

# A Divided Nation



## California Standards

### History–Social Science

**8.9** Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence.

**8.10** Students analyze the multiple causes, key events, and complex consequences of the Civil War.

### Analysis Skills

**HR 3** Students distinguish relevant from irrelevant information.

**HR 4** Students assess the credibility of primary and secondary sources.

### English–Language Arts

**Writing 8.2.1** Write biographies, autobiographies, short stories, or narratives.

**Reading 8.2.0** Students read and understand grade-level appropriate materials.

### FOCUS ON WRITING



**Writing an Autobiographical Sketch** When you read about history, it can be difficult to imagine how the events you read about affected ordinary people. In this chapter you will read about slavery in the United States. Then you will write an autobiography of a fictional character, telling how these events affected him or her. Your fictional character can live in any part of the United States. He or she might be an enslaved African, a southern plantation owner, a northern abolitionist, or a settler in one of the new territories. Your classmates are your audience.



**1848**

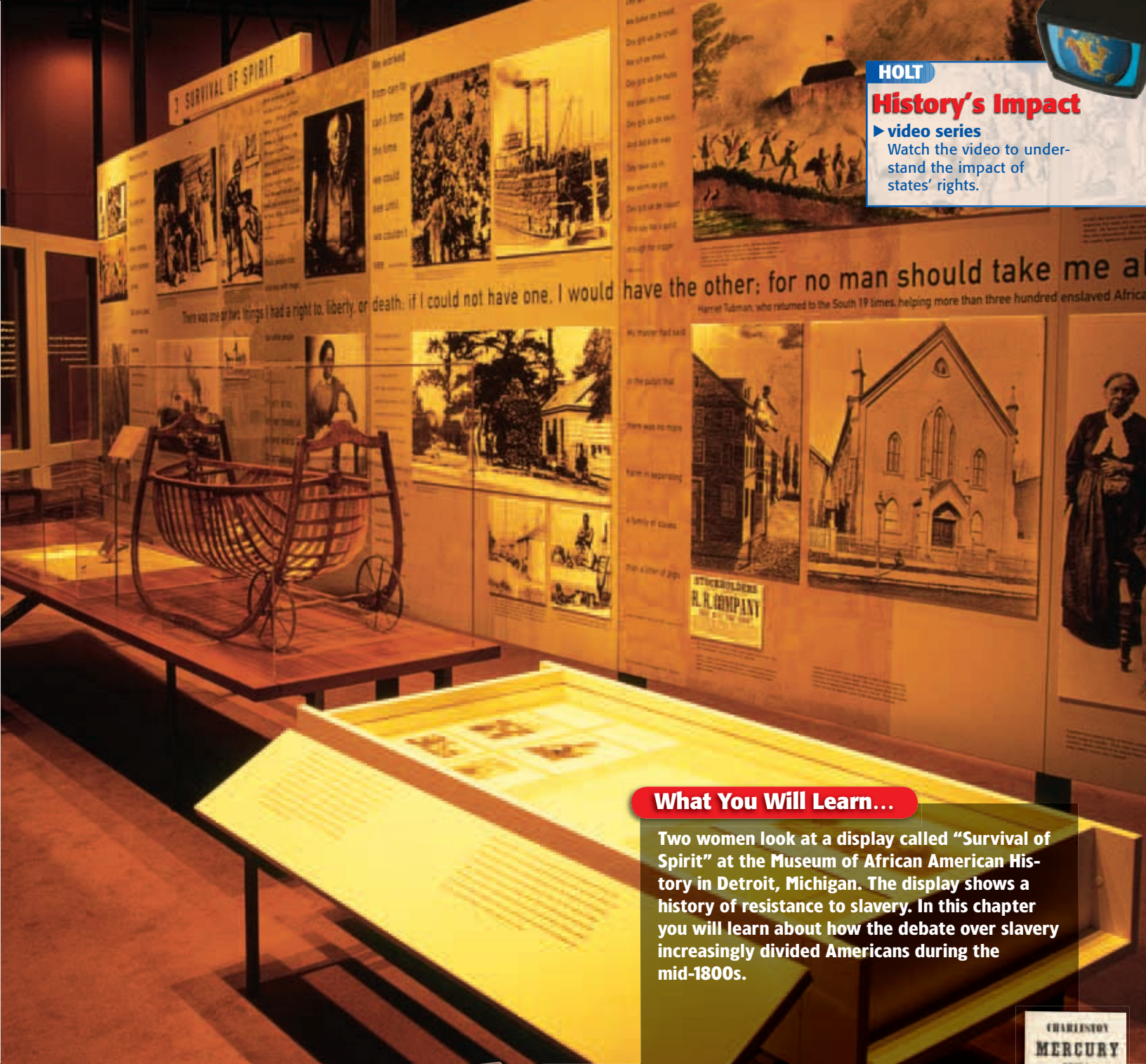
The Free-Soil Party is formed on August 9.

**1848**

Revolutionary movements sweep across Europe.







**HOLT**  
**History's Impact**  
 ▶ video series  
 Watch the video to understand the impact of states' rights.

**What You Will Learn...**

Two women look at a display called "Survival of Spirit" at the Museum of African American History in Detroit, Michigan. The display shows a history of resistance to slavery. In this chapter you will learn about how the debate over slavery increasingly divided Americans during the mid-1800s.

**1850** Congress passes the Fugitive Slave Act on September 18.

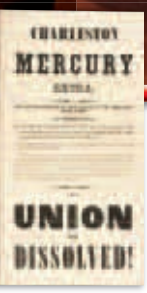
**1852** *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is published by Harriet Beecher Stowe.



**1856** In the Sack of Lawrence, pro-slavery forces attack the town of Lawrence, Kansas, on May 21.

**1859** John Brown takes control of the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

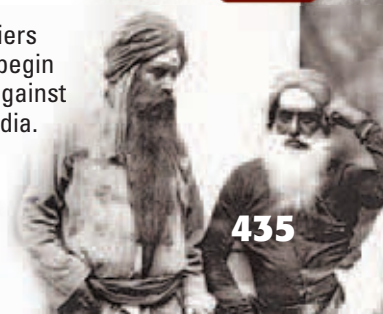
**1860** On December 20, South Carolina votes to secede from the United States.



**1852** Louis-Napoléon declares himself Emperor Napoléon III of France.

**1856** British and French forces defeat Russia in the Crimean War.

**1857** Indian soldiers in the British army begin the Sepoy Mutiny against British control of India.



Economics

Geography

Politics

Religion

Society  
and Culture

Science and  
Technology

**Focus on Themes** This chapter describes the growing tension between the North and the South over the slavery issue. You will read what happened as more states were admitted to the Union and people argued if they should be slave states or not.

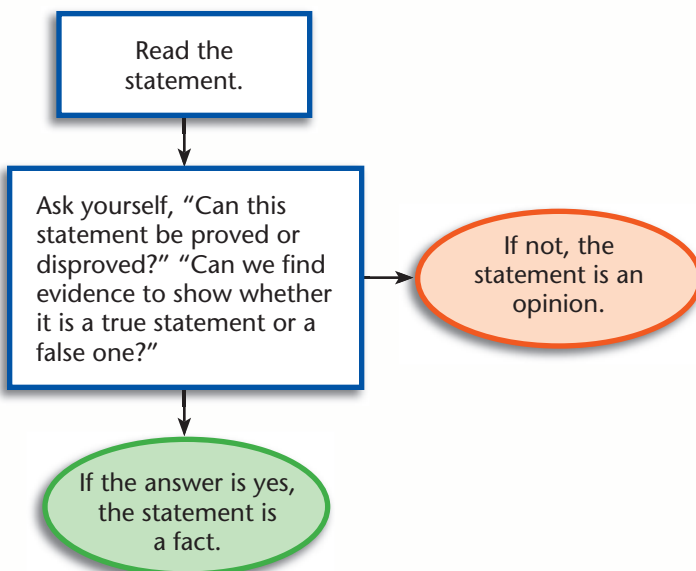
You will read about events that widened the division between the North and South so that the South finally chose to secede from the Union. Throughout the chapter you will see that **cultural** differences influenced **political** decisions.


## Facts, Opinions, and the Past

**Focus on Reading** When you are trying to learn about history, would you rather read facts or the author's opinion? You would prefer facts, of course. Separating facts from opinions about historical events helps you know what really happened.

**Identifying Facts and Opinions** Something is a **fact** if there is a way to prove it or disprove it. For example, research can prove or disprove the following statement: "Abraham Lincoln belonged to the Republican Party." But research can't prove the following statement because it is just an **opinion**, or someone's belief: "Lincoln was the greatest president in American history."

Use the process below to decide whether a statement is fact or opinion.



Additional reading support can be found in the  **Interactive Reader and Study Guide**





**ELA Reading 8.2.0** Read and understand grade-level-appropriate material.

**HSS Analysis HR 2** Distinguish fact from opinion.

# Key Terms and People

## You Try It!

The following passage tells about the debates that Abraham Lincoln had with Stephen Douglas. All the statements in this passage are facts. What makes them facts and not opinions?

### The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

In 1858 Illinois Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln for the U.S. Senate. His opponent was Democrat Stephen Douglas, who had represented Illinois in the Senate since 1847. Lincoln challenged Douglas in what became the historic Lincoln-Douglas debates.

*From  
Chapter 14,  
pp. 452–453*

In each debate, Lincoln stressed that the central issue of the campaign was the spread of slavery in the West. He said that the Democrats were trying to spread slavery across the nation.

Lincoln talked about the *Dred Scott* decision. He said that African Americans were “entitled to all the natural rights” listed in the Declaration of Independence, specifically mentioning “the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Identify each of the following as a fact or an opinion and then explain your choice.

- Lincoln accused the Democrats of trying to spread slavery across the nation.
- The Lincoln-Douglas debates were the most important debates in the history of the nation.
- Stephen Douglas was a U.S. Senator from Illinois.
- Abraham Lincoln ran against Douglas in the 1858 Senate election.
- Most Americans believed that the *Dred Scott* decision was a good one.
- Lincoln was the best debater people from Illinois had ever heard.

