From Uneasy Peace to Bitter Conflict

Between 1856 and 1860, America would see a breakdown in many of its political processes that had developed over the last eight decades. The **GREAT COMPROMISERS** of the early 19th century — Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and John Calhoun — were gone, and their leadership in avoiding disunion were gone as well. Forces on the extremes were becoming more and more powerful, reducing the influence of moderates and crippling the spirit of reconciliation. Front and center was the issue of slavery. Could the country be saved, or was it on an irrevocable path toward disunion?

The Congress and the Presidents of the past decade had failed to resolve the burning issue of slavery in the territories. Could the Supreme Court, the highest law in the land, put the issue to rest? Politicians and the American public hoped it could determine some long term framework for settlement of the slavery issue. An opportunity was presented when the Dred Scott case reached the High Court. As a slave having lived in a free territory, was he now free when he returned to a slave state? No. And more — neither a state nor Congress had the right to outlaw slavery.

The Dred Scott decision was unacceptable in the north. This prompted a young lawyer from Illinois to return to politics, seeking Stephen Douglas's seat in Congress — he was Abraham Lincoln. A series of debates between the two foreshadowed the issues of the **ELECTION 1860**.

John Brown organized a daring attack on slavery by attempting to incite a mass uprising of slaves, at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. While he failed in his effort to cause a slave rebellion, he succeeded in causing an insurrection of conscience in the north as well as grave misgivings in the south about its future in the Union.

The results of these events and the forces that caused them became hot spots in the cauldron of electoral politics. The north could never accept a President who planned to protect or extend slavery. The south would never accept a President who refused to do so. The nomination of candidates and the election of the President in 1860 were among the most divisive events in the history of this nation. **ABRAHAM LINCOLN** was President, and within weeks, 7 states left the Union to form the **CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA**.

A House Divided

The most destructive war in America's history was fought among its own people.

The **CIVIL WAR** was a tragedy of unimaginable proportions. For four long and bloody years, Americans were killed at the hands of other Americans. One of every 25 American men perished in the war. Over 640,000 soldiers were killed. Many civilians also died — in numbers often unrecorded.

At the battle of Antietam, more Americans were killed than on any other single day in all of American history. On that day, 22,719 soldiers fell to their deaths — four times the number of Americans lost during the D-Day assault on Normandy in WWII. In fact, more American soldiers died in the Civil War than in all other American wars combined.

The war was fought in American fields, on American roads, and in American cities with a ferocity that could be evoked only in terrible nightmares. Nearly every family in the nation was touched by this war. Scarcely a family in the South did not lose a son, brother, or father.

Four long years of battle changed everything. No other event since the Revolutionary War altered the political, social, economic, and cultural fabric of the United States. In the end, a predominantly industrial society triumphed over an agricultural one. The Old South was forever changed. The blemish of slavery was finally removed from American life, though its legacy would long linger.

In 1861, everyone predicted a short war. Most believed that one battle of enormous proportion would settle a dispute at least 90 years in the making. But history dictated a far more destructive course.

The War Behind the Lines

Modern wars are not confined to the battlefield. Americans in the North and South contributed to the war effort unlike civilians of any previous conflict. The political leaders in the Union and Confederacy each had battles of their own to wage. The Civil War would also require a complete revolution in the economies of both regions. The results of such changes would not only determine the outcome of the war, but would utterly transform the new nation politically, socially, and economically.

In the North, President Lincoln had been elected by a minority of voters in his first election and had to continually battle to win reelection. **COPPERHEADS**, also known as "Peace" Democrats repeatedly thwarted the President's leadership initiatives. In the South, Jefferson Davis was in no easier position. How could a government formed on the basis of states' rights provide the strong, centralized leadership necessary to prevail in war? Davis constantly had to fight with individuals and state legislatures for the power he needed to run the Confederate government.

One of the most important challenges for each leader was foreign relations. If the South could get Britain to support the Confederacy, then maybe, with the most powerful navy in the world, the British could break the Union blockade of Southern ports. This would provide the South with large markets for its cotton and perhaps a source of money large enough to finance the war. Lincoln's job, of course, was to prevent this at all costs. A great game of diplomacy was under way.

As the war progressed, a stark contrast between the two economies emerged. Both the North and the South experienced high rates of inflation, but the South's rate was 80 times greater than in the North. Labor shortages occurred on both sides, as did increasing class conflict between the wealthy and the poor. Since most of the battles in the Civil War took place in the South, great physical destruction was wrought throughout the region, causing mass poverty and despair.

The war also brought significant new roles for Northern and Southern women at home and at work as they replaced almost two million men going off to war. They plowed the fields and did jobs previously done only by the men. Through organization and sheer tenacity they broadened their influence on many problems facing society.

Men were military nurses before this time. It was not considered proper for women to tend to injured and dying men, assisting in operations and care. In fighting for this right, women earned respect and admiration of generals, politicians, and husbands. They would use this success to continue to enlarge their role in the evolving fabric of the nation.

The Civil War presents a struggle between two societies, not merely two armies. It showed how a predominantly industrial society could prevail over an agricultural one. It demonstrated like no previous war that the efforts of all individuals matter. Lastly, although he would not live to see the results, the handling of the Civil War is a testament to the wisdom, determination and leadership of Abraham Lincoln, arguably America's greatest President.

Who Freed the Slaves?

September 1858: (2 1/2 years before the Civil War) Abraham Lincoln: "I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people. ... And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

January 1861: Most southern states secede. They take with them the labor of about four million black slaves. Blacks form the backbone of the southern economy: cotton, rice, sugar, dockwork, etc.

