

Toward Civil War

1840–1861

ESSENTIAL QUESTION • *Why does conflict develop?*

networks

There's More Online about the people and events that led the nation into civil war.

CHAPTER 16

Lesson 1

The Search for Compromise

Lesson 2

Challenges to Slavery

Lesson 3

Secession and War

The Story Matters . . .

His is a complicated story that raises many questions about slavery and freedom. Dred Scott was born into slavery in Virginia. He has been bought and sold like a piece of furniture. He has been taken against his will to live in many places—including, for a time, a place where slavery is illegal. Now Scott is wondering: Did his time in “free” territory turn him into a free man? He decides to take his question to a court for a judge to decide.

Other people wonder if Scott—an enslaved African American—even has the right to go to court.

The answers to these questions are of great interest to the people of the United States. Emotions run high as the debate over slavery rages.

◀ *Dred Scott was at the center of a controversial Supreme Court ruling in the 1850s.*

The Granger Collection, NYC

CHAPTER 16

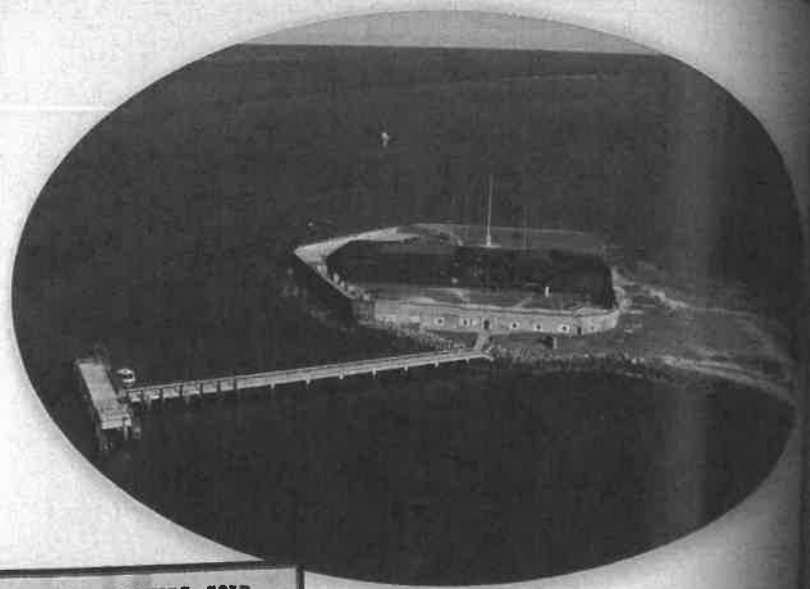
Place and Time: United States 1840 to 1861

The divide between North and South, which had been deepening for decades, split wide following the election of 1860. States of the South decided they must break away from the Union and form their own nation.

Step Into the Place

MAP FOCUS The map shows the states that seceded from the Union.

- 1 REGION** To which side did the states in the far West belong?
- 2 LOCATION** Describe the location of the Union slave states relative to the other Union states and the seceding states.
- 3 CRITICAL THINKING**
Speculating How do you think the location of the Union slave states affected their decision not to secede?



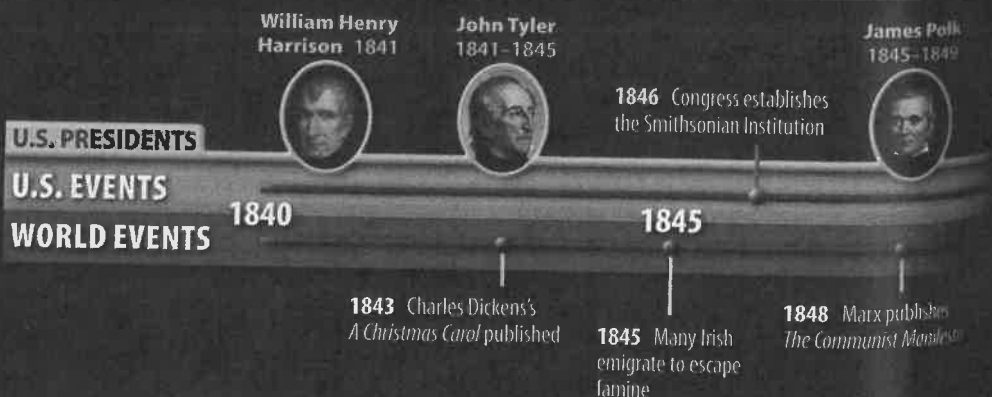
After the Southern states seceded, Union attempts to maintain control of Fort Sumter at Charleston, South Carolina, triggered armed conflict. The first shots of the Civil War were fired here on April 12, 1861.



This picture shows a scene from the book *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The book played a powerful role in an increasingly emotional debate over slavery in the 1850s.

Step Into the Time

TIME LINE Look at the time line. Which world event suggests that other nations were also debating the issue of slavery?



CANADA



Zachary Taylor
1849-1850



Millard Fillmore
1850-1853



1854 Congress passes the Kansas-Nebraska Act

Franklin Pierce
1853-1857



1857 U.S. Supreme Court makes *Dred Scott* decision

James Buchanan
1857-1861



1861
Civil War
begins

Abraham Lincoln
1861-1865



1850

1855

1860

1865

1855 Florence Nightingale improves health care during Crimean War

1856 Henry Bessemer introduces his steelmaking process

1859 The Drake Well becomes first U.S. oil well

1861 Alexander II
frees Russia's serfs, or
bound servants

- ✓ **GRAPHIC ORGANIZER**
The Kansas-Nebraska Act
- ✓ **MAP** Sectionalism and Slavery
- ✓ **PRIMARY SOURCE** A Defense of the Kansas-Nebraska Act



Lesson 1

The Search for Compromise

ESSENTIAL QUESTION *Why does conflict develop?*

IT MATTERS BECAUSE

The decision whether to allow slavery in new territories was a heated issue that divided the nation.

Political Conflict Over Slavery

GUIDING QUESTION *What political compromises were made because of slavery?*

The question of slavery had long fueled debate in the United States. Each time this debate flared, the nation's leaders struck some form of compromise.

For example, in 1820 the Missouri Compromise preserved the balance between slave and free states in the Senate. It also brought about a temporary stop in the debate over slavery.

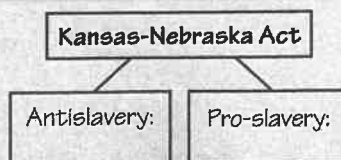
New Territory Brings New Debates

In the 1840s, the debate over slavery in new territories erupted again. In 1844 the Democrats nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee for president and called for the annexation of Texas at the earliest possible time. After Polk's election, Texas was admitted to the Union in December 1845.

