

Chapter

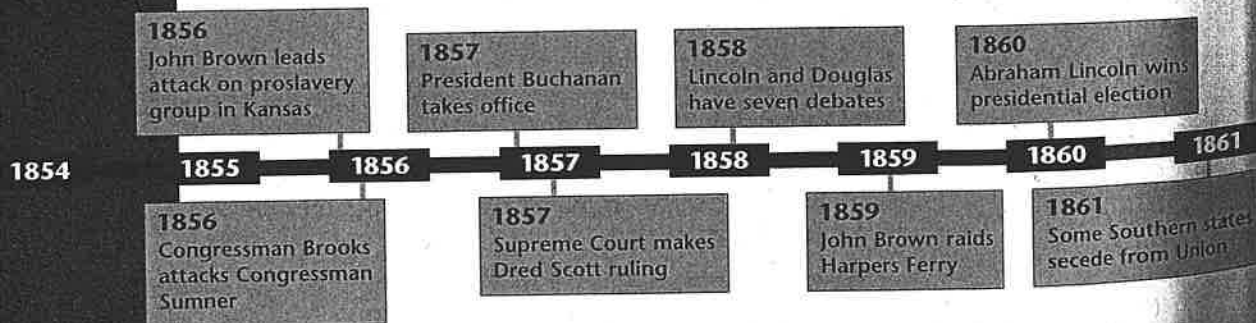
15 The Country Separates

1854-1861

The issue of slavery was still not solved. It continued to cause problems. People began to use violence to try to settle their disagreements about slavery. The nation was entering a very difficult period of time. Eventually, a presidential election caused the country to separate. In this chapter, you will learn the reasons why several states left the Union.

Goals for Learning

- ◆ To explain why the statehood of Kansas was an issue for proslavery and antislavery forces
- ◆ To identify the importance of the Dred Scott Case
- ◆ To explain the importance of the Lincoln-Douglas debates
- ◆ To describe John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry
- ◆ To explain the importance of the election of 1860



Radical*Going beyond the usual***Geography Note**

To grow properly, cotton needs a sunny and warm to hot climate. Cotton also needs productive, well-drained soil. It needs certain nutrients in the ground. These nutrients provide energy for growth. They may come from chemical fertilizer or from animal manure. The South has the best climate for growing cotton.

Nebraska's long, cold winters did not appeal to proslavery plantation owners. The climate was not good for growing cotton. Kansas, on the other hand, was farther south and was the target of settlers who favored slavery.

What Caused Fighting in Kansas?

Proslavery and antislavery supporters wanted to claim land in Kansas before it was admitted to the Union. People from New England moved to Kansas with the help of the New England Emigrant Aid Society. They brought with them boxes of guns disguised as boxes of Bibles. Southerners came from Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina. They were also prepared to fight. Kansas became a battleground for the two groups. The territory became known as "Bleeding Kansas."

The time came to organize a territorial government in Kansas. An election was to be held; the settlers would vote for legislators. Just before the election, Missouri's senator, David R. Atchison, became the leader of a group of people whose job was to go into Kansas and vote for proslavery candidates.

Proslavery candidates won the election. They quickly formed a government and wrote a constitution. Antislavery people were angry with the outcome. They formed their own government. Kansas now had two governments, each claiming to be the legal government.

A group of proslavery men raided Lawrence, Kansas. Many people who were against slavery lived in Lawrence. The invaders burned buildings and one man was killed. In response to this action, **radical** abolitionist John Brown and a small band of men attacked a proslavery group at Pottawatomie Creek in 1856, killing five proslavery settlers. These and a number of other attacks caused 200 deaths and over \$2 million in property damage by the end of that same year. It was unlikely that the slavery issue would be settled peacefully.