March 1861: Lincoln's Inaugural Address: If the southern states return to the Union, President Lincoln promises to support a Constitutional amendment guaranteeing that slavery will never be abolished in states where it currently exists.

April 1861: Lincoln expects a short war to reunify the nation; he calls for 75,000 volunteers for three months.

October 1861: Major General Dix of the Union army seizes two counties of Virginia. He orders that slavery is not to be interfered with, that the slaves are not to be given freedom by the northern armies.

Later, 1861: Baltimore, Maryland. Northern General Burnside returns two black slaves to their master because they had tried to escape to Union lines.

July 4, 1862: Colonel Pryor of the North to residents in Virginia: "I desire to assure you that the relation of master and servant as recognized in your state shall be respected. Your authority over that species of property shall not in the least be interfered with. To this end, I assure you that those under my command have orders to take up and hold any Negroes found running about the camp without passes from their masters."

One northern general promises to put down any attempted slave insurrection "with an iron hand."

1861 and most of 1862: Free blacks in the North are not allowed to volunteer to fight with the Union army. The abolitionist Frederick Douglass criticizes this policy: "[T]his is no time to fight with one hand when both are needed; ... this is no time to fight only with your white hand, and allow your black hand to remain tied."

By the beginning of 1862: Runaway slaves by the thousands are escaping from their masters and finding their way to the invading northern armies. Some generals decide to return the slaves, others decide to put them to work for the Union cause.

1862: Union General Fremont in Missouri frees the slaves of enemy plantation owners. President Lincoln orders him to return the slaves.

Spring 1862: Northern General Hunter, with only 10,000 men, must hold the coasts of Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida. He pleads with Washington for more troops. The War Department replies: "You must get along as best you can. Not a man from the North can be spared."

Against orders, Hunter begins using runaway slaves as soldiers. He writes: "They are now eager beyond all things to take the field and be led into action. ... They are displaying great natural capacities in acquiring the duties of the soldier."

August 1862: Lincoln realizes that whatever he does, the slaves are freeing themselves simply by running into the northern armies by the thousands. However, he still maintains that, "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it would help to save the Union." He worries that if he freed the slaves, the 20,000 Kentuckians fighting for the North would go over to the South, thus harming the cause of the Union. In addition to Kentucky, the slave states of Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware also did not secede.

1862: The North is having great trouble winning the war. If France and England support the South, the North may be defeated. Lincoln finds it increasingly hard to get new recruits to fight.

September 1862: Lincoln announces the Emancipation Proclamation, which will take effect January 1, 1863. It will "free" all the slaves in the states and portions of states "under rebellion," but will not free slaves in the areas under Union control such as the border states of Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and Missouri, or in the western counties of Virginia, that split off from Virginia and stayed in the Union. Thus if states or parts of states were to return to the Union between September and January, slaveowners would be able to keep their slaves.

January 1863: The Emancipation Proclamation takes effect, freeing slaves in states under rebellion, but not in the border states or in areas controlled by Union armies, such as New Orleans and other parts of Louisiana. Lincoln changes course; he allows active recruitment of free blacks into the Union army. In the South, slave resistance continues to grow. Slaves sabotage plantations, stop work, flee to Union lines, and volunteer to fight their former masters.

Spring 1863: The Emancipation Proclamation swings English and French public opinion to the side of the Union.

July 1863: Lincoln begins a draft to get enough soldiers to continue the war. Only white males—no free blacks—are to be drafted. The Irish workers in New York City stage massive and violent protests. Riots kill between 400 and 1,000 people, mostly African Americans. Property damage is over \$1 million. Riots also break out in other northern cities. Workers and poor whites protest the draft and the provision of the law that allows wealthy people to hire substitutes or to buy their way out for \$300. One slogan is "It's a rich man's war and a poor man's fight."

July 1863: The Massachusetts 54th Infantry, a black regiment under the command of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, leads the attack on the Confederate Fort Wagner in Charleston, S.C. They fight courageously. Over half the regiment dies in battle.

Later 1863: An officer under General Ulysses S. Grant, commenting on the performance of the 20,000 black soldiers under his command in Virginia says, "The problem [of finding troops

to fight] is solved. The Negro is a man, a soldier, a hero."

March 17, 1865: In an act of desperation, Confederate President Jefferson Davis calls for forming a black army to fight for the South. The Confederate Congress approves drafting 300,000 black slaves for combat. Implies that those who volunteer will gain their freedom.

April 9, 1865: General Robert E. Lee surrenders.

In the Civil War, 186,017 black soldiers fought, having formed 154 regiments. At least 68,000 blacks died in combat. Eight out of every 10 black soldiers who served were either liberated or escaped slaves.

—compiled by Bill Bigelow

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Election of 1860: Issues

Each group: You must come to a position on the following issues. Answer not from your personal beliefs, but based on how you think people in your social group would respond.

Should slavery be allowed in the Southern states where it currently exists? Why or why not?
 Should slavery be allowed in the Western territories? Why or why not?
 Should the U.S. government begin giving "homesteads" to people who are willing to work the land themselves? Why or why not?
 Should tariffs on imported goods be increased? Why or why not?
 Should the United States government use tax money to support the building of railroads across the country?

6. List the issues that your group feels most strongly about.

Election of 1860: Ballot

Your Name:	Your Social Group:
Candidata Vay Ara Vating For	
Candidate fou Are voting For:	
Reasons Why:	
Con l'Inte Ven Ann Mat Victor Francis	
Candidate You Are Not Voting For:	
Reasons Why Not:	
·	
Candidate You Are <i>Not</i> Voting For:	
Reasons Why Not:	
Candidate You Are <i>Not</i> Voting For:	
Reasons Why Not:	
1000010 Willy 110t.	