## Chapter 14

### Section 1

popular sovereignty (p. 438)  
Wilmot Proviso (p. 438)  
sectionalism (p. 439)  
Free-Soil Party (p. 439)  
Compromise of 1850 (p. 441)  
Fugitive Slave Act (p. 441)  
Anthony Burns (p. 442)  
*Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (p. 443)  
Harriet Beecher Stowe (p. 443)

### Section 2

Franklin Pierce (p. 445)  
Stephen Douglas (p. 446)  
Kansas-Nebraska Act (p. 447)  
Pottawatomie (p. 448)  
Charles Sumner (p. 449)  
Preston Brooks (p. 449)

### Section 3

Republican Party (p. 450)  
James Buchanan (p. 450)  
John C. Fremont (p. 451)  
Dred Scott (p. 451)  
Roger B. Taney (p. 452)  
Abraham Lincoln (p. 452)  
Lincoln-Douglas debates (p. 453)  
Freeport Doctrine (p. 453)

### Section 4

John Brown’s raid (p. 455)  
John C. Breckinridge (p. 457)  
Constitutional Union Party (p. 457)  
John Bell (p. 457)  
secession (p. 458)  
Confederate States of America (p. 458)  
Jefferson Davis (p. 458)  
John J. Crittenden (p. 459)

## Academic Vocabulary

In this chapter, you will learn the following academic words:

implications (p. 446)  
complex (p. 451)

As you read Chapter 14, look closely at quotes from historical figures. Are these quotes showing you facts or opinions?

# The Debate over Slavery

## What You Will Learn...

### Main Ideas

1. The addition of new land in the West renewed disputes over the expansion of slavery.
2. The Compromise of 1850 tried to solve the disputes over slavery.
3. The Fugitive Slave Act caused more controversy.
4. Abolitionists used antislavery literature to promote opposition.

### The Big Idea

Antislavery literature and the annexation of new lands intensified the debate over slavery.

### Key Terms and People

popular sovereignty, p. 438  
 Wilmot Proviso, p. 438  
 sectionalism, p. 439  
 Free-Soil Party, p. 439  
 Compromise of 1850, p. 441  
 Fugitive Slave Act, p. 441  
 Anthony Burns, p. 442  
*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 443  
 Harriet Beecher Stowe, p. 443



**HSS 8.9.4** Discuss the importance of the slavery issue as raised by the annexation of Texas and California's admission to the union as a free state under the Compromise of 1850.

**HSS 8.10.1** Compare the conflicting interpretations of state and federal authority as emphasized in the speeches and writings of statesmen such as Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun.

## If YOU were there...

You live in a crowded neighborhood in New York City in 1854. Your apartment building is home to a variety of people—long-time residents, Irish immigrants, free African Americans. One day federal marshals knock on your door. They claim that one of your neighbors is a fugitive slave. The marshals say you must help them find her. If you don't, you will be fined or even sent to jail.

## What would you tell the federal marshals?

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** Some reform movements of the 1800s drew stubborn and often violent opposition. This was especially true of the abolitionist movement. Pro-slavery supporters fought for laws to protect slavery and extend the slave system. These laws were a threat to African Americans in the North.

## New Land Renews Slavery Disputes

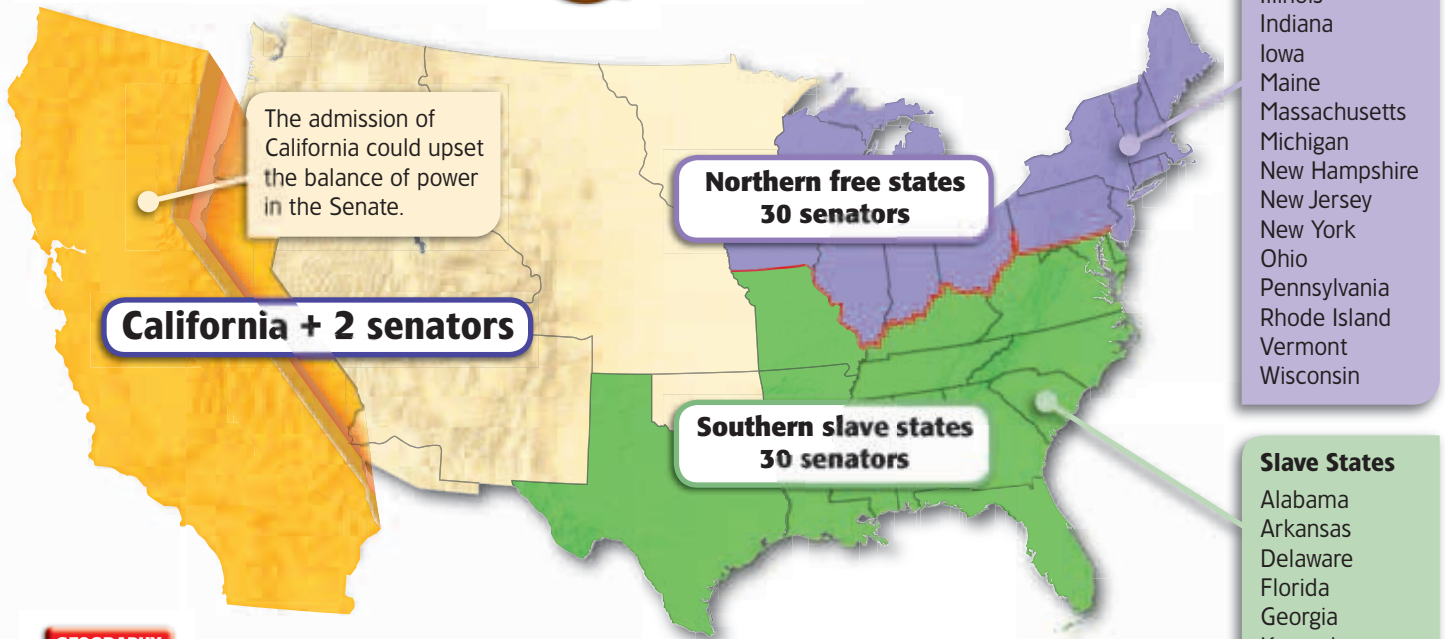
The United States added more than 500,000 square miles of land as a result of winning the Mexican-American War in 1848. The additional land caused bitter debate about slavery. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had divided the Louisiana Purchase into either free or slave regions. It prohibited slavery north of latitude 36°30' but let Missouri become a slave state. In the 1840s President Polk wanted to extend the 36°30' line to the West Coast, in the same way dividing the Mexican Cession in two. Some leaders, including Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan, encouraged **popular sovereignty**, the idea that political power belongs to the people, who should decide on whether to ban or allow slavery in their territory.

## Regional Differences about Slavery

Some northerners wanted to outlaw slavery in all parts of the Mexican Cession. During the war, Representative David Wilmot offered the **Wilmot Proviso**, a document stating that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of [the] territory."

## Upsetting the Balance

QUICK  
FACTS



GEOGRAPHY  
SKILLS

### INTERPRETING MAPS

**Region** How could the admission of California as a slave state or a free state upset the balance between North and South?

#### Free States

Connecticut  
Illinois  
Indiana  
Iowa  
Maine  
Massachusetts  
Michigan  
New Hampshire  
New Jersey  
New York  
Ohio  
Pennsylvania  
Rhode Island  
Vermont  
Wisconsin

#### Slave States

Alabama  
Arkansas  
Delaware  
Florida  
Georgia  
Kentucky  
Louisiana  
Maryland  
Mississippi  
Missouri  
North Carolina  
South Carolina  
Tennessee  
Texas  
Virginia

The northern-controlled House passed the document, but in the Senate, the South had more power. The Wilmot Proviso did not pass. Before this time, politicians had usually supported the ideas of their political parties. However, the Wilmot Proviso spurred a debate that showed growing **sectionalism**, or favoring the interests of one section or region over the interests of the entire country.

To attract voters, the Democrats and the Whigs did not take a clear position on slavery in the presidential campaign of 1848. In response, **antislavery northerners formed a new party, the Free-Soil Party, which supported the Wilmot Proviso.** They worried that slave labor would mean fewer jobs for white workers. Party members chose former president Martin Van Buren as their candidate. The new party won 10 percent of the popular vote, drawing away votes from Democrat Lewis Cass. Whig candidate Zachary Taylor won a narrow victory.

### The California Question

The California gold rush caused such rapid population growth that California applied to join the Union as a state instead of as a territory. But would California enter the Union as a free state or a slave state?

Most Californians opposed slavery, which had been illegal when the state was part of Mexico. Also, many forty-niners had come from free states. But if California became a free state, the balance between free and slave states would change, favoring the free states.

In the South, an imbalance was unacceptable. "We are about permanently to destroy the balance of power between the sections," said Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. He and many other southerners did not want California to enter the Union as a free state.

#### READING CHECK Drawing Inferences

Why did sectionalism in the United States increase in the late 1840s?

THE IMPACT  
TODAY

Small parties still affect presidential elections in a similar way today.



## Compromise of 1850

Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky had helped to settle the Missouri crisis of 1819–20 and the nullification crisis of 1832–33 by proposing compromises. He now had another plan to help the nation maintain peace. His ideas were designed to give both sides things that they wanted:

1. California would enter the Union as a free state.
2. The rest of the Mexican Cession would be federal land. In this territory, popular sovereignty would decide on slavery.
3. Texas would give up land east of the upper Rio Grande. In return, the government would pay Texas's debts from when it was an independent republic.
4. The slave trade—but not slavery—would end in the nation's capital.
5. A more effective fugitive slave law would be passed.

### Primary Source

#### SPEECH

### The Seventh of March Speech

*On March 7, 1850, Daniel Webster spoke on the floor of the Senate in favor of the Compromise of 1850.*

I hear with distress and anguish the word "secession." Secession! Peaceable secession! Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see the miracle. The dismemberment [taking apart] of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffing the surface! Who is so foolish, I beg every body's pardon, as to expect to see any such thing? . . . There can be no such thing as peaceable secession.

—quoted in *Daniel Webster: The Completest Man*, edited by Kenneth Shewmaker

Webster is upset by talk of secession.

Webster is saying that just as it is impossible to move water in the ocean without making waves, it is impossible for states to peacefully secede.

#### ANALYSIS SKILL

#### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

Why did Webster support the Compromise of 1850?

Henry Clay introduced the Compromise of 1850 on the Senate floor.

Daniel Webster spoke eloquently in support of the compromise.

Clay's plan drew attack, especially regarding California. Senator William Seward of New York defended antislavery views and wanted California admitted "directly, without conditions, without qualifications, and without compromise." However, Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina argued that letting California enter as a free state would destroy the nation's balance. He warned people of issues that would later start the Civil War. Calhoun asked that the slave states be allowed "to separate and part in peace."

In contrast, Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts favored Clay's plan:

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

—Daniel Webster, quoted in *Battle Cry of Freedom*  
by James M. McPherson

Webster criticized northern abolitionists and southerners who talked of secession.

A compromise was enacted that year and seemed to settle most disputes between free and slave states. It achieved the majority of Clay's proposals. **With the Compromise of 1850**, California was able to enter the Union as a free state. The rest of the Mexican Cession was divided into two territories—Utah and New Mexico—where the question of whether to allow slavery would be decided by popular sovereignty.

Texas agreed to give up its land claims in New Mexico in exchange for financial aid from the federal government. The compromise outlawed the slave trade in the District of Columbia and established a new fugitive slave law.

