



The Divisive Politics of Slavery

MAIN IDEA

Disagreements over slavery heightened regional tensions and led to the breakup of the Union.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The modern Democratic and Republican parties emerged from the political tensions of the mid-19th century.

Terms & Names

- secession
- popular sovereignty
- •Underground Railroad
- Harriet Tubman
- Harriet Beecher
 Stowe
- Franklin Pierce
- Dred Scott
- Stephen Douglas
- Abraham Lincoln
- Confederacy
- Jefferson Davis

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.4 Examine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the industrial revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late nineteenth century of the United States as a world power.

11.10.2 Examine and analyze the key events, policies, and court cases in the evolution of civil rights, including *Dred Scott v. Sandford, Plessy v. Ferguson, Brown v. Board of Education, Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, and California Proposition 209.*

REP 3 Students evaluate major debates among historians concerning alternative interpretations of the past, including an analysis of authors' use of evidence and the distinctions between sound generalizations and misleading oversimplifications.

REP 4 Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

One American's Story

Senator John C. Calhoun was too sick to deliver his speech to the Senate. On March 4, 1850, he asked Senator James M. Mason of Virginia to read his speech for him.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN C. CALHOUN

"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 agitation has been permitted to proceed ... until it has reached a period when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration: How can the Union be preserved?"

-quoted in The Compromise of 1850

As Senator Calhoun and other Southern legislators demanded the expansion of slavery, Northerners just as vehemently called for its abolition. Once again, the issue of slavery was deepening the gulf between the North and the South.



John C. Calhoun

Differences Between North and South

Over the centuries, the Northern and Southern sections of the United States had developed into two very different cultural and economic regions. The distinction between North and South had its roots in the early 17th century, when British colonists began settling Virginia in the South and Massachusetts in the North. Along with differences in geography and climate, the two regions were noticeably dissimilar in their religious and cultural traditions. However, it was the Southern dependence on the "peculiar institution" of slavery that increased tensions between the regions and that eventually brought them into conflict.

MAIN IDEA

Developing
Historical
Perspective
Why did
Southerners want
to increase the
number of slave
states?

The South, with its plantation economy, had come to rely on an enslaved labor force. The North, with its diversified industries, was less dependent on slavery. As the North industrialized, Northern opposition to slavery grew more intense. The controversy over slavery only worsened as new territories and states were admitted to the union. Supporters of slavery saw an opportunity to create more slave states, while opponents remained equally determined that slavery should not spread.

Slavery in the Territories

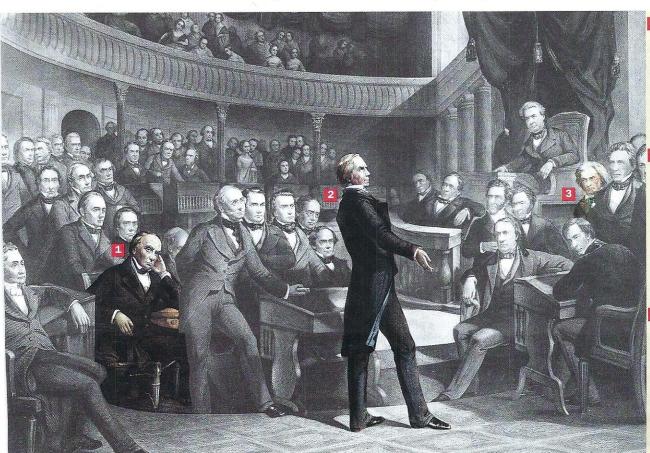
The issue of slavery in California and in the western territories led to heated debates in the halls of Congress, and eventually to a fragile compromise.

STATEHOOD FOR CALIFORNIA Due in large part to the gold rush, California had grown quickly and applied for statehood in December 1850. California's new constitution forbade slavery, a fact that alarmed and angered many Southerners. They had assumed that because most of California lay south of the Missouri Compromise line of 36°30′, the state would be open to slavery. Southerners wanted the 1820 compromise to apply to territories west of the Louisiana Purchase, thus ensuring that California would become a slave state.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 As the 31st Congress opened in December 1849, the question of statehood for California topped the agenda. Of equal concern was the border dispute in which the slave state of Texas claimed the eastern half of the New Mexico Territory, where the issue of slavery had not yet been settled. As passions mounted, threats of Southern **secession**, the formal withdrawal of a state from the Union, became more frequent.

Once again, Henry Clay worked to shape a compromise that both the North and the South could accept. After obtaining support of the powerful Massachusetts senator Daniel Webster, Clay presented to the Senate a series of resolutions later called the Compromise of 1850.

Clay's compromise contained provisions to appease Northerners as well as Southerners. To please the North, the compromise provided that California be



- 1 Daniel Webster strongly supported Clay's compromise. He left the Senate before Stephen Douglas could engineer passage of all the bill's provisions.
- Penry Clay
 offered his
 compromise to
 the Senate in
 January 1850. In
 his efforts to
 save the Union,
 Clay earned for
 himself the name
 "the Great
 Compromiser."
- 3 John C. Calhoun opposed the compromise. He died two months after Clay proposed it.

admitted to the Union as a free state. To please the South, the compromise proposed a new and more effective fugitive slave law. To placate both sides, a provision allowed **popular sovereignty**, the right to vote for or against slavery, for residents of the New Mexico and Utah territories.

Despite the efforts of Clay and Webster, the Senate rejected the proposed compromise in July. Tired, ill, and discouraged, Clay withdrew from the fight and left Washington. Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois picked up the pro-compromise reins. Douglas unbundled the package of resolutions and reintroduced them one at a time, hoping to obtain a majority vote for each measure individually. The death of President Taylor aided Douglas's efforts. Taylor's successor, Millard Fillmore, quickly made it clear that he supported the compromise.

At last, in September, after eight months of effort, the Compromise of 1850 became law. For the moment, the crisis over slavery in the territories had passed. However, relief was short-lived. Another crisis loomed on the horizon—enforcement of the new fugitive slave law.

Vocabulary fugitive: running away or fleeing

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B) What was the compromise that allowed California to be admitted to the Union?

Harriet Tubman
was called
"Moses" by those
she helped
escape on the
Underground
Railroad. In her
later years,
Tubman opened a
home for elderly,
orphaned, and
needy African

Americans. V

Protest, Resistance, and Violence

The harsh terms of the Fugitive Slave Act surprised many people. Under the law, alleged fugitive slaves were not entitled to a trial by jury. In addition, anyone convicted of helping a fugitive was liable for a fine of \$1,000 and imprisonment for up to six months. Infuriated by the Fugitive Slave Act, some Northerners resisted it by organizing "vigilance committees" to send endangered African Americans to safety in Canada. Others resorted to violence to rescue fugitive slaves. Still others worked to help slaves escape from slavery.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD Attempting to escape from slavery was a dangerous process. It meant traveling on foot at night without any sense of distance or direction, except for the North Star and other natural signs. It meant avoiding patrols of armed men on horseback and struggling through forests and across rivers. Often it meant going without food for days at a time.

As time went on, free African Americans and white abolitionists developed a secret network of people who would, at great risk to themselves, hide fugitive slaves. The system of escape routes they used became known as the

Underground Railroad. "Conductors" on the routes hid fugitives in secret tunnels and false cupboards, provided them with food and clothing, and escorted or directed them to the next "station." Once fugitives reached the North, many chose to remain there. Others journeyed to Canada to be completely out of reach of their "owners."

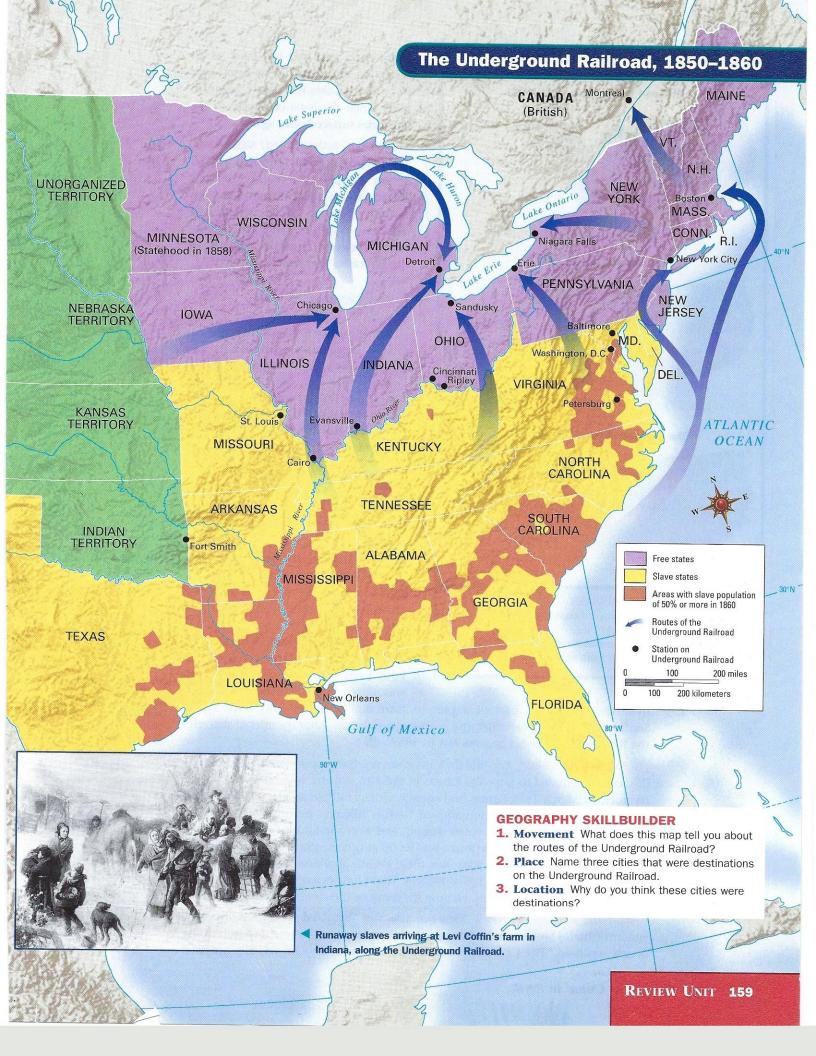
One of the most famous conductors was **Harriet Tubman**, born a slave in Maryland in 1820 or 1821. In 1849, after Tubman's owner died, she heard rumors that she was about to be sold. Fearing this possibility, Tubman decided to make a break for freedom and succeeded in reaching Philadelphia. Shortly after passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, Tubman resolved to become a conductor on the Underground Railroad. In all, she made 19 trips back to the South and is said to have helped 300 slaves—including her own parents—flee to freedom.

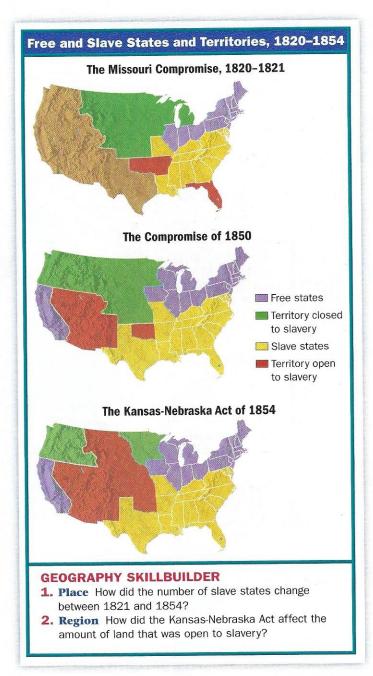
UNCLE TOM'S CABIN Meanwhile, another woman brought the horrors of slavery into the homes of a great many Americans. In 1852, **Harriet Beecher Stowe** published her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which stressed that slavery was not just a political contest, but also a great moral struggle. As a young girl, Stowe had watched boats filled with people on their way to be sold at slave markets. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* expressed her lifetime hatred of slavery. The book stirred Northern abolitionists to increase their protests against the Fugitive Slave Act, while

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

How did the
Underground
Railroad operate?





Southerners criticized the book as an attack on the South. The furor over *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had barely begun to settle when the issue of slavery in the territories surfaced once again.

TENSION IN KANSAS AND NEBRASKA

The Compromise of 1850 had provided for popular sovereignty in New Mexico and Utah. To Senator Stephen Douglas, popular sovereignty seemed like an excellent way to decide whether slavery would be allowed in the Nebraska Territory.

A PERSONAL VOICE STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

"If the people of Kansas want a slaveholding state, let them have it, and if they want a free state they have a right to it, and it is not for the people of Illinois, or Missouri, or New York, or Kentucky, to complain, whatever the decision of Kansas may be."

-quoted in The Civil War by Geoffrey C. Ward

The only difficulty was that, unlike New Mexico and Utah, the Kansas and Nebraska territory lay north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36°30′ and therefore was legally closed to slavery. Douglas introduced a bill in Congress on January 23, 1854, that would divide the area into two territories: Nebraska in the north and Kansas in the south. If passed, the bill would repeal the Missouri Compromise and establish popular sovereignty for both territories. Congressional debate was bitter. Some Northern congress-

men saw the bill as part of a plot to turn the territories into slave states. Southerners strongly defended the proposed legislation. After months of struggle, the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law in 1854.