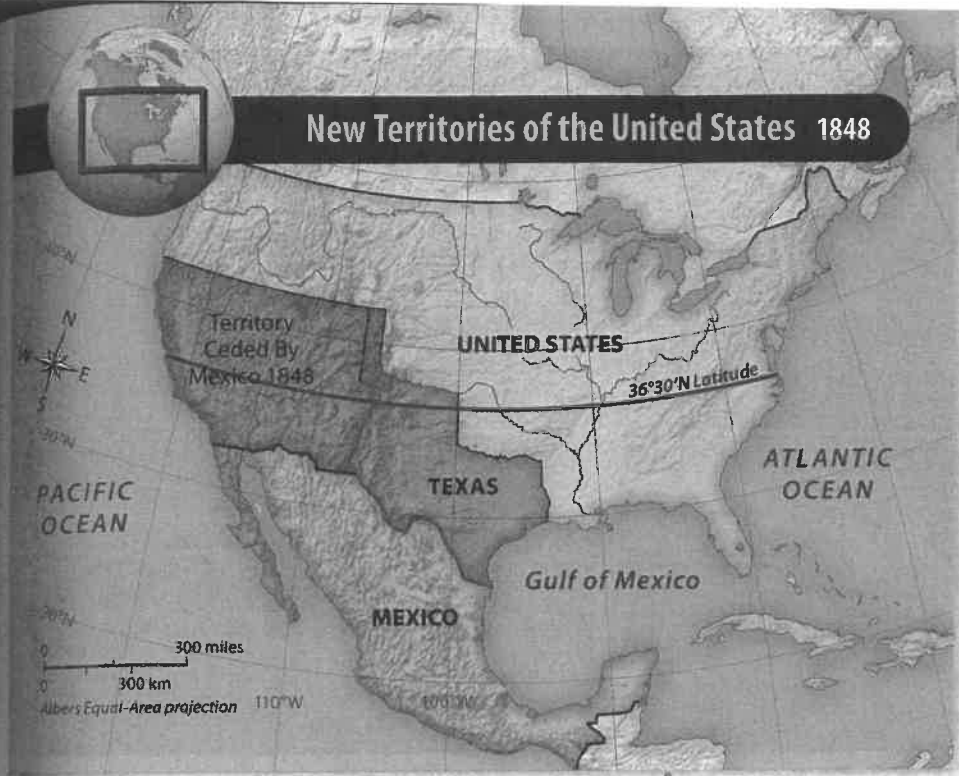
Texas's entry into the Union angered the Mexican government. Matters worsened when the two countries disputed the boundary between Texas and Mexico. At the same time, support was growing in the South for taking over California and New Mexico. President Polk tried to buy these territories from the Mexican government, but failed. All these issues helped lead to the Mexican War.

Reading **HELPDESK****Taking Notes: Describing**

As you read, use a diagram like the one shown to note reactions to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Explain the reasons for these reactions.

**Content Vocabulary**

- fugitive
- secede
- border ruffian
- civil war



New Territories of the United States 1848

GEOGRAPHY CONNECTION

The territory of the United States expanded in the mid-1800s.

- 1 LOCATION** How might location play a part in whether New Mexico and California became slave or free states?
- 2 CRITICAL THINKING**
Explaining How does this map help explain the growing divide over slavery in the United States?

Differing Views

Soon after the war with Mexico began, Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced the Wilmot Proviso. This proposal would ban slavery in any lands the United States might acquire from Mexico.

Southerners protested. They wanted the new territory to remain open to slavery. Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina offered another idea, saying that neither Congress nor any territorial government could ban slavery from a territory or **regulate** it.

Neither bill passed, but both caused heated debate. By the 1848 presidential election, the United States had taken California and New Mexico from Mexico but took no action on slavery in those territories.

In 1848 the Whigs picked General Zachary Taylor as their presidential candidate. The Democrats chose Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan. Both candidates ignored the slavery issue, which angered some voters.

Those who opposed slavery left their parties and formed the Free-Soil Party. Its slogan was "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." The party chose former president Martin Van Buren as its candidate. Taylor won, but the Free-Soil Party gained several seats in Congress.

Academic Vocabulary

regulate to control



James Michael Newell painted this mural, *The Underground Railroad*, in the post office of Dolgeville, New York, in 1940.

► **CRITICAL THINKING**

Analyzing Visuals What methods does the painter use to show the danger and difficulties facing the runaway family?

A New Compromise

Concerned over growing abolitionism, Southerners wanted a strong national **fugitive** (FYOO•juh•tihv), or runaway, slave law. Such a law would require every state to return runaway slaves.

In 1849 California applied to become a state—without slavery. If California became a free state, however, slave states would be outvoted in the Senate. Even worse, antislavery groups wanted to ban slavery in Washington, D.C. Southerners talked about **seceding** (sih•SEED•ihng) from, or leaving, the Union.

In 1850 Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky suggested a compromise. California would be a free state, but other new territories would have no limits on slavery. In addition, the slave trade, but not slavery itself, would be illegal in Washington, D.C. Clay also pushed for a stronger fugitive slave law.

A heated debate took place in Congress. Senator Calhoun opposed Clay's plan. Senator Daniel Webster supported it. Then President Taylor, who was against Clay's plan, died unexpectedly. Vice President Millard Fillmore, who favored the plan, became president.

Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois solved the problem. He divided Clay's plan into parts, each to be voted on separately. Fillmore had several Whigs abstain, or not vote, on the parts they opposed. In the end, Congress passed the Compromise of 1850.

Reading **HEL**PDESK

fugitive person who is running away from legal authority

secede to officially leave an organization

Academic Vocabulary

network interconnected system

The Fugitive Slave Act

Part of the Compromise of 1850 was the Fugitive Slave Act. Anyone who helped a fugitive could be fined or imprisoned. Some Northerners refused to obey the new law. In his 1849 essay "Civil Disobedience," Henry David Thoreau wrote that if the law "requires you to be the agent [cause] of injustice to another, then I say, break the law." Northern juries refused to convict people accused of breaking the new law. People gave money to buy freedom for enslaved people. Free African Americans and whites formed a **network**, or interconnected system, called the Underground Railroad to help runaways find their way to freedom. Democrat Franklin Pierce became president in 1853. He intended to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act.

PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining Who formed the Free-Soil Party and why?

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

GUIDING QUESTION What is the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

In 1854 Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois introduced a bill to settle the issue of slavery in the territories. It organized the region west of Missouri and Iowa as the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Both were north of $36^{\circ}30'$ N latitude, the line that limited slavery. Before the law they would have been free, giving the free states more votes in the Senate and angering the South.

Douglas hoped to make his plan acceptable to both the North and South. He proposed repealing the Missouri Compromise and letting the voters in each territory vote on whether to allow slavery. He called his proposal "popular sovereignty."

