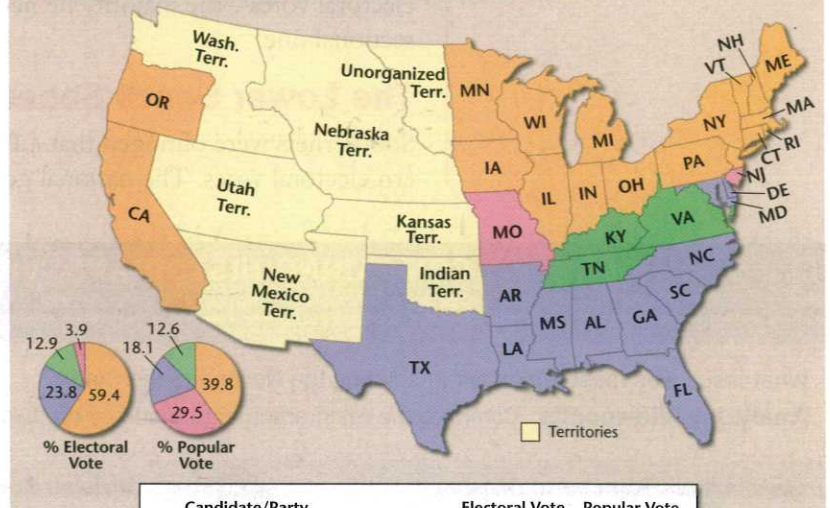
The Election of 1860

When the Democratic Party met in Charleston, South Carolina, in April 1860 to nominate its candidate for President, it was still a national party. For ten days, delegates from both the North and the South debated the issue that had divided the nation for a decade: slavery in the territories. Southern Democrats argued that the government should protect slavery in the territories, while Democrats from the North stood by the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

Unable to gain control of the voting, delegates from eight southern states left the convention and agreed to meet separately to nominate their own candidate. In the months ahead, the split within the Democratic Party became official. Southern Democrats nominated as their candidate John C. Breckinridge, who was committed to an aggressive policy of expanding slavery in the territories. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas of Illinois, who supported popular sovereignty.

In the meantime, moderate Southerners who had belonged to the Whig and American parties met in Baltimore to form their own new party. These Southerners, along with a few politicians from the **Border States** (Delaware,

Presidential Election of 1860



Candidate/Party	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
Abraham Lincoln (Republican)	180	1,865,593
J.C. Breckinridge (Southern Democrat)	72	848,356
John Bell (Constitutional Union)	39	592,906
Stephen A. Douglas (Northern Democrat)	12	1,382,713

MAP SKILLS The results of the 1860 election illustrated the deep political division between the North and the South. **Regions** Which two candidates achieved dramatically different results in the popular vote and the electoral vote?

READING CHECK

Why was Lincoln chosen as the Republican candidate for President in 1860?

Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri), formed the Constitutional Union Party. They nominated John Bell of Tennessee, a moderate slaveholder, for President.

When the Republican Party convened in Chicago to nominate their candidate, the man favored to win was William H. Seward of New York. As the days went by, however, many delegates began to worry that Seward was too extreme in his antislavery views to attract the voters they needed.

Another Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, offered more moderate views on slavery while at the same time standing firmly against its spread into the territories. Although Lincoln was little known outside his own state, the convention delegates nominated him for President.

The November election proved that the division between North and South was beyond repair. There were no longer any national political parties. In the South, the race was between Bell and Breckinridge. (Lincoln's name did not even appear on many southern ballots.) In the North, voters chose between Lincoln and Douglas. Lincoln won in every free state except New Jersey, where the electoral votes were split between the two candidates. Breckinridge, meanwhile, won North Carolina, Arkansas, Delaware, Maryland, and the states of the **Lower South**—Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. Bell carried Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia. Douglas took Missouri in addition to some of New Jersey's electoral votes.

Lincoln captured the presidency without winning a single electoral vote in the South. While gaining only 39 percent of the popular vote, Lincoln won 180 electoral votes—the majority he needed to win. His was a decisive victory, but a sectional one.