"BLEEDING KANSAS" The race for Kansas was on. Both supporters and opponents of slavery attempted to populate Kansas in order to win the vote on slavery in the territory. By March 1855 Kansas had enough settlers to hold an election for a territorial legislature. However, thousands of "border ruffians" from the slave state of Missouri crossed into Kansas, voted illegally, and won a fraudulent majority for the proslavery candidates. A government was set up at Lecompton and promptly issued a series of proslavery acts. Furious over these events, abolitionists organized a rival government in Topeka in the fall of 1855. It wasn't long before bloody violence surfaced in the struggle for Kansas, earning the territory the name "Bleeding Kansas."

VIOLENCE IN THE SENATE Violence was not restricted to Kansas. In May, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts delivered an impassioned speech in the Senate, entitled "The Crime Against Kansas." For two days he verbally attacked

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Events

D Why was the debate over the Kansas-Nebraska Act so bitter?



SOUTHERN CHIVALRY _ ARGUMENT VERSUS CLUB'S

the South and slavery, singling out Senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina for his proslavery beliefs.

Soon after, Butler's nephew, Congressman Preston S. Brooks, walked into the Senate chamber and struck Sumner on the head repeatedly with a cane until the cane broke. Sumner suffered brain damage and did not return to his Senate seat for more than three years.

The widening gulf between the North and the South had far-reaching implications for party politics as well. As the two regions grew further apart, the old national parties ruptured, and new political parties emerged, including a party for antislavery Northerners.

This 1856
cartoon, with its
ironic caption,
gives the Northern
view of Preston
Brooks's beating
of Charles
Sumner.

New Political Parties Emerge

By the end of 1856, the nation's political landscape had a very different appearance than it had exhibited in 1848. The Whig Party had split over the issue of slavery and had lost support in both the North and the South. The Democratic Party, which had survived numerous crises in its history, was still alive, though scarred. A new Republican Party had formed and was moving within striking distance of the presidency.

SLAVERY DIVIDES WHIGS In 1852 the Whig vote in the South fell dramatically, which helped produce a victory for the Democratic candidate, **Franklin Pierce**. In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Act completed the demise of the Whigs. Unable to agree on a national platform, the Southern faction splintered as its members looked for a proslavery, pro-Union party to join. At the same time, Whigs in the North sought a political alternative of their own.

One alternative that appeared was the American Party, which soon became known as the Know-Nothing Party, because members were instructed to answer questions about their activities by saying, "I know nothing." The Know-Nothings supported nativism, the favoring of native-born people over immigrants. However, like the Whigs, the Know-Nothings split over the issue of slavery in the territories. Southern Know-Nothings looked for another alternative to the Democrats. Meanwhile, Northern Know-Nothings began to edge toward the Republican Party.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

What impact did the slavery issue have on the Democratic and Whig parties?

"Free soil,
Free speech,
Free labor,
and Free men"
FREE-SOILERS' CAMPAIGN
SLOGAN, 1848

Two antislavery parties had also emerged during the 1840s. The Liberty Party was formed for the purpose of pursuing the cause of abolition by passing new laws, but received only a small percentage of votes in the 1848 presidential election. In that same election, the Free-Soil Party, which opposed the extension of slavery into the territories, received ten percent of the popular vote in the presidential election. From this strong showing, it was clear that many Northerners opposed the extension of slavery in the territories.

THE FREE-SOILERS' VOICE Northern opposition to slavery in the territories was not necessarily based on positive feelings toward African Americans. It was not unusual for Northerners to be Free-Soilers without being abolitionists. Unlike abolitionists, a number of Northern Free-Soilers supported racist laws prohibiting settlement by blacks in their communities and denying them the right to vote.

What Free-Soilers primarily objected to was slavery's competition with free white workers, or a wage-based labor force, upon which the North depended. They feared that such competition would drive down wages. Free-Soilers detected a dangerous pattern in such events as the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. They were convinced that a conspiracy existed on the part of the "diabolical slave power" to spread slavery throughout the United States.

THE NEW REPUBLICAN PARTY In 1854 opponents of slavery in the territories formed a new political party, the Republican Party. The Republicans were united in opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act and in keeping slavery out of the territories. Apart from these issues, however, the Republican party embraced a wide range of opinions. As the party grew, it took in Free-Soilers, antislavery Whigs and Democrats, and nativists, mostly from the North. The conservative faction hoped to resurrect the Missouri Compromise. At the opposite extreme were some radical abolitionists.

During the election of 1856 the Republicans chose as their candidate John C. Frémont. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. If Frémont had won, the South might have seceded then and there. However, Buchanan won, and the threat of secession was temporarily averted.

Dred Scott's lawsuit set off even more controversy over slavery.

Conflicts Lead to Secession

Political conflicts only intensified after the election of President Buchanan. The first slavery-related controversy arose on March 6, 1857, just two days after he took office.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION A major Supreme Court decision was brought about by **Dred Scott**, a slave whose owner took him from the slave state of Missouri to free territory in Illinois and Wisconsin and back to Missouri. Scott appealed to the Supreme Court for his freedom on the grounds that living in a free state—Illinois—and a free territory—Wisconsin—had made him a free man.

The case was in court for years. Finally, on March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court ruled against Dred Scott. According to the ruling, Scott lacked any legal standing to sue in federal court because he was not, and never could be, a citizen. Moreover, the Court ruled that being in free territory did not make a slave free. The Fifth Amendment protected property, including slaves. For territories to exclude slavery would be to deprive slaveholders of their property.

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

How did FreeSoilers differ from abolitionists?

Background

The *Dred Scott* case was only the second one in American history in which the Supreme Court reversed a federal legislative act.



Sectional passions exploded immediately. Many Northerners showered a torrent of abuse upon the Supreme Court, in part because a majority of its justices were Southerners. Warnings about the slave states' influence on the national government spread. Southern slaveholders, on the other hand, were jubilant. In their interpretation, the *Dred Scott* decision not only permitted the extension of slavery but actually guaranteed it. (See *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford* on page 166.)

LINCOLN—DOUGLAS DEBATES Several months after the *Dred Scott* decision, one of Illinois's greatest political contests got underway: the 1858 race for the U.S. Senate between Democratic incumbent **Stephen Douglas** and Republican challenger Congressman **Abraham Lincoln**. To many outsiders it must have seemed like an uneven match. Douglas was a well-known two-term senator with an outstanding record and a large campaign chest, while Lincoln was a self-educated man who had been elected to one term in Congress in 1846. To counteract Douglas, Lincoln challenged the man known as the "Little Giant" to a series of debates on the issue of slavery in the territories. Douglas accepted the challenge, and the stage was set for some of the most celebrated debates in U.S. history.

The two men's positions were simple and consistent. Neither wanted slavery in the territories, but they disagreed on how to keep it out. Douglas believed deeply in popular sovereignty. Lincoln, on the other hand, believed that slavery was immoral. However, he did not expect individuals to give up slavery unless

Congress abolished slavery with an amendment.

In their second debate, Lincoln asked his opponent a crucial question: Could the settlers of a territory vote to exclude slavery before the territory became a state? Everyone knew that the *Dred Scott* decision said no—that territories could not exclude slavery. Popular sovereignty, Lincoln implied, was thus an empty phrase.

Douglas replied that, if the people of a territory were Free-Soilers, then all they had to do was elect representatives who would not enforce slave property laws in that territory. In other words, people could get around *Dred Scott*.

Douglas won the Senate seat, but his response had widened the split in the Democratic Party. As for Lincoln, his attacks on the "vast moral evil" of slavery drew national attention, and some Republicans began thinking of him as an excellent candidate for the presidency in 1860.

HARPERS FERRY While politicians debated the slavery issue, the abolitionist John Brown was studying the slave uprisings that had occurred in ancient Rome and, more recently, on the French island of Haiti. He believed that the time was ripe for similar uprisings in the United States. Brown secretly obtained financial backing from several prominent Northern abolitionists. On the night of October 16, 1859, he led a band of 21 men, black and white, into Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). His aim was to seize the federal arsenal there and start a general slave uprising.

(left) A Mathew Brady Studio photo of Stephen Douglas from 1860. (right) A photograph of Abraham Lincoln, also from 1860.

MAIN IDEA

Comparing

G Compare and contrast Lincoln's and Douglas's views on slavery.

History Through

Art

JOHN BROWN GOING TO HIS HANGING

This painting by the African-American artist Horace Pippin shows John Brown being transported by wagon to his execution. The artist has focused our attention on the cruelty of Brown's fate. The abolitionist is shown tied with the rope that will be used to hang him, sitting on the coffin that will receive his body after death. Brown's dark shape is silhouetted by the large white building behind him, a structure that combines the features of both courthouse and prison.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Visual Sources

- 1. Why do you think the African-American woman in the right-hand corner is looking away from the scene? How would you describe her expression?
- 2. How has the artist expressed the hopelessness of the situation?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.



No such uprising occurred, however. Instead, troops put down the rebellion. Later, authorities tried Brown and put him to death. Public reaction to Brown's execution was immediate and intense in both sections of the country. In the North, bells tolled, guns fired salutes, and huge crowds gathered to hear fiery speakers denounce the South. The response was equally extreme in the South, where mobs assaulted whites who were suspected of holding antislavery views.

LINCOLN IS ELECTED PRESIDENT As the 1860 presidential election approached, the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln appeared to be moderate in his views. Although he pledged to halt the further spread of slavery, he also tried to reassure Southerners that a Republican administration would not "interfere with their slaves, or with them, about their slaves." Nonetheless, many Southerners viewed him as an enemy.

As the campaign developed, three major candidates besides Lincoln vied for office. The Democratic Party finally split over slavery. Northern Democrats rallied behind Douglas and his doctrine of popular sovereignty. Southern Democrats, who supported the *Dred Scott* decision, lined up behind Vice-President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Former Know-Nothings and Whigs from the South organized the Constitutional Union Party and nominated John Bell of Tennessee as their candidate. Lincoln emerged as the winner with less than half the popular vote and with no electoral votes from the South. He did not even appear on the ballot in most of the slave states because of Southern hostility toward him. The outlook for the Union was grim.

SOUTHERN SECESSION Lincoln's victory convinced Southerners—who had viewed the struggle over slavery partly as a conflict between the states' right of self-determination and federal government control—that they had lost their political voice in the national government. Some Southern states decided to act. South Carolina led the way, seceding from the Union on December 20, 1860. When the news reached Northern-born William Tecumseh Sherman, superintendent of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

What happened to the Democratic Party as the 1860 presidential election approached?

(now Louisiana State University), he poured out his fears for the South.

A PERSONAL VOICE WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN

"This country will be drenched in blood. . . . [T]he people of the North . . . are not going to let this country be destroyed without a mighty effort to save it. . . . Besides, where are your men and appliances of war to contend against them? . . . You are rushing into war with one of the most powerful, ingeniously mechanical and determined people on earth-right at your doors. . . . Only in spirit and determination are you prepared for war. In all else you are totally unprepared."

-quoted in None Died in Vain

Mississippi soon followed South Carolina's lead, as did Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. In February 1861, delegates from the secessionist states met in Montgomery, Alabama, where they formed the Confederate States of America, or Confederacy. They also drew up a constitution that closely resembled that of the United States, but with a few notable differences. The most important difference was that it "protected and recognized" slavery in new territories.

The Confederates then unanimously elected former senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as president. The North had heard threats of secession before. When it finally happened, no one was shocked. But one key question remained in everyone's mind: Would the North allow the South to leave the Union without a fight?

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

SECESSION AND THE **BORDER STATES**

Four slave states—Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Delaware—were undecided about secession. Lincoln believed that these states would be essential to the success of the Union if war broke out. They had large populations, numerous factories, and strategic access to the Ohio River. Moreover, Maryland nearly surrounded Washington, D.C., the seat of government.

Lincoln faced a choice: free the slaves and make abolitionists happy, or ignore slavery for the moment to keep from alienating the border states. He chose the latter, but that did not prevent violent conflicts between secessionists and Unionists in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. With the intervention of the militia, and some political maneuvering in those states' legislatures, Lincoln kept the four border states in the Union.

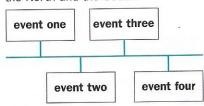


ASSESSMENT

- 1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - secession
 - popular sovereignty
 - Underground Railroad
- Harriet Tubman
- Harriet Beecher Stowe
- Franklin Pierce
- Dred Scott
- Stephen Douglas
- Abraham Lincoln
- Confederacy
- Jefferson Davis

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.1.4) Create a time line like the one below, showing the events that heightened the tensions between the North and the South.