**READING CHECK Analyzing** How was Texas affected by the Compromise of 1850?

## Fugitive Slave Act

The newly passed **Fugitive Slave Act** made it a crime to help runaway slaves and allowed officials to arrest those slaves in free areas. Slaveholders were permitted to take suspected fugitives to U.S. commissioners, who decided their fate.

### Details of the Fugitive Slave Act

Slaveholders could use testimony from white witnesses, but enslaved African Americans accused of being fugitives could not testify. Nor could people who hid or helped a runaway slave—they faced six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine. Commissioners who rejected a slaveholder's claim earned \$5 while those who returned suspected fugitives to slaveholders earned \$10. Clearly, the commissioners benefited from helping slaveholders.

### Reactions to the Fugitive Slave Act

Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act began immediately. In September 1850—the same month the law was passed—federal marshals arrested African American James Hamlet. They returned him to a slaveholder in

## Primary Source

### SPEECH

## Southern View of the Compromise of 1850

John C. Calhoun from South Carolina wrote a speech saying that the proposed compromise did not go far enough to satisfy the South.

“I have, senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion . . . The South asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer but the Constitution, and no concession or surrender to make.”

Agitation means “unrest.”

Calhoun believes the South's position is supported by the Constitution.

John C. Calhoun was weak and near death. He had his speech in support of slavery read to the Senate for him.

### ANALYSIS SKILL

### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

Why did Calhoun urge southern senators to vote against the compromise?



## Primary Source

### PHOTOGRAPH

## A Fugitive Slave Convention

The Fugitive Slave Act enraged abolitionists. To protest the new law, they held many meetings to publicly denounce it. One such meeting was held in 1850 in the small town of Cazenovia in central New York, a center for abolitionist activity. About 2,000 people—including many former slaves—attended the convention. They listened to speeches, made plans, and raised their voices for freedom. This photo was a point of pride for the delegates, but it also was used by opponents of the movement as a symbol of the poor morals of abolitionists: Not only were whites allowed to mix with African Americans, women and men were allowed to mix as well. This angered many people.

The Edmonson sisters, Mary (left) and Emily, tried to escape from slavery but were captured. Abolitionists later purchased their freedom.



Gerrit Smith organized the convention.

Frederick Douglass spoke to the crowd.

### ANALYSIS SKILL

### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

Why would the abolitionists want a photograph of their convention?

Maryland, although he had lived in New York City for three years.

Thousands of northern African Americans fled to Canada in fear. In the 10 years after Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, some 343 fugitive slave cases were reviewed. The accused fugitives were declared free in only 11 cases.

The Fugitive Slave Act upset northerners, who were uncomfortable with the commissioners' power. Northerners disliked the idea of a trial without a jury. They also disapproved of commissioners' higher fees for returning slaves. Most were horrified that some free African Americans had been captured and sent to the South.

Most northerners opposed to the Act peacefully resisted, but violence did erupt. In 1854 **Anthony Burns**, a Virginia fugitive slave, was arrested in Boston. Abolitionists used force while trying to rescue him from jail, killing a deputy marshal. A federal ship was ordered to return Burns to Virginia after his trial. Many people in the North, particularly in Massachusetts, were outraged. The event persuaded many to join the abolitionist cause.

### READING CHECK Drawing Conclusions

What concerns did northerners have about the Fugitive Slave Act?

## Antislavery Literature

Abolitionists in the North used the stories of fugitive slaves like James Hamlet and Anthony Burns to gain sympathy for their cause. Slave narratives also educated people about their hardships.

Fiction also informed people about the evils of slavery. **Uncle Tom's Cabin**, the anti-slavery novel written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, spoke out powerfully against slavery. Stowe, the daughter of Connecticut minister Lyman Beecher, moved to Ohio when she was 21. There she met fugitive slaves and learned about the cruelties of slavery. The Fugitive Slave Act greatly angered Stowe. She decided to write a book that would educate northerners about the realities of slavery.

*Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published in 1852. The main character, a kindly enslaved African American named Tom, is taken from his wife and sold "down the river" in Louisiana. Tom becomes the slave of cruel Simon Legree. In a rage, Legree has Tom beaten to death.

The novel electrified the nation and sparked outrage in the South. Louisa McCord, a famous southern writer, questioned the "foul imagination which could invent such scenes."

Within a decade, more than 2 million copies of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had been sold in the United States. The book's popularity caused one northerner to remark that Stowe and her book had created "two millions of abolitionists." Stowe later wrote *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* to answer those who had criticized her book.

The impact of Stowe's book is suggested by her reported meeting with Abraham Lincoln in 1862, a year after the start of the Civil War. Lincoln supposedly said to Stowe that she was "the little lady who made this big war." Her book is still widely read today as a source of information about the harsh realities of slavery.

### READING CHECK Identifying Cause and Effect

Why did abolitionists use antislavery literature to promote their cause, and what effect did it have on the slavery debate?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** The United States experienced increasing disagreement over the issue of slavery. The Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act tried to address these disagreements with legislation. In the next section you will read about another disputed law concerning slavery, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the violence it sparked.

## Section 1 Assessment

go.hrw.com  
Online Quiz

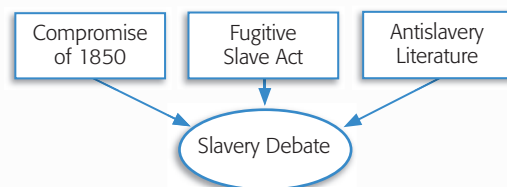
KEYWORD: SS8 HP14

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People HSS 8.9.4, 8.10.1

- Describe** What ideas did the **Free-Soil Party** promote?
  - Predict** What are some possible results of the growing sectional debate over slavery?
- Describe** What were the major points of the **Compromise of 1850**?
  - Contrast** What differing opinions emerged toward Henry Clay's proposed compromise?
- Identify** What were the effects of the **Fugitive Slave Act**?
  - Draw Conclusions** Why did some Americans believe the Fugitive Slave Act was unfair?
- Identify** What are three examples of antislavery literature?
  - Elaborate** Do you think literature was an effective tool against slavery? Why or why not?

### Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** Copy the web diagram below onto a sheet of your own paper. Use it to explain how the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act, and antislavery literature affected the debate over slavery.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

- Taking Notes on the Debate over Slavery** Make some notes on the Wilmot Proviso, the Free-Soil Party, the Compromise of 1850, and the Fugitive Slave Act. Decide how your character feels about each of these. How do the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act affect your character?

## Antislavery Literature

# from **Uncle Tom's Cabin**

### GUIDED READING

#### WORD HELP

**conceive** imagine

**desolate** alone

**forlorn** unhappy

**slacking** slowing down

**thither** there

**1** What detail tells you how long Eliza has walked up to this point?

**2** Why do you think she chooses that escape route?

by *Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896)*

**About the Reading** *Published nine years before the outbreak of the Civil War, Uncle Tom's Cabin focused the nation's attention on the cruelties of slavery. In the following section, Stowe describes how a slave named Eliza is trying to escape to save her son from being sold.*

**AS YOU READ** Look for details that appeal to your feelings.

It is impossible to conceive of a human creature more wholly desolate and forlorn than Eliza when she turned her footsteps from Uncle Tom's cabin . . .

The boundaries of the farm, the grove, the wood lot passed by her dizzily as she walked on; and still she went, leaving one familiar object after another, slacking not, pausing not, till reddening daylight found her many a long mile from all traces of any familiar objects upon the open highway. **1**

She had often been, with her mistress, to visit some connections in the little town of T—, not far from the Ohio River, and knew the road well. **2** To go thither, to escape across the Ohio River, were the first hurried outlines of her plan of escape; beyond that she could only hope in God . . .

### CONNECTING LITERATURE TO HISTORY

- 1. Slaves had no legal rights. They were considered to be property, not human beings.** How do the actions and dialogue in this passage contradict these ideas about slaves?
- 2. Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, and other former slaves wrote narratives about their experiences. Yet these true stories did not have as much impact as Stowe's novel.** Why do you think this fictional story about slavery had more impact than true slave narratives?



**ELA Reading 8.3** Students read and respond to historically or culturally significant works of literature that reflect and enhance their studies of history and social science.



# Trouble in Kansas

SECTION

2

## If YOU were there...

You live on a New England farm in 1855. You often think about moving West. But the last few harvests have been bad, and you can't afford it. Now the Emigrant Aid Society offers to help you get to Kansas. To bring in antislavery voters like you, they'll give you a wagon, livestock, and farm machines. Still, you know that Kansas might be dangerous.

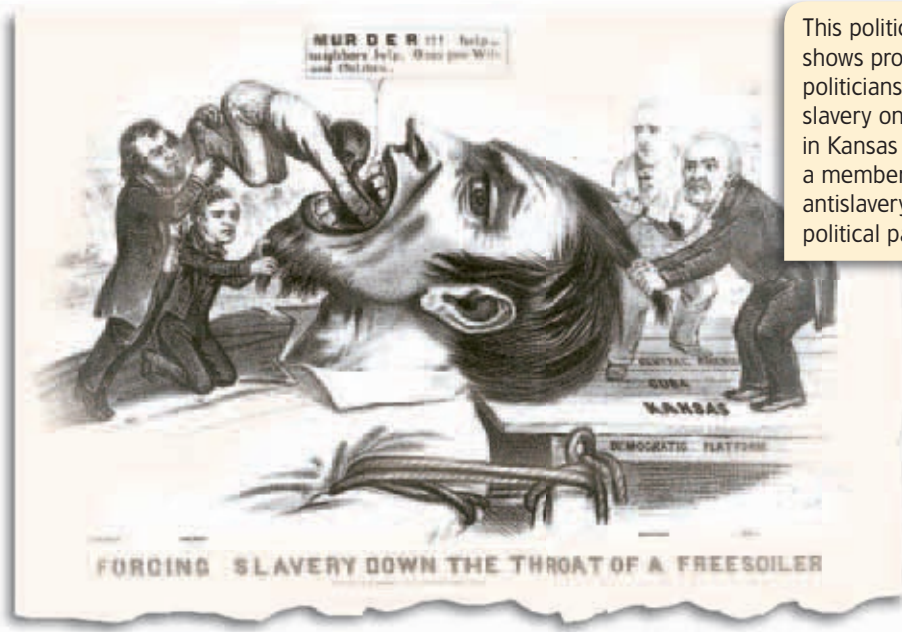
## Would you decide to risk settling in Kansas?

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** The argument over the extension of slavery grew stronger and more bitter. It dominated American politics in the mid-1800s. Laws that tried to find compromises ended by causing more violence. The bloodiest battleground of this period was in Kansas.

