

1789–1877

Growth and Conflict

The Big Ideas

SECTION 1: The New Republic

Societies change over time. The young republic saw the growth of the federal government and nationalism. Industry prospered in the North, while Southern agriculture depended on slavery.

SECTION 2: Growing Division and Reform

Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs can lead to division within a nation. Sectional disputes increasingly gripped the nation, while reformers sought to improve society.

SECTION 3: Manifest Destiny and Crisis

Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs can lead to division within a nation. During the mid-1800s, the United States expanded westward and sectional conflict escalated.

SECTION 4: The Civil War

Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs can lead to division within a nation. Unable to reach a compromise in the controversy over slavery, the North and South resorted to civil war.

SECTION 5: Reconstruction

Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government. Republicans introduced many reforms during Reconstruction but some of these failed, creating new hardships for newly freed African Americans.



The American Vision: Modern Times Video The Chapter 2 video, “The Battle of New Orleans,” focuses on this important event of the War of 1812.



1789

- Washington elected president

1808

- Congress bans international slave trade

1820

- Missouri Compromise proposed by Henry Clay

1832

- Democrats hold their first presidential nominating convention

Washington
1789–1797



J. Adams
1797–1801



Jefferson
1801–1809



Madison
1809–1817



Monroe
1817–1825



J.Q. Adams
1825–1829



Jackson
1829–1837



Van Buren
1837–1841



W. Harrison
1841



Tyler
1841–1845



1790

1820



United States

PRESIDENTS



World

1794

- Polish rebellion suppressed by Russians

1812

- Napoleon’s invasion and retreat from Russia

1821

- Mexico and Greece declare independence

1832

- Male voting rights expanded in England

1842

- China opened by force to foreign trade



Charge by Don Troiani, depicts the advance of the English Pennsylvania Cavalry during the Battle of Chancellorsville.



1846

- United States begins war with Mexico

1850

- Compromise of 1850 adopted in an attempt to ease sectional tensions

1861

- Fort Sumter bombarded by Confederate forces; the Civil War begins

1865

- Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse; John Wilkes Booth assassinates Lincoln

1877

- Compromise of 1877 ends Reconstruction efforts

Polk 1845–1849 Taylor 1849–1850 Fillmore 1850–1853 Pierce 1853–1857 Buchanan 1857–1861 Lincoln 1861–1865 A. Johnson 1865–1869 Grant 1869–1877 Hayes 1877–1881



1850

1880

1848

- Karl Marx and Frederich Engels's *The Communist Manifesto* published

1859

- Darwin's *Origin of Species* published

1868

- Meiji Restoration begins Japanese modernization



HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 2** to preview chapter information.

Preparing to Read Chapter 2

Reading Skill

Questioning

When authors write books, they try to anticipate the questions their readers are likely to ask and to provide the information that answers those questions. One way to make sure you understand what you are reading is to ask questions of the text. This means that you think about questions you would like answered. By formulating questions in your mind as you read, you increase your ability to understand and remember.

An easy way to practice asking questions during reading is to turn the headings into questions. For example, a heading that reads “John Brown’s Raid” can be turned into “What was John Brown’s raid?” When you turn the heading into a question, you can expect that it will be answered in the passage. You can ask more than one question. For instance, another good question would be “Why was John Brown’s raid important?”

Read the following passage and note how the questions from above were answered.

Brown developed a plan to incite an insurrection, or rebellion, against slaveholders. To obtain weapons, he and about 18 followers seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia) on the night of October 16, 1859. A contingent of U.S. Marines, commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee, rushed from Washington, D.C., to Harpers Ferry. Outnumbered, Brown surrendered, and a Virginia court tried and convicted him and sentenced him to death.

Many Northerners viewed Brown as a martyr in a noble cause. For most Southerners, Brown’s raid offered all the proof they needed that Northerners were actively plotting the murder of slaveholders. (page 199)

The first highlighted area answers the first question by telling what the raid was about: a raid on a federal arsenal to obtain weapons. The second highlighted area explains the importance of the raid, the second question posed. The raid was one more instance pitting Northerners against Southerners.

QUESTIONING

As you read the passage, be sure to take note of the supporting details the author provides. For example, notice the explanation about Brown’s conviction.

Apply the Skill

Read the following headings with a partner and turn them into questions. What do you expect to discover?

The Civil War (Section 4)
The Opposing Sides
The Opposing Economies
The Political Situation
The First Modern War

Reconstruction (Section 5)
Reconstruction Begins
Lincoln and the Radical Republicans
The Wade-Davis Bill
The Freedman’s Bureau



Historical Analysis Skill

Analysis Skill Standard CS4

Relating Current Events

Chronological and Spatial Thinking To better understand historical events both in the past and the present, you should learn to relate current events to the physical and human characteristics of places and regions.

The events of the past can have a long-lasting impact, extending even to the present day. For example, the work of the framers of the Constitution is a continued topic of interpretation and debate. Lawyers, legislators, and citizens regularly debate the intent of the Constitution, especially regarding issues such as the right to bear arms, the purpose of the electoral college, or the balance between personal freedoms and national security.

In the decades leading up to the Civil War, a number of events had a long-range impact on the United States. During this volatile time in our nation's history, decisions were made about the removal of Native Americans from their ancestral lands. In addition, a war with Mexico resulted in the vast expansion of American territories in the West. Finally, a Supreme Court ruling declared that African Americans could never become citizens.

Read the following passages about how Presidents Jackson and Van Buren moved Native Americans from their homelands to the West.

In 1830 Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act, which helped the states relocate Native Americans to largely uninhabited regions west of the Mississippi River. (page 185)

In 1838 Martin Van Buren, Jackson's successor, sent in the army to forcibly move the Cherokee. Roughly 2,000 Cherokee died in camps while waiting for the westward march to begin. On the journey, known to the Cherokee as the Trail of Tears, about 2,000 others died of starvation, disease, and exposure. (page 185)

With the passage of the Indian Removal Act and the forced removal of the Cherokee, by 1838 most Native Americans had left the eastern part of the United States. They now lived on government reservations west of the Mississippi River.

Apply the Skill

As you read this chapter, consider how the seeds of unrest were sown during this critical period. What human characteristics motivated some Americans to seek the physical and political isolation of Native Americans and African Americans? What is the impact today of this legacy of separation? How has a Mexican history influenced western states, particularly those bordering on Mexico, such as California?



Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous chapter, you studied the development of state constitutions and the national Constitution. In this section, you will discover how the new nation continued to develop and how Americans developed a sense of nationalism.

Main Idea

- The United States established a federal government, created the Bill of Rights, and witnessed the first political parties. (p. 173)
- During the Jefferson administration, the Supreme Court established judicial review, and the country doubled in size. (p. 175)
- After the War of 1812, Americans focused on policies that brought the nation together. (p. 176)

- New industries and railroads transformed the North in the early 1800s, while slavery expanded in the South. (p. 178)

Content Vocabulary

cabinet, enumerated powers, implied powers, judicial review, nativism, labor union

Academic Vocabulary

clause, ambiguous

People and Terms to Identify

Bill of Rights, Louisiana Purchase, *McCulloch v. Maryland*, Monroe Doctrine, Industrial Revolution, Eli Whitney

Places to Locate

District of Columbia, Louisiana Territory

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the rise of political parties, nationalism, and the Supreme Court.
- **Explain** why industrialization thrived in the North and cotton dominated the Southern economy.

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the early years of the American republic, complete a graphic organizer by listing actions that strengthened the federal government at home and abroad.



Preview of Events

◆ 1785

1789
George Washington becomes president

◆ 1800

1793
Eli Whitney invents the cotton gin

◆ 1815

1803
Marbury v. Madison case decided; Louisiana Purchase made

◆ 1830

1812
United States declares war on Britain

1823
Monroe Doctrine announced

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.1.2 Analyze the ideological origins of the American Revolution, the Founding Fathers’ philosophy of divinely bestowed unalienable natural rights, the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and the addition of the Bill of Rights.

11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

11.2 Students analyze the relationship among the rise of industrialization, large-scale rural-to-urban migration, and massive immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. During this time of change, the federal government became stronger, political parties developed, and the Supreme Court established judicial review. The country expanded westward with the Louisiana Purchase. Nationalism increased after the War of 1812 as the government focused on national policy. Great change also came during the Industrial Revolution.

The Early Years of the Republic

Main Idea The United States established a federal government, created a Bill of Rights, and witnessed the first political parties.

Reading Connection Of all the freedoms that are granted to Americans, which do you consider most precious, and why? Read on to learn about the ratification of the Bill of Rights, which guarantees basic freedoms to all Americans.

The newly elected members of Congress met even before the Constitution had been ratified. Americans were confident, though, because they knew George Washington would be the first president.

★ An American Story ★

On April 6, 1789, the ballots of the presidential electors were officially counted in the new United States Senate. As expected, George Washington became the first president of the United States under the new Constitution. Americans everywhere greeted the news with great joy, but Washington remained unexcited. Calling his election “the event which I have long dreaded,” he described his feelings as “not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution.”

Although Washington had high hopes for the new Constitution, he did not know if it would work as intended. “I am . . . [bringing] the voice of the people and a good name of my own on this voyage; but what returns will be made of them, Heaven alone can foretell.” Despite his doubts and frustrations with the “ten thousand embarrassments, perplexities and troubles of the presidency,” the new president retained his faith in the American people. He explained that “nothing but harmony, honesty, industry and frugality are necessary to make us a great and happy people. . . . We are surrounded by the blessings of nature.”

—adapted from
Washington: The Indispensable Man

When President Washington and the newly elected Congress took office, one of their first tasks was to organize the government itself. In the summer of 1789, Congress created three executive departments: the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of War, along with the Office of the Attorney General. Washington then chose his **cabinet**—the individuals who would head

these departments and advise him. His appointments included Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State and Alexander Hamilton as Treasury Secretary.

Congress also organized the judicial branch. The Judiciary Act of 1789 outlined the makeup of the Supreme Court and established lower federal courts. As the first Chief Justice of the United States, Washington chose John Jay.

The Bill of Rights One of the most important acts of Congress in 1789 was to propose amendments to the Constitution. During the campaign to ratify the Constitution, the Federalists had promised to add a bill of rights detailing the rights of American citizens. In December 1791, the **Bill of Rights**—the first 10 amendments to the Constitution—were ratified. Eight of the amendments protect the rights of individuals against the government. The Ninth Amendment states that the people have other rights that are not listed in the Constitution. The Tenth Amendment adds that any powers not specifically given to the federal government are reserved for the states.

Tackling Financial Troubles With the bureaucracy up and running, the most pressing concerns involved the economy. The federal government had inherited a huge debt from the Continental Congress. As Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton proposed a plan to pay off all debts. He also wanted the federal government to accept responsibility for the states’ outstanding debts. Hamilton called for the creation of a national bank to manage the country’s finances.

George Washington ▼



Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and others favored less government interference in the economy. They also pointed out that establishing a bank was not one of the federal government's **enumerated powers**—the powers specifically mentioned in the Constitution. Hamilton rebuffed this criticism by citing Article I, Section 8, which gives the federal government the power “to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper” to fulfill its responsibilities. The “necessary and proper” **clause**, he said, created **implied powers**—powers not explicitly listed in the Constitution but necessary for the government to do its job. A national bank, Hamilton argued, was needed to collect taxes, regulate trade, and provide for the common defense.

Hamilton eventually won approval for his financial program after promises to Southern congressmen that the nation's capital would be moved to the **District of Columbia** on land donated by Virginia and Maryland. With that settled, the Bank of the United States was established in 1791 for a 20-year period.

The same year, Congress enacted a high tax on whiskey. The new tax brought in needed revenue, but it proved extremely unpopular among Western farmers who resisted the tax by terrorizing tax collectors, robbing mail, and destroying whiskey-making stills of those who paid the tax. In August 1794, President Washington sent nearly 13,000 troops to crush the Whiskey Rebellion.

The Rise of Political Parties The handling of the Whiskey Rebellion intensified the tensions that had arisen over Hamilton's financial program. By 1794 the factions in Congress had solidified into rival political parties.

Hamilton's supporters called themselves Federalists. They favored a strong national government led by the “rich, well born, and able.” The Federalist Party included many manufacturers, merchants, and bankers, especially in the urban Northeast who believed that manufacturing and trade were the basis of national wealth and power.

Their opponents, led by Madison and Jefferson, took the name Democratic-Republicans, although most people at the time referred to them as Republicans. They favored strict limits on the federal government's power and protection of states' rights and supported agriculture over commerce and trade. The party had a strong base among farmers in the rural South and West.

Tough Times for Adams After two terms as president, a weary George Washington stepped down from office. His Farewell Address to the American people warned of the dangers of party politics and sectionalism—pitting North against South, or East against West. Washington also urged Americans “to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.”

Washington's successor as president was a fellow Federalist, John Adams. One of Adams's most urgent challenges was averting war with France. France was enraged by a treaty between the United States and Britain and had begun seizing American ships at sea. The two nations soon were fighting an undeclared war at sea until negotiations finally brought an end to hostilities in 1800.

Meanwhile, the division between the two political parties had been deepening. The Federalists resented the harsh Republican criticism. Using their majority in Congress, they passed the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798. One of these laws made it a crime to utter or print anything “false, scandalous, and malicious” against the federal government or any federal official. The other laws were directed at aliens—foreigners living in the country—who often were anti-British and tended to vote Republican once they became citizens. The new laws made it harder for them to gain citizenship and left them vulnerable to deportation without trial.

Many Americans denounced the Alien and Sedition Acts as an infringement on people's freedoms. In 1798 and 1799, Kentucky and Virginia

Competing National Visions	
Hamilton and the Federalists	Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans
Strong national government	Strong state government
Ruling power given to wealthy, educated	Ruling power given to <i>all</i> landowners
Government should promote manufacturing	Government should promote agriculture
Loose interpretation of the Constitution	Strict interpretation of the Constitution
Protective tariffs protect domestic industries	Protective tariffs burden farmers

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** Which party did not support tariffs, and why?
- Making Generalizations** Which party usually attracted bankers and manufacturers?

passed resolutions challenging the laws' constitutionality. At the time, few states accepted the premise behind the resolutions that states had a right to decide on the validity of federal laws. Many years later, states used these ideas to defend their interests.

The Election of 1800 When he ran for reelection in 1800, John Adams could not overcome public anger over the Alien and Sedition Acts and a new tax the Federalists had passed. The winner, however, was not clear. Thomas Jefferson had unexpectedly tied with Aaron Burr, his running mate for vice president.

The Constitution specified that citizens would vote for electors who would then vote for president and vice president. Collectively known as the Electoral College, the electors—a fixed number from each state—would vote for two persons. The candidate receiving the most votes would become president; the runner-up would become vice president. Ties would be decided by the House of Representatives. The election results of 1800 revealed a flaw in this system for selecting the president, because no one expected a tie between political allies.

The divided House took days to reach a decision, but the members finally voted to make Jefferson president and Burr vice president. The Federalists, who controlled both the army and the government, stepped down. The election of 1800 established that power could be peacefully transferred despite disagreements between political parties. It also led to the Twelfth Amendment in 1804, providing for separate ballots for the president and vice president.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What is the difference between enumerated powers and implied powers?

The Republicans Take Power

Main Idea During the Jefferson administration, the Supreme Court established judicial review, and the country doubled in size.

Reading Connection Are there times when you feel especially patriotic? Read on to learn about the War of 1812, which generated a new spirit of patriotism.

Tumultuous times continued with President Jefferson's attempts to limit the federal government and the power of the judiciary. At the same time, the country greatly expanded in size and faced another war with Great Britain.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

War Between the Parties This cartoon reveals the emotions of American politics in the 1790s. Republican Matthew Lyon and Federalist Roger Griswold are shown fighting in the House of Representatives. [How did Federalists respond to Republican attacks?](#)

Jefferson in Office Thomas Jefferson came to Washington committed to limiting the scope of government. He began paying off the federal debt, cut government spending, did away with the hated whiskey tax, and trimmed the armed forces.

Weakening the Federalists' control of the judiciary was another aim of the new administration. On his last day in office, President Adams had appointed dozens of new Federalist judges and court officers. Jefferson asked the incoming Republican Congress to abolish some of the new positions and to withhold the paperwork confirming other appointments. One of those who didn't receive his documents, William Marbury, took the matter to the Supreme Court. The Court sympathized with Marbury but ruled in 1803 that it could not issue an enforcement order. According to Chief Justice John Marshall and his colleagues, the law that authorized the Court to write such orders actually was unconstitutional and invalid.

With the case of *Marbury v. Madison*, the Court asserted its right of **judicial review**, the power to decide whether laws are constitutional and to strike down those that are not. John Marshall remained as Chief Justice for more than 30 years, continuing to build the Supreme Court into a powerful independent branch of the federal government.

Westward Expansion Under Jefferson, the size of the country increased considerably. The Treaty of Paris of 1783 had already established the Mississippi as the western border of the United States. After the defeat of Native Americans in the Northwest Territory and the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, more

settlers poured into the region. During Washington's term, Kentucky and Tennessee had become new states, and Ohio followed suit in 1803.

In 1800 Spain had given Louisiana back to France. To finance his plans for European conquest, the French leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, now offered to sell all of the **Louisiana Territory**, as well as New Orleans, to the United States. Congress overwhelmingly approved the **Louisiana Purchase** of April 30, 1803. The United States paid \$11.25 million and also agreed to take on French debts of about \$3.75 million owed to American citizens. The United States had more than doubled its size and gained control of the entire Mississippi River.

The War of 1812 A foreign relations crisis loomed when Republican James Madison became president in 1809. The British regularly seized American ships at sea and often practiced impressment, kidnapping sailors to serve in the British navy. Americans in the West also accused Britain of inciting Native Americans to attack white settlers. President Jefferson had tried economic sanctions with the Embargo Act of 1807, but the actions mostly hurt the United States.

Like Jefferson, President Madison first responded with economic measures. After several attempts, the measures finally began to have the desired effect. Unfortunately, word of British cooperation came too late—Congress had already declared war.

At the beginning of the War of 1812, conquering Canada was the primary objective of the United States. American forces on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain were victorious but they could not prevent the British from marching into Washington, D.C. and setting fire to both the White House and the Capitol. In Baltimore, though, the British encountered a strong defense. After bombarding the city's harbor throughout the night of September 13, the British abandoned their attack early the next morning. The sight of the American flag still flying at dawn inspired Francis Scott Key to pen "The Star-Spangled Banner," which later became the national anthem.

With battles still raging, peace talks began in the European city of Ghent. The Treaty of Ghent, signed on December 24, 1814, restored prewar boundaries but did not mention neutral rights or impressment. Still, it increased the nation's prestige overseas and generated a new spirit of patriotism. The American victory also destroyed the Federalist Party, which had strongly opposed the war.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why is the Supreme Court decision *Marbury v. Madison* important?

The Growth of American Nationalism

 **Main Idea** After the War of 1812, Americans focused on policies that brought the nation together.

Reading Connection Do you know of any Supreme Court decisions that had a significant national impact? Read on to learn about Supreme Court decisions that strengthened the power of the federal government.

After the war of 1812, a sense of nationalism swept the United States. More and more Americans began to consider themselves to be part of a whole, rather than identifying with a state or region. Riding this wave of nationalism was Republican James Monroe, the nation's fifth president. Harmony in national politics reached a new high, mostly because only one party, the Republicans, had any power. At the same time, the war had taught Americans that a stronger federal government was advantageous. In the postwar years, Republican leaders shifted their focus from world affairs to national growth.

Economic Nationalism As Monroe's presidency began, Congress prepared an ambitious economic program that included creating a new national bank. The charter of the First Bank of the United States had not been renewed, and the results had been disastrous. State-chartered banks and other private banks greatly expanded their lending with bank notes that were used as money. Without the regulatory presence of the national bank, prices rose rapidly during the War of 1812.

Other legislation included the Tariff of 1816, aimed at protecting American manufacturers by taxing imports. The Republicans also wanted to build roads and canals. President Madison vetoed this legislation, arguing that the Constitution did not empower Congress to improve transportation. Nevertheless, road and canal construction soon began with support from private businesses and state and local governments.

Judicial Nationalism The judicial philosophy of the Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, provided another boost to postwar nationalism. In several important cases between 1816 and 1824, Marshall interpreted the Constitution broadly to support federal power.

The 1819 case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* involved Maryland's attempt to tax the Baltimore branch of the


Major Supreme Court Decisions, 1801–1824

<i>Marbury v. Madison</i> (1803)	Declared congressional act unconstitutional; Court asserts power of judicial review
<i>Fletcher v. Peck</i> (1810)	Protected contracts from legislative interference; Court could overturn state laws that opposed specific provisions of Constitution
<i>Martin v. Hunter's Lessee</i> (1816)	Court can accept appeals of state court decisions and review state decisions that involve federal statutes or treaties; asserted the Supreme Court's sovereignty over state courts
<i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i> (1819)	Upheld constitutionality of the Bank of the United States; doctrine of "implied powers" provided Congress more flexibility to enact legislation
<i>Cohens v. Virginia</i> (1821)	Reasserted federal judicial authority over state courts; argued that when states ratified Constitution, they gave up some sovereignty to federal courts
<i>Gibbons v. Ogden</i> (1824)	Revoked an existing state monopoly; Court gave Congress the right to regulate interstate commerce


Source: *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** In which case did Chief Justice Marshall assert the Court's right of judicial review?
- Analyzing** Was Marshall a strict interpreter of the Constitution? Use a case to support your answer.

Second Bank of the United States. Before addressing Maryland's right to tax the national bank, the Supreme Court first ruled on the federal government's right to create a national bank in the first place. In the Court's opinion, written by John Marshall, the Constitution gave the federal government the power to collect taxes, to borrow money, to regulate commerce, and to raise armies and navies. The national bank helped the federal government exercise these powers. Marshall concluded that the "necessary and proper" clause allowed the federal government to use its powers in any way not specifically prohibited by the Constitution.  (See page 1005 for more information on *McCulloch v. Maryland*.)

Marshall then went on to argue that the federal government was "supreme in its own sphere of action." This meant that a state government could not interfere with an agency of the federal government exercising its specific constitutional powers within a state's borders.


In another case, *Gibbons v. Ogden*, the Court ruled that states could regulate commerce only within their borders, but that control of interstate commerce was a federal right. Defenders of states' rights attacked many of Marshall's decisions, which helped make the "necessary and proper" clause and the interstate commerce clause vehicles for expanding federal power.  (See page 1005 for more information on *Gibbons v. Ogden*.)

Nationalist Diplomacy Postwar nationalism also influenced foreign affairs. During the early 1800s, Spanish-held Florida was a source of frustration for Southerners. Many runaway slaves hid there, and the Seminole, a Native American group, often clashed with American settlers across the border in Georgia.

When Spain was unable to control the border, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun sent troops under the command of Andrew Jackson into Florida. President Adams then put pressure on Spain in ongoing border questions. Occupied with problems throughout its Latin American empire, Spain gave in and ceded all of Florida to the United States in the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.