Select one event and explain its significance.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. HYPOTHESIZING (REP 4)

Review issues and events in this section that reflect the growing conflict between the North and the South. Do you think there were any points at which civil war might have been averted? Think About:

- · the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act
- · the new political parties
- · the Supreme Court's ruling in the Dred Scott decision
- · the election of Abraham Lincoln as president in 1860
- 4. EVALUATING LEADERSHIP (REP 3) John Brown, Harriet Tubman. Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Stephen Douglas all opposed slavery. Who do you think had the greatest impact on American history and why?

5. DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (11.10.2)

How did the tension between states' rights and national government authority manifest itself in the events leading up to the Civil War?



DRED SCOTT v. SANDFORD (1857)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE Dred Scott's slave master had brought him from the slave state of Missouri to live for a time in free territory and in the free state of Illinois. Eventually they returned to Missouri. Scott believed that because he had lived in free territory, he should be free. In 1854 he sued in federal court for his freedom. The court ruled against him, and he appealed to the Supreme Court.

THE RULING The Supreme Court ruled that African Americans were not and could never be citizens. Thus, Dred Scott had no right even to file a lawsuit and remained enslaved.

LEGAL REASONING

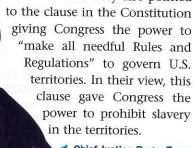
The Court's decision, conceived and written by Chief Justice Roger Taney, made two key findings. First, it held that because Scott was a slave, he was not a citizen and had no right to sue in a United States court.

"We think they [slaves] . . . are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States."

This could have been the end of the matter, but Taney went further. He said that by banning slavery, Congress was, in effect, taking away property. Such an action, he wrote, violated the Fifth Amendment, which guarantees the right not to be deprived of property without due process of law (such as a hearing). Thus, all congressional efforts to ban slavery in the territories were prohibited.

Justices John McLean and Benjamin Curtis strongly dissented on both points. They showed that the U.S. Constitution, state constitutions, and other laws had recognized African Americans as citizens. They also pointed

CHAPTER 4 The Union in Peril



Chief Justice Roger Taney

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.10.3 Describe the collaboration on legal strategy between African American and white civil rights lawyers to end racial segregation in higher education.

REP 2 Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.

LEGAL SOURCES

U.S. CONSTITUTION

U.S. CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE 4, SECTION 2 (1788)

"No person held to service or labor in one state, . . . escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor. . . ."

U.S. CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE 4, SECTION 3 (1788)

"The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States. . . ."

U.S. CONSTITUTION, FIFTH AMENDMENT (1791)

"No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. . . ."

RELATED CASES

ABLEMAN v. BOOTH (1858)

The Court decided that the Fugitive Slave Act was constitutional and that laws passed in Northern states that prohibited the return of fugitive slaves were unconstitutional.

WHY IT MATTERED

Taney's opinion in Dred Scott had far-reaching consequences. Legally, the opinion greatly expanded the reach of slavery. Politically, it heightened the sectional tensions that would lead to the Civil War.

Before the Court decided Dred Scott, Americans widely accepted the idea that Congress and the states could limit slavery. As the dissenters argued, many previous acts of Congress had limited slavery—for example, the Northwest Ordinance had banned slavery in the Northwest Territory-and no one had claimed that those acts violated property rights.

Taney's opinion in Dred Scott, however, was a major change. This expansion of slaveholders' rights cast doubt on whether free states could prevent slave owners from bringing or even selling slaves into free

As a result, Dred Scott intensified the slavery debate as no single event had before. In going beyond what was needed to settle the case before him, Taney's ruling became a political act, and threw into question the legitimacy of the Court. Further, Taney's opinion took the extreme proslavery position and installed it as the national law. It not only negated all the compromises made to date by pro- and anti-slavery forces, but it seemed to preclude any possible future compromises.

HISTORICAL IMPACT

It took five years of bitter civil war to find out if Taney's opinion would stand as the law of the land. It would not. Immediately after the Civil War, the federal government moved to abolish slavery with the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) and then to extend state and national citizenship with the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) to "[a]ll persons born or naturalized in the United States." The wording of these amend-



describing the Dred Scott case.

ments was expressly intended to nullify Dred Scott.

These amendments meant that Dred Scott would no longer be used as a precedent—an earlier ruling that can be used to justify a current one. Instead, it is now pointed to as an important lesson on the limits of the Supreme Court's power, as a key step on the road to the Civil War, and as one of the worst decisions ever made by the Supreme Court.

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

1. Developing Historical Perspective Use the library to find commentaries on Dred Scott written at the time the decision was made. Read two of these commentaries and identify which section-North or South-the writer or speaker came from. Explain how each person's region shaped his or her views.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R11.

CONNECT TO TODAY



INTERNET ACTIVITY CLASSZONE.COM

Visit the links for Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court to research what it means to be a citizen of the United States and what rights that citizenship extends. Research which constitutional amendments, U.S. laws, and Supreme Court decisions guarantee the rights of citizens. Prepare an oral presentation or annotated display to summarize your findings.

The Civil War Begins

MAIN IDEA

Shortly after the nation's Southern states seceded from the Union, war began between the North and South.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The nation's identity was forged in part by the Civil War. Sectional divisions remain very strong today.

Terms & Names

- Fort Sumter
- Bull Run
- Stonewall Jackson
- · Ulysses S. Grant
- Robert E. Lee
- Antietam
- Emancipation
- **Proclamation**
- conscription
- Clara Bartonincome tax

One American's Story

11.1.4 Examine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the industrial revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late nineteenth century of the United States as a world power.

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

REP 4 Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

On April 18, 1861, Major Robert Anderson was traveling by ship from Charleston, South Carolina, to New York City. That day, Anderson wrote a report to the secretary of war in which he described his most recent command.

A PERSONAL VOICE ROBERT ANDERSON

"Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, . . . the magazine surrounded by flames, . . . four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining,

I accepted terms of evacuation . . . and marched out of the fort . . . with colors flying and drums beating . . . and saluting my flag with fifty guns."

-quoted in Fifty Basic Civil War Documents



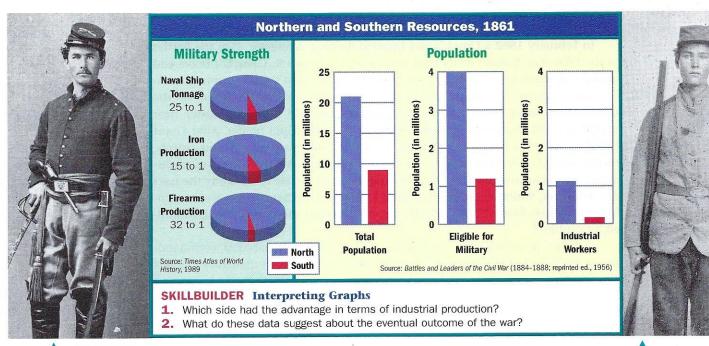
Major Robert
Anderson observes
the firing at Fort
Sumter in 1861.

Months earlier, as soon as the Confederacy was formed, Confederate soldiers in each secessionist state began seizing federal installations—especially forts. By the time of Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, 1861, only four Southern forts remained in Union hands. The most important was **Fort Sumter**, on an island in Charleston harbor.

Lincoln decided to neither abandon Fort Sumter nor reinforce it. He would merely send in "food for hungry men." At 4:30 A.M. on April 12, Confederate batteries began thundering away to the cheers of Charleston's citizens. The deadly struggle between North and South was under way.

Union and Confederate Forces Clash

News of Fort Sumter's fall united the North. When Lincoln called for volunteers, the response throughout the Northern states was overwhelming. However, Lincoln's call for troops provoked a very different reaction in the states of the



Most Union troops saw the war as a struggle to preserve the Union.

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

Why were Northern factories and railroads so advantageous to the Union's war effort? upper South. In April and May, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee seceded, bringing the number of Confederate states to eleven. The western counties of Virginia opposed slavery, so they seceded from Virginia and were admitted into the Union as West Virginia in 1863. The four remaining slave states—Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri—remained in the Union.

STRENGTHS AND STRATEGIES The Union and the Confederacy were unevenly matched. The Union enjoyed enormous advantages in resources over the South—more people, more factories, greater food production, and a more extensive railroad system. The Confederacy's advantages included "King Cotton," first-rate generals, and highly motivated soldiers.

Both sides adopted military strategies suited to their objectives and resources. The Union, which had to conquer the South to win, devised a three-part plan:

- The navy would blockade Southern ports, so they could neither export cotton nor import much-needed manufactured goods.
- Union riverboats and armies would move down the Mississippi River and split the Confederacy in two.
- Union armies would capture the Confederate capital at Richmond, Virginia.

The Confederacy's strategy was mostly defensive, although Southern leaders encouraged their generals to attack the North if the opportunity arose.

BULL RUN The first bloodshed on the battlefield occurred about three months after Fort Sumter fell, near the little creek of **Bull Run**, just 25 miles from Washington, D.C. The battle was a seesaw affair. In the morning the Union army gained the upper hand, but the Confederates held firm, inspired by General Thomas J. Jackson. "There stands Jackson like a stone wall!" another general shouted, coining the nickname **Stonewall Jackson**. In the afternoon Confederate reinforcements helped win the first Southern victory. Fortunately for the Union, the Confederates were too exhausted to follow up their victory with an attack on Washington. Still, Confederate morale soared. Many Confederate soldiers, confident that the war was over, left the army and went home.

UNION ARMIES IN THE WEST Lincoln responded to the defeat at Bull Run by stepping up enlistments. He also appointed General George McClellan to lead the Union forces encamped near Washington. While McClellan drilled his troops, the Union forces in the west began the fight for control of the Mississippi River.

Most Confederate soldiers fought to protect the South from Northern aggression.

In February 1862 a Union army invaded western Tennessee. (See the Battles of the West map below.) At its head was General **Ulysses S. Grant**, a brave and decisive military commander. In just eleven days, Grant's forces captured two Confederate forts, Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. Two months later, Grant narrowly escaped disaster near Shiloh, a small church in Tennessee close to the Mississippi border. After Grant failed to have his troops dig trenches or set out adequate guards and patrols, thousands of Confederate soldiers carried out a surprise attack. Grant averted disaster by reorganizing his troops and driving the Confederate forces away the next day. However, Shiloh demonstrated what a bloody slaughter the war was becoming. Nearly one-fourth of the 100,000 men who fought there were killed, wounded, or captured.

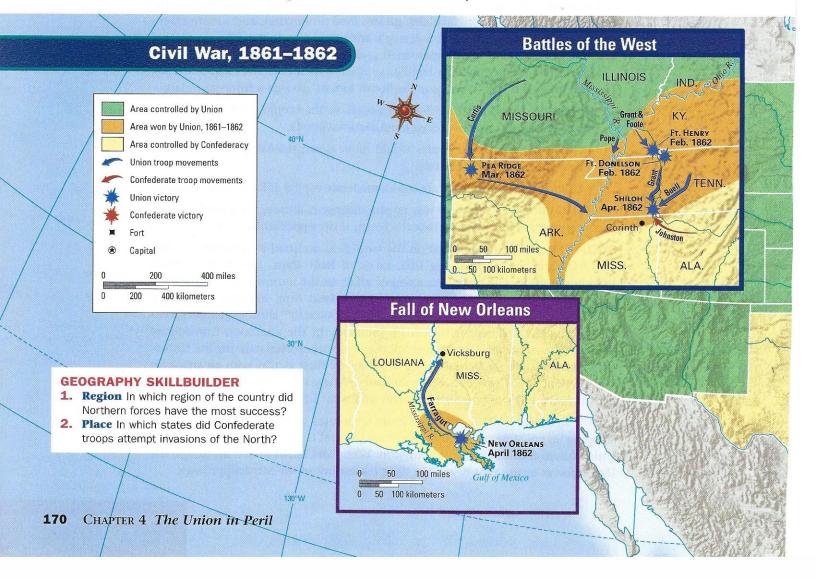
As Grant pushed toward the Mississippi River, David G. Farragut, commanding a Union fleet of about 40 ships, seized New Orleans, the Confederacy's largest city and busiest port. (See the Fall of New Orleans map below.) By June, Farragut had taken control of much of the lower Mississippi. Between Grant and Farragut, the Union had nearly achieved its goal of cutting the Confederacy in two. Only Port Hudson, Louisiana, and Vicksburg, Mississippi, still stood in the way.

THE WAR FOR THE CAPITALS In the spring of 1862, while McClellan was leading his army toward Richmond, he met a Confederate army commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. (See the Battles of the East map on page 171.) After a series of battles, Johnston was wounded, and command of the army passed on to **Robert E. Lee.** Lee was very different from McClellan—modest rather than vain, and willing to go beyond military textbooks in his tactics. Determined to save the Confederate capital, Lee drove McClellan away from Richmond.

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

B Why was control of the Mississippi River so important to the Union?



Now it was Lee's turn to move against Washington. In September his troops crossed the Potomac into the Union state of Maryland. At this point McClellan had an incredible stroke of luck. A Union corporal found a copy of Lee's orders wrapped around some cigars! The plan revealed that Lee's and Stonewall Jackson's armies were separated for the moment.