Biography

Lucy Stone: 1818–1893

Lucy Stone was a reformer. She worked for women's rights and the end of slavery. She did not support the male-controlled culture she knew as a child. She taught school to pay for her own way through college. She was one of the first women of Massachusetts to earn a degree. In 1847, she started speaking for Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. She also spoke widely on women's rights. In the 1850s, she helped put together conventions on women's rights. In 1855, Stone married abolitionist Henry Blackwell. She kept her own name. She may have been the first American woman to do so. Stone and Blackwell set up the American Woman Suffrage Association in 1869. A year later, they began producing the *Women's Journal*. This magazine promoted women's right to vote.



Lesson 1 Review On a sheet of paper, write the answers to the following questions. Use complete sentences.

1. Why was Nebraska not good for plantations?
2. Why did proslavery and antislavery supporters want to claim land in Kansas?
3. What did antislavery people do when proslavery people formed a government in Kansas?
4. What act of violence did the proslavery people commit?
5. What act of violence did the antislavery people commit?



What do you think?

Why do you think control over the state of Kansas was so important?

Belittling*Insulting*

An unusual event took place in May 1856. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts made a speech against slavery. In his speech, he insulted Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina. Sumner also made several **belittling** remarks about the state of South Carolina. His name-calling brought applause from the Northern senators.



Congressman Preston Brooks struck Senator Charles Sumner several times with a cane in 1856.

Sumner's remarks upset Senator Butler's nephew, Preston Brooks. Brooks was a member of the House of Representatives. A few days later, Brooks walked up to Sumner's desk and struck the senator several times with a cane. Sumner was seriously hurt by the hard blows to his head. It took him almost three years to return to his place in the Senate. Even intelligent leaders were turning to violence and were unable to use common sense when dealing with the slavery problem.


History in Your Life
Otis and the Elevator

In 1852, Elisha G. Otis invented a safety device to prevent the fall of an elevator car if its support cable broke. In 1854, the daring Otis demonstrated his new device. He stood in an elevator car while its cable was chopped with an ax. Before this, elevators had been fairly unfamiliar devices. They were used only in factories to lift heavy objects one floor at a time. Otis had demonstrated that elevators could be made safe enough to lift people. Thus, he began what became a large industry. He patented the first passenger elevator in 1857 and a steam-powered elevator in 1861. His new elevators paved the way for a new era in architecture. The Otis safety elevator made possible the modern skyscrapers that now define skylines of cities worldwide. The Otis Elevator Company is still a large elevator manufacturer.

Optimistic

Having good feelings toward what may happen in the future

Resolve

To settle a difference

Ruling

The decision of a court case

Who Won the Election of 1856?

Slavery was the major issue of the election of 1856. There was still trouble in Kansas, and the country seemed to be slowly heading toward war.

The Democrats nominated James “Old Buck” Buchanan of Pennsylvania. Buchanan had not been involved in the Kansas dispute. The Democrats considered Old Buck to be a safe choice.

The Republicans chose John C. Frémont of California. Frémont had been an army leader during the Mexican War. He also was a well-known explorer.

The number of immigrants in the United States had increased between the years 1820 and 1850, as more people looked to America as a land of new hope. Many people feared that foreigners would take over the country. They had formed the American Party, or Know-Nothing Party, to stop the wave of new immigrants. Millard Fillmore was their candidate in 1856.

James Buchanan won the election. He received 174 electoral votes to Frémont’s 114. Only eight electoral votes went to Fillmore. Even though the Republicans lost the election, they showed strength. The Republicans were **optimistic** about the 1860 election. President Buchanan took office in 1857.



Dred Scott

How Did the Dred Scott Case Affect Slavery?

President Buchanan hoped the slavery issue would finally be **resolved**. However, two days after Buchanan took office in 1857, the Supreme Court made a **ruling** that heated the issue. A ruling is a decision of a court case. This ruling was about the freedom of an African slave named Dred Scott. It would be of great importance in the election of 1860.

DAY 2

Sue

To bring legal action against a person to settle a difference

Entitle

To give

Writing About History

Imagine you are a Supreme Court justice ruling on the Dred Scott case. In your notebook, explain your decision.

