

CAUTION!!
COLORED PEOPLE
OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,
 You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and advised, to avoid conversing with the Watchmen and Police Officers of Boston.
 For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR & ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as **KIDNAPPERS** AND **Slave Catchers,**
 And they have already been actually employed in CATCHING, AND KEEPING before, if you value your LIBERTY, of the Fugitives among you, Show the same in the most unobtrusive manner, as so many HOUND DOGS are now so sharp Look Out for SLAVE CATCHERS, and have your EYE open.



▲ This poster warns African Americans in Boston about the arrival of “slave catchers” like the ones shown at left.

WITNESS HISTORY

A Fugitive Escapes

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made it a crime to help African Americans escape slavery. But that did not stop Levi Coffin and his fellow abolitionists from taking action when slave catchers in Indiana arrested a fugitive named Louis. Coffin described how Louis escaped from a public courtroom in broad daylight:

“[Louis] slipped his chair back a little way. Neither his master nor the marshal noticed the movement, as they were intently listening to the judge, and he slipped his chair again, until he was back of them. . . . Next he rose quietly to his feet and took a step backward. Some abolitionist friendly to his cause gave him an encouraging touch on the foot, and he stepped farther back. Then a good hat was placed on his head by some one behind, and he quietly and cautiously made his way . . . toward the door.”

— *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*

The Union in Crisis

Objectives

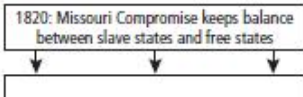
- Trace the growing conflict over the issue of slavery in the western territories.
- Analyze the importance of the Dred Scott decision.
- Explain how the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 led to secession.

Terms and People

Wilmot Proviso	Kansas-Nebraska Act
Free-Soil Party	<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>
Compromise of 1850	Abraham Lincoln
popular sovereignty	John Brown
Harriet Beecher Stowe	secede

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence As you read, trace the sequence of events that led to the division of the Union.



Why It Matters Regional differences between the North and South had existed since colonial times. These differences widened in the 1800s as the North developed an industrial economy while the South continued to depend on plantation agriculture and slavery. In time, conflict over the issue of slavery led to an armed struggle that would forever change the nation: the Civil War. **Section Focus Question:** How did the issue of slavery divide the Union?

Slavery and Western Expansion

After the Mexican-American War, the question of slavery in the West emerged as a major issue. A Pennsylvania congressman proposed the **Wilmot Proviso**, which stated that, though slavery would continue in the South, it would be banned in the territory won from Mexico. The proposal passed the House of Representatives, where northern members held a majority, but was defeated in the Senate, where some northern Democrats opposed the measure.

New Parties Oppose Slavery The Wilmot Proviso helped spur the rise of antislavery political parties. In 1848, the **Free-Soil Party** nominated former President Martin Van Buren for President. Although Van Buren did not win, he and other Free-Soil candidates garnered enough votes to show that the party’s motto of “free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men” would not easily be silenced.

Congress Tries to Compromise In 1850, California applied to enter the Union as a free state, thus threatening the balance between slave and free states in Congress. To ease southern concerns, Congress passed what became known as the **Compromise of 1850**. According to this measure, California was admitted as a free state. In the rest of the territory acquired from Mexico, voters would decide for themselves whether or not to allow slavery. This approach became known as **popular sovereignty**. By permitting slavery north of 36° 30' N latitude, the Compromise of 1850 undid the Missouri Compromise.

Another provision of the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act, required citizens to help apprehend runaway slaves. Northern opponents of the law mounted an **intense** and disruptive resistance. In 1851, at Christiana, Pennsylvania, a small band of African Americans gathered to protect several runaways from southern slave catchers. Local white bystanders not only refused to help the slave-hunting party but, when the slave owner died in the scuffle, a white jury refused to convict the killers. In other northern cities, white and black opponents found nonviolent ways to defy the hated law.

