

UNIT 4 Lesson 6 Reading

Analyzing Political Cartoons

A Race for the Presidency In this cartoon, the Know-Nothing candidate Fillmore leads the race in the "American Express" carriage, which represents his anti-immigrant platform. The outgoing Democratic president, Franklin Pierce, carries Buchanan. The Republican Frémont is last, urged on by the abolitionist Horace Greeley (wearing a top hat).

1. Explain the cartoonist's stance on abolition.
2. Did the cartoonist correctly predict the election results?

The Dred Scott Decision Triggers Outrage While passions still ran high from the 1856 election, another event fueled the flames of division. In 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the case of Missouri slave **Dred Scott**, who had sued for his freedom. Scott based his case on the fact that his master had taken him to the free state of Illinois and Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was outlawed by the Missouri Compromise. In other words, between 1834 and 1838, Scott had lived mostly on free soil while remaining enslaved.

With the help of abolitionists, Scott's case reached the Supreme Court under Chief Justice **Roger B. Taney**. In its decision handed down in March 1857, the Court ruled against Scott. In a controversial decision, the Court decided that slaves and their descendants were property, not citizens, and therefore were not entitled to sue in the courts. It also said that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional because it was illegal for Congress to deprive an owner of property—in this case, a slave—without due process of law.

Southerners celebrated the decision, but the North viewed it with alarm. Abolitionists labeled the ruling a southern conspiracy. Some suggested that the North should secede from the Union. Others insisted that the members of the Supreme Court should be impeached. Leading black abolitionist Frederick Douglass predicted that the decision would actually hasten the end of slavery:

conspiracy - a secret plan to do something

secede - to separate

hasten - make something happen more quickly

Does Congress Have the Power to Limit Slavery?

One of the most divisive issues facing the country in the 1850s was the question of slavery in the territories. The Missouri Compromise had banned slavery from some areas and allowed it in others. The Kansas-Nebraska Act left the question up to those people living in a territory. But if the Constitution allowed slavery to exist, did Congress have the power to take these actions?

Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

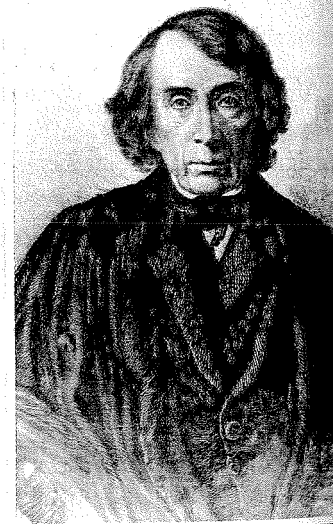
The Facts	The Issue	The Decision
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dred Scott, an African American slave, was taken north of the Missouri Compromise line, where slavery was banned.	<p>Scott argued that since he had lived several years in a free state and several years in a free territory, he should be free.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Court stated that temporary residence in a free territory did not make Scott free.• It said that Scott was property, not a citizen, and therefore had no right to sue.• It further reasoned that no African American could be a citizen.• It stated that Congress could not ban slavery from any territory because doing so would take away slave owners' property without due process of law.

Why It Matters

The *Dred Scott* decision deeply split an already divided country. Southerners applauded the Court for defending their rights to hold slaves. A South Carolina newspaper victoriously declared that the decision proves that "slavery is guaranteed by the constitutional compact." Many in the North viewed the decision with dismay, however. Republicans wanted to block the spread of slavery, and the Court's decision dashed their hopes. Abraham Lincoln expressed the fears of many that the Court would act even more boldly in the future. In an 1858 speech, he warned that the Court would next force slavery onto northern soil:

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

By further inflaming both North and South, the *Dred Scott* decision took the nation one step closer to a civil war.



Chief Justice Roger B. Taney

dismay - discouragement
dashed their hopes - ruined their hopes
on the verge - just about to

Connect to Your World

The Court has made other controversial decisions over the years. Examples are *Engel v. Vitale* (1962), *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), *Roe v. Wade* (1973), *Texas v. Johnson* (1989), and *Kelo v. New London* (2005). Read about the Court's decision in a controversial case and its aftermath. Analyze how people with different points of view have responded to the decision.