The Lower South Secedes

Southerners were outraged that a President could be elected without any southern electoral votes. The national government, it seemed, had passed completely

COMPARING HISTORIANS' VIEWPOINTS

The Origins of the Civil War

What issue was most important in splitting the North and the South?

Analyzing Viewpoints Compare the main arguments made by the two writers.

The Mexican War Led to Division

"Much of the national harmony had rested upon the existence of a kind of balance between the northern and southern parts of the United States. The decision to fight the war [with Mexico] had disturbed this balance, and the acquisition of a new empire which each section desired to dominate endangered the balance further. Thus, the events which marked the culmination of six decades of exhilarating national growth at the same time marked the beginning of sectional strife which for a quarter of a century would subject American nationalism to its severest testing. Perhaps it may even be said that the developments which gave American nationalism the strength to survive also generated a supreme threat to its survival."

—David M. Potter,
The Impending Crisis 1848-1861

Division Grew Over Time

"The Civil War was the second act of America's democratic revolution. The first, in the late eighteenth century, . . . was led by an alliance, a coalition, between predominantly slave-labor and predominantly free-labor communities. Tensions existed between them, but their common interests prevailed. Over the seven decades following the ratification of the Constitution, the growth of both social systems progressively aggravated tensions between the North and South, undermining their political operation. At last, with the sharpening clash of outlooks and interests, the original project of the Founding Fathers—to hold together a society half slave and half free—became untenable. The result was secession, civil war, and ultimately, the irrevocable destruction of chattel slavery."

—Bruce Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*

out of their hands. Planters and others who backed slavery called for the South to secede, or withdraw, from the Union. An Augusta, Georgia, newspaper editor wrote:

“ [The Republican Party] stands forth today, hideous, revolting, loathsome, a menace not only to the Union of these states, but to Society, to Liberty, and to Law.”

—Augusta, Georgia, newspaper editor

The **secessionists**, or those who wanted the South to secede, argued that since the states had voluntarily joined the United States, they also could choose to leave it. Edmund Ruffin of Virginia, a secessionist, claimed that because the Republicans controlled the federal government, they could act constitutionally and legally “to produce the most complete subjection and political bondage, degradation, and ruin of the South.”

In response to Lincoln’s victory, South Carolina left the Union officially on December 20, 1860. Six other states of the Lower South followed over the next few weeks. In early February 1861, delegates from the seven states met in Montgomery, Alabama. There they created a new nation, the **Confederate States of America**, also called the Confederacy. They elected Jefferson Davis, a former senator from Mississippi, as their president.

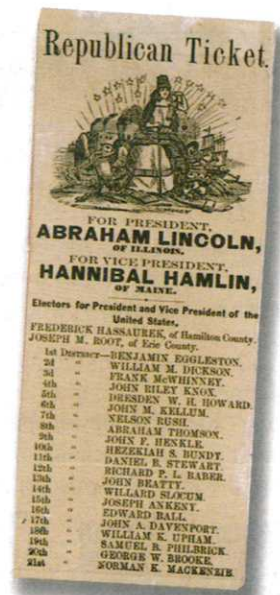
The War Starts

The worry on many minds in early 1861 was what the federal government would do about the secession of the southern states. President Buchanan, serving his final months in office, believed that secession was illegal. Still, he declared in a message to Congress that he would not use force to prevent it.

Last-Minute Compromises Fail Some politicians proposed compromises with the South. Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, for example, introduced a plan that would recognize slavery in territories south of 36° 30' N. President-elect Lincoln opposed the plan, however, and convinced the Senate to reject it.