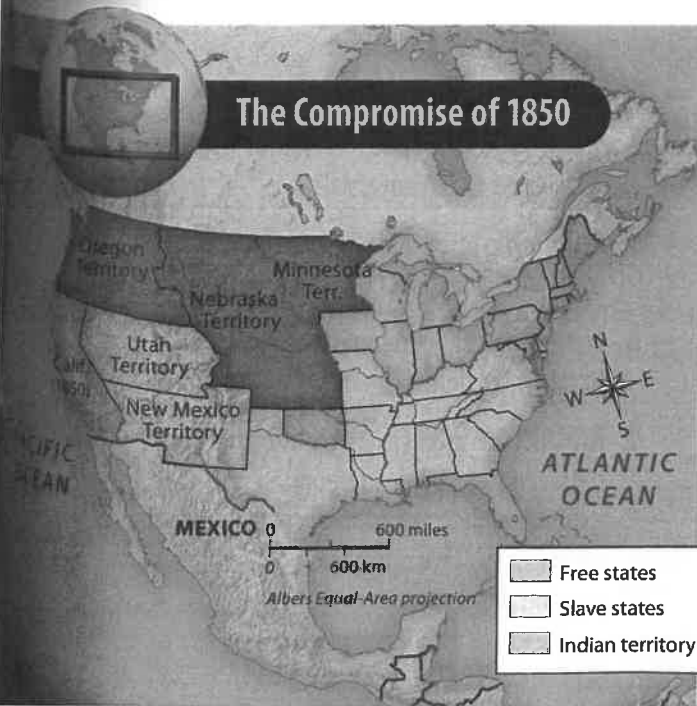
GEOGRAPHY CONNECTION

As the United States grew, so did the debate over slaveholding.

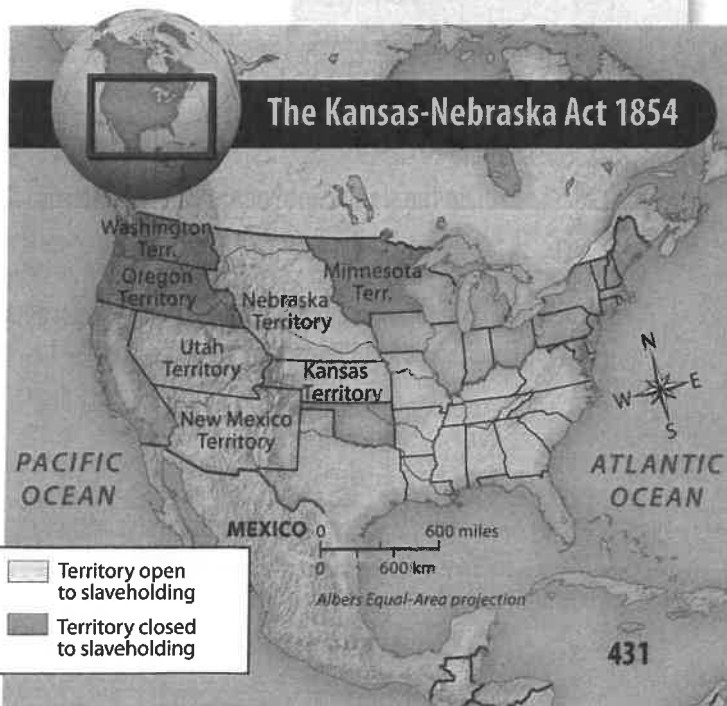
1 PLACE Which territories did not allow slavery in 1854?

2 CRITICAL THINKING
Analyzing Which side in the slavery debate lost territory because of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854?

The Compromise of 1850



The Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854



border ruffian armed pro-slavery supporter who crossed the border from Missouri to vote in Kansas
civil war conflict between citizens of the same country

This idea, which is central to the American system of government, means that the people are the source of all government power. Douglas's *popular sovereignty* came to mean a particular method for deciding the question of slavery in a place.

Northerners protested. The plan allowed slavery in areas that had been free for years. Southerners supported the bill. They expected Kansas to be settled mostly by slaveholders from Missouri. They would, of course, vote to keep slavery legal. With some support from Northern Democrats and the backing of President Pierce, the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed in 1854.

Conflict in Kansas

Supporters of both sides rushed to Kansas. Armed pro-slavery supporters known as **border ruffians** (BOHR•duhr RUH•fee•uhns) crossed the border from Missouri just to vote. When elections took place, only about 1,500 voters lived in Kansas, but more than 6,000 people voted. The pro-slavery group won.

Kansas established laws supporting slavery. Slavery opponents refused to accept the laws. They armed themselves, held their own elections, and adopted a constitution banning slavery. By January 1856, Kansas had two rival governments.

In May 1856, slavery supporters attacked the town of Lawrence, an antislavery stronghold. Antislavery forces retaliated. John Brown led an attack that killed five supporters of slavery. Newspapers wrote about "Bleeding Kansas" and "the Civil War in Kansas." A **civil war** is war between citizens of the same country. In October 1856, federal troops arrived to stop the bloodshed.

☒ PROGRESS CHECK

Identifying Cause and Effect What events led to "Bleeding Kansas"?

LESSON 1 REVIEW

Review Vocabulary

1. Explain the significance of the following terms.
 - a. fugitive
 - b. secede
2. Use the following terms in a short paragraph about Kansas in the 1850s.
 - a. border ruffians
 - b. civil war

Answer the Guiding Questions

3. **Describing** How did the Compromise of 1850 address the question of slavery?

4. **Analyzing** What was the Wilmot Proviso? Why was it so controversial?
5. **Explaining** How did Stephen Douglas help win approval of the Compromise of 1850?
6. **Listing** What were some ways that Northerners defied the Fugitive Slave Act?
7. **NARRATIVE WRITING** Write a dialogue between two people in Nebraska who are expressing their views on the issue of popular sovereignty. Have one person defend the policy and the other oppose it.

☒ **GRAPHIC ORGANIZER**

Political Parties
1848–1856

☒ **MAP** The Election
of 1856

☒ **PRIMARY SOURCES**

• The Dred Scott Decision
• "A Plea for Captain John Brown"



Lesson 2

Challenges to Slavery

ESSENTIAL QUESTION *Why does conflict develop?*

IT MATTERS BECAUSE

As feelings over slavery intensified, the chance for compromise disappeared.

Birth of the Republican Party

GUIDING QUESTION *How did a new political party affect the challenges to slavery?*

After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Democratic Party began to divide along sectional lines. Northern Democrats left the party. Differing views over slavery also split the Whig Party.

The 1854 Congressional Elections

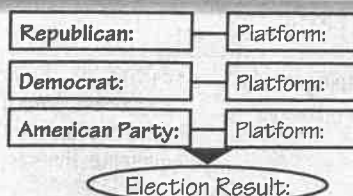
Antislavery Whigs and Democrats joined with Free-Soilers to form the Republican Party. One of the party's major goals was the banning of slavery in new territories. In 1854 the Republicans chose candidates to challenge the pro-slavery Whigs and Democrats in state and congressional elections.

The Republicans quickly showed strength in the North. In the election, they won control of the House of Representatives and several state governments. Unlike the Republicans, almost three-fourths of the Democratic candidates from free states lost in 1854.

In contrast, Republican candidates received almost no support in the South. At the same time, the Democrats, having lost members in the North, were becoming a largely Southern party. This division would be even more apparent in the presidential election of 1856.