For: Supreme Court cases
www.pearsonschool.com/ushist

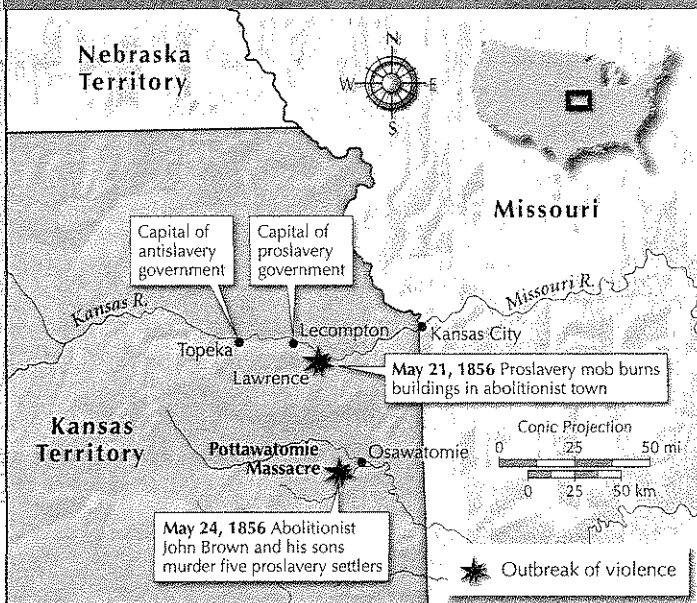
Unit 4 lesson 6

reading

A Battle Rages in "Bleeding Kansas"

Most of the people who came to the newly opened territory of Kansas were farmers looking for land. But Kansas also attracted settlers—northern and southern—with political motives. Each group wanted to outnumber the other, so that when it came time to vote, they could control the government. Their competition to settle the territory would have deadly consequences.

Confrontation in Kansas



Map Skills Kansas became a battleground over slavery.

1. Locate: (a) Lawrence, (b) Missouri, (c) Topeka

2. Draw Conclusions What problems could result from having two governments in Kansas?

The Sack of Lawrence

On May 21, 1856, proslavery men attacked the Free-Soil town of Lawrence, Kansas. They burned the hotel and destroyed the newspaper. *Why did proslavery forces attack Lawrence?*

coerced - forced a person to do something

abolitionist - a person who wants to get rid of something, for example, slavery

pillaged - stole or took something by force

popular sovereignty - the idea that the people have the power to decide on their government

and coerced local voters into voting for proslavery candidates. They also cast their own illegal votes. The new legislature quickly passed proslavery laws, including penalties for antislavery agitation and a requirement that officeholders take a proslavery oath. Within two years, they had called a convention and developed a constitution that would have legalized slavery and punished those who spoke or wrote against it.

Northern abolitionists also rushed into Kansas. The New England Emigrant Aid Society raised money to help several thousand free-state supporters establish the town of Lawrence, a few miles east of the proslavery capital of Lecompton. These settlers joined other free-state advocates in establishing an antislavery government in Topeka. By early 1856, this Topeka government had petitioned Congress for statehood. Kansas now had two governments petitioning for statehood. It was a sure setup for disaster.

Violence Grips the Territory On May 21, 1856, Border Ruffians raided the antislavery town of Lawrence, Kansas. They pillaged homes, burned down the Free State Hotel, and destroyed the presses of *The Kansas Free State* newspaper.

Swift retaliation came from **John Brown**, a New York abolitionist who had moved his family several times in pursuit of opportunities to confront slavery head-on and who now made his home near Lawrence. With his sons and a few friends, Brown carried out a midnight execution of five proslavery settlers near Pottawatomie Creek, about 20 miles south of Lawrence.

When stories of the incident reached the East, abolitionists were stunned. While they were outraged at the events that triggered it, they condemned Brown's massacre. In Kansas, both sides armed for battle. Throughout the fall of 1856, violent outbreaks occurred in various locales around Lawrence. Reporters characterized the territory as "**Bleeding Kansas**." By now, it was clear that popular sovereignty was not a solution to the slavery issue.