McClellan ordered his men to pursue Lee, and the two sides fought on September 17 near a creek called the **Antietam** (ăn-tē'təm). The clash proved to be the bloodiest single-day battle in American history, with casualties totaling more than 26,000. The next day, instead of pursuing the battered Confederate army into Virginia and possibly ending the war, McClellan did nothing. As a result, Lincoln removed him from command.

Vocabulary casualties: those who are injured, killed, captured, or missing in action

The Politics of War

After secession occurred, many Southerners believed that dependence on Southern cotton would force Great Britain to formally recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation. Unfortunately for the South, Britain had accumulated a huge cotton inventory just before the outbreak of war. Instead of importing Southern cotton, the British now needed Northern wheat and corn. Britain decided that neutrality was the best policy.

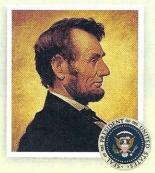
BOYS IN WAR Both the Union and Confederate armies had soldiers who were under 18 years of age. Examination of some Confederate recruiting lists for 1861–1862 reveals that approximately 5 percent were 17 or wounger—with some as young as

Both the Union and Confederate armies had soldiers who were under 18 years of age. Examination of some Confederate recruiting lists for 1861–1862 reveals that approximately 5 percent were 17 or younger—with some as young as 13. The percentage of boys in the Union army was lower, perhaps 1.5 percent. These figures, however, do not count the great number of boys who ran away to follow each army without officially enlisting.

Drawing Conclusions Why did both the Union and Confederacy care about British



KEY PLAYERS

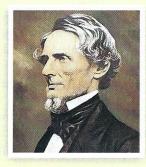


ABRAHAM LINCOLN 1809-1865

People question why Lincoln believed so passionately in the Union. A possible answer lies in his life story. He was born into poverty, the son of illiterate parents. Lincoln once said that in his boyhood there was "absolutely nothing to excite ambition for educa-

tion," yet he hungered for knowledge.

Apart from a year's worth of school, Lincoln educated himself and, after working as rail-splitter, flatboatman, storekeeper, and surveyor, he taught himself to be a lawyer. This led to careers in politics and law—and eventually to the White House. Perhaps because of this upward mobility, Lincoln fought passionately to preserve the democracy he described as "the last best hope of earth."



JEFFERSON DAVIS 1808–1889

Davis, who was named after Thomas Jefferson, was born in Kentucky but grew up in Mississippi. After graduating from West Point, he served in the military, then settled down as a planter, before going into politics. He served terms in the U.S. Senate.

His election as president of the Confederacy dismayed him. As his wife Varina wrote, "I thought his genius was military, but as a party manager he would not succeed. He did not know the arts of the politician . . ." Varina was right. Davis fought frequently with other Confederate leaders and was blamed for the refusal of many Southern states to put the Confederacy's welfare above their own.

PROCLAIMING EMANCIPATION As Jefferson Davis's Confederacy struggled in vain to gain foreign recognition, abolitionist feeling grew in the North. Although Lincoln disliked slavery, he did not believe that the federal government had the power to abolish it where it already existed.

As the war progressed, however, Lincoln did find a way to use his constitutional war powers to end slavery. The Confederacy used the labor of slaves to build fortifications and grow food. Lincoln's powers as commander in chief allowed him to order his troops to seize enemy resources. Therefore, he decided that, just as he could order the Union army to take Confederate supplies, he could also authorize the army to emancipate slaves. Emancipation was not just a moral issue; it became a weapon of war.

On January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued his **Emancipation Proclamation**. The following portion captured national attention.

from THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within these said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them, that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And, upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

—from The Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

D In what way was the Emancipation Proclamation a part of Lincoln's military strategy? The proclamation did not free any slaves immediately because it applied only to areas behind Confederate lines, outside Union control. Nevertheless, for many, the proclamation gave the war a moral purpose by turning the struggle into a fight to free the slaves. It also ensured that compromise was no longer possible.

BOTH SIDES FACE POLITICAL DISSENT Neither side in the Civil War was completely unified. The North harbored thousands of Confederate sympathizers, while the South had thousands of Union sympathizers.

Lincoln dealt forcefully with disloyalty and dissent. He suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, which prevents the government from holding citizens without formally charging them with crimes. Jefferson Davis also adopted this practice.

Life During Wartime

Vocabulary desertion: the act of abandoning an assigned post or duty The war led to social upheaval and political unrest in both the North and the South. As the fighting intensified, heavy casualties and widespread desertions led each side to impose **conscription**, a draft that forced men to serve in the army. In the North, conscription led to draft riots, the most violent of which took place in New York City. Sweeping changes occurred in the wartime economies of both sides as well as in the roles played by African Americans and women.

AFRICAN AMERICANS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM Although African Americans made up only 1 percent of the North's population, by war's end about 180,000 African Americans had fought for the Union—about 10 percent of the Northern army. In spite of their dedication, African-American soldiers in the Union army suffered discrimination. They served in separate regiments commanded by white officers and earned lower pay for most of the war.

SOLDIERS SUFFER ON BOTH SIDES Both Union and Confederate soldiers had marched off to war thinking it would be a glorious affair. They were soon disillusioned, not just by heavy battlefield casualties but also by such unhealthy conditions as filthy surroundings, a limited diet, and inadequate medical care. In the 1860s, the technology of killing had outrun the technology of medical care.

Except when fighting or marching, most soldiers lived amid heaps of rubbish and open latrines. As a result, body lice, dysentery, and diarrhea were common.

If conditions in the army camps were bad, those in war prisons were atrocious. The Confederate camps were especially overcrowded and unsanitary. The South's lack of food and tent canvas also contributed to the appalling conditions. Prison camps in the North were only slightly better. Northern prisons provided

Wounded Union troops recuperate after battle near a makeshift field hospital.



more space and adequate amounts of food. However, thousands of Confederate prisoners, housed in quarters with little or no heat, contracted pneumonia and died. Historians estimate that 15 percent of Union prisoners in Southern prisons died, while 12 percent of Confederate prisoners died in Northern prisons.

Union nurses, such as Clara Barton (above) and Louisa May Alcott, faced the hazards of disease in field hospitals.

WOMEN WORK TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS Although women did not fight, thousands contributed to the war effort. Some 3,000 women served as Union army nurses. One dedicated Union nurse was Clara Barton, who went on to found the American Red Cross after the

war. Barton cared for the sick and wounded, often at the front lines of battle. Thousands of Southern women also volunteered for nursing duty. Sally Tompkins, for example, performed so heroically in her hospital duties that she eventually was commissioned as

Both sides benefited because women devoted so much time and energy to nursing. Women's help was desperately needed as a series of battles in the Mississippi Valley and in the East soon sent casualties flooding into Northern and Southern hospitals alike.

THE WAR AFFECTS REGIONAL ECONOMIES In general, the war expanded the North's economy and shattered the South's. The Confederacy soon faced a food shortage due to the drain of manpower into the army, the Union occupation of food-growing areas, and the loss of enslaved field workers. Food prices skyrocketed, and the inflation rate rose 7,000 percent.

Overall, the war's effect on the economy of the North was much more positive. The army's need for supplies supported woolen mills, steel foundries, and many other industries. The economic boom had a dark side, however. Wages did not keep up with prices, and many people's standard of living declined. When white male workers went out on strike, employees hired free blacks, immigrants, and women to replace them for lower wages. As the Northern economy grew, Congress decided to help pay for the war by collecting the nation's first income tax, a tax that takes a specified percentage of an individual's income.

Background

After the war, Clara Barton became the first woman to head a U.S. government agency, whose employees helped family members to track down missing soldiers.

ASSESSMENT

- 1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Fort Sumter
 - Bull Run
 - Stonewall Jackson
- Ulysses S. Grant
- Robert E. Lee

Antietam

- Emancipation Proclamation
- conscription
- Clara Barton
- income tax

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.1.4)

Create a chart like the one shown, listing the military actions and social and economic changes of the first two years of the Civil War.

What changes brought about by the war had the most effect on civilians in both the South and the North?

CRITICAL THINKING

over the South?

3. ANALYZING EFFECTS (11.1.4)

What effects did the Civil War have on women and African Americans? Think About:

- the impact of the Emancipation Proclamation
- · women's role in the war effort
- 4. CONTRASTING (REP 4) What advantages did the Union have

5. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES (11.1.4) This medical kit was used during

the Civil War. What difficulties would caregivers and patients have faced during this

time?



The North Takes Charge

MAIN IDEA

war.

After four years of bloody fighting, the Union wore down the Confederacy and won the

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Union victory confirmed the authority of the federal government over the states.

Terms & Names

- Gettysburg
- Gettysburg Address
- Vicksburg
- William Tecumseh
 John Wilkes Sherman
- Appomattox **Court House**
- Thirteenth
- **Amendment**

Booth

One American's Story

Mary Chesnut was the daughter of a South Carolina governor and the wife of a U.S. senator who resigned his office to serve in the Confederate government. During the war, she recorded her observations and thoughts in a diary. In 1864, Chesnut went to hear Benjamin H. Palmer, a minister and professor, speak about the war. In her diary, she described how Palmer's pessimistic words filled her with foreboding about the future of the Confederacy.

A PERSONAL VOICE MARY CHESNUT

"September 21st . . . I did not know before how utterly hopeless was our situation. This man is so eloquent. It was hard to listen and not give way. Despair was his word—and martyrdom. He offered us nothing more in this world than the martyr's crown. . . . He spoke of these times of our agony. And then came the cry: 'Help us, oh God. Vain is the help of man.' And so we came away—shaken to the depths.2

-quoted in Mary Chesnut's Civil War

By September 1864, the Northern armies had won several decisive battles. Mary Chesnut must already have had some idea of the threat posed to her way of life, however. In 1863 she wrote that the South, "the only world we cared for," had been "literally kicked to pieces."

The Tide Turns

The year 1863 actually had begun well for the South. In December 1862, Lee's army had defeated the Union Army of the Potomac at Fredericksburg, Virginia. Then, in May, the South defeated the North again at Chancellorsville, Virginia.

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.4 Examine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the industrial revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late nineteenth century of the United States as a world power.

REP 4 Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

HI 2 Students recognize the complexity of historical causes and effects, including the limitations on determining cause and effect.

HI 3 Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.

VIDEO

The North's only consolation after Chancellorsville came as the result of an accident. As General Stonewall Jackson returned from a patrol on May 2, Confederate guards accidentally shot him in the left arm. A surgeon amputated his arm the following day. When Lee heard the news, he exclaimed, "He has lost his left arm but I have lost my right." The true loss was still to come; Jackson caught pneumonia and died on May 10.

Despite Jackson's death, Lee decided to press his military advantage and invade the North. He needed supplies and he thought that a major Confederate victory on Northern soil might tip the balance of public opinion in the Union to the proslavery politicians. Accordingly, he crossed the Potomac into Maryland and then pushed on into Pennsylvania.

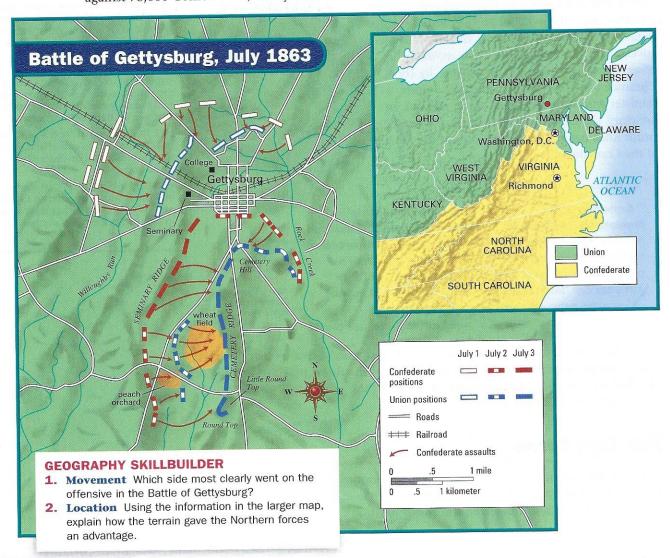
THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG Near the sleepy town of **Gettysburg**, in southern Pennsylvania, the most decisive battle of the war was fought. The Battle of Gettysburg began on July 1 when Confederate soldiers led by A. P. Hill encountered several brigades of Union cavalry under the command of John Buford, an experienced officer from Illinois.

Buford ordered his men to take defensive positions on the hills and ridges surrounding the town. When Hill's troops marched toward the town from the west, Buford's men were waiting. The shooting attracted more troops and both sides called for reinforcements. By the end of the first day of fighting, 90,000 Union troops under the command of General George Meade had taken the field against 75,000 Confederates, led by General Lee.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

A) What did Lee hope to gain by invading the North?