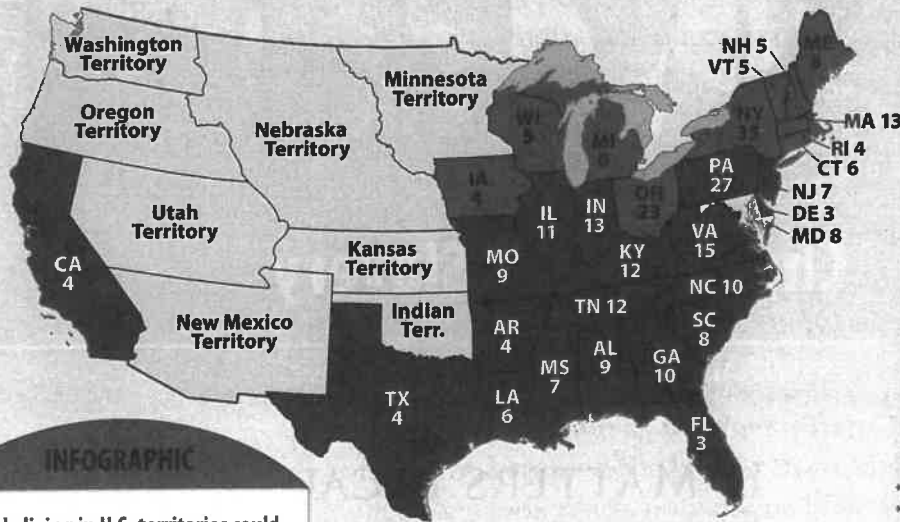
Reading **HELPS**DESK**Taking Notes: Describing**

As you read, use a diagram like the one shown to note each party's candidate and platform in the 1856 presidential election. Also record the election result.

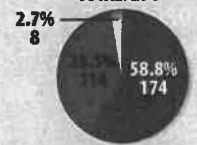
**Content Vocabulary**

- arsenal
- martyr

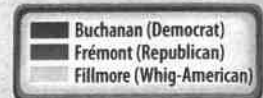
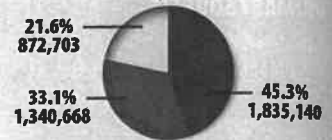
THE ELECTION OF 1856



ELECTORAL VOTE
TOTAL: 296*



POPULAR VOTE
TOTAL: 4,051,605**



* Numbers on map show electoral votes per state.
** Popular vote includes 3,094 votes for candidates other than Buchanan, Frémont, or Fillmore.

INFOGRAPHIC

People living in U.S. territories could not vote in presidential elections.

- 1 **IDENTIFYING** In which region was Frémont most successful? Which states in that region did he not win?
- 2 **CRITICAL THINKING**
Drawing Conclusions A landslide is an overwhelming victory. Do you think Buchanan's victory was a landslide? Why or why not?

The Presidential Election of 1856¹

The Whig Party, torn apart over slavery, did not offer a candidate in 1856. Republicans chose Californian John C. Frémont, a famed western explorer. The party platform called for free territories. Its campaign slogan was "Free soil, Free speech, and Frémont."

The Democratic Party nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. He was a diplomat and former member of Congress. Buchanan tried to appeal to Southern whites. The Democratic Party endorsed the idea of popular sovereignty.

The American Party, or Know-Nothings, grew quickly between 1853 and 1856 by attacking immigrants. The party nominated former president Millard Fillmore as its candidate. Yet this party was also divided over the issue of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. When the Know-Nothings refused to call for a repeal of the act, many northern supporters left the party.

The vote in 1856 was divided along **rigid** sectional lines. Buchanan took all Southern states except Maryland. Frémont won 11 of the 16 free states but did not get any electoral votes from south of the Mason-Dixon Line. With 174 electoral votes compared to 114 for Frémont and 8 for Fillmore, Buchanan won.

✓ PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining Why did the Republican Party form?

Reading **HELP**DESK

Reading Strategy: Context Clues

When you find an unknown word, look at surrounding text for clues to the meaning. Clues to the meaning of the unknown word may be:

- a definition: The word is defined immediately following its use.
- a synonym: A word or expression that has the same meaning as another word or expression. (For example, huge, big, and enormous are synonyms.)
- inference: Hints are given to help you figure out the meaning.

Dred Scott v. Sandford

GUIDING QUESTION Why was the Dred Scott case important?

Dred Scott was an enslaved African American bought by a doctor in Missouri, a slave state. In the 1830s, the doctor moved with Scott to Illinois, a free state, then to the Wisconsin Territory. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 banned slavery there. Later the doctor returned with Scott to Missouri.

In 1846 antislavery lawyers helped Scott sue for his freedom. Scott claimed he should be free since he had lived in areas where slavery was illegal. Eleven years later, the case reached the Supreme Court. At issue was Scott's status, but the case also gave the Court a chance to rule on the question of slavery itself.

The Court Rules

Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (TAW•nee) wrote the Court's opinion: Dred Scott was still an enslaved person. As such, he was not a citizen and had no right to bring a lawsuit. Taney wrote that living on free soil did not make Scott free. A slave was property. The Fifth Amendment prohibited the taking of property without "due process."

Finally, Taney wrote that Congress had no power to ban slavery. The Missouri Compromise, that banned slavery north of 36°30' N latitude, was unconstitutional, and so was popular sovereignty. Not even voters could ban slavery because it would mean taking someone's property. In effect, Taney said that the Constitution protected slavery.

Reaction to the Decision

The Court's decision upheld what many white Southerners believed: Nothing could legally stop slavery. It ruled limiting the spread of slavery, the Republicans' main issue, unconstitutional.

Republicans and other antislavery groups were outraged. They called the decision "a wicked and false judgment" and "the greatest crime" ever committed in the nation's courts.

PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining Why did the Dred Scott decision say voters could not ban slavery?

Academic Vocabulary

rigid firm and inflexible

Many newspapers announced the Dred Scott decision on their front pages. Scott is pictured at bottom left, next to a picture of his wife.

CRITICAL THINKING

Analyzing Visuals Do these images present a positive view of Scott? Explain your answer.



BIOGRAPHY



Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)

Just a few years before becoming a national leader, Lincoln was relatively unknown. From a poor rural family, Lincoln knew the importance of education to success. As a young man, he had mostly taught himself and in time became a lawyer. Lincoln was intensely opposed to slavery. He served in the Illinois state legislature and the U. S. Congress. In 1858, he ran for the Senate against Stephen A. Douglas. Although Lincoln lost the election, he gained national attention as a leading Northern voice against slavery.

► CRITICAL THINKING

Speculating Why do you think Lincoln won fame in spite of losing the race for the Senate?

Lincoln and Douglas

GUIDING QUESTION How did Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas play a role in the challenges to slavery?

The Illinois Senate race of 1858 was the center of national attention. The contest pitted the current senator, Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, against a rising star in the Republican Party named Abraham Lincoln.

People considered Douglas a possible candidate for president in the 1860 election. Lincoln, far less known outside of his state, challenged Douglas to a series of debates. Douglas reluctantly agreed.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Lincoln and Douglas debated seven times. The face-offs took place in Illinois cities and villages during August, September, and October of 1858. Thousands of spectators came to the debates. Newspapers provided wide coverage. The main **topic**, or subject of discussion, was slavery.