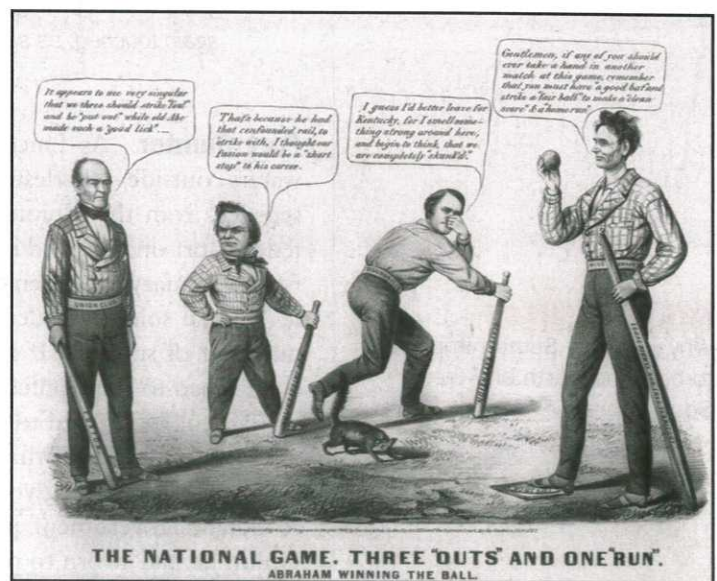
Other Americans, including Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, proposed that the federal government allow the seceding states to go in peace. Many people disagreed with Greeley, especially those who believed strongly in the Union. Many northern businesspeople objected to secession because they feared the loss of business with the South. They insisted that the southern states should be forced to return to the Union. After all, they asked, how could the United States continue to function as a country if its members could come and go as they pleased?

Abraham Lincoln, the one person with the power to decide the government’s response, left his home in Springfield, Illinois, for Washington in early 1861. Lincoln believed secession was wrong. He was also strongly committed to stopping the expansion of slavery. Rather than focus on the role of slavery in the South’s secession, however, the President-elect emphasized his duty to enforce the laws of the United States.



The Republican ticket of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin nearly attracted 2,000,000 votes, overwhelming in northern states.

ANALYZING CARTOONS This cartoon shows Abraham Lincoln defeating his opponents in the 1860 election. **Drawing Inferences** (a) What might the iron rail represent? (b) What overall point do you think the cartoonist is making?



Fort Sumter

Although Fort Sumter, South Carolina, held little strategic value to the Union, it was a symbol of the national unity that President Lincoln wished to protect. Instead, the fort became the flash point that ripped apart the Union.

Construction of the fort, on an artificial island at the entrance to the Charleston Harbor, had begun in 1829. One Charleston newspaper described it in 1860 as “a most perfect specimen of civil and military engineering.” But the structure was still incomplete and partially unprotected when it came under fire in 1861. Because the fort was built to protect the city from attack by sea, its 60 guns faced outward—not toward the Confederate outposts onshore that shelled the fort—severely damaging it. Further shelling by Union forces—which laid siege to the fort for 22 months until recapturing it in 1865—

reduced the massive structure to rubble.

On April 14, 1865, four years to the day that Major General Robert Anderson had surrendered the fort, the aging commander returned to raise the American flag above the fort. (The triumphant ceremony occurred only hours before President Lincoln was assassinated in Washington, D.C., that evening.)

In 1948, Fort Sumter was designated as a national monument. Today, tour boats take visitors on a pleasant harbor cruise out to the island and back to Charleston, a city whose antebellum charm and place in history attracts visitors from around the world.

? Why was Fort Sumter a flash point in tensions between the North and the South?

In his First Inaugural Address on March 4, 1861, Lincoln spoke directly to the Southerners: “In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. . . . You have no oath . . . to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it.” Lincoln concluded his address with the following plea:

KEY DOCUMENTS

“We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart . . . will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.”

—Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address

Fort Sumter As Lincoln spoke those words, tension was mounting in the waters outside Charleston, South Carolina. Although South Carolina had seceded from the Union, federal troops continued to occupy **Fort Sumter**, a federal fort on an island in Charleston’s harbor. A federal ship sent to supply the fort in January had been forced to turn back when Confederate forces fired on it. Federal soldiers under the command of Major Robert Anderson were running out of supplies. If Lincoln did not resupply the fort, it would have to be abandoned to the Confederates.