Spain had good reason to worry about Latin America. Many of Spain's colonies there were declaring their independence. Meanwhile, some European monarchies expressed their interest in helping Spain suppress these Latin American revolutions. Neither Great Britain nor the United States wanted Spain to regain control of its colonies.

The Monroe administration also had concerns at this time about Russia's growing interest in the American northwest. In 1821 Russia had announced that its empire extended south from Alaska to the Oregon territory.

Under these circumstances, Monroe decided to issue a statement in December 1823. In the **Monroe Doctrine**, the president declared that the American continents should no longer be viewed as open to colonization. He specifically advised Europe to respect the sovereignty of new Latin American nations.  (See page 994 for more information on the *Monroe Doctrine*.)

 **Reading Check Analyzing** How did the decisions of the Marshall Court strengthen the federal government?



A Revolution in Transportation With the United States expanding rapidly, Americans sought new ways to connect the distant regions of the country. The first steps came in 1806, when Congress funded the building of a major east-west highway. The National Road turned out to be the only great U.S.-funded transportation project of its time. American leaders disagreed on whether the Constitution permitted such internal improvements. Instead, states, localities, and private businesses took the initiative by laying hundreds of miles of toll roads.

Rivers offered a more efficient and cheaper way to move goods than did early roads. Loaded boats and barges, however, could usually travel only downstream, as trips against the current with heavy cargoes were impractical. The steamboat changed all that. The first successful such vessel, the *Clermont*, was developed by Robert Fulton and promoted by Robert R. Livingston. By 1850 more than 700 steamboats, also called riverboats, traveled the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and other waterways.

Railroads also appeared in the early 1800s. A wealthy, self-educated industrialist named Peter Cooper built the *Tom Thumb*, a tiny but powerful locomotive based on engines originally developed in Great Britain. Perhaps more than any other kind of transportation, trains helped settle the West and expand trade among the nation's different regions.

Industrialization Sweeps the North Along with dramatic changes in transportation, a revolution occurred in business and industry. The **Industrial Revolution**, which began in Britain in the middle 1700s, brought large-scale manufacturing using complex machines and organized workforces in factories. Manufacturers sold their wares nationwide or abroad instead of just locally. By the early 1800s, these innovations had reached the United States. They transformed not only the economy, but society as well.

Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Which Southern state had the most miles of railroad track?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Why do you think canals were more common in the North than in other areas?

A Growing Nation

Main Idea New industries and railroads transformed the North in the early 1800s, while slavery expanded in the South.

Reading Connection What kinds of businesses generate the most wealth in the United States today? Read on to learn about the critical role that farming and industry played during the early 1800s.

The early 1800s were a time of rapid change in the United States. Transportation greatly improved access to different regions, while the Industrial Revolution turned the North into a manufacturing center. The South, meanwhile, continued to rely on agriculture.

The United States industrialized quickly for several reasons. Perhaps the key factor was the American system of free enterprise based on private property rights. People could acquire and use capital without strict governmental controls while competition between companies encouraged them to try new technologies. The era's low taxes also meant that entrepreneurs had more money to invest. In addition, beginning in the 1830s, many states encouraged industrialization by passing general incorporation laws that greatly eased the forming of businesses.

Industrialization began in the Northeast, where many swift-flowing streams provided factories with waterpower. The region was also home to many entrepreneurs who were willing to invest in British technology. Soon textile mills sprung up throughout the Northeast. The use of interchangeable parts, or standard components, popularized by a New Englander named **Eli Whitney**, led to factories producing lumber, shoes, leather, wagons, and other products. The sewing machine allowed inexpensive clothes to be mass produced, and canning allowed foods to be stored and transported without fear of spoilage.

In 1832 a major improvement in communications took place when Samuel F.B. Morse began perfecting the telegraph and developing Morse code. Journalists began using the telegraph to speedily relay news. By 1860 more than 50,000 miles of telegraph wire connected most parts of the country.

Urban Growth and Immigration The industrialization of the United States drew thousands of people from farms and villages to towns in search of higher-paying factory jobs. Many city populations doubled or tripled. In 1820 only New York boasted more than 100,000 residents. By 1860 eight other cities had reached that size.

Immigrants hoping for a better life in the United States also contributed to urban growth. Between 1815 and 1860, over 5 million foreigners journeyed to America. While thousands of newcomers, particularly Germans, became farmers in the rural West, many others settled in cities, providing a steady source of cheap labor. A large number of Irish—over 44,000—arrived in 1845, after a devastating potato blight caused widespread famine in their homeland.

The presence of people from different cultures, with different languages and different religions, produced feelings of **nativism**, a preference for native-born people and a desire to limit immigration. Several societies sprang up to keep foreign-born persons and Catholics—the main religion of the Irish and many Germans—from holding public office. In

1854 delegates from some of these groups formed the American Party. This party came to be called the Know-Nothings because its members, when questioned about their activities, were supposed to answer, "I know nothing."

By 1860, factory workers numbered roughly 1.3 million. They included many women and children, who would accept lower wages than men. Not even men were well paid, however, and factory workers typically toiled for 12 or more drudgery-filled hours a day. Hoping to gain higher wages or shorter workdays, some workers began to organize in **labor unions**—groups of workers who press for better working conditions and member benefits. During the late 1820s and early 1830s, about 300,000 men and women belonged to these organizations. Early labor unions had little power. Most employers refused to bargain with them, and the courts often saw them as unlawful conspiracies that limited free enterprise. Decades would pass before organized labor achieved real influence.

Factory Worker This young girl worked in the new factories of the Northeast.



The Continuing Importance of Agriculture

Despite the trend toward urban and industrial growth, agriculture remained the country's leading economic activity. Until the late 1800s, farming employed more people and produced more wealth than any other kind of work.

Farming was even more important in the South, which had few cities and less industry. The South thrived on the production of several major cash crops, including tobacco, rice, and sugarcane. No crop, however, played a greater role in the South's fortunes during this period than cotton, which was grown in a wide belt stretching from inland South Carolina west into Texas.

In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin—"gin" being short for engine—that quickly and efficiently removed cotton seeds from bolls, or cotton pods. Cotton production soared, and by 1860 Southern cotton accounted for nearly two-thirds of the total export trade of the United States. Southerners began saying, rightly, "Cotton is King."

While agriculture brought prosperity to Southern states, they lagged behind the North in industrial-

ization. Compared to the many textile mills and factories in the North, the Southern region had only scattered iron works, textile mills, and coal, iron, salt, and copper mines. Together, these accounted for only 16 percent of the nation's total manufacturing.

Enslaved and Free African Americans The spread of cotton plantations boosted the Southern economy, but it also made the demand for slave labor skyrocket. Congress had outlawed the foreign slave trade in 1808, but a high birthrate among enslaved women—encouraged by slaveholders—kept the population growing. Between 1820 and 1850, the number of slaves in the South rose from about 1.5 million to nearly 3.2 million, to account for almost 37 percent of the total Southern population.

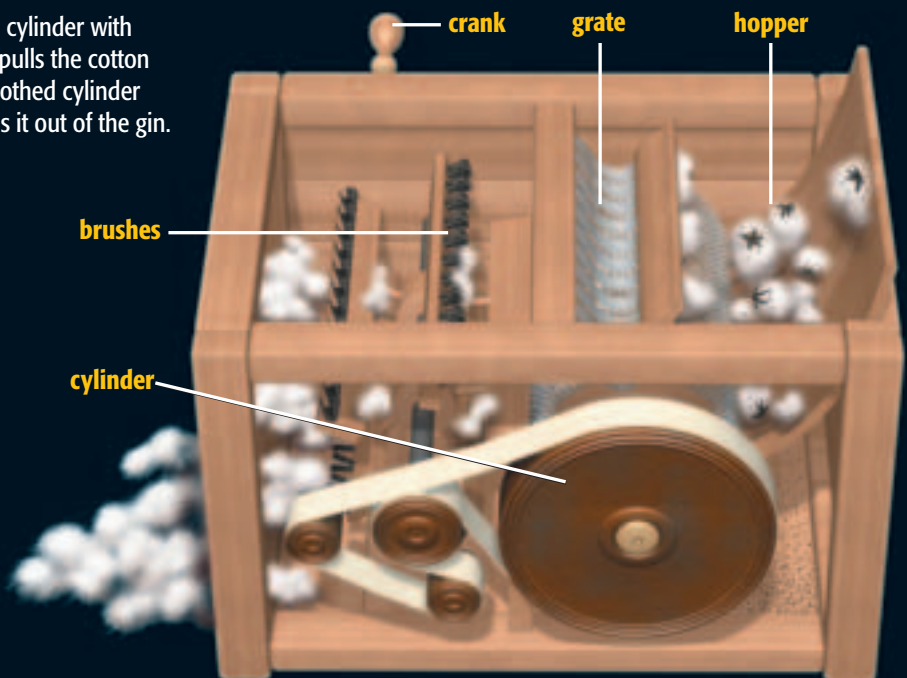
The overwhelming majority of enslaved African Americans toiled in the fields on small farms. Some became house servants, while others worked in trades. All enslaved persons, no matter how well treated, suffered indignities. State slave codes forbade enslaved men and women from owning property, leaving a slaveholder's premises without permission,

TECHNOLOGY & History

The Cotton Gin

While visiting Catherine Greene's Georgia plantation in 1793, Eli Whitney had an inspiration. He built a device that removed the seeds of the "green-seed" cotton variety that grew in abundance throughout the South. Whitney devised a "gin" (short for *engine*) that combed the seeds out of the cotton. This simple cotton gin was easy to mass produce, and it increased cotton's profitability for many Southern farmers. **How did the invention of the cotton gin affect the South's economy?**

- 1 Cotton bolls are dumped into the **hopper**.
- 2 A **crank** turns the **cylinder** with wire teeth. The teeth pull the cotton past a **grate**.
- 3 Slots in the **grate** allow the cotton, but not its seeds, to pass through.
- 4 A second cylinder with **brushes** pulls the cotton off the toothed cylinder and sends it out of the gin.



or testifying in court against a white person. Laws even banned them from learning to read and write. Frederick Douglass, who rose from slavery to become a prominent leader of the anti-slavery movement, recalled how life as an enslaved person affected him:

“... the dark night of slavery closed in upon me . . .”

—Frederick Douglass



“My natural elasticity was crushed; my intellect languished; the disposition to read departed; the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died out; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me, and behold a man transformed to a brute.”

—from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*

Music helped many African Americans endure the horrors of slavery. Songs also played a key role in religion, one of the most important parts of African American culture.

Many enslaved men and women found ways to actively resist the dreadful lifestyle forced on them. Some quietly staged work slowdowns. Others broke tools or set fire to houses and barns. Still others risked beatings or mutilations by running away. Some enslaved persons turned to violence, killing their owners or plotting revolts.

Free African Americans occupied an **ambiguous** position in Southern society. In cities like Charleston and New Orleans, some were successful enough to become slaveholders themselves. Almost 200,000 free African Americans lived in the North, where slavery

had been outlawed, but they were not embraced there either. Still, in the North free African Americans could organize their own churches and voluntary associations. They also were able to earn money from the jobs they held.

Reading Check **Describing** How did the Industrial Revolution change American society?

HISTORY **Study Central**
Online

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: cabinet, enumerated powers, clause, implied powers, judicial review, nativism, labor union, ambiguous
- People and Terms** Identify: Bill of Rights, Louisiana Purchase, *McCulloch v. Maryland*, Monroe Doctrine, Industrial Revolution, Eli Whitney
- Places** Locate: District of Columbia, Louisiana Territory

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Discussing** Does the Monroe Doctrine represent a continuation or a change in President Washington’s foreign policy? Why or why not?

Critical Thinking

- Synthesizing** Name at least three key moments in the early 1800s when federal authority clashed with state authority. What trend developed in the resolution of these disputes?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list examples of nationalism in the United States after the War of 1812.

Examples of Nationalism		
Economic	Judicial	Diplomatic

Analyzing Visuals

- Posing Questions** Study the chart of Supreme Court decisions on page 177. Use the information to construct a 10-question quiz to give to your classmates to assess their understanding of the Marshall Court.

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine you are a newspaper editor in Georgia or Spanish-held Florida. Write an editorial in which you criticize or defend the Alien and Sedition Acts.

CA 11WS1.1; 11WA2.4a



Growing Division and Reform

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how changes in politics, territory, and production methods changed the United States. In this section, you will discover how growing sectional disputes affected the nation and how reformers sought to improve society.

Main Idea

- Sectionalism increased after the War of 1812, while voting rights expanded for American citizens. (p. 183)
- The Second Great Awakening brought an era of reform. (p. 186)

Content Vocabulary

spoils system, caucus, secede, nullification, temperance, abolition, emancipation

Academic Vocabulary

item, academic

People and Terms to Identify

Missouri Compromise, John C. Calhoun, Trail of Tears, Whig, Second Great Awakening, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frederick Douglass

Places to Locate

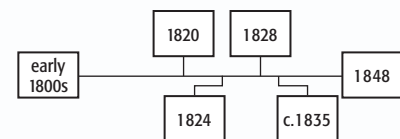
Missouri, Seneca Falls

Reading Objectives

- Discuss** the issues surrounding the Missouri Compromise.
- Explain** the goals of the temperance movement, the women's movement, and the abolition movement.

Reading Strategy

Sequencing As you read about growing division and reform in the early 1800s, complete a time line similar to the one below to record key events.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

11.3.1 Describe the contributions of various religious groups to American civic principles and social reform movements (e.g., civil and human rights, individual responsibility and the work ethic, anti-monarchy and self-rule, worker protection, family-centered communities).

11.3.2 Analyze the great religious revivals and the leaders involved in them, including the First Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening, the Civil War revivals, the Social Gospel Movement, the rise of Christian liberal theology in the nineteenth century, the impact of the Second Vatican Council, and the rise of Christian fundamentalism in current times.

11.3.3 Cite incidences of religious intolerance in the United States (e.g., persecution of Mormons, anti-Catholic sentiment, anti-Semitism).

The Big Idea

Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs can lead to division within a nation. Sectional differences increased as new states joined the Union and issues over slavery continued to divide free and slave states. Adding to the tensions, South Carolina threatened to leave the Union over high tariffs that raised the price of needed goods. President Jackson initiated the effort to move Native Americans west. Many protested his decision to dissolve the Second Bank of the United States. In response, a new party, the Whigs, organized. During this time, reformers began to work to improve society. Religious reformers focused on reviving Americans' commitment to religion in what became known as the Second Great Awakening. Social reformers were involved in different reform efforts focusing on women's rights, educational reform, and the abolition of slavery.

11.10.7 Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the nineteenth Amendment to the

movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

The Resurgence of Sectionalism

Main Idea Sectionalism increased after the War of 1812, while voting rights expanded for American citizens.

Reading Connection What do you see as the defining characteristics of your state and region? Read on to learn why conflicts between different sections of the United States arose in the early and mid-1800s.

The Louisiana Purchase and improved transportation spurred new settlement in the West. Soon some of the territories grew large enough to apply for statehood.

★ An American Story ★

As May approached in 1820, Thomas Jefferson should have been enjoying his retirement from public life. Instead, a bitter political controversy had him feeling deeply troubled. After more than a year of debate, Congress had finally crafted a plan to allow the Missouri Territory to enter the Union as a slave state while Maine came in as a free state. This arrangement preserved the delicate balance in the number of free and slave states. The arrangement, known as the Missouri Compromise, highlighted the growing dispute over slavery's expansion into the Western territories—a dispute that Jefferson feared could tear the nation apart:

“This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell [funeral bell] of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence.”

—quoted in *The Annals of America*

The matter of statehood for **Missouri** stirred up passionate disagreements. Increasingly, sectional disputes came to divide Americans.

The Missouri Compromise In 1819 the Union consisted of 11 free and 11 slave states. Admitting any new state, either slave or free, would upset the balance of political power in the Senate. Many Northerners opposed extending slavery into the western territories because they believed that human bondage was morally wrong. The South feared that if

slavery could not expand, new free states would eventually give the North enough votes in the Senate to outlaw slaveholding.

Missouri's territorial government requested admission into the Union as a slave state in 1819. The next year, Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, sought statehood. The Senate voted to admit Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. The Senate added an amendment to prohibit slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of Missouri's southern boundary. Southerners agreed, viewing this Northern region as unsuitable for farming anyway.

Henry Clay carefully steered the **Missouri Compromise** through the House of Representatives, which passed it by a close vote in March 1820. The next year, Missouri became the twenty-fourth state, and the Missouri Compromise temporarily settled the dispute over the westward expansion of slavery. Like Jefferson, however, many leaders feared more trouble ahead.

A Disputed Election Although the Republicans remained the only official political party, sectionalism was strong in the election campaign of 1824. On Election Day, four Republicans ran for president. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee led in the popular vote and in the Electoral College, but he did not win the necessary majority of electoral votes. In accordance with constitutional procedure, the decision went to the House of Representatives, whose members would select the president from the top three with the most votes.

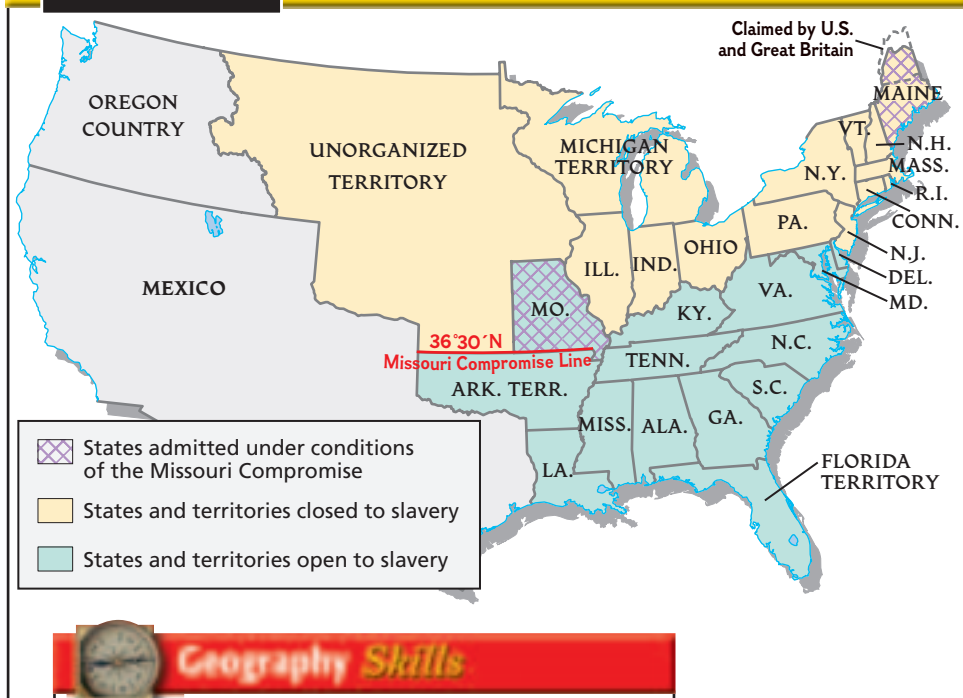
Henry Clay of Kentucky, who had placed fourth, was eliminated. As the Speaker of the House, Clay enjoyed tremendous influence, and he threw his support to John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. On February 9, 1825, Adams won the House election easily, with 13 votes to Jackson's 7 and William Crawford's 4.

Upon taking office, the new president named Clay as his secretary of state. Jackson's supporters immediately accused the pair of striking a “corrupt bargain,” whereby Clay had secured votes for Adams in return for a cabinet post. Adams and Clay denied



▲ Thomas Jefferson

The Missouri Compromise, 1820



The campaign that year pitted John Quincy Adams against Andrew Jackson, who believed that the presidency had been unjustly denied him four years earlier. The candidates resorted to mudslinging, attacking each other's personalities and morals. When the results came in, Jackson had 56 percent of the popular vote and 178 of the 261 electoral votes, a clear victory. Much of his support came from the West and South, where rural and small-town residents, many voting for the first time, saw Jackson as the candidate most likely to represent their interests.

As president, Jackson actively tried to make the government more inclusive. In an effort to strengthen democracy,

he vigorously utilized the **spoils system**, the practice of appointing people to government jobs based on party loyalty and support. In his view, he was getting rid of a permanent office-holding class and opening up the government to more ordinary citizens.

Jackson's supporters also moved to make the political system—specifically, the way in which presidential candidates were chosen—more democratic. At that time, political parties used the caucus system to select presidential candidates. The members of the party who served in Congress would hold a closed meeting, or **caucus**, to choose the party's nominee. Jackson's supporters believed that such a method restricted access to office to mainly the elite and well connected. The Jacksonians replaced the caucus with the national nominating convention, where delegates from the states gathered to decide on the party's presidential nominee.

The Nullification Crisis Jackson had not been in office long before he had to focus on a national crisis. It centered on South Carolina but highlighted the growing rift between the nation's northern and southern regions.

During the early 1800s, South Carolina's economy had been growing increasingly weak. Many residents blamed their troubles on the nation's tariffs. With little state industry, South Carolina purchased many of its manufactured goods from England. Tariffs made



Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** The Missouri Compromise allowed which two states to enter the Union?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Why did the South readily agree to making slavery illegal in the unorganized Louisiana Territory?

any wrongdoing, and no evidence of a deal ever emerged. Still, Jackson's outraged supporters decided to break with the faction of the party allied with Adams. The Jacksonians called themselves Democratic Republicans, later shortened to Democrats. Adams and his followers became known as National Republicans.

A New Era in Politics Throughout the first decades of the 1800s, hundreds of thousands of white males gained the right to vote. This was largely because many states lowered or eliminated property ownership as a voting qualification. They did so partly to reflect the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the social equality of frontier life. In addition, as cities and towns grew, the percentage of working people who did not own property increased. These people paid taxes and had an interest in the political affairs of their communities, and so they wanted a say in electing those who represented them. The expansion of voting rights was very much in evidence by 1828. That year, more than 1.13 million citizens voted for president, compared with about 355,000 in 1824.

these **items** extremely expensive. When Congress levied a new tariff in 1828—which critics called the Tariff of Abominations—many South Carolinians threatened to **secede**, or withdraw, from the Union.

The growing turmoil particularly troubled Vice President **John C. Calhoun**, who was from South Carolina. To pave the way for his home state to legally resist the tariff, Calhoun had put forth the idea of **nullification** in 1828. He argued that because the states had created the federal union, they had the right to declare a federal law null, or not valid.

The issue of nullification intensified in January 1830, when Senators Robert Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts confronted each other on the Senate floor. Hayne, asserting that the Union was no more than a voluntary association of states, advocated “liberty first and Union afterward.” Webster, perhaps the greatest orator of his day, countered that neither liberty nor the Union could survive without binding federal laws. He ended his speech with a stirring call: “Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!”