## Election of 1852

Four leading candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination emerged in 1852. It became clear that none of them would win a majority of votes. Frustrated delegates at the Democratic National Convention turned to **Franklin Pierce**, a little-known politician from New Hampshire. Pierce promised to honor the Compromise

This political cartoon shows pro-slavery politicians forcing slavery on a settler in Kansas who is a member of the antislavery Free-Soil political party.



## What You Will Learn...

### Main Ideas

1. The debate over the expansion of slavery influenced the election of 1852.
2. The Kansas-Nebraska Act allowed voters to allow or prohibit slavery.
3. Pro-slavery and antislavery groups clashed violently in what became known as "Bleeding Kansas."

### The Big Idea

The Kansas-Nebraska Act heightened tensions in the conflict over slavery.

## Key Terms and People

Franklin Pierce, p. 445

Stephen Douglas, p. 446

Kansas-Nebraska Act, p. 447

Pottawatomie Massacre, p. 449

Charles Sumner, p. 449

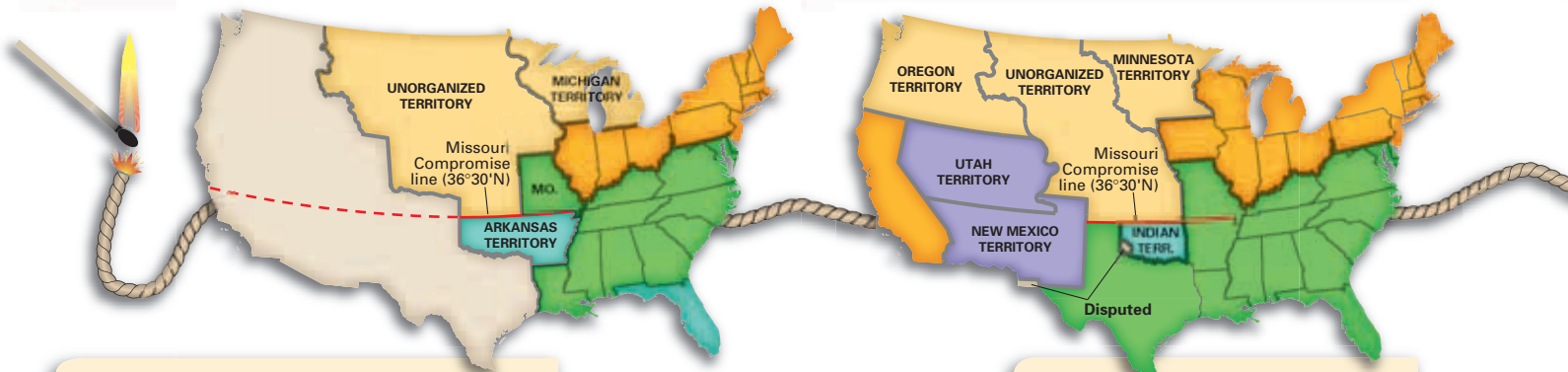
Preston Brooks, p. 449



**HSS 8.9.5** Analyze the significance of the States' Rights Doctrine, the Missouri Compromise (1820), the Wilmot Proviso (1846), the Compromise of 1850, Henry Clay's role in the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision (1857), and the Lincoln-Douglas debates (1858).

**HSS 8.10.2** Trace the boundaries constituting the North and the South, the geographical differences between the two regions, and the differences between agrarians and industrialists.

## From Compromise to Conflict



### The Missouri Compromise, 1820

Under the Missouri Compromise of 1820, there are an equal number of free states (orange) and slave states (green).

### The Compromise of 1850

The Compromise of 1850 allowed for one more free state than slave state, but also passed a strict fugitive slave law.

#### FOCUS ON READING

What facts and what opinions are mentioned in this paragraph?

of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act. Therefore, southerners trusted Pierce on the issue of slavery.

The opposing Whigs also held their convention in 1852. In other presidential elections, they had nominated well-known former generals such as William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor. This had been a good strategy, as both men had won. The Whigs decided to choose another war hero. They passed over the current president, Millard Fillmore, because they believed that his strict enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act would cost votes. Instead, they chose Winfield Scott, a Mexican War hero. Southerners did not trust Scott, however, because he had not fully supported the Compromise of 1850.

Pierce won the election of 1852 by a large margin. Many Whigs viewed the election as a painful defeat, not just for their candidate, but for their party.

#### READING CHECK Drawing Conclusions

What issues determined the outcome of the presidential election of 1852?

## The Kansas-Nebraska Act

In his inaugural address, President Pierce expressed his hope that the slavery issue had been put to rest “and that no sectional . . . excitement may again threaten the durability [stability] of our institutions.” Less than a year later, however, a proposal to build a railroad to the West coast helped revive the slavery controversy and opened a new period of sectional conflict.

### Douglas and the Railroad

Ever since entering Congress in the mid-1840s, **Stephen Douglas** had supported the idea of building a railroad to the Pacific Ocean. Douglas favored a line running from Chicago. The first step toward building such a railroad would be organizing what remained of the Louisiana Purchase into a federal territory. The Missouri Compromise required that this land be free territory and eventually free states.

Southerners in Congress did not support Douglas’s plan, recommending a southern route for the railroad. Their preferred line



### The Kansas-Nebraska Act

As a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the question of slavery is to be decided by popular sovereignty—by the people who vote in the elections there—in the newly organized territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The act sparked violent conflict between pro-slavery and antislavery groups.

### GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

### INTERPRETING MAPS

- 1. Region** In what part of the United States were the slave states located?
- 2. Place** What free state was added with the Compromise of 1850?

ran from New Orleans, across Texas and New Mexico Territory, to southern California. Determined to have the railroad start in Chicago, Douglas asked a few key southern senators to support his plan. They agreed to do so if the new territory west of Missouri was opened to slavery.

### Two New Territories

In January 1854, Douglas introduced what became the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, a plan that would divide the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase into two territories—Kansas and Nebraska—and allow the people in each territory to decide on the question of slavery. The act would eliminate the Missouri Compromise’s restriction on slavery north of the 36° 30’ line.

Antislavery northerners were outraged by the **implications**. Some believed the proposal was part of a terrible plot to turn free territory into a “dreary region . . . inhabited by masters and slaves.” All across the North, citizens attended protest meetings and sent anti-Nebraska petitions to Congress.

Even so, with strong southern support—and with Douglas and President Pierce pressuring their fellow Democrats to vote for it—the measure passed both houses of Congress and was signed into law on May 30, 1854. Lost amid all the controversy over the territorial bill was Douglas’s proposed railroad to the Pacific Ocean. Congress would not approve the construction of such a railroad until 1862.

### Kansas Divided

Antislavery and pro-slavery groups rushed their supporters to Kansas. One of the people who spoke out strongly against slavery in Kansas was Senator Seward.

“Gentlemen of the Slave States . . . I accept [your challenge] in . . . the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for . . . Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right.”

—William Henry Seward, quoted in *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* by David M. Potter

Elections for the Kansas territorial legislature were held in March 1855. Almost 5,000

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**implications**  
things that are inferred or deduced



pro-slavery voters crossed the border from Missouri, voted in Kansas, and then returned home. As a result, the new legislature had a huge pro-slavery majority. The members of the legislature passed strict laws that made it a crime to question slaveholders' rights and said that those who helped fugitive slaves could be put to death. In protest, anti-slavery Kansans formed their own legislature 25 miles away in Topeka. President Pierce only recognized the pro-slavery legislature.

**READING CHECK** Analyzing Why did northerners dislike the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

## Bleeding Kansas

By early 1856 Kansas had two opposing governments, and the population was angry. Settlers had moved to Kansas to homestead in peace, but the controversy over slavery began to affect everyone.

In April 1856, a congressional committee arrived in Kansas to decide which government was legitimate. Although committee

members declared the election of the pro-slavery legislature to be unfair, the federal government did not follow their recommendations.

## Attack on Lawrence

The new pro-slavery settlers owned guns, and antislavery settlers received weapons shipments from friends in the East. Then, violence broke out. In May 1856 a pro-slavery grand jury in Kansas charged leaders of the antislavery government with treason. About 800 men rode to the city of Lawrence to arrest the antislavery leaders, but they had fled. The posse took its anger out on Lawrence by setting fires, looting buildings, and destroying presses used to print antislavery newspapers. One man was killed in the pro-slavery attack that became known as the Sack of Lawrence.

## John Brown's Response

Abolitionist John Brown was from New England, but he and some of his sons had moved to Kansas in 1855. The Sack of Lawrence made him determined to "fight fire with fire" and to "strike terror in the hearts of the pro-slavery people." On the night of May 24, 1856, along Pottawatomie Creek, **Brown and his men killed five pro-slavery men in Kansas in what became known as**

### "Bleeding Kansas"

Abolitionists and pro-slavery forces clashed in Kansas, killing many people. Shown here is a group of abolitionists who took the law into their own hands to free one of their group from prison.

*Why might these men have fought against slavery?*



John Doy was imprisoned for his abolitionist activities but was freed by other abolitionists

the **Pottawatomie Massacre**. Brown and his men dragged the pro-slavery men out of their cabins and killed them with swords. The abolitionist band managed to escape capture. Brown declared that his actions had been ordered by God.

Kansas collapsed into civil war, and about 200 people were killed. The events in “Bleeding Kansas” became national front-page stories. In September 1856, a new territorial governor arrived and began to restore order.

### Brooks Attacks Sumner

Congress also reacted to the violence of the Sack of Lawrence. Senator **Charles Sumner** of Massachusetts criticized pro-slavery people in Kansas and personally insulted Andrew Pickens Butler, a pro-slavery senator from South Carolina. Representative **Preston Brooks**, a relative of Butler’s, responded strongly. On May 22, 1856, Brooks used a walking cane to beat Sumner unconscious in the Senate chambers.

Dozens of southerners sent Brooks new canes, but northerners were outraged and called the attacker “Bully Brooks”. Brooks



only had to pay a \$300 fine to the federal court. It took Sumner three years before he was well enough to return to his Senate duties.

The cartoon above shows Preston Brooks beating Charles Sumner with his cane. Sumner’s only protection is a quill pen symbolically representing the law.

**READING CHECK** Summarizing What were some of the results of the intense division in Kansas?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** The Kansas-Nebraska Act produced a national uproar. In the next section you will read about divisions in political parties.

## Section 2 Assessment

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**Online Quiz**

KEYWORD: SS8 HP14

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People **HSS** 8.9.5, 8.10.2

- Identify** What issues influenced the outcome of the election of 1852?
  - Draw Conclusions** Why did northern and southern Democrats support **Franklin Pierce**?
- Recall** What did the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** do?
  - Explain** Why did antislavery and pro-slavery groups encourage people to move to Kansas?
  - Evaluate** Would you have supported or opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act? Why?
- Describe** What was the **Pottawatomie Massacre**?
  - Analyze** How did **Charles Sumner**’s views on “Bleeding Kansas” create conflict?
  - Elaborate** Do you think **Preston Brooks**’s punishment was reasonable? Why or why not?