Two Governments Are Established By 1855, proslavery settlers had set up a territorial government near the border of Missouri, a slave state. During the election, proslavery residents from Missouri, known as Border Ruffians, had swept into Kansas

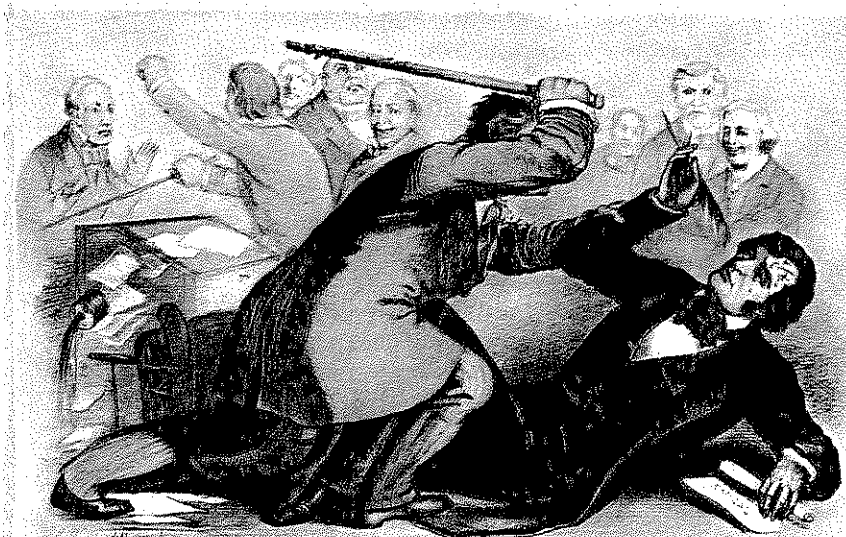
Over the next several years, the question of how to admit Kansas to the Union baffled local residents, political parties, the U.S. Congress, and the Supreme Court. Although the Border Ruffians had determined the outcome of the election, President Franklin Pierce urged Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state in 1858. However, Congress refused and Kansas submitted four constitutions before it finally entered as a free state in 1861, after the Civil War had already begun.

Violence Spreads to the Senate The violent battles over slavery were not limited to Kansas. Tempers ran high in Congress, and some members went to work armed not only with words but with pistols and canes. In May 1856, just as fighting broke out in Kansas, Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner delivered a blistering speech on the Senate floor, which came to be known as “The Crime Against Kansas.” He blasted southerners for their bullying and fraud in the Kansas elections, and he referred to the Border Ruffians from Missouri as “hirelings, picked from the drunken spew and vomit of an uneasy civilization—in the form of men.”

Then, Sumner invited trouble. He insulted South Carolina senator Andrew Butler, who was absent. But a few days later, Butler’s nephew, South Carolina representative Preston Brooks, attacked Sumner in the Senate, beating him unconscious with a cane.

What happened next illustrates the division of the two sides. Congress tried to punish Brooks by removing him from office. His constituency simply reelected him and sent him back. Sumner was so badly injured that he could not return to the Senate for three years. The Massachusetts voters reelected him anyway, using his empty seat as a public reminder of southern treachery. The divide between North and South grew ever wider and deeper.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did violence break out in Kansas?



SOUTHERN CHIVALRY — ARGUMENT VERSUS CLUB'S

Violence in the Senate

Representative Brooks beat Senator Sumner with a cane meant to train dogs. What does this depiction tell you about the event?

SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
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Comprehension

- Terms and People** Place each of the entries below into one of these two categories: advancing slavery or working against slavery
 - personal liberty laws
 - Underground Railroad
 - Harriet Tubman
 - Harriet Beecher Stowe
 - Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - John Brown
 - “Bleeding Kansas”

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

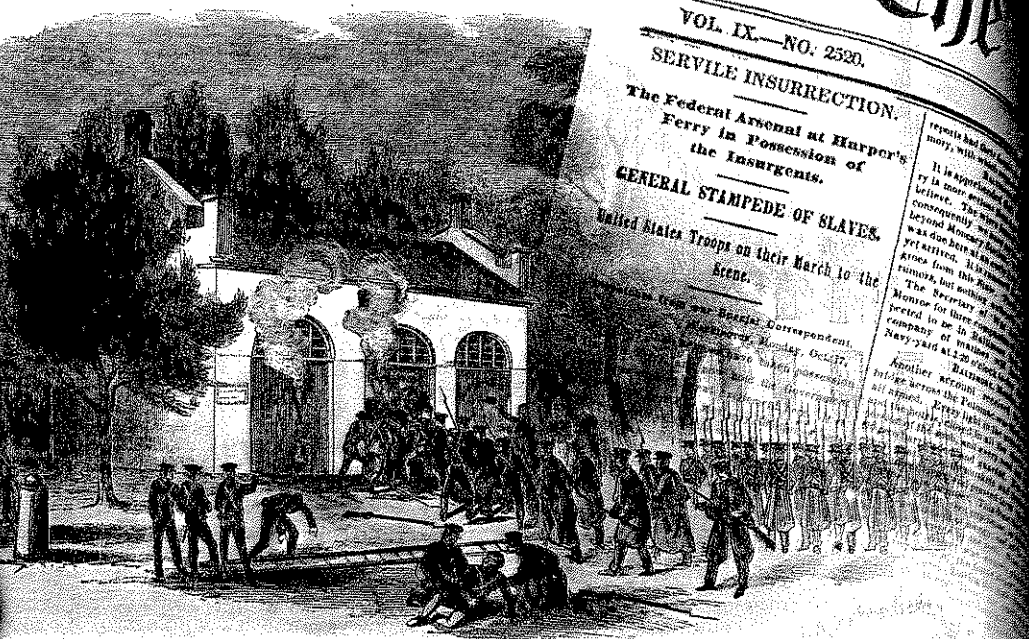
Understand Effects Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas-Nebraska Act increase tensions between the North and the South?

Writing About History

- Quick Write: Outline an Argument** List points supporting or opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and then rank them in order of importance.

Critical Thinking

- Recognize Effects** What were the consequences of the Fugitive Slave Act for slaveholders, white northerners, free African Americans, and fugitive slaves?
- Summarize** How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act undo the Missouri Compromise?
- Synthesize** How did “Bleeding Kansas” embody the slavery controversy?



The Raid at Harpers Ferry

Marines led by Colonel Robert E. Lee smashed the armory door at Harpers Ferry and succeeded in capturing John Brown (pictured above) and his followers inside. No slaves joined Brown's rebellion. *Did John Brown's raid have a chance to succeed?*

John Brown's Raid

Both Lincoln and Douglas believed the slavery crisis had to be resolved within the framework of the nation's laws. Abolitionist John Brown felt no such constraints. Brown viewed himself as an angel of God, avenging the evil of slavery. Even before one of his sons was killed in Bleeding Kansas, he had concluded that violence was the best way to reach his goal. By late 1857, Brown had begun planning his attack. For many months, he crisscrossed New England, the Midwest, and Canada, soliciting recruits and funds to mount an armed assault on slavery.

Brown Seizes the Arsenal at Harpers Ferry By the fall of 1859, Brown was ready. "Men, get your arms," he cried, "we will proceed to the ferry." Gathering his following of 21 men—including 5 free African Americans—Brown set out to seize the federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now in West Virginia). He hoped to inspire local slaves to join a revolution that would destroy slavery in the South.

Brown had chosen Harpers Ferry because it was a hub of trains and canals, which would offer efficient escape routes. This locale was also near the borders of Pennsylvania, a free state, and Maryland, where there were many free African Americans. It seemed the ideal launching point.