Word Bank

Charles Sumner
Dred Scott
James Buchanan
Preston Brooks
Roger Taney

Dred Scott had been enslaved in Missouri. His master took him to live in the free state of Illinois, and then to Wisconsin, which was a free territory. Then they returned to Missouri, where his master died five years later. Scott **sued** for his freedom on grounds that he had lived in a free territory. To sue is to bring legal action against a person to settle a difference. Scott claimed he was **entitled** to be a free man.

The case reached the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Roger Taney of Maryland gave the Supreme Court's decision. You can read part of his statement on page 302. According to Taney, a majority of the justices had ruled that Scott had no right to sue for his freedom—he was a slave and not a citizen. Scott's freedom was denied because he was now enslaved in a slave state. The Supreme Court declared that the Missouri Compromise violated the Constitution and therefore was not legal. Taney said that slaves were property and could be taken anywhere. The court's decision made it possible to extend slavery into all territories. The decision shocked the country. Northerners feared that it opened the door to the spread of slavery throughout the entire nation.

Lesson 2 Review On a sheet of paper, write the correct name from the Word Bank to complete each sentence.

1. A former slave from Missouri named _____ was the subject of a Supreme Court case in 1857.
2. _____ struck Charles Sumner several times with a cane.
3. The Supreme Court justice who gave the Dred Scott ruling was _____.
4. _____ insulted Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina.
5. The winner of the election of 1856 was _____.



What do you think?

How do you think it was possible for two members of Congress, Preston Brooks and Charles Sumner, to be involved in such an act of violence?

Lesson

3

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Vow

To promise to do something

Opponent

A person who takes an opposite position in an event such as a debate or contest

Forbid

To use power to prevent something from occurring

In 1854 in Peoria, Illinois, former U.S. Representative Abraham Lincoln gave a speech in response to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He spoke out against slavery and the act itself. He **vowed** to return to politics to see what could be done to end slavery once and for all.

In 1858, Abraham Lincoln ran for the U.S. Senate. His **opponent** was Stephen Douglas. Douglas was thought to be unbeatable, but Lincoln did not think so. Although Lincoln had served two years as a U.S. Representative, he was not well known. He challenged Douglas to a series of seven debates.

Douglas welcomed the opportunity to debate Lincoln. Douglas was an excellent speaker. Lincoln was not a good speaker.

The two men were different in another way. Douglas was very short—barely over five feet tall. Lincoln was six feet, four inches tall.

During the debates, Lincoln reminded Douglas that the policy of popular sovereignty permitted a territory to **forbid** slavery. The Dred Scott decision, however, stated that a territory could not ban slavery. Which, Lincoln asked, did Douglas prefer? Douglas said that the people in a given state should be able to forbid slavery in spite of the Dred Scott decision. Douglas's response made many Southerners angry.

Lincoln had a way of saying things that made people listen. During the seven debates, Lincoln did very well against Douglas. Lincoln lost the Senate election to Douglas, but his popularity increased. People began to call him "Honest Abe." Douglas realized that debating Lincoln had been a mistake.



Abe Lincoln's popularity increased during the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858.

DAY 3

Arsenal

A place used to make or store military weapons

Ammunition

Bullets, gunpowder, and other things used with guns or other weapons



Then and Now

Politicians today reach voters through debates and ads on television and radio and in newspapers. In the 1850s, politicians did not have radio or television. Congressional candidates traveled throughout their state. They gave what became known as stump speeches, because they often stood on tree stumps to address the people. Universities or towns hosted the seven Lincoln-Douglas debates. Each debate included hour-long speeches by both men. Ninety-minute replies followed the speeches. Each candidate ended with a 30-minute summary. Since 1988, the Commission on Presidential Debates has hosted the debates. Now debates usually last about 90 minutes and are shown on many television networks.

What Happened at Harpers Ferry?