### Critical Thinking

- Sequencing** Copy the graphic organizer at the top of the right column onto your own sheet of paper. Use it to show events that led to violence in Kansas.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5. Violence in Kansas

### FOCUS ON WRITING

- Taking Notes on the Trouble in Kansas** Make some notes on the election of 1852, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the events in Kansas. Decide how your character feels about each of these. How do these events affect your character?

# Political Divisions

## What You Will Learn...

### Main Ideas

1. Political parties in the United States underwent change due to the movement to expand slavery.
2. The *Dred Scott* decision created further division over the issue of slavery.
3. The Lincoln-Douglas debates brought much attention to the conflict over slavery.

### The Big Idea

The split over the issue of slavery intensified due to political division and judicial decisions.

## Key Terms and People

Republican Party, p. 450

James Buchanan, p. 450

John C. Frémont, p. 451

Dred Scott, p. 451

Roger B. Taney, p. 452

Abraham Lincoln, p. 452

Lincoln-Douglas debates, p. 453

Freeport Doctrine, p. 454



**HSS 8.10.4** Discuss Abraham Lincoln's presidency and his significant writings and speeches and their relationship to the Declaration of Independence, such as his "House Divided" speech (1858), Gettysburg Address (1863), Emancipation Proclamation (1863), and inaugural addresses (1861 and 1865).

## If YOU were there...

You are traveling through Michigan in July 1854. As you pass through the town of Jackson, you see a crowd of several hundred people gathered under the trees. You join them and find that it is a political rally. Antislavery supporters from different parties are meeting to form a new political party. Speakers promise to fight slavery "until the contest be terminated!"

**How do you think this new party will affect American politics?**

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** The slavery question continued to divide the country and lead to violence. The issue not only dominated American politics in the mid-1800s but also brought changes in the makeup of American political parties.

## Political Parties Undergo Change

Democrat Stephen Douglas had predicted that the Kansas-Nebraska Act would "raise a . . . storm." He was right. The Kansas-Nebraska Act brought the slavery issue back into the national spotlight. Some Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, and abolitionists joined in 1854 to form the **Republican Party**, a political party united against the spread of slavery in the West.

Democrats were in trouble. Those who supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act were not re-elected. The Whig Party also fell apart when northern and southern Whigs refused to work together. A senator from Connecticut complained, "The Whig Party has been killed off . . . by that miserable Nebraska business." Some Whigs and Democrats joined the American Party, also known as the Know-Nothing Party. At the party's convention, delegates argued over slavery, then chose former president Millard Fillmore as their candidate for the election of 1856.

The Democrats knew they could not choose a strong supporter of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, such as President Pierce or Senator Douglas. They nominated **James Buchanan** of Pennsylvania. Buchanan had a great deal of political experience as Polk's secretary of state. Most



importantly, he had been in Great Britain as ambassador during the Kansas-Nebraska Act dispute and had not been involved in the debate.

At their first nominating convention, the Republicans chose explorer **John C. Frémont** as their candidate. He had little political experience, but he stood against the spread of slavery. The public saw Republicans as a single-issue party. They had almost no supporters outside of the free states.

On election day, Buchanan won 14 of the 15 slave states and became the new president. Frémont won 11 of the 16 free states. Fillmore won only one state—Maryland. Buchanan had won the election.

**READING CHECK** **Summarizing** What were the major political parties in the election of 1856, and who was the candidate for each party?

## Dred Scott Decision

Just two days after Buchanan became president, the Supreme Court issued a historic ruling about slavery. News of the decision threw the country back into crisis. The Court reviewed and decided the **complex** case involving an enslaved man named **Dred Scott**.

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**complex**  
difficult, not simple

### Dred Scott Sues for Freedom

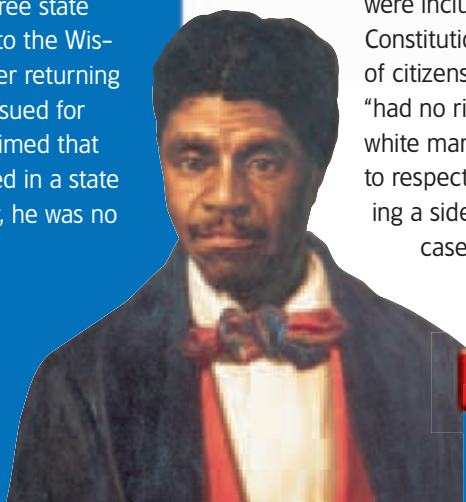
Dred Scott was the slave of Dr. John Emerson, an army surgeon who lived in St. Louis, Missouri. In the 1830s, Emerson had taken Scott on tours of duty in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory. After they returned to Missouri, the doctor died, and Scott became the slave of Emerson's widow. In 1846 Scott sued for his freedom in the Missouri state courts, arguing that he had become free when he lived in free territory. Though a lower court ruled in



### Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

#### Background of the

**Case** Born a slave in Virginia, Dred Scott moved with his slaveholder to the free state of Illinois and then to the Wisconsin Territory. After returning to the South, Scott sued for his freedom. He claimed that because he had lived in a state that banned slavery, he was no longer a slave.



#### The Court's Ruling

The Court ruled that African Americans, whether free or slave, were not considered citizens of the United States, and therefore had no right to sue in federal court. It also decided that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.

#### The Court's Reasoning

Chief Justice Roger B. Taney wrote in the majority opinion that the Court did not believe that African Americans were included in the Constitution's definition of citizens and that they "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Addressing a side issue in the case, the opinion also stated

that Congress could not outlaw slavery in the territories. This struck down the Missouri Compromise, which had made slavery illegal in territories north of the 36° 30' dividing line.

#### Why It Matters

The *Dred Scott* case was seen as a setback to abolitionist ideas against slavery. It reduced the status of free African Americans and upheld the view of slaves as property without rights or protection under the Constitution. It also took from Congress the power to ban slavery in its territories, which would aid the spread of slavery in new states. Because of its pro-slavery decision, the reputation of the Court suffered greatly in parts of the North.

#### ANALYSIS SKILL

#### ANALYZING INFORMATION

1. Why do you think the Court ruled that African Americans had no access to federal courts?
2. How did this case affect abolitionist efforts?

## A Growing Conflict

QUICK  
FACTS

### Causes of Conflict

- Failure of Missouri Compromise
- Failure of Compromise of 1850
- Kansas-Nebraska Act
- *Dred Scott* decision

### Short-Term Effects

- Political battles
- Sectional differences
- “Bleeding Kansas”
- Lincoln-Douglas debates

### Long-Term Effect

- Civil War

his favor, the Missouri Supreme Court overturned this ruling.

Scott’s case reached the U.S. Supreme Court 11 years later, in 1857. The justices—a majority of whom were from the South—had three key issues before them. First, the Court had to rule on whether Scott was a citizen. Only citizens could sue in federal court. Second, the Court had to decide if his time living on free soil made him free. Third, the Court had to determine the constitutionality of prohibiting slavery in parts of the Louisiana Purchase.

### The Supreme Court’s Ruling

Chief Justice **Roger B. Taney** (TAW-nee), himself from a slaveholding family in Maryland, wrote the majority opinion in the *Dred Scott* decision in March 1857. First, he addressed the issue of Dred Scott’s citizenship. Taney

said the nation’s founders believed that African Americans “had no rights which a white man was bound to respect.” He therefore concluded that all African Americans, whether slave or free, were not citizens under the U.S. Constitution. Thus, Dred Scott did not have the right to file suit in federal court.

Taney also ruled on the other issues before the Court. As to whether Scott’s residence on free soil made him free, Taney flatly said it did not. Because Scott had returned to the slave state of Missouri, the chief justice said, “his *status*, as free or slave, depended on the laws of Missouri.”

Finally, Taney declared the Missouri Compromise restriction on slavery north of 36°30’ to be unconstitutional. He pointed out that the Fifth Amendment said no one could “be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.” Because slaves were considered property, Congress could not prohibit someone from taking slaves into a federal territory. Under this ruling, Congress had no right to ban slavery in any federal territory.

Most white southerners cheered this decision. It “covers every question regarding slavery and settles it in favor of the South,” reported a Georgia newspaper. Another newspaper, the New Orleans *Picayune*, assured its readers that the ruling put “the whole basis of the . . . Republican organization under the ban of law.”

The ruling stunned many northerners. The Republicans were particularly upset because their platform in 1856 had argued that Congress held the right to ban slavery in the federal territories. Now the nation’s highest court had ruled that Congress did not have this right.

Indeed, some northerners feared that the spread of slavery would not stop with the federal territories. Illinois lawyer **Abraham Lincoln** warned that a future Court ruling, or what he called “the next *Dred Scott* decision,” would prohibit states from banning slavery.

## Primary Source

### SPEECH

## A House Divided

In 1858 Abraham Lincoln gave a passionate speech to Illinois Republicans about the dangers of the disagreement over slavery. Some considered it a call for war.

“In my opinion, it [disagreement over slavery] will not cease [stop], until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. “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.”

Lincoln expresses confidence that the Union will survive.

This line is a paraphrase of a line in the Bible.

—Abraham Lincoln,

quoted in *Abraham Lincoln: Speeches and Writings 1832–1858*  
edited by Don E. Fehrenbacher

### ANALYSIS SKILL

### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

What do you think Lincoln meant by “crisis”?



“We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of [close to] making their state free; and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave state.”

—Abraham Lincoln, quoted in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by Roy P. Basler

**READING CHECK** Summarizing What were the major rulings of the *Dred Scott* decision?

## Lincoln-Douglas Debates

In 1858 Illinois Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln for the U.S. Senate. His opponent was Democrat Stephen Douglas, who had represented Illinois in the Senate since 1847.

Lincoln challenged Douglas in what became the historic Lincoln-Douglas debates.

In each debate, Lincoln stressed that the central issue of the campaign was the spread of slavery in the West. He said that the Democrats were trying to spread slavery across the nation.

Lincoln talked about the *Dred Scott* decision. He said that African Americans were “entitled to all the natural rights” listed in the Declaration of Independence, specifically mentioning “the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” However, Lincoln believed that African Americans were not necessarily the social or political equals of whites. Hoping to cost Lincoln votes, Douglas charged that Lincoln “thinks that the Negro is his brother . . .”

Douglas also criticized Lincoln for saying that the nation could not remain “half slave and half free.” Douglas said that the statement revealed a Republican desire to make every state a free state. This, he warned, would only lead to “a dissolution [destruction] of the Union” and “warfare between the North and the South.”