During the debate at Freeport, Lincoln pressed Douglas about his views on popular sovereignty. Lincoln asked whether the people of a territory could legally exclude slavery before becoming a state.

Douglas replied that voters could exclude slavery by refusing to pass laws that protected the rights of slaveholders. Douglas's response, which became known as the Freeport Doctrine, satisfied antislavery followers, but it cost Douglas support in the South.

Douglas claimed that Lincoln wanted African Americans to be fully equal to whites. Lincoln denied this. Still, Lincoln insisted that African Americans should enjoy rights and freedoms:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“But in the right to eat the bread . . . which his own hand earns, [an African American] is my equal and the equal of [Senator] Douglas, and the equal of every living man.”

—Abraham Lincoln, August 21, 1858

The real issue, Lincoln said, was “between the men who think slavery a wrong and those who do not think it wrong. The Republican Party think it wrong.”

Reading **HEL**PDESK

Academic Vocabulary

topic subject of discussion



Following the debates, Douglas won a narrow victory in the election. Lincoln lost but did not come away empty-handed. He gained a national reputation as a man of clear thinking who could argue with force and persuasion.

John Brown and Harpers Ferry

After the 1858 election, Southerners felt threatened by Republicans. Then, an act of violence added to their fears.

On October 16, 1859, the abolitionist John Brown led a group on a raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia. His target was a federal **arsenal** (AHRS•nuhl), a storage site for weapons. Brown hoped to arm enslaved African Americans and start a revolt against slaveholders. Abolitionists had paid for the raid.

PRIMARY SOURCE

“Now if . . . I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and MINGLE MY BLOOD . . . with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments—I submit; so LET IT BE DONE.”

—John Brown’s statement to the
Virginia Court

The Lincoln-Douglas debates have been described as “the most famous war of words in history.”

► CRITICAL THINKING

Analyzing Visuals How does the artist of this picture portray the audience of the debate?

arsenal a place to store weapons and military equipment

martyr a person who dies for a great cause

Colonel Robert E. Lee and federal troops crushed Brown's raid. More than half of Brown's group, including two of his sons, died in the fighting. Lee's troops captured Brown and his surviving men.

► CRITICAL THINKING

Analyzing Primary Sources

Why do you think Brown's raids were so controversial in the United States of the late 1850s?



Local citizens and federal troops defeated Brown's raid. Tried and convicted of treason and murder, Brown received a death sentence. His hanging shook the North. Some antislavery Northerners rejected Brown's use of violence. Others saw him as a **martyr** (MAHR • tuhr)—a person who dies for a cause.

John Brown's death rallied abolitionists. When white Southerners learned of Brown's abolitionist ties, their fears of a great Northern conspiracy against them were confirmed. The nation was on the brink of disaster.

✓ PROGRESS CHECK

Identifying Why did John Brown raid the arsenal at Harpers Ferry?

LESSON 2 REVIEW

Review Vocabulary

1. Use the word *arsenal* in a sentence about Harpers Ferry.
2. Explain the meaning of *martyr* as it relates to John Brown.

Answer the Guiding Questions

3. **Specifying** What issue led to the formation of the Republican Party, and what stand did the party take on the issue?

4. **Explaining** What reasons did Taney give for why he believed Dred Scott was an enslaved person?
5. **Identifying** How did the Lincoln-Douglas debates benefit Lincoln?
6. **Making Inferences** Why do you think the raid on Harpers Ferry by just a few men was so threatening to Southerners?
7. **PERSONAL WRITING** Imagine you live at the time of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Write a letter to the editor of a local paper expressing your feelings about his methods.

networks

There's More Online!

✓ **BIOGRAPHY**
Jefferson Davis

✓ **GRAPHIC ORGANIZER**
November 1860 to
March 1861

✓ **MAP** Seceding States 1860–1861

✓ **POLITICAL CARTOON**
Secessionists Leaving the Union



Lesson 3

Secession and War

ESSENTIAL QUESTION *Why does conflict develop?*

IT MATTERS BECAUSE

When Abraham Lincoln was elected president, the Southern states decided to break away from the Union.

The 1860 Election

GUIDING QUESTION *What was the importance of the election of 1860?*

In the presidential election of 1860, the big question was whether the Union would continue to exist. Regional differences divided the nation.

The issue of slavery split the Democratic Party. Northern Democrats supported popular sovereignty. They nominated Stephen Douglas. Southern Democrats vowed to uphold slavery. Their candidate was John C. Breckinridge.

Moderates from the North and South formed the Constitutional Union Party. The Constitutional Unionists took no position on slavery. They chose John Bell as their candidate.

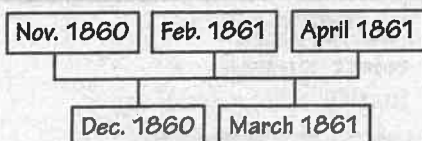
The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln. They wanted to leave slavery alone where it existed—but also to ban it in the territories. Still, white Southerners feared that a Republican victory would promote slave revolts as well as interfere with slavery.

With the Democrats divided, Lincoln won a clear majority of electoral votes. Voting followed sectional lines. Lincoln's name did not even appear on the ballot in most Southern states. He won every Northern state, however. So in effect, the more populous North outvoted the South.

Reading **HELPDESK**

Taking Notes: Sequencing

As you read, list the major events on a time line like the one shown.



Content Vocabulary

- secession
- states' rights

Looking for Compromise

The Republicans had promised not to stop slavery where it already existed. Yet white Southerners did not trust the Republicans to protect their rights. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina voted to secede from the Union.

In other Southern states, leaders debated the question of **secession**, or withdrawal from the Union. Meanwhile, members of Congress tried to find ways to prevent it. Senator John Crittenden of Kentucky suggested a series of amendments to the Constitution. They included a protection for slavery south of 36°30' N latitude—the line set by the Missouri Compromise—in all territories “now held or hereafter acquired.”

Republicans **rejected**, or refused to accept, Crittenden’s idea. They had just won an election by promising to stop slavery’s spread into any territories. “Now we are told . . .” Lincoln wrote, “the government shall be broken up unless we surrender to those we have beaten.”

Leaders in the South also rejected the plan. “We spit upon every plan to compromise,” exclaimed one Southern leader. “No human power can save the Union,” wrote another.

The Confederacy Established

By February 1861, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Georgia had joined South Carolina and seceded. Delegates from these states met to form a new nation. Calling themselves the Confederate States of America, they chose Jefferson Davis as their president.

Southerners used **states’ rights** to **justify** secession. Each state, they argued, had voluntarily chosen to enter the Union. They defined the Constitution as a contract among the independent states. They believed the national government had broken the contract by refusing to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act and by denying Southern states equal rights in the territories. As a result, Southerners argued, the states had a right to leave the Union.