But the effort failed. Few Americans—black or white—were prepared to join a rebellion organized by this intense, fanatical white man. Frederick Douglass, a close friend, refused to join, warning Brown that his mission “would array the whole country against us.” A few black and white abolitionists sent money for guns, but in the end Brown’s revolution came to naught. Local residents surrounded Brown’s men in the arsenal, and federal troops soon arrived to arrest them. Two more of Brown’s sons were killed in the fray, but a few of the rebels escaped to Canada. Brown and several others, however, went to the gallows.

Brown’s Execution Deepens the Growing Divide Brown’s attack increased the heat in already-boiling tempers. Similar to the *Dred Scott* decision, suspicion and rumors were widespread. Stephen Douglas accused the Republicans of instigating Brown’s attack, and southern congressmen demanded an investigation. But when Abraham Lincoln and other Republicans condemned Brown, the rumors subsided. Yet, many congressmen still came armed to the Capitol. The uncertainty caused a steep drop in cotton prices, and many southerners prepared for war.

Many northerners thought abolitionist activism had gone too far. But others now saw Brown as a courageous martyr. They were moved to tears when he proclaimed his willingness to “mingle my blood . . . with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments.”

Some admirers suggested that Brown should be buried at Boston’s Bunker Hill, next to the heroes of the American Revolution. A popular song later immortalized him, celebrating the fact that “his soul goes marching on.” On the morning of his execution, Brown made the prophetic prediction that “the crimes [of slavery] of this guilty land will never be purged away, . . . without very much bloodshed.” Many Americans agreed with him.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Americans respond to John Brown’s raid and his execution?

gallows - structure from which a condemned person is hanged to death.

martyr - person who dies for their beliefs

prophetic - telling of the future

SECTION

3 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
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Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence that explains its significance.

- Know-Nothings
- Republican Party
- Dred Scott
- Roger B. Taney
- Abraham Lincoln
- Stephen A. Douglas
- Harpers Ferry

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Sequence Use your timeline to answer the Section Focus Question: What developments deepened the divisions between North and South?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Organize Your Ideas Write a short argument supporting a presidential candidate from the election of 1856. Explain why this candidate was the best person to lead the politically unstable nation.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Recognize Ideologies** Why did the Republican Party form?
- 5. Recognize Effects** How did the *Dred Scott* decision increase tensions between North and South?
- 6. Determine Relevance** How successful was John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry?



◀ President Buchanan

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

The President Falters

Outgoing President James Buchanan condemned South Carolina's secession from the Union but was unwilling to use force to stop it. Many northerners criticized his weak response to the crisis. In an address to Congress, he seemed almost baffled that the situation had deteriorated so far:

“How easy it would be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country! . . . All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them.”

—President Buchanan, December 3, 1860

Lincoln, Secession, and War



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **2.II.D.1b** Abraham Lincoln, the secession crisis, and efforts at compromise (election of 1860, secession, Fort Sumter)
- **2.II.D.2** The American Civil War: Wartime actions

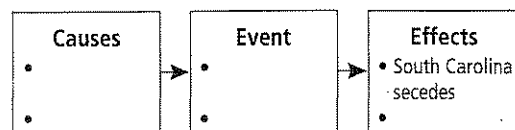
Terms and People

Jefferson Davis	Crittenden Compromise
John C. Breckinridge	Fort Sumter
Confederate States of America	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Causes and Effects

Use a cause-and-effect chart to show the events that led to secession.



Why It Matters Despite repeated attempts at compromise, disagreement between the North and the South over the issue of slavery continued to deepen. With the election of Republican President Abraham Lincoln in 1860, the crisis came to a head. The Union of states that had been formed less than a hundred years before was about to dissolve. **Section Focus Question:** How did the Union finally collapse into a civil war?

The Election of 1860

John Brown's raid and execution were still fresh in the minds of Americans as the 1860 presidential election approached. Uncertainty about Kansas—would it be a slave state or a free state?—added to the anxiety. In the North, loss of confidence in the Supreme Court resulting from the *Dred Scott* decision and rage about the Fugitive Slave Act's intrusion into the states' independence further aggravated the situation.