At the second debate, in the northern Illinois town of Freeport, Illinois, Lincoln pressed Douglas on the apparent contradiction between the Democrats’ belief in popu-

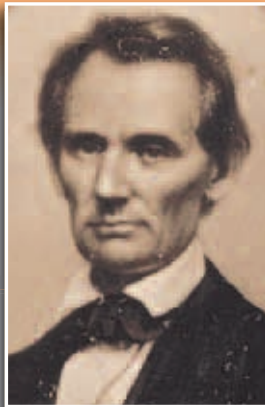
### THE IMPACT TODAY

Today political debates are televised and can be seen around the world.



## Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Lincoln ran for the U.S. Senate in Illinois against Douglas in 1858. The two men debated seven times at various locations around the state. Lincoln lost the election but gained national recognition.



Abraham Lincoln



Stephen Douglas

lar sovereignty and the *Dred Scott* decision. Lincoln asked Douglas to explain how, if Congress could not ban slavery from a federal territory, Congress could allow the citizens of that territory to ban it.

Douglas responded that it did not matter what the Supreme Court decided about slavery. He argued that “the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as

they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations.”

This notion that the police would enforce the voters’ decision if it contradicted the Supreme Court’s decision in the *Dred Scott* case became known as the **Freeport Doctrine**.

The Freeport Doctrine put the slavery question back in the hands of American citizens. It helped Douglas win the Senate seat. Lincoln, while not victorious, emerged as an important leader of the Republican Party.

**READING CHECK** **Drawing Inferences** Why did Abraham Lincoln make slavery’s expansion the central issue of the Lincoln-Douglas debates?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** The *Dred Scott* decision and the Lincoln-Douglas debates dealt with the conflict over slavery in the western territories. In the next section you will read about how the conflict broke apart the Union.

## Section 3 Assessment

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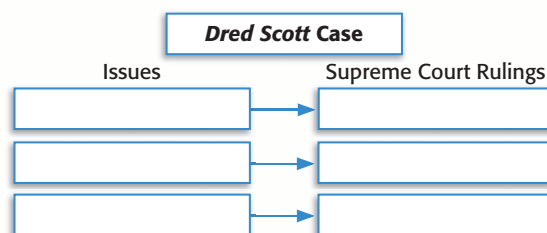
Online Quiz

KEYWORD: SS8 HP14

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People **HSS** 8.10.4 **Critical Thinking**

- a. Identify** What was the major issue of the newly formed **Republican Party**?  
**b. Draw Conclusions** How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act affect political parties?  
**c. Elaborate** Why do you think **James Buchanan** won the election of 1856?
- a. Identify** Who was **Roger B. Taney**, and why was he important?  
**b. Draw Conclusions** How did the *Dred Scott* decision affect the Missouri Compromise and the expansion of slavery?  
**c. Predict** What problems might result from the Supreme Court’s ruling in the *Dred Scott* case?
- a. Recall** What was the major issue of the **Lincoln-Douglas debates**?  
**b. Make Inferences** Despite his loss in the election, how did Lincoln become the leader of the Republican Party?

- Summarizing** Copy the graphic organizer below onto your own paper. Use it to identify the issues involved in the *Dred Scott* case and the Supreme Court’s rulings.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

- Taking Notes on the Political Divisions** Make some notes on the Republican Party, the *Dred Scott* decision, and the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Decide how your character feels about each of these. How do these events affect your character?

# The Nation Divides

SECTION

4

## If YOU were there...

You work for the weekly newspaper in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. You strongly oppose slavery, but you think the question ought to be resolved by laws, not bloodshed. Now your paper has sent you to interview the famous abolitionist John Brown in prison. His raids in “Bleeding Kansas” killed several people. Now he is in jail for attacking a federal arsenal and taking weapons.

## What questions would you ask John Brown?

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** Unpopular compromises and court decisions deepened the divisions between pro-slavery and antislavery advocates. The Lincoln-Douglas debates attracted more attention to the issue. As the disagreements grew, violence increased, though many Americans hoped to avoid it. But it was too late to keep the nation unified.

## Raid on Harpers Ferry

In 1858 John Brown tried to start an uprising. He wanted to attack the federal arsenal in Virginia and seize weapons there. He planned to arm local slaves. Brown expected to kill or take hostage white southerners who stood in his way. He urged abolitionists to give him money so that he could support a small army. But after nearly two years, Brown’s army had only about 20 men.

On the night of October 16, 1859, **John Brown’s raid began when he and his men took over the arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in hopes of starting a slave rebellion.** He sent several of his men into the countryside to get slaves to join him. However, enslaved African Americans did not come to Harpers Ferry, fearing punishment if they took part. Instead, local white southerners attacked Brown. Eight of his men and three local men were killed. Brown and some followers retreated to a firehouse.

Federal troops arrived in Harpers Ferry the following night. The next morning, Colonel Robert E. Lee ordered a squad of marines to storm the firehouse. In a matter of seconds, the marines killed two more of Brown’s men and captured the rest—including Brown.

## What You Will Learn...

### Main Ideas

1. John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry intensified the disagreement between free states and slave states.
2. The outcome of the election of 1860 divided the United States.
3. The dispute over slavery led the South to secede.

### The Big Idea

The United States broke apart due to the growing conflict over slavery.

## Key Terms and People

John Brown’s raid, p. 455

John C. Breckinridge, p. 457

Constitutional Union Party, p. 457

John Bell, p. 457

secession, p. 458

Confederate States of America, p. 458

Jefferson Davis, p. 458

John J. Crittenden, p. 459



**HSS 8.9.1** Describe the leaders of the movement (e.g., John Quincy Adams and his proposed constitutional amendment, John Brown and the armed resistance, Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad, Benjamin Franklin, Theodore Weld, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass).

**8.10.3** Identify the constitutional issues posed by the doctrine of nullification and secession and the earliest origins of that doctrine.

## Primary Source

### SPEECH

## John Brown's Last Speech

At his trial, after being pronounced guilty, John Brown spoke in his own defense about his plan to free slaves.

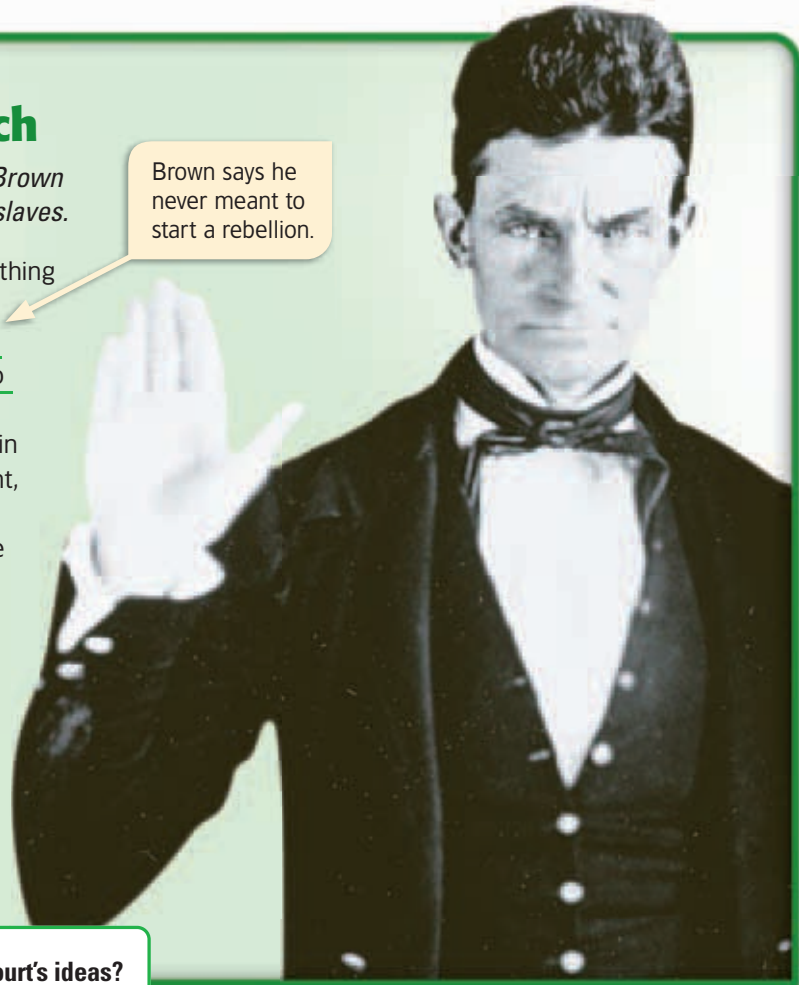
“I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter [freeing slaves] . . . I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite the slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection [revolt] . . . Had I interfered in the manner which I admit . . . in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great . . . it would have been all right, and every man in this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment . . . I believe that to have interfered as I have done . . . in behalf of His despoised poor, is no wrong, but right.”

—John Brown,

quoted in *The Life, Trial and Execution of Captain John Brown*

By *His*, Brown means God's.

Brown says he never meant to start a rebellion.



### ANALYSIS SKILL

### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

How does Brown contrast his ideas with the Court's ideas?

Brown was quickly convicted of treason, murder, and conspiracy. Some of his men received death sentences. John A. Copeland, a fugitive slave, defended his actions. “If I am dying for freedom, I could not die for a better cause.” Convinced that he also would be sentenced to death, Brown delivered a memorable speech.

“Now, if it is deemed [thought] necessary that I should forfeit [give up] my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle [mix] my blood . . . with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done.”

—John Brown, quoted in *John Brown, 1800–1859* by Oswald Garrison Villard

As expected, the judge ordered Brown to be hanged. The sentence was carried out one month later on December 2, 1859.

Many northerners mourned John Brown's death, but some abolitionists criticized his extreme actions. Abraham Lincoln said Brown “agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong.” However, Lincoln continued, “That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed, and treason.”

Most southern whites—both slaveholders and non-slaveholders—felt threatened by the actions of John Brown. They worried that a “John Brown the Second” might attack. One South Carolina newspaper voiced these fears: “We are convinced the safety of the South lies only outside the present Union.” Another newspaper stated that “the sooner we get out of the Union, the better.”

### READING CHECK Drawing Conclusions

Why did John Brown's raid lead some southerners to talk about leaving the Union?



## Election of 1860

In this climate of distrust, Americans prepared for another presidential election in 1860. The northern and southern Democrats could not agree on a candidate. Northern Democrats chose Senator Stephen Douglas. Southern Democrats backed the current vice president, **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky, who supported slavery in the territories.

Meanwhile, a new political party emerged. The **Constitutional Union Party** recognized “no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws.” Members of this new party met in Baltimore, Maryland, and selected **John Bell** of Tennessee as their candidate. Bell was a slaveholder, but he had opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854.