The Public Reacts to Secession

Not all white Southerners welcomed secession. Church bells rang and some people celebrated in the streets. To other Southerners, the idea of secession was alarming. Virginian Robert E. Lee expressed concern about the future. “I only see that a fearful calamity is upon us,” he wrote.



Some Southerners wore ribbons like this to show their support for secession from the Union. The ribbons carried slogans, such as this one used in the American Revolution—“Liberty or Death.”

► CRITICAL THINKING

Analyzing Why do you think secessionists used the same slogans as those used in the Revolutionary War?

Reading HELPDESK

secession withdrawal
states’ rights theory that individual states are independent and have the right to control their most important affairs

Academic Vocabulary

reject to refuse to accept
justify to find reasons to support

Some Northerners approved of the Southern secession. If the Union could survive only by giving in to slavery, they declared, then let the Union be destroyed. Still, most Northerners believed that the Union had to be preserved. As Lincoln put it, the issue was "whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose."

Lincoln Takes Over

As always, several months passed between the November election and the start of the new president's term. Buchanan would remain in office until March 4, 1861. In December 1860, Buchanan sent a message to Congress. He said that the Southern states had no right to secede from the Union. He added that he had no power to stop them from doing so.

As Lincoln prepared for his inauguration, people throughout the United States wondered what he would say and do. They wondered, too, what would happen in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, and Arkansas. These slave states had not yet seceded, but their decisions were not final. If the United States used force against the Confederates, the remaining slave states also might secede.

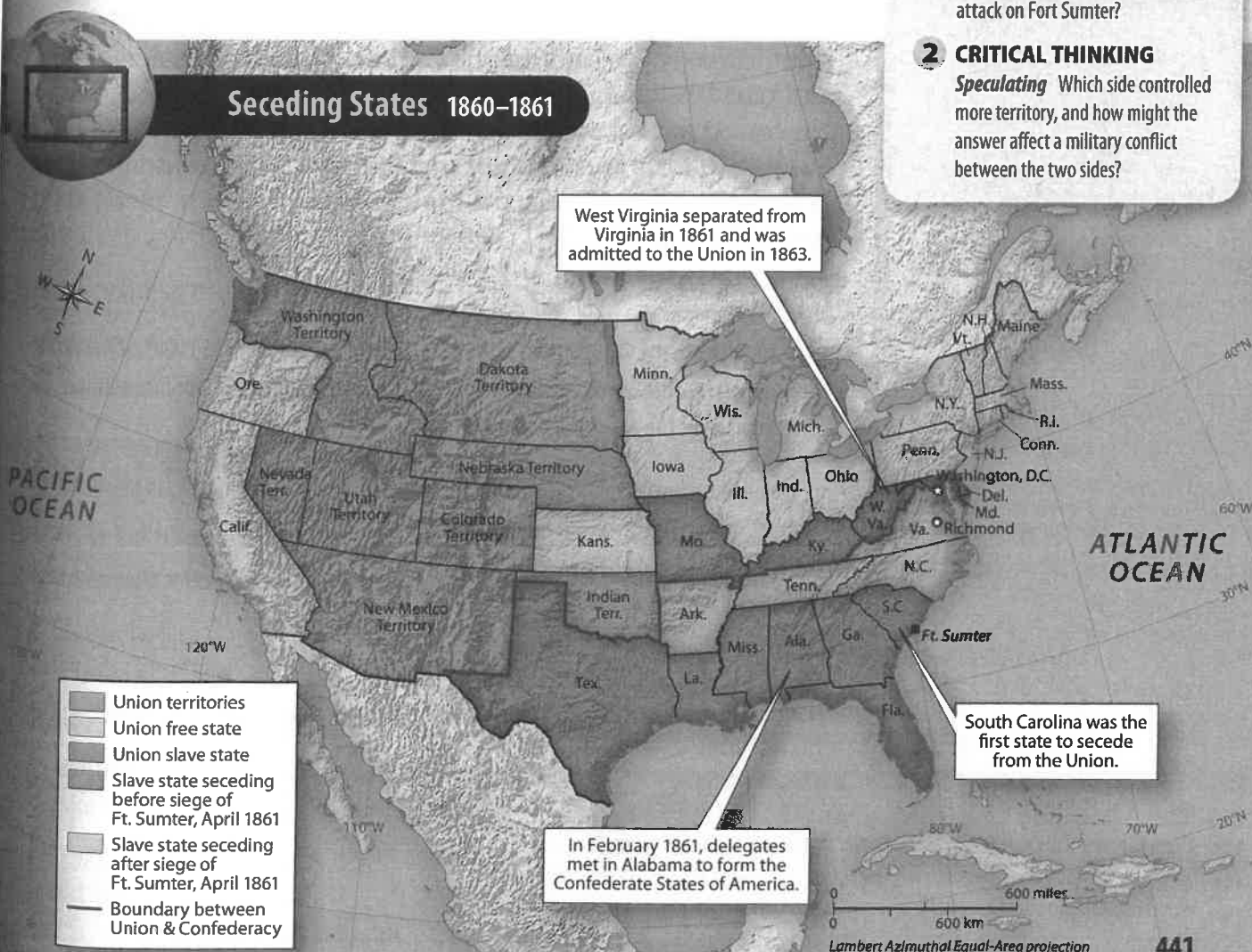
GEOGRAPHY CONNECTION

Some slaveholding states and territories did not secede from the Union.

1 LOCATION Which states seceded before the attack on Fort Sumter? Which seceded after the attack on Fort Sumter?

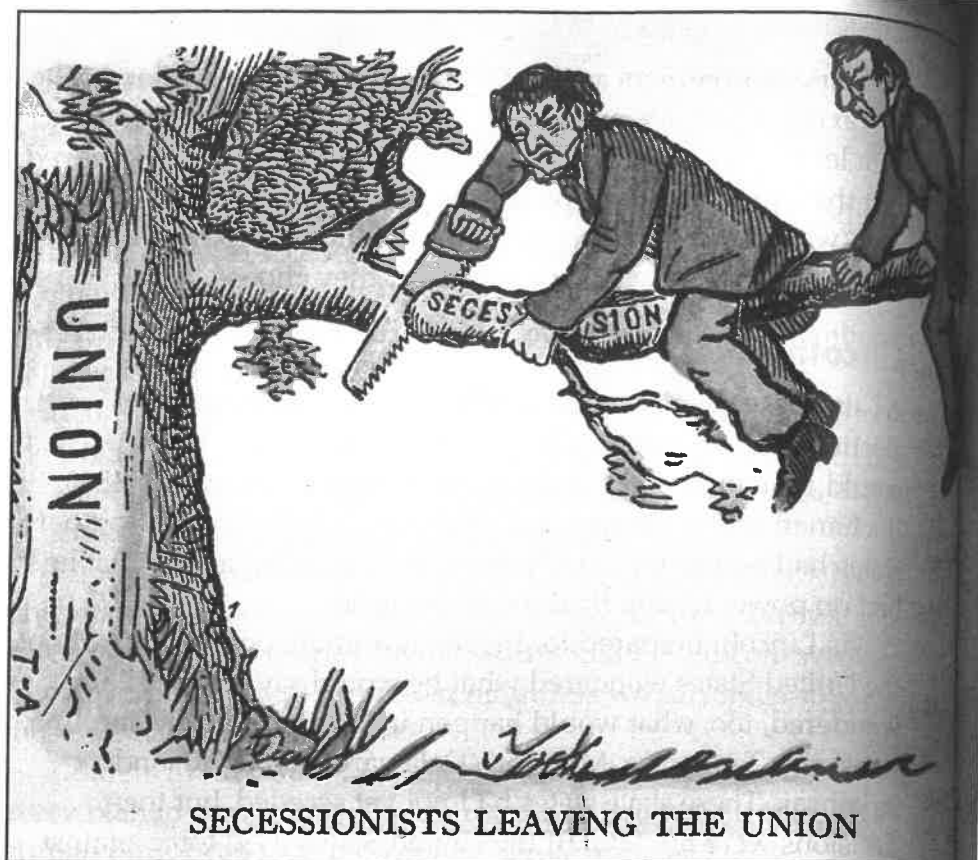
2 CRITICAL THINKING
Speculating Which side controlled more territory, and how might the answer affect a military conflict between the two sides?