Vocabulary Builder

intense—(ihn TEHNS) *adj.* very strong; violent; extreme

✓ **Checkpoint** How did the Compromise of 1850 lead to conflict between the North and South?

The Road to Disunion

Resentment against the Fugitive Slave Act spurred **Harriet Beecher Stowe** to write the antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Southerners argued that Stowe presented a false picture of slavery and the South. But the novel became a best-seller in the North, increasing opposition to slavery.

Violence Erupts in Kansas In 1854, Congress again tried to settle the issue of slavery in the West by passing the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, which divided the Nebraska Territory into Kansas and Nebraska. Voters in each territory would decide the issue of slavery by popular sovereignty. Many northerners complained that this plan allowed slavery in areas where it had been banned by the Missouri Compromise.

Soon, both proslavery and antislavery settlers were flocking to Kansas, each hoping to outnumber the other when the time came to vote on slavery. By 1856, Kansas had two governments, one proslavery, the other antislavery. For several months there was so much violence between the two sides that the territory became known as “Bleeding Kansas.” Finally, in 1861, Kansas entered the Union as a free state.

The Republican Party Emerges The election of 1856 pitted Democrat James Buchanan against John C. Frémont, candidate of the new Republican Party. Like the earlier Free-Soil Party, the Republican Party opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories. Republicans included abolitionists who believed slavery was immoral, business leaders who felt that slavery stifled industry, and northerners who argued that the Fugitive Slave Act intruded into state politics.

Bleeding Kansas

In the dispute over slavery in Kansas, both sides turned to violence. Below, proslavery raiders attack settlers who oppose slavery.



TRACK THE ISSUE



How much power should the federal government have?

Under the Constitution, all powers not granted to the federal government belong to the states. Over time, however, the federal government has expanded its scope, especially in the area of social programs. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

- **1791 Bill of Rights**
Tenth Amendment reserves most powers to the states
- **1798 Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions**
States argue that they can void federal legislation.
- **1831 Nullification Crisis**
John C. Calhoun declares that states may overturn federal laws.
- **1857 *Dred Scott v. Sandford***
Supreme Court rules that federal government does not have power to outlaw slavery within territories.
- **1930s New Deal**
Government expands power over economy and social services.
- **1965 Voting Rights Act**
Law allows federal officers to register voters.



Dred Scott



Exhaust and waste gases from cars are just one of the many issues in the center of the continuing national debate about the environment.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

The Environment and States' Rights Since 1967, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has allowed California to make its own emissions rules. California is exempt from the Clean Air Acts as long as its rules are stricter than those of the federal government and it obtains a waiver from the federal government. In November 2007, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger sued the federal government because the EPA denied California a waiver.

“The authority of the States to address greenhouse gas emissions from motor vehicles has been supported—by the Supreme Court [and] by a federal court here in California. On this issue, the . . . EPA . . . has failed to follow the States’ lead . . . we are prepared to force it out of the way . . . to protect the environment.”

—Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger,
April 2, 2008

“I believe that Congress by passing a . . . federal standard of 35 mpg (miles per gallon) delivers significant reductions that are more effective than a state-by-state approach. This applies to all 50 states. . . and that’s great for the economy, for national security, and for the environment.”

—Stephen L. Johnson,
EPA Administrator



TRANSFER Activities

1. **Compare** Why does Governor Schwarzenegger feel California should oppose the federal government? Why does Stephen Johnson disagree?
1. **Analyze** Should a state have the right to determine its own environmental standards?
1. **Transfer** Use the following Web site to see a video, try a WebQuest, and write in your journal. www.pearsonschool.com/ushist

Buchanan won the election. But Frémont's strong showing underscored the importance of the slavery issue and the growing appeal of the new party.

The Dred Scott Decision Inflames the Nation In 1857, a Supreme Court decision widened the growing divisions over slavery. Dred Scott, an enslaved African American from Missouri, had sued for his freedom, based on the fact that he had traveled with his master into free territory.