Senator William Seward of New York was the Republicans’ leading candidate at the start of their convention. But it turned out that Lincoln appealed to more party members. A moderate who was against the spread of

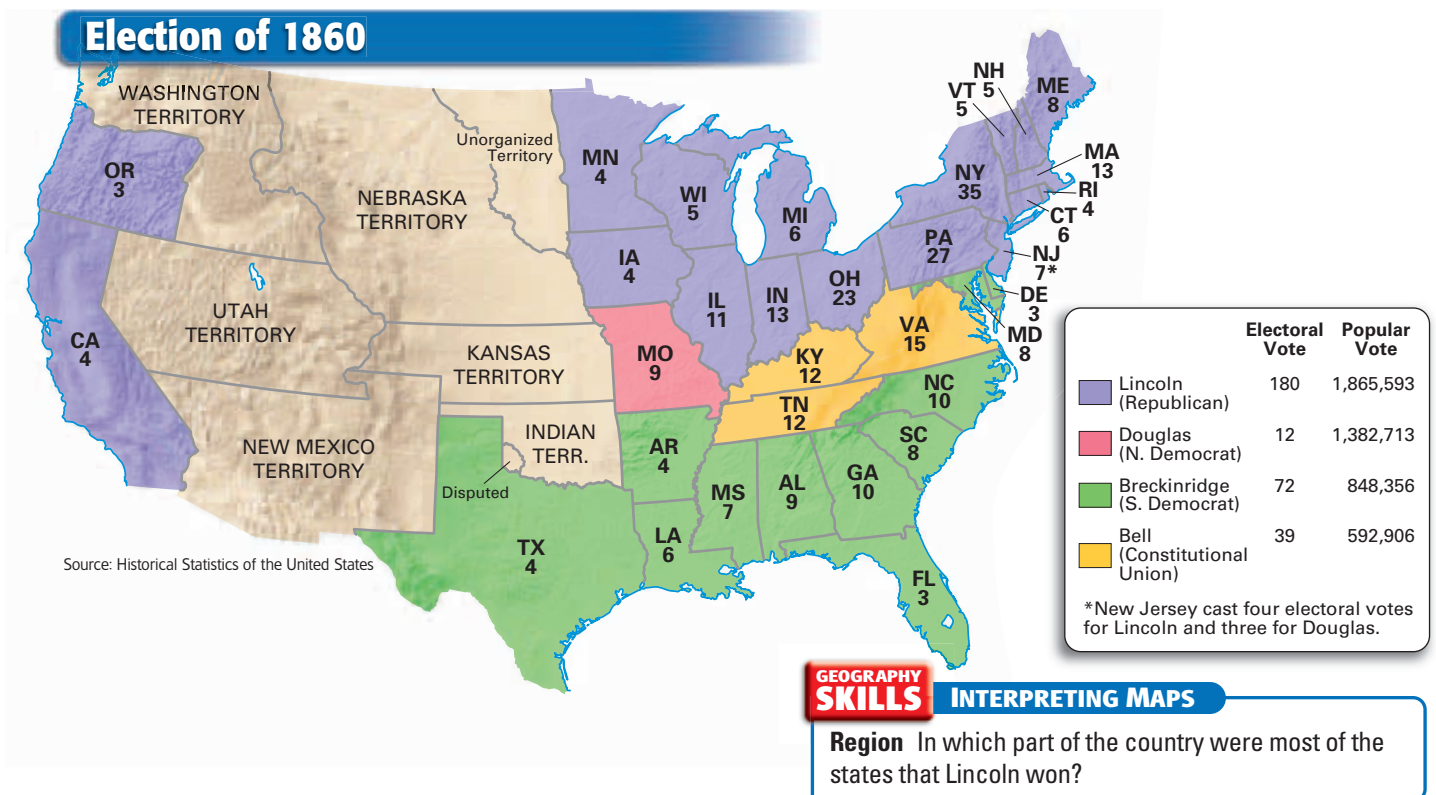
slavery, Lincoln promised not to abolish slavery where it already existed.

Douglas, Breckinridge, and Bell each knew he might not win the election. They hoped to win enough electoral votes to prevent Lincoln from winning in the electoral college. But with a unified Republican Party behind him, Lincoln won. Although he received the highest number of votes, he won only about 40 percent of the overall popular vote.

Lincoln won 180 of 183 electoral votes in free states. Douglas had the second-highest number of popular votes, but he won only one state. He earned just 12 electoral votes. Breckinridge and Bell split electoral votes in other slave states.

The election results angered southerners. Lincoln did not campaign in their region and did not carry any southern states, but he became the next president. The election signaled that the South was losing its national political power.

**READING CHECK Analyzing** Why was Lincoln viewed by many as a moderate candidate during his campaign for the presidency?



## The South Secedes

Lincoln insisted that he would not change slavery in the South. However, he said that slavery could not expand and thus would eventually die out completely. That idea angered many southerners.

### Southerners' Reactions

People in the South believed their economy and way of life would be destroyed without slave labor. They reacted immediately. Within a week of Lincoln's election, South Carolina's legislature called for a special convention. The delegates considered **secession**, or formally withdrawing from the Union. South Carolina elected to dissolve "the union now subsisting [existing] between South Carolina and other States." Southern secessionists believed that they had a right to leave the Union. They pointed out that each of the original states had voluntarily joined the Union by holding a special convention that had ratified the Constitution. Surely, they reasoned, states could leave the Union by the same process.

Critics of secession thought this argument was ridiculous. President Buchanan said the Union was not "a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties." President-elect Abraham Lincoln agreed, saying, "No State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union." Lincoln added, "They can only do so against [the] law, and by revolution."

### The Confederate States of America

Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas also seceded to form the **Confederate States of America**, also called the Confederacy. Its new constitution guaranteed citizens the right to own slaves.

Delegates from seceded states elected **Jefferson Davis** of Mississippi as president of the Confederacy. Davis had hoped to be the commanding general of Mississippi's troops. He responded to the news of his election with reluctance.

While the South Carolina representatives were meeting to discuss secession, Congress



Jefferson Davis takes the oath of office for president of the Confederate States of America.

### Rebel Government

This photograph is of the first inauguration of Jefferson Davis as the president of the Confederate States of America. A former U.S. secretary of war, Davis was elected president of the confederacy in 1861.

*How does this photo show the state of the southern government?*

examined a plan to save the Union. Senator **John J. Crittenden** of Kentucky proposed a series of constitutional amendments that he believed would satisfy the South by protecting slavery. Crittenden hoped the country could avoid secession and a civil war.

Lincoln disagreed with some of Crittenden's plan. He believed there could be no compromise about the extension of slavery. Lincoln wrote, "The tug has to come and better now than later." A Senate committee voted on Crittenden's plan, and every Republican rejected it, as Lincoln had requested.

When the southern states seceded, the question of who owned federal property in the South arose. For instance, the forts in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, were federal property. However, Confederate president Davis and the Confederacy were ready to prevent the federal army from controlling the property.

### Lincoln Takes Office

President Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861. In writing his inaugural address, Lincoln looked to many of the nation's founding documents. Referring to the idea that governments receive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," a line from the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln stated, "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it or their *revolutionary* right to dismember [take apart] or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous [wanting] of having the National Constitution amended . . ."

While he believed that U.S. citizens had the power to change their government through majority consent, he opposed the idea that southern states could leave the Union because they were unhappy with the government's position on slavery.

He announced in his inaugural address that he would keep all government property in the seceding states. However, he also tried to convince southerners that his government would not provoke a war. He hoped that, given time, southern states would return to the Union.

**READING CHECK** **Drawing Conclusions** Why did some southern states secede from the Union?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** The secession of the southern states hinted at the violence to come. In the next chapter you will read about the Civil War.

## Section 4 Assessment

go.hrw.com  
**Online Quiz**  
KEYWORD: SS8 HP14

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People **HSS** 8.9.1, 8.10.3

- a. Recall** Why did John Brown want to seize the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry?  
**b. Explain** Why did some abolitionists disagree with Brown's actions?
- a. Identify** List the candidates in the presidential election of 1860, and what party each supported.  
**b. Predict** How might Abraham Lincoln's victory in the election of 1860 lead to future problems?
- a. Identify** What states made up the **Confederate States of America**?  
**b. Explain** Why did Lincoln disagree with **John J. Crittenden's** plan to keep the Union together?  
**c. Elaborate** Do you believe that the southern states had the right to secede? Why or why not?

### Critical Thinking

- Summarizing** Copy the graphic organizer below onto your own sheet of paper. Use it to identify the causes of the secession of southern states.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

- Taking Notes on Secession** Make some notes on the raid on Harpers Ferry, the election of 1860, and the secession of the South. Decide how your character feels about each of these. How do these events affect your character?



# Social Studies Skills

## Analysis

## Critical Thinking

## Participation

## Study



**HR3** Students distinguish relevant from irrelevant information.

## Assessing Primary and Secondary Sources

### Define the Skill

All historical information comes from primary and secondary sources. *Primary sources* are documents written by someone who witnessed or took part in an event. They include diaries, letters, autobiographies, and newspaper reports. *Secondary sources* are accounts of events written after the events have occurred by someone who did not witness or take part in them. They retell, interpret, and summarize information from primary sources. History books and biographies are examples of secondary sources.

Historical sources often disagree. One writer's version of an event may be different from another writer's version. You must assess the reliability of a primary or secondary source in order to weigh its value to you as a source of accurate information.

### Learn the Skill

Use these guidelines to analyze and evaluate primary and secondary sources.

- 1 Identify the nature of the material. Is it a first-hand, eye-witness account or is it based on information provided by others?
- 2 Evaluate the author. If the material is a secondary source, what qualifications does the author have to interpret the sources from which it came? If the material is a primary source, what was the author's connection to the event he or she is writing about?
- 3 Determine the audience. Was the source meant to be seen by the public? Was it meant for a friend, or for the writer alone? The intended audience can influence a source's content.

- 4 Determine the purpose. Even authors of primary sources can have reasons to distort the truth to suit their own purposes. Look for evidence of emotion, exaggeration, opinion, or bias that may have influenced the account.
- 5 Look for documentation. Look for other information or evidence that supports the source's account. Compare sources whenever possible.

### Practice the Skill

The passage below concerns the attack on Lawrence, Kansas, that you read about in this chapter. The passage contains both a primary and a secondary source. The secondary account was written by John A. Garraty, a well-known historian. Review the information on page 448, analyze the passage, and answer the questions that follow.

“Sheriff Jones, at the head of an army of Missourians, marched into Lawrence. In broad daylight they threw the printing presses of two newspapers into a river. They burned down the Free State Hotel and other buildings. Antislavery Kansans seethed with rage. One eyewitness described the attack.