Lincoln struggled to come to a decision. He had pledged to Southerners in his Inaugural Address that “the government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors.” Yet he had also taken an oath to defend government property. Fort Sumter stood as a vital symbol of the Union he had sworn to preserve. To fight to keep the fort, or even to send new



READING CHECK

Why was Fort Sumter important to both the North and the South?

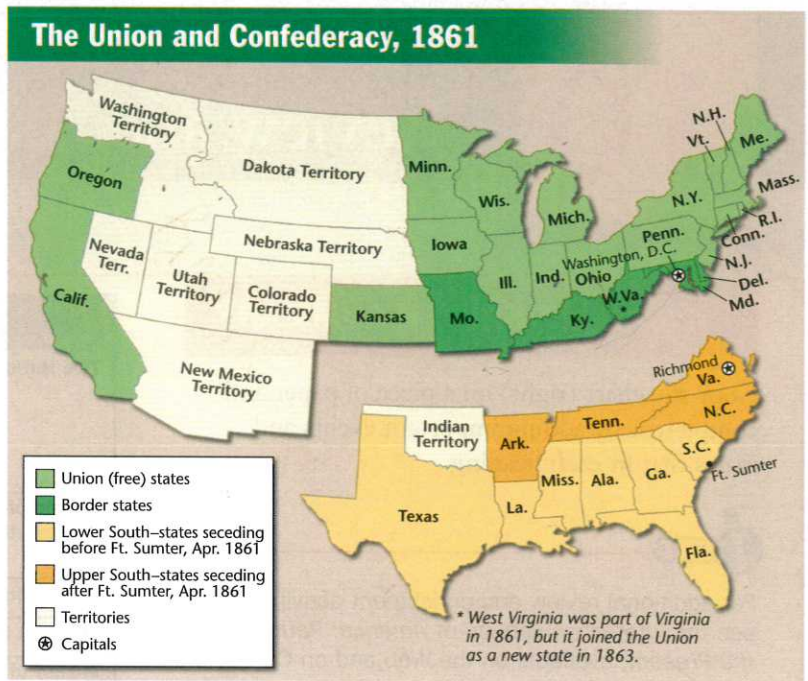
troops there, might make him responsible for starting a war. Yet to abandon the fort would mean acknowledging the authority of the Confederate government.

Remaining true to both of his pledges, on April 6 Lincoln told the governor of South Carolina that he was sending food, but no soldiers or arms, to Fort Sumter. On April 10, before supplies could arrive, Confederate president Davis ordered General P.G.T. Beauregard to demand that Fort Sumter surrender. If Anderson refused, Beauregard was to take it by force.

Anderson did refuse, and on April 12, 1861, Beauregard opened fire on the fort. After a 34-hour bombardment, Anderson surrendered Fort Sumter to Confederate troops.

The Upper South Secedes By firing on federal property, the Confederate states had committed an act of open rebellion. As the defender of the Constitution, Lincoln had no choice but to respond. When he called for volunteers to fight the seceding states, Southerners saw his action as an act of war against them. The **Upper South** states of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas now seceded and joined the Lower South in the Confederacy. For the time being, the four Border States remained uncommitted to either side in the struggle.

Eighty-four years after it had declared its independence, the United States had come apart. The fighting at Fort Sumter in April 1861 proved that the division between the North and the South could not be settled peacefully. Now a new question was raised: Could the Union be restored by force?



MAP SKILLS South Carolina was the first state to secede from the Union. It was soon joined by other states, however, making the Confederacy one of the largest republics in the world. **Place** Name the states that seceded after the surrender of Fort Sumter.

Section

5

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. Why did the Democratic Party split in 1860?
2. How did President Buchanan react to the secession of the southern states?
3. Describe how the **Lower South**, **Upper South**, and **Border States** responded differently to Lincoln's election and the attack on **Fort Sumter**.