By the second day of battle, the Confederates had driven the Union troops from Gettysburg and had taken control of the town. However, the North still held positions on Cemetery Ridge, the high ground south of Gettysburg. On July 2, Lee ordered General James Longstreet to attack Cemetery Ridge. At about 4:00 P.M., Longstreet's troops advanced from Seminary Ridge, where they were positioned in a peach orchard and wheat field that stood between them and most of the Union army on Cemetery Ridge. The Confederates repeatedly attacked the Union lines. Although the Union troops were forced to concede some territory, their lines withheld the withering Confederate onslaught.

On July 3, Lee ordered an artillery barrage on the center of the Union lines on Cemetery Ridge. For two hours, the two armies fired at one another in a vicious exchange that could be heard in Pittsburgh. Believing they had silenced the Union guns, the Confederates then charged the lines. Confederate forces marched across the farmland between their position and the Union high ground. Suddenly, Northern artillery renewed its barrage, and the infantry fired on the rebels as well. Devastated, the Confederates staggered back to their lines. After the battle, Lee gave up any hopes of invading the North and led his army back to Virginia.

The three-day battle produced staggering losses: 23,000 Union men and 28,000 Confederates were killed or wounded. Total casualties were more than 30 percent. Despite the devastation, Northerners were enthusiastic about breaking "the charm of Robert Lee's invincibility."

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS In November 1863, a ceremony was held to dedicate a cemetery in Gettysburg. There, President Lincoln spoke for a little more than two minutes. According to some contemporary historians, Lincoln's **Gettysburg Address** "remade America." Before Lincoln's speech, people said, "The United States are . . ." Afterward, they said, "The United States is . . ." In other words, the speech helped the country to realize that it was not just a collection of individual states; it was one unified nation.

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

—"The Gettysburg Address," November 19, 1863

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

B Why was the Battle of Gettysburg a disaster for the South?

MAIN IDEA

Forming Generalizations

What ideas about the United States did Lincoln express in the Gettysburg Address?

History Through

Photojournalism

MATHEW BRADY'S PHOTOGRAPHS

The Civil War marked the first time in United States history that photography, a resource since 1839, played a major role in a military conflict. Hundreds of photographers traveled with the troops, working both privately and for the military. The most famous Civil War photographer was Mathew Brady, who employed about 20 photographers to meet the public demand for pictures from the battlefront. This was the beginning of American news photography, or photojournalism.

Many of Brady's photographs are a mix of realism and artificiality. Due to the primitive level of photographic technology, subjects had to be carefully posed and remain still during the long exposure times.

In this 1864 photograph Brady posed a kneeling soldier, offering a canteen of water, beside a wounded soldier with his arm in a sling. Images like this, showing the wounded or the dead, brought home the harsh reality of war to the civilian population.





"Encampment of the Army of the Potomac" (May 1862). Few photographs of the Civil War are as convincing in their naturalism as this view over a Union encampment. Simply by positioning the camera behind the soldiers, the photographer draws the viewer into the composition. Although we cannot see the soldiers' faces, we are compelled to see through their eyes.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Visual Sources

- 1. What elements in the smaller photograph seem posed or contrived? What elements are more realistic?
- 2. How do these photographs compare with more heroic imagery of traditional history painting?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.

GRANT WINS AT VICKSBURG While Meade's Army of the Potomac was destroying Confederate hopes in Gettysburg, Union general Ulysses S. Grant fought to take **Vicksburg**, one of the two remaining Confederate strongholds on the Mississippi River. Vicksburg itself was particularly important because it rested on bluffs above the river from which guns could control all water traffic. In the winter of 1862–1863, Grant tried several schemes to reach Vicksburg and take it from the Confederates. Nothing seemed to work—until the spring of 1863.

Grant began by weakening the Confederate defenses that protected Vicksburg. He sent Benjamin Grierson to lead his cavalry brigade through the heart of Mississippi. Grierson succeeded in destroying rail lines and distracting Confederate forces from Union infantry working its way toward Vicksburg. Grant was able to land his troops south of Vicksburg on April 30 and immediately sent his men in search of Confederate troops in Mississippi. In 18 days, Union forces had sacked Jackson, the capital of the state.

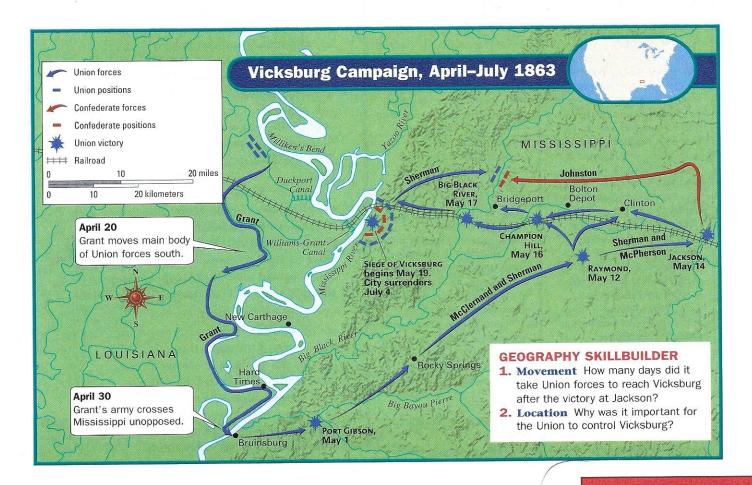
Their confidence growing with every victory, Grant and his troops rushed to Vicksburg, hoping to take the city while the rebels were reeling from their losses. Grant ordered two frontal attacks on Vicksburg, neither of which succeeded. So, in the last week of May 1863, Grant settled in for a siege. He set up a steady barrage of artillery, shelling the city from both the river and the land for several hours a day, forcing the city's residents into caves that they dug out of the yellow clay hillsides.

After food supplies ran so low that people were reduced to eating dogs and mules, the Confederate command of Vicksburg asked Grant for terms of surrender. The city fell on July 4. Five days later Port Hudson, Louisiana, the last Confederate holdout on the Mississippi, also fell. The Union had achieved another of its major military objectives, and the Confederacy was cut in two.

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

Why was the Union so intent on gaining control of the Mississippi River?

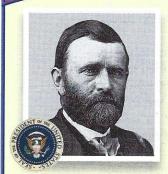


The Confederacy Wears Down

The twin defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg cost the South much of its limited manpower. The Confederacy was already low on food, shoes, uniforms, guns, and ammunition. No longer able to attack, it could hope only to hang on long enough to destroy Northern morale and work toward an armistice.

Vocabulary armistice: truce

KEY PLAYERS

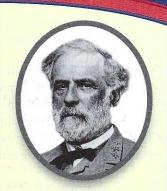


ULYSSES S. GRANT 1822-1885

Born Hiram Ulysses Grant, the future president did not correct a clerk at West Point who recorded his name as Ulysses Simpson Grant. Thereafter, he went by the name U. S. Grant.

Grant once said of himself, "A military life had no charms for me." Yet a military man was what he was destined to be. He fought in the war with Mexico—even though he termed it "wicked"—because he believed his duty was to serve his country. His next post was in the West, where Grant grew so lonely for his family that he resigned.

When the Civil War broke out, the Illinois governor made Grant a colonel of volunteers because George McClellan had been too busy to see him! However, once Grant began fighting in Tennessee, Lincoln was quick to recognize his special strength. When newspapers demanded Grant's dismissal after Shiloh, Lincoln replied firmly, "I can't spare this man. He fights."



ROBERT E. LEE 1807-1870

Lee was an aristocrat, related to some of Virginia's leading families. In fact, his father had been one of George Washington's favorite lieutenants, and his wife, Mary Ann Randolph Custis, was the great-granddaughter of Martha Washington, His sense of family honor may have contributed to his allegiance to his state. As a man who believed slavery was evil, Lee fought for the Confederacy only because of his lovalty to his beloved Virginia. "I did only what my duty demanded. I could have taken no other course without dishonor," he said.

As a general, Lee was tactically brilliant, but he seldom challenged Confederate civilian leaders about their failure to provide his army with adequate food, clothing, or weapons. On the other hand, his soldiers almost worshiped him because he never abused them and always insisted on sharing their hardships. His men called him "Uncle Robert," just as the Union troops called Grant Uncle Sam.

That plan proved increasingly unrealistic, however, in part because Southern morale was weakening. Many Confederate soliders had deserted, while newspapers, state legislatures, and individuals throughout the South began to call openly for peace. Worse yet for the Confederacy, Lincoln finally found not just one but two generals who would fight.

TOTAL WAR In March 1864, President Lincoln appointed Ulysses S. Grant commander of all Union armies. Grant in turn appointed William Tecumseh Sherman as commander of the military division of the Mississippi. These two appointments would change the course of the war.

Old friends and comrades in arms, both men believed in waging total war. They reasoned that it was the strength of the people's will that was keeping the war going. If the Union could destroy the Southern population's will to fight, the Confederacy would collapse.

Grant's overall strategy was to decimate Lee's army in Virginia while Sherman raided Georgia. Even if his casualties ran twice as high as those of Lee—and they did—the North could afford it; the South could not.

SHERMAN'S MARCH In the spring of 1864, Sherman began his march southeast through Georgia to the sea, creating a wide path of destruction. His army burned almost every house in its path and destroyed livestock and railroads. Sherman was determined to make Southerners

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

E) Why did Sherman and Grant want to wage "total war"?

MAIN IDEA

Evaluating

Do you think that Sherman's destructive march to the sea was necessary? Why or why not? "so sick of war that generations would pass away before they would again appeal to it." By mid-November he had burned most of Atlanta. After reaching the ocean, Sherman's forces—followed by 25,000 former slaves—turned north to help Grant "wipe out Lee."

THE ELECTION OF 1864 Despite the war, politics in the Union went on as usual. As the 1864 presidential election approached, Lincoln faced heavy opposition from the Democrats and from a faction within his own party. A number of Northerners were dismayed at the war's length and its high casualty rates.

Lincoln was pessimistic about his chances. "I am going to be beaten," he said in August, "and unless some great change takes place, badly beaten." However, some great change did take place. News of General Sherman's victories inspired the North and helped Lincoln win reelection.

THE SURRENDER AT APPOMATTOX On April 3, 1865, Union troops conquered Richmond, the Confederate capital. Southerners had abandoned the city the day before, setting it afire to keep the Northerners from taking it. On April 9, 1865, in a Virginia town called **Appomattox** (ap'ə-mat'əks) **Court House**, Lee and Grant met at a private home to arrange a Confederate surrender. At Lincoln's request, the terms were generous. Grant paroled Lee's soldiers and sent them home with their possessions and three days' worth of rations. Officers were permitted to keep their side arms. Within a month all remaining Confederate resistance collapsed. After four long years, the Civil War was over.

The War Changes the Nation

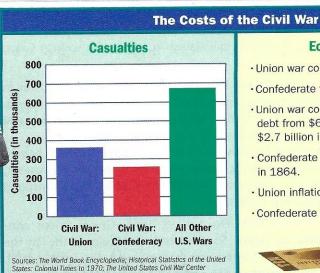
The Civil War caused tremendous political, economic, technological, and social change in the United States. It also exacted a high price in terms of human life. Approximately 360,000 Union soldiers and 260,000 Confederates died, nearly as many American combat deaths as in all other American wars combined.

Thomas Lovell's Surrender at Appomattox is a modern rendering of Lee's surrender to Grant. This is Lovell's version of the scene—no photographs of the event exist.





Though many
Union and
Confederate
soldiers were
lucky to escape
the war with their
lives, thousands—
like this young
amputee—faced
an uncertain
future.



Economic Costs

- · Union war costs totaled \$2.3 billion.
- · Confederate war costs ran to \$1 billion.
- Union war costs increased the national debt from \$65 million in 1860 to \$2.7 billion in 1865.
- Confederate debt ran over \$1.8 billion in 1864.
- Union inflation peaked at 182% in 1864.
- · Confederate inflation rose to 7,000%.



SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs

- 1. Based on the bar graph, how did the combined Union and Confederate losses compare with those of other wars?
- 2. Which side suffered greater inflation?

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES The Civil War greatly increased the federal government's power and authority. During the war, the federal government passed laws, including income tax and conscription laws, that gave it much more control over individual citizens. And after the war, no state ever threatened secession again.

Economically, the Civil War dramatically widened the gap between North and South. During the war, the economy of the Northern states boomed. The Southern economy, on the other hand, was devastated. The war not only marked the end of slavery as a labor system but also wrecked most of the region's industry and farmland. The economic gulf between the regions would not diminish until the 20th century.

A REVOLUTION IN WARFARE Because of developments in technology, the Civil War has been called the last old-fashioned war, or the first modern war. The two deadliest technological improvements were the rifle and the minié ball, a soft lead bullet that was more destructive than earlier bullets. Two other weapons that became more lethal were hand grenades and land mines.

Another technological improvement was the ironclad ship, which could splinter wooden ships by ramming them, withstand cannon fire, and resist burning. On March 9, 1862, every wooden warship in the world became obsolete after the North's ironclad *Monitor* exchanged fire with the South's ironclad *Merrimack*. §

Background

Many tycoons of the late 19th century launched their careers during the war. War profiteering helped men like John D. Rockefeller become rich.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

G How did technology affect the Civil War?