Western Farmers

YOU LIVE IN WESTERN and Midwestern states and territories — places like Illinois, Ohio, Nebraska, and Kansas. Your family owns a farm and you work it yourselves. You are white, but you don't own other human beings as slaves, like the plantation owners in the South. Some of you were born in the United States, but many of you come from other countries like Germany and Great Britain.

Like farmers everywhere, you want the best land you can get. Those of you in states like Ohio and Illinois think about moving someday to Western territories like Kansas and Nebraska where there is plentiful, rich land and good amounts of rainfall. For all of you, perhaps your biggest worry is that Southerners will move into the territories and bring their slaves with them. You hate slavery. Not because you believe that all people are created equal, but because slave labor would cheapen *your* labor. Any crop grown by slaves can be sold more cheaply. How can you compete against people who work for free? Let the slave owners keep their slaves in the South where they've always been. But every

year, these white plantation owners get bolder. In 1854 Congress repealed the Missouri Compromise that outlawed slavery in Kansas and Nebraska. In the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision, the Supreme Court ruled that a slave owner can take slaves wherever he wants, and Congress can't say anything about it. You want these slave owners to keep away from free farmers like you.

For a long time, there has been talk of the government giving good land in the West to farmers who will work it themselves. Congress passed a "homestead" act recently, but President Buchanan, a Democrat, vetoed it. Maybe you'd move and maybe you wouldn't, but you sure would like the choice. Perhaps you could sell your farm for a profit and move farther west onto better land.

Another concern of yours these days is transportation. Travel is slow. There's no way to get way out west to California or Oregon except by wagon. And if you move farther west, how would you get manufactured goods like guns, stoves, and tools from the east? And you'd need some quick and safe way to get your products to market in the east.

Northern Factory Owners and Merchants

YOU ARE A POWERFUL CLASS growing more powerful. You manufacture and sell products like cotton cloth and machinery. You depend on a government that will not interfere with your right to make profits. However, this isn't to say you want a "do-nothing" government. Not at all. You have a number of concerns that require a strong and sympathetic government. You are still worried about products from other countries, especially from Great Britain and her colonies, being sold here more cheaply than your products. To make sure that people buy from you, you want the government to tax imported goods from other countries. These import taxes are called tariffs. For example, as recently as the early 1840s, cotton cloth made in the United States sold for just under 7 cents a yard. The tariff for foreign cloth was 7 and a half cents — more than 100 percent! This was great because it made foreign cloth more expensive than your cloth so people bought your products. Of course, some people support low tariffs because with low tariffs goods are cheaper to buy. In 1857, Congress lowered the tariff to 24 percent. This hurt your industry and, in fact, you think this contributed to the terrible depression of 1857, which still hurts business.

To keep growing, you need more and more places to sell your products. Transportation is a problem. If there were more railroads to the Western states and territories you'd be able to sell a great deal more than you do now. You could get cheap food and whiskey from the Western regions, and could sell them cloth, guns, tools, stoves, and the like. You'd also be able to invest in the railroads and make even more money.

Here's a problem: Many workers and farmers want the government to allow them to "homestead" (farm on free land) in the Western territories. You worry about your workers leaving to become farmers. Then who'd do all the work? As it is, because of labor shortages, you pay between a third and a half more in wages than do factory owners in Great Britain. Cheaper labor gives them an unfair advantage. The only thing that helps out the labor shortage here is the steady supply of immigrants coming to the United States from Europe. The more workers available, the lower the wages you have to pay. You don't like homesteads — and you want a president who opposes homesteads — but you might be willing to put up with a homestead law if you could get the president and Congress to support higher tariffs on foreign goods.

Your major political rivals are the Southern slave owners, almost all of whom are Democrats. Just about everything you support, they oppose. You need the cheap cotton, grown with slave labor, that they send north and you need them to buy your products. But you don't need them to get any stronger in Congress. Frankly, you benefit from slavery in the South, but you don't need it to spread. Because that would increase the power of your biggest rivals: the Southern plantation owners.

Southern Plantation Owners

IT SEEMS THAT EVERYONE who is not a Southerner wants to destroy your way of life. Just last year, that lunatic criminal John Brown tried to start a slave uprising in Virginia. It failed miserably. But you know there are lots more crazy abolitionists where he came from. Brown even got financial support from church people in the North.

The coming election of 1860 is perhaps the most important election in the short history of this country. Here is your situation. As you know, your livelihood depends on growing crops like tobacco, rice, sugar, and especially cotton. A plantation requires a great deal of labor — slave labor. Above all, you want the South to remain open to slavery. However, you believe that in a free country you should also have the right to bring your slaves to wherever you choose to live. Fortunately, the Supreme Court seems to agree with you. In the 1857 Dred Scott decision, the court decided that if a slave were taken to a "free" state, it didn't mean the slave got his freedom. To you, the logical conclusion is that you should be able to own land in Western territories like Kansas and Nebraska and bring your slaves to work that land. However, there are many in the North and West who want to outlaw slavery in the territories — in direct violation of the Constitution. These people must be defeated at all costs. (For that matter, many in the South would like to take over Cuba and Nicaragua to open up more territory for the expansion of slavery. To them you have one thing to say: Good.)

To make matters worse, many in the North and West propose to give "free" farmers homesteads in the territories — excellent land they can move onto. Nobody says anything about giving *you* free land and allowing you to bring your slaves. Why not? Because they are afraid that they won't be able to compete. So they demand unfair government protection. As long as homesteads go only to "free" farmers, then you oppose them. They are just an unfair giveaway.