The issue of states' rights was on southern minds as well. Would northern radicals conspire to eliminate slavery not only in the territories but also in the original southern states? In the spring of 1860, Mississippi senator **Jefferson Davis** convinced Congress to adopt resolutions restricting federal control over slavery in the territories. The resolutions also asserted that the Constitution prohibited Congress or any state from interfering with slavery in the states

where it already existed. Even southerners who did not own slaves felt that their way of life and their honor were under attack.

With ill will running so deep, the upcoming elections posed a serious dilemma. It was hard to imagine that either northerners or southerners would accept a President from the other region. Could the Union survive?

dilemma - situation where there is no easy choice or answer

Democrats Split Their Support The Democrats held their nominating convention in Charleston, North Carolina. For ten days, they argued about the issue that had plagued the nation for decades: slavery. The southern Democrats called for a platform supporting federal protection of slavery in the territories. The northern Democrats, who backed Stephen Douglas, supported the doctrine of popular sovereignty. When the Douglas forces prevailed, the delegates from eight southern states walked out and formed a separate convention.

The Democrats were now split into two parties. The northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas. The southern Democrats nominated the Vice President, **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky. Breckinridge was committed to expanding slavery into the territories.

Whigs Make a Last Effort In the meantime, the few remaining Whigs teamed up with the Know-Nothings to create the Constitutional Union Party. They hoped to heal the split between North and South. Their candidate was John Bell, a little-known moderate from Tennessee. Their platform condemned sectional parties and promised to uphold "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States and the enforcement of the laws."

Republicans Nominate Lincoln The Republicans, who had gained great strength since their formation, held their nominating convention in Chicago. After several ballots, they nominated Abraham Lincoln as their candidate. When the party convened, seasoned politician William H. Seward of New York had been the favorite to win the nomination. But when many delegates began to worry that Seward's antislavery views were too radical, the convention went with the more moderate Lincoln.

moderate - mild, not extreme

The Candidates for President

Abraham Lincoln

- Republican
- Illinois
- Platform:
Slavery must not be allowed in the territories.

Stephen Douglas

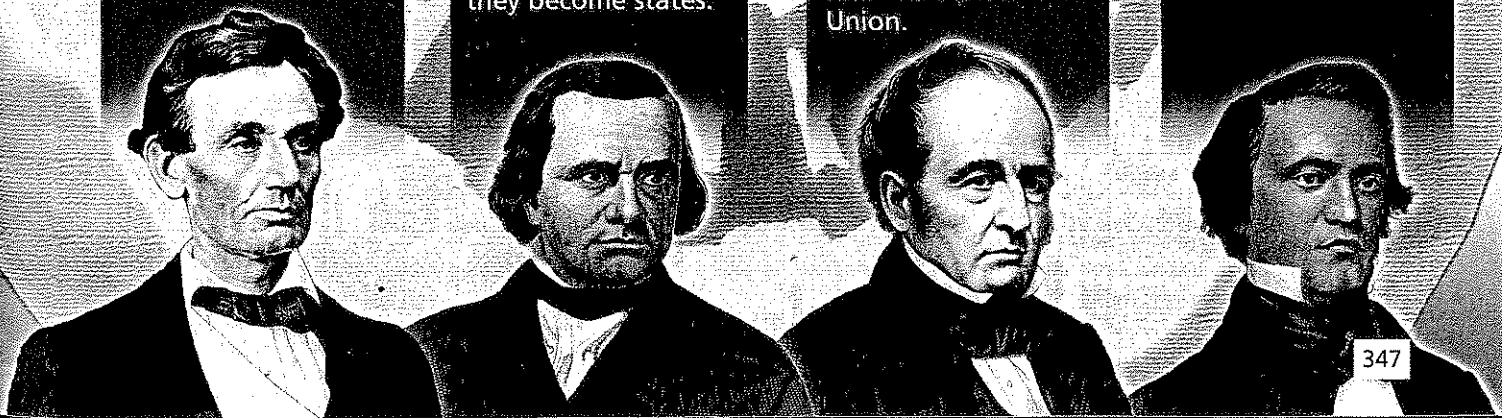
- Northern Democrat
- Illinois
- Platform:
Popular sovereignty should decide the issue of slavery in the territories when they become states.