The War Changes Lives

The war not only revolutionized weaponry but also changed people's lives. Perhaps the biggest change came for African Americans.

THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT The Emancipation Proclamation freed only those slaves who lived in states that were behind Confederate lines, and not yet under Union control. The government had to decide what to do about the border states, where slavery still existed. The president believed that the only solution was a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

After some political maneuvering, the **Thirteenth Amendment** was ratified at the end of 1865. The U.S. Constitution now stated, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States."

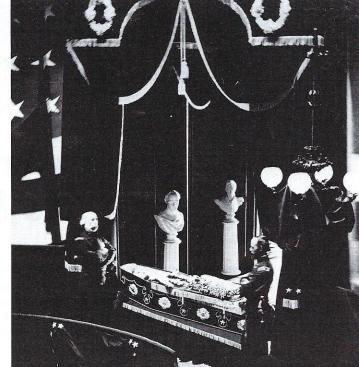
LINCOLN IS ASSASSINATED Whatever further plans Lincoln had to reunify the nation after the war, he never got to implement them. On April 14, 1865, five days after Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, Lincoln and his wife went to Ford's Theatre in Washington to see a British comedy, *Our American Cousin*. During its third act, a man crept up behind Lincoln and shot the president in the back of his head.

Lincoln, who never regained consciousness, died on April 15. It was the first time a

president of the United States had been assassinated. After the shooting, the assassin, **John Wilkes Booth**—a 26-year-old actor and Southern sympathizer—then leaped down from the presidential box to the stage and escaped. Twelve days later, Union cavalry trapped him in a Virginia tobacco shed and shot him dead.

The funeral train that carried Lincoln's body from Washington to his hometown of Springfield, Illinois, took 14 days for its journey. Approximately 7 million Americans, or almost one-third of the entire Union population, turned out to mourn publicly their martyred leader.

The Civil War had ended. Slavery and secession were no more. Now the country faced two new problems: how to restore the Southern states to the Union and how to integrate approximately 4 million newly freed African Americans into national life.



Lincoln's body lies in state in 1865.

MAIN IDEA

Developing Historical Perspective

H Do you think that the Union would take revenge on the Southern states after the war is over?



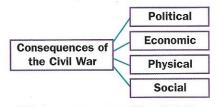
ASSESSMENT

- 1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Gettysburg
 - Gettysburg Address
 - Vicksburg

- William Tecumseh Sherman
- Appomattox Court House
- Thirteenth Amendment
- John Wilkes Booth

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.1.4) Copy the multiple-effects chart below on your paper and fill it in with consequences of the Civil War.



Which consequence of the Civil War do you think has had the most impact on modern life?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING ISSUES (REP 4)

Grant and Sherman used the strategy of total war. Do you think the end justifies the means? That is, did defeating the Confederacy justify harming civilians? Explain.

Think About:

- their reasons for targeting the civilian population
- Sherman's remark about Georgia quoted on page 181
- Sherman's march through Georgia

- 4. SUMMARIZING (11.1.4) How did Lincoln abolish slavery in all states?
- 5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS (HI 2) Why did the Union's victory strengthen the power of the national government?



Reconstruction and Its Effects

MAIN IDEA

After the Civil War, the nation embarked on a period known as Reconstruction, during which attempts were made to readmit the South to the Union.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, passed as part of Reconstruction, gave civil rights to Americans of all races.

Terms & Names

- Freedmen's Bureau
- Reconstruction
- Radical Republicans
- Andrew Johnson
- Fourteenth
 Amendment
- Fifteenth Amendment
- scalawag
- carpetbagger
- Hiram Revels
- sharecropping
- •Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.4 Examine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the industrial revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late nineteenth century of the United States as a world power.

11.2.2 Describe the changing landscape, including the growth of cities linked by industry and trade, and the development of cities divided according to race, ethnicity, and class.

11.5.2 Analyze the international and domestic events, interests, and philosophies that prompted attacks on civil liberties, including the Palmer Raids, Marcus Garvey's "back-to-Africa" movement, the Ku Klux Klan, and immigration quotas and the responses of organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Anti-Defamation League to those attacks.

REP 1 Students distinguish valid arguments from fallacious arguments in historical interpretations.

HI 4 Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

One American's Story

Robert G. Fitzgerald was born a free African American in Delaware in 1840. During the Civil War, he served in both the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy. In 1866, he taught former slaves in a small Virginia town. A year after his arrival in Virginia, Fitzgerald looked back on what he had accomplished.

A PERSONAL VOICE ROBERT G. FITZGERALD

"I came to Virginia one year ago on the 22nd of this month. Erected a school, organized and named the Freedman's Chapel School. Now (June 29th) have about 60 who have been for several months engaged in the study of arithmetic, writing, etc. etc. This morning sent in my report accompanied with compositions from about 12 of my advanced writers instructed from the Alphabet up to their [present] condition, their progress has been surprisingly rapid."

—quoted in Proud Shoes

VIDEO
TEACHER OF A
FREED PEOPLE
Robert
Fitzgerald and
Reconstruction

Fitzgerald was working for the **Freedmen's Bureau**, which had been established by Congress to provide food, clothing, hospitals, legal protection, and education for former slaves and poor whites in the South in 1865.

The Politics of Reconstruction

The need to help former slaves was just one of many issues the nation confronted after the war. In addition, the government, led by Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's vice-president and eventual successor, had to determine how to bring the Confederate states back into the Union. **Reconstruction**, the period during which the United States began to rebuild after the Civil War, lasted from 1865 to 1877. The term also refers to the process the federal government used to readmit

the defeated Confederate states to the Union. Complicating the process was the fact that Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, and the members of Congress all had different ideas about how Reconstruction should be handled.

LINCOLN'S PLAN Lincoln made it clear that he favored a lenient Reconstruction policy. In December 1863, Lincoln announced his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, also known as the Ten-Percent Plan. Under this plan, the government would pardon all

Confederates—except high-ranking officials and those accused of crimes against prisoners of war—who would swear allegiance to the Union. As soon as ten percent of those who had voted in 1860 took this oath of allegiance, a Confederate state could form a new state government and send representatives and senators to Congress. Under Lincoln's terms, four states—Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia—moved toward readmission to the Union.

However, Lincoln's Reconstruction plan angered a minority of Republicans in Congress, known as **Radical Republicans**. The Radicals, led by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, wanted to destroy the political power of former slaveholders. Most of all, they wanted African Americans to be given full citizenship and the right to vote.

JOHNSON'S PLAN FOR RECONSTRUCTION Lincoln was assassinated before he could fully implement his Reconstruction plan. In May 1865, his successor, **Andrew Johnson**, announced his own plan. Johnson's plan differed little from Lincoln's. The major difference was that Johnson tried to break the planters' power by excluding high-ranking Confederates and wealthy Southern landowners from taking the oath needed for voting privileges. However, Johnson also pardoned more than 13,000 former Confederates because he believed that "white men alone must manage the South."

The seven remaining ex-Confederate states quickly agreed to Johnson's terms. In the following months, these states—except for Texas—set up new state governments and elected representatives to Congress. In December 1865, the newly elected Southern legislators arrived in Washington to take their seats. Congress, however, refused to admit the new Southern legislators. At the same time, moderate Republicans pushed for new laws to remedy weaknesses they saw in Johnson's plan. In 1866, Congress voted to enlarge the Freedmen's Bureau and passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866. That law gave African Americans citizenship and forbade states from passing discriminatory laws—black codes—that severely restricted African Americans' lives. Johnson shocked everyone when he vetoed both the Freedmen's Bureau Act and the Civil Rights Act. Congress, Johnson contended, had gone far beyond anything "contemplated by the authors of the Constitution."

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION Angered by Johnson's actions, radical and moderate Republican factions decided to work together to shift the control of the Reconstruction process from the executive branch to the legislature. In mid-1866, they overrode the president's vetoes of the Civil Rights Act and Freedmen's Bureau Act. In addition, Congress drafted the **Fourteenth Amendment**, which prevented states from denying rights and privileges to any U.S. citizen, now defined as "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." This definition was expressly intended to overrule and nullify the *Dred Scott* decision.

Vocabulary amnesty: a general pardon by a government, usually for political offenses



Contrasting

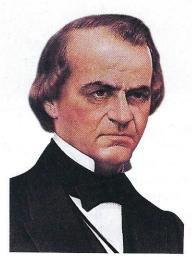
MAIN IDEA

How did the views of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson on Reconstruction differ from the views of the Radical Republicans?



Clearing battlefields of human remains was just one of the many tasks facing Reconstruction governments. In the 1866 elections, moderate and radical Republicans gained control of Congress. They joined together to pass the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which did not recognize state governments—except Tennessee—formed under the Lincoln and Johnson plans.

The act divided the former Confederate states into five military districts. The states were required to grant African-American men the vote and to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment in order to reenter the Union. When Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction legislation, Congress promptly overrode the veto.



"I say, as to the leaders, punishment."

ANDREW JOHNSON

JOHNSON IMPEACHED Because the Radicals thought Johnson was blocking Reconstruction, they looked for grounds on which to impeach him. They found grounds when Johnson removed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton from office in 1868. Johnson's removal of the cabinet member violated the Tenure of Office Act, which stated that a president could not remove cabinet officers during the term of the president who had appointed them without the Senate's approval. The House impeached Johnson, but he remained in office after the Senate voted not to convict.

U. S. GRANT ELECTED In the 1868 presidential election, the Civil War hero Ulysses S. Grant won by a margin of only 306,000 votes out of almost 6 million ballots cast. More than 500,000 Southern African Americans had voted. Of this number, 9 out of 10 voted for Grant. The importance of the African-American vote to the Republican Party was obvious.

After the election, the Radicals introduced the **Fifteenth Amendment**, which states that no one can be kept from voting because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The Fifteenth Amendment, which was ratified by the states in 1870, was an important victory for the Radicals.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

B) How did the election of 1866 affect the process of Reconstruction?

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

Why was the African-American vote so important to the Republicans?

Reconstructing Society

Under the congressional Reconstruction program, state constitutional conventions met and Southern voters elected new, Republican-dominated governments. By 1870, all of the former Confederate states had completed the process. However, even after all the states were back in the Union, the Republicans did not end the process of Reconstruction because they wanted to make economic changes in the South.

CONDITIONS IN THE POSTWAR SOUTH The war had devastated the South economically. Southern planters returned home to find that the value of their property had plummeted. Throughout the South, many small farms were ruined. The region's population was also devastated. Hundreds of thousands of Southern men had died in the war. The Republican governments began public works programs to repair the physical damage and to provide social services.

POLITICS IN THE POSTWAR SOUTH Another difficulty facing the new Republican governments was that the three groups that constituted the Republican Party in the South—scalawags, carpetbaggers, and African Americans—often had conflicting goals.

Scalawags were white Southerners who joined the Republican Party. Many were small farmers who wanted to improve their economic position and did not want the former wealthy planters to regain power. **Carpetbaggers** were Northerners who moved to the South after the war. This negative name came from the misconception that they arrived with so few belongings that they carried everything in small traveling bags made of carpeting.

Analyzing

Political Cartoons

UNWELCOME GUEST

Of all the political cartoonists of the 19th century, Thomas Nast (1840–1902) had the greatest and most long-lasting influence. Nast created or popularized symbols that have become part of America's visual heritage, symbols that include the Democratic donkey, the Republican elephant, Uncle Sam, and Santa Claus.

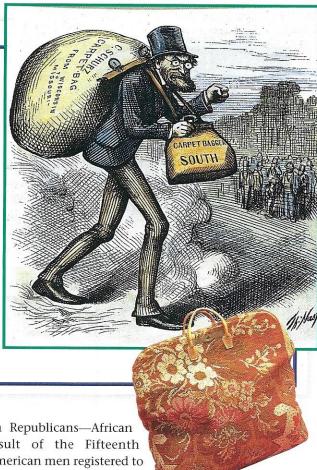
This cartoon from a Southern Democratic newspaper depicts Carl Schurz, a liberal Republican who advocated legal equality for African Americans. Schurz is shown as a carpetbagger trudging down a dusty Southern road as a crowd of people watch his arrival.

SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

- Is Schurz shown in a positive or negative light? How can you tell?
- 2. Why do you think the cartoonist chose to place the crowd of onlookers at such a great distance from Schurz?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



The third and largest group of Southern Republicans—African Americans—gained voting rights as a result of the Fifteenth Amendment. During Reconstruction, African-American men registered to vote for the first time; nine out of ten of them supported the Republican Party. Although many former slaves could neither read nor write and were politically inexperienced, they were eager to exercise their voting rights.

a carpet bag

A PERSONAL VOICE WILLIAM BEVERLY NASH

"We are not prepared for this suffrage. But we can learn. Give a man tools and let him commence to use them and in time he will earn a trade. So it is with voting. We may not understand it at the start, but in time we shall learn to do our duty."