Seceding States 1860–1861



This cartoon was created in 1861, just before the Civil War began. At that time, secession was breaking apart the United States.

- 1 **INTERPRETING** What do the men in the cartoon represent?
- 2 **CRITICAL THINKING**
Drawing a Conclusion What do you think the cartoonist is predicting will happen because of the men's action?



In his Inaugural Address, Lincoln spoke to the seceding states directly. He said that he could not allow secession and that “the Union of these States is perpetual [forever].” He vowed to hold federal property in the South, including a number of forts and military installations, and to enforce the laws of the United States. At the same time, Lincoln pleaded with the South:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of *civil war*. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. . . .

... We are not *enemies*, but *friends*. We must not be *enemies*. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.”

—Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address

✓ PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining What was John Crittenden’s proposal to save the Union?

Build Vocabulary: Word Parts

The suffix *-ist* on the word *cartoonist* tells you that a cartoonist is a person. The same is true of the words *pianist* (a person who plays the piano) and *essayist* (a person who writes essays). Can you think of other examples with the suffix *-ist*?

Fighting at Fort Sumter

GUIDING QUESTION *What did the attack on Fort Sumter signify?*

The day after taking office, Lincoln received a message from the commander of Fort Sumter, a U.S. fort on an island guarding Charleston Harbor. The message warned that the fort was low on supplies and the Confederates demanded its surrender.

Lincoln responded in a message to Governor Francis Pickens of South Carolina that he was sending an unarmed group to the fort with supplies. He promised Union forces would not “throw in men, arms, or ammunition” unless they were fired upon.

Jefferson Davis ordered his forces to attack Fort Sumter before the Union supplies could arrive. Confederate guns opened fire on April 12, 1861. Union captain Abner Doubleday witnessed the attack from inside the fort:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“Showers of balls . . . and shells poured into the fort in one incessant stream, causing great flakes of masonry to fall in all directions.”

—quoted in *Fort Sumter*

Meanwhile, high seas kept Union ships from reaching the fort. Facing a hopeless situation, the Union surrendered the fort on April 14. Despite heavy bombardment, no one had died.

With the loss of Fort Sumter, Lincoln decided he had to act. He issued a call for troops. Volunteers quickly signed up. In reaction to Lincoln’s call, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas voted to join the Confederacy. The Civil War had begun.

PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining Why did Lincoln decide not to send armed troops to Fort Sumter?

LESSON 3 REVIEW

Review Vocabulary

1. Use the word *secession* in a sentence about Florida.
2. Explain the meaning of *states’ rights* as it relates to the U.S. Constitution.

Answer the Guiding Questions

3. **Specifying** What did South Carolina do after Lincoln won the election of 1860? Why?
4. **Explaining** What was the impact of the attack on Fort Sumter?

5. **Drawing Conclusions** What was President Lincoln’s priority when he took office in March 1861?

6. **Analyzing** What role did the idea of states’ rights play in the Civil War?

7. **NARRATIVE WRITING** Write a brief newspaper article about the attack on Fort Sumter that describes the battle in an objective way, without bias for one side or the other.

What Do You Think?

Did the South Have the Right to Secede?

When Abraham Lincoln began his first term as president on March 4, 1861, seven Southern states had already voted to secede from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America.

The Confederacy's president, Jefferson Davis, had taken office earlier, on February 18, 1861. Each man's inauguration address presented a different view on whether any state had the right to secede.

Yes

PRIMARY SOURCE



JEFFERSON DAVIS

“Our present position . . . illustrates the American idea that government rests upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish a government whenever it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established. The declared purpose of the compact of Union from which we have withdrawn was to ‘establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defence, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity’; and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now comprising this Confederacy it [no longer meets] the purposes for which it was **ordained**, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot box declared that, so far as they are concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, defined to be inalienable.”

—Jefferson Davis

Jefferson Davis's inauguration took place at the capitol in Montgomery, Alabama.



Abraham Lincoln's inauguration took place at the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C.

No

PRIMARY SOURCE



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

“The [president] derives all his authority from the people, and they have referred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if also they choose, but the executive as such has nothing to do with it.

His duty is to **administer** the present government as it came to his hands and to transmit it **unimpaired** by him to his successor. . . .

... The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.”

—Abraham Lincoln

Vocabulary

ordained
established

administer
manage, direct

unimpaired
not harmed, not damaged

What Do You Think? DBQ

- 1 **Identifying** What are Abraham Lincoln's and Jefferson Davis's basic arguments against or in favor of secession?
- 2 **Making Inferences** What issue seems most important to Lincoln? To Davis?
- 3 **Evaluating** In your opinion, which of the two makes the more powerful appeal to emotions? Explain your answer in a short essay.

CHAPTER 16 Activities

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1 Exploring the Essential Question

EXPOSITORY WRITING Make a list of five important events you read about in this chapter. Select the two events you think did the most to increase the conflict between the North and South. Write an essay in which you explain how these events led to war.