*Sheriff Jones, after looking at the flames rising from the hotel and saying that it was ‘the happiest day of his life,’ dismissed the troops and they began their lawless destruction.”*

1. Did the author of the primary source likely support the attackers or the people of Lawrence? What clues in the passage suggest this?
2. For whom was the primary source likely written?
3. Which source is more reliable for information about this incident? Explain why.

## Visual Summary

Use the visual summary below to help you review the main ideas of the chapter.

QUICK FACTS

Differing views on slavery in the North and South gradually tore apart the unity of the nation.



## Reviewing Vocabulary, Terms, and People

Identify the correct term or person from the chapter that best fits each of the following descriptions.

1. belief that voters should be given the right to decide if slavery would be permitted or banned
2. chief justice of the Supreme Court who wrote the majority opinion for the *Dred Scott* decision
3. Democratic candidate for president in 1852 who promised to enforce the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act
4. a fugitive slave whose arrest led to violence between government officials and abolitionists
5. Republican candidate for the presidency in 1856 who opposed the spread of slavery in the West
6. slave who sued for freedom, claiming that by living in free territory, he had earned his freedom
7. Stephen Douglas's claim that states and territories should determine the issue of slavery through popular sovereignty

## Comprehension and Critical Thinking

**SECTION 1** (Pages 438–443) **HSS** 8.9.4, 8.10.1

- 8. a. Describe** How did literature aid the antislavery movement?
- b. Draw Conclusions** How did the issue of slavery promote sectionalism?
- c. Evaluate** Do you think the Compromise of 1850 was a good solution? Explain your answer.

**SECTION 2** (Pages 445–449) **HSS** 8.9.5, 8.10.2

- 9. a. Identify** Who were the candidates in the presidential election of 1852, and what issues did each support?
- b. Analyze** How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act lead to growing hostility between pro-slavery and antislavery supporters?
- c. Elaborate** Why do you think “Bleeding Kansas” produced intense controversy between many Americans?

### SECTION 3 (Pages 450–454) **HSS** 8.10.4

- 10. a. Identify** Who was Dred Scott, and why was his case important?
- b. Analyze** How were political parties affected by the debate over slavery?
- c. Elaborate** Why do you think Republicans challenged Stephen Douglas's run for the Senate?

### SECTION 4 (Pages 455–459) **HSS** 8.9.1, 8.10.3

- 11. a. Recall** Why did the southern states secede, and what was the North's response?
- b. Draw Conclusions** Why did the results of the election of 1860 anger southerners?
- c. Evaluate** Do you think John Brown was right to use violence to protest slavery? Explain.

## Reviewing Themes

- 12. Politics** How did sectionalism affect American politics?
- 13. Society and Culture** What effect did Harriet Beecher Stowe's book *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have on the debate over slavery?

## Using the Internet

[go.hrw.com](http://go.hrw.com)

KEYWORD: SS8 US14

- 14. Activity: Creating a Newspaper** Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel and John Brown's raids were two important events that created more debate over slavery and heightened tension between sides. Enter the activity keyword and learn more about antislavery actions. Then create a newspaper with which to display your research. Remember to write from the point of view of someone from the mid-1800s.

## Reading Skills

**Understanding Fact and Opinion** Use the Reading Skills taught in this chapter to answer the question about the reading selection below.

In 1858 John Brown tried to start an uprising. He wanted to attack the federal arsenal in Virginia and seize weapons there. He planned to arm local slaves. Brown expected to kill or take hostage white southerners who stood in his way. (p. 455)

- 15.** Based on the reading above, which of the following statements is an opinion?
- John Brown's raid was in 1858.
  - John Brown hated all slaveholders.
  - John Brown's raid took place in Virginia.
  - Local slaves helped John Brown.

## Social Studies Skills

**Assessing Primary and Secondary Sources** Use the Social Studies Skills taught in this chapter to answer the question below.

- 16.** Which of the following is *not* an example of a primary source used in this chapter?
- A People's History of the United States* by Howard Zinn
  - The Seventh of March speech by Daniel Webster
  - A House Divided speech by Abraham Lincoln
  - John Brown's last speech

## FOCUS ON WRITING

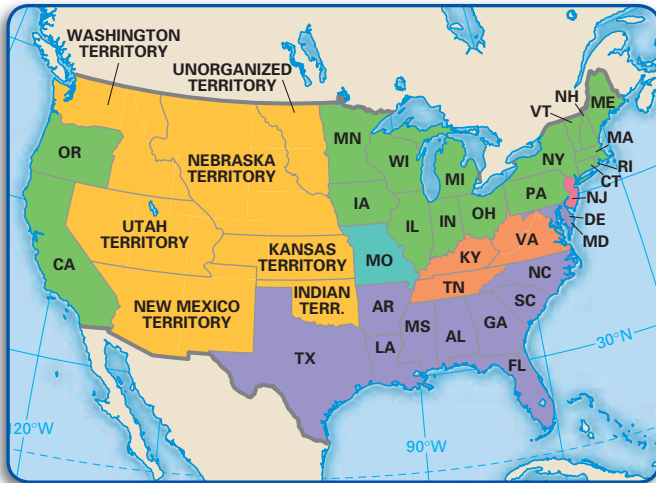
- 17. Writing Your Autobiography** Review your notes. Then write your autobiography, being sure to mention each of the events from your notes. Tell how your character heard about each event, what he or she was doing at the time, how he or she felt about the event, and how it affected him or her. What are your character's hopes and fears for the future?



# Standards Assessment

**DIRECTIONS:** Read each question and write the letter of the best response. Use the map below to answer question 1.

1



From the information in this map, you can conclude that it shows

- A the provisions of the Compromise of 1850.
  - B the results of the election of 1860.
  - C the formation of the Confederacy.
  - D the results of the *Dred Scott* decision.
- 2 Which leader was responsible for settling the dispute over the expansion of slavery that arose after the Mexican War?
- A David Wilmot
  - B Henry Clay
  - C Abraham Lincoln
  - D Jefferson Davis
- 3 California's admission as a free state after the Mexican War aroused controversy because
- A many Californians already held slaves.
  - B it would upset the balance between free states and slave states.
  - C Mexico still claimed that California was part of Mexico's territory.
  - D most Californians wanted independence.

- 4 Widespread violence erupted in Kansas over slavery in the mid-1850s *mainly* due to
- A the practice of popular sovereignty.
  - B the Pottawatomie Massacre.
  - C the Missouri Compromise.
  - D the threat of secession.
- 5 The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 directly or indirectly led to all of the following *except*
- A the rise of the Republican Party.
  - B the collapse of the Whig Party.
  - C Abraham Lincoln's election as president.
  - D The Missouri Compromise.

## Connecting with Past Learning

- 6 The Compromise of 1850 temporarily settled differences between the North and South over the spread of slavery. Earlier in Grade 8 you learned about another compromise over slavery that took place
- A during the American Revolution.
  - B at the Constitutional Convention.
  - C during the War of 1812.
  - D in the Treaty of Paris of 1783.
- 7 Several southern states seceded after Lincoln's election as president in 1860. What earlier event also threatened the nation by greatly angering the South?
- A ratification of the Constitution in 1789
  - B Henry Clay's proposal of the American System after the War of 1812
  - C Andrew Jackson's defeat in the presidential election of 1824
  - D passage of a protective tariff in 1828

## Assignment

Write a paper comparing and contrasting one of the following: (1) America before and after the Industrial Revolution, (2) the lives of free blacks in the North with the lives of free blacks in the South.

### TIP Using Graphic Organizers

Venn diagrams help you focus on similarities and differences. Write details the subjects have in common in the overlapping area. Write details that make each subject different in the sections that do not overlap.



**ELA Writing 8.1.1** Create compositions that establish a controlling impression, have a coherent thesis, and end with a clear and well-supported conclusion.

## A Writer's Framework

### Introduction

- Identify the two subjects and give background information to help readers understand your comparisons.
- State your big idea, or main purpose, in comparing and contrasting them.

### Body

- Use block or point-by-point organization.
- Use three points of comparison.
- Support your points with specific historical facts, details, and examples.

### Conclusion

- Restate your big idea.
- Summarize the points you made.
- Expand on your big idea, perhaps by relating it to later historical events or other historical figures.

# Comparing People and Events

One way to learn more about historical figures and events is to compare and contrast them. By studying how the figures or events are alike and different, you can begin to see each one more clearly.

## 1. Prewrite

### Getting Started

“How are they alike?” “How are they different?” Jot down answers to these questions as you research the presidents or the Industrial Revolution. Group your answers into points of comparison. For example, points of comparison for the lives of free blacks might be work, education, etc. Points of comparison for the Industrial Revolution might be factories or farming.

### Organizing Your Information

There are two ways to organize a compare-and-contrast paper.

- **Block Style** Say everything you have to say about one subject. Then say everything you have to say about the second subject. Discuss the points of comparison in the same order for each subject.
- **Point-by-Point Style** Discuss the points of comparison one at a time. Explain how the subjects are alike and different on one point of comparison, then another, and so on. Discuss the subjects in the same order for each point of comparison.

## 2. Write

You can use this framework with your notes to help you write your first draft.

### 3. Evaluate and Revise

#### Evaluating

Use these questions to discover ways to improve your paper.

#### Evaluation Questions for a Comparison/Contrast Paper

- Do you introduce both subjects in the first paragraph?
- Do you provide relevant background information in a clear and concise manner?
- Do you state your big idea in the introduction?
- Do you include three points of comparison between the subjects?
- Do you use either the block style or point-by-point style to organize your points of comparison?
- Do you support your points of comparison with appropriate historical facts, details, and examples?
- Do you restate your big idea and summarize your points?

#### TIP Making Meaning Clear

One way to make relationships between ideas clear is to repeat key or similar words and phrases in your writing. For example, you can use similar wording when comparing two historical figures on the same point of comparison.

#### EXAMPLE

Samuel Slater filled his labor needs by hiring entire families to work in the mills. Francis Lowell filled his labor needs by hiring young, unmarried women to work in the mills.

#### Revising

As you reread your paper, look for sentences that start with *There was* or *There were*. Sentences beginning with *There was/There were* tend to be weak: The verbs *was* and *were* do not convey any action.

##### Weak

There was a decline in southern agriculture after the American Revolution.

##### Stronger

Southern agriculture declined after the American Revolution.

### 4. Proofread and Publish

#### Proofreading

In a research report, you may be referring to the titles of your sources of information. Check to see whether you have punctuated any titles according to these guidelines.

- Underling (if you are writing) or italics (if you are using a computer) for books, movies, TV programs, Internet sites, and magazines or newspapers
- Quotation marks for magazine articles, newspaper articles, chapters in a book

#### Publishing

Share your paper with one or more classmates. After reading each other's papers, you can compare and contrast them.

### 5. Practice and Apply

Use the steps and strategies outlined in this workshop to write your paper comparing and contrasting two people or events.