The war of words erupted into an explosive situation in 1832 when Congress passed yet another tariff law. South Carolinians stepped up their call for secession, while a special session of the state legislature voted to nullify the law. President Jackson considered nullification an act of treason and sent a warship to Charleston. As tensions rose, Senator Henry Clay managed to defuse the crisis. At Clay’s insistence, Congress passed a bill that would lower tariffs gradually until 1842. South Carolina then repealed its nullification of the tariff law.

Native American Removal Slavery remained a divisive question, but President Jackson decided to focus on other matters, including Native Americans. Although Jackson wanted to ensure the survival of Native American peoples, he accelerated an effort that had been going on for years—moving them out of the way of white settlers. In 1830 Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act, which helped the states relocate Native Americans to largely uninhabited regions west of the Mississippi River.

The Cherokee in Georgia fought back by appealing to the Supreme Court, hoping that their territorial rights would be legally recognized. Chief Justice Marshall supported the Cherokees’ right to control their land in two decisions, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). Jackson refused to carry out the Court’s decision. “Marshall has made his opinion,” the president reportedly said, “now let him enforce it.” 📖 (See page 1007 for more information on *Worcester v. Georgia*.)

In 1838 Martin Van Buren, Jackson’s successor, sent in the army to forcibly move the Cherokee. Roughly 2,000 Cherokee died in camps while waiting for the westward march to begin. On the journey, known to the Cherokee as the **Trail of Tears**, about 2,000 others died of starvation, disease, and exposure.

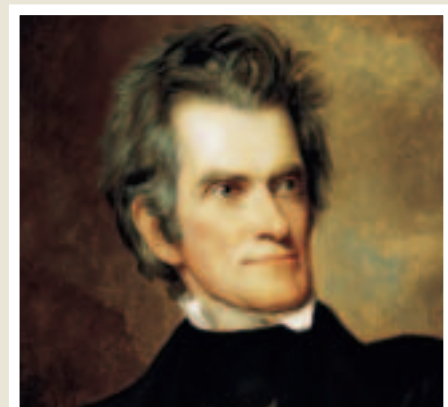
Missionary-minded religious groups and a few members of Congress, like Henry Clay, declared that Jackson’s policies toward Native Americans stained the nation’s honor. Most citizens, however, supported them. By 1838 the majority of Native Americans still living east of the Mississippi had been forced onto government reservations.

Profiles IN HISTORY

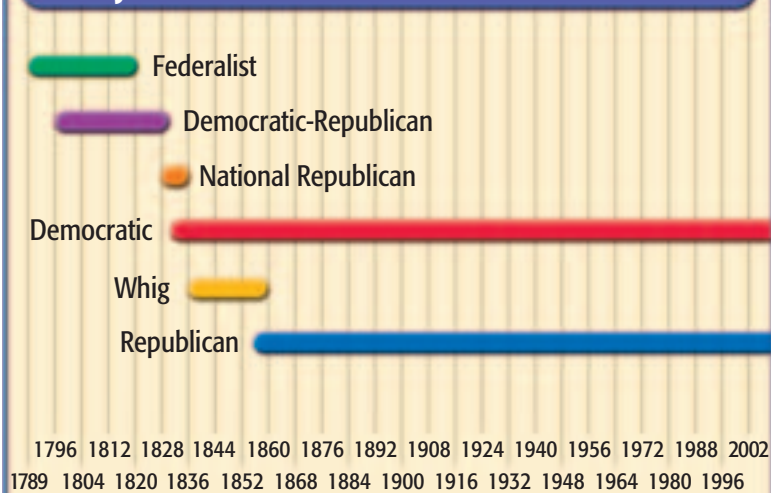
John C. Calhoun 1782-1850

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina had a great impact on the history of the United States. As an influential member of Congress, he had urged war with Great Britain in 1812. He also was an ardent nationalist in his early career. After the War of 1812, Calhoun helped introduce congressional bills for a new Bank of the United States, a permanent

road system to bind the nation together, and a tariff to protect the nation’s industries. In the 1830s Calhoun abandoned his nationalist stance in favor of states’ rights and sectional interests. Fearing that the North intended to dominate the South, Calhoun spent the rest of his career trying to prevent the federal government from weakening states’ rights and from interfering with the Southern way of life.



Major American Political Parties Since 1789



Source: *Governing by Consent*

Graph Skills

- Interpreting Graphs** What party shown had the shortest life span?
- Comparing** How long have Republicans and Democrats been major political rivals?

A New Party Emerges President Jackson also decided to dismantle the Second Bank of the United States. He resented the power that its wealthy stockholders exercised. Jackson vetoed a bill that would have extended the Bank's charter for 20 years. Then, by withdrawing the government's deposits, he forced the Bank to end.

By the mid-1830s, those who criticized Jackson's decision had formed a new political party, the **Whigs**. Led by former National Republicans like Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Daniel Webster, the Whigs wanted to expand the federal government, encourage industrial and commercial development, and create a centralized economy. Such policies differed from those of the Democrats, who favored a limited federal government. The Whigs ran three candidates for president in the election of 1836. Jackson's continuing popularity, however, helped assure victory for his handpicked successor, Democrat Martin Van Buren.

Shortly after Van Buren took office, a crippling economic crisis hit the nation. The roots of the crisis stretched back to the end of Jackson's term, a period in which investment in roads, canals, and railroads boomed, prompting a wave of land speculation and bank lending. This heavy spending pushed up inflation, which Jackson feared eventually would render the nation's paper currency worthless. Just before

leaving office, therefore, Jackson issued the Specie Circular, which ordered that all payments for public lands must be made in the form of silver or gold.

Jackson's directive set off the Panic of 1837. With easy paper credit no longer available, land sales plummeted and economic growth slowed. In addition, the National Bank, which could have helped stabilize the economy, no longer existed. As a result, many banks and businesses failed and thousands of farmers lost their land through foreclosures. Van Buren, a firm believer in his party's philosophy of limited federal government, did little to ease the crisis.

With Van Buren clearly vulnerable, the Whigs easily won the 1840 election by nominating General William Henry Harrison, a hero of the battle against Native Americans at Tippecanoe in 1811. Harrison, who spoke at his inauguration for two hours in bitter cold without coat or hat, died one month later of pneumonia. Vice President John Tyler, a Southerner and former Democrat who had left his party in protest over the nullification issue, then took over.

Tyler's ascendancy to the presidency dismayed Whig leaders. Tyler sided with the Democrats on numerous key issues, refusing to support a higher tariff or a new national bank. The new president did win praise, however, for the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which established a firm boundary between the United States and Canada.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What caused the nullification crisis?

The Reform Spirit

Main Idea The Second Great Awakening brought an era of reform.

Reading Connection Identify a local, national, or world issue that you believe citizens and lawmakers need to address. Why is this issue important to you? Read on to find out about the issues that attracted the attention of reformers during the mid-1800s.

During the mid-1800s, many citizens worked to reform various aspects of American society. The reform movement stemmed in large part from a revival of religion that began at the turn of the century.

The Second Great Awakening Many church leaders sensed that the growth of scientific knowledge and rationalism were challenging the doctrine of faith. In the early 1800s, religious leaders organized to revive Americans' commitment to religion. The resulting movement came to be called the **Second Great Awakening**. Various Protestant denominations—most often the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians—held camp meetings where thousands of followers sang, prayed, and participated in emotional outpourings of faith. One of the most successful ministers was Charles G. Finney, a former lawyer. Using some methods he learned in court, Finney pioneered many methods of revivalism evangelists still use today.

As membership in many Protestant churches swelled, other religious groups also flourished. Among them were Unitarianism, Universalism, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose followers are commonly known as Mormons. Joseph Smith began preaching the Mormon faith in New York in the 1820s. After enduring much harassment in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and elsewhere, Mormons across the Midwest moved to Illinois. There the group prospered, and their settlement of Nauvoo grew to about 15,000 in 1844. Persecution continued, however, and following the murder of Joseph Smith, the Mormons headed west, finally putting down permanent roots in the Utah Territory.

Revivalists preached the power of individuals to improve themselves and the world. Lyman Beecher, one of the nation's most prominent Presbyterian ministers, insisted that the nation's citizenry, more than its government, was responsible for building a better society.

Associations known as benevolent societies sprang up in cities and towns across the country. At first, they focused on spreading the word of God and attempting to convert nonbelievers. Soon, they sought to combat a number of social problems. One of the most striking features of the reform effort was the overwhelming presence of women. Young women in particular had joined the revivalist movement in much larger numbers than men. One reason was that many unmarried women with uncertain futures discovered in religion a foundation on which to build their lives. As more women turned to the church, many of them also joined religious-based reform groups.

Social Reform The optimism and emphasis on the individual found in religion gave rise to dozens of utopian communities in which people wanted to find a better life. While only a few chose that path, many more attempted to reform society instead. A number of these reformers, many of them women, argued that no social vice caused more crime, poverty, or family damage than the excessive use of alcohol.

Although advocates of **temperance**, or moderation in the consumption of alcohol, had been active since the late 1700s, the new reformers energized the campaign. Temperance groups formed across the country, preaching the evils of alcohol and urging heavy drinkers to give up liquor. In 1833 a number of groups formed a national organization, the American Temperance Union, to strengthen the movement.

While persuading people not to drink, temperance societies pushed to halt the sale of liquor. In 1851 Maine passed the first state prohibition law, an example a dozen other states followed by 1855. Other states passed "local option" laws, which allowed towns and villages to prohibit liquor sales within their boundaries.

Other reformers focused on prisons and education. Around 1816 many states began replacing overcrowded prisons with new penitentiaries where prisoners were to be rehabilitated rather than simply

History Through Art

Religious Zeal J. Maze Burban's *Religious Camp Meeting* shows a charismatic preacher reaching many in the audience. [From studying the image, can you suggest other reasons people might want to attend?](#)




locked up. States also began funding schools in which students would become better-educated workers and voters.

The Women’s Movement Since women had no vote in the 1800s and did not need to become educated voters, they were largely left out of the education reform. In addition, with the rise of factories and other work centers in the 1800s, men left home to go to work, while women tended the house and children.

Most people believed the home was the proper place for women, partly because the outside world was seen as dangerous and partly because of the era’s ideas about the family. For many parents, raising children was treated as a solemn responsibility because it prepared young people for a proper Christian life. Women were viewed as better able to serve as models of piety and virtue for their families. At that time, most women did not feel that their role in life was too limited. Instead, the era’s ideas implied that wives were partners with their husbands, and, in some ways, morally superior.

Nonetheless, a number of women took advantage of the reform movement to create more educational opportunities for girls and women. The early 1800s saw the funding of schools for girls that taught **academic** subjects. In 1837 the first higher education institution for women, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts, opened.

The idea that women had an important role in building a virtuous home was soon expanded to society. As women became involved in reform movements, some argued for the right to promote their ideas. In 1848 activists Lucretia Mott and **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** organized the **Seneca Falls** Convention in New York. This gathering of women reformers marked the beginning of an organized woman’s movement. The convention issued the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, better known as the Seneca Falls Declaration. It began with words expanding the Declaration of Independence: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal. . . .”  (See page 994 for more information on the Seneca Falls Declaration.)

Although Stanton shocked the women present when she proposed a focus on suffrage, or the right to vote, the convention narrowly passed her proposal. Throughout the 1850s, women organized conventions to promote greater rights for themselves.

The Abolitionist Movement Of all the reform movements that began in the early 1800s, the movement calling for **abolition**, or the immediate end to

slavery, was the most divisive. By pitting North against South, it polarized the nation and helped bring about the Civil War.

Opposition to slavery in the United States had actually begun as early as the Revolutionary War era. Quakers and Baptists in the North and South agreed not to enslave people, viewing the practice as a sin that corrupted both slaveholder and slave. In Virginia in 1789, the Baptists recommended “every legal measure to [wipe out] this horrid evil from the land.”

One notable antislavery effort in the early 1800s was the formation of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in December 1816. This group, supported by such prominent figures as President James Monroe and Chief Justice John Marshall, encouraged African Americans to resettle in Africa. The privately funded ACS chartered ships and helped relocate between 12,000 and 20,000 African Americans along the west coast of Africa in what became the nation of Liberia. Still, there were more than 1.5 million enslaved persons in the United States in 1820. Many of them, already two or three generations removed from Africa, strongly objected to the idea of resettlement.

The antislavery movement gained new momentum in the 1830s, thanks largely to William Lloyd Garrison. In his newspaper, the *Liberator*, Garrison called for the immediate **emancipation**, or freeing, of enslaved persons. Garrison attracted enough followers to found the New England Antislavery Society in 1832 and the American Antislavery Society in 1833.

Many women also gave their efforts to the abolitionist cause. Prudence Crandall worked as a teacher and abolitionist in Connecticut. Lucretia Mott also spoke out in favor of abolition. Some Southern women, such as the South Carolina sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké, also joined the crusade.

African American Abolitionists Not surprisingly, free African Americans took a prominent role in the abolitionist movement. The most famous was **Frederick Douglass**, who had escaped from slavery in Maryland. He published his own antislavery newspaper, the *North Star*, and an autobiography. Another important African American abolitionist was Sojourner Truth. She gained freedom in 1827 when New York freed all remaining enslaved persons in the state. In the 1840s her eloquent and deeply religious antislavery speeches attracted huge crowds.

While many Northerners disapproved of slavery, some objected to abolitionism even more. They regarded the movement as a dangerous threat to the existing social system. Some whites, including many prominent businesspeople, warned that it would



produce a destructive war between the North and the South. Others feared it might bring a great influx of freed African Americans to the North, overwhelming the labor and housing markets. Many Northerners also had no desire to see the South's economy crumble. If that happened, they might lose the huge sums Southern planters owed to Northern banks as well as the Southern cotton that fed Northern textile mills.

To most Southerners, slavery was a "peculiar institution," one that was distinctive and vital to the Southern way of life. The South had remained mostly agricultural, becoming increasingly tied to cotton and the enslaved people who planted and picked it. Southerners responded to the growing attacks against slavery by vehemently defending the institution. South Carolina's governor called it a "national benefit," while Thomas Dew, a leading academic of the South, claimed that most slaves had no desire for freedom, as they enjoyed a close and beneficial relationship with their slaveholders. "We have no hesitation in affirming," he declared, "that . . . the slaves of good [slaveholders] are his warmest, most constant, and most devoted friends."

In 1831, when a slave rebellion left more than 50 white Virginians dead, Southerners were outraged. They cracked down on slaves throughout the region and railed against the North. Further, they demanded the suppression of abolitionist material as a condition for remaining in the Union. Southern postal workers refused to deliver abolitionist newspapers. In 1836, under Southern pressure, the House of Representatives passed a "gag rule" providing that all abolitionist petitions be shelved without debate.



▲ Frederick Douglass (center left) attending an abolitionist rally in Cazenovia, New York, in August 1850

Such measures did not deter the foes of slavery. Although the abolitionist movement was still relatively small, it continued to cause an uproar, and the North-South split continued to widen.

Reading Check **Comparing** How did Northerners' views on abolition differ from those of Southerners?

HISTORY  **Study Central**
Online

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: spoils system, caucus, item, secede, nullification, temperance, academic, abolition, emancipation.
- People and Terms** Identify: Missouri Compromise, John C. Calhoun, Trail of Tears, Whig, Second Great Awakening, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frederick Douglass.
- Places** Locate: Missouri, Seneca Falls.
- Describe** the changes President Jackson instituted in order to make government more inclusive and democratic.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Explaining** What were the issues behind the Missouri Compromise?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Understanding Change** How did the Second Great Awakening affect the reform spirit of the mid-1800s? **CA HI.2**
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify key facts about the political parties active in the 1830s.

Party	Leaders	Policies
Democrats		
Whigs		

Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Art** Study the painting on page 187 of the camp meeting. What elements of the image suggest that the revival attracted many working-class people?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are active in one of the reform movements of the early 1800s. Write a speech to persuade others to support your cause. Make sure you clearly describe your cause and include at least three reasons why others should support it. **CA 11WS1.1**

What *Life* Was Like...

Old-Fashioned School Days

Public schools in the early to mid-1800s were rough-and-ready affairs. Students came in all ages and sizes, teachers often had little training, and books and supplies were hard to obtain.



● **School Desk**

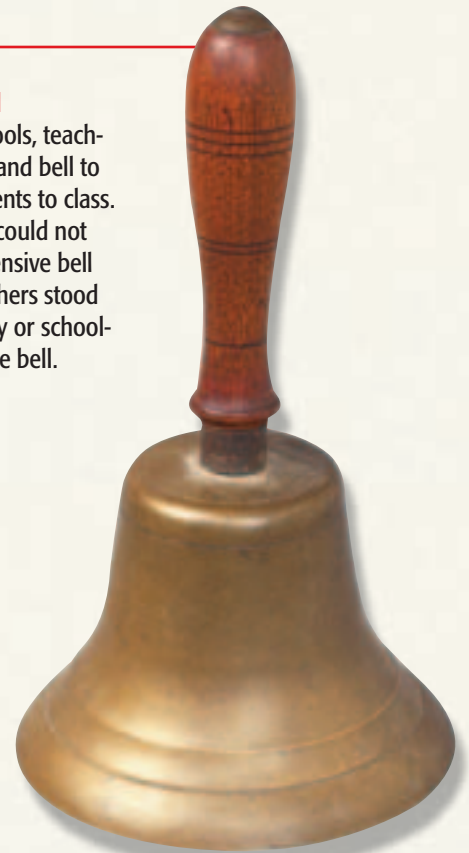


● **First Readers**

Generations of students used McGuffey's Readers, first produced in the 1830s by William McGuffey. His readers—the first Eclectic Reader is pictured here—ranged from simple to advanced and aimed to give students a happy, positive feeling. A college president at the end of his life, McGuffey began teaching in frontier Ohio schools when he was only 13.

● **Hand Bell**

In a lot of schools, teachers rang the hand bell to call their students to class. Most districts could not afford an expensive bell tower, so teachers stood in the doorway or schoolyard to ring the bell.





● **One-Room Schoolhouse**

The painting *New England School* by Charles Frederick Bosworth tells the tale of teachers' challenges in early public schools. With a mixed-aged class, the teacher had to teach a few students at a time, leaving the others to their own education—or entertainment.



● **School Lunch Pail**



● **School Ink Jar**

UNDERSTANDING THE TIME

Checking for Understanding

1. **Explaining** Why would an increase in voting rights be a reason for broader public education?

Critical Thinking

2. **Synthesizing** What could you have done to minimize the distractions in a one-room schoolhouse?

Manifest Destiny and Crisis

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about social reform and growing tensions between states. In this section, you will discover how slavery continued to divide the country and how the election of Abraham Lincoln as president resulted in the secession of Southern states.

Main Idea

- In the 1840s, the nation expanded as settlers moved west. (p. 193)
- Continuing disagreements over the westward expansion of slavery increased sectional tensions between the North and South. (p. 195)
- The slavery controversy shook up political parties and accelerated the crisis between North and South. (p. 198)
- The election of Abraham Lincoln led the Southern states to secede from the Union. (p. 199)

Preview of Events



Content Vocabulary

Manifest Destiny, annexation, popular sovereignty, secession, Underground Railroad, transcontinental railroad, insurrection, Confederacy

Academic Vocabulary

adjacent, prospect

People and Terms to Identify

John C. Frémont, Bear Flag Republic, Wilmot Proviso, Harriet Tubman, Republican Party, Dred Scott, Crittenden's Compromise, Jefferson Davis

Places to Locate

Harpers Ferry

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the issues surrounding the War with Mexico and the statehood of Texas and California.

- **Evaluate** how the Fugitive Slave Act and the transcontinental railroad heightened sectional tensions.
- **Analyze** the significance of the *Dred Scott* decision and John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.
- **Explain** how the election of Abraham Lincoln as president led to the secession of the South.

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to describe the outcomes of disputes that arose during this period.

Dispute	Outcome

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.



11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

11.2.6 Trace the development of the United States and its emergence as a major industrial power, including its gains from trade and the advantages of its physical geography.

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

The Big Idea

Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs can lead to division within a nation. As the United States continued to expand even farther west, sectionalism and disagreements over slavery in the new territories continued to plague the nation. The crisis between free states and slave states resulted in the destruction of the Whig Party and division within other political parties. After the raid on Harpers Ferry, Southern Democrats became convinced that Northerners and Republicans would stop at nothing to end slavery. Spurred by failing compromises and the election of Abraham Lincoln as president, Southern states seceded from the Union, proclaimed themselves a separate nation known as the Confederate States of America, and appointed Jefferson Davis as their president.

Manifest Destiny

Main Idea In the 1840s, the nation expanded as settlers moved west.

Reading Connection To which country did California and Texas belong before they became part of the United States? Read on to learn how the two states entered the Union.

With the Louisiana Purchase opening up the West, thousands of people began pushing into the Midwest and beyond, journeying all the way to California and the Oregon Territory.

★ An American Story ★

In July 1821, Stephen F. Austin set off from Louisiana for the Texas territory in the northeastern corner of Mexico. The Spanish government had promised to give his father, Moses, a huge tract of Texas land if the elder Austin settled 300 families there from the United States. Moses died before he could fulfill his end of the deal. On his deathbed, his dying wish was that Stephen take his place in Texas.

Stephen Austin was favorably impressed with the region. As he surveyed the land grant between the Brazos and Colorado Rivers, he noted its natural abundance:

“The Prairie comes bluff to the river . . . and affords a most beautiful situation for a Town or settlement. . . . The country . . . is as good in every respect as man could wish for, Land all first rate, plenty of timber, fine water, beautifully rolling.”

—quoted in *Stephen F. Austin: Empresario of Texas*

Between the late 1830s and early 1860s, more than 250,000 Americans braved great obstacles to venture west along overland trails.

Pushing West The opportunity to farm fertile soil, enter the fur trade, or trade with foreign nations across the Pacific lured farmers, adventurers, and merchants alike. Most emigrants, like the majority of Americans, believed in **Manifest Destiny**. Manifest Destiny was the idea that the nation was meant to spread to the Pacific.

Latecomers to the Midwest set their sights on California and Oregon, although other nations had already claimed parts of these lands. The United

States and Great Britain had agreed in 1818 to occupy the Oregon land jointly. The British dominated the region until about 1840, when the enthusiastic reports of American missionaries began to attract large numbers of would-be farmers to the region.

California was a frontier province of Mexico. Because few Mexicans wanted to make their homes in California, the local government welcomed foreign settlers. By 1845 more than 700 Americans lived in and around the Sacramento Valley. Though the central government in Mexico City relied on these American settlers, it was suspicious about their national loyalties.

By the 1840s, several east-to-west routes had been carved, including the Oregon Trail, the California Trail, and the Santa Fe Trail. As the overland traffic increased, the Plains Indians came to resent the threat it posed to their way of life. They feared that the buffalo herds, on which they relied for food, shelter, clothing, and tools, would die off or migrate elsewhere. Hoping to ensure peace, the federal government negotiated the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851. Eight Plains Indian groups agreed to specific geographic boundaries, while the United States promised that the defined territories would belong to the Native Americans forever. White settlers still streamed across the plains, however, provoking Native American hostility.