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

4. **Making Comparisons** Many Southerners called the Civil War the Second War for Independence. Many Northerners called it the War of the Rebellion. Explain how each name reflects the point of view of the people who used it.
5. **Writing an Introduction** Write an introduction to an essay on the Civil War, highlighting the importance of what took place at Fort Sumter.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Virtual Field Trip Study political cartoons from the election of 1860. Describe the images and political messages used in these cartoons. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com

creating a CHAPTER SUMMARY

Copy the chart (right) on a piece of paper and complete it by adding important events and issues that fit each heading.



For additional review and enrichment activities, see the interactive version of *America: Pathways to the Present*, available on the Web and on CD-ROM.



Important Events	
Two Nations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many historians believe conflict was inevitable. • <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> convinced many to oppose slavery. •
Effects of the Mexican War and the Compromise of 1850	
New Political Parties	
Crises in the Late 1850s	
Impact of the Election of 1860	

★ Reviewing Key Terms

For each of the terms below, write a sentence explaining how it relates to the events in the years leading up to the Civil War.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. prejudice | 8. <i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i> |
| 2. annex | 9. arsenal |
| 3. Wilmot Proviso | 10. Border States |
| 4. Fugitive Slave Act | 11. Lower South |
| 5. nativism | 12. Confederate States |
| 6. Kansas-Nebraska Act | of America |
| 7. free soiler | 13. Upper South |

★ Reviewing Main Ideas

- Why did many Northerners oppose slavery? (Section 1)
- How did Southerners respond to Northerners' attacks on slavery? (Section 1)
- What action by the United States Congress helped lead to the Mexican War? (Section 2)
- List the basic terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. (Section 2)
- Why was the Compromise of 1850 a failure? (Section 3)
- What issues helped the Republicans in the 1850s? (Section 3)

- Why was Kansas called "Bleeding Kansas"? (Section 4)
- How did Lincoln and Douglas differ in their views? (Section 4)
- Lincoln's victory in the election of 1860 was "a decisive victory, but a sectional one." Explain this statement. (Section 5)
- Why did Lincoln's election prompt the secession of the southern states? (Section 5)

★ Critical Thinking

- Determining Relevance** The belief that states have the right to secede was not a new concept. How is this belief related to other concepts of government that you have read about?
- Demonstrating Reasoned Judgment** Lincoln's electoral votes in 1860 came entirely from the North. How might voters in the United States respond today if a President were elected by only one region? What challenges might a future President encounter if he or she had only regional support?
- Identifying Central Issues** How did the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision further inflame the slavery issue?
- Recognizing Ideologies** Why did most abolitionists oppose Douglas's idea of popular sovereignty in the territories?

★ Skills Assessment

Analyzing Political Cartoons ►

28. Examine the images in the cartoon. (a) What is the eagle's nest? (b) What do the eggs represent? (c) Why are some eggs rotten? (d) Why are they hatching?
29. Explain the action of the eagle and what it symbolizes.
30. Read the caption and state the cartoonist's message.

Interpreting Data

Turn to the map on page 373.

31. According to this map, southern states seceded from the Union
 - A before the attack on Fort Sumter.
 - B after the attack on Fort Sumter.
 - C before and after the attack on Fort Sumter.
 - D before the election of 1860.
32. Which of the following states was part of the Upper South?
 - F Alabama
 - G Kentucky
 - H Tennessee
 - J South Carolina
33. **Writing** Washington, D.C., the capital of the Union, was surrounded on three sides by the Border State of Maryland. Describe why this might have been a difficult situation for the Union.

Applying the Chapter Skill:

Analyzing Political Speeches

34. (a) Summarize the excerpt below. (b) What techniques does Webster use to appeal to his audience?

“When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union. . . . Nor those . . . words of delusion and folly, Liberty first and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.”

—Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts



ACTIVITIES

Writing to LEARN

Writing to Compare

During his campaign in 1860, Lincoln was portrayed as an ordinary American who was honest, self-made, and hardworking. Compare this portrayal to that of a recent presidential candidate. Are there any similarities? If so, what does this reveal about American values?