The rich owners in the North are happy to take your cheap cotton grown with slave labor, but their representatives in Congress have always voted for high tariffs — a tax on imports — so that they don't have to compete with cheaper goods from Great Britain and her colonies. They make cotton shirts for less in India, but they cost more here because of the tariffs. In 1857, Congress lowered the tariffs to 24 percent. At one point they'd been more than 100 percent. You want to keep them low — even lower than 24 percent.

The government also wants to take your tax money and give it to people who will build a rail-road across the Northern United States, all the way to California. This will cost tens of millions of dollars. The railroad might help Northerners sell cloth and iron tools in Kansas and California. But you have good rivers in the South. A Northern railroad won't help you, although you would support a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific.

Northern Workers

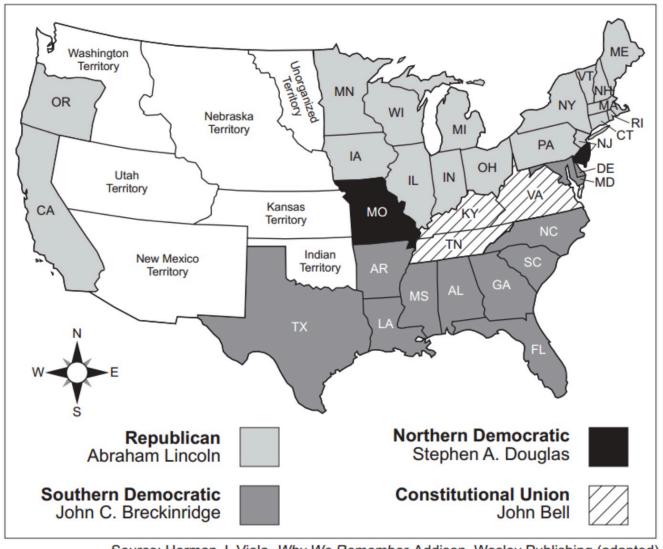
YOU WORK IN A FACTORY that produces cloth from cotton. As you know, the United States is becoming more "industrialized." Factories are springing up everywhere. Recently you read that in just the last 20 years, the value of manufactured goods produced by workers like you quadrupled. You are white. Many of you are native-born, and some of you left your farms for work in the cities. Others of you are from different countries, especially Ireland. Currently, you face a number of problems.

In 1857 a major depression hit the country and, at least temporarily, some of you lost your jobs. This taught you that even though more and more things are produced by machines in factories, you don't have a guaranteed job. The factory owners try to convince you that the depression was caused by the Democrats in Congress who lowered the tariffs on imported manufactured goods in 1857. The owners say that because foreign owners can find cheaper workers, the United States needs high tariffs — which make foreign goods more expensive. Otherwise, American products can't compete. Or so they say. The owners say that we should elect politicians who support high tariffs to protect American industries and American jobs.

Because of your job insecurity, and because factory jobs aren't so great, many of you dream of owning your own farm out west. It would be expensive to pull up and move, but there is one proposal that would make it a lot cheaper. Some politicians support the idea of giving "homesteads" — free land out west — to people who will work a plot of land with their families. This would be great. However, some people think that slave owners should be able to take advantage of the homesteads and bring in their slaves to work the land. With free workers, these Southerners could sell their crops for almost nothing. How could you and other free farmers compete with that?

Something else that would make it easier to move west is if there were railroads to take you there. You might want to go all the way to California or Oregon. But to do that now, it takes months of difficult and dangerous travel by wagon. For years, politicians have talked about building a railroad across the entire country, but so far they haven't done anything about it. The owners support railroads because they say they'll sell more products and that will make your jobs more secure. Of course, the owners say lots of things.

The Results of the Election of 1860



Source: Herman J. Viola, Why We Remember, Addison-Wesley Publishing (adapted)

Member, American **Anti-Slavery Society**

YOU ARE A MEMBER of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS), an organization founded in 1833 to end slavery in the United States. Your members include both blacks and whites. To you, slavery is the central evil in American life. Of all the injustices, this one—that allows human beings to own other human beings and to treat them purely as property—is far and away the worst.

David Walker, the son of an enslaved father and a free mother, wrote a pamphlet in 1829, "Walker's Appeal," denouncing slavery. You were especially influenced by this pamphlet. Walker condemned the idea that somehow whites were inherently superior and had the right to control blacks: "God has been pleased to give us two eyes, two hands, two feet, and some sense in our heads as well as they. They have no more right to hold us in slavery than we have to hold them." Walker insisted that slavery could not last forever: "Our sufferings will come to an end, in spite of all the Americans this side of eternity." But the year after these words were published, Walker was found dead in Boston. Some think he was poisoned, as slave owners had put a bounty on his head.

In 1831, there was an incident that shocked the nation and forced everyone to think about slavery. Nat Turner was an enslaved man who was a preacher. He led an uprising against whites in Southampton County, Virginia. About 70 enslaved people went from plantation to plantation killing whites-men, women, and children. In the end, about 60 whites and more than 100 blacks were killed. For slave owners, the lesson was that they needed to crack down, and pass more laws restricting the freedom of slaves. For people like you, Turner's revolt was just another piece of evidence that slavery is an evil that must be abolished.

But you know that slavery won't disappear on its own. Slavery is a huge industry in America—indirectly in the North as well as directly in the South. Obviously, the people who benefit the most are the slave owners, who get free labor to pick their cotton and do countless other tasks on their plantations. But there are others who benefit: textile manufacturers in the North who get cheap cotton, bankers, railroad companies, insurance people, owners of the ships that bring goods to and from the South. There is more money invested in slavery in the United States than in any other industry.

However, it's one thing to oppose slavery and quite another thing to know what to do about it. There is sharp debate among abolitionists people who want to end slavery. How can we end this enormous evil? That is the question we face.