Stephen F. Austin ▼





attempts failed, and they decided to separate from Texas and organize their own government. Devastating losses at the Alamo and Goliad galvanized the Americans, who were able to defeat Mexican forces at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836.

Five months later, in September, the citizens of Texas voted in favor of **annexation**—absorption—by the United States. However, Texas wished to enter the Union as a slave state, which antislavery leaders opposed. In addition, Mexico continued to claim ownership of Texas. To avoid conflict, President Andrew Jackson made no move toward annexation.

Texas statehood became a key issue as the presidential race of 1844 began. The Democratic nominee, James K. Polk of Tennessee, promised to annex not only Texas but also the contested Oregon Territory in the Northwest. In addition, he vowed to buy California from Mexico. The platform appealed to both Northerners and Southerners because it furthered Manifest Destiny while promising to maintain the delicate balance between free and slave states.

The Whig nominee, Henry Clay, originally opposed annexing Texas. He later announced his support of annexation if it could be done without causing war with Mexico. Many Whigs opposed to slavery felt so betrayed that they gave their support to James G. Birney of the pro-abolition Liberty Party. With the Whig vote split, Polk won the election. Even before Polk took office, in February 1845, Congress passed a joint resolution to annex Texas, and in December 1845, Texas became a state. Six months later, Britain and the United States agreed to divide Oregon along the 49th parallel. Britain took the Canadian province of British Columbia, and the Americans received the land that later became the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.



Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Which American officer assisted Frémont's attacks in northern California?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** What land did the United States obtain under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?

Texas and Oregon Enter the Union One of the regions settled was the Mexican region of Texas, which at the time was part of the state of Coahuila. Although Mexico at first had encouraged Americans to settle there, tensions developed. Mexicans distrusted the Americans who refused to accept the conditions of Mexico's offer. When Mexico in 1830 closed its borders to further immigration, the settlers, under the leadership of Stephen Austin and Sam Houston, tried to negotiate changes to that policy. Repeated

Picturing History

Independence for California In June 1846, John C. Frémont and other California settlers declared their independence from Mexico. **When did California become part of the United States?**

War With Mexico Texas's entry into the Union outraged the Mexican government, which promptly broke diplomatic relations with the United States. Matters worsened when the two countries disputed Texas's southwestern border.

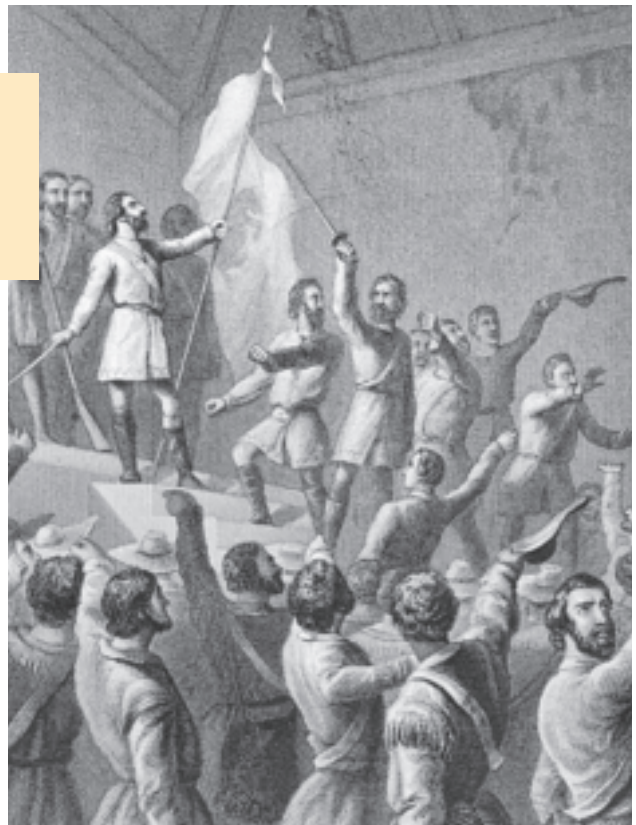
President Polk's designs on California added to the conflict. In November 1845, he sent John Slidell as an envoy to Mexico City to try to purchase California and resolve other differences. Mexico's new president, José Joaquín Herrera, refused even to meet with Slidell.

With no realistic chance of a diplomatic solution, the president ordered General Zachary Taylor in January 1846 to lead troops across the Nueces River into territory claimed by both the United States and Mexico. Polk wanted Mexican troops to fire the first shot. If he could say Mexico was the aggressor, he could more easily win support for a war. Finally, on May 9, news reached him that a force of Mexicans had attacked Taylor's men. Four days later, the Senate and House both overwhelmingly voted in favor of the war.

Even before war with Mexico was officially declared, settlers in northern California, led by American general **John C. Frémont**, had begun an uprising. The official Mexican presence in the territory had never been strong, and the settlers had little trouble overcoming it. On June 14, 1846, they declared California independent and renamed the region the **Bear Flag Republic**. Within a month, American navy forces arrived to occupy the ports of San Francisco and San Diego and claim the republic for the United States.

Despite the loss of California and defeat in several battles, Mexico refused to surrender. Polk decided to send General Winfield Scott to seize Mexico City. After a 6-month campaign beginning in the Gulf Coast city of Veracruz, Scott's forces captured Mexico's capital in September 1847.

Defeated, Mexico's leaders signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. Mexico gave the United States more than 500,000 square miles (1,295,000 sq. km) of territory—what are now the states of California, Nevada, and Utah, as well as most of Arizona and New Mexico and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Mexico also accepted the Rio Grande as the southern border of Texas. In



return, the United States paid Mexico \$15 million and took over \$3.25 million in debts the Mexican government owed to American citizens.

With Oregon and the former Mexican territories now under the U.S. flag, the dream of Manifest Destiny had been realized, but this expansion had cost more than 12,000 American lives. Furthermore, the question of whether the new lands should allow slavery would soon lead the country into another bloody conflict.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** What is the idea of Manifest Destiny?

Slavery and Western Expansion

Main Idea Continuing disagreements over the westward expansion of slavery increased sectional tensions between the North and South.

Reading Connection Under what circumstances, if any, do you believe that citizens are justified in disobeying a law? Read on to learn how some Northerners responded to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required them to aid in the capture of runaway slaves.

When California applied for statehood, attempts by Congress to find a compromise further heightened opposing viewpoints on slavery.

Impact of the War With Mexico In August 1846, Representative David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, proposed that in any territory the United States gained from Mexico, “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist.” Despite fierce Southern opposition, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Whigs passed the **Wilmot Proviso** in the House of Representatives. The Senate refused to vote on it. Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina argued that Americans settling in the territories had the right to bring along their property, including enslaved laborers, and that Congress had no power to ban slavery in the territories.

Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan suggested that the citizens of each new territory should be allowed to decide for themselves if they wanted to permit slavery. This idea, which came to be called **popular sovereignty**, appealed strongly to many members of Congress because it removed the slavery issue from national politics. It also appeared democratic, since the settlers themselves would make the decision. Abolitionists, however, argued that it still denied African Americans their right to be free.

As the 1848 election approached, both major candidates—Democrat Lewis Cass and General Zachary

Taylor, the Whig nominee—sidestepped the slavery issue. Many Northern opponents of slavery decided to join with members of the abolitionist Liberty Party to form the Free-Soil Party, which opposed the spread of slavery onto the “free soil” of the western territories. Adopting the slogan “Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men,” they chose former president Martin Van Buren as their candidate. On Election Day, support for the Free-Soilers pulled votes away from the Democrats. When the ballots were counted, the Whig candidate, Zachary Taylor, had won a narrow victory.

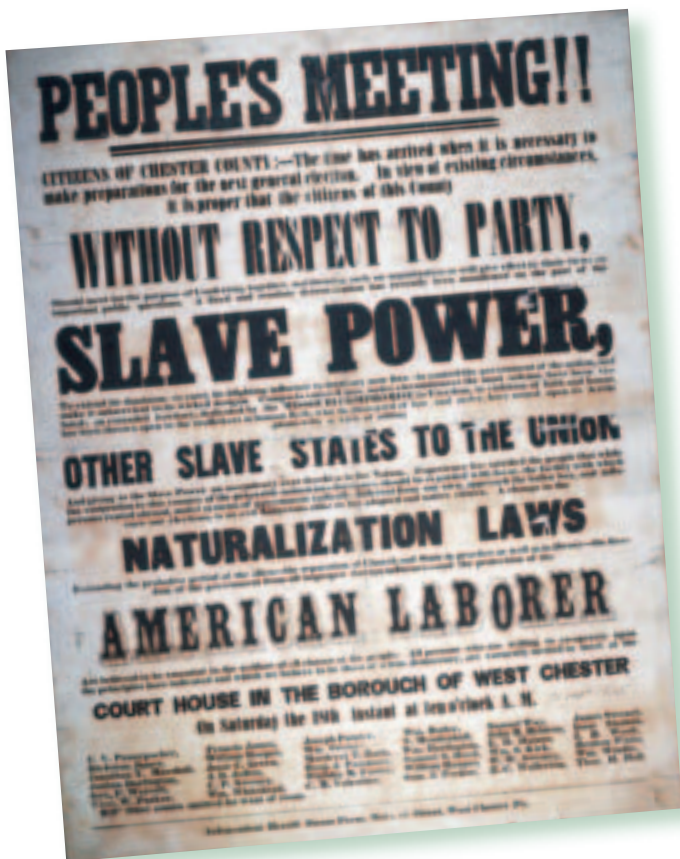
Congress Struggles for a Compromise Within a year of President Taylor’s inauguration, the issue of slavery took center stage. A year earlier, in January 1848, a carpenter named James Marshall found traces of gold in a stream near a sawmill in Sacramento, California. Word of the find leaked out, and San Franciscans abandoned their homes and businesses to pile into wagons and head to the mountains in search of gold. During the summer, news of the find swept all the way to the East Coast and beyond, and the California Gold Rush was on.

By the end of 1849, over 80,000 “Forty-Niners” had arrived in California hoping to make their fortunes. Mining towns sprang up overnight, and the frenzy for gold led to chaos and violence. Needing a strong government to maintain order, Californians decided to seek statehood. With the encouragement of President Taylor, California applied to enter the Union as a free state in December 1849.

At the time, there were 15 free states and 15 slave states. If California tipped the balance, the slaveholding states would become a minority in the Senate. Southerners dreaded losing power in national politics, fearful it would lead to limits on slavery. A few Southern politicians began to talk of **secession**—taking their states out of the Union.

In early 1850, one of the most senior and influential leaders in the Senate, Henry Clay of Kentucky, tried to find a compromise that would enable California to join the Union and resolve other sectional disputes. Among other resolutions, Clay proposed allowing California to come in as a free state and organizing the rest of the Mexican cession without any restrictions on slavery. Clay further proposed that Congress would be prohibited from interfering with the domestic slave trade and would pass a stronger law to help Southerners recover African American runaways. These measures were intended to assure the South that the North would not try to abolish slavery after California joined the Union.

▼ Poster calling for antislavery meeting



Clay's proposal triggered a massive debate in Congress. When President Taylor, who opposed the compromise, died unexpectedly of cholera in July 1850, Vice President Millard Fillmore succeeded him and quickly threw his support behind the measure. By September, Congress had passed all parts of the Compromise of 1850, which had been divided into several smaller bills.

The Fugitive Slave Act To Northerners, one of the most objectionable components of the Compromise of 1850 was the Fugitive Slave Act. Under this law, a slaveholder or slavecatcher had only to point out alleged runaways to have them taken into custody. The accused would then be brought before a federal commissioner. With no right to testify on their own behalf, even those who had earned their freedom years earlier had no way to prove their case. An affidavit asserting that the captive had escaped from a slaveholder, or testimony by white witnesses, was all a court needed to order the person sent South. Furthermore, federal commissioners had a financial incentive to rule in favor of slaveholders: such judgments earned them a \$10 fee, while judgments in favor of the accused paid only \$5.

In addition, the act required federal marshals to assist slavecatchers. Marshals could even deputize citizens to help them. It was this requirement that drove many Northerners into active defiance. The abolitionist Frederick Douglass, himself an escapee from slavery, would work crowds into a furor over this part of the law. Northerners justified their defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act on moral grounds. In his 1849 essay "Civil Disobedience," Henry David Thoreau wrote that if the law "requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then I say, break the law."

A key to many African Americans' escape from the South was the **Underground Railroad**. This informal but well-organized network of abolitionists helped thousands of enslaved persons flee north. "Conductors" transported runaways in secret, gave them shelter and food along the way, and saw them to freedom in the Northern states or Canada with some money for a fresh start. The most famous conductor was **Harriet Tubman**, herself a runaway. Again and again, she risked journeys into the slave states to bring out men, women, and children.

New Territorial Troubles The opening of the Oregon country and the admission of California to the Union brought further problems. Many people became convinced of the need for a **transcontinental**

The Compromise of 1850	
Legislative Item	Victory for?
• California admitted to the Union as free state	Clear victory for the North
• Popular sovereignty to determine slavery issue in Utah and New Mexico territories	Moderate victory for both sides
• Texas border dispute with New Mexico resolved • Texas receives \$10 million	Moderate Southern victories
• Slave trade, but not slavery itself, abolished in the District of Columbia	Moderate Northern victory
• Strong federal enforcement of new Fugitive Slave Act	Clear victory for the South

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** Did the new Fugitive Slave Act appeal to the North or the South?
- Generalizing** Which side, North or South, achieved more of its goals in the Compromise of 1850?

railroad to promote growth in the territories along the route. The choice of the railroad's eastern starting point, though was contentious.

Many Southerners favored the southern route, from New Orleans to San Diego. Since part of that route would lead through northern Mexico, the United States purchased the necessary land for \$10 million. Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, though, wanted the eastern starting point to be in Chicago. He knew that any route from the north would run through the unsettled lands west of Missouri and Iowa and prepared a bill to organize the region into a new territory to be called Nebraska. Key Southern committee leaders prevented this bill from coming to a vote in the Senate. These senators made it clear that before Nebraska could be organized, Congress would have to repeal part of the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery in the new territory.

At first, Douglas tried to gain Southern support for his bill by saying that any states organized in the new Nebraska territory would be allowed to exercise popular sovereignty, deciding themselves whether to allow slavery. When this did not satisfy Southern



leaders in the Senate, Douglas proposed to repeal the antislavery provision of the Missouri Compromise and to divide the region into two territories. Nebraska, **adjacent** to the free state of Iowa, appeared to become a free state, while, located west of the slave state of Missouri, Kansas would become a slave state. Warned that the South might secede without such concessions, President Pierce eventually gave his support to the bill. Despite fierce opposition, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854.

Intent on creating an antislavery majority, hordes of Northerners hurried into Kansas. Before the March elections of 1855, however, thousands of armed Missourians—called “border ruffians” in the press—swarmed across the border to vote illegally, helping to elect a pro-slavery legislature. Furious antislavery settlers countered by drafting their own constitution that prohibited slavery. By March 1856, Kansas had two governments, one opposed to slavery and the other supporting it. As more Northern settlers arrived, border ruffians began attacks. “Bleeding Kansas,” as newspapers dubbed the territory, had become the scene of a territorial civil war between pro-slavery and antislavery settlers.

Reading Check Analyzing Why did the Compromise of 1850 not succeed in ending sectional division?

The Crisis Deepens

Main Idea The slavery controversy shook up political parties and accelerated the crisis between North and South.

Reading Connection Do you know of Supreme Court decisions that have sparked major debates? Read on to learn about Dred Scott, who sued to end his slavery.

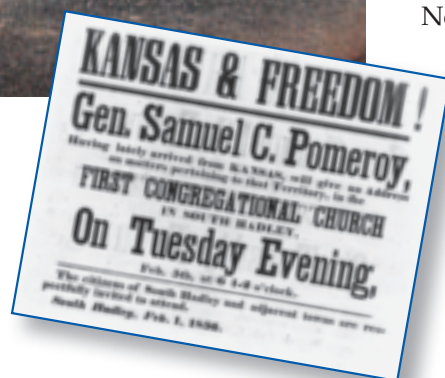
The Kansas-Nebraska Act enraged many opponents of slavery because it reopened the territories to slavery and made obsolete the delicate balance previously maintained by the Missouri Compromise. While a few people struck back with violence, others worked for change through the political system.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act shattered the Whig Party. Many Northern Whigs left their party and joined forces with Free-Soilers and a few antislavery Democrats during the congressional elections of 1854 to organize as the **Republican Party**. Their main goal was to stop Southern planters from becoming an aristocracy that controlled the government. Republicans did not agree on whether slavery should be abolished in the Southern states, but they did agree that it had to be kept out of the territories. A large majority of Northern voters shared this view, enabling the Republicans to make great strides in the elections.

At the same time, public anger against the Northern Democrats enabled the American Party—better known as the Know-Nothings because party members were sworn to secrecy—to make gains as well, particularly in the Northeast. The American Party was an anti-Catholic and nativist party. In the 1840s and early 1850s, a large number of immigrants, many of them Irish and German Catholics, had begun to arrive. Prejudice and fears that immigrants would take away jobs enabled the Know-Nothings to win many seats in Congress and the state legislatures in 1854. The party quickly began to founder when Know-Nothings from the Upper South split with Know-

Nothings from the North over their support for the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Most Americans considered slavery a far more important issue than immigration. Eventually, the Republican Party absorbed the Northern Know-Nothings.

The 1856 presidential campaign pitted Republican John C. Frémont, Democrat James Buchanan, and former president Millard Fillmore, the Know-Nothing candidate, against



Picturing History

Bleeding Kansas These antislavery settlers in Topeka, Kansas, were among those on both sides who resorted to violence. **What act triggered violence in Kansas?**

each other. Buchanan had not taken a public stand on the Kansas-Nebraska Act and campaigned on the idea that only he could save the Union. When the votes were counted, Buchanan had won easily.

Sectional Divisions Grow Just two days after Buchanan’s inauguration, the Supreme Court ruled in a landmark case involving slavery, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. **Dred Scott** was a Missouri slave who had been taken north to work in free territory for several years. After he returned with his slaveholder to Missouri, Scott sued to end his slavery, arguing that living in free territory had made him a free man. On March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court ruled against Scott. As part of his decision, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney stated that Congress’s ban on slavery in the western territories, enacted as part of the Missouri Compromise, was unconstitutional and void.

While Democrats cheered the *Dred Scott* decision, Republicans called it a “willful perversion” of the Constitution. They argued that if Dred Scott could not legally bring suit, then the Supreme Court should have dismissed the case without considering the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise. 📖 (For more on *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, see page 1004.)

After the *Dred Scott* decision, the conflict in “Bleeding Kansas” intensified. Hoping to end the troubles, Buchanan urged the territory to apply for statehood. The pro-slavery legislature scheduled an election for delegates to a constitutional convention, but antislavery Kansans boycotted it. The resulting constitution, drafted in 1857 in the town of Lecompton, legalized slavery in the territory.

An antislavery majority then voted down the Lecompton constitution in a territory-wide referendum, or popular vote on an issue. Although the Senate approved the vote, Republicans and Northern Democrats in the House blocked the measure, arguing that it ignored the people’s will. Finally, in 1858, President Buchanan and Southern leaders in Congress agreed to allow another referendum in Kansas. Again the voters in Kansas overwhelmingly rejected the Lecompton constitution. Not until 1861 did Kansas become a state—a free one.

John Brown’s Raid About a year after the second rejection of the Lecompton constitution, national attention shifted to John Brown, a fervent abolitionist who opposed slavery not with words but with violence. After pro-slavery forces sacked the town of Lawrence in the Kansas Territory, Brown took revenge by abducting and murdering five pro-slavery settlers living near Pottawatomie Creek.

Brown developed a plan to incite an **insurrection**, or rebellion, against slaveholders. To obtain weapons, he and about 18 followers seized the federal arsenal at **Harpers Ferry**, Virginia (now West Virginia) on the night of October 16, 1859. A contingent of U.S. Marines, commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee, rushed from Washington, D.C., to Harpers Ferry. Outnumbered, Brown surrendered, and a Virginia court sentenced him to death.

Many Northerners viewed Brown as a martyr in a noble cause. For most Southerners Brown’s raid offered all the proof they needed that Northerners were actively plotting the murder of slaveholders.

✔ **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How did the issue of Kansas statehood reflect the growing division between North and South?

The Union Dissolves

Main Idea The election of Abraham Lincoln led the Southern states to secede from the Union.

-TURNING POINT-

Reading Connection Think of a time when you were unable to compromise over an issue. Read on to learn why Southern states refused to compromise in 1861 and instead decided to secede from the Union, sparking a bloody civil war.

John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry became a turning point for the South. Many Southerners were terrified and enraged by the idea that Northerners would deliberately try to arm enslaved people and encourage them to rebel. Although Republican leaders quickly denounced Brown’s raid, many Southern newspapers and politicians blamed Republicans for the attack. To many Southerners, the key point was that both the Republicans and John Brown opposed slavery.

In April 1860, with the South still in an uproar, Democrats from across the United States gathered in Charleston, South Carolina, to choose their nominee for president. Southern Democrats wanted their party to uphold the *Dred Scott* decision and defend slaveholders’ rights in the territories. Northern Democrats, led by Stephen Douglas, preferred to continue supporting popular sovereignty. When Northerners also rebuffed the idea of a federal slave code in the territories, 50 Southern delegates stormed out of the convention. The walkout meant that neither Douglas nor anyone else could muster the two-thirds majority needed to become the party’s nominee.

In June 1860, the Democrats reconvened in Baltimore. Again, Southern delegates walked out. The Democrats who remained then chose Stephen Douglas to run for president. The Southerners who had bolted organized their own convention in Richmond and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, the sitting vice president.

Meanwhile, many former Whigs and others were alarmed at the **prospect** of Southern secession. They created a new party, the Constitutional Union Party, and chose former Tennessee senator John Bell as their candidate. The party took no position on issues dividing North and South. Their purpose, they said, was to uphold the Constitution and the Union.

The Republicans, realizing they stood no chance in the South, needed a candidate who could sweep most of the North. They turned to Abraham Lincoln, who had gained a national reputation during his debates with Douglas. Although not an abolitionist,

Lincoln believed slavery to be morally wrong, and he opposed its spread into western territories.

During the campaign the Republicans remained true to their free-soil principles, but they reaffirmed the right of the Southern states to preserve slavery within their borders. They also supported higher tariffs to protect manufacturers and workers, a new homestead law for settlers in the West, and federal funds for a transcontinental railroad.

The Republican proposals greatly angered many Southerners. As expected, Lincoln won no Southern states; in fact, his name did not even appear on the ballot in some states. With the Democrats divided, the Republicans won in only their second national campaign. Lincoln won with the electoral votes of all of the free states except New Jersey, whose votes he split with Douglas.