2 21st Century Skills

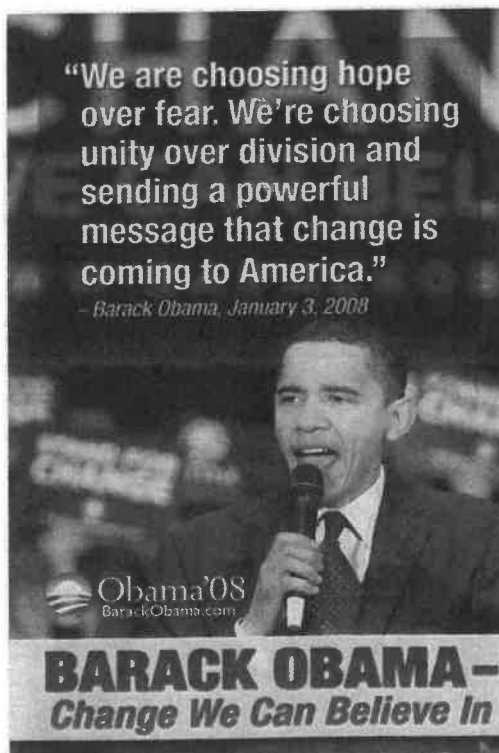
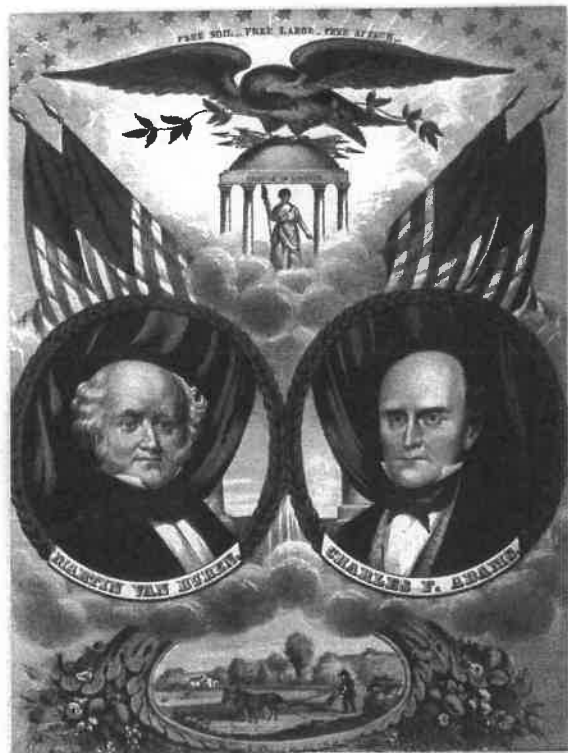
IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS Working with a small group, think of a controversial issue that is a source of disagreement among the public today. Possible examples include health care reform or immigration reform. Research opposite sides of the issue; then work together to come up with a list of compromises that might make the solution to this problem acceptable to different sides.

3 Thinking Like a Historian

PREDICTING CONSEQUENCES What do you think would have happened to the Confederacy if Lincoln had made no effort to prevent it from seceding? Provide reasons to support your answer.

4 Visual Literacy

COMPARING ARTIFACTS Below are campaign posters produced during political campaigns. The poster on the left is from a presidential campaign from the mid-1800s; the poster on the right is from more recent times. What features do the two items share in common? How are they different from one another?



CHAPTER 16 Assessment

REVIEW THE GUIDING QUESTIONS

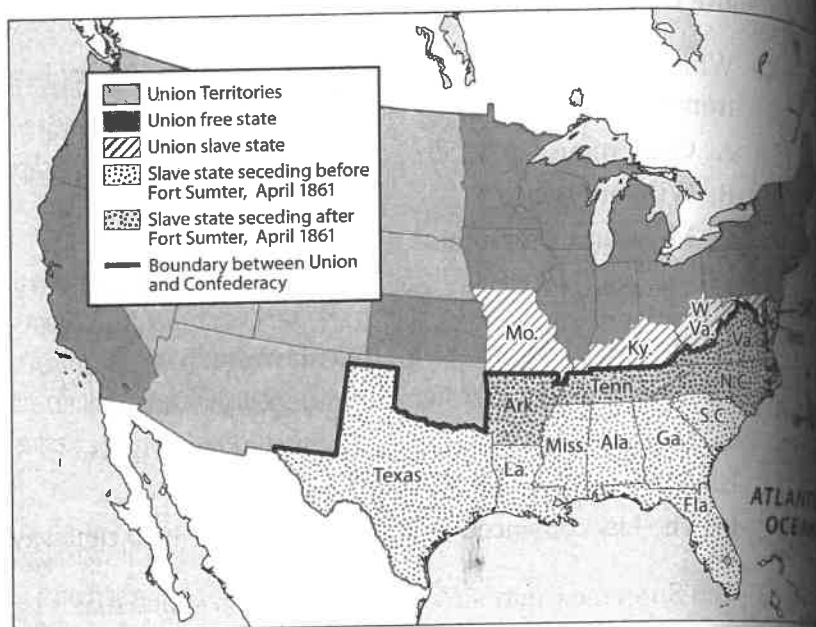
Choose the best answer for each question.

- 1 Which of the following was a proposal to ban slavery in any lands acquired from Mexico?
 - A. Compromise of 1850
 - B. Wilmot Proviso
 - C. Missouri Compromise
 - D. Freeport Doctrine
- 2 What resulted from the Fugitive Slave Act?
 - F. Passage of the law stopped violence in Kansas.
 - G. Most Northerners respected slaveholders' rights.
 - H. Abolitionists were jailed in the North.
 - I. The law convinced many Northerners to help runaways.
- 3 The Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision stated that
 - A. enslaved persons could bring lawsuits.
 - B. the slave trade should be abolished.
 - C. Congress had no power to ban slavery in any territory.
 - D. the Missouri Compromise was constitutional.
- 4 Which was included in the Republican Party platform in the election of 1860?
 - F. The question of slavery should be decided by popular sovereignty.
 - G. In a free society, the minority has the right to break up the government.
 - H. Slavery should be left where it existed but be excluded from the territories.
 - I. Slavery should be protected in all territories south of 36°30' N latitude.
- 5 The armed pro-slavery groups of Missourians who went to Kansas to vote were called
 - A. Kansas Crusaders.
 - B. Border Breakers.
 - C. Missouri Militia.
 - D. Border Ruffians.
- 6 What event officially started the Civil War?
 - F. the raid on Harpers Ferry
 - G. the attack on Fort Sumter
 - H. the burning of Lawrence, Kansas
 - I. the election of Abraham Lincoln

CHAPTER 16 Assessment (continued)

DBQ DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS

- 7 Identifying** According to the map, in 1860 Kentucky and Missouri were both
- Confederate states.
 - Union free states.
 - Union territories.
 - Union slave states.
- 8 Making Generalizations** What generalization can you make about the Union slave states?
- They share a border with free states to the north.
 - They all border the Mississippi River.
 - They are all in New England.
 - They are farther south than Alabama.



SHORT RESPONSE

Erastus D. Ladd described voters from Missouri crossing the border to vote in an 1855 election in Kansas.

"They claimed to have a legal right to vote in the Territory [Kansas], and that they were residents by virtue of their being then in the Territory. They said they were free to confess that they came from Missouri; that they lived in Missouri, and voted as Missourians."

Source: Albert Bushnell Hart, *Source-Book of American History*

- 9** Did Ladd think the actions of these voters were legal? Explain your answer.
- 10** What is Ladd suggesting about the elections in Kansas?

EXTENDED RESPONSE

- 11 Personal Writing** Take the role of an African American living in the United States in the 1850s. Write a journal entry expressing your thoughts after the *Dred Scott* decision is issued.

Need Extra Help?

If You've Missed Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Review Lesson	1	1	2	3	1	3	3	1	1	1	2