John Bell

- Constitutional Unionist
- Tennessee
- Platform:
The federal government should support slavery and also defend the Union.

John Breckinridge

- Southern Democrat
- Kentucky
- Platform:
The federal government must protect slavery.



Vocabulary Builder

stipulate—(STIHP yuh layt) *v.* to specify or indicate

The Republican platform called for the end of slavery in the territories. At the same time, the Republicans defended the right of each state to control its own institutions and stipulated that there should be no interference with slavery in the states where it already existed. Abraham Lincoln—with his great debating skills, his moderate views, and his reputation for integrity—was seen as the ideal candidate to carry the Republican platform to victory.

Lincoln Wins the Election Benefiting from the fracturing among the other political parties, Lincoln won the election handily, with 40 percent of the popular vote and almost 60 percent of the electoral vote. Still, he did not receive a single southern electoral vote. In fact, he was not even on the ballot in most southern states.

Breckinridge was the clear favorite among southern voters, carrying every cotton state, along with North Carolina, Delaware, and Maryland. The border

Events That Changed America

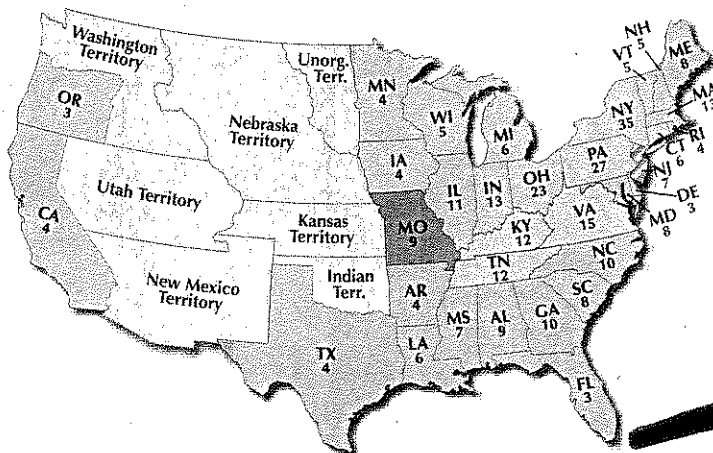
THE ELECTION OF 1860

The Election of 1860 The election of 1860 was a turning point for the United States. Looking at an election map shows clearly how the country was divided.

Look at the cartoon to the right to see one viewpoint of the campaign for the presidency. Try to figure out what the cartoonist thinks of each of these candidates. Lincoln is on the left, dressed as a member of a Republican support group called the "Wide Awakes." As he approaches the White House, the other candidates try to sneak in.

John Bell tells Stephen Douglas to hurry up. Douglas, meanwhile, tries to unlock the door with different keys, but none of them works. In the far right, the current President, Buchanan, tries to pull John Breckinridge in through the window.