Many Southerners viewed Lincoln's election as a threat to their society and culture, even their lives. They saw no choice but to secede. The dissolution of the Union began with South Carolina, where secessionist sentiment had been burning the hottest for many years. Shortly after Lincoln's election, the state legislature called for a convention. On December 20, 1860, amid marching bands, fireworks, and militia drills, the convention voted unanimously to repeal the state's ratification of the Constitution and dissolve its ties to the Union.

By February 1, 1861, six more states in the Lower South—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had also voted to secede. Although a minority in these states did not want to leave the Union, the majority of Southerners viewed secession as similar to the American Revolution—a necessary course of action to uphold people's rights.

Compromise Fails Although Lincoln was elected president in November 1860, he would not be inaugurated until the following March. The Union's initial response to secession remained the responsibility of President Buchanan. Declaring that the government had no authority to forcibly preserve the Union, Buchanan urged Congress to be conciliatory.

In December, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky proposed a series of amendments to the Constitution. **Crittenden's Compromise**, as the newspapers called it, would guarantee slavery where it already existed. It would also reinstate the Missouri Compromise line and extend it all the way to the California border. Slavery would be prohibited in all territories north of the line and protected in all territories south of the line.

Causes and Effects of the Civil War

Causes

- Disagreement over the legality, morality, and politics of slavery
- Kansas-Nebraska Act sparked violence in Kansas.
- *Dred Scott* ruling voided any limitations on expansion of slavery.
- John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry polarized North and South.
- Southern states seceded from the Union.
- Confederates attacked Fort Sumter in South Carolina.

Effects

- Slavery was outlawed in the United States.
- Southern states rebuilt their economy.
- African Americans gained citizenship and voting rights.
- The first U.S. civil rights laws were passed.

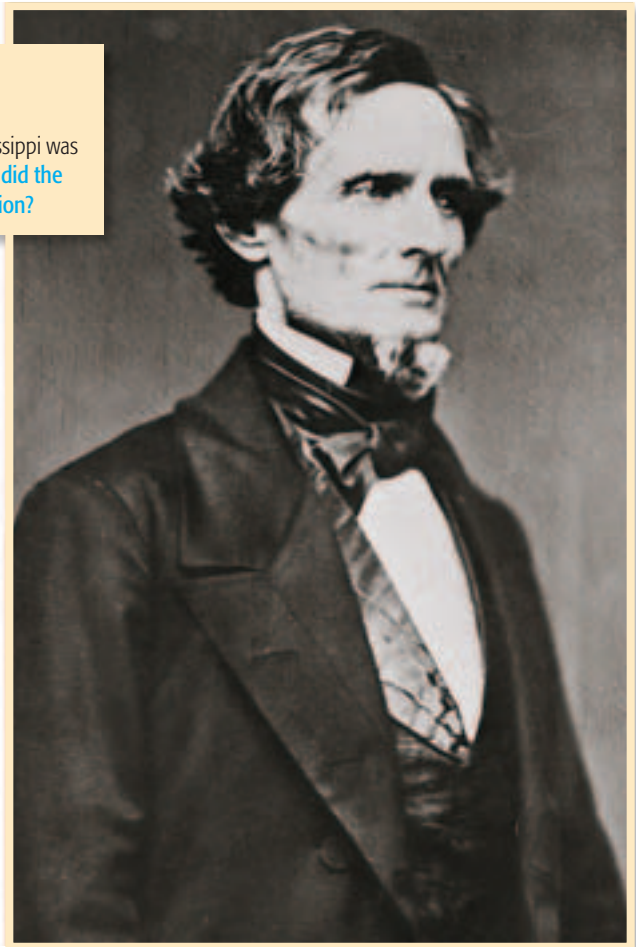
Graphic Organizer Skills

Mounting sectional tensions erupted into open warfare in 1861.

Analyzing What do you think was the most important cause of the Civil War? Why?

Picturing History

Confederate States of America Jefferson Davis from Mississippi was chosen as the president of the newly formed Confederacy. **How did the constitution of the Confederacy differ from the U.S. Constitution?**



At Lincoln's request, congressional Republicans voted against Crittenden's Compromise. Accepting slavery in any of the territories, Lincoln argued, "acknowledges that slavery has equal rights with liberty, and surrenders all we have contended for."

On February 8, 1861, delegates from the seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama, where they declared themselves to be a new nation—the Confederate States of America, also known as the **Confederacy**. They drafted a frame of government based largely on the U.S. Constitution but with some important changes. The Confederate Constitution acknowledged the independence of each state, guaranteed slavery in Confederate territory, banned protective tariffs, and limited the president to a single six-year term.

The convention delegates chose former Mississippi senator **Jefferson Davis** to be president. In his inaugural address, Davis declared, "The time for compromise has now passed. The South is determined to . . . make all who oppose her smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel." He then called on the remaining Southern states to join the Confederacy.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why did Southern Democrats walk out of the Democratic Convention?

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: Manifest Destiny, annexation, popular sovereignty, secession, Underground Railroad, adjacent, transcontinental railroad, insurrection, prospect, Confederacy.
- People and Terms** Identify: John C. Frémont, Bear Flag Republic, Wilmot Proviso, Harriet Tubman, Republican Party, Dred Scott, Crittenden's Compromise, Jefferson Davis.
- Places** Locate: Harpers Ferry
- Explain** why the Gold Rush created a new crisis over slavery.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Comparing and Contrasting** Examine the argument to leave the Union from the perspective of a Secessionist. How does their argument compare with an

American colonists' argument for independence from Great Britain. How were the situations similar? How were they different?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Synthesizing** How did the ruling in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* increase sectional division?
CA HIT; HI2
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to group key events of the 1840s and 1850s according to whether they were executive, legislative, judicial, or nongovernmental.

Executive	
Legislative	
Judicial	
Nongovernmental	

Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Photographs** Study the poster on page 196 advertising an anti-slavery meeting. What was one main reason that the poster designers opposed slavery?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Write a research report about the Underground Railroad, the California Gold Rush, or the *Dred Scott* decision. In your report, explain what impact the topic had on sectionalism. Make sure you carefully check your report for correct spelling, grammar, and punctuation.

CA 11WS1.1; 11WS1.6; 11WA2.4



Frederick Douglass was born into slavery in Maryland in 1818. During the course of his incredible life, he escaped from slavery and eventually became renowned for eloquent lectures and writings for the causes of abolition and liberty. One of his most famous works is his autobiography about growing up under the shadow of slavery. In the following excerpt, Douglass is around eight years old, and Mrs. Auld, the wife of his slaveholder, has begun to teach him to read. Mr. Auld discovers what his wife has been doing, and his reaction causes young Frederick to decide to learn to read and write on his own, no matter what.

Read to Discover

Why did some slaveholders not want the enslaved to learn to read?

Reader's Dictionary

revelation: discovery

stratagem: scheme

chattel: property

contemplate: consider

from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*

by Frederick Douglass

Very soon after I went to live with Mr. and Mrs. Auld, she very kindly commenced to teach me the A, B, C. After I had learned this, she assisted me in learning to spell words of three or four letters. Just at this point of my progress, Mr. Auld found out what was going on, and at once forbade Mrs. Auld to instruct me further, telling her, among other things, that it was unlawful, as well as unsafe, to teach a slave to read. . . . ["]Now," said [Mr. Auld], "if you teach that [boy] . . . how to read, there would be no keeping him. It would forever unfit him to be a slave. He would at once become unmanageable, and of no value to his master. As to himself, it could do him no good, but a great deal of harm. It would make him discontented and unhappy." These words sank deep into my heart, stirred up sentiments within that lay slumbering, and called into existence an entirely new train of thought. It was a new and special revelation, explaining dark and mysterious things, with which my youthful understanding had struggled, but



▲ *Frederick Douglass welcomes guests to his new office in Washington, D.C.*

struggled in vain. . . . From that moment, I understood the pathway from slavery to freedom. It was just what I wanted, and I got it at a time when I least expected it. Whilst I was saddened by the thought of losing the aid of my kind mistress, I was gladdened by the invaluable instruction which, by the merest accident, I had gained from my master. Though conscious of the difficulty of learning without a teacher, I set out with high hope, and a fixed purpose, at whatever cost of trouble, to learn to read. . . . That which to [Mr. Auld] was a great evil, to be carefully shunned, was to me a great good, to

be diligently sought; and the argument which he so warmly urged, against my learning to read, only served to inspire me with a desire and determination to learn. In learning to read, I owe almost as much to the bitter opposition of my master, as to the kindly aid of my mistress.

I acknowledge the benefit of both. . . .

I lived in Master Hugh's family about seven years. During this time, I succeeded in learning to read and write. In accomplishing this, I was compelled to resort to various stratagems. I had no regular teacher. My mistress, who had kindly commenced to instruct me, had, in compliance with the advice and direction of her husband, not only ceased to instruct, but had set her face against my being instructed by any one else. It is due, however, to my mistress to say of her, that she

did not adopt this course of treatment immediately. She at first lacked the depravity indispensable to shutting me up in mental darkness. It was at least necessary for her to have some training in the exercise of irresponsible power, to make her equal to the task of treating me as though I were a brute.

My mistress was, as I have said, a kind and tender-hearted woman; and in the simplicity of her soul she commenced, when I first went to live with her, to treat me as she supposed one human being ought to treat another. In entering upon the duties of a slaveholder, she did not seem to perceive that I sustained to her the relation of a mere chattel, and that for her to treat me as a human being was not only wrong, but dangerously

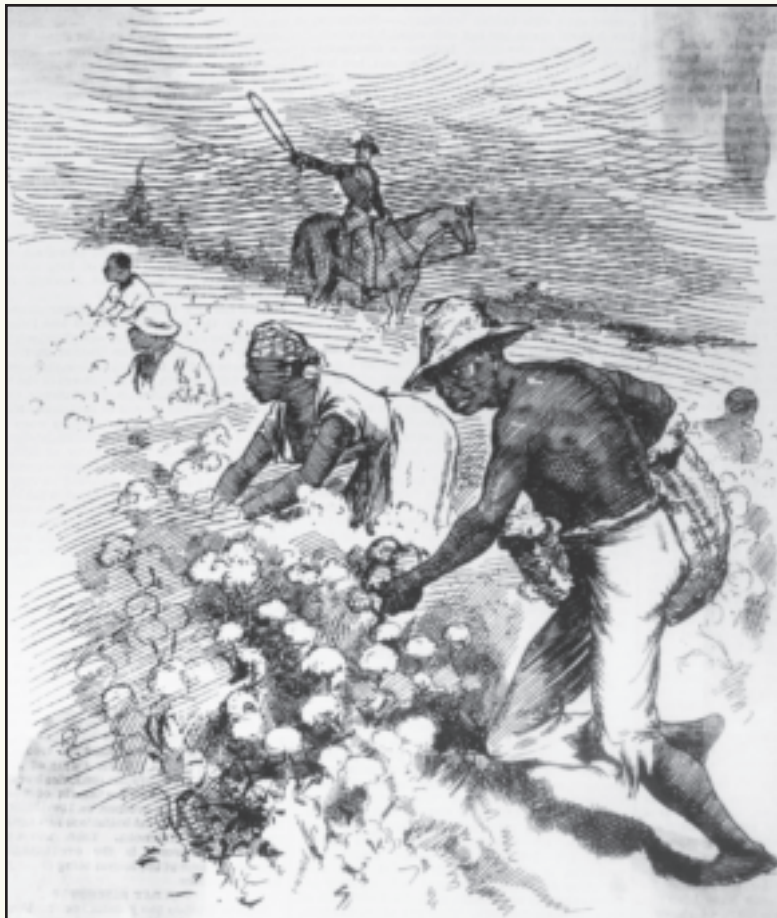
so. Slavery proved as injurious to her as it did to me. When I went there, she was a pious, warm, and tender-hearted woman. There was no sorrow or suffering for which she had not a tear. She had bread for the hungry, clothes for the naked, and comfort for every mourner

that came within her reach. Slavery soon proved its ability to divest her of these heavenly qualities. Under its influence, the tender heart became stone, and the lamblike disposition gave way to one of tiger-like fierceness. The first step in her downward course was in her ceasing to instruct me. She now commenced to practise her husband's precepts. She finally became even more violent in her opposition than her husband himself. . . .

From this time I was most narrowly watched. If I was in a separate room any considerable length of time, I was sure to

be suspected of having a book, and was at once called to give an account of myself. All this, however, was too late. . . .

The plan which I adopted, and the one by which I was most successful, was that of making friends of all the little white boys whom I met in the street. As many of these as I could, I converted into teachers. With their kindly aid, obtained at different times and in different places, I finally succeeded in learning to read. When I was sent of errands, I always took my book with me, and by going one part of my errand quickly, I found time to get a lesson before my return. I used also to carry bread with me, enough of which was always in the house, and to which I was always



▲ *Enslaved African Americans picking cotton.*



▲ *Freed African Americans learn to read in Richmond, Virginia.*

welcome; for I was much better off in this regard than many of the poor white children in our neighborhood. This bread I used to bestow upon the hungry little urchins, who, in return, would give me that more valuable bread of knowledge. . . .

I was now about twelve years old, and the thought of being a *slave for life* began to bear heavily upon my heart. Just about this time, I got hold of a book entitled “The Columbian Orator.” Every opportunity I got, I used to read this book. Among much of other interesting matter, I found in it a dialogue between a master and his slave. The slave was represented as having run away from his master three times. The dialogue represented the conversation which took place between them, when the slave was retaken the third time. In this dialogue, the whole argument in behalf of slavery was brought forward by the master, all of which was disposed of by the slave. The slave was made to say some very smart as well as impressive things in reply to his master—things which had the desired though unexpected effect; for the conversation resulted in the voluntary emancipation of the slave on the part of the master.

. . . The more I read, the more I was led to abhor and detest my enslavers. I could regard them in no other light than a band of successful robbers, who had left their homes, and gone to Africa, and stolen us from our homes, and in a strange land reduced us to slavery. I loathed them as being the meanest as

well as the most wicked of men. As I read and contemplated the subject, behold! that very discontentment which Master Hugh had predicted would follow my learning to read had already come, to torment and sting my soul to unutterable anguish. As I writhed under it, I would at times feel that learning to read had been a curse rather than a blessing. It had given me a view of my wretched condition, without the remedy. It opened my eyes to the horrible pit, but to no ladder upon which to get out. In moments of agony, I envied my fellow-slaves for their stupidity. I have often wished myself a beast. I preferred the condition of the meanest reptile to my own. Any thing, no matter what, to get rid of thinking! It was this everlasting thinking of my condition that tormented me. . . .

I often found myself regretting my own existence, and wishing myself dead; and but for the hope of being free, I have no doubt but that I should have killed myself, or done something for which I should have been killed. . . . I looked forward to a time at which it would be safe for me to escape. I was too young to think of doing so immediately; besides, I wished to learn how to write, as I might have occasion to write my own pass. I consoled myself with the hope that I should one day find a good chance. Meanwhile, I would learn to write.

Analyzing Literature

- 1. Recall** Why did Mr. Auld oppose the idea of Douglass learning to read?
- 2. Interpret** What do you think Douglass means when he speaks of “a revelation, explaining dark and mysterious things”?
CA 11RC2.4; 11RC2.5; 11RL3.4
- 3. Evaluate and Connect** How would you feel if someone had forbidden you to learn to read? What would you do?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Art Design a poster promoting literacy. Include reasons why everyone should learn to read and write and get an education.

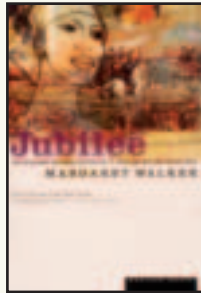
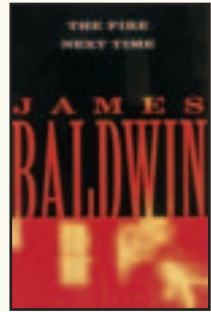
Reading on Your Own

For other literature selections that relate to the enslavement of African Americans, you might consider the following book suggestions.

The Fire Next Time (Nonfiction)

by James Baldwin

In a powerful letter to his nephew, Baldwin relates his thoughts on racism on the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. Baldwin's essay, which contains his own memories of life in Harlem, powerfully appeals to both African Americans and whites to recognize the perils of racism and to accept that we live in a multicultural society.



Jubilee (Fiction)

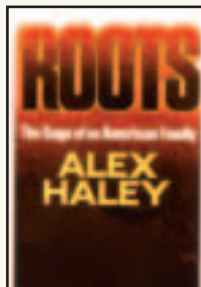
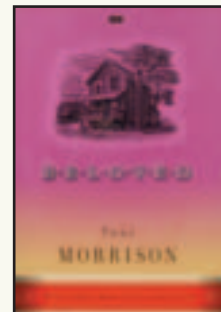
by Margaret Walker

This book tells the story of Vyry, the daughter of an enslaved African American woman, and her slaveholder. Readers follow Vyry's life before, during, and after the Civil War as she travels north trying to find her version of the American Dream. Based on the memories of Ms. Walker's maternal grandmother, the story counters the popular images of the Civil War portrayed in the film *Gone With the Wind* by describing life from the point of view of enslaved African Americans.

Beloved (Fiction)

by Toni Morrison

Once an enslaved person on Sweet Home Farm, Seth escapes and travels north with her children. Before being recaptured, she kills a daughter rather than allowing her to suffer the brutal life of slavery. After the Civil War, Beloved, the spirit of Seth's murdered daughter, comes back into her life and complicates her attempts to live a normal family life. Told in a series of flashbacks, Seth's fictional history captures the violence and indignities, as well as the courage and compassion, of thousands of humans who were once enslaved.



Roots (Biography/Autobiography)

by Alex Haley

This saga of the Haley family begins with Kunta Kinte's capture in Africa and follows his family through seven generations. Made into a popular television mini-series, the book became a symbolic history for many African Americans who also could trace their families back to slavery.

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how the division between the North and the South resulted in the secession of the South. In this section, you will discover how the Civil War began and find out about the factors that led to the Union's victory over the Confederate army.

Main Idea

- The plan to resupply Fort Sumter triggered the beginning of the Civil War. (p. 207)
- The North and South each had distinct advantages and disadvantages at the beginning of the Civil War. (p. 208)
- With Union casualties rising, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. (p.210)

- With the help of key victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the North defeated the South after four long years of fighting. (p. 212)

Content Vocabulary

martial law, greenback, conscription, habeas corpus, attrition, siege, mandate

Academic Vocabulary

conceive, subordinate

People and Terms to Identify

Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, Emancipation Proclamation, Gettysburg Address, Thirteenth Amendment

Places to Locate

Fort Sumter, Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Appomattox Courthouse

Reading Objectives

- **Contrast** the political situations of the Union and Confederacy.
- **Identify** the major battles of the war, and assess their impact.
- **Discuss** Lee's surrender and the events of the war's aftermath.

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about the major battles of the Civil War, complete a chart similar to the one below by filling in the name of each battle and its results.

Battle	Results

Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.1 Students analyze the significant events in the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence.

11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

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.

The Big Idea

Differences in economic, political, and social beliefs can lead to division within a nation. Confederate forces took control of Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, making war with the Union unavoidable. The North maintained several advantages over the South. It had a strong naval tradition, more than twice the population from which to draw an army, a larger treasury to help support the war, and more industries and railroads to manufacture and transport supplies. While the South maintained a stronger military tradition, it could not adequately finance the war and was able to receive only limited overseas supplies due to the North's blockade of Southern ports. After many battles and casualties and much destruction, Confederate forces surrendered. As the country entered the period of Reconstruction, John Wilkes Booth assassinated President Lincoln.

The Civil War Begins

Main Idea The plan to resupply Fort Sumter triggered the beginning of the Civil War.

Reading Connection If you believed in a cause, what would you do to convince others to join you? Read on to learn how President Lincoln held on to the border states.

In April Lincoln announced that he intended to send needed supplies to **Fort Sumter** in Charleston Harbor, one of the few federal military bases that Southerners had not already seized. The Confederacy now faced a dilemma.

★ An American Story ★

"I do not pretend to sleep," wrote Mary Chesnut of the night of April 12, 1861. "How can I?" Hours earlier, her husband, former South Carolina senator James Chesnut, had gone by rowboat to Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. He was delivering an ultimatum to U.S. Army Major Robert Anderson to surrender the fort by four o'clock in the morning or be fired upon by the South Carolina militia.

Through the long night Mary Chesnut lay awake, until she heard chimes from a local church ring four times. The hour of surrender had arrived, and, she confessed, "I beg[a]n to hope." But her hopes of a peaceful outcome faded when, a half hour later, she heard the cannons begin to boom. "I sprang out of bed. And on my knees . . . I prayed as I never prayed before."

In a nightgown and shawl, Chesnut ran to the roof, where others had gathered to watch the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The sectional conflict that had brewed in debate and broken out in periodic violence had become a war. On her rooftop, Mary Chesnut shivered and felt the first terrifying evidence of the horrors to come. "The regular roar of the cannon—there it was. And who could tell what each volley accomplished of death and destruction."

—adapted from *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*

President Lincoln had tried to avoid war. In his inaugural speech on March 4, 1861, he addressed the seceding states directly, repeating his commitment not to interfere with slavery where it already existed. Still, he insisted that "the Union of these States is

perpetual." He did not threaten to attack the seceded states, but he did announce his intention to "hold, occupy, and possess" federal property in those states. Lincoln also made an eloquent plea for reconciliation, stating: "The government will not assail *you*. . . . Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."

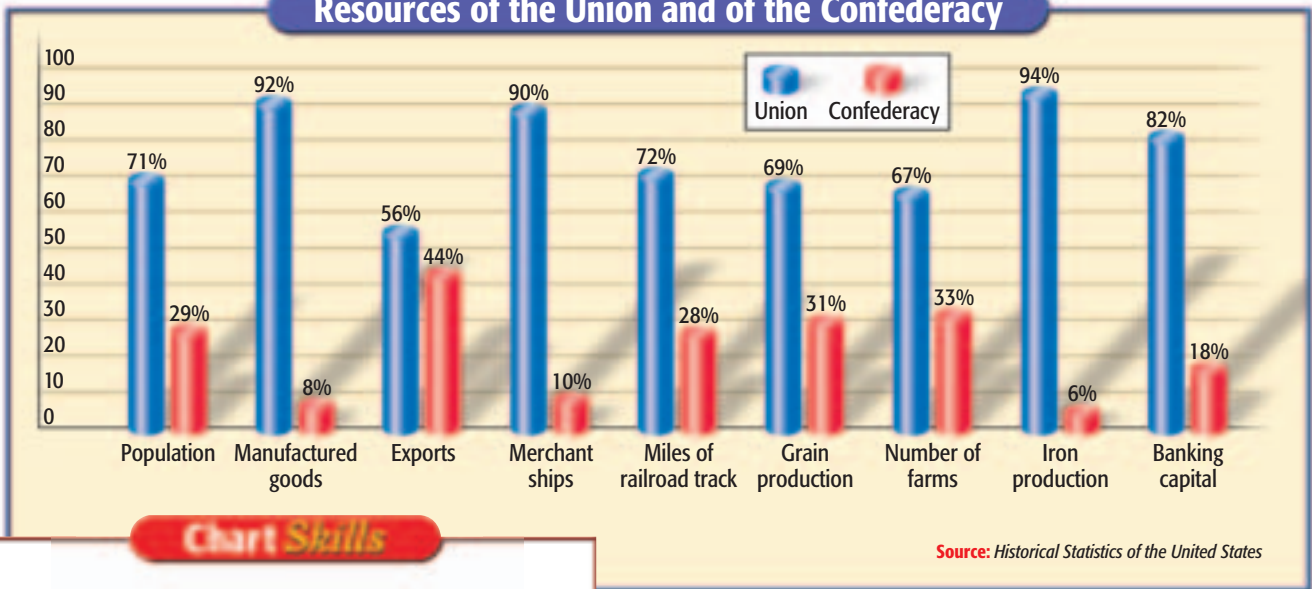
When President Lincoln announced his plan to resupply Fort Sumter, Confederate President Jefferson Davis was faced with a problem. To tolerate U.S. troops in the South's most vital Atlantic harbor seemed unacceptable for a sovereign nation. However, firing on the supply ship would undoubtedly provoke war with the United States. Jefferson decided to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter before the supply ship arrived. The fort's commander, U.S. Army Major Robert Anderson, stood fast. Confederate forces then bombarded Fort Sumter for 33 hours on April 12 and 13, until Anderson and his exhausted men gave up. No one had been killed, but the Civil War had begun.