Primary Source CD-ROM

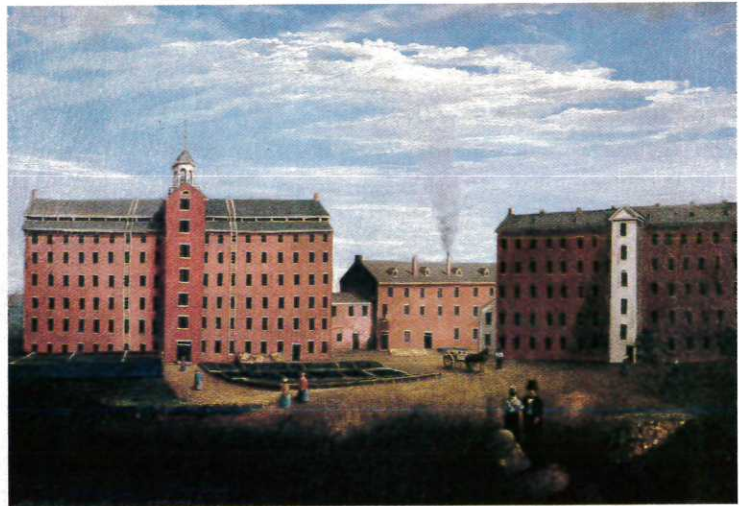
Creating a Multimedia Presentation Find additional information on The Coming of the Civil War on the *Exploring Primary Sources in U.S. History CD-ROM* and use the selection(s) provided to complete the Chapter 10 primary source activity located in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site.
www.phschool.com

Take It to the NET

Chapter Self-Test As a review activity, take the Chapter 10 Self-Test in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area at the Web site listed below. The questions are designed to test your understanding of the chapter content.
www.phschool.com

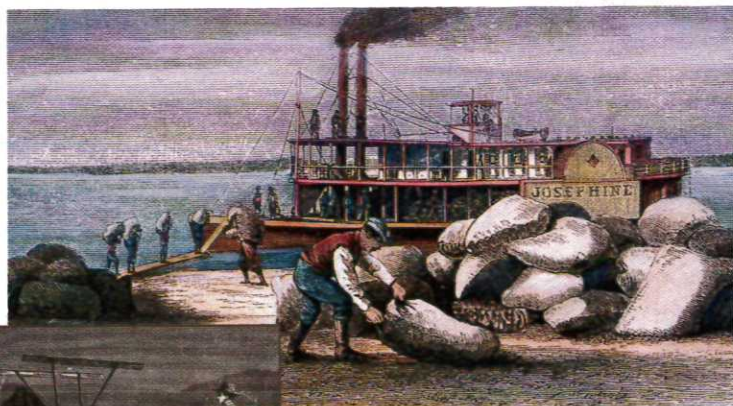
Regional Economies Before 1860

During the decades before the Civil War, distinctive economies developed in each major region of the United States: the North (or the Northeast, as we would call it today), the South, and the West (or the Midwest, as it is now known). Each region specialized in a different set of economic activities. Land and sea transportation permitted trade between neighboring regions.



Northern Manufacturing and Commerce

Before 1860, the North was by far the most industrialized region, with machine and textile mills such as the ones shown here. It sold its manufactured goods in the West and the South. The North also housed the biggest banks and shipping firms, which served other regions, particularly the South.



Western Farming and Industry

The West specialized in food production. It produced corn and livestock that it processed and shipped to other regions. In the early 1800s, much of this trade

traveled downstream along the Mississippi to the South on riverboats like the one above. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 allowed some trade between the West and the North via the Great Lakes. During the mid-1800s, the West's manufacturing sector expanded from food processing to the production of agricultural machinery, such as McCormick's reaper.

Southern Export Agriculture

The South relied heavily on slave labor to produce cash crops such as cotton and tobacco. It shipped these goods to mills for industrial processing in the North and overseas, particularly Great Britain. Below you see bales of cotton waiting to be loaded onto seagoing ships.



Geographic Connection

What were the main items of trade between the regions in the early 1800s?