Role Play: Ending Slavery

American Anti-Slavery Society Choices—1833

1. SITUATION: Earlier this century an organization formed called the American Colonization Society. The aim of this group is to free slaves and to pay for them to be relocated in Africa. Recently, people favoring colonization approached your organization. They have asked you to contribute funds to support buying some people out of slavery and sending them to Africa. They also would like to use your organization's name in their publicity.

QUESTION: Will the American Anti-Slavery Society contribute funds for colonization and allow its name to be used in this effort?

ARGUMENTS: Some people believe that because slavery will not end on its own, we'll need to end slavery one person at a time, by buying their freedom. True, this won't end slavery as an institution, but it will end slavery permanently for those people who are freed and allowed to return to Africa. They also argue that because of all the racism in the North and the South, it will be important that freed black slaves have their own homeland in Africa. American prejudice is so deep that it will never be possible for blacks to live freely in the United States. Others disagree. They argue that "colonization" is ridiculous and a waste of time—that your organization needs to end slavery forever, not buy just a few people's freedom. Besides, if this plan "worked" and began to buy substantial numbers of people their freedom, the price of enslaved people would simply increase. Finally, they argue that most enslaved Americans were born here, not in Africa, and that people who are enslaved deserve their freedom here in the land that they worked so hard to build. And if there is discrimination here, then we must work to change it.

2. SITUATION: In addition to the horrors of slavery in the South, racial discrimination in the North is also a huge problem. There is segregation in the North, especially in schools. There are laws in the North against intermarriage. There are even some Northern churches that oppose slavery but don't allow blacks as members. Blacks are discriminated against throughout the North. Not a single state in the country treats people equally regardless of one's race.

Recently, some members have proposed that to protest racism in the North, the AASS leaders should not accept speaking engagements in churches that refuse to allow blacks to be members.

QUESTION: a) Should the American Anti-Slavery Society spend time and money opposing racial discrimination in the North as well as slavery in the South? b) Specifically, should the AASS prohibit its leaders from speaking in churches that refuse to allow blacks to be members?

ARGUMENTS: People in favor of the AASS working to oppose racism in the North argue that our aim should be to fight racial prejudice wherever it occurs—that our deepest aim is not just to end slavery, but to end mistreatment based on race as well. They also argue that the more freedom our black members have, the more effectively they'll be able to oppose slavery. If we refuse to speak in churches that don't allow blacks to become members, it would send a powerful symbolic message that we stand against all racial prejudice. Others say: Yes, prejudice in the North is a problem. But it is a separate issue and could divide the anti-slavery movement. They argue that there are people in the North who oppose slavery but don't yet believe in equality for blacks, and that we need to keep the movement as broad as possible. People will change slowly, and we must allow that slow change to occur. They believe that if we refuse to speak in churches that discriminate against blacks, we are doing cutting ourselves off from people we need to reach with our anti-slavery message. One fight at a time, these people urge—first we get rid of slavery, then we deal with racial discrimination in the North.

3. SITUATION: Many of the people in the abolition movement are white women. As they work against slavery, they've come to realize how much they are discriminated against. Even in some antislavery gatherings, women are not allowed to speak or to be leaders. In almost every state, married women cannot own property. Husbands even control the wages earned by women outside the home. In almost every state, the father can legally make a will appointing a guardian for his children in the event of his death. Should the husband die, a mother can have her children taken away from her. In most states, it is legal for a man to beat his wife. New York courts have ruled that, in order to keep his wife from nagging, a man can beat her with a horsewhip every few weeks! Women are not allowed to vote in any state.

A number of prominent women—many of them active in the abolition movement—have organized a women's rights convention for Seneca Falls, New York in July of this year. This will be the first time that women in the United States have organized a meeting to discuss the condition of women. Some of the organizers would like the American Anti-Slavery Society to endorse this gathering.

QUESTION: Should the American Anti-Slavery Society publicly endorse this gathering?

ARGUMENTS: Those in favor argue that the abolition movement should stand against all oppression, including the oppression of women. They argue that women abolitionists would be more effective if they were allowed to speak publicly. Some supporters also believe that the women's rights movement would bring in many people who have not been active in abolitionist work, and that this could ultimately strengthen the movement against slavery. And besides, they argue, we're trying to build a society based on equality and free from all oppression. Others argue that this is nonsense, that this threatens to divide anti-slavery forces. They argue that without question, the greatest evil of our time is the enslavement of black human beings by white human beings, and that as bad off as some white women have it, this discrimination cannot be compared with slavery. Opponents argue that associating the American Anti-Slavery Society with women's rights will confuse and divide our supporters—and will weaken the antislavery movement.

4. SITUATION: In 1850, the U.S. Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act and President Millard Fillmore signed it into law. The law made it much easier for slave owners to recapture slaves who had escaped into free Northern states. In fact, it made it easier for slave owners to capture free blacks and to claim that they are escaped slaves. The law denies a jury trial to anyone accused of escaping. The law requires the national government to prosecute any Northern whites who help slaves escape to freedom, or who harbor them. This is going to lead to a bunch of bounty hunters running around the North, looking for escaped slaves. And it will make all free blacks in the North more insecure. In short, this is a terrible new law that puts the U.S. government even more clearly on the side of the slave owners. There is now no doubt: The slave owners are determined to keep slavery forever, and to strengthen it.

In response, many people active in the American Anti-Slavery Society believe that we must also step up our efforts. Some of our members want to organize armed groups to protect escaped slaves and to prevent slave catchers and government officials from re-enslaving people. One strategy would be to organize—and to arm—large groups of people to resist the bounty hunters, and to attack the courts and jails where fugitive slaves are being held.