After the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the military for 90 days. Lincoln's action created a crisis in the Upper South. Many people in those states did not want to secede, but they were not willing to take up arms against fellow Southerners. Between April 17 and June 8, 1861, four more states chose to leave the Union—Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. The Confederate Congress then established Richmond, Virginia, as the capital.

Mary Chesnut ▼



Resources of the Union and of the Confederacy



- Interpreting Graphs** In which category is the difference between the Union and the Confederacy the greatest?
- Making Inferences** What additional factors are not considered when comparing population percentages between the Union and the Confederacy?

With the Upper South gone, Lincoln could not afford to lose the slaveholding border states as well. Delaware seemed safe, but Lincoln worried about Kentucky, Missouri, and particularly Maryland. Virginia's secession had placed a Confederate state across the Potomac River from the nation's capital. If Maryland joined the South, Washington, D.C., would be surrounded by Confederate territory. To prevent Maryland's secession, Lincoln imposed **martial law**—military rule—in Baltimore, where angry mobs had already attacked federal troops. Although many people objected to this suspension of their rights, Maryland stayed in the Union.

Kentucky initially declared neutrality in the conflict, but when Confederate troops occupied part of Kentucky, the state declared war on the Confederacy, and Lincoln sent troops to help. In Missouri, despite strong public support for the Confederacy, the state convention voted to stay in the Union. Federal troops then ended fights between the pro-Union government and secessionists.

The war shattered old loyalties and made enemies of former friends. For the next several years, the bloody war between the states divided Americans and resulted in hundreds of thousands of casualties.

Reading Check **Examining** Why did the call for military volunteers lead more states to secede?

The Opposing Sides

Main Idea The North and South each had distinct advantages and disadvantages at the beginning of the Civil War.

Reading Connection Do you believe the government is justified limiting civil liberties during wartime? Read on to learn how President Lincoln decided to suspend writs of habeas corpus during the Civil War.

On the same day that he learned his home state of Virginia had voted to secede from the Union, **Robert E. Lee**—one of the best senior officers in the United States Army—received an offer from General Winfield Scott to command Union troops. Although Lee had spoken against secession and considered slavery “a moral and political evil,” he refused to fight against the South. Instead, he offered his services to the Confederacy.

Lee was one of hundreds of military officers who resigned to join the Confederacy. In 1860 seven of the nation's eight military colleges were in the South. These colleges provided the region with a large number of trained officers to quickly organize an effective fighting force.

Just as the South had a strong military tradition, the North had a strong naval tradition. More than three-quarters of the Navy's officers came from the North, and the crews of American merchant ships were almost entirely from the North. They provided a large pool of trained sailors for the Union navy as it expanded.

The Opposing Economies Although the South had many experienced officers to lead its troops in battle, the North had several economic advantages. In 1860 the population of the North was about 22 million, while the South had about 9 million people. The North's larger population gave it a great advantage in raising an army and in supporting the war effort.

The North's industries also gave the region an important economic advantage over the South. In 1860 almost 90 percent of the nation's factories were located in the Northern states. The North could provide its troops with ammunition and other supplies more easily. In addition, the South had only half as many miles of railroad track as the North and had only one line—from Memphis to Chattanooga—connecting the western states of the Confederacy to the east. This made it much easier for Northern troops to disrupt the Southern rail system and prevent the movement of supplies and troops.

The Union also controlled the national treasury and could expect continued revenue from tariffs. In order to make more money available for emergency use, Congress passed the Legal Tender Act, creating a national currency and allowing the government to issue paper money. The paper money came to be known as **greenbacks**, because of its color.

The Confederacy did not fare as well. Most Southern planters were in debt and unable to buy bonds. Southern banks were small and had few cash reserves; as a result, they could not buy many bonds either. The best hope for the South to raise money was by taxing trade. Then, shortly after the war began, the Union Navy blockaded Southern ports, which reduced trade and revenues. The Confederacy had to resort to direct taxation of its people, but many Southerners refused to pay.

The Confederacy also printed paper money to pay its bills. This caused rapid inflation in the South, and Confederate paper money eventually became almost worthless. By the end of the war, the South had experienced 9,000 percent inflation, compared to only 80 percent in the North.

The Political Situation President Lincoln had to deal with a number of issues. Although many fellow Republicans were abolitionists, Lincoln wanted to preserve the Union, even if it meant allowing slavery to continue. The president also had to contend with the Democrats, who were divided themselves over a possible war.

One major disagreement between Republicans and Democrats concerned the enactment in 1862 of a militia law that allowed states to use **conscription**—

or forcing people through a draft into military service—if this was necessary to fill their regiments. Criticism also greeted President Lincoln's decision to suspend writs of **habeas corpus**. A writ of habeas corpus is a court order that requires the government either to charge an imprisoned person with a crime or let the person go free. When writs of habeas corpus are suspended, a person can be imprisoned indefinitely without trial. In this case, President Lincoln suspended the writ for anyone who openly supported the rebels or encouraged others to resist the militia draft. "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts," the president asked, "while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert?"

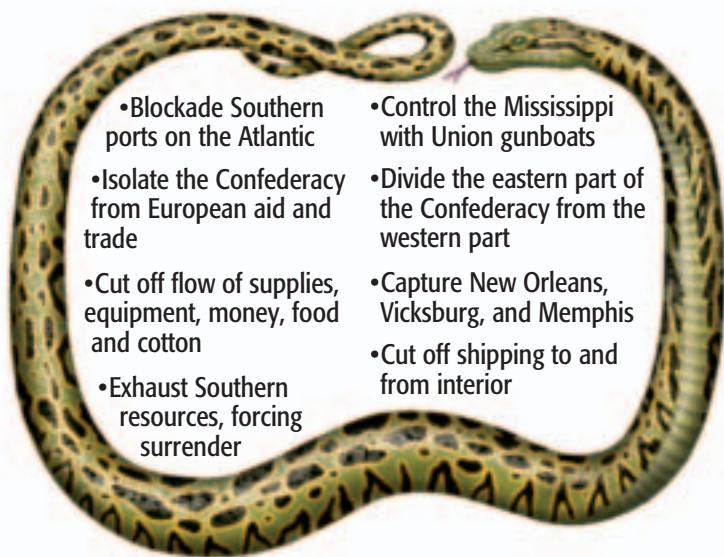
Although the South had no organized opposition party, Confederate president Jefferson Davis still faced political problems. The Confederate constitution emphasized states' rights and limited the central government's power. This often interfered with Davis's ability to conduct the war with a united commitment from every Confederate state government. Some Southern leaders opposed Davis when he supported conscription and established martial law early in 1862. They also opposed the suspension of writs of habeas corpus, which the South, like the North, had introduced.

The outbreak of the Civil War put the major governments of Europe in a difficult situation. While the United States government did not want the Europeans interfering in the war, Confederate leaders wanted them to recognize the South and provide it with military assistance. Southern leaders knew that European textile factories depended on Southern cotton. To pressure the British and French, many Southern planters agreed to stop selling their cotton in these markets until the Europeans recognized the Confederacy. Despite these efforts, both countries chose not to go to war against the United States.

The First Modern War The North and South were about to embark on what was, in many respects, the first modern war. Unlike earlier European wars, the Civil War involved huge armies that consisted mostly of civilian volunteers and required vast amounts of supplies. By the 1850s, French and American inventors had developed an inexpensive conoidal—or cone-shaped—bullet that was accurate at much greater distances. This resulted in much higher casualties. **Attrition**—the wearing down of one side by the other through exhaustion of soldiers and resources—also played a critical role as the war dragged on.



The Anaconda Plan



Early in the war, Jefferson Davis imagined a struggle similar to the American war for independence against Britain in which Southern generals would pick their battles carefully, attacking and retreating when necessary to avoid heavy losses. By waging a defensive war of attrition, Davis believed the South could force the Union to spend its resources until it became tired of the war and agreed to negotiate. Instead, President Davis felt pressure to strike for a quick victory, especially since many Southerners believed that their military traditions made them superior fighters. In the war, Southern troops went on the offensive in eight battles, suffering 20,000 more casualties than the Union by charging enemy lines. These were heavy losses the South could not afford.

The general in chief of the United States, Winfield Scott, suggested that the Union blockade Confederate ports and send gunboats down the Mississippi River to divide the Confederacy in two. The South, thus separated, would gradually run out of resources and surrender. Many Northerners rejected the strategy, which they called the Anaconda Plan, after a snake that slowly strangles its prey to death. They thought it was too slow and indirect for certain victory. Lincoln eventually agreed to implement Scott's suggestions and imposed a blockade of Southern ports. He and other Union leaders realized that only a long war that focused on destroying the South's armies had any chance of success.

 **Reading Check** **Comparing** In what areas did the opposing sides have advantages and disadvantages?

The Early Stages

Main Idea With Union casualties rising, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

Reading Connection Do you know someone who lived through the food rationing during World War II? Read on to learn how the war affected daily life.

During the first few months of the war, President Lincoln felt tremendous pressure to strike hard against the South. He approved an assault on Confederate troops gathered near Manassas Junction, Virginia, only 25 miles (40 km) south of Washington, D.C. The First Battle of Bull Run, as it came to be called, started well for the Union as it forced Confederate troops to retreat. Then the tide turned when reinforcements under the command of Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson helped the Confederates defeat the Union forces. This outcome made it clear that the North would need a large, well-trained army to prevail against the South.

Lincoln had originally called for 75,000 men to serve for three months. The day after Bull Run, he signed another bill for the enlistment of 500,000 men for three years. The North initially tried to encourage voluntary enlistment by offering a bounty—a sum of money given as a bonus—to individuals who promised three years of military service. Eventually both the Union and the Confederacy instituted the draft.

The Naval War While the Union and Confederacy mobilized their armies, President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of all Confederate ports in an effort to cut Confederate trade with the world. Although the blockade became increasingly effective as the war dragged on, Union vessels were thinly spread and found it difficult to stop the blockade runners—small, fast vessels the South used to smuggle goods past the blockade, usually at night. By using blockade runners, the South could ship at least some of its cotton to Europe in exchange for shoes, rifles, and other supplies.

As part of its effort to close Southern ports, the Union navy developed a plan to seize New Orleans and gain control of the lower Mississippi River. In February 1862, David G. Farragut took command of a combined Union force consisting of 42 warships and 15,000 soldiers led by General Benjamin Butler. On April 25, 1862, Farragut arrived at New Orleans. Six days later, General Butler's troops took control of the city. The South's largest city, and a center of the cotton trade, was now in Union hands.

The War in the West In February 1862, as Farragut prepared for his attack on New Orleans, Union general **Ulysses S. Grant** began a campaign to seize control of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. Control of these rivers would cut Tennessee in two and provide the Union with a river route deep into Confederate territory.

All of Kentucky and most of western Tennessee soon came under Union control. Grant next headed up the Tennessee River to attack Corinth, Mississippi. Seizing Corinth would cut the Confederacy's only rail line connecting Mississippi and western Tennessee to the east. Early on April 6, 1862, Confederate forces launched a surprise attack on Grant's troops, which were camped about 20 miles (32 km) north of Corinth near a small church named Shiloh. The Union won the Battle of Shiloh the following day, but both sides paid an enormous cost. Twenty thousand troops had been killed or wounded, more than in any other battle up to that point. When newspapers demanded Grant be fired because of the high casualties, Lincoln refused, saying, "I can't spare this man; he fights."

The War in the East While Grant fought his battles in the West, another major campaign was being waged in the East to capture Richmond, Virginia, the Confederate capital. In late June 1862, Confederate general Robert E. Lee began a series of attacks on the Union army that became known collectively as the Seven Days' Battle. Although Lee was unable to decisively defeat the Union army, he did force its retreat. Together the two sides suffered over 30,000 casualties.

As Union troops withdrew, Lee decided to attack the Union forces defending Washington. The maneuvers by the two sides led to another battle at Bull Run, near Manassas Junction, the site of the first major battle of the war. The South again forced the North to retreat, leaving the Confederate forces only 20 miles (32 km) from Washington, D.C. Soon after, Lee's forces invaded Maryland.

Both Lee and Jefferson Davis believed that only an invasion would convince the North to accept the South's independence. They also thought that a victory on Northern soil might help the South win recognition from the British and help the Peace Democrats gain control of Congress in the upcoming midterm elections. By heading north, Lee also could feed his troops from Northern farms and draw Union troops out of Virginia during harvest season.

On September 17, 1862, Lee's forces met Union troops under the command of General George B.

McClellan at **Antietam** (an·TEE·tuhm) Creek. The Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest one-day battle in American history, ended with over 6,000 men killed and around another 16,000 wounded. Although McClellan did not break Lee's lines, he inflicted so many casualties that Lee decided to retreat to Virginia.


The Battle of Antietam was a crucial victory for the Union. The British government had been ready to intervene in the war as a mediator if Lee's invasion had succeeded. Britain also had begun making plans to recognize the Confederacy in the event the North rejected mediation. Lee's defeat at Antietam changed everything. The British again decided to wait and see how the war progressed. With this decision, the South lost its best chance at gaining international recognition and support. The South's defeat at Antietam had an even more important political impact in the United States. It convinced Lincoln that the time had come to end slavery in the South.

The Emancipation Proclamation Most Democrats opposed any move to end slavery, while Republicans were divided on the issue. With Northern casualties rising to staggering levels, however, more Northerners began to agree that slavery had to end, in part to punish the South and in part to make the soldiers' sacrifices worthwhile.

On September 22, 1862, encouraged by the Union victory at Antietam, Lincoln publicly announced that he would issue the **Emancipation Proclamation**—a decree freeing all enslaved persons in states still in rebellion after January 1, 1863. Because the Proclamation freed enslaved African Americans only in states at war with the Union, it did not address slavery in the border states. Short of a constitutional

▼ *The "Hornet's Nest" at the Battle of Shiloh*



amendment, Lincoln could not end slavery in the border states, nor did he want to endanger their loyalty.  (See page 995 for more on the *Emancipation Proclamation*.) The Proclamation, by its very existence, transformed the conflict over preserving the Union into a war of liberation.

Life During the Civil War As the war intensified, the economies of the North and South went in different directions. By the end of 1862, the South's economy had begun to suffer greatly. The collapse of the South's transportation system and the presence of Union troops in several important agricultural regions led to severe food shortages in the winter of 1862. In several communities, food shortages led to riots. Hearing of such hardships, many Confederate soldiers deserted to return home to help their families.

In contrast, the North actually experienced an economic boom because of the war. With its large, well-established banking industry, the North raised money for the war more easily than the South. Its growing industries also supplied Union troops with clothes, munitions, and other necessities.

Innovations in agriculture helped minimize the loss of labor as men left to fight. Greater use of mechanical reapers and mowers made farming possible with fewer workers, many of whom were women. Women also filled labor shortages in various industries, particularly in clothing and shoemaking factories.

Both Union and Confederate soldiers endured a hard life with few comforts. They faced the constant threat of disease and extreme medical procedures if

Picturing History

Battlefield Medicine The greatest impact women had on the battlefield was through serving as nurses. [In what non-military ways did women contribute to the war effort?](#)



they got injured in battle. Life for prisoners of war was just as difficult, especially in Southern prisons that faced food shortages.

While the war brought hardship to many Americans, it offered new opportunities for African Americans. The Emancipation Proclamation officially permitted African Americans to enlist in the Union army and navy. Almost immediately, thousands of African Americans rushed to join the military.

Women helped in the war effort at home by managing family farms and businesses. Perhaps their most important contribution to the Civil War was in serving as nurses to the wounded. One of the most prominent war nurses was Clara Barton, who left her job in a Washington patent office to aid soldiers on the battlefield. The Civil War was a turning point for the American nursing profession. The courage shown by women helped break down the belief that women were emotionally weaker than men.

 **Reading Check Analyzing** Why do you think so many African Americans were willing to volunteer to fight?

The Turning Point

Main Idea With the help of key victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the North defeated the South after four long years of fighting. 

Reading Connection Recall a time when you faced a situation you had been dreading. Did the outcome surprise you? Read on to learn about Confederate general Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant.

In 1863 an end to the war still was not in sight. Two more long years of battle lay ahead for Americans.

Vicksburg and Gettysburg Gaining control of the Mississippi River was a vital element of the Union strategy for winning the Civil War. If the Union could capture **Vicksburg**, Mississippi, the last major Confederate stronghold on the river, then the North could cut the South in two.

On May 19, 1863, Grant launched an all-out assault on Vicksburg, but the city's defenders repulsed the attack and inflicted high casualties. When a second attack also failed, Grant decided to put the city under **siege**—cutting off its food and supplies and bombarding the city until its defenders gave up. On July 4, 1863, with his troops literally on the verge of starvation, the Confederate commander at Vicksburg surrendered.

Emboldened by recent victories against Union troops, Lee decided in June 1863 to invade the North. At the end of June, as Lee's army foraged in the Pennsylvania countryside, some of his troops headed into **Gettysburg**, hoping to seize a supply of shoes. When they arrived near the town, they discovered two brigades of Union cavalry. On July 1, 1863, as Confederates pushed the Union troops out of the town, the main forces of both armies hurried to the scene of the fighting.

On July 2, Lee attacked, but the Union troops held their ground. The following day, Lee ordered nearly 15,000 men under the command of General George E. Pickett and General A.P. Hill to make a massive assault. In the attack, which became known as Pickett's Charge, Union cannons and guns inflicted 7,000 casualties in less than half an hour of fighting.

Pickett's Charge failed to break the Union lines. Fewer than 5,000 men made it up the ridge, and Union troops quickly overwhelmed those who did. "It is all my fault," said Lee. "It is I who have lost this fight." Lee's troops retreated back to Virginia. At Gettysburg, the Union suffered 23,000 casualties, but the South's toll was an estimated 28,000 casualties, more than one-third of Lee's entire force.

The disaster at Gettysburg proved to be the turning point of the war in the East. The Union's victory strengthened the Republicans politically and ensured once again that the British would not recognize the Confederacy. For the remainder of the war, Lee's forces remained on the defensive, slowly giving ground to the advancing Union army.

In November 1863, Lincoln came to Gettysburg to dedicate a part of the battlefield as a cemetery. His speech, the **Gettysburg Address**, became one of the best-known orations in American history. In it, Lincoln reminded his listeners that the nation was "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal":

“It is . . . for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—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 the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

—from the Gettysburg Address

 (See page 996 for the complete text of the Gettysburg Address.)

Grant Secures Tennessee After the Union's major victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, fierce fighting erupted in Tennessee near Chattanooga, a



Picturing History

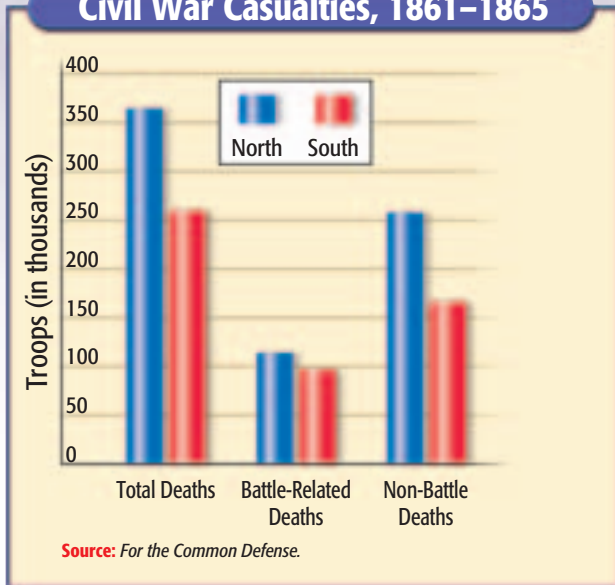
Vicksburg Besieged Union troops used this house as a headquarters during the siege of Vicksburg. Nearby are Union trenches and the opening to a tunnel being dug under Confederate lines. [For how long was the city of Vicksburg under siege by Grant's Union forces?](#)

vital railroad junction. Both the North and South knew that if Union forces captured Chattanooga, they would control a major railroad running south to Atlanta. Following several battles, union forces under the command of General Grant succeeded in scattering the Confederate soldiers who blocked the way to the city.

By the spring of 1864, Grant had accomplished two crucial objectives for the Union. His capture of Vicksburg had given the Union control of the Mississippi River, while his victory at Chattanooga had secured eastern Tennessee and cleared the way for an invasion of Georgia. Lincoln rewarded Grant by appointing him general in chief of the Union forces and promoting him to lieutenant general, a rank no one had held since George Washington. The president had finally found a general he trusted to win the war.

Grant Versus Lee By the spring of 1864, Union leaders knew that the only way to end the long and bloody war was to defeat Lee's army. General Grant put his most trusted **subordinate**, William Tecumseh Sherman, in charge of Union operations in the West. Grant then took command of the Union troops facing Lee. His campaign led to battles in the Wilderness, a densely forested area near Fredericksburg, Virginia, and Spotsylvania Courthouse southeast of the Wilderness. Convinced that his relentless attacks had weakened and demoralized Lee's troops, Grant decided to launch an all-out assault at Cold Harbor, a strategic crossroads northeast of Richmond. The

Civil War Casualties, 1861–1865



attack failed miserably, costing the Union 7,000 casualties, compared to only 1,500 for the South.

Grant then tried another plan. He ordered General Philip Sheridan to distract Lee with a cavalry raid outside Richmond. Grant headed south to capture the nearby town of Petersburg and thus cut off the rail line supplying Richmond and Lee's forces. The strength of the city's defenses intimidated the Union troops, who were already exhausted and demoralized. Realizing a full-scale frontal assault would be suicidal, Grant ordered his troops to lay siege to the city.