In *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the Court made a sweeping ruling that went far beyond the particulars of Scott's case. The Court declared that African Americans were not citizens, and therefore were not entitled to sue in the courts. Furthermore, the Court ruled that the federal government did not have the power to ban slavery in any territory and that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, since it could deprive citizens of their property without due process of law. Southerners were delighted with the Dred Scott decision, but northerners were outraged.

Lincoln Debates Douglas The 1858 Senate race in Illinois crystallized the slavery issue for many Americans. At a series of debates, Republican **Abraham Lincoln** challenged Democrat Stephen Douglas, architect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Lincoln did not call for the immediate abolition of slavery, nor for political equality for African Americans. Still, he argued:

Primary Source "There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . . In the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."

—Abraham Lincoln, debate at Ottawa, Illinois

Douglas continued to champion popular sovereignty. "This Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question," he insisted. Douglas won the senate race, but the debates helped Lincoln win national attention.

John Brown Plans a Revolt In 1859, a violent attack on slavery occurred in northern Virginia. In the fall of 1859, white abolitionist **John Brown** led a small band of white and black followers in an attempt to seize a federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now in West Virginia). He hoped to inspire local enslaved African Americans to join a revolution that would destroy slavery in the South. Brown's plan failed.

Put on trial for treason, Brown proclaimed his willingness to "mingle my blood . . . with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments." In the eyes of many abolitionists, Brown's defense of his actions and the dignified calm with which he faced execution made him a heroic martyr to the antislavery cause. Northern support for Brown further inflamed southern anger.

Checkpoint How did northerners and southerners react to the Dred Scott decision?

HISTORY MAKERS

Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)

Born in a log cabin to a struggling farmer, Abraham Lincoln had little formal education. "When I came of age I did not know much," he later wrote.

"I could read, write, and cipher . . . but

that was all. I have not been to school

since." Still, he developed a thirst

for learning, eventually gaining

enough knowledge to practice

law and enter politics. He was

elected to the Illinois state

legislature four times and, in

1846, was elected to the U.S.

House of Representatives.

While in Congress, he spoke

out against the Mexican-

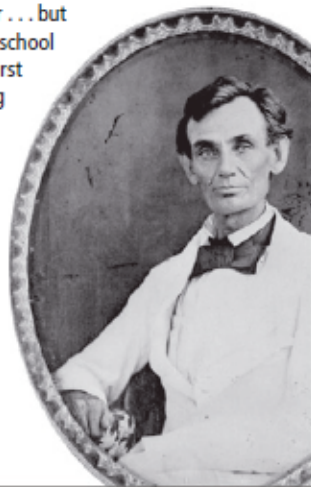
American War—an unpopular

position that cost him

reelection. Ten years later, he

joined the newly formed

Republican Party.



● **INFOGRAPHIC**

The Election of 1860

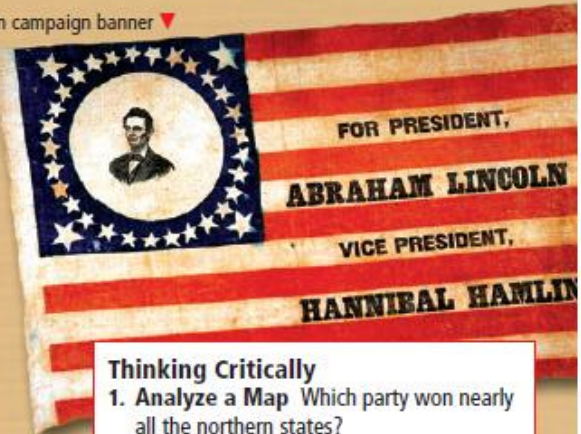
"We believe that this election is a turning-point in our history." So wrote poet James Russell Lowell a month before the presidential election of 1860. In fact, he was right. The victory of Abraham Lincoln literally split the nation in two.