John Brown took action again as disputes over slavery continued. Brown believed that slaves must be freed, even if violence was necessary. He had a plan to seize the U.S. **arsenal** at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now in West Virginia), and take the guns and **ammunition**. An arsenal is a place used to make or store military weapons. He hoped to arm the slaves and lead them in a revolt against their masters.



John Brown is shown here kissing a child before being hanged.

Treason

A crime involving an attempt to overthrow the government

Brown captured the arsenal in 1859. Colonel Robert E. Lee was sent with marines to stop Brown. The marines captured Brown. He was tried for **treason** and found guilty. Treason is a crime involving an attempt to overthrow the government. He was hanged at Charlestown, Virginia (now in West Virginia), in December 1859. Before his death, he wrote, "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think, mainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."

The raid at Harpers Ferry increased the tension between the North and the South. Northerners were shocked by the violence. Southerners believed there would be more bloodshed by abolitionists.

It Happened in History**A Journalist and a Politician**

Journalist Horace Greeley wrote passionately about what he believed in. He stood behind every word he wrote. He believed that honesty was the best policy. He did not talk down to the common person.

His paper, the *Log Cabin*, contributed to the election of William Henry Harrison in 1840. He later started the *New York Tribune*, which printed a lot of political opinion articles. There he wrote articles against slavery. He supported many political reforms, such as women's rights. He worked for the rights of workers to be paid a fair wage. He supported westward expansion and encouraged people to seek a new life on the frontier.

He helped to organize the Republican Party and elect Abraham Lincoln president in 1860. Later Greeley himself ran unsuccessfully for president. Historians believe he was too much a person of principle to be a politician. People either loved him or hated him—but everyone respected him.

DAY 3

Lesson 3 Review On a sheet of paper, write the letter of the answer that best completes each sentence.

1. In 1858, Abraham Lincoln challenged Stephen Douglas _____.
A in the U.S. Senate
B to a series of seven debates
C to forbid slavery in new states
D pass the Kansas-Nebraska Act
2. Lincoln lost the Senate election because _____.
A Lincoln was not well known
B Lincoln was too tall
C Lincoln debated poorly
D Douglas made Southerners angry
3. Lincoln benefited from the debates because he _____.
A showed he favored slavery
B was amusing
C became more popular
D attracted Southern voters
4. John Brown planned to _____ at the arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia.
A steal the ammunition
B make a speech
C prevent the outbreak of war
D stop a slave revolt
5. John Brown was captured, tried, and hanged for _____.
A treason
B mutiny
C stealing
D rioting



What do you think?

Why do you think people liked Abe Lincoln?

Lesson 4 The Election of 1860

Platform

A statement of ideas, policies, and beliefs of a political party in an election

The election of 1860 offered four new presidential candidates. Their campaigns reflected the bitter divisions of the country.

Why Did the Democratic Party Split?

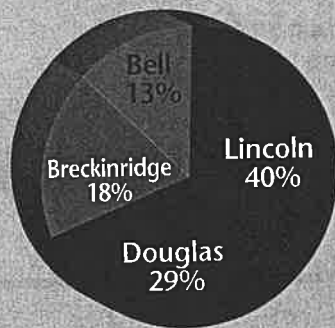
The Democratic Party could not agree on issues and on a presidential candidate. They split into two groups. The Northern delegates chose Stephen Douglas as their candidate. He supported popular sovereignty. The Southern delegates selected John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, a supporter of slavery.

What Issues Did the Republicans Support?

The Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln as the presidential candidate. The Republican **platform**, which is a statement of ideas, policies, and beliefs of a political party in an election, stated:

- Slavery would not be allowed in new territories.
- Slave states could make decisions about slavery within their own borders.
- Free land would be available for farming in the territories.
- Higher tariffs would be imposed.
- So state would be permitted to leave the Union.

Popular Vote, Election of 1860



Who received the most votes?
Who received the fewest?

What New Political Party Was Formed?

Another group, called the Constitutional Union Party, also nominated a candidate for president. This new party was made up of former Whig and American Party members. They believed that the nation would be kept at peace if everyone cooperated. John Bell of Tennessee was chosen as their candidate.

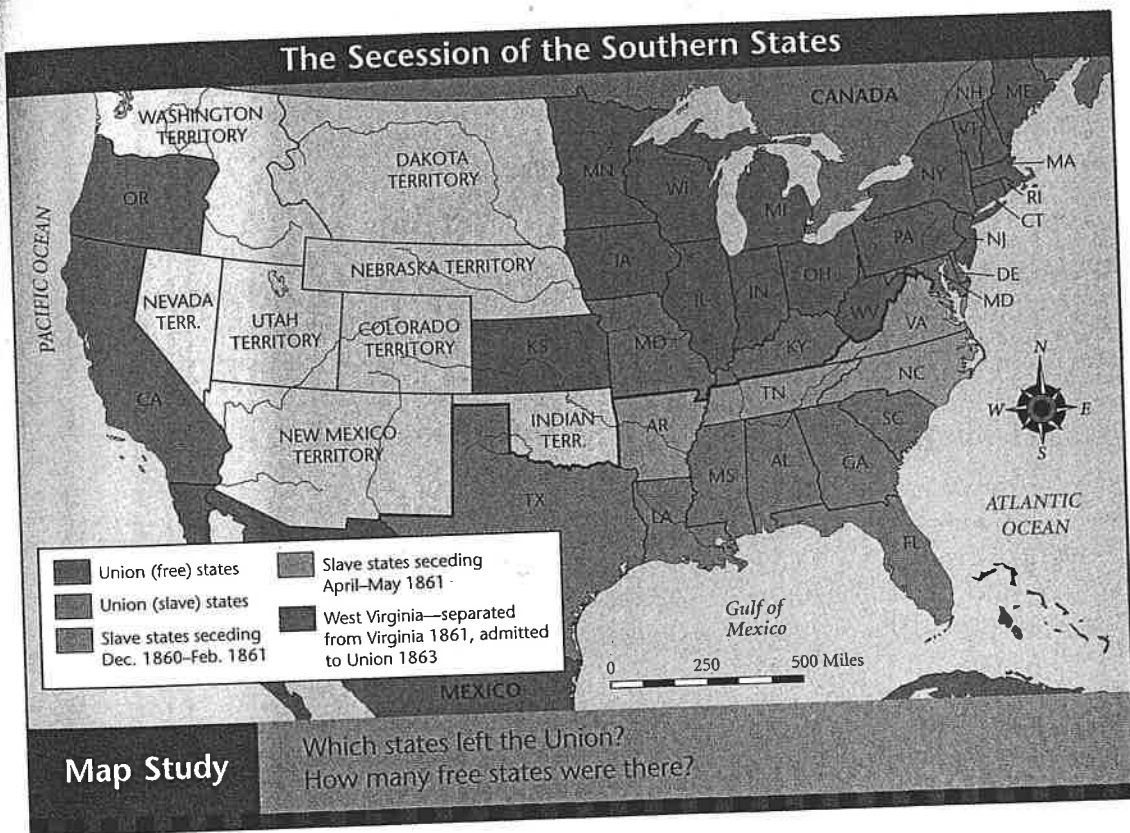
DAY 4

Secede

To leave a group or organization

What Were the Election Results?

Lincoln won the election by nearly 500,000 votes. Before the election, some Southern states had decided to leave the Union if Lincoln won. By February 1, 1861, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, and Louisiana had voted to secede, or leave the Union.



What do you think?

Why do you think the Republican Party did not want any state to leave the Union?

Lesson 4 Review On a sheet of paper, write answers to the following questions. Use complete sentences.

1. What caused the Democratic Party to split in 1860?
2. Who was the Republican candidate for president?
3. What was the position of the Republican Party on slavery?
4. What belief united the Constitutional Union Party?
5. What happened in February 1861 because Lincoln won the election?

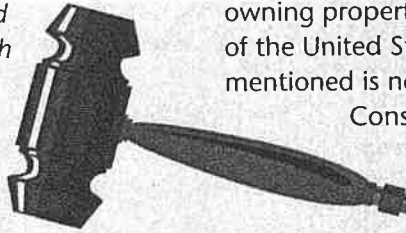
Document-Based Reading

The Dred Scott Decision

In 1857, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Roger Taney heard the case of Scott versus Stanford. Scott was enslaved to a Missouri doctor who had moved to Illinois and Wisconsin. In both of those states, slavery was outlawed. Following their return to Missouri, his owner died. Scott sued the doctor's widow for his freedom. Scott was successful in a Missouri court.

However, he had been claimed as the property of a New Yorker. Thus, the case ended up before the Supreme Court. He was denied his freedom by a seven to two vote. This is part of the statement by Chief Justice Taney.

Now . . . the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States, in every State that might desire it, for twenty years. And the Government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time, if the slave escapes from his owner . . . And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description. The only power conferred is the power coupled with the duty of guarding and protecting the owner in his rights.



Upon these considerations it is the opinion of this court that the Act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the

Constitution, and is therefore void; and that neither Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this

territory; even if they had been carried there by the owner with the intention of becoming a permanent resident. . . .

Document-Based Questions

1. What rights did Chief Justice Taney claim he was defending?
2. The Missouri Compromise forbade slavery north of a certain line. In what way does this statement refer to it?
3. What responsibility did the federal government have to the slaves?
4. What did Chief Justice Taney say about Scott's freedom?
5. How fair do you think Chief Justice Taney's decision was?

Source: Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857), by Chief Justice Roger Taney.



Chapter 15 REVIEW

On a sheet of paper, write the correct word or words from the Word Bank to complete each sentence.

Word Bank

Abraham Lincoln
Bibles
Dred Scott
"Honest Abe"
James Buchanan
John Brown
property
Robert E. Lee
Stephen Douglas
Union

1. After his debates, Lincoln became known as _____.
2. _____ was an abolitionist who believed only violence could end slavery.
3. The winner of the 1856 election was _____.
4. _____ was a slave who sued for his freedom because he had lived in free states.
5. The Republican candidate for president in 1860 was _____.
6. Lincoln debated with _____ in the 1856 Senate race.
7. The Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott Case that slaves were _____ and could be taken anywhere and still remain enslaved.
8. _____ led the marines who captured John Brown during his raid on Harpers Ferry.
9. Abolitionists brought guns into Kansas in boxes that said they were boxes of _____.
10. After Lincoln was elected president, several states voted to leave the _____.

On a sheet of paper, write the letter of the answer that correctly completes each sentence.

11. _____ led people from Missouri into Kansas to vote illegally for proslavery candidates.

A David Atchison	C Charles Sumner
B John Brown	D Preston Brooks
12. In its Dred Scott ruling, the Supreme Court found that slaves _____.

A could sue for freedom	C were property, not citizens
B were free in free states	D could not be freed in slave states

DAY 5

13. The Kansas Territory was nicknamed "Bleeding Kansas" because _____.
- A it had many slaves
 - B it had conflicts over political parties
 - C proslavery and antislavery forces clashed there
 - D the Harpers Ferry raid took place there
14. John Brown was hanged because he _____.
- A blew up an arsenal
 - B was found guilty of treason
 - C led a slave revolt
 - D helped runaway slaves

On a sheet of paper, write the answer to each question. Use complete sentences.

15. Why was the election in Kansas so important?
16. How did Lincoln make himself look so good in the debates with Douglas?
17. Why did John Brown attack people at Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas?
18. What was a major issue in the election of 1860?

Critical Thinking On a sheet of paper, write your response to each question. Use complete sentences.

19. Why do you think the Supreme Court decided against Dred Scott?
20. How important are the debates between candidates before presidential elections?



Test-Taking Tip

When you take a matching test, first answer the items you know. Cross those choices out. It will be easier to try to match the remaining items.