QUESTION: Should we support armed attempts to stop the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act? If not, how should we respond to this new law?

ARGUMENTS: Those in favor of using force to stop this new law from being enacted insist that we have no choice; we can't allow the slave owners to come into our communities and harm free people. Nonviolence won't work, they argue, because the law and the government is on the side of the slaveowners, and their side is more than willing to use violence. It's suicidal to urge nonviolence when the people against us are armed to the teeth. This law is a potential disaster for the anti-slavery cause, and we need to become even more militant. These people also argue that even if we fail to stop escaped slaves from being captured, our resistance will inspire others, and our resistance may also discourage the enforcement of the law. Those who oppose this strategy argue that whatever we do, we must not use violence. We can continue our educational work—writing, speaking out, and building opposition to slavery. True, slavery has not ended, but there are more people than ever before who agree that slavery is evil. We risk turning these people against our cause if we use violence. We need to do what we do best: educate against slavery. These people argue that if we were to use violence, this would actually play into the hands of the government and slave owners. If the game is violence, the government is sure to win.

5. SITUATION: Last year, in 1857, the Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott case that the Western territories of the United States may not prohibit slavery. Chief Justice Roger Taney wrote for the majority of the court that no black person in the United States had "any rights which the white man is bound to respect." To many people in the abolition movement, this means that slavery cannot be ended with laws or through nonviolence. There are more slaves in the United States than ever before—more than 4 million of them. And slavery is the country's biggest business—yes, business—with slaves valued at more than \$4 billion. Slaves in the United States are worth more than all the banks, railroads, and factories put together. To think that slavery can be argued away seems more and more ridiculous.

There is one man in particular who argues for action, not talk. His name is John Brown. He led the fight to have Kansas admitted to the United States as a free state rather than a slave state—and he killed pro-slavery people in the process. Brown is now raising money—as much as \$25,000—to "continue my efforts in the cause of freedom." You know that Brown intends to physically confront the forces of slavery, although you're not sure exactly how. Privately, Brown has been asking AASS members to donate guns if they have them. You know that Brown has approached anti-slavery blacksmiths, asking them to make pikes—ferocious-looking double-edged blades attached to long poles. He also is raising money to hire a military instructor.

QUESTION: Should you and other members of the American Anti-Slavery Society support John Brown with either money or guns? If not, what's your alternative?

ARGUMENTS: People who support Brown argue that despite all the nonviolent work for almost 30 years, slavery is more entrenched than ever. They argue that the traditional tactics of the AASS have failed—that pamphlets, newspapers, speaking, and organizing meetings may have increased the number of Northerners opposed to slavery, but so what? You can win public opinion, but not end slavery. These people argue that slavery must be ended with force, and that Brown has the credentials from his time in Kansas to do the job. Well-targeted raids into the South could encourage slaves to abandon the plantations and run away, or even spark slave rebellions. These people argue that we can't turn our backs on one of the bravest and most determined anti-slavery activists in the United States. Those opposed to Brown argue that it is foolish to think that a few armed opponents of slavery—even a small army—could go up against the U.S. Army and hope to succeed. What would this accomplish? It would be crushed by the military, and if the government discovered any links between Brown and the AASS, then it could lead to your organization being attacked by the government or even outlawed. No, they argue, we may not be sure what will end slavery, but we know that this won't end slavery. Brown may be committed and brave, but that doesn't make him right.

From Lincoln's First Inaugural **Address**

March 4, 1861

Excerpt #1

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." . . .

I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause — as cheerfully to one section as to another.

Excerpt #2

I understand a proposed amendment to the constitution — which amendment, however, I have not seen — has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

Original Proposed 13th Amendment to the Constitution

No AMENDMENT shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State,

with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.

Questions:

1.	In your own words, summarize what Lincoln is saying in these two excerpts from his first inaugural
	address. What is he promising?

2. Which part or parts of the country do you think Lincoln is mainly speaking to in these excerpts?

3. Put the original 13th Amendment in your own words.

4. By the time Abraham Lincoln gave this inaugural address in March 1861, seven states had already seceded from the Union. Why do you think these Southern states did not accept his offer and return to the Union?

Emancipation Proclamation

Jan. 1, 1863

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas on the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the executive will on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-In-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the first day above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northhampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within 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 case 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 act, 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. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

This question is based on the following documents. It is designed to test your ability to work with historical documents. Some of these documents have been edited for the question. Review the documents and answer the questions below each one. Be sure to closely review each document as you will be using them to answer your final essay question.

Historical Context: Throughout history, conflicts have arisen between countries, groups, or regions with differing beliefs or circumstances. It is often the task of the historian to determine the main causes of these conflicts. This knowledge can help avoid such conflicts in the future."

Task: Using information from the documents and your knowledge of Civil War history, answer the questions that follow each document in Part A. Your answers to the questions will help you write the Part B essay in which you will be asked to

- 1. Identify and discuss a major source of conflict that led to the American Civil War.
- (a) <u>Identify</u> means "to recognize or establish as being a particular person or thing"
- (b) <u>Discuss</u> means "to make observations about something using facts, reasoning, and argument; to present in detail."

Part A Short-Answer Questions

Directions: Analyze the documents and answer the short-answer questions that follow each document in the space provided.

Document 1

Missouri Compromise of 1820

SEC. 8. And be it further enacted. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the state, contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited: Provided always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed, in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid

Source: The National Archives and Records Administration http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=22

1a. According to the document, what is prohibited in the territory north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude?	
1b. According to the document, what will happen to a person who escapes to the territory described above?	
1c. Why do you think this document from 1820 is relevant when discussing the Civil War?	