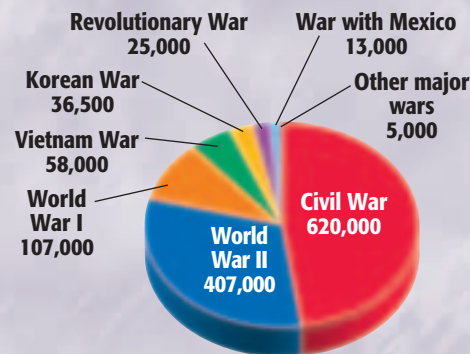
Union Victories in the South On August 5, 1864, the Union navy under David Farragut tried to secure the last major Confederate port on the Gulf of Mexico east of the Mississippi—Mobile, Alabama. After getting past the Confederate forts, Farragut's ships destroyed a Confederate fleet defending Mobile Bay. Although Farragut did not capture Mobile, he did seal off the bay.

At the same time, General Sherman marched his army from Chattanooga toward Atlanta, Georgia. In late August 1864, his army easily took the city. Sherman's troops set fires to destroy railroads, warehouses, mills, and factories. The fires spread quickly, destroying more than one-third of Atlanta.

On November 15, 1864, Sherman led his troops east across Georgia in what became known as the March to the Sea. The purpose of the march was to make Southern civilians understand the horrors of war and to pressure them into giving up the struggle. Sherman's troops cut a path of destruction through Georgia that was at times 60 miles (97 km)

American War Deaths

(approximate figures)



Source: United States Civil War Center; For the Common Defense

Chart Skills

- 1. Interpreting Graphs** How do the battle-related deaths compare to non-battle deaths?
- 2. Understanding Cause and Effect** What do these graphs tell you about conditions on and off the battle field in both the North and South?

wide. By December 21, 1864, they had reached the coast and seized Georgia's first settlement, the city of Savannah.

After reaching the Atlantic coast, Sherman turned north and headed into South Carolina, the state that many people believed had started the Civil War. "The whole army," Sherman wrote, "is burning with an insatiable desire to wreak vengeance upon South Carolina." Sherman's troops burned and pillaged nearly everything in front of them. The march greatly demoralized Southerners. As one South Carolinian wrote, "[T]o fight longer seems madness."

The South Surrenders The capture of Atlanta came just in time to revitalize Northern support for the war and for Lincoln himself. On Election Day, voters elected the president to another term. Lincoln interpreted his reelection as an approval of his war policies and as a **mandate**, or clear sign from the voters, to end slavery permanently by amending the Constitution. To get the amendment through Congress, Republicans appealed to Democrats who were against slavery to help them. On January 31, 1865, the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the Constitution, banning slavery in the United States, was narrowly passed by the House of Representatives and was sent to the states for ratification.

Meanwhile, Lee knew that time was running out. On April 1, 1865, Union troops led by Philip Sheridan cut the last rail line into Petersburg at the Battle of Five Forks. The following night, Lee's troops withdrew from their positions near the city and raced west.

Lee's desperate attempt to escape Grant's forces failed when Sheridan's cavalry got ahead of Lee's troops and blocked the road at **Appomattox Courthouse**. When his troops failed to break through, Lee sadly observed, "There is nothing left for me to do but go and see General Grant, and I would rather die a thousand deaths." With his ragged and battered troops surrounded and outnumbered, Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865.

Grant's generous terms of surrender guaranteed that the United States would not prosecute Confederate soldiers for treason. When Grant agreed to let Confederates take their horses home "to put in a crop to carry themselves and their families through the next winter," Lee thanked him, adding that the kindness would "do much toward conciliating our people." As Lee left he shook hands with Ely Parker, a Senecan who served as Grant's secretary. "I am glad to see a real American here," Lee told the Native American. Parker replied, "We are all Americans."

With the war over, Lincoln delivered a speech describing his plan to restore the Southern states to the Union. In the speech, he mentioned including African Americans in Southern state governments. One listener, actor John Wilkes Booth, sneered to a friend, "That is the last speech he will ever make."

Although his advisers had repeatedly warned him not to appear unescorted in public, Lincoln went to Ford's Theater with his wife to see a play on the evening of April 14, 1865. Just after 10 P.M., Booth slipped quietly behind the president and shot him in the back of the head. Lincoln died the next morning.

The president's death shocked the nation. Once viewed as an unsophisticated man unsuited for the presidency, Lincoln had become the Union's greatest champion. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children lined railroad tracks as Lincoln's body was transported back to Springfield, Illinois.

The North's victory in the Civil War saved the Union and strengthened the power of the federal government over the states. It transformed American society by ending slavery, but it also left the South socially and economically devastated, and many questions unresolved. No one knew how to bring the Southern states back into the Union or what the status of African Americans would be in Southern society. Americans from the North and the South tried to answer these questions in the years following the Civil War—an era known as Reconstruction.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** Why did General Sherman march his army to the sea?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

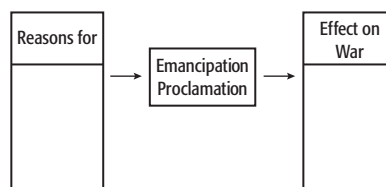
- Vocabulary** Define: martial law, greenback, conscription, habeas corpus, attrition, siege, conceive, subordinate, mandate.
- People and Terms** Identify: Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, Emancipation Proclamation, Gettysburg Address, Thirteenth Amendment.
- Places** Locate: Fort Sumter, Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Appomattox Courthouse.
- Explain** why Robert E. Lee refused to command Union troops.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Identifying** What developments prior to the Civil War gave the North an advantage over the South?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Analyzing** What effect do you think would the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment have on African Americans? Why? **CA HI.4**
- Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to explain President Lincoln's reasons for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation and the effects the Proclamation had on the war.



Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Graphs** Study the graphs of war deaths on page 214. What would account for the thousands of non-battle deaths listed in one of the graphs?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are living in one of the border states at the beginning of the Civil War. Write a letter to a relative explaining why you plan to join either the Union or Confederate army. Include in your letter specific reasons for your decision. Also discuss any fears you might have about fighting in the war. **CAT1WS1.2; 11WA2.1**

Looking Back...

The Declaration of Independence

Why It Matters As late as 1860, Jefferson Davis was delivering speeches calling for peace and discouraging Southern secessionists. In 1861, however, delegates from seceding states met in Montgomery and elected Davis president of the Confederacy. Despite his fears about the South's ability to win the war, Davis spoke eloquently in his inaugural address about the justice of the Southern cause. Like many Southerners, Davis believed they were following the principle on which the nation was founded: that people should not have to live under a government that infringes on their basic rights.

The North's point of view was quite different: Southerners were destroying the nation by placing their authority above that of the federal government. The origins of this feud trace back to the Declaration of Independence. In crafting this document, the Founders advocated an entirely new relationship between a government and its citizens. They prompted a continuing debate over how to balance individual and states' rights with the power of a central authority.



Steps to . . . the Declaration of Independence

Over many centuries, there was little development in political theory that addressed the relationship between the individual and the government. The changes that came about after the period known as the Enlightenment culminated in the 1700s with the American Declaration of Independence.

Government by and for the People With very few exceptions, the world knew only monarchies and absolute rulers at the time the Declaration of Independence was written.

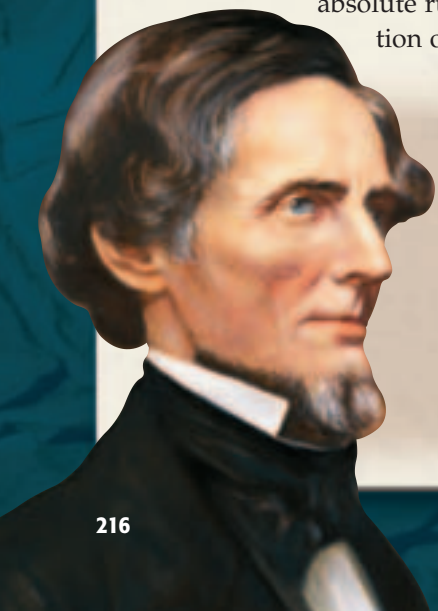
Drawing from new political theories, the Declaration put forth a different idea: governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." In other words, governments exist to serve the people.

The main function of a government, the document declared, was to protect the "unalienable rights" of its citizens—the most important of which were the rights to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." When a government failed to live up to this obligation, the people had the right to "throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

In shaping this political philosophy, the Founders looked to the works of many people, including such classical thinkers as Aristotle, who had identified

"Our present condition . . . illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established."

—Jefferson Davis, 1861





Signing of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia

three forms of government—democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy. The Founders believed the best government would combine all three forms of government and balance them against each other. The Constitution partly reflects these ideas. The president received powers similar to a monarch; the Senate was intended to protect the elite; and the House of Representatives, elected by the people, was the most democratic. The Founders also looked to the ideas of eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers. The greatest influence on American thinking, however, was probably the English philosopher John Locke. Locke's writings promoted the idea that power in society rested ultimately with its citizens.

A List of Grievances In declaring their independence from Britain, colonial leaders argued that the British government had failed to live up to its obligations to the colonists. In a section that has become known as the list of grievances, the Declaration of Independence spells out precisely how the British king had suppressed the rights of the colonists and failed to look out for their interests.

These 27 charges against the king were patterned after several documents, including the English Bill of Rights (1689), which criticized various actions of the king. Ideas for the Declaration's list of grievances also came from several papers of the Stamp Act Congress and the First and Second Continental Congress.

A Debate Over the Constitution The underlying belief of the Declaration of Independence was that government derives its power from the people. This core idea led to a great debate in 1787 over whether to ratify the U.S. Constitution. Those who supported the Constitution, known as Federalists, favored a strong central government in order to create a more organized and unified nation. Antifederalists, those who opposed the Constitution, feared that the creation of a strong central government eventually would lead to

the same kind of tyranny that the colonists had endured under Britain.

In particular, the Antifederalists criticized the fact that the proposed Constitution did not contain a bill of rights to protect the personal liberties of the people. The absence of such protections, argued one Antifederalist leader, "put Civil Liberty and happiness of the people at the Mercy of Rulers who may possess the great unguarded powers given."

Promoting Limited Government In the end, the Federalists agreed to add a bill of rights to the Constitution. The Bill of Rights is the name given to the first ten amendments to the Constitution. These amendments guarantee Americans protection of their basic civil rights, some of which they had demanded in the Declaration of Independence. These included the right to oppose or petition the government for change, the right to a trial by jury, and the right to refuse the quartering of soldiers.

In various other ways, the U.S. Constitution sought to limit the power of government and promote the rights of the people. It created three distinct branches of government: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The colonists distrusted concentrated political power, and so the separation of power among the branches was meant to prevent any such concentration.

To reinforce the Founders' goal of limited government, the Constitution also implemented a system of checks and balances among the branches so that no one branch could become too powerful. It also granted members of Congress only a certain number of years in office before they had to run again for election. These limits were meant to prevent any one person or groups of persons from gaining too much political power over the nation.

Checking for Understanding

1. According to the Declaration of Independence, what is the main duty of a government?
2. How did Aristotle's ideas influence the Founders' approach to the Constitution?

Critical Thinking

1. How is the U.S. Constitution a compromise between the Federalists and Antifederalists?
2. Do you agree or disagree that the secession of the Southern states marked a second American Revolution? Explain.

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how war became unavoidable and the North eventually defeated the South. In this section, you will discover the obstacles that Reconstruction presented as the country began to rebuild.

Main Idea

- In the months after the Civil War, the nation began the effort to rebuild and reunite. (p. 219)
- Radical Republicans, angered with President Johnson's actions, designed their own policies. (p. 221)
- As African Americans entered politics, some Southerners began to resist Republican reforms. (p. 223)

Preview of Events

◆ 1860

1864
Lincoln vetoes
Wade-Davis bill

◆ 1865

1866
Congress passes
Fourteenth
Amendment

◆ 1870

1867
Congress
passes Military
Reconstruction Act

◆ 1875

1877
Compromise
of 1877 reached

- Reconstruction came to an end as Democrats regained power in the South and in Congress. (p. 224)

Content Vocabulary

Reconstruction, amnesty, pocket veto, freedman, black codes, impeach, tenant farmer, sharecropper

Academic Vocabulary

infrastructure, circumstance

People and Terms to Identify

Freedmen's Bureau, Andrew Johnson, Fourteenth Amendment, Military Reconstruction Act, Fifteenth Amendment, Compromise of 1877

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the major features of congressional Reconstruction and its political impact.

- **Discuss** Republican rule in the South during Reconstruction.
- **Explain** how Reconstruction ended, and contrast the New South and the Old South.

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about Reconstruction, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

I. Reconstruction Begins
A.
B.
C.
D.
II.

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.1 Students analyze the significant events in the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence.

11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

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.

The Big Idea

Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government. The country faced many challenges during Reconstruction, such as securing the rights of African Americans and repairing the South's devastated economy. President Lincoln hoped to initiate plans that would unite the country and help the South recover. Radical Republicans believed his plans were too lenient. After Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson continued his predecessor's moderate policies. Southern states defied the North by continuing to deny rights to African Americans and electing former Confederate officers to Congress. Dissatisfied Radical Republicans gained support and pushed through their Reconstruction plans. Some Southerners formed secret societies to undermine Republican rule. With the country slipping into a deepening economic depression, Democrats were able to win back control of the House of Representatives and gain seats in the Senate. As the political atmosphere shifted, a "New South" began to develop.

Reconstruction Begins

Main Idea In the months after the Civil War, the nation began the effort to rebuild and reunite.

Reading Connection Think of a war you have studied in a history course. What were the terms of achieving peace, and who benefited? Read on to learn about President Lincoln's policies after Union victory in the Civil War.

No one looked forward to a Union victory more than enslaved African Americans in the South. Only a victory could give them the freedom the Emancipation Proclamation had promised.

★ *An American Story* ★

Houston Holloway was ready for freedom. By 1865 the 20-year-old enslaved man had toiled under three different slaveholders. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, delivered in 1863, had freed him—but only in theory. The proclamation freed enslaved persons in the Confederacy, but because the Union could not enforce its laws in Confederate territory, many African American men and women in the South remained enslaved. Holloway knew that his only hope of freedom was a Northern victory in the Civil War.

The time of that victory finally arrived. On the spring day in 1865 when Union troops overran his community in Georgia on their way to defeating the Confederacy, Holloway rejoiced upon reaching true freedom:

“I felt like a bird out of a cage. Amen. Amen. Amen. I could hardly ask to feel better than I did that day. . . . The week passed off in a blaze of glory.”

—quoted in *A Short History of Reconstruction*

Helping Holloway and other freed African Americans find their way as citizens of the United States was only one of a myriad of problems the nation faced. At the end of the Civil War, the South was a defeated region with a devastated economy. While some Southerners were bitter over the Union military victory, for many the more important struggle after the conflict was rebuilding their land and their lives. Meanwhile, the president and Congress grappled with the difficult task of **Reconstruction**, or rebuilding the nation after the war.

Lincoln and the Radical Republicans In December 1863, President Lincoln set forth his moderate plan for reuniting the country in the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. Lincoln wanted to reconcile the South with the Union instead of punishing it for treason. He offered a general **amnesty**, or pardon, to all Southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted the Union's proclamations concerning slavery. When 10 percent of a state's voters in the 1860 presidential election had taken this oath, they could organize a new state government. Certain people, such as Confederate government officials and military officers, could not take the oath or be pardoned.

Resistance to Lincoln's plan surfaced at once among a group of Republicans in Congress known as Radical Republicans. Led by Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the radicals wanted to prevent the leaders of the Confederacy from returning to power after the war. They also wanted the Republican Party to become a powerful institution in the South. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, they wanted the federal government to help African Americans achieve political equality by guaranteeing their right to vote in the South.

Congressional Republicans knew that the abolition of slavery would give the South more seats in the House of Representatives. Before the Civil War, enslaved people had only counted in Congress as three-fifths of a free person. Now that African Americans were free, the South was entitled to more seats in

▼ *Artist depiction of an emancipated African American*



Congress. This would endanger Republican control of Congress, unless Republicans could find a way to protect African American voting rights in the South.

Although the radicals knew that giving African Americans in the South the right to vote would help the Republican Party win elections, most were not acting cynically. Many of them had been abolitionists before the Civil War and had pushed Lincoln into making emancipation a goal of the war.

The Wade-Davis Bill Many moderate Republicans thought Lincoln was being too lenient, but they also thought the radicals were going too far in their support for African American equality and voting rights. By the summer of 1864, the moderates and radicals had come up with a plan for Reconstruction that they could both support. This alternative to Lincoln’s plan was the Wade-Davis Bill of 1864, which required the majority of the adult white men in a former Confederate state to take an oath of allegiance to the Union. The state could then hold a constitutional convention to create a new state government. The people chosen to attend the constitutional convention had to take an “ironclad” oath asserting that they had never fought against the Union or supported the Confederacy in any way. Each state’s convention would then have to abolish slavery, reject all debts the state had acquired as part of the Confederacy, and deprive all former Confederate government officials and military officers of the right to vote or hold office.

Although Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill, Lincoln blocked it with a **pocket veto**, that is, he let the session of Congress expire without signing the legislation. While Lincoln sympathized with some of the radical goals, he felt that imposing a harsh peace would only alienate many whites in the South.

Picturing History

War-Shattered City The Civil War wreaked terrible devastation on Richmond, Virginia. **Why do you think the women pictured here are dressed in black?**



The Freedmen’s Bureau Lincoln realized that the South was already in chaos, with thousands unemployed, homeless, and hungry. At the same time, the victorious Union armies had to try to accommodate the large numbers of African Americans who flocked to Union lines as the war progressed. As Sherman marched through Georgia and South Carolina, thousands of freed African Americans—now known as **freedmen**—began following his troops seeking food and shelter.

In March 1865, Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known as the **Freedmen’s Bureau**. The Bureau was given the task of feeding and clothing war refugees in the South using surplus army supplies. Beginning in September 1865, it issued nearly 30,000 rations a day for the next year.

The Bureau helped formerly enslaved people find work on plantations and negotiated labor contracts with planters. Many Northerners argued that those who were formerly enslaved should receive land to support themselves now that they were free. To others, however, taking land from plantation owners and giving it to freedmen seemed to violate the nation’s cherished commitment to individual property rights. As a result, Congress refused to confirm the right of African Americans to own the lands that had been seized from plantation owners and given to them.

Johnson Takes Office Shortly after Congress established the Freedmen’s Bureau, Lincoln was assassinated. Although his successor, Vice President **Andrew Johnson**, was a Democrat from Tennessee, he had remained loyal to the Union. Like Lincoln, he believed in a moderate policy to bring the South back into the Union.

In the summer of 1865, with Congress in recess, Johnson began to implement what he called his restoration program, which closely resembled Lincoln’s plan. Johnson offered to pardon all former citizens of the Confederacy who took an oath of loyalty to the Union and to return their property. He excluded from the pardon the same people Lincoln had excluded. Like Lincoln, Johnson also required Southern states to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery.

The former Confederate states, for the most part, met Johnson’s conditions. They then organized new governments and elected people to Congress. By the time Congress gathered for its next session in December 1865, Johnson’s plan was well underway. Many members of Congress were astonished and angered when they realized that Southern voters had

elected dozens of Confederate leaders to Congress. Moderate Republicans joined with the Radical Republicans and voted to reject the new Southern members of Congress.

Congressional Republicans also were angry that the new Southern state legislatures had passed laws known as **black codes** limiting the rights of African Americans in the South. These codes seemed intended to keep African Americans in a condition similar to slavery. African Americans were generally required to enter into annual labor contracts. Those who did not could be arrested for vagrancy and forced into involuntary servitude. Several codes established specific hours of labor and also required them to get licenses to work in nonagricultural jobs.

 **Reading Check** **Comparing** How did the reconstruction plans of Lincoln and Congress differ?

Congressional Reconstruction

Main Idea **Radical Republicans, angered with President Johnson's actions, designed their own policies.**

Reading Connection If you disagree with a political decision, how can you change it? Read on to learn about the Republicans' reaction to Johnson's plan.

With the election of former Confederates to office and the introduction of the black codes, more and more moderate Republicans joined the radicals. Finally, in late 1865, House and Senate leaders created a Joint Committee on Reconstruction to develop their own program for rebuilding the Union.

The Fourteenth Amendment In March 1866, congressional Reconstruction began with the passage of an act intended to override the black codes. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 granted citizenship to all persons born in the United States except for Native Americans. The act guaranteed the rights of African Americans to own property and stated that they were to be treated equally in court. It also gave the federal government the power to sue people who violated those rights. Johnson vetoed the act, arguing that it was unconstitutional and would “[cause] discord among the races.” The veto convinced the remaining moderate Republicans to join with the radicals to override Johnson's veto, and the act became law.

Fearing that the Civil Rights Act might later be overturned in court, however, the radicals introduced the **Fourteenth Amendment** to the Constitution. This



Andrew Johnson ▲

amendment granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States and declared that no state could deprive any person of life, liberty, or property “without due process of law.” It also declared that no state could deny any person “equal protection of the laws.” In June 1866, Congress passed the amendment and sent it to the states for ratification. It was ratified in 1868.

President Johnson attacked the Fourteenth Amendment and made it the major issue of the 1866 congressional elections. He hoped Northerners would vote out the Radical Republicans and elect representatives who would support his plan for Reconstruction. Instead, the Republicans achieved an overwhelming victory, winning approximately a three-to-one majority in Congress. They now had the strength of numbers to override any presidential veto and could claim that they had a mandate, or command, from the American people to enact their own Reconstruction program in place of Johnson's plan.

Military Reconstruction Begins In March 1867, Congress passed the **Military Reconstruction Act**, which essentially nullified Johnson's programs. The act divided the former Confederacy, except for Tennessee—which had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866—into five military districts. A Union general was placed in charge of each district with orders to maintain peace and “protect the rights of persons and property.”

In the meantime, each former Confederate state had to hold another constitutional convention to design a constitution acceptable to Congress. The

Military Districts, 1867



Military District Commander	
	General John Schofield
	General Daniel Sickles
	General John Pope
	General Edward Ord
	General Philip Sheridan
1870	Date of readmission to union



Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Only one former Confederate state was not part of a military district. What was it?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** How many years after the war was the last Southern state readmitted to the Union?

new state constitutions had to give the right to vote to all adult male citizens, regardless of race. Each also had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment before it would be allowed to elect people to Congress.

Johnson's Impeachment The Republicans knew that they had the votes to override presidential vetoes, but they also knew that President Johnson could still interfere with their plans by refusing to enforce the laws they passed. To restrict Johnson, Congress passed two new laws: the Command of the Army Act and the Tenure of Office Act. The Command of the Army Act required all orders from the president to go through the headquarters of the general of the army. This was the headquarters of General Grant, whom Congressional Republicans trusted. The Tenure of Office Act required the Senate to approve the president's removal of any government official

whose appointment had required the Senate's consent.