-quoted in The Trouble They Seen: Black People Tell the Story of Reconstruction

The differing goals of scalawags, carpetbaggers, and African Americans led to a lack of unity in the Republican Party. In particular, few scalawags shared the Republican commitment to civil rights for African Americans.

The new status of African Americans required fundamental changes in the attitudes of most Southern whites. However, many white Southerners refused to accept blacks' new status and resisted the idea of equal rights.

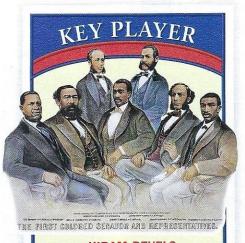
FORMER SLAVES IMPROVE THEIR LIVES Before the Civil War, African Americans had been denied full membership in many churches. During Reconstruction African Americans founded their own churches, which often became the center of the African American community, and the only institutions that African Americans fully controlled. Many African American ministers emerged as influential community leaders who also played an important role in the broader political life of the country.

With 95% of former slaves illiterate, former slaves required education to become economically self-sufficient. In most of the Southern states, the first public school systems were established by the Reconstruction governments. The new African American churches, aided by missionaries from Northern churches and by \$6 million from the Freedmen's Bureau, worked to create and run these and other

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

Why did
scalawags,
carpetbaggers,
and African
Americans support
the Radicals?



HIRAM REVELS 1822-1901

Hiram Revels of Mississippi, pictured above on the far left, was born of free parents in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Because he could not obtain an education in the South, he attended Knox College in Illinois. As an African Methodist Episcopal minister, he recruited African Americans to fight for the Union during the Civil War and also served as an army chaplain.

In 1865, Revels settled in Mississippi, where he helped organize African-American schools and churches. He served on the Natchez city council and then was elected to Mississippi's state senate in 1869. In 1870, Revels became the first African American elected to the U.S. Senate.

schools. Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard Universities, for instance, were all founded by religious groups such as the American Missionary Association.

Thousands of African Americans also took advantage of their new freedom by migrating to reunite with family members or to find jobs in Southern towns and cities.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN RECONSTRUCTION After the war, African Americans took an active role in the political process. Not only did they vote, but for the first time they held office in local, state, and federal government.

Nevertheless, even though there were almost as many black citizens as white citizens in the South, African-American officeholders remained in the minority. Out of 125 Southerners elected to the U.S. Congress during congressional Reconstruction, only 16 were African Americans. Among these was **Hiram Revels**, the first African-American senator. African Americans also served in political offices on the state and local levels.

In January 1865, General Sherman had promised the former slaves who followed his army 40 acres per family and the use of army mules. For the most part, however, former slaves received no land. Most Republicans considered private property a basic American right, and thus refused to help redistribute it. As a result, many plantation owners in the South retained their land.

SHARECROPPING AND TENANT FARMING Without their own land, freed African Americans, as well as poor white farmers, could not grow crops to sell or to use to feed their families. Therefore, economic necessity forced many former slaves and impoverished whites to become share-croppers. In the system of **sharecropping**, landowners divided their land and assigned each head of household a few acres, along with seed and tools. Sharecroppers kept a small share of their crops and gave the rest to the landowners. In theory, "croppers" who saved a little might even rent

land for cash and keep all their harvest in a system known as tenant farming.

The Collapse of Reconstruction

Most white Southerners swallowed whatever resentment they felt over African-American suffrage and participation in government. Some whites expressed their feelings by refusing to register to vote. Others were frustrated by their loss of political power and by the South's economic stagnation. These were the people who formed vigilante groups and used violence to intimidate African Americans.

OPPOSITION TO RECONSTRUCTION The most notorious and widespread of the Southern vigilante groups was the **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**. The Klan's goals were to destroy the Republican Party, to throw out the Reconstruction governments, to aid the planter class, and to prevent African Americans from exercising their political rights. To achieve these goals, the Klan and other groups killed perhaps 20,000 men, women, and children. In addition to violence, some white Southerners refused to hire or do business with African Americans who voted Republican.

To curtail Klan violence and Democratic intimidation, Congress passed a series of Enforcement Acts in 1870 and 1871. One act provided for the federal

MAIN IDEA

Forming Generalizations

E How did Southern African Americans respond to their new status?

Vocabulary vigilante: one who takes law enforcement into one's own hands supervision of elections in Southern states. Another act gave the president the power to use federal troops in areas where the Klan was active.

Although Congress seemed to shore up Republican power with the Enforcement Acts, it soon passed legislation that severely weakened the power of the Republican Party in the South. In May 1872, Congress passed the Amnesty Act, which returned the right to vote and the right to hold federal and state offices to about 150,000 former Confederates. In the same year Congress allowed the Freedmen's Bureau to expire. These actions allowed Southern Democrats to regain political power.

SUPPORT FOR RECONSTRUCTION FADES Eventually, support for Reconstruction weakened. The breakdown of Republican unity made it even harder for the Radicals to continue to impose their Reconstruction plan on the South. In addition, a series of bank failures known as the panic of 1873 triggered a five-year depression, which diverted attention in the North away from the South's problems. The Supreme Court also began to undo some of the social and political changes that the Radicals had made. Although political violence continued in the South and African Americans were denied civil and political rights, Republicans slowly retreated from the policies of Reconstruction.

DEMOCRATS "REDEEM" THE SOUTH As the Republicans' hold on the South loosened, Southern Democrats began to regain control of the region. As a result of "redemption"—as the Democrats called their return to power—and a political deal made during the national election of 1876, congressional Reconstruction came to an end.

In the election of 1876, Democratic candidate Samuel J. Tilden won the popular vote, but was one vote short of the electoral victory. Southern Democrats in Congress agreed to accept Hayes if federal troops were withdrawn from the South. After Republican leaders agreed to the demands, Hayes was elected, and Reconstruction ended in the South.

Reconstruction ended without much real progress in the battle against discrimination. However, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments remained part of the Constitution. In the 20th century, these amendments provided the necessary constitutional foundation for important civil rights legislation.



MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B How did

Democrats regain

political power?

Background The Twelfth

Amendment

(1804) gives

the House of

Representatives

the power to elect the president if

no candidate has

a majority of

electoral votes.

Southern

ASSESSMENT

- 1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Freedmen's Bureau
 - Reconstruction
 - Radical Republicans
- Andrew Johnson
- scalawag
- Fourteenth Amendment
- carpetbagger
- Fifteenth Amendment
- Hiram Revels
- sharecropping

toward the candidates?

•Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.2.2)

Use a table like the one below to list five problems facing the South after the Civil War. Then describe the solution that was attempted for each problem.

Problem	Attempted Solution
1.	E .
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

CRITICAL THINKING

3. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS (HI 4)

Do you think that Reconstruction had positive effects on Southern society? Why or why not?

Think About:

- the formation of the Ku Klux Klan
- the establishment of African American churches and schools
- why so many African Americans turned to sharecropping
- **4. SUMMARIZING** (11.1.4)

 How did the Radical Republicans hope to reconstruct the South?

5. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES (HI 4) This humorous ticket was printed around the time of the Hayes-Tilden presidential election. What does it tell you about popular attitudes





OF THE TWO EVILS

CHOOSE THE LEAST.

ASSESSMENT

VISUAL SUMMARY

THE UNION IN PERIL

1840s AND 1850s

Tensions between Northern and Southern states intensify over the issues of slavery and Congressional representation. Violence erupts in new territories and states.

1861-1865 Civil War

Civil War leads to the deaths of hundreds of thousands, the destruction of towns and cities, and the collapse of the Southern economy.

1865-1877

During Reconstruction, the victorious
North forces Southern states back into
the Union. Congress attempts to rebuild
the South and extend civil rights to
African Americans. However, Southern
Democrats regain control in the South
and bring about an end to
Reconstruction.

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the Civil War and Reconstruction.

- 1. Underground Railroad
- 2. Harriet Beecher Stowe
- 3. Dred Scott
- 4. Bull Run
- 5. Emancipation Proclamation
- 6. Clara Barton
- 7. Gettysburg
- 8. William Tecumseh Sherman
- 9. Fifteenth Amendment
- 10. Ku Klux Klan

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

The Divisive Politics of Slavery (pages 156–165)

- 1. What was the Compromise of 1850? (HI 1)
- 2. Who supported the Republican Party that was formed in 1854? (HI 1)

The Civil War Begins (pages 168–174)

- 3. What were the military strategies of the North and the South at the onset of the Civil War? (11.1.4)
- What role did African Americans and women play in the Civil War? (11.1.4)

The North Takes Charge (pages 175–183)

- **5.** Which Northern tactic helped destroy morale in the South after the defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg? (11.1.4)
- **6.** What effect did the war have on the economies of the North and the South? (HI 2)

Reconstruction and Its Effects (pages 184-189)

- 7. Why did the Radicals want to impeach Andrew Johnson? (11.1.4)
- 8. In what ways did emancipated slaves exercise their freedom? (HI 1)
- **9.** How did Southern whites regain political power during Reconstruction? (11.1.4)

CRITICAL THINKING

1. USING YOUR NOTES In a chart like the one shown, list the results and the significance of the national elections of 1856, 1860, 1866, 1868, and 1876. (11.1.4)

Election Year	Results	Significance
1856		
1860		The state of the s
1866		
1868		
1876		

- **2. DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** How close did African Americans come to gaining full civil rights during Reconstruction? Explain your answer. (11.1.4)
- 3. INTERPRETING MAPS Look at the maps on pages 170–171. What was the most important river in the Union's tactic of splitting the Confederacy in two? What city became essential to this goal after the fall of New Orleans? (11.1.4)

Standardized Test Practice

Use the information in the passage and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 1 and 2.

> "In these days men have learned the art of sinning expertly and genteelly, so as not to shock the eyes and senses of respectable society. Human property is high in the market; and is, therefore, well fed, well cleaned, tended, and looked after, that it may come to sale sleek, and strong, and shining."

> > -Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin

- 1. In the mid-19th century, Harriet Beecher Stowe was a leader in the struggle for — (HI 1)
 - A. abolition.
 - B. women's rights.
 - C. better working conditions.
 - D. tax-supported public schools.
- 2. Uncle Tom's Cabin was written in response to — (HI 1)
 - A. the raid on Harpers Ferry.
 - B. the Lincoln-Douglas debates.
 - C. the Fugitive Slave Act.
 - D. the Dred Scott decision.

- 3. Grant's siege of Vicksburg was part of the Union's strategy to -- (11.1.4)
 - A. destroy Southern morale.
 - B. blockade Southern ports.
 - C. split the Confederacy in two.
 - D. capture the Confederate capital.
- 4. In the Reconstruction Act of 1867, Congress set requirements for readmission of former Confederate states into the Union. Which of the following problems did the act address? (11.1.4)
 - A. Southern states did not allow African Americans to vote.
 - B. Southern states had little money to pay for public works projects.
 - C. Former slaves needed education.
 - D. Confederate bonds and money were worthless.

ADDITIONAL TEST PRACTICE, pages S1-S33.



ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT (HI 3)

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Recall your discussion of the question on page 155:

How can the Union be saved?

Suppose you are a British tourist traveling through the United States in 1860. Write a letter to your friends at home describing the political climate in America. Give your opinion about the possibility of saving the Union.

- **LEARNING FROM MEDIA** View the VIDEO American Stories videos "War Outside My Window" and "Teacher of a Freed People." Discuss the following questions in a group; then do the activity.
 - · What is your overall impression of Mary Chesnut?
 - · What, if anything, surprised you about her diary entries?
 - · Which experiences in Fitzgerald's life helped foster his passion for learning and teaching?
 - · How did Fitzgerald respond to the difficulties he faced?

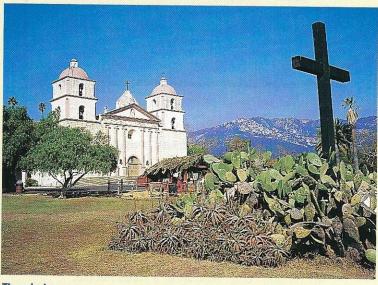
Cooperative Learning Activity Imagine that Mary Chesnut and Robert Fitzgerald met to discuss their beliefs. As a group, write a dialogue that might have taken place between the two. Take turns roleplaying the pair to establish their personalities and clarify their ideas.

THEMATIC REVIEW OF UNIT 1

The Changing American Dream: Beginnings Through Reconstruction

For two centuries, the American Dream has been the hope that helped America become a great nation. It was the Puritans' desire to find religious freedom and tolerance. It was the patriots' wish to found a new republic that guaranteed the rights of its citizens. It was the reformers' goal of a just society. And it was the guiding beacon for all those who have struggled to make a better life for their families and their compatriots.

To help you make sense of the formative years of the American republic and of the developing American Dream, the next six pages provide a review that is organized around the nine historical themes that are woven into *The Americans*. This Thematic Review will help you focus on the major issues that had emerged in American history by the end of Reconstruction in 1877.



The mission system played a vital role in the development of the Southwest.

DIVERSITY AND THE NATIONAL IDENTITY

The United States developed a diverse population, but through continual contact, the diverse groups developed many commonalities. For centuries, Native American groups had followed many different ways of life, each suited to a particular environment. While adopting some aspects of European culture, they passed on parts of their own culture. English settlers did not respect Native American culture, but adopted many native terms and agricultural practices. In the Spanish colonies, settlers and native peoples interacted closely.

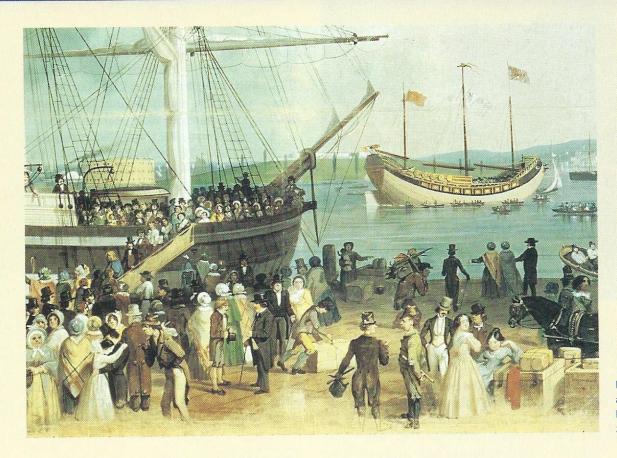
As settlers brought different cultures to different regions, continued contact led to the blending of cultures. Nevertheless, the diversity of the populations and the unequal status of the different cultures caused tension. Dutch New Amsterdam and Quaker Pennsylvania showed more tolerance of religious differences than Puritan New England did. German and Scots-Irish immigrants settled from New Netherlands to as far south as the Carolinas. The Southwest and California reflected the culture of the Spanish settlers and the cowboy.

Over time, the Northern and Southern regions of the United States developed distinct cultures. A key feature of Southern culture was slavery. While forced to adapt to slave status in Southern culture, African Americans maintained as best they could their traditions of family relations, dance, music, and crafts. These in turn helped shape Southern culture as Southerners adopted the ways of their captives.

MAIN IDEA

Drawing Conclusions

What impact did the different cultures in North America have on the United States?



Immigrants arrive in New York harbor in the mid-1800s.

IMMIGRATION AND MIGRATION

The movement of people has played an important role in shaping American history. Most anthropologists believe that humans began migrating to the Americas about 40,000 years ago, crossing a land bridge that connected Asia to Alaska. Over the centuries, these people spread throughout North and South America.

In 1492, Columbus completed his first voyage to this New World. People from several countries soon started colonies there. The English settled along the Atlantic Coast, in Jamestown (1607), Plymouth Colony (1620), and Massachusetts Bay Colony (1630). The Dutch settled in New Amsterdam (now New York) in 1625. The French established a settlement to the north, in Quebec City.

The Spanish built a fort at St. Augustine, on the Florida coast, and established a capital in the Southwest at Santa Fe, New Mexico. A number of Spanish missions arose in New Mexico and in California.

After centuries of isolation, Native Americans had no defenses against European diseases. They died by the thousands, making it more difficult for them to resist European expansion. Another group that suffered terribly from immigration were the millions of Africans who were forcibly brought to the colonies as enslaved people.

After the colonies won their independence from England, the United States continued to attract new immigrants. Groups already settled in the United States did not always welcome newcomers. But the stream of immigrants—primarily Irish and Germans—continued. By the 1840s, many of these immigrants joined nativeborn Americans moving west. They drove their long wagon trains as far as the Pacific Coast, where they met thousands of Chinese immigrants who had come to California to work on railroads and in the mines. Americans had spread from coast to coast.

MAIN IDEA

Forming Generalizations

In what ways did immigration and migration shape the early United States?



The French
Revolution was
partly inspired
by the colonists'
revolt against
the British in
North America.

AMERICA IN WORLD AFFAIRS

The European settlement of North America began as part of a contest for empire. The British pushed the Dutch out of what is now New York. Then, in 1763, they drove the French from North America. Just 13 years later, though, the British colonies rebelled. The French and Spanish helped them win their independence by supplying money, soldiers, and ships.

England, France, and Spain still held much of the continent, but that changed in the next few decades. First, France sold the United States the Louisiana Territory, doubling the nation's size. Soon, though, conflict with Native Americans and anger over British actions led to the War of 1812, which brought no clear victory but did produce a surge of nationalist feeling. Treaties with Britain and Spain added additional territories.

More confident, the United States began to flex its muscles. With the Monroe Doctrine, the United States warned European powers to stay out of the Western Hemisphere.

After the United States began to act on the idea of "manifest destiny," or the belief that the country should expand to the Pacific coast, Americans in Texas proclaimed a new republic, removing that region from Mexican control. Soon the United States annexed Texas, which led to the War with Mexico. After a swift victory by U.S. forces, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo gave California and the Southwest to the United States.

In summary, international relations in the nation's early years were marked by two major achievements: establishment of the United States on the world stage and expansion of its territory.

MAIN IDEA

Drawing Conclusions

(G) What was the most important change in the United States' involvement in foreign affairs from 1789 to 1877?

VOTING RIGHTS

The years up to 1877 were critical to the establishment of a stable constitutional democracy in the United States. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights were ratified. The important democratic institutions—Congress, the Presidency, the Supreme Court, and political parties—were firmly established.

During the 1800s, the right to vote was gradually broadened to include more members of society. In the 1820s, state governments enlarged the voter base by easing voter requirements, such as property qualifications. These new voters were critical to the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 and 1832.

While growing numbers of white males had won the right to vote, women were still denied that right. Elizabeth Cady Stanton led other women to push for this right and other reforms to give women equal status with men. Their efforts were often met with scorn.

Democratic rights were extended to African Americans after the Civil War, when the Fifteenth Amendment gave them the right to vote. Within a few years, though, Southern states instituted harsh new laws against blacks, known as Jim Crow laws. When courts upheld these laws, African Americans lost their rights. Northerners, tired of decades of conflict over slavery and its aftermath, turned their attention toward other matters.

MAIN IDEA

Developing Historical Perspective

D In the period from 1789 until 1877, what were the signs that the United States had developed a stable constitutional democracy?

STATES' RIGHTS

By the 1770s, the feeling had grown that the colonists' rights would not be secure so long as they remained subject to Great Britain. They fought the Revolutionary War to win their independence.

When the nation's leaders set out to construct a framework for the new government, their first attempt, the Articles of Confederation, leaned too heavily toward protecting states' independence. When a new Constitution was proposed, several leaders expressed alarm at the strong central government that would be created. Only with the promise of passing several amendments that guaranteed individual freedoms—the Bill of Rights—did the framers win approval of the Constitution.

Questions about the relative power of state and national governments still remained. South Carolina threatened to nullify, or disallow, a federal law in the 1830s, but the crisis was defused. The issue of slavery, though, threatened to tear the Union apart. The Civil War was the greatest constitutional crisis the country faced. The war settled the matter of secession, but the balance between states' rights and federal power continued to be an important constitutional issue.



Major Robert Anderson observes the defense of Fort Sumter. South Carolina seceded by firing on Fort Sumter, starting the Civil War.

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems

(a) What difficulties arose from assertions of states' rights against the United States between 1789 and 1877? How were these issues resolved?

WOMEN AND POLITICAL POWER

Beginning in colonial times, women in America confronted many limits, including lack of suffrage. Laws in some colonies prohibited them from owning property. Laws in others said that only single women or widows could run their own businesses.

During the American Revolution, women expanded their roles by filling in for their husbands on the farms and in the shops and, occasionally, taking up arms. In the new nation, however, the concept of republican mother-hood emphasized the role of women in preparing the next generation of citizens.

In the early 1800s, many women became more socially active. Reformers such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott pushed for women's rights. Others, like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Sojourner Truth, spoke out against slavery. Women worked to advance the temperance movement against alcohol and to improve health and education.

Women endured much during the Civil War, whether they lived in the North or the South.

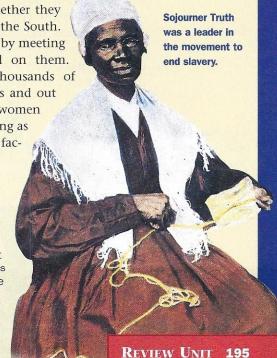
Many gained strength by meeting new demands placed on them.

With hundreds of thousands of men serving in armies and out of the work force, women filled the void by serving as laborers in farms and factories.

MAIN IDEA

Comparing and Contrasting

Compare and contrast women's political activities in the United States in the mid-19th century with those in the Colonial era.



"OUR FIELD IS THE WORLD." McCormick Harvesting Machine Co., Chicago. ESTABLISHED 1831.

Inventions such as McCormick's reaper increased the productivity of laborers.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

During the 1800s, the United States established itself as highly innovative and quick to find commercial applications for technological advances. For instance, the cotton gin-invented by a Northerner, Eli Whitney-speeded up the processing of cotton and spurred a cotton boom. The boom in cotton led, in turn, to the renewed growth of slavery.

The cotton was shipped to the North, where in the mid-19th century entrepreneurs built new factories that turned it into cloth. New shoemaking and sewing machines sped up

clothing manufacture. These changes affected Northern society. Skilled artisans gave way to factory workers skilled in the techniques of mass production. Feeling powerless compared with the factory owners, workers tried to organize labor unions.

As the nation expanded, inventors created new technologies that improved transportation and communication. Pioneers traveled over roads and trails to reach the frontier. The Erie Canal brought food from the Midwest to the ports of the east, helping to make New York City a major commercial center. Steamboats sped up and down rivers, increasing trade. Railroads linked cities. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, rails stretched from sea to sea. Telegraph lines allowed people to send messages instantly over vast distances.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

G What was one innovation that affected how Americans worked and lived? What were the effects of this innovation?

CIVIL RIGHTS

Racism, labor shortages, and the establishment of plantation agriculture had led to the entrenchment of slavery in the South during the early 19th century. As slaves, African Americans had no civil rights.

Southerners feared that the North would increase its power in Congress and abolish slavery. They pushed to extend the institution to new territories. In the pivotal 1857 Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court declared that

slaves were not people, but property, and thus had no rights. Less than ten years later, the North and South fought a bloody civil war.

The Civil War amendments ended slavery (Thirteenth Amendment), recognized African Americans as citizens (Fourteenth Amendment), and banned the denial of voting rights on the basis of race or color (Fifteenth Amendment). African Americans briefly enjoyed full civil rights, but the Supreme Court undermined legal protections. After Southern Democrats regained political power and enacted Jim Crow, Reconstruction ended, leaving African Americans again without civil rights. In the 1950s and the 1960s, however, the Civil War amendments would become powerful tools in the quest for equal rights.

This former slave family welcomed the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery.



MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

H What were the successes and failures of the Civil War and Reconstruction in extending civil rights to African Americans?



During the California gold rush of 1849, tens of thousands of people gave up their old lives to go west in hopes of striking it rich.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Europeans were first attracted to the New World by the promise of wealth. Seeing the vast riches that the Spanish had won in conquering native empires, other European nations scrambled to begin their own colonies. Early settlements were created by companies of investors hoping to strike it rich in the new land. The lure of the land and the hope of economic success continued to fuel immigration to the United States—and the movement of people within the country.

Regional differences developed in the American economy during the colonial period. The North focused on farming and some industry. New transportation routes, such as the Erie Canal, brought increased trade among Northern states. As the Industrial Revolution took hold in the early 1800s, factories sprung up throughout the Northern states and farming declined. After this, the rich farmlands of the Midwest became the breadbasket of the nation. The Civil War accelerated economic growth in the North and Midwest. Industry boomed. Farm output grew as well.

A plantation economy geared to raising cash crops for export arose early in the South. At first, planters grew tobacco, rice, and indigo. Beginning in the 1800s, the main crop was cotton. Cotton was called "king," and a small group of large landowners dominated the Southern economy and society. They became wealthy and powerful by exploiting the labor of masses of enslaved African Americans.

With the end of the Civil War, enslaved persons gained their freedom and finally had a chance for economic opportunity. The Congress decided not to redistribute the land, however. Though legally free, many blacks became economically controlled by landowners—mostly whites—through tenant farming or sharecropping.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

What was one important economic development in the United States between the colonial period and 1877? How did this development affect the everyday lives of Americans?

UNIT



CHAPTER 5

Changes on the Western Frontier 1877-1900

CHAPTER 6

A New Industrial Age 1877–1900

CHAPTER 7

Immigrants and Urbanization 1877–1914

CHAPTER 8

Life at the Turn of the 20th Century 1877-1917

UNIT

PROJECT

Oral Report

This unit describes how the United States transformed itself from a rural, agricultural society to an urban, industrial one. Prepare an oral report that summarizes one or more of the factors that caused this change. Create visuals to accompany your report.

Champions of the Mississippi by Currier and Ives