The Compromise of 1850

It being desirable, for the peace, concord, and harmony of the Union of these States, to settle and adjust amicably all existing questions of controversy between them arising out of the institution of slavery upon a fair, equitable and just basis: therefore,

- 1. Resolved, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.
- 2. Resolved, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the republic of Mexico...
- 8. Resolved, That Congress has no power to promote or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States; but that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them depends exclusively upon their own particular laws.

Source: The Civil War Preservation Trust http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/primarysources/compromise-of-1850.html

2a. According to the document, which institution is causing conflict between the states?
2b. According to the document, did California enter the Union as a free or slave state?
2c. According to the document, what does Congress not have the power to do?

Fugitive Slave Act, 1850 (Part of the Compromise of 1850)

An Act to amend, and supplementary to, the Act entitled "An Act respecting Fugitives from Justice, and Persons escaping from the Service of their Masters," approved February twelfth, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

... "An Act to establish the judicial courts of the United States" shall be, and are hereby, authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this act.

Section 5

And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant, or other process, when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars... and all good citizens are hereby commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law.

Section 6

And be it further enacted, That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another State or Territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent or attorney... may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the courts, judges, or commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive... In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence...

Section 7

And be it further enacted, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor.... or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months...

3a. Was this act written at the Federal, State, or Local level? Based on your answer, who needs to obey these laws?	
3a. According to Section 6 of the document, what do slave owners have the right to do? Who must help the slave owners?	
3b. According to Section 6 of the document, what is it that fugitive cannot do?	
3c. According to Section 7, citizens of the United States cannot	
3d. How do you think citizens of "free" states felt about Section 7?	
3e. Why do you think the "Compromise of 1850" (including the Fugitive Slave Act) is called a compromise? What issue do you think they are compromising over?	

Editorial in the Albany, New York, *Evening Journal*, 1857 Opinions of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott Case.

It is no novelty to find the Supreme Court following the lead of the Slavery Extension party, to which most of its members belong. Five of the Judges are slaveholders, and two of the other four owe their appointments to their facile ingenuity in making State laws bend to Federal demands in behalf of "the Southern institution."

Source: Secession Era Editorial Project, Furman University, http://history.furman.edu/editorials/see.py?sequence=dsmenu&location=Dred%20Scott%20Decision&ecod e=nyajds570307a

4. According to the document above, whom does this person think the Supreme Court is favoring?

The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854

Territory Nebraska; and when admitted as a State or States, the said Territory or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of the admission...

...Territory of Kansas; and when admitted as a State or States, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission...

Source: The Civil War Preservation Trust http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/primarysources/kansas-nebraska-act.html

5a. Both the territories of Kansas and Nebraska were above the line drawn in the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Why do you think it was decided that these new territories would choose their own states' status of free or slave?	
5b. In the four years after this compromise bloodshed and violence dominated these territories with leaders from both slave holding and abolitionist factions. Why do you think these groups were fighting?	
5c. How do you think news of this fighting affected Americans throughout the country?	

Editorial from the Cincinnati Enquirer, 1859 The Cloud in the Distance No Bigger then a Man's Hand" – The First Battle of the "Irrepressible Conflict."

The "irrepressible conflict" of the free and slave states, which is preached by the Republican leaders as an orthodox doctrine, is well calculated to lead to such results. This affair at Harper's Ferry is but the "cloud in the distance no bigger than a man's hand," but it is the presage of the future storm, that shall desolate the whole land, if the people give this Abolition doctrine their approval. It necessarily tends to servile insurrection, civil war and disunion. BROWN and his followers are but the advance column of the partisan disciples of SEWARD and CHASE, who are burning to make a practical application of the "irrepressible con-flict doctrine. They stand ready to deluge the land in blood to carry out their fanatical views; and the momentous question is, do the majority of the people of the free states sympathize with them?

Source: Secession Era Editorial Project, Furman University, http://history.furman.edu/editorials/see.py?sequence=jbmenu&location=%20John%20Brown%27s%20Rai d%20on%20Harper%27s%20Ferry&ecode=ohcejb591019a

6a. What event is this document referring to?
6b. According to the document, what does this person think this event will lead to?
6c. What are the "fanatical views" the author is referring to?
6d. Do you think "the majority of the people of the free states sympathize with them?"

Timeline

November 6, 1860 - Abraham Lincoln elected President of the Union November 10, 1860 - Both South Carolina Senators resign seats in the U.S. Senate November 18, 1860 - Georgia legislature votes \$1,000,000 to arm the state December 20, 1860 - The state of South Carolina secedes from the Union January 9, 1861 - The state of Mississippi secedes from the Union January 10, 1861 - The state of Florida secedes from the Union January 11, 1861 - The state of Alabama secedes from the Union

Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

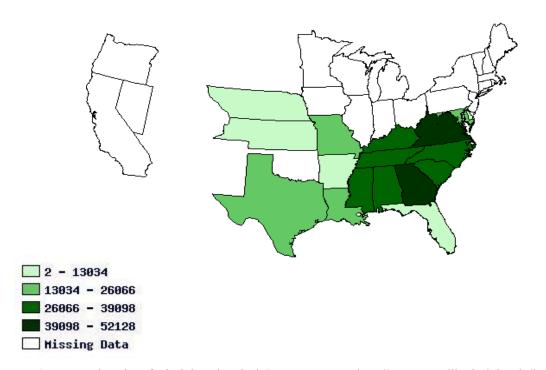
In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of this office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that-I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

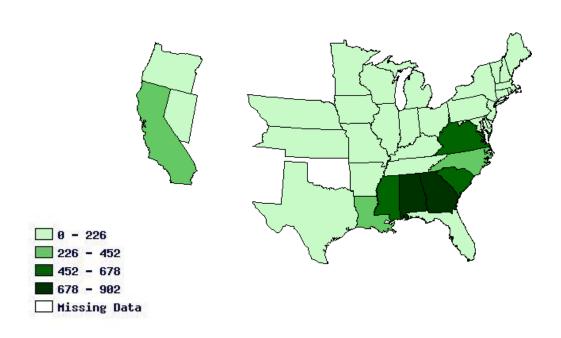
7a. Based on the documents above; after a few short words Lincoln addresses the concerns of the Southern States. Why do you think he does this so quickly?	
7b. Based on the documents above, what do the Southern States begin to do immediately following Lincoln's election?	
7c. Based on the documents above, what appears to be a cheif concern among the Southern people?	