The issue of slavery was so divisive in 1860 that the Democratic Party nominated different candidates in the North and South. As the map and chart show, each of the four presidential candidates won support in a different region. ▼

▲ This 1860 cartoon shows Lincoln and Douglas (left) fighting over slavery in the West. While Breckinridge (center) tears off the South, Bell (right) vainly tries to glue the Union back together.

Lincoln campaign banner ▼



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
Abraham Lincoln (Republican)	180	1,866,452	59	40
John C. Breckinridge (Southern-Democratic)	72	847,953	24	18
Stephen A. Douglas (Democratic)	12	1,380,202	4	29
John Bell (Constitutional Union)	39	590,901	13	13

Thinking Critically

- Analyze a Map** Which party won nearly all the northern states?
- Synthesize Information** Does the cartoon accurately reflect the information given on the map? Explain.

Lincoln, Secession, and War

Brown's execution and the Dred Scott decision were still fresh in voters' minds as the 1860 presidential elections approached. Meeting in Chicago, the Republican Party adopted a platform that affirmed the Wilmot Proviso and the authority of Congress to ban slavery in the territories.

The Election Fragments the Nation Republicans saw Abraham Lincoln, with his reputation for integrity, as the ideal candidate to carry their platform to victory. Around the country, newspapers had publicized Lincoln's positions—his objections to slavery, and his defense of the West as a land of opportunity for

free white men. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party fractured over the slavery issue. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas, while Southern Democrats nominated John Breckinridge. A fourth candidate, John Bell, represented a small moderate coalition who wanted to keep the Union together.


Benefiting from the Democrat split, Lincoln easily won the election, carrying 18 northern and western free states. He ended up with only 40 percent of the popular vote but almost 60 percent of the electoral vote, even though he did not receive a single southern electoral vote.

The South Secedes To southerners, the election was a clear sign that the more populous free states were now in a position to control national politics. On December 20, 1860, a convention in South Carolina declared that “the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States . . . is hereby dissolved.” South Carolina thus became the first state to **secede**, or break away, from the Union.

Six other states soon joined South Carolina to establish the Confederate States of America. They framed a constitution modeled on the U.S. Constitution but with some important differences. First, the Confederate constitution stressed the independence of each state, implying that states had the right to secede. Second, the new constitution guaranteed the protection of slavery. In time, four additional states joined the Confederacy.

War Begins at Fort Sumter At first, Lincoln insisted he had no authority to force Confederate states to return to the Union. Then, the Confederacy began to seize federal military bases in southern states. When Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, ran short of supplies, Lincoln notified the Confederacy that he was sending food but no armaments. Confederates decided to try to seize the fort before provisions could arrive.

On April 11, 1861, Confederate troops demanded that Union troops give up Fort Sumter. When the commander refused, the Confederates fired on the fort. After heavy bombardment, the federal troops surrendered. The fall of Fort Sumter marked the start of the Civil War, a four-year struggle that threatened to bring the Union to a bloody end.

 **Checkpoint** How did the election of 1860 split the nation in two?

Fort Sumter Flag

The tattered Union flag shown below was flying over Fort Sumter when Confederate troops fired on the fort.



SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
www.pearsonschool.com/ushist

Comprehension

1. Terms and People Write a sentence explaining how each of the following was connected with the growing rift between North and South.

- Wilmot Proviso
- Free-Soil Party
- Compromise of 1850
- popular sovereignty
- Kansas-Nebraska Act
- *Dred Scott v. Sandford*
- Abraham Lincoln
- John Brown
- secede

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the issue of slavery divide the Union?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: State a Point of View Write a paragraph defining a viewpoint on the following issue: Should states have the right to secede from the Union? Give one argument someone might use to support that viewpoint.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Inferences** Why do you think southerners in Congress insisted on the passage of a Fugitive Slave Act? Why did many northerners oppose it?
- 5. Analyze Information** Why was the *Dred Scott* decision a blow to those who opposed the extension of slavery?
- 6. Draw Conclusions** Do you think the issue of slavery could have been settled without war? Why or why not?