Determined to challenge the Tenure of Office Act, on February 21, 1868, Johnson fired Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton who supported the Republicans. Three days later, the House of Representatives voted to **impeach** Johnson, meaning that they charged him with "high crimes and misdemeanors" in office. They accused Johnson of breaking the law by refusing to uphold the Tenure of Office Act.

As provided in the Constitution, the Senate then put the president on trial. If two-thirds of the senators found the president guilty of the charges, he would be removed from office. In May 1868, the Senate voted 35 to 19 that Johnson was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. This was just one vote short of the votes needed for conviction.

The Election of 1868 Although Johnson remained in office, he finished his term quietly and did not run for election in 1868. That year, the Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant. During the campaign, Union troops in the South enabled African Americans to vote in large numbers. As a result, Grant won six Southern states and most of the Northern states. The Republicans also retained large majorities in both houses of Congress.

Congressional Republicans now moved rapidly to expand their Reconstruction program. Recognizing the importance of African American suffrage, the Republican-led Congress passed the **Fifteenth Amendment** to the Constitution. This amendment declared that the right to vote "shall not be denied . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." In March 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified by the states and became part of the Constitution.

Reading Check Analyzing Why did congressional Republicans pass amendments to the Constitution?

Reconstruction and Republican Rule

Main Idea As African Americans entered politics, some Southerners began to resist Republican reforms.

Reading Connection Have you heard of recent activities of the Ku Klux Klan? Read on to find out when and why the KKK was founded.

By the fall of 1870, all of the former Confederate states had rejoined the Union under the congressional Reconstruction plan. With many issues unresolved, Reunification did little to restore harmony between the North and South.

Carpetbaggers and Scalawags During Reconstruction, a large number of Northerners traveled to the South. Many were eventually elected or appointed to positions in the South's new state governments. Southerners, particularly supporters of the Democratic Party, referred to these newcomers as carpetbaggers because some arrived with their belongings in suitcases made of carpet fabric. Local residents saw them as intruders seeking to exploit the South's postwar turmoil for their own gain.

Some white Southerners worked with the Republicans and supported Reconstruction. Other Southerners called these people scalawags—an old Scotch-Irish term for weak, underfed, worthless animals. The scalawags were a diverse group. Some were former Whigs who had grudgingly joined the Democratic Party before the war. Many were owners of small farms who did not want the wealthy planters to regain power. Still others were business people who favored the Republican economic plans for the South.

African Americans Having gained the right to vote, African Americans quickly began organizing politically. Within a few remarkable years, African Americans went from enslaved workers to legislators and administrators on nearly all levels of government. Hundreds of formerly enslaved people served as delegates to the conventions that created the new state constitutions. They also won election to numerous local offices, served in Southern state legislatures, and were elected to the House of Representatives. Two others served in the Senate.

Many African Americans desired an education, something they had been denied under slavery. In the first years of Reconstruction, the Freedmen's Bureau, with

the help of Northern charities, had established schools for African Americans across the South. Gradually, the number of both African American students and teachers increased, and by 1876 about 40 percent of all African American children (roughly 600,000 students) attended school in the region.

Formerly enslaved people across the South also worked to establish their own churches. Churches served as the center of many African American communities, as they housed schools and hosted social events and political gatherings.

Republican Politics and Reforms Because of past disloyalty, some Southern whites were barred from participating in the new Southern governments, and many others simply refused to do so. As a result, a coalition of Northerners, Southern-born whites, and African Americans created Republican governments in the Southern states. Republicans had the support of a large number of white Southerners. These were usually poor white farmers, who resented the planters and Democratic Party that had dominated the South before the war.

The newly elected Republican governments in the South quickly instituted a number of reforms. In addition to repealing the black codes, they established state hospitals and institutions for orphans. To improve the **infrastructure**, they rebuilt roads, railways, and bridges damaged during the Civil War and provided funds for the construction of new railroads and industries in the South.

Picturing History

Schools for African Americans O.O. Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau, is pictured here (far right) with the students of a Freedmen's school. **Why do you think these schools were so successful?**



◀ *Early KKK robe and hood*



Most white Southerners scorned these reforms, which did not come without cost. Many state governments were forced to borrow money and to impose high property taxes to pay for the repairs and new programs. Many property owners, unable to pay these new taxes, lost their land.

Southern Resistance Unable to strike openly at the Republicans running their states, some Southern opponents of Reconstruction organized secret societies to undermine Republican rule. The largest of these groups was the Ku Klux Klan. Started in 1866 by former Confederate soldiers in Pulaski, Tennessee, the Klan spread rapidly throughout the South. Hooded, white-robed Klan members rode in bands at night terrorizing African Americans, white Republicans, carpetbaggers, teachers in African American schools, and others who supported the Republican governments. Republicans and African Americans responded to the attacks by organizing their own militias to fight back.

As the violence increased, Congress passed three Enforcement Acts in 1870 and 1871, one of which outlawed the activities of the Klan. Although local authorities and federal agents arrested more than 3,000 Klan members, only a few hundred were convicted and served time in prison.

The Troubled Grant Administration During his first term, Ulysses S. Grant faced a growing number of Republicans who were concerned that interests in

making money and selling influence were beginning to dominate the Republican Party. These critics also argued that the economic policies most Republicans supported, such as high tariffs, favored the rich over the poor. Eventually these critics, known as Liberal Republicans, broke with the Republican Party in 1872 and nominated their own

candidate, the influential newspaper publisher Horace Greeley. Despite this split, Grant easily won reelection.

During Grant's second term, a series of scandals damaged his administration's reputation. In addition, the nation endured a staggering and long-lasting economic crisis that began during Grant's second term. After a powerful banking firm declared bankruptcy, a wave of fear known as the Panic of 1873 quickly spread through the nation's financial community. The panic soon set off a full-fledged depression that lasted until almost the end of the decade.

The scandals in the Grant administration and the nation's deepening economic depression hurt the Republicans politically. In the 1874 midterm elections, the Democrats won back control of the House of Representatives and made gains in the Senate.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why did only some Southerners support Republican reforms?

Reconstruction Ends

Main Idea Reconstruction came to an end as Democrats regained power in the South and in Congress.

Reading Connection What values and policies do you associate with today's Republican and Democratic Parties? Read on to learn about the roles these parties played during the Reconstruction period.

The rising power of the Democrats in Congress and Republican concerns over scandals and the economy led to an end of Reconstruction.

Democrats Regain Strength In the 1870s, Democrats began to regain power in the South. They did so in part through intimidation and fraud, and in part by defining the elections as a struggle between whites and African Americans. They also won back support by promising to cut the high taxes the Republicans had imposed and by accusing Republicans of corruption. Southern Democrats viewed their efforts to regain power as a crusade to help save the South from Republican rule. By 1876 the Democrats had taken control of all but three Southern state legislatures.

That year, the nation's presidential election pitted Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, a former governor of Ohio, against Democrat Samuel Tilden, a wealthy corporate lawyer and former governor of New York. On Election Day, twenty electoral votes

HISTORY
Online



Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 2** for an activity on Reconstruction.

were disputed. Nineteen of the votes were in the three Southern states controlled by Republicans. As a result, congressional leaders worked out an agreement known as the **Compromise of 1877**.

Historians are not sure if a deal really took place or what its exact terms were. Among the conditions that were reported, the Republicans agreed to withdraw the remaining federal troops from the South. In April 1877, after assuming the presidency, Hayes did pull federal troops out of the South. Without soldiers to support them, the last remaining Republican governments in the South quickly collapsed. Reconstruction had come to an end.


A “New South” Arises During his inaugural speech in March 1877, President Hayes expressed his desire to move the country beyond the quarrelsome years of Reconstruction. Hoping to narrow the divisions of sectionalism that had long plagued the nation, he vowed “to put forth my best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will forever wipe out . . . the distinction between North and South.”

Eventually the South did develop closer ties with the North. Southern leaders realized the South could never return to the pre-Civil War agricultural economy dominated by the planter elite. Instead, these Southerners called for the creation of a “New South” based on a strong industrial economy. An alliance between Southerners and Northern financiers brought great economic changes to some parts of the South. Northern capital helped to build thousands of miles of railroads and dozens of new industries.

The South, in fact, changed very little. Despite its industrial growth, the region remained largely agricultural. As late as 1900, its number of manufacturing establishments equaled only 4 percent of its number of farms. For many African Americans in particular, the end of Reconstruction meant a return to the “old South” and an end to their hopes of owning their own land. Instead many returned to plantations owned by whites, where they, along with many poor white farmers, either worked for wages or became **tenant farmers** paying rent for the land they farmed. Most tenant farmers could not afford to buy their own land and became **sharecroppers**. They paid a share of their crops, often as much as two-thirds, to cover their rent as well as the cost of the seed, fertilizer, tools, and animals they needed.

Although sharecropping allowed African American farmers to control their work schedules and working conditions for the first time in their lives, they rarely had enough crops left over to sell to enable them to buy their own land. The Civil War ended slavery, but Reconstruction’s failure left many African Americans, as well as many whites, trapped in economic **circumstances** beyond their control.

 **Reading Check Explaining** What major issue was settled by the Compromise of 1877?

HISTORY
Online  **Study Central**

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 5 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

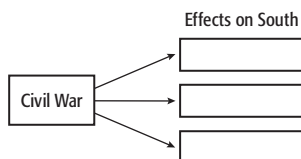
1. **Vocabulary** Define: Reconstruction, amnesty, pocket veto, freedman, black codes, impeach, infrastructure, tenant farmer, sharecropper, circumstance.
2. **People and Terms** Identify: Freedmen’s Bureau, Andrew Johnson, Fourteenth Amendment, Military Reconstruction Act, Fifteenth Amendment, Compromise of 1877.
3. **Explain** the major goals of the Radical Republicans.

Reviewing Big Ideas

4. **Explaining** What new amendments were added to the Constitution during the Civil War and Reconstruction period?

Critical Thinking

5. **Historical Analysis Evaluating** Do you think Presidents Lincoln and Johnson were wise in not seeking harsh treatment of the Southern states? Why or why not? **CA HI2**
6. **Historical Analysis Analyzing** Why did Southerners resent both carpetbaggers and scalawags? **CA HI3**
7. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to describe the effects of the Civil War.



Analyzing Visuals

8. **Examining Photographs** Study the photograph of O.O. Howard and a Freedmen’s school on page 223. How would you describe the children depicted in this photograph?

Writing About History

9. **Expository Writing** Write a short essay explaining what you consider to be the three most important events of the Reconstruction period. Explain why you chose these events. Check your essay for grammar, spelling, and punctuation. **CA 11WS1.1; 11WA2.4a**



Why It Matters

The Fourteenth Amendment

Key provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) made all persons born in the United States citizens of both the nation and the state where they resided. States were prohibited from abridging the rights of citizenship or depriving persons of due process and equal protection of the law. The Supreme Court has often cited the Fourteenth Amendment when reviewing whether state or federal laws and actions violate the Constitution. The Court continues to do so today.



1954

In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Court found that segregated education denied minority schoolchildren like Linda Brown (far left) the equal protection of the laws provided by the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision partially reversed *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

Testing the 14th Amendment

♦ 1896

1896

In *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court decided that Jim Crow laws—state-mandated segregation of public facilities such as railroad cars—did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court ruled that separate facilities could be equal and allowed segregation to continue.

♦ 1954



2000

In the presidential race between George W. Bush and Al Gore (at right), the Supreme Court case of *Bush v. Gore* was based on the Fourteenth Amendment. Justices argued that a lack of uniform standards for hand recounts of ballots in Florida violated the equal protection of all the state's voters. The decision allowed Bush to claim a controversial victory.



◆ 1963



1963

In *Gideon v. Wainright*, the Supreme Court ruled that the state of Florida had violated the due process clause when it refused to appoint a lawyer to represent Clarence Gideon (left). The ruling extended the Bill of Rights to state courts.

◆ 2000

ANALYZING THE IMPACT

Check for Understanding

1. **Explaining** What did the Fourteenth Amendment prohibit?

Critical Thinking

2. **Evaluating** What is due process of the law? How was it violated in *Gideon v. Wainright*?

Primary Sources

Eyewitness to History

Although tensions had been rising between the North and the South, in 1860 no one anticipated a war. After the election of Abraham Lincoln, each side attempted to pressure the other into compromising on the key question of slavery.

SOURCE 1:

In November 1860, Mississippi passed resolutions supporting separation from the United States. These Mississippi Resolves summarized the views of Southern secessionists. They were designed to unite the South and to convince the North that the South was not bluffing.

Whereas, The Constitutional Union was formed by the several States in their separate **sovereign**¹ capacity for the purpose of mutual advantage and protection;

That the several States are distinct sovereignties, whose supremacy is limited so far only as the same has been delegated by voluntary **compact**² to a Federal Government, and when it fails to accomplish the ends for which it was established, the parties to the compact have the right to resume, each State for itself, such delegated powers;

That the institution of slavery existed prior to the formation of the Federal Constitution, and is recognized by its letter, and all efforts to impair its value or lessen its duration by Congress, or any of the free States, is a violation of the compact of Union and is destructive of the ends for which it was ordained, but in defiance of the principles of the Union thus established, the people of the Northern States have assumed a revolutionary position towards the Southern States;

That they have set at defiance that provision of the Constitution which was intended to secure domestic tranquility among the States and promote their general welfare, namely: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor." . . .

¹**sovereign:** independent

²**compact:** agreement



▲ *Francis W. Pickens*

That they declare in every manner in which public opinion is expressed their unalterable determination to exclude from admittance into the Union any new State that tolerates slavery in its Constitution, and thereby force Congress to a condemnation of that species of property; . . .

SOURCE 2:

Francis W. Pickens, the newly elected governor of South Carolina, doubted that it was possible to compromise with the North. In his inauguration speech of December 1860, he urged South Carolina to protect its rights as an independent state.



▲ *President Lincoln delivers his First Inaugural Address.*

In the Southern States these are two entirely distinct and separate races, and one has been held in **subjugation**³ to the other by peaceful inheritance from worthy and patriotic ancestors, and all who know the races well know that it is the only form of Government that can preserve both, and administer the blessings of civilization with order and in harmony.

Anything tending to change or weaken this government and the subordination between the races, not only endangers the peace, but the very existence of our security. We have for years warned the Northern people of the dangers they were producing by their wanton and lawless course. We have often appealed to our sister States of the South to act with us in concert upon some firm but moderate system, by which we might be able, if possible, to save the Federal Constitution, and yet feel safe under the general compact of Union. But we could obtain no fair hearing from the North, nor could we see any concerted plan proposed by our co-States of the South, calculated to make us feel safe and secure.

Under all these circumstances, we now have no alternative left but to interpose our sovereign power as an independent State, to Protect the rights and ancient privileges of the people of South Carolina.

▲ ³**subjugation:** under control

This State was one of the original parties to the Federal Compact of the Union. We agreed to it . . . when we were surrounded with great external pressure for purposes of national protection and for the general welfare of all the States equally and alike; and when it ceases to do this it is no longer a perpetual Union. . . .

SOURCE 3:

Abraham Lincoln delivered his Inaugural Address in March 1861 under the growing shadow of war. Supporters of the Union thought that the speech showed Lincoln to be reasonable and generous. Backers of secession heard a threat of force.

One section of our country believes slavery is *right* and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong* and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. . . .

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. . . .

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

DBQ Document-Based Questions

Historical Analysis

CA HR4; HI2; HI3; HI4

Source 1: Why do you think the Mississippi Resolves describe Northern states as having assumed a revolutionary position?

Source 2: Why does Pickens believe that South Carolina has the right to leave the Union?

Source 3: Why does Lincoln believe that compromise must be reached?

Comparing and Contrasting Sources

How does Lincoln differ from Pickens and the authors of the Mississippi Resolves about the conflict between the North and the South?



Standards 11.1, 11.1.2, 11.1.3, 11.1.4, 11.2, 11.2.6, 11.3.1, 11.3.2, 11.3.3, 11.10.2, 11.10.7

Reviewing Content Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. cabinet | 9. emancipation | 17. habeas corpus |
| 2. enumerated powers | 10. Manifest Destiny | 18. attrition |
| 3. implied powers | 11. annexation | 19. mandate |
| 4. judicial review | 12. popular sovereignty | 20. Reconstruction |
| 5. caucus | 13. secession | 21. amnesty |
| 6. nullification | 14. Confederacy | 22. pocket veto |
| 7. temperance | 15. martial law | 23. freedman |
| 8. abolition | 16. conscription | 24. black codes |
| | | 25. impeach |

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term's meaning in the chapter.

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 26. clause | 31. prospect |
| 27. ambiguous | 32. conceive |
| 28. item | 33. subordinate |
| 29. academic | 34. infrastructure |
| 30. adjacent | 35. circumstance |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1

36. What were three actions that strengthened the federal government after the War of 1812?

Section 2

37. What issue did the Missouri Compromise temporarily settle?
38. What were the results of the Seneca Falls Convention?

Section 3

39. How did the transcontinental railway contribute to sectional tensions?

Section 4

40. How did the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments advance civil rights?

Section 5

41. What were said to be the provisions of the Compromise of 1877?

Critical Thinking

42. **Reading Skill** **Questioning** Return to the Reading Skill on page 170 and evaluate the questions you formed for the headings under "Apply the Skill." Did the text under each heading provide the answers to your questions?
43. **Civics** President Lincoln suspended writs of habeas corpus to prevent interference with the draft. Do you think suspending civil liberties is justified in some situations? Why or why not?
44. **Analyzing** How did the Fugitive Slave Act and the *Dred Scott* decision affect formerly enslaved African Americans living in the North?

Writing About History

45. **Historical Analysis** **Relating Current Events** Research in the library and on the Internet and write a report about one group of Native Americans that was forced to move west. Include recent events. **CA CS4**

Chapter Summary

Chapter Summary Sectional Tensions

- Fugitive Slave Act passed to help Southerners recover enslaved people who escaped to the North
- Kansas-Nebraska Act passed; angered Northerners by repealing the Missouri Compromise
- *Dred Scott* decision by Southern-dominated Supreme Court upsets Northerners
- Southern States secede, establishing the Confederacy in February 1861

Civil War

- The Battle of Antietam marks the bloodiest one-day battle in U.S. history
- Emancipation Proclamation goes into effect in January 1863
- North wins decisive victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg
- The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution bans slavery in the United States in January 1865

Reconstruction

- Congress passes the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments
- Military Reconstruction Act divides the South into five military districts
- New state constitutions have to guarantee voting rights for citizens
- Compromise of 1877 ends Reconstruction

Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 2** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

46. **Big Idea** Imagine that you are a newspaper editor in 1817. You have been asked to write an article on the high and low points of the first four presidential administrations. Use evidence to support your reflections.
47. **Mock Peace Convention** Hold a mock peace convention to try and reverse the secession of the Southern states. As a class, create a convention in which students are delegates from Union or secessionist states. Students should write a position paper for their assigned state proposing an idea that could help the states compromise. Write a summary of the proceedings. **CA 11WA2.1a**

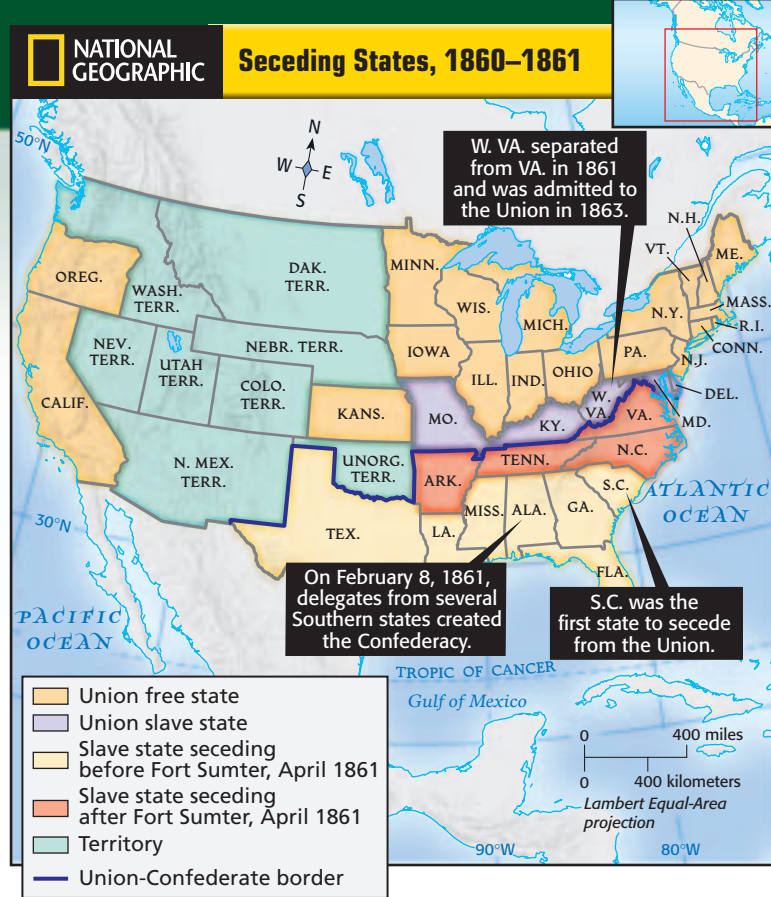
DBQ Document-Based Questions

48. **Interpreting Primary Sources** In *McCulloch v. Maryland*, the Supreme Court was asked whether Congress had the power to set up the Bank of the United States. The following excerpt is from Chief Justice John Marshall’s ruling. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

“The government of the United States . . . though limited in its powers, is supreme; and its laws, when made in pursuance of the constitution, form the supreme law of the land. . . . Among the enumerated powers, we do not find establishing a bank or creating a corporation. But there is no phrase in the instrument which . . . requires that everything granted shall be expressly and minutely described. . . . Among the enumerated powers of government . . . we find the great powers to lay and collect taxes; to borrow money; to regulate commerce; to declare war and conduct a war; and to raise and support armies and navies. . . . A government entrusted with such ample powers . . . must also be entrusted with ample means for their execution. . . . All means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional. . . .”

—from *McCulloch v. Maryland*

- a. What was Marshall’s opinion about the power of the government of the United States? **CA 11RC2.5**
- b. Why do you think the ruling in *McCulloch v. Maryland* made American nationalism stronger?



Geography and History

49. The map above shows seceding states from 1860 to 1861. Study the map and answer the questions below.
- a. **Interpreting Maps** Which slave states remained in the Union after the Fort Sumter attack?
- b. **Applying Geography Skills** Which states did not secede until after the Fort Sumter attack?

Standards Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

50. Which of the following actions reflect President Jefferson’s goal of limiting the power of the federal government?
- A He increased the size of the army.
- B He proposed renewing the Alien and Sedition Acts.
- C He dissolved the Republican Party to eliminate political conflict.
- D He cut the federal budget.

Standard 11.1.3: Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.