▲ Election propaganda for Lincoln and Douglas



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



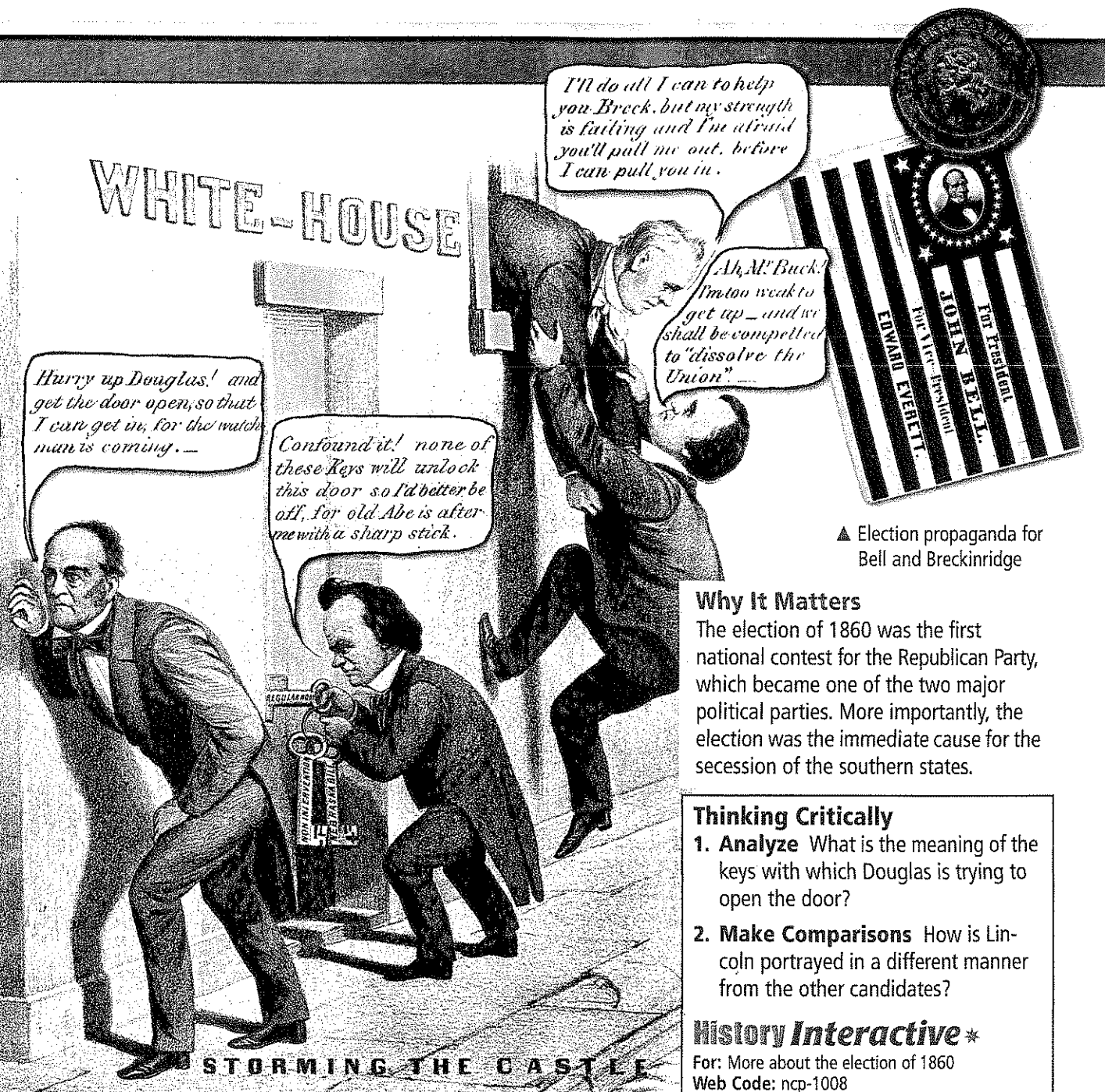
states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee—whose economic interests were not as closely tied to slavery as the cotton states were—gave their votes to Bell. Stephen A. Douglas, although running second to Lincoln in the popular vote, won only in Missouri and New Jersey.

The election of 1860 demonstrated that Americans' worst fears had come to pass. There were no longer any national political parties. Bell and Breckinridge competed for southern votes, while Douglas and Lincoln competed in the North and West. The North and South were now effectively two political entities, and there seemed no way to bridge the gap.

- ✓ **Checkpoint** How did Lincoln's election reflect the break between the North and the South?

Vocabulary Builder

entity—(EHN tuh tee) *n.*
something that exists as a single and complete unit



▲ Election propaganda for Bell and Breckinridge

Why It Matters

The election of 1860 was the first national contest for the Republican Party, which became one of the two major political parties. More importantly, the election was the immediate cause for the secession of the southern states.

Thinking Critically

- Analyze** What is the meaning of the keys with which Douglas is trying to open the door?
- Make Comparisons** How is Lincoln portrayed in a different manner from the other candidates?

History Interactive *

For: More about the election of 1860
Web Code: ncp-1008