Total Slave Holders in 1860



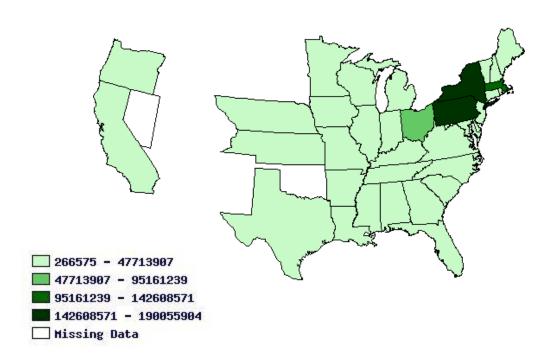
Source: University of Virginia, Historical Census Browser, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/index.html

Farms Larger than 1000 Acres in 1860



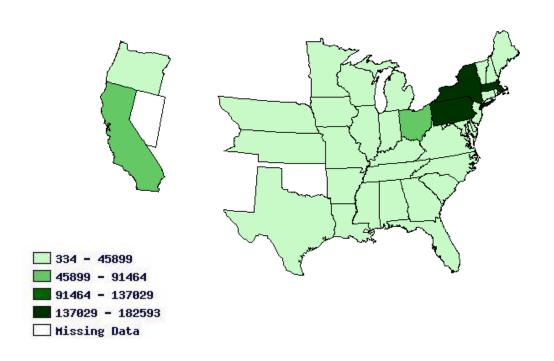
Source: University of Virginia, Historical Census Browser, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/index.html

Capital Invested in Manufacturing (In Dollars) in 1860



Source: University of Virginia, Historical Census Browser, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/index.html

Males Employed in Manufacturing in 1860



Source: University of Virginia, Historical Census Browser, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/index.html

8a. According to the first map, Total Slave Holders in 1860, in which region of the US were most slave holders located?
8b. According to the second map, Farms of 1000 Acres or More, in which region did most large farms exist?
8c. According to the third map, Capital Invested in Manufacturing, from which region of the US did people invest the most money in manufacturing?
8d. According to the third map, Males Employed in Manufacturing, in which region of the US did most men work in manufacturing?
8e. Using the maps above what conclusions can you make about the economies of the North and South?

Excerpt from the Cornerstone Speech Given by Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861

The new constitution has put at rest, forever, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution African slavery as it exists amongst us the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the "rock upon which the old Union would split." He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact.

9. What does Alexander Stephens believe to be the main cause of the division of the Union?	

Part B

Essay

Directions:

Write a well-organized essay that includes an introduction, several paragraphs, and a conclusion. Use evidence from at least five of the above documents in your essay. Support your response with examples and details. Be sure to use your prior knowledge on the topic of the Civil War.

Historical Context: Throughout history, conflicts have arisen between countries, groups, or regions with differing beliefs or circumstances. It is often the task of the historian to determine the main causes of these conflicts. This knowledge can help avoid such conflicts in the future.

Task: Using information from the documents and your knowledge of Civil War history, answer the questions that follow each document in Part A. Your answers to the questions will help you write the Part B essay in which you will be asked to

- 1. Identify and discuss a major source of conflict that led to the American Civil War.
- (c) <u>Identify</u> means "to recognize or establish as being a particular person or thing"
- (d) <u>Discuss</u> means "to make observations about something using facts, reasoning, and argument; to present in detail."

Guidelines:

In your essay, be sure to:

- Include evidence from at least *five* of the above documents
- Include an introduction, body, and conclusion
- Include relevant outside information based on your knowledge of the Civil War

DBQ Scoring Rubric

4 Points

- Answers the question(s), providing a response for every aspect of the question.
- Answers question(s) citing specific examples from given documents as well as previous/outside knowledge.
- Provided examples from or referred to at least 5 of the given documents.
- Included an introduction, several paragraphs, and a conclusion.
- Expresses ideas clearly throughout the essay.

3 Points

- Answers the question(s), providing a response for most aspects of the question.
- Answers question(s) citing general examples from given documents as well as previous/outside knowledge.
- Provided examples from or referred to at least 3 of the given documents.
- Included introduction, a body paragraph, and conclusion.
- Expresses ideas clearly for a majority of the essay.

2 Points

- Answer the question(s), providing a response for some aspects of the question.
- Answers question(s) displaying some understanding of the given documents and/or outside/previous knowledge.
- Referred to at least 1 of the given documents.
- Included an introduction, body, or conclusion.
- Expressed their main idea or thesis within the essay.

1 Point

- Limited responses to the question(s), main points are not addressed.
- Answer question(s) displaying little understanding of the given documents and/or outside/previous knowledge.
- Reference to the documents in general.
- Included only one paragraph.
- Ideas are scattered, but within the topic

0 Points

- Little or no response to the question(s).
- Answer to question(s) is unrelated or off topic.
- No reference to the documents.
- Writing is illegible or incomplete

Part A:
Part B:
Final Score: