CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

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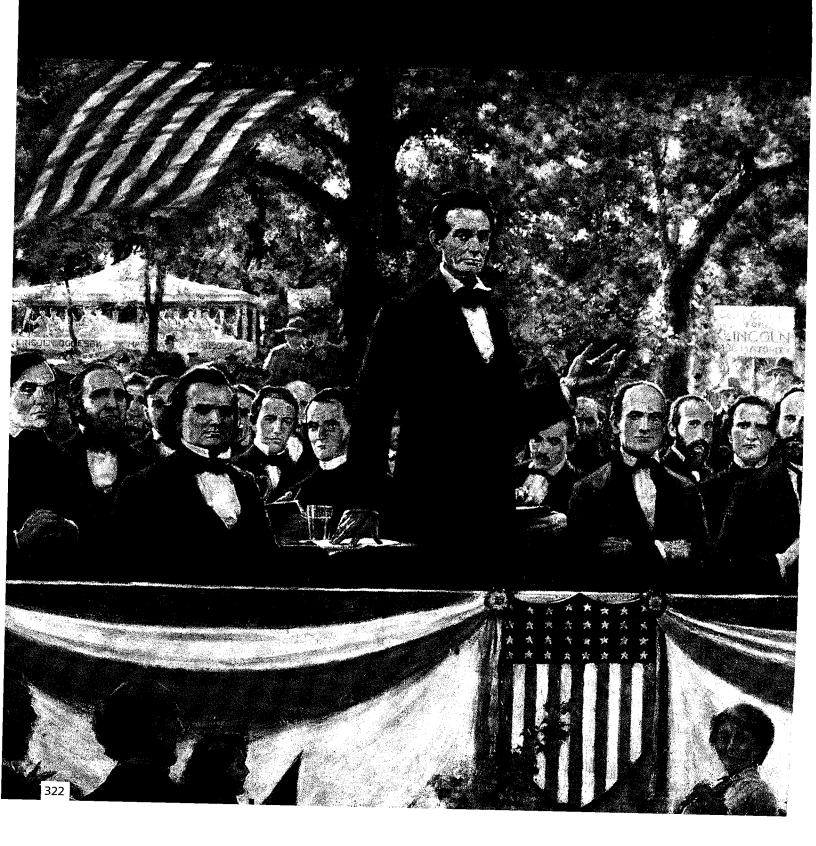
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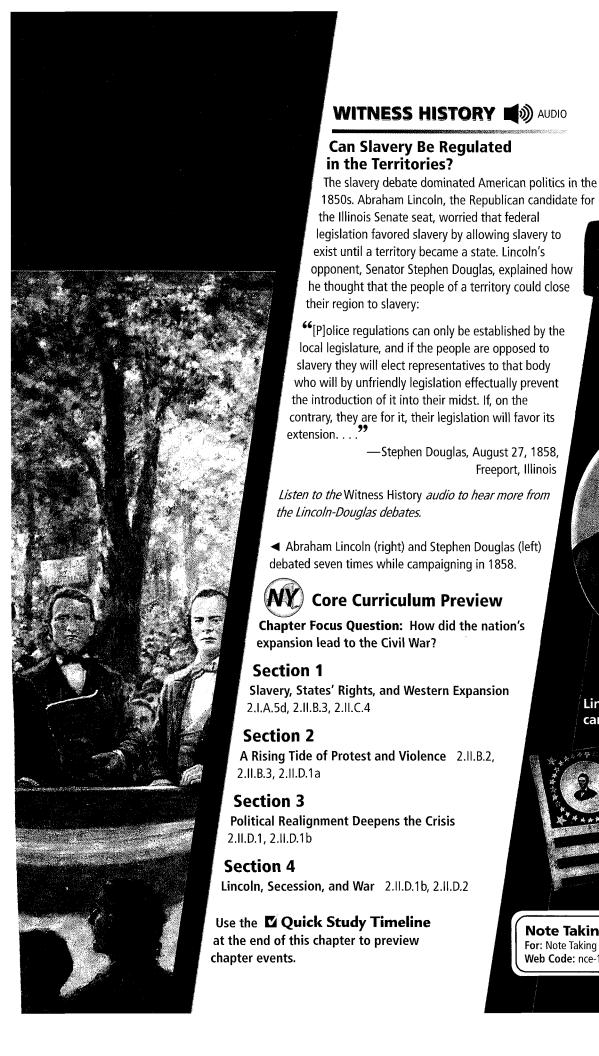
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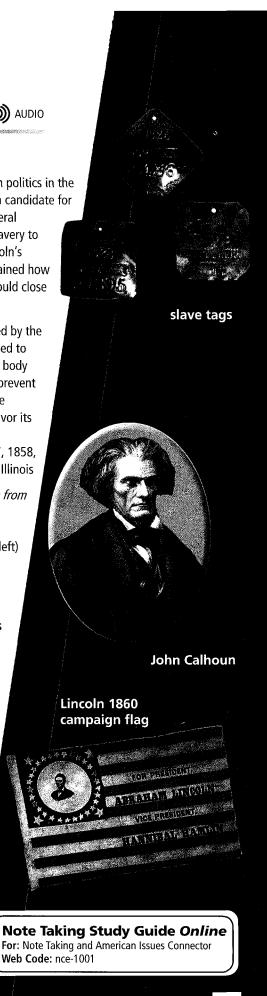
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An African American regiment during the Civil War ▶

The Union in Crisis 1846–1861









WITNESS HISTORY () AUDIO

Why Limit Slavery Only in the Territories?

The Free-Soil Party argued that slavery should not expand into the territories. Senator Jefferson Davis questioned the new party's motives. Why would they only try to limit slavery in the territories but not in the states? Rather than true concern for the slaves, Davis believed they had another purpose.

46 It is not humanity that influences you. . . . It is that you may have an opportunity of cheating [the South] that you want to limit slave territory. . . . It is that you may have a majority in the Congress of the United States and convert the Government into an engine of northern aggrandizement. It is that your section may grow in power and prosperity upon treasures unjustly taken from the South. . . . [Y]ou want . . . to promote the industry of the New England states, at the expense of the people of the South and their industry.

—Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi

Slavery, States' Rights, and Western Expansion



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **2.1.A.5d** The abolition of slavery in the North
- 2.II.B.3 The great constitutional debates: states' rights versus federal supremacy
- 2.II.C.4 Motives for and implications of expansion and western settlement

Terms and People

Wilmot Proviso Free-Soil Party popular sovereignty secede Compromise of 1850 Fugitive Slave Act

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Categorize Organize people, groups, and ideas by their position on slavery.

Position on Slavery				
For	Against	Compromise		
•	• Wilmot Proviso			

Why It Matters From the nation's earliest days, the issue of slavery divided Americans. As the nation expanded, the problem became more pressing. Should slavery be allowed in the new western territories? Southerners said yes; many northerners said no. Section Focus Question: How did Congress try to resolve the dispute between North and South over slavery?

Slavery Divides the Nation

After the American Revolution, the North and the South developed distinctly different ways of life. The North developed busy cities, embraced technology and industry, and built factories staffed by paid workers. As immigrants arrived in northern ports, the North became an increasingly diverse society.

The South, on the other hand, remained an agrarian, or agricultural, society. The southern economy and way of life was based largely on a single crop: cotton. To grow cotton, southern planters depended on the labor of enslaved African Americans.

By the mid-nineteenth century, cotton cultivation and slavery had spread across the Deep South—that is, through Florida and Alabama into Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. As the country continued to expand, Americans faced a crucial question: Should slavery be allowed to spread to new American territories west of the Mississippi River?

Wilmot Proviso Seeks to Limit Slavery Americans had long avoided the troubling issue of the expansion of slavery. But when the United States gained new territories as a result of the Mexican War in the late 1840s, the nation had to decide whether to admit these lands as slave territories or free territories. The delicate balance of power between North and South—free and slave depended on this decision.

During the early days of the Mexican War, Pennsylvania congressman David Wilmot had predicted the dilemma. He proposed a law stating, "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any" lands won from Mexico. Southerners angrily denounced the Wilmot Proviso. The northern-dominated House of Representatives approved the law, but the Senate voted it down.

Northern Views of Slavery Slavery ended early in the North, but slowly. By 1800, there were about 50,000 enslaved people in the North, compared to nearly one million in the South. In 1860, there were still 18 slaves in New Jersey, but none in the other northern states. Most white northerners at the time viewed blacks as inferior. Laws in the northern states severely limited the rights of free African Americans and discouraged or prevented the migration of more. As a result, many white northerners had little personal experience with African Americans, slave or free, and only a few held strong opinions about slavery.

A vocal minority of northerners were abolitionists, or people who wanted to end slavery. They believed that slavery was morally wrong. Some abolitionists favored a gradual end, while others demanded that all slavery be outlawed at once.

Not all northerners wanted to end slavery. Some white northern bankers, mill owners, and merchants earned a lot of money on southern cotton and tobacco or by trading or transporting enslaved people. They were sympathetic to Southern plantation owners and did not want to abolish slavery. Some northern workers—especially those in unskilled, low-paying jobs also opposed abolition, fearing that freed slaves might come north and compete with them for work.

Southern Views of Slavery Slavery was an integral part of southern life. Many southerners believed that God intended that black people should provide the labor for white "civilized" society. In a speech before Congress in 1837, planter John Calhoun of South Carolina firmly defended and even praised the virtues of slavery. "I hold it [slavery] to be a good . . . ," he said, " . . . and [it] will continue to prove so if not disturbed by the . . . spirit of abolition." Calhoun's words expressed the feelings of many white southerners.

By the 1850s, many southern politicians, journalists, and economists had begun to argue that the northern free labor system harmed society more than slavery did. Southerners claimed that enslaved people were healthier and happier than northern wage workers.

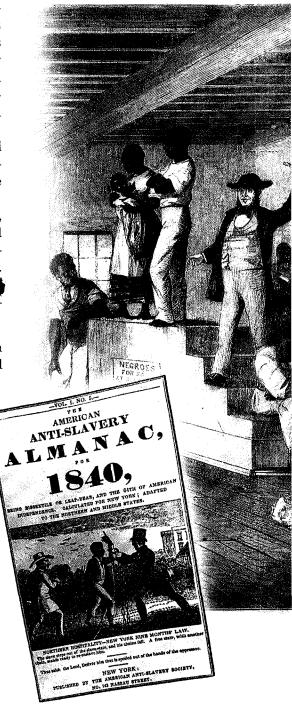
Checkpoint How did northerners and southerners view slavery?

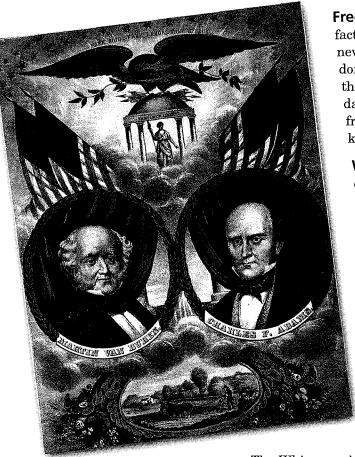
The Election of 1848

The Wilmot Proviso had given the nation's political parties a new focus. In the 1848 presidential campaign, both Democrats and Whigs split over the question of whether to limit the expansion of slavery. New political factions emerged, with slavery at the center of debate.

A Slave Auction

An 1861 English engraving depicts a slave auction. The horrors of slavery led to the growth of the antislavery movement.





Van Buren Runs as a Free-Soil Candidate

Former President Martin van Buren was the Free-Soil candidate for the presidency in 1848. What do the pictures on this poster tell you about the party?

Free-Soil Party Vows to Keep Territories Free Several factions united in support of the Wilmot Proviso to form the new Free-Soil Party. Pledged to a "national platform of freedom" that would "resist the aggressions of the slave power," they nominated New Yorker Martin Van Buren as their candidate for President. The Free-Soil Party promised "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." Their main goal was to keep slavery out of the western territories.

Whigs and Democrats Dodge the Slavery Issue For decades, the major parties—the Whigs and Democrats—had avoided the slavery issue, thus managing to win support in both the North and the South. In 1848, they hoped once again to attract voters from all sides of the slavery debate. But with the Free-Soilers calling for limits to slavery in the territories, the major parties were forced to take a stand.

Both Democrats and Whigs addressed the problem by embracing the idea of **popular sovereignty**, a policy stating that voters in a territory—not Congress—should decide whether or not to allow slavery there. This idea had wide appeal, since it seemed in keeping with the traditions of American democracy. Furthermore, it allowed Whigs and Democrats once again to focus on the personal exploits and triumphs of their candidates rather than on the issues.

The Whigs nominated Zachary Taylor, a general and a hero of the Mexican War. The Democrats put forward Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan. Cass opposed the Wilmot Proviso and supported popular sovereignty. Taylor, who was primarily a military man, revealed little of his political opinions. But Taylor was a slaveholding Louisiana planter, so many southern voters automatically assumed that he supported slavery.

When the votes were counted, Taylor won the election, with slim majorities in both northern and southern states. Van Buren did not carry any states, but he did draw sufficient votes to cause Cass to lose. The Free-Soil Party, which had won 10 percent of the vote with its antislavery platform, had clearly captured Americans' attention.

✓ Checkpoint What role did the Free-Soil Party play in the election of 1848?

A Compromise Avoids a Crisis

To expand slavery or restrict it—this dilemma came to haunt the rapidly growing nation. In 1848, gold was discovered in California, and soon thousands of adventurers were headed west to seek their fortune. Before long, the burgeoning western territories would petition for entry into the Union. Should these new states allow slavery? Who would decide?

California Statehood Threatens the Balance of Power "Gold fever," as it came to be known, drew people from all over the world. They literally dug into the western foothills of California's Sierra Nevada, setting up towns with names that reflected their hopes and their origins: Gold Run, Eldorado (Spanish for "gilded one"), Dutch Flats, Chinese Camp, French Corral, Negro Bar, Iowa Hill.

Within a year, more than 80,000 people had journeyed to California. As the influx continued without a letup, California became a wild and lawless place.

Californians recognized that they needed a government to bring order to the chaos. In 1849, they drafted a constitution and asked to be admitted to the Union as a free—nonslave—state.

California's request created an uproar in the nation. For years, the North and the South had accused each other of being "aggressors" on the issue of slavery. And for years, the two sides had maintained a delicate balance of slave and free states in Congress. Now, inflamed southerners angrily noted that admission of California would tip the balance in favor of the free states.

Other concerns simmered around the edges of the slavery issue, threatening to come to an explosive boil. Texas, a slave state, and the federal government were locked in a dispute over Texas's northwestern border. New Mexico and Utah were organizing to become territories but seemed likely to someday join the Union as free states. In the North, abolitionists seemed to be gaining ground in their bid to ban slavery in Washington, D.C.

In the meantime, southerners demanded that the federal government enforce the weak and often-neglected Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. The law stated that runaway slaves must be returned to their masters, but it provided no government aid to do so. The South felt that its property and its honor were at stake. Many northerners insisted that the federal government should not help to enforce slavery.

Clay Offers a Compromise Since the War of 1812, the Senate had benefited from the leadership of three extraordinary statesmen: Daniel Webster from the North, John Calhoun from the South, and Henry Clay from the West. Clay's ability to work out compromises to the thorniest problems had earned him the title the "Great Pacificator." In the crisis now brewing, Clay, although in his seventies and ailing, once again came forward.

Clay urged the North and South to reach an agreement. He advanced a series of compromise resolutions, offering concessions to both the South and the North (see chart). The most significant proposed that Congress admit California as a free state but also enact a stricter fugitive slave law. Popular sovereignty would decide the slavery issue in the Utah and New Mexico territories. Clay's attempt at sectional justice garnered wide support.

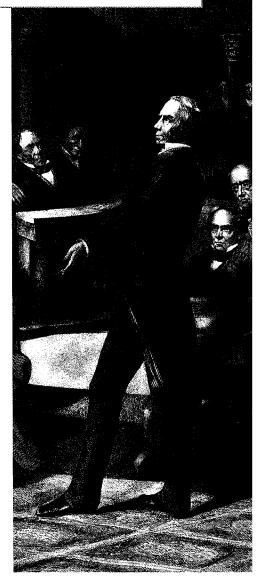
Calhoun and Webster Speak The Senate's other two giants—Calhoun and Webster—prepared long and deeply passionate responses to Clay's proposal. Calhoun was too sick and weak to deliver his own speech, but he watched defiantly from his seat as a younger colleague read it for him.

Calhoun's speech expressed his fear "that the agitation on the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion." But Calhoun did not believe that Clay's proposal gave the South enough protection. If the North would not submit to the South's demands, "let the states agree to separate and part in peace. If you are unwilling that we should part in peace, tell us so, and we shall know what to do." In other words, if the North did not agree, the South would **secede**, or break away, from the Union.

Daniel Webster, also ill and nearing the end of his life, tried to rally both northerners and southerners to the cause of unity. In an emotional speech, Webster urged senators to accept Clay's compromise. He suggested that the cotton and tobacco crops that flourished under slavery would not grow in California. Thus, he argued, popular sovereignty would allow the South to feel a measure of comfort but would not result in the spread of slavery to the West. (In fact, California eventually became a cotton-producing state—although a free one.)

Clay's Compromise of 1850

- 1. Congress would admit California as a free state.
- 2. The people of the territories of New Mexico and Utah would decide the slavery question by popular sovereignty.
- 3. The slave trade—but not slavery—would be ended in Washington, D.C.
- 4. Congress would pass a strict new fugitive slave law.
- 5. Texas would give up its claims to New Mexico in return for \$10 million.



Clay Proposes a Compromise Henry Clay urged the Senate to adopt a compromise on the slavery issue. It was one of his last major actions in the Senate.

Should the Union be saved?

The settling of the West made it impossible to maintain equal numbers of free and slave states. Western territories wanted to become free states. The argument over California statehood showed how the North and South were moving toward a civil war.

JOHN CALHOUN

Calhoun, from South Carolina, was a passionate supporter of slavery. As a senator, he argued that any state had the right to secede, or leave the Union, if it disagreed with national laws.

Primary Source

66[T]here is not a single Territory in progress in the Southern section, and no certainty that any additional State will be added to it. . . . [This destruction of the equilibrium] was caused by the legislation of this government, which was appointed as the common agent of all. . . .

If you admit [California] under all the difficulties that oppose her admission, you compel us to infer that you intend to exclude [the South] from the whole of the acquired Territories, with the intention of destroying . . . the equilibrium between the two sections."

> -Senator John Calhoun, March 4, 1850

DANIEL WEBSTER

Webster [shown here], from Massachusetts, was a strong nationalist. As a senator, he supported sectional compromise as a way to preserve the Union.

Primary Source

66 wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States. . . . I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union. "Hear me for my cause." I speak to-day, out of a solicitous and anxious heart, for the restoration to the country of that quiet and that harmony which make the blessings of this

Union so rich, and so dear to us all.

[T]he strength of America will be in the Valley of the Mississippi. [What can we] say about the possibility of cutting that river in two? I would rather hear of war, pestilence, and famine, than to hear talk of secession. . . . [T]o dismember this glorious country! . . . No, Sir! ??

> —Senator Daniel Webster, March 7, 1850

Compare

- 1. What does Webster mean when he says "the strength of America will be in the Valley of the Mississippi"? What would cut the Mississippi River in two?
- 2. What does Calhoun accuse the U.S. government of doing?

Though some abolitionists felt betrayed by Webster's conciliatory three-hour speech, it persuaded many northerners to support the compromise.

✓ Checkpoint How did California statehood spark a new crisis over slavery?

Senate Adopts the Compromise of 1850

Over the years, Congress had adopted a variety of measures in order to preserve the Union. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had limited slavery. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had maintained the balance between slave and free states. Now, in yet another effort to ward off division, the Senate adopted legislation based on Clay's proposals. It became known as the Compromise of 1850.

The debate over ratification of the compromise raged for months. Young northern radicals, like New York's William Seward, argued that the morality of God's "higher law" against slavery was more important than popular sovereignty or national unity. Equally radical southerners organized boycotts against northern goods, and a few even promoted separation from the Union.

The proceedings erupted into violence in the Senate when Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, who supported California's admission as a free state, denounced Mississippi senator Henry Foote, who opposed it. Furious, Foote rose from his seat and aimed a loaded revolver at Benton. The alarmed senators tried to restore order. But Benton was defiant, shouting "I am not armed! I have no pistols! I disdain to carry arms! Stand out of the way, and let the assassin fire!" At last, a senator from New York seized the revolver and locked it in a desk. Order was restored.

Still, debate dragged on. With dozens of speeches—one lasting two days—an exhausted Clay struggled to gain supporters for the compromise. But in the end, the young senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois took charge. Working tirelessly, Douglas steered each component of Clay's plan through the Congress, persuading the Senate to adopt each measure separately.

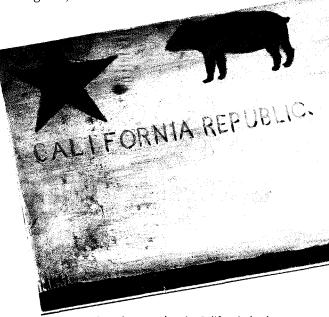
By September 1850, the obstacles to agreement had melted away: Both Calhoun and the slaveholding President Taylor were dead. Unlike Taylor, the new President, Millard Fillmore, supported the compromise. At last, the Senate passed the Compromise of 1850. California was admitted as a free state, and the policy of popular sovereignty was applied to the territory acquired from Mexico. Texas relinquished its claims on New Mexico in return for \$10 million from the federal government with which to settle its debts.

One by one, the other provisions passed. Slavery would remain undisturbed in Washington, D.C., but the slave trade was prohibited. And a new Fugitive Slave Act added stringent amendments to the earlier law, including the requirement that private citizens assist with apprehending runaway slaves. Citizens who assisted a fugitive slave could be fined or imprisoned.

Most Americans, in both the North and South, breathed a sigh of relief that the crisis had been laid to rest. Though the Compromise of 1850 restored calm for the moment, it carried the seeds of new crises to come.

✓ Checkpoint What were the provisions of the Compromise of 1850?

Vocabulary Builder component-(kuhm POH nuhnt) n.piece or element



American settlers in California had declared independence from Mexico in 1846. Their symbol, the bear, later became the symbol on California's state flag.

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1002

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Wilmot Proviso
 - Free-Soil Party
 - popular sovereignty
 - secede
 - Compromise of 1850
 - Fugitive Slave Act

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Categorize Use your chart to answer the Section Focus Question: How did Congress try to resolve the dispute between North and South over slavery?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Gather Evidence Make a chart outlining arguments for and against adopting the Compromise of 1850. Your outline may include moral, economic, and political issues.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Compare Points of View How did the northern and southern views of slavery differ?
- 5. Make Generalizations What role did the issue of slavery play in the election of 1848?
- 6. Identify Central Issues Why did California's application for statehood cause a crisis?
- 7. Draw Conclusions How did the Compromise of 1850 appease both North and South?

American Issues Onnector

Federal Power and States' Rights

TRACK THE ISSUE

How much power should the federal government have?

Under the Constitution, all powers not granted to the federal government belong to the states. Over time, however, the federal government has expanded its scope, especially in the area of social programs. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1791 Bill of Rights

Tenth Amendment reserves most powers to the states.

1798 Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions

States argue that they can void federal legislation.

1831 Nullification Crisis

John C. Calhoun declares that states may overturn federal laws.

1857 Dred Scott v. Sandford

Supreme Court rules that federal government does not have power to outlaw slavery within territories.

1930s New Deal

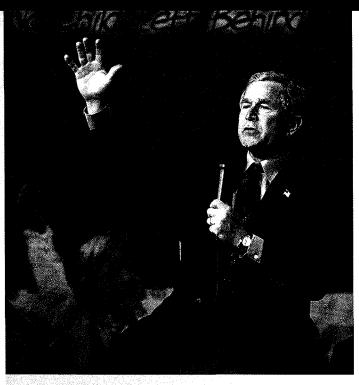
Government expands power over economy and social services.

1965 Voting Rights Act

Law allows federal officers to register voters.



Dred Scott





President George W. Bush announces his No Child Left Behind policy.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

No Child Left Behind The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 requires states to test students in certain subjects. Some people say it gives the federal government too much power.

66 When the federal government spends tax dollars, we must insist on results. Children should be tested on basic reading and math skills every year between grades three and eight. Measuring is the only way to know whether all our children are learning. And I want to know, because I refuse to leave any child behind in America.

-President George W. Bush, 2001

66 No Child Left Behind . . . moves the federal government deep into an area where it doesn't belong—the day-to-day operations of local school districts. . . . States and communities are best able to determine the educational needs of their children, and are better equipped to gauge whether schools are meeting those needs. **

—Editorial, *Detroit News,* April 24, 2005

Connect to Your World

- **1. Compare** Why does the first source support federal input into education policy? Why does the second source oppose it?
- **2. Draw Conclusions** How did the debate over slavery in the 1850s reflect a similar clash between federal and state authority?
- **3. Debate** Learn more about the issue of federal involvement in education. Then, write a paragraph expressing your own view on the topic. **Web Code:** neh-0205



By the time Congress debated the Compromise of 1850, white Boston abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison had been protesting against slavery for more than two decades and a growing number of Americans were joining his cause. He stated his resistance to compromise clearly:

66 am for union! . . . [but] I am not for SLAVERY and UNION. . . . [T]his is the issue we make before the country and the world. 99

---William Lloyd Garrison, 1850

This image first appeared around 1835 and became an abolitionist symbol.

A Rising Tide of Protest and Violence



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.II.B.2 Equal rights and justice: expansion of franchise; search for minority rights; expansion of slavery; abolitionist movement
- **2.II.B.3** The great constitutional debates: efforts to address slavery issue
- **2.II.D.1a** The American Civil War: U.S. society divided: Kansas-Nebraska Act, John Brown's raid

Terms and People

personal liberty laws **Underground Railroad** Harriet Tubman Harriet Beecher Stowe

Kansas-Nebraska Act John Brown "Bleeding Kansas"

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Understand Effects Use a concept web to record the effects of the Fugitive Slave Act on different groups of people.



Why It Matters Americans had greeted the Compromise of 1850 with relief. But the ink on the document had barely dried before the issue of slavery resurfaced, this time with violent results. Section Focus Question: How did the Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas-Nebraska Act increase tensions between the North and the South?

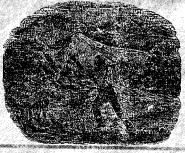
Resistance Against the Fugitive Slave Act

The Compromise of 1850 was meant to calm the fears of Americans. But one provision, the new Fugitive Slave Act, had the opposite effect. The law, which required citizens to catch and return runaway slaves, enraged many northerners. The anger was not restricted to abolitionists; it extended to other northerners who felt forced to support the slave system.

Northerners also resented what they saw as increasing federal intervention in the affairs of the independent states. A few northern states struck back, passing personal liberty laws. These statutes nullified the Fugitive Slave Act and allowed the state to arrest slave catchers for kidnapping. Many northerners agreed with abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison when he demanded "nothing less than . . . a Revolution in the Government of the country."

IFOGRAPHIC







ROCHESTER NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1850

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE AC

Before 1850, many white northerners assumed that slavery was not their problem. When a new Fugitive Slave Act forced them to participate in the slave system, they resisted. In several northern cities, crowds tried to rescue fugitive slaves from their captors.

The free black community also took action. The law meant that no African American could feel safe. Through urban networks known as "Vigilance Committees," and through antislavery newspapers, African Americans remained in constant communication. The committees looked out for slave hunters and helped fugitives avoid capture.

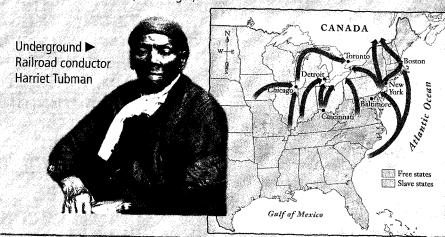
A MAN KIDNAPPED!

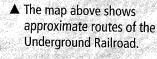
FANEUL HALL!
THIS FRIDAY EVENG
Way 26 du at 7 of tock.
VIRGINIA
KIDNAPPER!

Soldiers sometimes escorted ► slave hunters and their captives because crowds sometimes tried to free the captured men and women.

300 DOLLARS

Fugitive slaves were often aided by an informal network of abolitionists, known as the Underground Railroad. If fugitives were caught and returned to slavery. they could be forced to wear devices meant to prevent another escape, such as a collar with bells on it (above right).





Thinking Critically

- 1. Infer Why might the Underground Railroad have been more active in free states than in slave states?
- 2. Draw Conclusions In what ways did the Fugitive Slave Act affect free African Americans?



Black Americans, of course, despised the law. Some of the captured "fugitive slaves" were really free people who had been kidnapped and sold into slavery. Although the imprisoned African Americans could appeal to a judge for their release, the law awarded \$10 to judges who ruled in favor of slave owners but only \$5 to those who ruled that the captive should be set free. Slaves, fugitives, and free black people plotted and carried out resistance. Through the succeeding decade, tempers flared and violence erupted as far north as Canada, as far west as Kansas, and as far south as Virginia.

Northern Blacks Mobilize In 1851, a small group of free African Americans gathered in a farmhouse in Christiana, Pennsylvania. Heavily armed, they had come to protect several fugitives from their Maryland master, who had brought a federal official to reclaim them. In the scuffle that followed, the slave owner was killed. White bystanders refused to intervene to help the slave-hunting party. Although more than 30 people were tried for conspiracy, none was found guilty. No one was tried for the murder of the slave owner.

The "Christiana Riot" was a dramatic enactment of a scene that was played out in many northern communities. In Vermont and New Hampshire, in New York City, in Oberlin, Ohio, and in Baltimore, Maryland, African Americans and white bystanders defied officials who tried to reclaim fugitives to slavery.

Underground Railroad to Freedom Northern abolitionists and free black people risked their lives and safety to help enslaved people escape to freedom through a loosely organized network known as the Underground Railroad. Although it was not underground and had no tracks or cars, this escape system used railroad terminology to describe its actions. A secret network of "conductors" hid runaway slaves in farm wagons and on riverboats and then moved them to destinations in the North or in Canada—sometimes even as far as England. Using complex signals and hiding places, the Underground Railroad carried its passengers over hundreds of miles of dangerous terrain.

Underground Railroad conductors had to be resourceful and daring. One of the most courageous was Harriet Tubman, a Maryland-born fugitive slave. She was known as "Black Moses" because, like Moses in the Bible, she led her people out of bondage. After her own escape in 1849, Tubman made almost two dozen trips into the South, guiding hundreds of slaves, including her own parents, to safety. Southern planters placed a large reward on her head, but she was never captured.

Several fugitive slaves published dramatic escape stories that inspired black Americans and struck fear in the hearts of white southerners. In one account, sixfoot-tall Henry "Box" Brown described how he had himself packed into a small crate and shipped from Richmond, Virginia, to the Underground Railroad agents in Philadelphia. Light-skinned Ellen Craft and her husband, William, made their escape by posing as an invalid gentleman and his loyal servant.

Stowe and Delany Condemn Slavery In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe published Uncle Tom's Cabin, a powerful condemnation of slavery. Stowe's sympathetic main character, Uncle Tom, gave slavery a face for those who had never witnessed it firsthand. Set in the slave-owning South, Stowe's story features the gentle and patient Uncle Tom, a frightened slave mother, and both kind and cruel slave owners. Selling 300,000 copies in its first year, the novel spread compassion for enslaved people in the North, but it infuriated people in the South.

Black abolitionist Martin Delany also wrote an antislavery novel, called Blake. It is the story of an African American who chooses to rebel violently, rather than to submit like Uncle Tom. The protagonist, Blake, murders a white

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch The Struggle Over Slavery on the United States Witness **History DVD** to explore the slavery controversy.



Vocabulary Builder

intervene-(ihn tuhr VEEN) v. to get involved in a situation in order to prevent a certain outcome

slave owner in order to make his escape, a scenario that terrified slave owners. In the following excerpt, Blake stands up to his master's threat to whip him:

Primary Source⁶⁶I won't be treated like a dog. You sold my wife away from me, after always promising that she should be free. . . . And now you talk about whipping me. Shoot me, sell me, or do anything else you please, but don't lay your hands on me, as I will not suffer you to whip me!

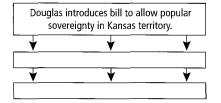
—Martin R. Delany, Blake

White southerners responded by writing their own versions of southern life. In these accounts, slaves were happy and carefree, gently cared for and taught Christianity by kind masters. They claimed that only mentally ill slaves ran away. A southern doctor even reported his discovery of a disease he called Drapetomania, which supposedly caused slaves to flee. "With the advantages of proper medical advice," he claimed "this troublesome practice" could be eliminated.

Checkpoint How did northerners respond to the Fugitive Slave Act?

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Understand Effects Use the chart below to trace the series of events that led up to and followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.



The Kansas-Nebraska Act Undoes the Missouri Compromise

Although Congress meant well, its repeated attempts to resolve the question of slavery resulted in a jumble of contradictory, and often unenforceable, policies. The Missouri Compromise, the Wilmot Proviso, the Compromise of 1850: Each seemed to offer the solution. But, in reality, the issue lay beyond the ability of patchwork legislation to resolve.

Douglas Presses for Popular Sovereignty It was Senator Douglas who forced the issue of slavery to the surface once again. In 1854, Douglas introduced a bill to set up a government in the Nebraska Territory. The area would be organized, Douglas proposed, according to the principle of popular sovereignty. That is, the people of the territory themselves would decide whether to allow slavery or outlaw it when they applied for statehood. On the surface, Douglas's plan made sense. In fact, it seemed to be a democratic solution. But would it work in practice?

Congress Debates the Kansas-Nebraska Act Once again, Congress was gripped in bitter debate. After pressure from the South, which feared Nebraska might decide to enter as a free state, Douglas amended the bill to divide the region into two distinct territories, Kansas and Nebraska. The idea was that Kansas would become a slave state and Nebraska would organize as a free state, but those assumptions were not written into the bill. In the spring of 1854, Congress accepted this proposal and passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Some northerners pointed out that, in effect, the Kansas-Nebraska Act nullified the Missouri Compromise by allowing slavery to spread to areas that had been free for more than 30 years.

✓ Checkpoint How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act revive the issue of slavery?

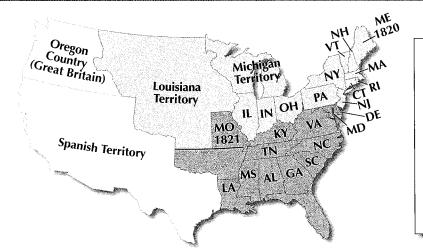
A Battle Rages in "Bleeding Kansas"

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

Territories Open to Slavery

Geography Interactive,

For: Interactive map skills Web Code: ncp-1003



Missouri Compromise, 1820

- Slavery prohibited in the Louisiana Territory north of 36°30′, except in Missouri
- Maine entered as a free state
- Missouri entered as a slave state

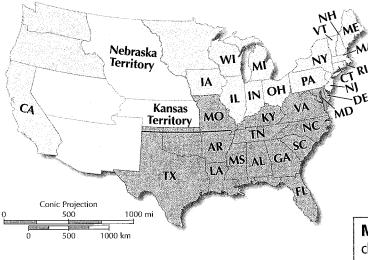
Significance: Sponsored by Henry Clay, the compromise preserved the balance of free and slave states in the Senate. However, it marked the beginning of the sectional conflict that would lead to civil war.



Compromise of 1850

- California entered as a free state
- Slavery issue to be decided by popular sovereignty in Utah and New Mexico territories
- New, stricter Fugitive Slave Act
- Slave trade but not slavery is ended in Washington, D.C.

Significance: Stephen Douglas steered each of the provisions though Congress as a separate bill. It showed that compromise was not a good solution to the sectional conflict, as it pushed many moderates toward more radical positions.



Territories open to slavery by popular sovereignty

States and territories closed to slavery

Missouri Compromise line (36°30'N)

Slave states

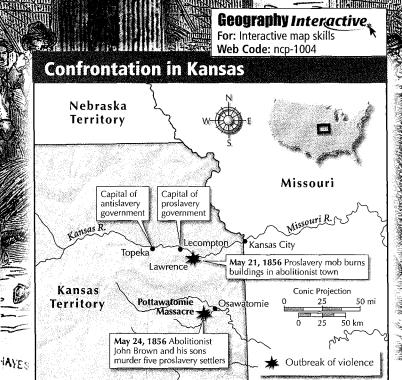
Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854

• Created potential for slavery in Kansas and Nebraska territories by allowing for popular sovereignty

Significance: Sponsored by Stephen Douglas, this bill overturned the Missouri Compromise. Although it was meant to unite the nation, it caused further division and led to the creation of the Republican Party.

Map Skills Between 1820 and 1854, three compromises changed the territories that were opened to slavery.

- **1. Identify** Which territories were open to slavery after (a) the Missouri Compromise, (b) the Compromise of 1850, and (c) the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
- 2. Analyze Why were so many people upset by the Kansas-Nebraska Act?



Map Skills Kansas became a battleground over slavery.

- 1. Locate: (a) Lawrence, (b) Missouri, (c) Topeka
- **2. Draw Conclusions** What problems could result from having two governments in Kansas?

The Sack of Lawrence

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Violence Spreads to the Senate The violent battles over slavery were not limited to Kansas. Tempers ran high in Congress, and some members went to work armed not only with words but with pistols and canes. In May 1856, just as fighting broke out in Kansas, Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner deli-

vered a blistering speech on the Senate floor, which came to be known as "The Crime Against Kansas." He blasted southerners for their bullying and fraud in the Kansas elections, and he referred to the Border Ruffians from Missouri as "hirelings, picked from the drunken spew and vomit of an uneasy civilization in the form of men."

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

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

Checkpoint Why did violence break out in Kansas?



SOUTHERN CHIVALRY __ ARGUMENT VERSUS CLUB'S

Violence in the Senate

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

SECTION

Progress Monitoring **Online** For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nca-1005

Comprehension

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

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

Writing About History

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

Critical Thinking

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

American LITERATURE



An early edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ▶

Uncle Tom's Cabin Uncle Tom's Cabin Uncle Tom by Harriet Beecher Stowe

In Harriet Beecher Stowe's controversial story, a kind Kentucky slave owner is forced by financial necessity to sell his slave, Tom. Tom remains kind and gentle, despite losing his family and ending up in the possession of a cruel man named Simon Legree. The story led many early readers to think of slaves as people, rather than as possessions, for the first time. In this excerpt, Tom is sold to Legree at an auction.

Various spectators, intending to purchase, or not intending, as the case might be, gathered around the group, handling, examining, and commenting on their various points and faces with the same freedom that a set of jockeys discuss the merits of a horse. . . .

Tom had been standing wistfully examining the multitude of faces thronging around him, for one whom he would wish to call master. And if you should ever be under the necessity, sir, of selecting, out of two hundred men, one who was to become your absolute owner and disposer, you would, perhaps, realize, just as Tom did, how few there were that you would feel at all comfortable in being made over to....

A little before the sale commenced, a short, broad, muscular man . . . elbowed his way through the crowd, like one who is going actively into business; and, coming up to the group, began to examine them systematically. From the moment that Tom saw him approaching, he felt an immediate and revolting horror at him, that increased as he came near. He was evidently, though short, of gigantic strength. His round, bullet head . . . and stiff, wiry, sunburned hair, were rather unprepossessing items. . . . This man proceeded to a very free personal examination of the lot. He seized Tom by the jaw, and pulled open his mouth to inspect his teeth; made him strip up his sleeve, to show his muscle; turned him round, made him jump and spring to show his paces. . . .

Tom stepped upon the block, gave a few anxious looks round; all seemed mingled in a common, indistinct noise,—the clatter of the sales man crying off his qualifications in French and English, the quick fire of French and English bids; and almost in a moment came the final thump of the hammer, and the clear ring of the last syllable of the word "dollars," as the auctioneer announced his price, and Tom was made over.—He had a master!

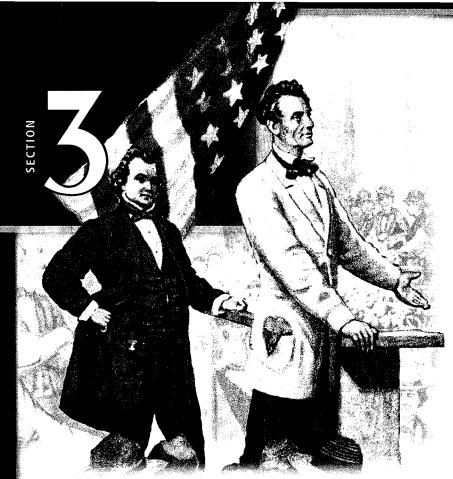
He was pushed from the block;—the short, bullet-headed man seizing him roughly by the shoulder, pushed him to one side, saying in a harsh voice, "Stand there, you!"



▲ Harriet Beecher Stowe

Thinking Critically

- 1. Identify Point of View Whose point of view is reflected in this selection?
- 2. Demonstrate Reasoned
 Judgment How accurately could
 a white northern woman portray
 the feelings of an enslaved person
 being auctioned? What parts of
 her story might have been written
 differently by someone who had
 been enslaved?



WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO

A House Divided

In the election of 1858, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas competed to represent the state of Illinois in the U.S. Senate. In a series of debates that captured the nation's attention, they argued about slavery. Douglas supported popular sovereignty as the way to resolve the slavery crisis. Lincoln, while not so certain of a solution, believed that the nation could not continue to exist half slave and half free. Lincoln kicked off his campaign with a speech summarizing his position:

66'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.*

--- Abraham Lincoln, June 16, 1858

■ Douglas and Lincoln debate

Political Realignment Deepens the Crisis



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.II.D.1 United States society divided
- 2.II.D.1b Abraham Lincoln, the secession crisis, and efforts at compromise (Lincoln-Douglas debates)

Terms and People

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

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Sequence Use a timeline to record significant political events.



Why It Matters Americans had always lived with sectional differences, but they temporarily resolved those differences through negotiation and compromise. By the mid-1850s, however, the battle over slavery threatened to tear the nation apart. Section Focus Question: What developments deepened the divisions between North and South?

The Shifting Political Scene

Traditionally, American political parties extended across sectional lines. Democrats and Whigs came from the North, South, and West. Presidents, too, had come from all areas of the country. But in the 1840s, American politics increasingly reflected regional tensions, especially over the issue of slavery.

The Whig Party Disintegrates The Compromise of 1850, as well as the policies that grew out of it, caused political upheaval. Millard Fillmore—the last Whig President—angered the South with his support for California's entry as a free state. Northerners inflamed by his support of the Fugitive Slave Act and popular sovereignty left the party in large numbers.

For the 1852 presidential election, Whigs searched unsuccessfully for a candidate and a platform to unite their members. But with their two visionary leaders—Henry Clay and Daniel Webster—dead, the party fell back on Winfield Scott, a military hero. Deeply divided over the issues, the Whigs lost to the Democrats, who solidly endorsed the 1850 Compromise that they hoped and believed would preserve the Union. The Whigs would never again achieve enough harmony to mount a presidential campaign.

Know-Nothings Attract Support By the mid-1800s, a growing immigrant population was changing the country. For example, up to that time, Protestantism—which includes Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and many other groups—had been the dominant American religion. By 1850, however, Americans of Irish and German descent and Spanish-speaking natives of lands ceded by Mexico had made Catholicism the nation's largest religious group. Many native-born white Protestants were alarmed by the change. These "nativists" raised questions that reflected their prejudices. Would Catholics bring ideas that would undermine America's religious freedom? Would the newcomers take jobs away from workers who were already here? Or, alternatively, would they be lazy, not work, and become paupers, weighing down society?

These concerns fueled the growth of an anti-immigrant movement. Dubbed "Know-Nothings" because members responded "I know nothing" when questioned about their nativist organization, the group quickly gathered momentum. By 1855, the Know-Nothings had abandoned secrecy to form the American Party. Like the Whigs, however, the American Party soon divided over the issue of slavery in the western territories.

The Republican Party Is Born As the old parties broke up, antislavery zeal gave rise to the new **Republican Party** in 1854. Opposition to slavery was the center of the Republican philosophy. Attracting antislavery Democrats, Whigs, Free-Soilers, and Know-Nothings, the Republican Party grew rapidly in the North. It included a coalition of businessmen who believed that slavery stifled industry, as well as moral leaders who feared that slavery encouraged vice. By 1856, it was ready to challenge the older, established parties.

Checkpoint How did the rise and fall of political parties reflect divisions in the United States?

American Political Parties During the 1850s			
Democratic Party (1800–present)	Opposed strong central governmentDivided over slavery issue in the 1850s		
Whig Party (1834–1852)	 Favored national economic development Opposed Andrew Jackson Antislavery members left in the 1850s 		
Know-Nothings or The American Party (1843–1856)	Opposed to immigrationJoined by antislavery WhigsTook a proslavery platform in 1856		
Free-Soil Party (1847–1854)	 Worked to prevent slavery in the western territories Formed by antislavery Democrats and Whigs Absorbed into the new Republican Party 		
Republican Party (1854-present)	Opposed to slavery Opposed to Kansas-Nebraska Act		

Sectional Divisions Intensify

For many years, the North and South tried to ignore or patch over their differences. But by the mid-1850s, the dispute over slavery caused sectional differences to intensify.

The Election of 1856 Causes Alarm Republicans, at their first national convention, nominated for President the abolitionist John C. Frémont, a colorful Mexican War hero who had helped win California's independence. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, while the Know-Nothings put up former President Millard Fillmore.

"Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men, Frémont!" Under this slogan, the Republican Party tried to



rally Americans to reject popular sovereignty and to insist that slavery be excluded from the western territories. They also campaigned to admit Kansas as a free state.

But Buchanan, who promised that as President he would stop "the agitation of the slavery issue," won the election, supported by the large majority of southerners. His running mate from the South, John C. Breckinridge, further bolstered his campaign. Still, the Republican Frémont, with his solid abolitionist platform, made a strong showing, winning one third of the popular vote and 11 northern states.

Analyzing Political Cartoons

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

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

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

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

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

Landmark Decisions of the Supreme Court

Does Congress Have the Power to Limit Slavery?

2.II.D.1a

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

Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

The Facts	The Issue	The Decision
 Dred Scott, an African American slave, was taken north of the Mis- souri Compromise line, where sla- very was banned. 	African American slave, was taken north of the Missouri Compromise line, where sla- since he had lived several years in a free territory, he should	 The Court stated that temporary residence in a free territory did not make Scott free. It said that Scott was property, not a citizen, and therefore had no right to sue. It further reasoned that no African American could be a citizen.
	be free.	• It stated that Congress could not ban slavery from any territory because doing so would take away slave owners' property without due process of law.

Why It Matters

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

Chief Justice Roger B. Taney

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

Connect to Your World

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

For: Supreme Court cases Web Code: nce-1006

⁶⁶ We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their state free and we shall awake to the reality instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave state.

Primary Source **The Supreme Court . . . [is] not the only power in the world. We, the abolitionists and colored people, should meet this decision, unlooked for and monstrous as it appears, in a cheerful spirit. This very attempt to blot out forever the hopes of an enslaved people may be one necessary link in the chain of events preparatory to the complete overthrow of the whole slave system."

--- Frederick Douglass, 1857

✓ Checkpoint What were the reactions to the Dred Scott decision?

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Throughout the 1850s, American attention was riveted on westward expansion. But no discussion of expansion, or any aspect of the nation's future, could get beyond the issue of slavery. In 1858, Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln held a series of seven debates while competing for a seat in the U.S. Senate. Thousands of Americans attended the Lincoln-Douglas debates and listened raptly as the two candidates presented opposing views of slavery and its role in America.

"Honest Abe" vs. "The Little Giant" Raised in rural poverty and largely self-taught, Abraham Lincoln began his political career at age 25, when he was elected to the Illinois state legislature as a Whig. By 1836, he had been admitted to the Illinois bar and was practicing law in Springfield. He soon gained a reputation for integrity and directness that earned him the title "Honest Abe." Lincoln seemed to be staunchly opposed to slavery, but his political life was marked by a desire to steer a middle course.

In the 1840s, Lincoln had served a short stint in the U.S. House of Representatives, supporting Zachary Taylor and his policy of admitting California as a free state. But Lincoln's real political career began with his opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its implicit support for the expansion of slavery promoted by rival Illinois politician Stephen A. Douglas.

Douglas was, in many ways, the opposite of Lincoln. Lincoln was tall, lanky, and slow of speech. Douglas was short, round, and filled with energy and a commanding voice. These qualities earned him the nickname the "Little Giant." His critics, however, questioned his motives and his sincerity. Unlike Lincoln, Douglas supported the annexation of Texas, and he promoted popular sovereignty as the solution to regional tensions. But many wondered if he promoted these policies because he believed in them or because he had a financial stake in the railroads that would profit from them.

Douglas Backs Popular Sovereignty Douglas had supporters in both the North and the South. Though he was not a slaveholder, his wife had inherited slaves, and he was somewhat sympathetic to slavery. Popular sovereignty, he insisted, was the implied intent of the Constitution. He expressed this sentiment strongly in the seventh and last debate:

Primary Source "This Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question."

-Stephen A. Douglas, 1858

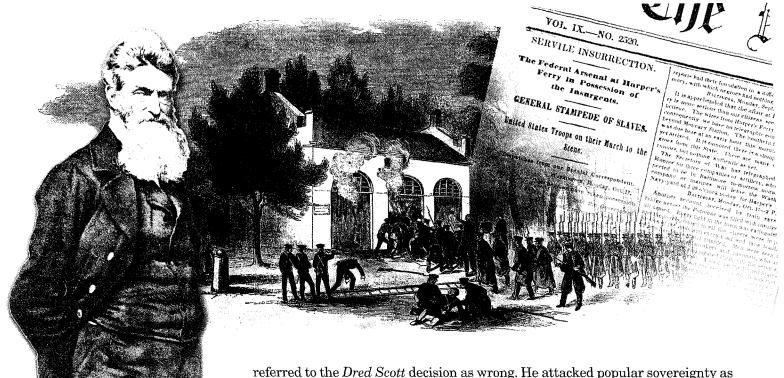
Douglas was seeking the support of both southern and northern Democrats. But while some southerners supported him, many northern Democrats distrusted what they believed were his self-serving motives.

Lincoln Wins a Reputation When Lincoln stood before these same audiences, he spoke of the "eternal struggle between right and wrong." He repeatedly



Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant" stood just over 5 feet tall. His opponent, Abraham Lincoln, was about 6 feet, 4 inches tall.

Vocabulary Builder implicit-(ihm PLIHS iht) adj. unspoken but understood



The Raid at Harpers Ferry

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

referred to the *Dred Scott* decision as wrong. He attacked popular sovereignty as wrong. And he condemned slavery as a system whereby one person does the "work and toil to earn bread" and someone else does the eating. While Lincoln, like most white people of his day, ridiculed the idea of social and political equality with African Americans, he strongly affirmed the idea of their natural rights:

Primary Source **There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. . . . In the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."

—Abraham Lincoln, 1858

The debates lasted for weeks. When they were over, Douglas won the election by a slim margin. But Lincoln had not really lost. As a result of the debates, Lincoln won a large following that would serve him well the next time he ran for national office.

✓ Checkpoint How did Lincoln and Douglas differ on the issue of slavery?

John Brown's Raid

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Checkpoint How did Americans respond to John Brown's raid and his execution?

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1007

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence that explains its significance.
 - Know-Nothings
 - Republican Party
 - Dred Scott
 - Roger B. Taney
 - Abraham Lincoln
 - Stephen A. Douglas
 - · Harpers Ferry

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

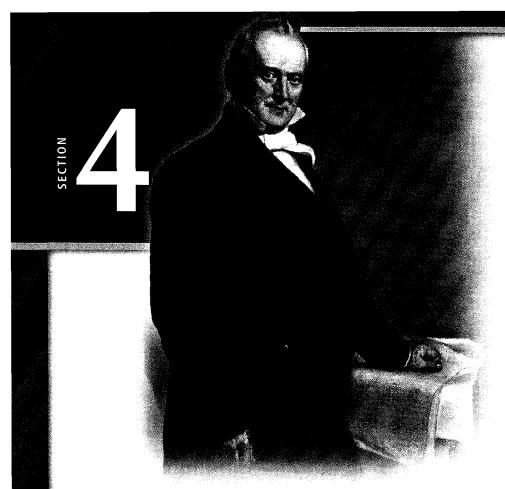
Sequence Use your timeline to answer the Section Focus Question: What developments deepened the divisions between North and South?

Writing About History

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

Critical Thinking

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



President Buchanan

WITNESS HISTORY (a) AUDIO



The President Falters

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

⁶⁶How easy it would be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country! . . . All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them.

- President Buchanan, December 3, 1860

Lincoln, Secession, and War



Core Curriculum Objectives

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

Terms and People

Jefferson Davis John C. Breckinridge Confederate States of America

Crittenden Compromise Fort Sumter

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Causes and Effects

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



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

The Election of 1860

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

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

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

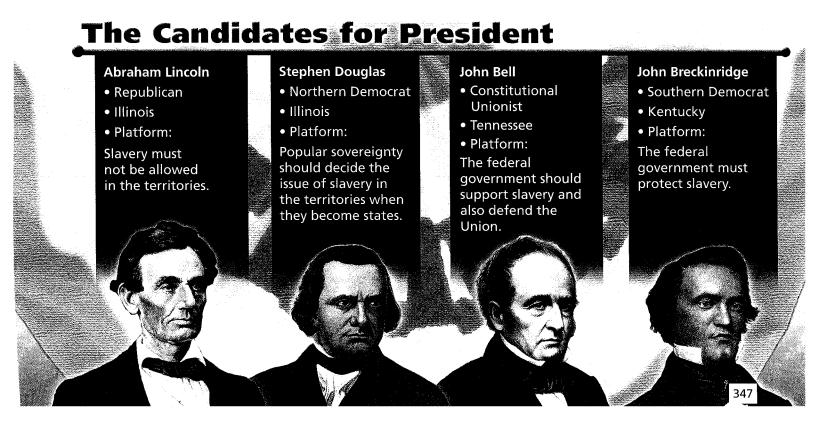
With ill will running so deep, the upcoming elections posed a serious dilemma. It was hard to imagine that either northerners or southerners would accept a President from the other region. Could the Union survive?

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

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

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

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



Vocabulary Builder

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

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

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

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

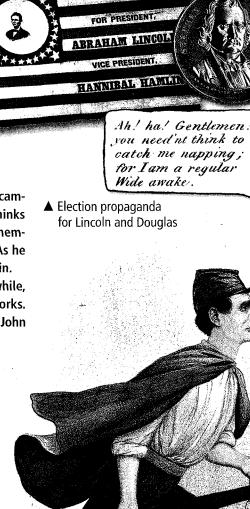
Events That Changed America

THE ELECTION OF 1860

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

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

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



Utah Territory	remony		23 VA KY 15	MD 3	
New Mexico Territory	TV I	R 7 12 4 MS AL A 7 9 6	GA 8 FL 3		
Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Pop Vot
Alamahama Limmala (Danadali)		100	1.000 453	FO	ر ا

Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
Abraham Lincoln (Republican)	180	1,866,452	59	40
John C. Breckinridge (Southern-Democratic)	72	847,953	24	18
Stephen A. Douglas (Democratic)	12	1,380,202	4	29
☐ John Bell (Constitutional Union)	39	590,901	13	13
			- AGGree	9603

Washington Territory

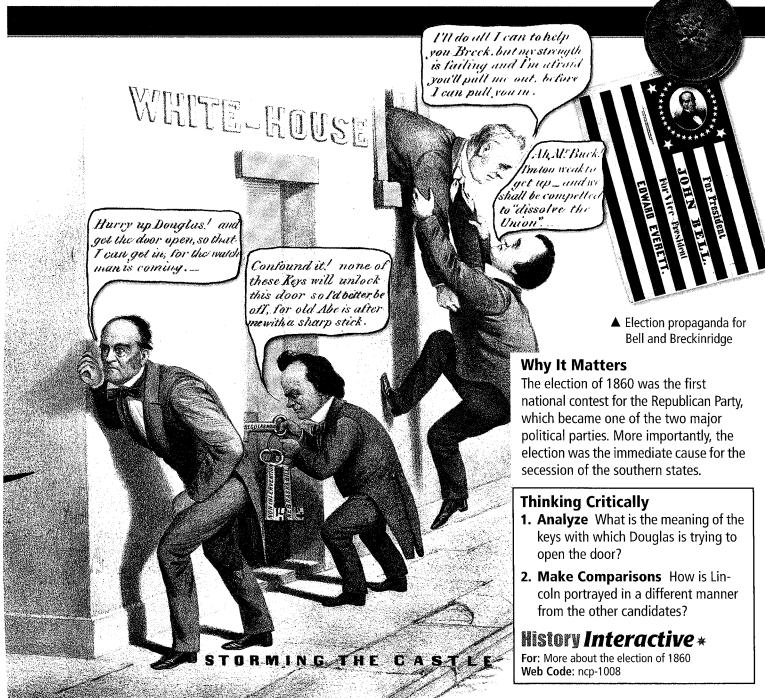
> Nebraska Territory

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

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

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

Vocabulary Builder entity-(EHN tub tee) n. something that exists as a single and complete unit



Long-term Causes of the Civil War

- Sectional economic and cultural differences
- Debate over expansion of slavery into the territories
- Political compromises failed to ease sectional differences and resolve question of expanding slavery
 - -Missouri Compromise (1820)
 - -Compromise of 1850
 - ---Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)
- Laws and court decisions increased sectional tension
 - -Fugitive Slave Act (1850)
 - -Dred Scott decision
 - —Tariff policy
- · Growth of the antislavery movement
- · Uncle Tom's Cabin

Short-term Causes of the Civil War

Kansas-Nebraska Act splits political parties

Breakdown of the party system

Lincoln elected President

South Carolina secedes from the Union

The Union Collapses

Southerners were outraged that a President could be elected without a single southern vote. In the southerners' perception, the South no longer had a voice in the national government. They decided to act.

Southern States Leave the Union As soon as Lincoln's election was confirmed, the South Carolina legislature summoned a state convention. Meeting in Charleston on December 20, 1860, and without a dissenting vote, the convention declared that "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the 'United States of America,' is hereby dissolved." They cited as their reason for seceding the election of a President "whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery." They further declared:

Primary Source 60n the 4th of March next, [a new administration] will take possession of the Government. It has announced . . . that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States. . . .

The Guarantees of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

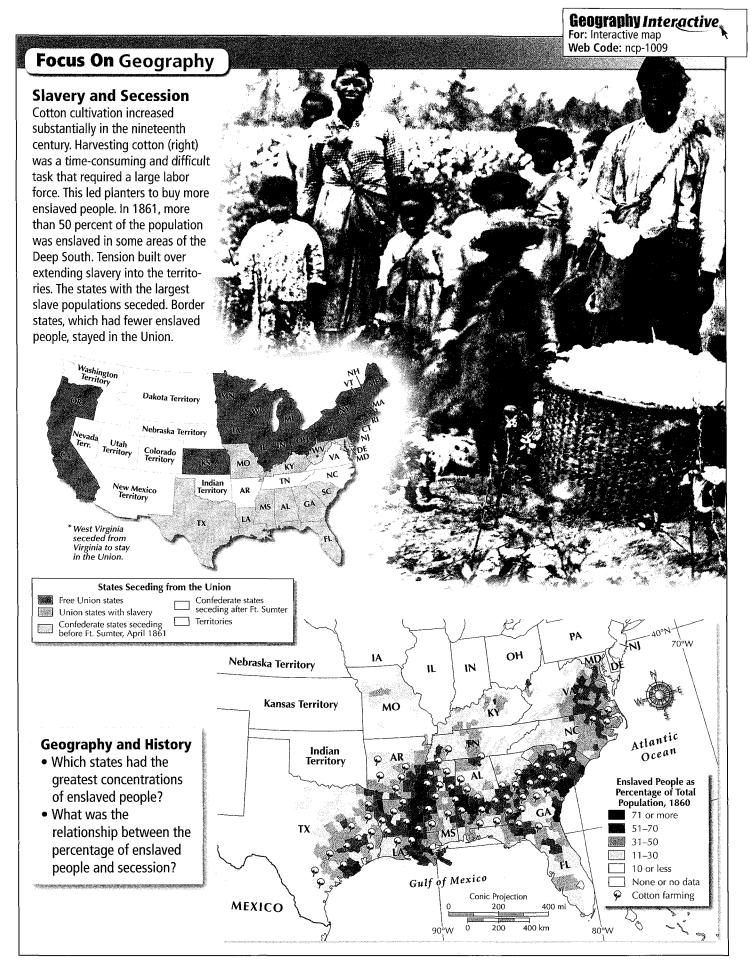
 Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina From the Federal Union, December 20, 1860

In the next few weeks, six other states of the Deep South seceded from the Union. Sentiments favoring secession were not always unanimous, with the gravest doubts surfacing in Georgia. State senator Alexander H. Stephens, though alarmed by Lincoln's election, was devoted to the Union of states under the Constitution: "This government of our fathers, with all its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good government than any other on the face of the Earth," he said. But Georgia voted to secede anyway. Like delegates in the other slave-dependent, cotton-growing states, they believed they had to take this step to protect their property and way of life.

The Confederacy is Formed In February 1861, the seven seceding states established the Confederate States of America. They then proceeded to frame a constitution for the new government. The Confederate constitution closely resembled the U.S. Constitution. However, it stressed the independence of each state and implied that states had the right to secede. It also guaranteed the protection of slavery. To win the support of Britain and France, which adamantly opposed the slave trade, it prohibited importing new slaves from other countries.

Not all southerners backed the Confederacy. Some large planters with economic ties to the North still hoped for a compromise. So, too, did many small farmers with no vested interest in slavery. To gain the loyalty of such citizens, the Confederacy chose former Mississippi senator Jefferson Davis as their president. Davis had supported the Compromise of 1850, but he had also insisted that the South should be left alone to manage its own culture and institutions—including slavery.

A Final Compromise Fails Some politicians sought a final compromise. Kentucky senator John Crittenden proposed a constitutional amendment allowing slavery in western territories south of the Missouri Compromise line. He also called for federal funds to reimburse slaveholders for unreturned fugitives.



HISTORY MAKERS

Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)

Lincoln grew up on the Kentucky frontier and moved to Illinois as a young man. Although he had little formal education, he enjoyed reading and disliked farming. In 1836, he began practicing law in Illinois.

Lincoln began his political career as a Whig in the Illinois state legislature, later serving in the U.S. Congress. Although not an abolitionist, he opposed slavery. When the Whigs fell apart, he joined the new Republican Party.

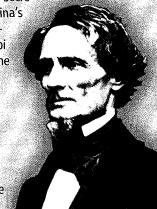
Upon assuming the presidency, Lincoln faced tough challenges. Seven states had already left the Union. Lincoln won reelection as he steered the country through the Civil War. He is best remembered for ending slavery in the United States.

Jefferson Davis (1808–1889)

Davis is best known for his role as president of the Confederate States of America. Before the Civil War, he served in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1845 but left to join the army during the war with Mexico in 1846.

Returning home to Mississippi as a hero, Davis became a U.S. Senator and, later, the Secretary of War. He opposed South Carolina's secession, still hoping for a compromise. Even when his own Mississippi seceded a few weeks later, he left the Senate by appealing for peace.

Two weeks later, he became president of the Confederate States of America. Despite his strong leadership, the Confederacy lacked the manpower and manufacturing capability to defeat the Union. He was imprisoned for treason after the war but was never tried.



Lincoln, now President-elect, warned that Crittenden's plan would "lose us everything we gained by the election." A narrow margin of senators voted down this Crittenden Compromise.

President Buchanan, in his last few weeks in office, told Congress that he had no authority to prevent secession. He lamented the breakup of the Union and he sympathized with the South's concerns, but he made no serious effort to resolve the crisis. Other pacifying attempts also failed. A secret peace convention held in Washington, which drew delegates from the border states as well as the North and South, failed to reach a compromise that could save the Union.

Checkpoint Why did the states of the Deep South leave the Union?

The Civil War Begins

Amid this turmoil, the new President took office. Lincoln had no illusions about the challenge he faced. He confronted "a task," he feared, "greater than that which rested upon [President George] Washington."

Lincoln Takes Office Lincoln was sworn in as President on March 4, 1861. In his inaugural address, he took a firm but conciliatory tone toward the South. "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists," he began. But he did intend to preserve the Union. "No state, upon its own mere action, can lawfully get out of the Union," he said. Still, he would avoid violence. There would be no war, he pledged, unless the South started it. He concluded with an appeal to the South to live in peace:

**We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be ene-Primary Source mies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

-Abraham Lincoln, March 4, 1861

Lincoln Decides to Act When the southern states seceded, they seized the federal forts and arsenals within their borders. Only four forts remained in Union hands. The most important of these was Fort Sumter, which guarded the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina. In January 1861, President Buchanan tried to send troops and supplies to the fort, but the unarmed supply ship sailed away when Confederate guns fired on it. Upon taking office, Lincoln had to decide whether to take the risk required to hold on to these forts or yield to Confederate demands that they be surrendered.

By April, the troops at the fort desperately needed food and supplies. Lincoln, who still hoped to bring back the South without bloodshed, faced a dilemma. Should he try to resupply the fort? Or should he let the Confederates take it? Lincoln struggled to make a decision. During his inaugural address, he had promised southerners that "the government will not assail you." But as President, he was sworn to defend the property of the United States. A wrong move could touch off a war. At last, trying to steer a middle course, Lincoln notified South Carolina that he was sending supplies—food only, no arms—to the fort.

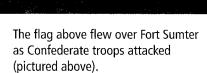
Fort Sumter Falls South Carolinians were suspicious of Lincoln's motives and ordered the Fort Sumter garrison to surrender to the Confederacy. When the Union troops refused, the Confederates fired on the fort. The Union troops eventually ran out of ammunition, forcing the commander to surrender.

Northerners responded to the attack on Fort Sumter with shock and anger. A few days later, on April 15, President Lincoln declared that "insurrection" existed and called for 75,000 volunteers to fight against the Confederacy.

The South responded just as strongly. At the outbreak of hostilities, the states of Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina joined the Confederacy. As in the North, the South raised troops quickly and struggled to equip and train them before sending them into battle.

Both sides predicted a short skirmish, with victory only a few days or months away. These predictions were unfounded. Americans faced years of terrible suffering before the fighting that had begun at Fort Sumter finally ended.

Checkpoint What event led to the outbreak of war?



SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1010

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Jefferson Davis
 - John C. Breckinridge
 - · Confederate States of America
 - Crittenden Compromise
 - Fort Sumter

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Use your cause-and-effect chart to answer the Section Focus Ouestion: How did the Union finally collapse into a civil war?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Outline an **Argument** Outline an answer to this question: Was secession the only option for the South?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Recognize Effects How did the election of 1860 increase sectional tensions?
- 5. Recognize Causes Why did the southern states secede?
- 6. Demonstrate Reasoned **Judgment** How could Buchanan have prevented war?

Quick Study Guide



Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1011

■ Key Legislation Affecting Slavery

Legislation	Effect on Slavery
Missouri Compromise	Prohibited slavery in all federal territories north of 36° 30′, except in Missouri
Compromise of 1850	Opened New Mexico and Utah territories to slavery by applying popular sovereignty, or letting the residents decide when they applied for statehood; ended the slave trade in Washington, D.C.
Fugitive Slave Act	Part of the Compromise of 1850, this law forced all Americans to return fugitive slaves to their masters or face arrest
Personal liberty laws	State laws passed in several northern states that allowed slave catchers to be arrested for kidnapping
Kansas-Nebraska Act	Opened Kansas and Nebraska territories to slavery by applying popular sovereignty

■ Proslavery and Antislavery Arguments

Proslavery	Arguments
Banning slavery would of their property (their African Americans wer than free because slave Free African Americans white laborers for jobs	slaves) e better off enslaved e owners cared for them s would compete with
Antislavery .	Arguments
Slavery was morally with Slavery harmed society	

■ Key People

Person	Significance	
John Brown	Abolitionist who killed proslavery settlers in Kansas and tried to start a slave revolt in Virginia	
James Buchanan	President from 1857–1861 who did not act to stop South Carolina's secession	
Henry Clay	Kentucky senator who proposed the Compromise of 1850	
John Calhoun	South Carolina senator who supported slavery and warned that the South would secede if slavery were threatened	
Jefferson Davis	Mississippi senator who became president of the Confederacy	
Stephen Douglas	Illinois Democrat who believed in popular sovereignty and steered the Compromise of 1850 through the Senate; he defeated Lincoln in the 1858 Senate race but lost to him in the 1860 presidential election	
Frederick Douglass	Former slave and abolitionist who became the face of abolitionism	
William Lloyd Garrison	White abolitionist and publisher of <i>The Liberator</i> who helped organize the American Anti-Slavery Society	
Abraham Lincoln	Republican President whose election in 1860 caused South Carolina to secede	
Dred Scott	The slave who sued for freedom after living in free states and a free territory; his loss in the Supreme Court outraged many northerners and pushed the nation toward war	
Daniel Webster	Massachusetts senator and nationalist who supported the Compromise of 1850 to save the Union	

☑ Quick Study Timeline

The Mexican War ends and northern Mexico is annexed to the United States

In America

Presidential Terms James K. Polk 1845-1849

Zachary Taylor 1849-1850

Millard Fillmore 1850-1853

CALLFORNIA REFORM

Around the World

1848

Revolutions take place throughout Europe 1850

1850

Congress

agrees to the

Compromise of 1850

Taiping Rebellion begins in China

American Issues • • • • Connector



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com Web Code: nch-1012).

Issues You Learned About

- Federal Power and States' Rights State governments and the federal government may disagree over legislation.
- 1. How did the system of popular sovereignty favor state power over federal power?
- 2. Why and how did some northern state legislatures reject the federal government's passage of the Fugitive Slave Act?
- 3. How did the constitution created by the Confederacy support states' rights over federal power?
- Sectionalism and National Politics During the mid-1800s, the South and North were split over the issue of slavery.
- 4. What incidents among members of Congress emphasized the emotional nature of the debate over slavery between North and South?
- **5.** Which groups backed each of the four candidates for the presidency in 1860, and what positions did each hold?
- **6.** Why was the result of the presidential election of 1860 unacceptable to the South?

- America at War By the mid-1800s, the United States had been involved in several wars, but never one that pitted citizens against each other.
- **7.** How did Lincoln attempt to breach the divide between North and South in his inaugural address?
- **8.** What caused Lincoln to call for troops to fight against the Confederacy?

Connect to Your World

New York

Sectionalism and National Politics As you have read. sectional differences between the North and the South led to the creation of the Republican Party. The name Republican was derived from, and paid tribute to, the ideals of founding father Thomas Jefferson's Democratic Republican party. Horace Greeley—founder, publisher, and editor of the influential newspaper the New York *Tribune*—popularized the term "Republican" in an 1854 editorial. The term, he wrote in the editorial, would "fitly designate those who had united to restore the Union to its true mission of champion and promulgator of Liberty rather than propagandist of slavery." Conduct research on Greeley's life. Write a brief essay discussing the influence that Greeley had on politics, both through his work as a newspaper editor and his career as a politician representing New York.

1854 Congress passes the Kansas-

1857 The Supreme **Court rules** against **Dred Scott**



1860 Lincoln wins the presidential election, leading South Carolina to secede

History Interactive.

For: Interactive timeline Web Code: ncp-1013

1861

Nebraska Act

James Buchanan 1857-1861

The Civil War begins at Fort Sumter, **South Carolina**

Franklin Pierce 1853-1857

Abraham Lincoln 1861-1865

1855

1854 **Britain and France** join the Crimean War against Russia

1858

1857 Hindu and Muslim soldiers in India rebel against British rule

1861 1861

Czar Alexander II emancipates Russian serfs

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

- 1. What was the Fugitive Slave Act? Under the Fugitive Slave Act, what would happen to people who assisted a fugitive
- 2. What was the **Underground Railroad**? How did the Underground Railroad work?
- 3. Why was the territory called "Bleeding Kansas"? Why did Kansas become a battleground for proslavery and antislavery forces?
- **4.** What was the strategic significance of **Harpers Ferry**? Why did abolitionists launch an attack there?
- 5. Who was Jefferson Davis? What point of view did he support on the slavery issue?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the nation's expansion lead to the Civil War?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 4 and the Critical Thinking guestions that follow.

Section 1

6. How did Congress try to resolve the dispute between North and South over slavery?

Section 2

7. How did the Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas-Nebraska Act increase tensions between the North and South?

8. What developments deepened the divisions between North and South?

Section 4

9. How did the Union finally collapse into a civil war?

Critical Thinking

- **10. Explain Causes** Up until the 1840s, the Whigs and the Democrats had failed to declare an opinion on the slavery issue. What caused them to change this policy?
- 11. Compare Points of View How did Calhoun and Webster respond to Clay's proposed compromise? With which side did the majority of congressmen agree?
- 12. Recognize Bias What attitudes did abolitionist writers and proslavery writers portray in their novels?
- 13. Analyze Information In what ways did the Kansas-Nebraska Act support the expansion of slavery?
- **14. Draw Conclusions** How did the Republican Party grow so rapidly that within two years its candidates were challenging the established parties?
- **15. Predict Consequences** What did Frederick Douglass predict might happen as a result of the *Dred Scott* decision?
- **16. Analyze Charts** Study the chart below. Then, answer the question that follows. Which candidate received the fewest electoral votes in comparison with his percentage of the popular vote? Explain.

Candidate	Percentage of Popular Vote	Number of Electoral Votes
Abraham Lincoln	39.9%	180
Stephen A. Douglas	29.4%	12
John C. Breckinridge	18.1%	72
John Bell	12.6%	39

17. Identify Point of View Why was the Crittenden Compromise unacceptable to Lincoln?

Writing About History

Debate a Topic The decades before the Civil War were filled with political compromises, new political parties, and feuding between different sections of the country. Prepare an argument that you would use to debate the question: Was the Civil War inevitable?

Prewriting

- Make a list of the arguments for each side of the debate.
- Rank each point from most to least important.
- Decide which side you are going to argue.

Drafting

- Develop a working thesis, and choose supporting information to support the thesis.
- Make an outline organizing your argument and addressing the points that the opposition might make.
- Write an introduction that explains your argument, provide a body of evidence, and end with a convincing conclusion.

Revising

 Using the guidelines on page SH16 of the Writing Handbook to revise your report. Review your argument and add information where it is not strong.



Regents DBQ Practice



John Brown's Raid

Abolitionist John Brown dedicated his life to ending slavery in the United States. He was a deeply religious man, but he did not hesitate to use violence to achieve his goals. To what extent was John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry successful? Use your knowledge of the raid and its consequences along with Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4 to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document 1

"I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land: will never be purged away; but with Blood. I had as I now think: vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed; it might be done."

---John Brown, December 2, 1859

Document 2

"Though it convert the whole Northern people, without an exception, into furious, armed abolition invaders, yet old Brown will be hung! That is the stern and irreversible decree, not only of the authorities of Virginia, but of the PEOPLE of Virginia, without a dissenting voice. And, therefore, Virginia, and the people of Virginia, will treat with the contempt they deserve, all the craven appeals of Northern men in behalf of old Brown's pardon. The miserable old traitor and murderer belongs to the gallows, and the gallows will have its own."

— Richmond "Whig" newspaper editorial quoted in the Liberator, November 18, 1859

Document 3

"But the question is, Did John Brown fail? . . . And to this I answer ten thousand times, No! . . . When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared. The time for compromises was gone—the harmed hosts of freedom stood face to face over the chasm of a broken Union—and the clash of arms was at hand. The South staked all upon getting possession of the Federal Government, and failing to do that, drew the sword of rebellion and thus made her own, and not Brown's, the lost cause of the century."

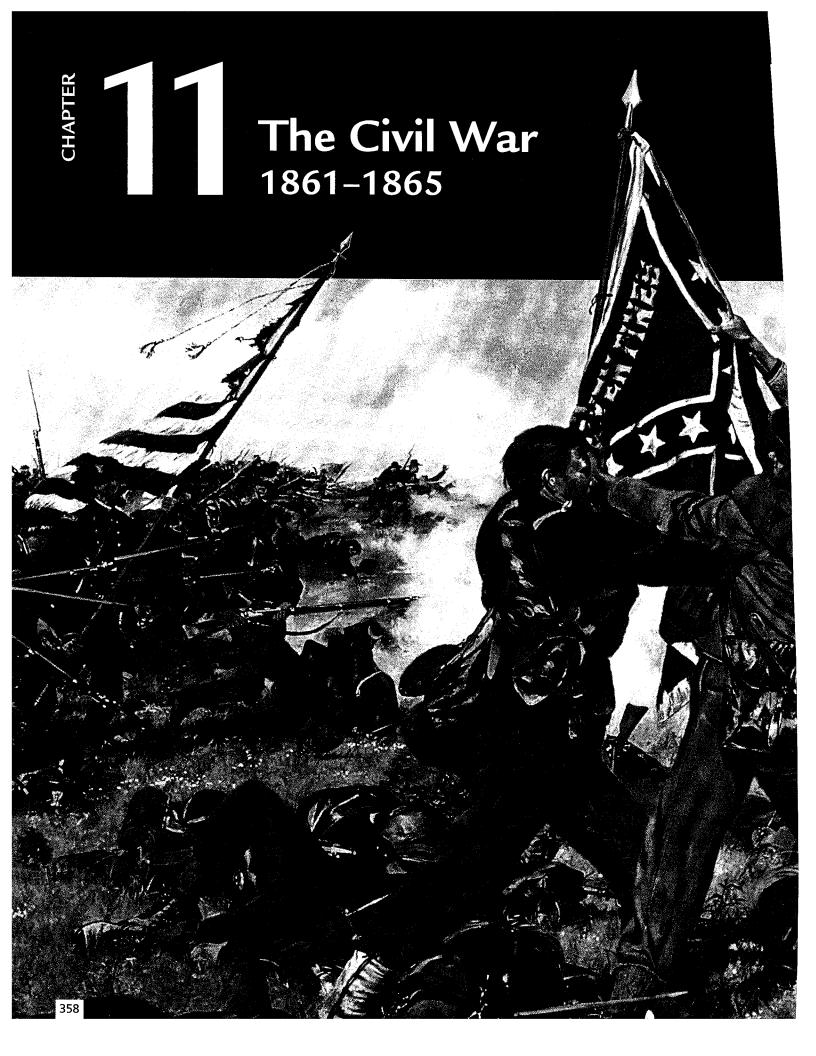
-Frederick Douglass, May 30, 1881

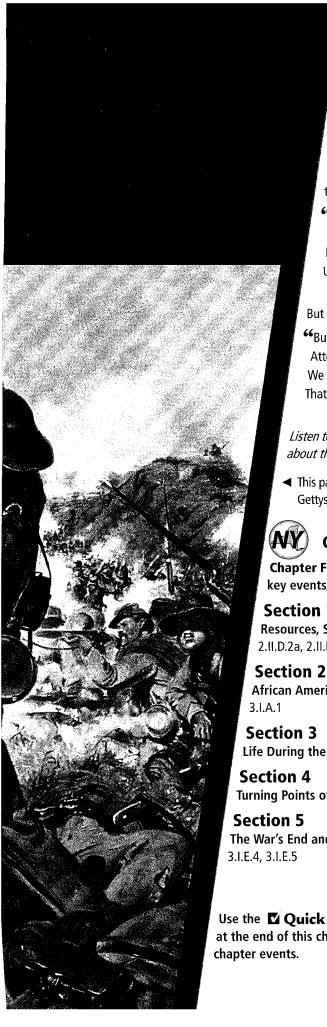
Document 4



- 1. How do documents 1, 3, and 4 portray John Brown?
 - (1) As a criminal who committed treason
 - (2) As a martyr who died for a just cause
 - (3) As an abolitionist who went too far
 - (4) As the cause of the Civil War
- 2. What does Document 2 predict about Brown's execution?
 - (1) It will turn southerners into abolitionists.
 - (2) The people of Virginia will not support it.
 - (3) People will quickly forget about Brown.
 - (4) It will turn northerners into abolitionists.

- **3.** According to Frederick Douglass, what did John Brown's raid achieve?
 - (1) It pushed the nation toward the Civil War.
 - (2) It made abolitionism a lost cause.
 - (3) It helped the North to gain control of the government.
 - **(4)** It achieved nothing of importance.
- 4. Writing Task To what extent was John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry a success or failure? Consider different points of view when constructing your answer. Use your knowledge of the time period and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your answer.





WITNESS HISTORY (a) AUDIO



War Between the States

During the Civil War, soldiers sang marching songs to stir their spirits for battle. Union troops proclaimed:

⁶⁶The Union forever, Hurrah! boys, hurrah! Down with the traitors, Up with the stars! 99

— "The Battle Cry of Freedom"

But Confederates countered with their own battle cry:

66But now, when Northern treachery Attempts our rights to mar, We hoist on high the Bonnie Blue Flag That bears a single star. 99

— "The Bonnie Blue Flag"

Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about the Civil War.

■ This painting by Don Troiani depicts the Battle of Gettysburg.



Core Curriculum Preview

Chapter Focus Question: What were the causes, key events, and effects of the Civil War?

Section 1

Resources, Strategies, and Early Battles 2.II.D.2a, 2.II.D.2c

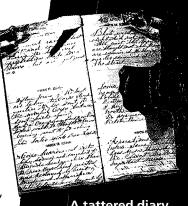
African Americans and the War 2.II.D.2d,

Life During the War 3.I.B.1, 2.II.D.2b, 2.II.D.2c

Turning Points of the War 3.I.B.1, 3.I.C.5, 3.I.E.4

The War's End and Impact 3.I.E.1, 3.I.E.2, 3.I.E.3,

Use the **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview



A tattered diary of a Civil War soldier

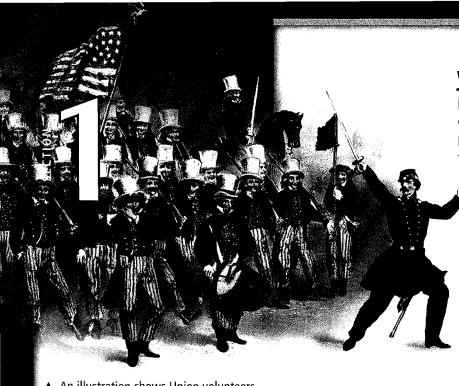


Cannonball from a battle between Union and Confederate ironclads

Union drummer boy



For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector Web Code: nce-1101



▲ An illustration shows Union volunteers, each dressed up like Uncle Sam, marching in a parade.

WITNESS HISTORY (**) AUDIO

Marching Off to War

When the war began, families on both sides watched as husbands and sons rushed to join the Union and Confederate armies. Often there were celebratory parades

to cheer the soldiers on. As the men marched off, family members felt both sadness and pride. One Richmond resident noted these mixed emotions in her diary:

**An old lady, the mother of several dearly loved sons, but echoed the almost universal sentiment when she said . . . 'War, I know is very dreadful, but if, by the raising of my finger, I could prevent my sons from doing their duty to their country now, though I love them as my life, I could not do it. I am no coward, nor have I brought up my boys to be cowards. They must go if their country needs them.'

-Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond During the War

Resources, Strategies, and Early Battles



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.II.D.2a Wartime actions: Military strategy, major battles, and human toll
- **2.II.D.2c** Wartime actions: Government policy during the war

Terms and People

blockade Robert E. Lee Anaconda Plan border state Stonewall Jackson George B. McClellan Ulysses S. Grant Shiloh

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Categorize As you read, use a table to note the advantages of the North and the South at the beginning of the war.

Wartime Advantages	
Union	Confederacy
• Population •	• Strong military tradition •

Why It Matters In 1861, the long, bitter dispute over slavery and states' rights erupted into war. The first shots at Fort Sumter set the stage for a long, costly struggle. At stake was the survival of the United States. Section Focus Question: How did each side's resources and strategies affect the early battles of the war?

Union and Confederate Resources

As the Civil War began, each side possessed significant strengths and notable weaknesses. At first glance, most advantages appeared to add up in favor of the Union.

Advantages of the Union The North enjoyed a tremendous advantage in population. Some 22 million people lived in the states that stayed in the Union. By contrast, the Confederacy had a population of only 9 million, of whom 3.5 million were enslaved African Americans.

The industrialized North was far better prepared to wage war than the agrarian South. Most of the nation's coal and iron came from Union mines, and the vast West was a source of gold, silver, and other resources. The densely populated urban areas of the Northeast supported a wide variety of manufacturing. With mechanized factories and a steady flow of European immigrants seeking work, the Union could produce more ammunition, arms, uniforms, medical supplies, and railroad cars than the Confederacy could. In addition, the Union had a larger railroad network for moving troops and material.

The Union had a small but well-organized navy. By late 1861, the Union had launched more than 250 warships, with dozens more under construction. The South had no navy at all, leaving it vulnerable to a naval **blockade** in which Union ships prevented merchant vessels from entering or leaving the South's few good ports, thereby crippling southern trade.

Finally, while the Confederate government was new and inexperienced, the North had an established government and an outstanding leader in Abraham Lincoln. Not everyone recognized this fact at the outset of the war, but Lincoln's leadership would prove invaluable to the Union cause.

Advantages of the Confederacy Still, the North did have some distinct weaknesses compared to the South. One of the Confederacy's advantages was psychological. Many northerners were willing to let the slaveholding South go. To them, preserving the Union was not worth killing and dying for. But the Confederacy was fighting for survival. Although there were pockets of pro-Union feeling in places such as western Virginia, most southern whites believed passionately in the Confederate cause. Even those who were not slaveholders resented what they saw as northern efforts to dominate them.

When the war began, Union forces consisted of only 16,000 men. New recruits signed on for three months of service, hardly long enough to form an efficient fighting team. The South faced similar challenges in assembling its armies, but it had a strong military tradition and fine leaders like Virginia's **Robert E. Lee.** Lee, who had an outstanding record in the United States Army, actually opposed secession and slavery. Yet he turned down an offer to command Union forces. He wrote:

Primary Source66 With all my devotion to the Union, and the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have therefore resigned my commission in the army, and save in defense of my native state . . . I hope I may never be called upon to draw my sword.

99

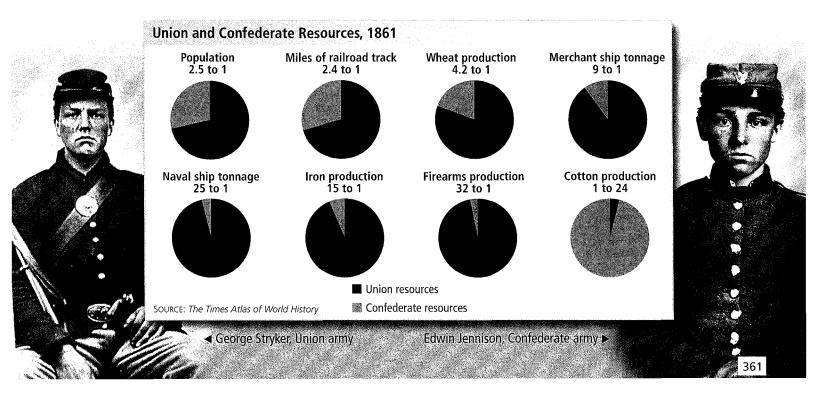
-Robert E. Lee, letter to his sister, April 20, 1861

In fact, Lee did accept command of the Confederate army and provided the South with inspiring military leadership throughout the war. The North struggled to find a commander of such caliber.

Vocabulary Builder thereby—(ther Bi) adv. by or through that

Resources Compared

As fresh-faced soldiers marched off to war, each side's resources gave it advantages over the other. For example, in terms of population, the Union outnumbered the Confederacy by a ratio of 2.5 to 1. *Pick two pie graphs and explain what advantage those resources gave to the North or South.*



Finally, the Confederacy had a number of strategic advantages. It did not need to conquer the North; it simply had to avoid defeat, expecting that in time the North would give up the effort. By and large, southern forces would be fighting a defensive war on familiar, friendly ground while northern forces had to fight an offensive war in enemy territory. Union troops and supplies had to travel farther to reach the field of battle. The North also had to devote precious military resources to defending Washington, D.C. Only the Potomac River separated the Union capital from Confederate Virginia.

Checkpoint What were some of the strengths and weaknesses of the Union and the Confederacy?

Confederate and Union Strategies

As the two sides prepared for war, Union and Confederate leaders contemplated their goals and how they might go about meeting them. While northerners hoped for a quick victory, southern strategists planned for a prolonged war.

The Confederacy Seeks Foreign Support The strategy of the Confederacy had two main thrusts. Militarily, the South hoped to preserve its small armies while doing enough damage to <u>erode</u> the Union's will to fight. Politically, it hoped to win formal recognition from Britain and France. Trade with these nations was crucial to the South, since the supply of manufactured goods from the North was now cut off. By the same token, the European textile industry was dependent on southern cotton. Confederate leaders reasoned that if the war dragged on, French and British mills would run out of raw cotton. Therefore, these countries might be willing to provide military aid to the South.

The Union Devises the Anaconda Plan The initial Union strategy was a two-part plan devised by General Winfield Scott, a Virginia-born hero of the Mexican-American War and the commander of all U.S. forces in 1861. First, the Union would blockade southern ports, starving the South of income and supplies. Then, Union forces would drive southward along the Mississippi River. Union control of the Mississippi would split the Confederacy in two, fatally weakening it. Scott's plan came to be known as the Anaconda Plan, after a type of snake that coils around its prey and squeezes it to death.

Some antislavery congressmen thought Scott's plan was too timid. They favored a massive military campaign that would quickly free the slaves across the South. Lincoln also hoped that a decisive victory over rebel forces massed in northern Virginia and around Richmond might lead the Confederacy to negotiate an end to the crisis. Despite such criticism and concentration on winning quickly, the Anaconda Plan remained central to the Union war strategy.

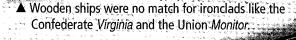
Lincoln Avoids the Slavery Issue The Union also faced a tricky political question: how to prevent the secession of Missouri, Kentucky, Delaware, and Maryland. Although these border states allowed slavery, they had not joined the Confederacy. Lincoln knew that if they chose to secede, the Union could be lost. To reduce this threat, the President insisted that his only goal was to save the Union. In his First Inaugural Address, he announced, "I believe I have no lawful right to [free the slaves], and I have no inclination to do so." Although Lincoln's stand troubled abolitionists, he did succeed in keeping the border states loyal to the Union.

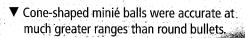
✓ Checkpoint How did the Union strategy in the war differ from the Confederate strategy?

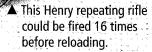
Vocabulary Builder <u>erode</u>–(ee ROHD) v. to eat into; wear away

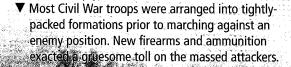
New Technology Changes Warfare

The Civil War revolutionized warfare. On water, new warships steamed into battle encased in thick armor plating. On land, the minié ball and the repeating rifle greatly improved soldiers' accuracy and firepower in battle. These changes resulted in staggering numbers of casualties on both sides. As the conflict dragged on, military commanders were forced to change their strategies to account for the deadly impact of new technology.

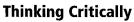








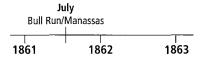
▲ As casualties mounted, soldiers adapted their tactics and dug trenches for cover from enemy fire.



- Compare and Contrast How did Civil War technology differ from earlier military technology?
- **2. Draw Conclusions** How might future military tactics change because of lessons learned during the Civil War?

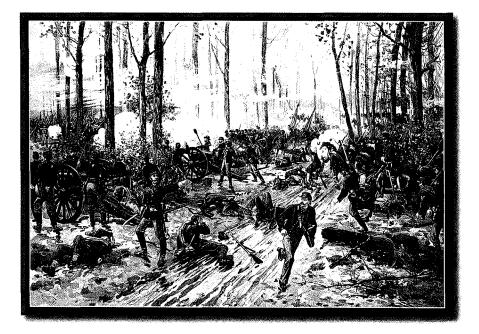
NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Use a timeline to note how the fighting developed during the early years of the Civil War.



A Fierce Fight at Shiloh

Union troops fight off a Confederate charge into the "Hornet's Nest." This sunken road saw some of the heaviest casualties at Shiloh. Why do you think soldiers called this position the "Hornet's Nest"?



Early Battles of the Civil War

The Civil War started slowly. The first large battle did not take place until three months after the firing on Fort Sumter. Ultimately, the conflict would span nearly four years and stretch across much of the continent.

Bull Run Shakes Union Confidence In July 1861, General Scott sent General Irvin McDowell and more than 30,000 Union troops to do battle with Confederate forces waiting outside Washington. The two armies met at Bull Run, a creek near Manassas, Virginia. In the battle's first hours, Union troops gained the upper hand. But a determined stand led by Confederate General Thomas J. Jackson sent them scrambling back to Washington. Confederates nicknamed their hero **Stonewall Jackson** in honor of his refusal to yield to the Union armies.

The battle, known as the Battle of Bull Run in the North and the Battle of Manassas in the South, proved a shock to those who had hoped the war would end quickly—and who were unprepared for the carnage modern warfare could produce. Lincoln responded by calling for additional troops and by replacing McDowell with General **George B. McClellan**.

Grant Fights in Tennessee While McClellan began to organize his Army of the Potomac, General **Ulysses S. Grant** pursued the Mississippi Valley wing of the Anaconda Plan. In February 1862, he directed the attack and capture of two Confederate strongholds—Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. His bold action drove Confederate forces from western Kentucky and much of Tennessee, and boosted northern morale. However, in April, Grant's troops fought a terrible battle in southwest Tennessee. In just two days of fighting, nearly 25,000 Union and Confederate soldiers were killed or wounded. The Battle of **Shiloh** horrified both the North and South and damaged Grant's rising reputation.

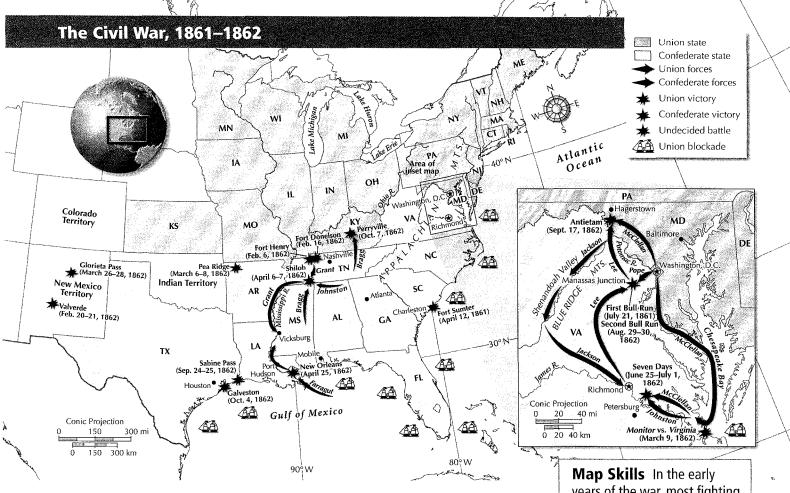
Union Forces Capture New Orleans While Shiloh shocked the public, it did not slow the course of the war. Just days later, Union ships under the command of David Farragut sailed through the Gulf of Mexico and seized the vital southern port of New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi. Emboldened by his success, Farragut continued to sail north, hoping to capture the Confederate stronghold of Vicksburg, Mississippi. The Confederates, however, stopped Farra-

gut's fleet more than 50 miles from his goal. Meanwhile, pushing southward from Tennessee, Grant's land forces were also checked in their advance on Vicksburg. Complete Union control of the Mississippi would have to wait.

Fighting Spreads to the Southwest

The American Southwest held strategic value to both sides in the Civil War. The region held rich gold mines and offered access to California and the Pacific Ocean. Despite its importance, neither side stationed many troops in the region.

Fighting did take place as far west as Arizona. But the most significant action occurred in New Mexico in early 1862, when a Confederate force marched up the Rio Grande from Texas. The goal was to



drive Union troops from the Southwest and capture it for the Confederacy. The rebel troops were defeated in late March at Glorieta Pass, thanks in part to the destruction of their supply train by a Union force under Major John Chivington and Lt. Col. Manuel Chavez. The Confederates eventually retreated back into Texas, never to mount another threat to Union control of the Southwest.

The Union and Confederacy also vied for the loyalty of the Southwest's residents—many of whom in the past had been treated as outcasts. The Union got help from Mexican American militia in Texas, which worked to disrupt Confederate supply lines. Both sides also courted Native American groups throughout the entire West. The Cheyennes were able to bargain with the Union government for land in return for their aid. The Confederates persuaded the Creeks and Choctaws to support their cause. They also sought support from the Cherokee nation. The Cherokees, however, split over the question of which side to support. Such conflict within Native American groups was not uncommon as loyalties shifted during the course of the war.

The Monitor Battles the Virginia Few of the major battles of the Civil War took place at sea. However, one notable exception occurred in 1862 when the Union ship Monitor clashed with its Confederate opponent Virginia off the Virginia coast. The Union had hired a European engineer to design the Monitor as a model for a fleet of ships plated with iron armor. The Confederacy, meanwhile, had built the ironclad Virginia by refitting a Union ship previously known as the Merrimack. On March 9, the two ironclads met in battle. Though neither ship emerged the victor, the contest signaled the beginning of the end of wooden warships.

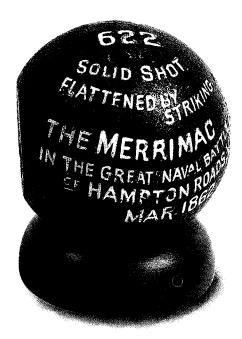
Checkpoint What was the outcome and impact of the first major battle of the Civil War?

years of the war, most fighting took place in two distinct theaters of operation: one in Virginia and the other in the Mississippi River valley.

- 1. Locate: (a) Bull Run, (b) Richmond, (c) New Orleans, (d) Glorieta Pass
- 2. Movement What was McClellan's strategy for victory?
- 3. Draw Inferences How did the Union blockade affect the Confederate economy?

Geography Interactive,

For: Interactive map Web Code: ncp-1102



This cannonball was fired from the *Monitor* during its contest against the *Virginia. What does the photo suggest about the battle?*

Stalemate Develops in the East

While Union and Confederate forces squared off in the Mississippi Valley and farther west, major fighting in the East focused on the state of Virginia. As elsewhere, the outcomes did not prove decisive for either side.

Lincoln Urges McClellan to Attack Since taking command of Union forces after Bull Run, General McClellan had been planning what he hoped would be a decisive drive on the Confederate capital at Richmond, Virginia. A skilled leader beloved by his troops, McClellan was also very cautious. He did not want to execute his plan until he felt his troops were ready.

McClellan's caution created friction with Lincoln, who was anxious for military victories. Yet, even as he pushed McClellan to act, the President was unwilling to give the general all the forces he asked for. Lincoln insisted on holding a large force near the capital to protect it from a Confederate attack. Stonewall Jackson's brilliant campaign in the spring of 1862 in the nearby Shenandoah Valley of Virginia increased Lincoln's concerns.

By midsummer, Lincoln insisted that McClellan take action. Reluctantly, McClellan sailed his army southward across Chesapeake Bay. The force landed on a peninsula southeast of Richmond and then began its march toward the capital. Thus, the action was called the Peninsular Campaign.

McClellan Fails to Take Richmond McClellan's army was actually larger than the force defending Richmond. But Confederate General Robert E. Lee led his troops skillfully. In a series of battles known as the Seven Days (June 26–July 2), Lee took advantage of McClellan's cautious style. The Union advance stalled and McClellan retreated to Washington.

After the retreat, Lincoln replaced McClellan. The move proved to be a mistake. At the Second Battle of Bull Run in late August, Lee's Confederates handed the Union a crushing defeat. Stonewall Jackson was instrumental in outmanuevering a larger Union force and nearly destroying it before the Federals could retreat. The victory, known in the South as the Second Battle of Manassas, energized Lee and led Lincoln to return McClellan to command. Lee and McClellan would soon face off in the single bloodiest day of the Civil War.

✓ Checkpoint Why did Lincoln and McClellan clash in early 1862?

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1103

Comprehension

- **1. Terms and People** For each of the following items, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - blockade
 - Robert E. Lee
 - Anaconda Plan
 - border state
 - Stonewall Jackson
 - George B. McClellan
 - Ulysses S. Grant
 - Shiloh

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Categorize Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: How did each side's resources and strategies affect the early battles of the war?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Plan a News Article
Review the information about the
battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia*. Plan a news article you might
write about the encounter by answering the questions required of every
news article: *Who? What? When?*Where? Why?

Critical Thinking

- **4. Predict Consequences** Which side do you think had the best long-term chances for victory at the start of the Civil War? Why?
- **5. Identify Effects** Choose two battles discussed in this section and describe one effect of each.
- **6. Contrast** Based on what you have read, how did Grant and McClellan differ as military leaders?

Frederick Douglass



▲ Like the African Americans gathered in this postcard, Frederick Douglass celebrated the long-awaited Emancipation Proclamation

WITNESS HISTORY (**) AUDIO

A Memorable Day

Frederick Douglass, the foremost African American abolitionist, journalist, and orator of his time, traveled the United States and spoke out against slavery. In his autobiography, he described his reaction to the Emancipation Proclamation:

⁶⁶The first of January, 1863, was a memorable day in the progress of American liberty and civilization. It was the turning-point in the conflict between freedom and slavery. A death blow was then given to the slaveholding rebellion. Until then the federal arm had been more than tolerant to that relic of barbarism. . . . We fought the rebellion, but not its cause. And now, on this day . . . the formal and solemn announcement was made that thereafter the government would be found on the side of emancipation. This proclamation changed everything. 22

> —Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass

African Americans and the War

Core Curriculum Objectives

- 2.II.D.2d Lincoln and Emancipation (the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, African American participation in the war, the 13th Amendment)
- 3.I.A.1 Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction

Terms and People

contraband Antietam **Emancipation** Proclamation Militia Act 54th Massachusetts Regiment

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Supporting

Details As you read, use an outline to record details about African Americans during the war.

- 1. The Push Toward Emancipation A. Enslaved African Americans Seek Refuge 1. Enslaved people come under Union control
- II. Emancipation at Last

Why It Matters Despite Lincoln's efforts to downplay the slavery issue, abolitionists kept up the pressure to end slavery. Soon, Lincoln himself recognized the need to include freedom for enslaved Americans among the goals of the war. His actions helped bring about the beginning of the end of slavery in the United States. At the same time, African American soldiers joined the fight for freedom. Section Focus Question: How did the Emancipation Proclamation and the efforts of African American soldiers affect the course of the war?

The Push Toward Emancipation

Pressures at home and abroad urged Lincoln to address the issue of slavery. Abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, as well as the thousands who supported them, were impatient with Lincoln's policies. Another reason for Lincoln to act was that slavery was unpopular in Europe. Antislavery sentiment was one of the main reasons why Great Britain was reluctant to aid the Confederacy.

Enslaved African Americans Seek Refuge On the battlefield, Union officers faced a dilemma: what to do with enslaved African Americans who came under their control It was absurd, argued these officers, to return slaves to their owners. Early on, Union General Benjamin Butler had gathered hundreds of black refugees into his camps and set them to manual labor. He declared the fugitives

under his protection to be **contraband**, or captured war supplies. General John Frémont went a step further, declaring that enslaved people who came under his command in Missouri were free. Fearing retaliation from the border states, Lincoln reversed Frémont's order.

Lincoln's Plan Needs a Victory Lincoln realized he could not avoid the slavery issue for long. He secretly began working on a plan for the emancipation of enslaved African Americans living in Confederate states. In the summer of 1862, he shared his ideas with a surprised Cabinet. The members generally supported Lincoln's plan but agreed that its announcement should wait. After the Union failure at the Second Battle of Bull Run, such a proclamation might look like an act of desperation. What was needed was a major Union victory. Several weeks later, Lincoln got his opportunity.

Victory Comes at Antietam After his army's recent victories, General Lee was brimming with confidence. In early September 1862, he led his troops into Maryland, the border state where many favored the South. Lee hoped to inspire a pro-Confederate uprising. A victory on Union soil might also spur European recognition of the Confederacy. Lee also hoped to acquire an abundance of food supplies for his hungry army in an area unmolested by war.

Lee's invasion did not go according to plan. On September 8, the general issued a "Proclamation to the People of Maryland" that invited them to <u>ally</u> themselves with the South. But Marylanders responded to the invitation with far less enthusiasm than Lee had anticipated. A few days later, Union soldiers found a copy of Lee's battle plan wrapped around some cigars at an abandoned rebel campsite. As a result, Lee lost the crucial element of surprise. When McClellan reviewed the orders, he exclaimed, "Here is a paper with which if I cannot whip Bobbie Lee, I will be willing to go home."

The two armies converged at Sharpsburg, Maryland, and McClellan's troops fanned out near Antietam Creek. On September 17, Union troops attacked Lee's army in three phases, moving from one side of the Confederate line to the other. By the end of the day, more than 23,000 soldiers lay dead or wounded. The Battle of **Antietam** marked the bloodiest single day of the Civil War. With his army exhausted and Maryland still in the Union, Lee retreated to Virginia. Though Union losses exceeded Confederate losses, Lincoln had the victory he needed to move forward with emancipation.

Checkpoint Why did Lincoln decide to change his official stand on slavery?

Emancipation at Last

On September 22, 1862, Lincoln formally announced the Emancipation Proclamation. Issued as a military decree, it freed all enslaved people in states still in rebellion after January 1, 1863. It did not, however, apply to loyal border states or to places that were already under Union military control. Lincoln hoped the proclamation might convince some southern states to surrender before the January 1 deadline.

Vocabulary Builder <u>ally</u>—(uh Lī) v. to unite or associate for a specific purpose



Many northerners responded to the Emancipation Proclamation with great excitement. "We shout for joy that we live to record this righteous decree," rejoiced Frederick Douglass. Some who had once criticized Lincoln for inaction now praised his name and held rallies in honor of the proclamation. An African American minister in Philadelphia said:

**The morning dawns! The long night of sorrow and Primary Source gloom is past. . . . The Proclamation has gone forth, and God is saying . . . to this nation Man must be free. . . . Your destiny as white men and ours as black men are one and the same. 99

— Jonathan C. Gibbs, January 1, 1863

Others were less enthusiastic. William Lloyd Garrison grumbled that "what is still needed is a proclamation distinctly announcing the total abolition of slavery." British abolitionists applauded the President's move—but also wondered about Lincoln's conviction, since he attacked slavery only in areas over which he had no control. Lincoln also received criticism in Congress. Many Republicans felt the proclamation had not gone far enough, while many Democrats felt it was too drastic a step. The Proclamation may have been one factor leading to Democratic gains in the fall congressional elections.

Although the Emancipation Proclamation did not actually free a single slave, it was an important turning point in the war. For northerners, it redefined the war as being "about slavery." For white southerners, the call to free the slaves ended any desire for a negotiated end to the war. Confederate leaders now felt they must fight to the end.

For African Americans in the North, the proclamation made them eager to join the Union army and fight against slavery. Even before Lincoln's decree, growing demands by African Americans—and a growing need for soldiers on

Antietam: The Bloodiest Day of the War

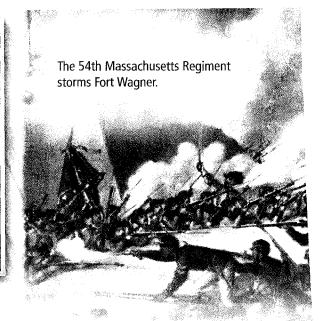
The gruesome clash at Antietam claimed thousands of lives. Below, Confederate dead lie near the Dunker Church. Though the Union lost more men during the battle, Confederate losses amounted to a higher percentage of troop strength. Why was Lincoln eager to claim victory in spite of Union losses?



This drummer had been enslaved prior to his service in the 79th U.S. Colored Infantry. ▼



COME AND JOIN US BRUTHERS.



the frontlines—had led the Union to reconsider its ban on African American soldiers. Just two months before the proclamation, Congress had passed the **Militia Act,** mandating that black soldiers be accepted into the military.

Checkpoint What were the effects of the Emancipation Proclamation?

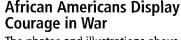
African Americans Join the Fight

With the Emancipation Proclamation, the Union moved from allowing black troops to actively recruiting them. African American leaders were asked to seek volunteers. The abolitionist governor of Massachusetts enthusiastically supported the formation of the all-black **54th Massachusetts Regiment.** By war's end, more than 180,000 African American volunteers had served in the Union military. The Confederacy considered drafting slaves and free blacks in 1863 and 1864, but most southerners opposed the enlistment of African Americans.

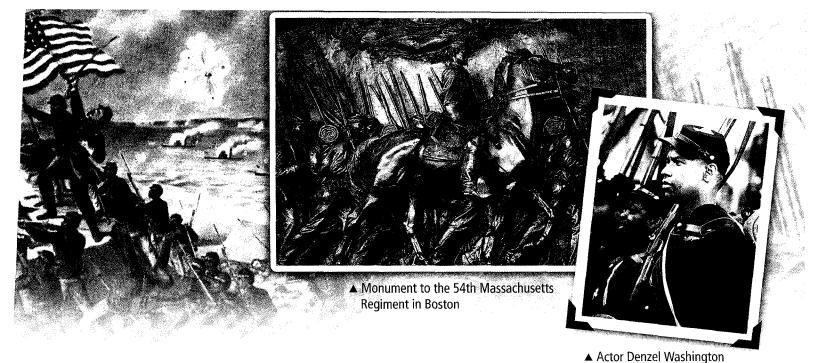
African American Soldiers Fight Bravely Racist attitudes left many whites with low expectations for black troops. But performance in battle proved these expectations to be false. In June 1863, accounts appeared of a battle in Port Hudson, Mississippi—the first major test for African American soldiers. A Union officer declared that "my prejudices with regard to negro troops have been dispelled by the battle. . . . The brigade of negroes behaved magnificently."

A few weeks later, the 54th Massachusetts followed Robert Gould Shaw, their respected white officer, into battle at Fort Wagner in Charleston harbor. During the unsuccessful assault, Shaw and many of his men were killed. Nevertheless, the 54th had earned respect for its discipline and courage. One soldier received the Congressional Medal of Honor—the first of almost two dozen African American soldiers to be decorated for bravery.

Still, African American troops faced prejudice. They were usually assigned menial tasks, such as cooking, cleaning, or digging latrines. They often served the longest guard duty and were placed in exposed battle positions. It took a three-year effort to win equal pay. Black soldiers also knew that if captured, they would be killed. In one bloody incident, Confederates massacred more than 100 African American soldiers who were trying to surrender at Fort Pillow, Tennessee. Nevertheless, African Americans supported the Union in hundreds of battles, and some 70,000 lost their lives.



The photos and illustrations above testify to the dedication and bravery of African American soldiers during the war. The attack of the 54th Massachusetts on Fort Wagner was memorialized in both a monument and an award-winning film. Why do you think these soldiers were so honored by succeeding generations of Americans?



Enslaved People Help the Union Cause Enslaved African Americans in the South also played an important role in the war, finding a variety of ways to passively or actively help the Union forces. White owners often abandoned plantations for the safety of southern cities, leaving trusted slaves to manage the farm. Advancing Union forces often enlisted these African Americans to produce food for the northern troops. Other African Americans used their familiarity with the terrain to serve as spies or scouts for Union armies. Sometimes, emancipated slaves organized their own military units. Regiments of former slaves appeared in such places as South Carolina, Kansas, and Missouri. Across the South, ambitious slaves seized the opportunity to begin to shape their own civilian lives. Some demanded, and got, wages for their work. Others simply abandoned their masters, fleeing to Union camps or to the North or West. They turned Lincoln's promise of freedom into a reality.

Checkpoint How did African Americans respond to Union recruitment efforts after the Emancipation Proclamation?

SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1104

Comprehension

- **1. Terms and People** For each of the following terms, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Antietam
 - Emancipation Proclamation
 - 54th Massachusetts Regiment
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:
 Identify Supporting Details Use
 your outline to answer the Section
 Focus Question: How did the
 Emancipation Proclamation and the
 efforts of African American soldiers
 affect the course of the war?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Write Headlines
Choose three events described in this section. Imagine you are writing a news article about each one. Write a headline for each article that will capture its main idea and attract the attention of readers.

Critical Thinking

4. Make Decisions Do you think Lincoln was right to wait so long before declaring emancipation? Why or why not?

in the 1989 movie Glory

- **5. Identify Effects** What do you think was the most important effect of the Emancipation Proclamation?
- 6. Draw Inferences A corporal in the 54th Massachusetts wrote to President Lincoln: "Your Excellency, we have done a Soldier's Duty. Why can't we have a Soldier's pay?" What does this letter suggest about conditions for black soldiers in the Civil War?

Primary Source



Abraham Lincoln: The Emancipation Proclamation

Five days after the Union victory at Antietam, Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. The presidential decree freed all enslaved persons in states under Confederate control as of January 1, 1863. One of the most important documents in American history, the proclamation changed the nature of the Union cause and paved the way for the eventual abolition of slavery by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom. . . .

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

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

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed services of the United States to garrison² forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

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

President Lincoln and the first page of his final draft of the proclamation ►

- 1. thenceforward (thehns FOR werd) adv. from that time onward.
- 2. garrison (GAR uh suhn) ν to occupy and control by sending troops into.

Whereas, on the twentyseconou play of Saptamber, in this year of our dorne one thousand eight hernohear and airties, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following to force:

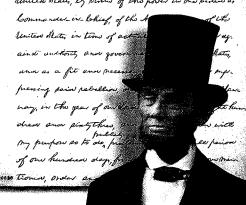
Jollowing to True the lost day of Jensey, is the year of our Lord on fearured with the molecular while my desire within my desire or defined part of a fine, the people where that then be in

The Residuit of the United States of America. A Proclamation.

> all general field as alexes which any fitting or designated part of a fittin, the people whereof shall be the invelocition against the United States, shall be then thereforement, and favore free; and the Executive Horsen recent of the United States, including the sulliney and ward submitty thereof, will reception and include the Processor of materials and will do no not or unto to represe such persons, or any of them, in any size, they may unker for their attrial freedom.

9 and your of States, if may, in which the pusples thereof, respectively, shall thus be in reledition against of United States; and the fact that easy States or the people thereof, phall on that day be, in people fields, ray of rested in the Congress of the United States by resolvent chosen therefor a telephone berden a subject of the pushfold views of states deal lines participated, shall, in the absence of atting considerability for the qualified views of a state good and the control theory of such States shall have participated, which in the absence of atting considerability to the many to be decaded considerability without some states.

Now, therefore I . Mr aham director, President of the United of Hate power in my protein as



Thinking Critically

- **1 Draw Conclusions** How did the emotional effects of the proclamation differ from its actual effects?
- **2. Explain Effects** How did the Emancipation Proclamation benefit the Union war effort?

Bottle of medicine used during the Civil War





SULPHATIS.

The Hardships of War

Mrs. Judith Brockenbrough McGuire, the wife of a high school principal from Alexandria, Virginia, kept a diary that describes daily life in the South throughout the Civil War. Her record of a people under siege highlights the hardships endured by her friends and neighbors as Union soldiers confiscated the supplies they so desperately needed:

February 11, 1863. For ten days past I have been at the bedside of my patient in Richmond. The physicians for the third time despaired of his life; by the goodness of God he is again [recovering his health]. Our wounded are suffering excessively for tonics,

> and I believe that many valuable lives are lost for the want of a few bottles of [medicine]. . . . Oh, how cruel it is that the Northern Government should have made medicines and the necessaries of life to the sick and wounded, contraband articles! ??

- Judith Brockenbrough McGuire, Civil War diary



Life During the War



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 3.I.B.1 Economic and technological impacts of the Civil War
- 2.II.D.2b Impact of war on home front
- 2.II.D.2c Government policy during the war

Terms and People

Painting of a Confederate

hospital scene

income tax bond Homestead Act conscription

Copperhead habeas corpus inflation Clara Barton

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Compare and Contrast

Note the similarities and differences between the northern and southern home fronts during the war.

North South Income tax to Conscription to "Blockade runners" to deliver supplies pay for the war provide soldiers

Why It Matters As African Americans rushed to join the Union ranks, the war dragged on. The fighting brought hard times to the home fronts of both North and South and helped transform many aspects of American life. Between 1861 and 1865, the economy and society of both regions underwent deep and lasting changes. These changes would help launch the North into the modern world, while the South suffered physical and social damage that persisted for decades. Section Focus Question: How did the Civil War bring temporary and lasting changes to American society?

The Home Front in the North

The war had a huge impact on northern industry. For example, the drop in southern cotton production severely damaged the large cotton textiles industry. At the same time, other industries boomed as demand for clothing, arms, and other supplies spiked. To meet the demand, industry became more mechanized.

War Transforms the Northern Economy Paying to supply the military was a major economic challenge. To help meet the cost, the Union government introduced a tax based on an individual's earnings. At first, the income tax was 3 percent on all income over \$800 a year. As the war continued, the tax was increased. The Union also raised tariffs, which brought in revenue and helped northern industry by raising the cost of imported goods.

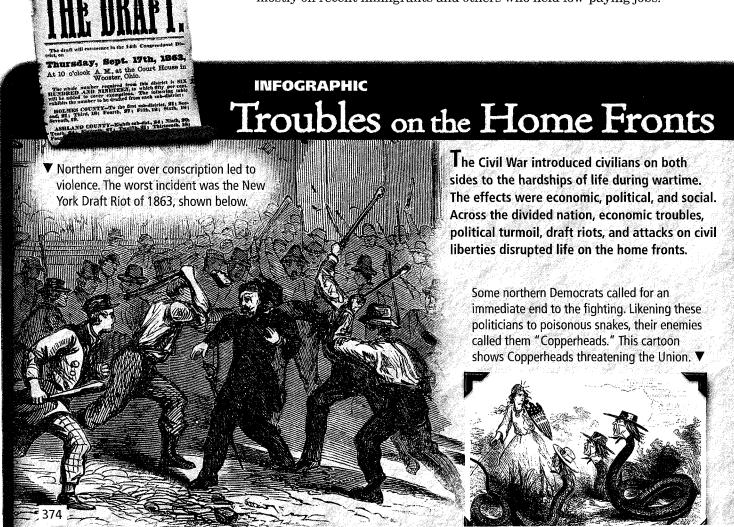
The biggest source of wartime funds came from the sale of government **bonds**. In return for the purchase price, the buyer received a certificate promising to pay the holder a larger amount of money at a future date. The Union sold billions of dollars worth of bonds to banks and individuals. Citizens were encouraged to buy bonds as an act of patriotism.

To increase the amount of cash in circulation and to help people buy war bonds, Congress passed the Legal Tender Act in 1862. This law allowed the Treasury to issue paper money, called "greenbacks" because of the color of the paper used. For the first time, the United States had a single, common currency that its citizens could use to purchase goods.

The Civil War also helped bring about far-reaching changes in the use of public land in the West. For years, the question of how to use this land had been dominated by the slavery issue. In addition, northern and southern companies squabbled over the route for a proposed rail line linking California to the East. With secession, however, these issues disappeared. In 1862, Congress passed the **Homestead Act**, making western land available at very low cost to those who would farm it. The war also resolved the argument over the route of the intercontinental railroad. The Pacific Railroad Act granted land to companies to build rail lines through Union territory.

The Draft Triggers Rioting In 1863, the Union instituted conscription, also called the draft, to meet the unending demand for fresh troops. Under this system, any white man between the ages of 20 and 45 might be called for required military service. However, a man could pay \$300 to hire a replacement. Thus, at a time when laborers earned less than \$2 per day, the burden of conscription fell mostly on recent immigrants and others who held low-paying jobs.

▼ Both the Union and the Confederacy initiated drafts to replenish the ranks of their depleted armies.



Many working men resented the fact that the rich could pay to avoid the draft. They also worried about losing their jobs to African Americans, who were not subject to conscription. Anger over the draft led to violence. In the New York Draft Riot of July 1863, a mob of poor white working men went on a four-day rampage, damaging factories that made war supplies and attacking African Americans. Blacks were also targeted in similar race riots in other northern cities.

War Threatens Civil Liberties Draft rioters were not the only northerners angered by the war effort. A <u>faction</u> calling themselves "Peace Democrats" opposed Lincoln's conduct of the war and demanded an end to the fighting. Their opponents dubbed them **Copperheads**, after a type of poisonous snake found in the South. While some Copperheads promoted violence against the Union, most remained loyal to it and wanted only to end the war.

The President, however, viewed any effort to undermine the war effort as a grave threat to the nation. To deal with this crisis, he suspended the constitutional right of **habeas corpus**, which protects a person from being held in jail without being charged with a specific crime. Lincoln empowered the military to arrest people suspected of disloyalty to the Union, including some who had criticized the President and others who had participated in draft riots.

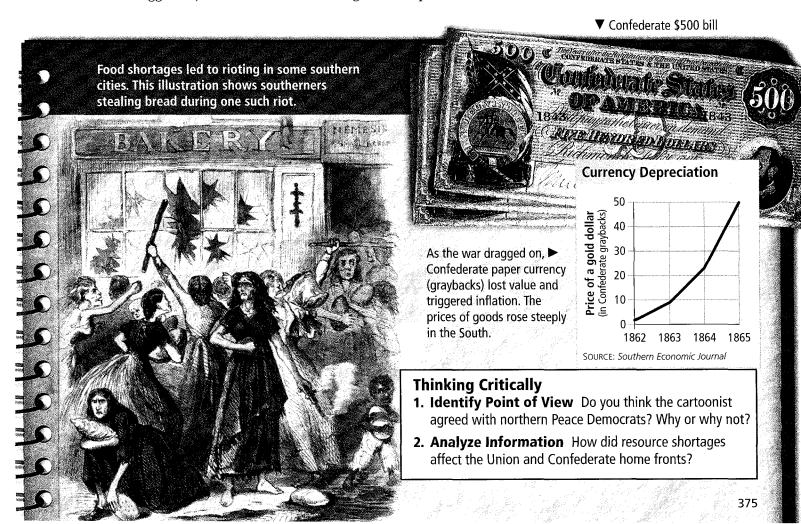
Checkpoint What was the response in the North to conscription?

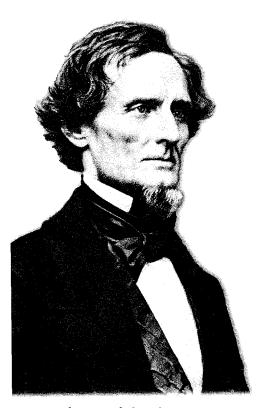
The Home Front in the South

The Civil War made great economic demands on the South as well. But, unlike the North, the Confederacy lacked the resources to meet these demands. As the war dragged on, the South seemed in danger of collapse.

Vocabulary Builder

faction—(FAK shuhn) n. a group of people inside a political party or government, working in a common cause against other such groups or against the main body





The South in Distress
Although he criticized Lincoln for suspending habeas corpus in the North, President Jefferson Davis eventually did the same to keep order in the Confederacy.

Blockade Brings Hardships The most pressing threat was the Union blockade of southern ports. Small, swift ships known as "blockade runners" were initially effective at avoiding capture and delivering needed supplies to the South. However, by 1863, the Union blockade was about 80 percent effective. As a result, southerners were forced to depend almost entirely on their own farms and factories. This production was often complicated by nearby military operations. Even when farmers were able to harvest crops, they had difficulty getting the food to market or to the troops because rivers and rail lines were often blocked by Union forces.

Davis Struggles to Pay for War Much of the South's wealth was invested in land and in more than 3 million slaves. Most of that slave labor was devoted to producing market crops, such as cotton, tobacco, and sugar. The war drastically reduced the value of these assets, leaving President Jefferson Davis with few sources of money with which to finance the Confederate military effort.

The South used every opportunity to ease its economic squeeze. When possible, Confederate soldiers seized Union weapons, food, and supplies—often from bodies on the battlefields. Union shoes and boots were especially prized. Although Britain remained officially neutral, British shipyards helped the Confederacy build blockade runners. Entrepreneurs built ironworks in several southern cities. Still, the costs of the war quickly outran the South's resources. Duties on the South's few imports were hard to collect, and many southerners resisted the 10 percent tax on farm produce.

Like the Union, the Confederacy issued paper money, backed only by the government's promise to pay. Many doubted the value of Confederate money. Prices soared as those with items to sell demanded more and more Confederate cash. This **inflation**, combined with the shortage of food, led to riots in some parts of the South. In a note to North Carolina Governor Zebulon Vance, one woman reported on the dire conditions in that state:

Primary Source46 have threatened for some time to write you a letter—a crowd of we poor women went to Greensborough yesterday for something to eat as we had not a mouthful [of] meat nor bread—what did they do but put us in jail—we women will write for our husbands to come home and help us.

—Nancy Mangum, 1863

Southern Leaders Argue Hardships quickly began to weaken southern unity. As early as August 1861, Mary Boykin Chesnut of South Carolina wrote in her diary of "the rapid growth of the party forming against Mr. Davis." Indeed, Jefferson Davis found that his attempts to build unity were often hampered by his stubborn personality and by the fierce spirit of independence that had led to secession in the first place. Some states resisted sending troops outside their own borders or having their militia serve under commanders from other states.

As in the North, the Confederate government enacted conscription laws, seized private property in support of the war effort, and suspended habeas corpus. In response, some southerners called for Davis's impeachment. In Georgia, there was even talk of seceding from the Confederacy!

Checkpoint Why did the Confederacy face severe economic problems during the Civil War?

The Life of the Soldier

Just under half the eligible men in the Union and four out of five eligible men in the South served in the military during the Civil War. Their experiences mingled adventure, danger, comradeship, pride, and terrible hardship.

Camp Life Offers New Experiences The Civil War gave many young men their first taste of travel. A typical regiment was comprised of recruits from the same town who had all joined up together. Still, soldiers were often homesick and bored. When not preparing for battle, they passed the time writing letters home, playing games, or attending religious revivals. One Confederate chaplain noted that many southern men "have come out of this war Christian soldiers."

In the border states especially, many families suffered divided loyalties, with brothers or sons fighting on different sides. Soldiers might find themselves far from home but camped across the battlefield from family. It was not uncommon for soldiers to exchange greetings with the "enemy" between engagements.

Soldiers Face Death in Many Forms As you have read, new technology used in the Civil War resulted in killing on a scale never before seen in America. Tens of thousands of soldiers died on the battlefields and many more were injured. Powerful new weapons caused gaping wounds, and the most frequent treatment was the amputation of limbs—sometimes without anesthesia. Doctors lacked modern knowledge about infection, so even minor wounds could prove deadly.

For those who survived the fighting, life in camp had its own dangers. Poor drinking water and lack of sanitation led to a rapid spread of illness in the ranks. For every soldier killed in battle, two died of disease.

Worse yet were the prison camps. On both sides, prisoners of war faced over-crowding and filth while in captivity. African American prisoners in Confederate camps were usually killed outright. The most notorious camp was the open-pen prison at Andersonville, Georgia. By the summer of 1864, some 33,000 Union prisoners had been crowded into its confines. With their own troops starving, Confederates had little incentive to find food for Union prisoners. During the 15 months that Andersonville remained in operation, more than 12,000 union prisoners died of disease and malnutrition.

Union troops

share a meal

in 1863.

✓ Checkpoint What were the greatest dangers faced by wounded and captured soldiers during the Civil War?

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch *The Civil War* on the United States Witness History DVD to learn more about the lives of Civil War soldiers.

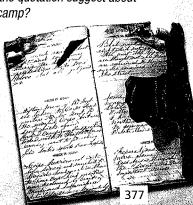




For most soldiers, army life was months of tedious marching and drilling punctuated by brief periods of fierce and deadly combat. To fight boredom in camp, troops engaged in many activities to entertain themselves and one another. One Confederate marveled at a "fellow by the name of Vaughn... [who] could sing funny Songs, dance clog, make funny speeches, play tricks, turn somer saults, and [do] other things [too] numerous to mention." What does the quotation suggest about the soldiers' mood in camp?

A bullet ripped through this war diary. ►

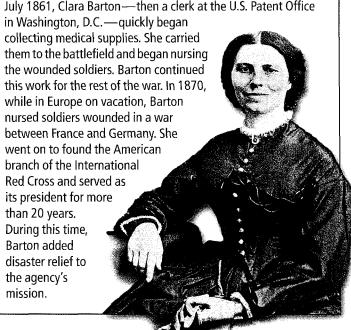
◆ A Union surgeon's deck of cards



HISTORY MAKERS

Clara Barton (1821–1912)

Alarmed by the casualties at the First Battle of Bull Run in July 1861, Clara Barton—then a clerk at the U.S. Patent Office



Women and the War

Many women had long sought an active role in public life. The Civil War offered them new opportunities. Even women who did not choose new roles often were forced to assume unfamiliar responsibilities.

Women Do New Work The vast majority of women did not get close to military action, but many took over family businesses, farms, or plantations. With so many men away at the front, women made inroads into professions that had previously been dominated by men. By war's end, for example, most teaching jobs had been taken over by women.

A few white women from the North and the South masqueraded as men and marched into battle. More commonly, wives joined husbands in camps, cooking and doing laundry. Like their husbands and brothers, some African American women in the South served as spies and guides.

Nurses Care for the Sick and Wounded In both the North and South, the most notable military role for women was nursing. The development of nursing as a profession began slowly, as small groups of women

formed organizations to assist returning soldiers and their families. Beginning in 1861, **Clara Barton** took the effort one step further. After collecting medical supplies in her Massachusetts community, she secured permission to travel with Union army ambulances and assist in "distributing comforts for the sick and wounded of both sides."

President Lincoln approved the formation of the United States Sanitary Commission, which authorized women to oversee hospitals and sanitation in military installations. This systematic program of federal responsibility for public health would be yet another lasting effect of the Civil War.

✓ Checkpoint How did women contribute to the war effort?

3 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1105

Comprehension

- **1. Terms and People** For each of the following items, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - income tax
 - Homestead Act
 - conscription
 - Copperhead
 - habeas corpus
 - Clara Barton

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Compare and Contrast Use your Venn diagram to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the Civil War bring temporary and lasting changes to American society?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Gather Information for a News Article Gather information for a news article about the daily life of soldiers during the Civil War. List the relevant information, using phrases and sentences.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Identify Central Issues How did wartime needs lead to limitations on individual freedom in the North? Do you think such actions were justified?
- **5. Compare and Contrast** How were the wartime economic problems of the North and South similar? How were they different?
- **6. Analyze Information** Why do you think nursing came to be a profession dominated by women? Is this still true today?



Julia Ward Howe ▶

Songs of the Civil War Name of the Civil War

Soldiers on both sides loved music during the war, from the rousing marching tunes they sang to summon courage in battle to the sentimental campfire songs that longed for the day "When This Cruel War Is Over." However, North and South each embraced its own anthem that lifted the spirits of soldiers fighting in the field.

The Battle Hymn of the Republic When abolitionist and poet Julia Ward Howe visited Washington, D.C., in 1861, she heard

> Union troops sing a marching song called "John Brown's Body." Later that night, the stirring tune still ringing in her ears, Howe composed lyrics she believed were better suited to the noble cause of ending slavery. The first time Abraham Lincoln heard "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," he stood up, tears running down his face, and called out over the cheering crowd: "Sing it again! Sing it again!"

Dixie The song that came to represent the South was actually written by a northern musician named Daniel Decatur Emmett in 1859. The origin of the song's title is uncertain—possibly it came from the Mason-Dixon line that separated North and South—but homesick Confederate soldiers took the tune as their own. When the war ended in 1865, Lincoln ended a celebratory address to a crowd outside the White House by asking a nearby band to play "Dixie."

Civil War era homemade banjo

▼ A Union regimental band poses for a photograph in 1863.



Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;

He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;

He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword;

His truth is marching on. Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah!

Glory, glory, hallelujah! His truth is marching on.

Oh, I wish I was in the land of cotton, Cinnamon seed and sandy

bottom. Look away, look away, look away Dixie Land.

In Dixie Land, where I was born in,

Early on one frosty mornin',

Look away, look away, look away Dixie

I wish I was in Dixie, Hooray! Hooray! In Dixie Land I'll take my stand To live and die in Dixie.

Away, away, away down south in Dixie. Away, away, away down south in Dixie.



- 1. Analyze Lyrics Why do you think Union soldiers found "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" so inspiring?
- 2. Draw Inferences Why might Lincoln have asked for "Dixie" to be played when the war ended?

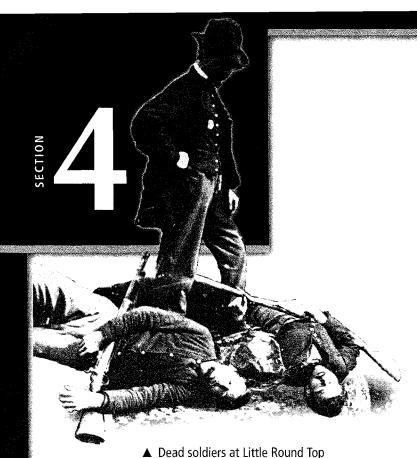




MILHYMNOREA

Glorp,Kallelujali,

ATTANTIC MONTHLY.



Drum from a Union regiment that fought at Gettysburg ▶

WITNESS HISTORY (a) AUDIO

Gettysburg: A Soldier's Story

In early July 1863, North and South clashed near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. A young Union officer described the fighting on a hill called Little Round Top:

⁶⁶As we reached the crest a never to be forgotten scene burst upon us. A great basin lay before us full of smoke and fire, and literally swarming with riderless horses and fighting, fleeing and pursuing men. The air was saturated with the sulphurous fumes of battle and was ringing with the shouts and groans of the combatants. The wild cries of charging lines, the rattle of musketry, the booming of artillery and the shrieks of the wounded were the orchestral accompaniments of a scene like very hell itself. . . . ??

-Lt. Porter Farley, 140th New York Infantry Regiment

Turning Points of the War



Core Curriculum Objectives

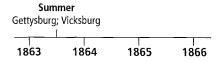
- **3.I.B.1** Economic and technological impacts of the Civil War
- **3.I.C.5** The emerging debate over "proper" role of African Americans
- **3.I.E.4** War's impact on the development of the North as an industrial power

Terms and People

siege Vicksburg Gettysburg George Pickett Gettysburg Address total war William Tecumseh Sherman

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize As you read, use a timeline to trace how the tide of the war turned toward Union victory.



Why It Matters In the early stages of the war, the North had only limited success in achieving its military goals. But after months of difficult fighting and military setbacks, the Union enjoyed some stunning military successes in 1863. Though there was much bloodshed to come, that year marked the beginning of the end for the Confederacy. Section Focus Question: How did the Battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg change the course of the Civil War?

Union Victory at Vicksburg

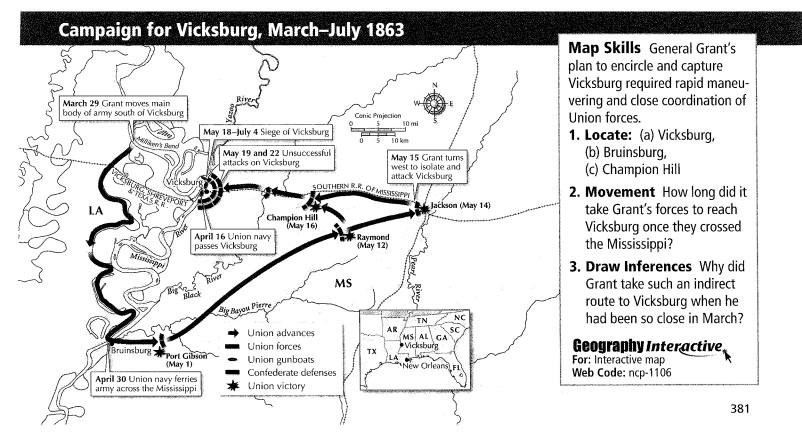
Although Union General U.S. Grant's troops battled the Confederates in Kentucky and central Tennessee in late 1862, the major focus of the Union's western campaign remained the Mississippi River. The Anaconda Plan depended on gaining control of the river and cutting the South in half. Yet after two years of war, the Confederacy still had strongholds at Port Hudson, Louisiana, and Vicksburg, Mississippi. "Vicksburg is the key!" Lincoln proclaimed. "The war can never be brought to a close until that key is in our pocket."

Grant Faces a Formidable Challenge Grant made several attempts to fulfill Lincoln's goal, but it was a daunting task. The mighty Vicksburg fortress towered high above the waters of the Mississippi. Along the city's western edge, Confederate gunners could rain deadly fire on any gunboats that might approach. In May 1862, they thwarted one such assault under Union Admiral David Farragut. Grant even tried digging a canal so that Union ships could bypass the stretch of the river dominated by the Vicksburg batteries, but the attempt failed. Vicksburg's location also protected it from attack by land. A Union assault in late 1862 stalled out in the labyrinth of swamps, creeks, and woods guarding the northern approaches to the city.

Grant Initiates a Brilliant Plan In the spring of 1863, Grant devised a new plan to take the Confederate stronghold. First, he marched his troops southward through Louisiana to a point south of Vicksburg. At the same time, he ordered a cavalry attack on rail lines in central Mississippi to draw Confederate attention away from the city. On April 30, some 20,000 of Grant's men crossed the river and headed northeast to capture the Mississippi state capital at Jackson. After sacking that city, the Federals turned west toward Vicksburg, gaining control of the main rail line leading into the city and fortress. Vicksburg was completely cut off.

Grant launched two frontal assaults against the Confederates but failed to break their defenses. So, on May 22, he placed Vicksburg under siege. A siege is a military tactic in which an army surrounds, bombards, and cuts off all supplies to an enemy position in order to force its surrender. For over a month, Union guns kept up a steady fire from land and river. One astonished resident noted "ladies walk[ing] quietly along the streets while the shells burst above them, their heads meanwhile protected by parasol." The constant fire and lack of supplies gradually weakened Vicksburg's defenders. (See the American Experience feature at the end of this section.) Finally, on July 4, 1863, the Confederate commander concluded that his position was hopeless and ordered his forces to surrender. The siege of Vicksburg was over. Days later, after it learned of the Vicksburg surrender, the Confederate garrison at Port Hudson, Louisiana, also surrendered to the Union. With its last strongholds on the Mississippi in Union hands, the Confederacy was split in two.

Checkpoint What was the outcome of the siege of Vicksburg?



Vocabulary Builder

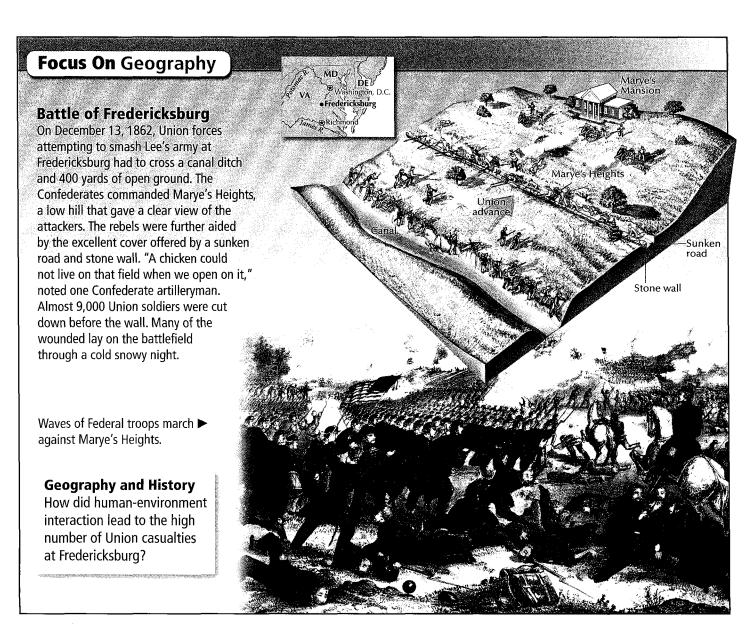
<u>successor</u>—(suhk SEHS uhr) *n*. person or thing that succeeds, or follows, another

A Turning Point in the East

While Union troops advanced in the West, the situation was different in the East. Despite claiming victory at Antietam, Lincoln soon replaced General McClellan for failing to pursue the retreating Confederates. McClellan's <u>successor</u>, General Ambrose Burnside, headed south, hoping to win a decisive victory.

Lee Wins Two Victories and Pushes North The Army of the Potomac met General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia at Fredericksburg, Virginia, in December 1862. Burnside had 120,000 troops, while Lee had fewer than 80,000. But Lee, aided by generals Stonewall Jackson and James Longstreet, soundly defeated the new Union commander. Union casualties were more than double those of the Confederacy.

Lincoln replaced Burnside with General Joseph Hooker, who launched his own offensive against Lee in the spring. The two armies clashed at Chancellorsville, just west of Fredericksburg. Once again, the Confederates overwhelmed the Federals. The loss at the Battle of Chancellorsville was devastating to the Union. Upon hearing the news, President Lincoln paced the room, muttering "What will the country say? What will the country say?" Nevertheless, Lee paid dearly for his



victory, losing the incomparable Stonewall Jackson during the fighting. After being accidentally shot by his own men, Jackson died a few days after the battle.

Though he was upset by the loss of Jackson, Lee sensed an opportunity to win international support for the Confederacy, demoralize the Union, and perhaps even force an end to the war. Once again, he decided to invade the North. In June 1863, Lee's army set off through Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and crossed into Union territory, eventually reaching Pennsylvania.

Union Troops Engage Lee at Gettysburg Lee's invasion caused great concern throughout the Union. The Army of the Potomac, now under the leadership of General George Meade, set out to engage the Confederates. Meanwhile, a Confederate unit headed for the town of Gettysburg, hoping to seize footwear from the shoe factory there. On the morning of July 1, Lee's men ran into sev-

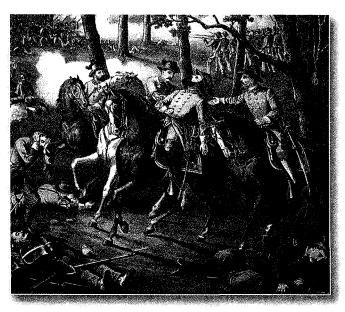
eral brigades of Union cavalry commanded by General John Buford. Buford's men spread out northwest of town and called for reinforcements. This was the start of the decisive Battle of Gettysburg, which would last for the next three days. (See the Events That Changed America feature on the following page.)

As the main bodies of both armies converged on Gettysburg, the first day of the fighting went to the Confederates. They pushed the smaller Union force back through the town and onto higher ground to the south. But nightfall halted the Confederate advance. This allowed General Meade to bring up the rest of his army and strengthen the Union position. Union troops dug in along a two-and-ahalf mile defense line stretching from Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill southward along Cemetery Ridge. The Federal line ended at two more rocky hills, Little Round Top and Big Round Top. Troubled that the Union now held the high ground, Confederate General James Longstreet regretted, "It would have been better had we not fought at all than to have left undone what we did."

Lee Is Defeated and Forced to Retreat As July 2 dawned, Lee's men prepared to assault both ends of the Union line. Lee ordered one force to move against the northern part of Meade's defenses while General Longstreet attacked the southern end of Cemetery Ridge. Late in the afternoon, Longstreet's troops charged against a large body of Union soldiers that had mistakenly abandoned Little Round Top and moved westward off Cemetery Ridge. The two sides hammered at each other for several hours in some of the fiercest fighting of the war. The rebels, however, failed to breach the Union line.

Meanwhile, Union troops had noticed the undefended position on Little Round Top. They hurried forward just in time to meet the gray tide of Confederates rushing uphill. Anchoring the Union defense of the hilltop was a Maine unit under Colonel Joshua L. Chamberlain. Chamberlain's men stood firm against numerous Confederate attacks, but their numbers and ammunition eventually dwindled. Chamberlain responded by ordering a bayonet charge that shocked and scattered his exhausted enemy. Hundreds of Confederates surrendered and the fighting drew to a close. Night fell and the Union still held the high ground.

Lee was not discouraged. Despite opposition from Longstreet—and believing that victory was still within reach—the Confederate commander attacked one more time. The result was disastrous. In the early afternoon of July 3, Lee commenced an artillery barrage aimed at the center of the Union line. He had hoped his cannon would break up the Union defenses in advance of an infantry



Lee Loses His "Right Arm"

After Stonewall Jackson was mistakenly shot by his own troops at Chancellorsville (above), doctors had to amputate his arm. Upon hearing the news, Lee lamented, "He has lost his left arm, but I have lost my right arm." What do you think Lee meant? attack on Cemetery Ridge. When Lee's men, including a division under General **George Pickett**, marched toward the ridge, thousands of Confederates were mowed down by Union rifle and cannon fire. After the failure of Pickett's Charge, Lee ordered the general to reposition his division. "General Lee," replied Pickett, "I have no division now." The Battle of Gettysburg was over. On the battlefield lay over 50,000 dead and wounded. About half of these were Confederates—nearly a third of Lee's fighting force. Lee abandoned his invasion of the North and led his limping army back into Virginia. The South had suffered a crushing defeat. It would never again attempt to fight on Union soil.

Lincoln Honors the Dead In November 1863, Lincoln came to the Gettysburg battlefield to dedicate a cemetery for the fallen soldiers. There, he delivered his

Events That Changed America

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

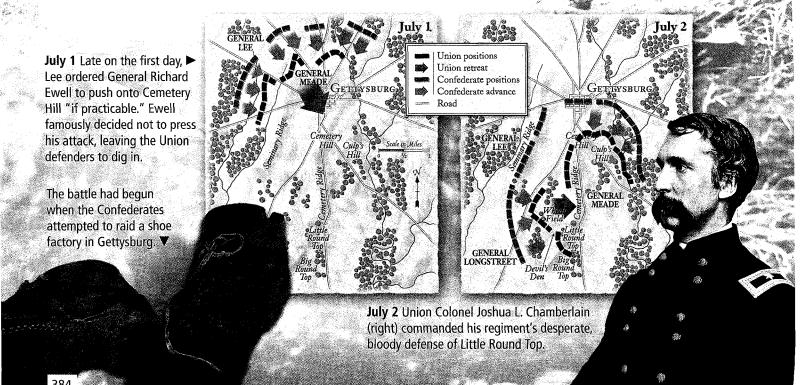
RG

Richmond

Atlantic
Ocean

As the bloodiest battle ever fought on American soil, the Battle of Gettysburg marked a turning point in the Civil War. To halt a second Confederate invasion of the North, more than 90,000 Union soldiers faced off against General Robert E. Lee and 77,500 soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia in early July 1863.

On July 1, Confederate troops collided with Union cavalry just outside the small Pennsylvania crossroads of Gettysburg. By the end of the day, the Confederates had routed the gathering force of Union troops and forced them onto higher ground south of town. For the next two days, Lee's army hammered at the Union lines as each side struggled to win the battle. Despite Confederate General George Pickett's heroic charge against Union positions on July 3. Lee's battered men ultimately lost the battle. They avoided destruction at the hands of the victorious Union army by retreating back to Virginia.



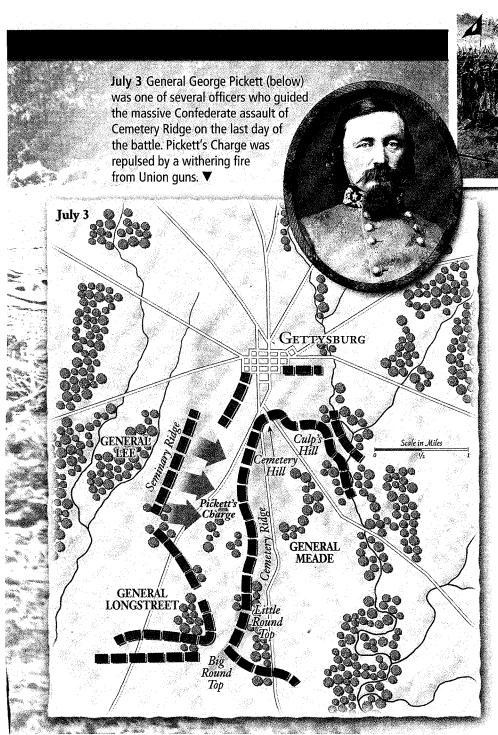
Gettysburg Address. He described the Civil War as a struggle to fulfill the Declaration of Independence and to preserve a nation "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Today, the speech is recognized as an enduring statement of American values and goals. (See the Documents of Our Nation section at the back of this textbook.) The President concluded his speech by urging:

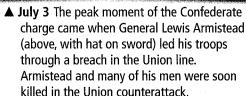
Primary Source66 [W]e here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

79

—Abraham Lincoln, November 19, 1863

Checkpoint What was the outcome of the Battle of Gettysburg?





Why It Matters

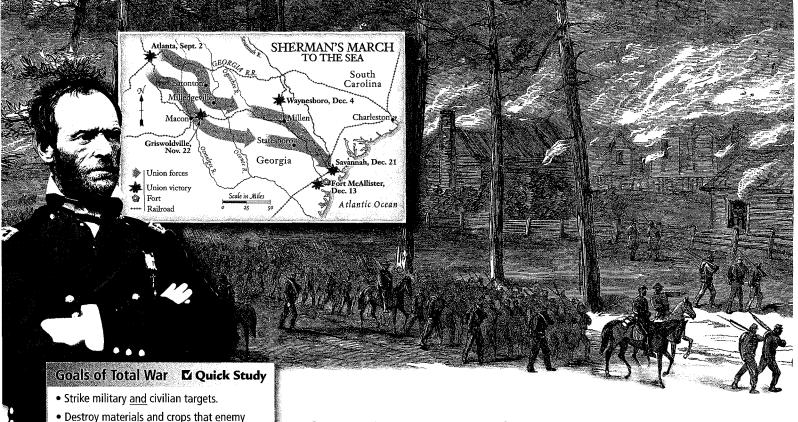
Along with Vicksburg, Gettysburg turned the tide of the Civil War in favor of the Union. After its second invasion of the North was defeated, the Confederacy would fight the rest of the war on its own soil. Lincoln's immortal Gettysburg Address, delivered four months after the battle, motivated the Union to connect the massive human sacrifice to "a new birth of freedom" for the United States.

Thinking Critically

What might have happened if the South had won at Gettysburg? Describe a new course of events.

Mistory Interactive *

For: To discover more about the Battle of Gettysburg
Web Code: ncp-1107



Sherman Unleashes Total War

Destroy railroads and factories to damage

Break the people's will to continue fighting.

forces might be able to use.

the local economy.

Soon after occupying Atlanta, William Tecumseh Sherman (see photo) abandoned his supply lines and set off to "make Georgia howl." Above, his troops ravage the Confederate countryside. How do you think southerners felt about Sherman?

The Union Presses the Advantage

Coming within a day of each other, the Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg dealt a severe blow to the Confederacy. Lee's troops were in retreat and the Mississippi was in Union hands. Gone, too, was any hope for the Confederacy to win recognition from Britain or France. The war was not over—indeed, the Confederacy would still win some victories, such

war was not over—indeed, the Confederacy would still win some victories, such as that at Chickamauga, Georgia, in the fall of 1863. In general, however, the situation of the South was dire.

Grant Marches Toward Richmond Lincoln recalled General Grant from the Mississippi Valley in early 1864 to take charge of the entire Union military effort. The President knew that Grant would accept nothing less than victory. He was correct. Grant set his sites on the Confederate capital of Richmond. "I propose to fight it out," he declared, "if it takes all summer." Grant's campaign did last all summer and for months beyond. He engaged Lee's army in a series of ferocious battles: the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, and Cold Harbor. Grant's strategy was to inflict more losses on the Confederates than their limited resources could withstand. The cost of Grant's relentless advance was horrifying. Tens of thousands of Union and Confederate soldiers fell on the battlefields of Virginia. In the North, public outrage began to grow.

Grant's attack did not target the South's military forces alone. He was following a strategy of **total war**, which involves striking civilian as well as military targets. The purpose of total war is to weaken not just an enemy's armies but also the economy that supports them and the overall will of the people to fight. The South was suffering serious losses that it could not hope to replace.

Sherman Drives to the Sea The Union's total-war strategy was also implemented by General William Tecumseh Sherman. In May 1864, he set out from the Tennessee-Georgia border with 60,000 troops on a 250-mile march to capture the port of Savannah, Georgia. During his "March to the Sea," Sherman ordered his men to get supplies by looting along the way, then to destroy anything of potential value left behind. Cutting a 60-mile-wide swath through

Georgia, Sherman's army tore up railroad tracks, destroyed buildings, and vandalized hundreds of private homes. With Union forces closing in on Atlanta, Confederate troops abandoned the city. Sherman's men occupied it on September 2 and forced the residents to leave. When the mayor asked Sherman to reconsider his order, the general responded:

Primary Source **You might as well appeal against the thunder-storm as against these terrible hardships of war. They are inevitable, and the only way the people of Atlanta can hope once more to live in peace and quiet at home is to stop the war. . . . We don't want your negroes or your horses or your houses or your lands . . . but we do want, and will have, a just obedience to the laws of the United States. That we will have, and if it involves the destruction of your improvements, we cannot help it.*

-William T. Sherman, letter to James Calhoun, September 12, 1864

Once Atlanta was emptied, Union troops burned it to the ground. "Sherman the Brute," as southerners called him, continued eastward and captured Savannah in late December.

The Election of 1864 As 1864 drew to a close, Lincoln had much to celebrate. While his military commanders were winning victories on the battlefield, he had won reelection in November.

The campaign had been difficult. Lincoln had lost some support even in his own party. Some Republicans criticized the President for grasping too much authority; others charged that he was not fully committed to ending slavery. Democrats, fractured into several factions, finally nominated George McClellan, the popular former Union commander.

Lincoln's presidency had seemed in jeopardy. However, Union victories boosted his popularity. Many Union soldiers, loyal to Lincoln, were allowed to go home to vote. When the ballots were in, McClellan won 45 percent of the popular vote, but Lincoln received 212 of the 233 electoral votes. The reelection of Abraham Lincoln destroyed any last Confederate hopes that the North would cave in and negotiate a peace.

✓ Checkpoint What strategy did Grant follow as commander of Union forces?

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1108

Comprehension

- **1. Terms and People** For each of the following items, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - siege
 - Vicksburg
 - Gettysburg
 - George Pickett
 - Gettysburg Address
 - total war
 - William Tecumseh Sherman

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Summarize Use your timeline to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the Battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg change the course of the Civil War?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Begin to Write a News Article Choose a battle discussed in this section. Outline the article you would write about the battle, including how you would answer the five Wquestions. Write the headline for the article.

Critical Thinking

- **4. Apply Information** Using examples from this section, write a general definition of the term *turning point*.
- **5. Draw Inferences** In the Gettysburg Address, Lincoln stated that the purpose of the war was to ensure "that this nation . . . shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." What do you think he meant?
- **6. Analyze Information** Why do you think General Sherman felt justified in destroying civilian property during his march through Georgia?

Life in a Bomb Shelter

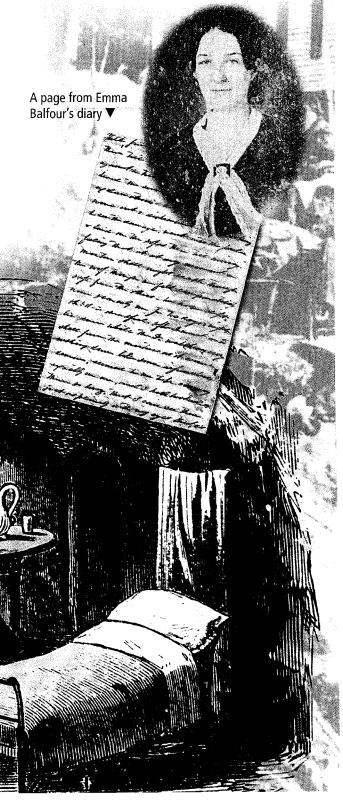
Shell-shocked civilians tried to survive the bombardment by living in underground shelters like this one. ▼

EXPERIENCETHE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG

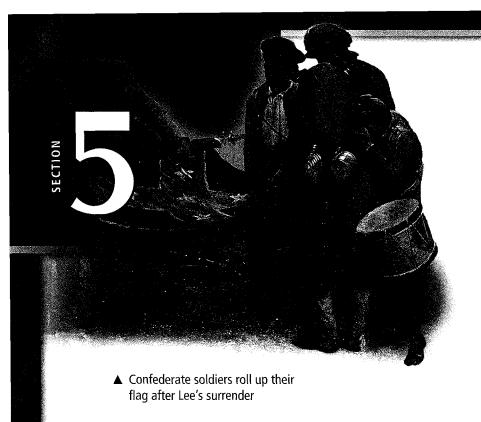
Shots rang out over the trenches. Artillery shells slammed into houses. Frightened civilians abandoned their homes. Burrowing into hillsides overlooking the Mississippi River, the citizens of Vicksburg built bomb shelters out of earth and wood. There, they waited as the Union encircled and bombarded one of the Confederacy's last remaining strong points in the West.

If the Union army could not capture this strategic outpost on the Mississippi, the Union would be hard-pressed to fulfill the Anaconda Plan and split the Confederacy in two. Facing many obstacles, General Ulysses S. Grant decided against a final frontal assault to take Vicksburg. Instead, beginning in May 1863, Grant surrounded the city hoping to bomb and starve it into submission. On July 4, after a six-week siege, Vicksburg surrendered. For Vicksburg's brave and battered citizens, their terrible ordeal was over. For the rest of the Confederacy, the fall of Vicksburg was a devastating loss.

Not Safe at Home In her diary, Vicksburg resident Emma Balfour described a rain of death: "We have spent the last two nights in a cave, but tonight I think we will stay at home. It is not safe I know, for the shells are falling all around us. . . . " ▼







WITNESS HISTORY (**) AUDIO



The South Surrenders

Confederate General John B. Gordon was with General Lee at Appomattox Court House when the Army of Northern Virginia surrendered to Union troops. Gordon later described the despair of his soldiers:

During these last scenes at Appomattox some of the Confederates were so depressed in spirit . . . that the future seemed to them shrouded in gloom. They knew that burnt homes and fenceless farms, poverty and ashes, would greet them on their return from the war. Even if the administration at Washington should be friendly, they did not believe that the Southern States could recover in half a century from the chaotic condition in which the war had left them."

> —General John B. Gordon, Reminiscences of the Civil War

The War's End and Impact



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **3.I.E.1** War's impact on political alignments
- 3.I.E.2 War's impact on citizenship
- 3.I.E.3 War's impact on federal-state relations
- **3.I.E.4** War's impact on the development of the North as an industrial power
- 3.1.E.5 War's impact on American society

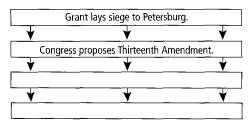
Terms and People

Thirteenth Amendment John Wilkes Booth

Mathew Brady Land Grant College Act

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence As you read, use a flowchart to note what happened during the final days of the Civil War.



Why It Matters After four years of bitter struggle and sacrifice, the Confederacy stood on the brink of defeat. As Lee prepared to surrender to Grant, Lincoln began to plan for the future. The Civil War had lasting effects on both the North and the South. With the fighting over, Americans faced the difficult challenge of rebuilding their nation. Section Focus Question: What was the final outcome and impact of the Civil War?

The War's Final Days

In the summer of 1864, Grant continued his bloody drive toward Richmond. But at Petersburg, about 20 miles south of Richmond, the Confederates made a desperate stand. (See the map at the end of the section.) Petersburg was a vital railroad center. If Grant captured it, he could cut all supply lines to Richmond.

Grant Places Petersburg Under Siege As he had at Vicksburg, Grant turned to siege tactics. Throughout the summer and fall and into the winter, his forces tightened their grip around Petersburg. Both sides dug trenches and threw up fortifications to guard against attack. By March 1865, the two opposing lines of defense stretched for more than 30 miles around Petersburg.

Fighting was fierce. Union troops suffered more than 40,000 casualties. The Confederates lost 28,000 men. However, unlike Grant, Lee had no replacement troops in reserve. As the siege of Petersburg wore on, Union strength grew in comparison to the Confederate defenders.

Lincoln Looks to the Future With the Confederate position truly desperate, southerners began to talk of peace. In February 1865, a party led by Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens met with Lincoln to discuss a feasible end to the war. However, these discussions produced no results. One reason for the failure was that the U.S. Congress, with Lincoln's support, had recently proposed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. If ratified, the amendment would outlaw slavery in the United States. The Confederate peace delegation was unwilling to accept a future without slavery. (The Thirteenth Amendment was ratified in December 1865.)

Despite the failure of the February meeting, Lincoln was confident of an eventual victory. He now began to turn his attention to the process of bringing the Confederate states back into the Union. This would be no easy task. Many northerners had a strong desire to punish the South harshly.

Lincoln had a different goal. While committed to the defeat of the Confederacy and an end to slavery, he believed that the Union should strike a more generous stance with the rebellious states. At the beginning of March, in his Second Inaugural Address, Lincoln declared his vision of a united and peaceful nation. "With malice toward none," Lincoln said, Americans should "do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace."

Lee Surrenders to Grant Several weeks later, the Confederates made a desperate attempt to break the siege of Petersburg. They failed. Recognizing that the situation was hopeless, Lee ordered a retreat from Petersburg on the night of April 2. Richmond, now defenseless, was evacuated and set aflame.

Lee's one hope was to join with Confederate forces in North Carolina. Setting out on the march, the men suffered from a lack of food and constant harassment by Union forces. Finally, Lee and his starving, exhausted soldiers were trapped at

the town of Appomattox Court House, Virginia. On April 9, Lee formally surrendered to Grant. The Union general refused to allow his troops to gloat. "The war is over," he said, "the rebels are our countrymen again."

Lee's surrender did not officially end the war. The South still had some 170,000 soldiers under arms, and it took until June for other Confederate generals scattered around the South to complete similar surrenders. In Texas, African Americans celebrated June 19, 1865, as "Juneteenth," the day the news of surrender reached the Southwest.

Lincoln Is Assassinated On April 14, just days after Lee's surrender, Lincoln decided to relax by attending a new comedy, Our American Cousin, at nearby Ford's Theatre. During the performance, actor and Confederate supporter John Wilkes Booth approached the President's private box. Booth fired a single shot into the back of Lincoln's head. Leaping to the stage, he was heard to call out "Sic semper tyrannis!" ("Thus ever to tyrants," the motto of Virginia) and "the South is avenged." Mortally wounded, Lincoln died the next morning.

Booth became the target of a massive manhunt. After several days, he was shot and killed while hiding in a barn in Virginia. Soon, it was discovered that Booth had been part of a plot to kill not only Lincoln, but also the Vice President and the Secretary of State.

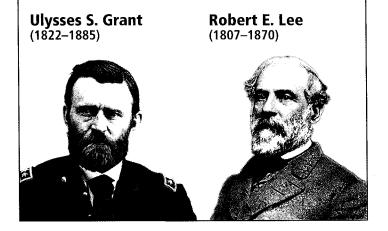
Vocabulary Builder feasible-(FEE zuh buhl) adj. possible; practical

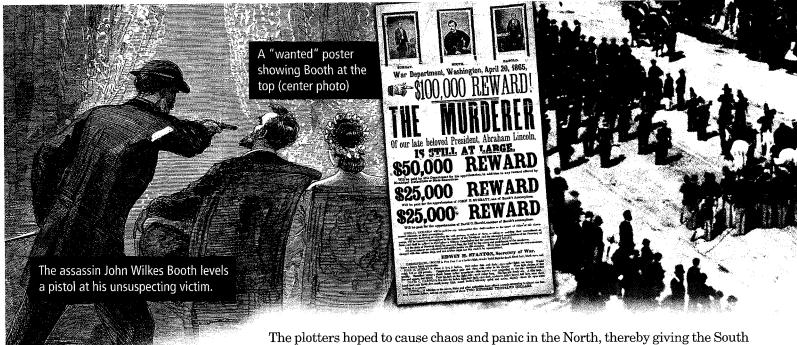
> ▼ Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox Court House



HISTORY MAKERS

In May and June 1864, Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia beat back Ulysses S. Grant's Army of the Potomac in several fierce battles between Washington and Richmond. After each fight, Grant sidestepped Lee to march closer to the southern capital. However, as the Union army moved, Lee followed and set up strong defensive positions, which forced Grant to attack. Neither general could maneuver to win a decisive victory. In a month's time, the two armies suffered nearly 70,000 combined casualties. By late summer, the bloody contest had settled into a siege at Petersburg, south of Richmond. In early April 1865, Lee abandoned the city and eventually surrendered to Grant.





The Death of a President

After Booth shot him, Lincoln was carried to a boardinghouse across the street from Ford's Theatre. There, doctors struggled to save his life but ultimately failed. When President Lincoln died, his Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, plainly stated, "Now he belongs to the ages." How do you think northerners reacted to Lincoln's assassination? How do you think southerners reacted?

time to regroup and continue the war. Although Secretary of State William Seward was attacked and seriously injured by one of Booth's accomplices, Booth was the only man to carry out his part of the plot. Four of his accomplices were later hanged as coconspirators.

Lincoln's tragic death had a deep political impact. His murder united his northern supporters and critics, who now saw him as both a hero and a symbol of freedom. Gone was the strong, skilled leader who had guided the nation through its greatest crisis. As you will read in the next chapter, his presence would be greatly missed in the difficult days ahead.



Checkpoint What event marked the end of the Confederacy's hopes in the Civil War?

Why the North Won

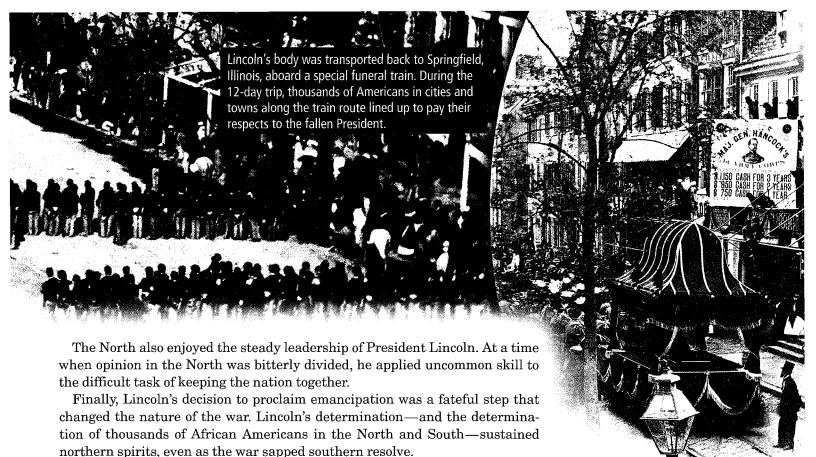
With hindsight, it is tempting to claim that the Union victory had been certain from the outset, but that is not the case. When the war began, the South had confidence, outstanding military leadership, and a strong determination to defend its land. By contrast, many northerners were far less committed to the fight.

But as northerners warmed to the conflict, they were able to marshal their greater technological prowess, larger population, and more abundant resources. Moreover, the Union was able to develop new advantages, particularly brilliant and fearless military leaders, such as Grant and Sherman, who were willing to do everything it took to win the war. Meanwhile, the South used up its resources, unable to call upon fresh troops and supplies. According to historian Richard Current, the Confederacy's inability to gain a European ally and northern military superiority sealed the South's fate:

Primary Source

⁶⁶[Ilt seems to have become inevitable once two dangers for the Union had been passed. One of these was the threat of interference from abroad. The other was the possibility of military disaster resulting from the enemy's superior skill or luck on the battlefield. . . . Both dangers appear to have been over by midsummer, 1863. . . . Thereafter, month by month, the resources of the North began increasingly to tell, in what became more and more a war of attrition.

- Richard N. Current, in Why the North Won the Civil War



Checkpoint What were some of the reasons the North prevailed in the Civil War?

The War's Lasting Impact

The United States had never experienced a war like the Civil War. Some individual battles produced casualties greater than the United States had previously sustained in entire wars. When the war was over, more than 600,000 Americans were dead. Hundreds of thousands more were maimed.

The Civil War ushered in the harsh reality of modern warfare. For the first time, ordinary citizens could see the carnage of the battlefield through the photographs of journalists such as Mathew Brady. His exhibition "The Dead at Antietam" provided graphic evidence of the terrible realities of war.

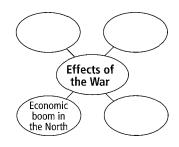
Effects on the Economy After the fighting ended, social and political disillusionment on both sides fed economic greed. The era following the war came to be labeled the Gilded Age—a term that suggested a superficial glitter and beauty covering up an underlying decay. Nevertheless, in the North, the industrial boom that was fueled by the war continued. In 1862, Congress passed both the Land Grant College Act and legislation authorizing a protective tariff. The Land Grant College Act gave money from the sale of public lands to states for the establishment of universities that taught "agriculture and mechanical arts." The tariff protected northern industry from foreign competition and raised much-needed revenue for the Union war effort. It also led to a surge in manufacturing that lasted far beyond the end of the war. After 1865, northern factories, banks, and cities underwent sweeping industrialization, helping the United States emerge as a global economic power.

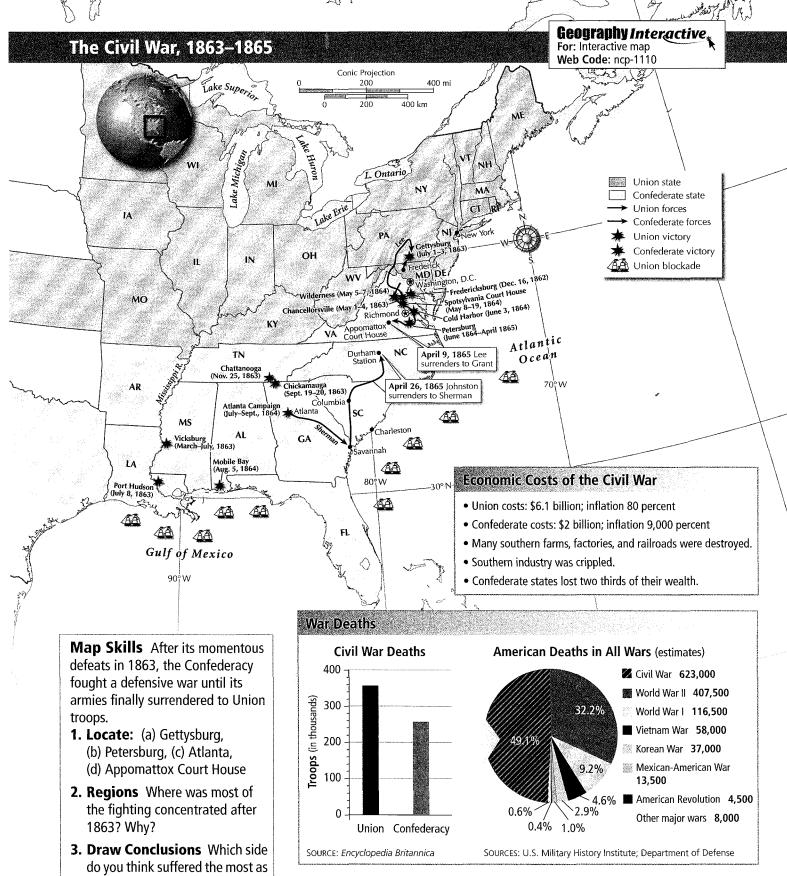
In contrast, rebuilding the South was slow and tortured. Southern cities, such as Richmond and Atlanta, lay in ruins, as did many of the region's factories and railroads. The South struggled to regain its economic footing after the war, often

Lincoln's funeral casket is displayed to mourners in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Understand **Effects** Use a concept web to identify the effects of the Civil War.





▲ The Costs of War

The death toll from the Civil War was staggering. More than half a million soldiers died—nearly as many were killed as in all other American wars combined. Additionally, more than 500,000 soldiers were wounded in the fighting. The material devastation of the war would plague the South for decades after its defeat.

a result of the Civil War? Why?

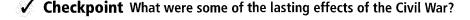
relying on northern investment and seeking ways to enter the modern cash economy. For many decades, agriculture would remain at the center of southern economy. Northerners, forgetting Sherman's destruction of southern assets, would often blame the slow recovery on southerners' own shortcomings.

Effects on Society As a result of the war, the southern landscape was in shambles. Many Confederate soldiers returned to find their homes and farms destroyed. Millions of dislocated white southerners drifted aimlessly about the South in late 1865. Defeat had shaken them to the very core of their beliefs. Some felt that they were suffering a divine punishment, with one southerner mourning, "Oh, our God! What sins we must have been guilty of that we should be so humiliated by Thee now!" Others, however, came to view the Civil War as a lost, but noble, cause. These white southerners kept the memory of the struggle alive and believed that, eventually, the South would be redeemed.

African Americans of the South were equally disoriented. But they also had a new sense of hope. Freedom promised them a new life with new opportunities, including a chance to own land and to control their own lives. Some headed west to take advantage of the Homestead Act. Black southerners eagerly joined the migration that would mark American society for many years. However, as Reconstruction began, most African Americans in the South found that freedom was a promise not fully delivered.

Effects on Government and Politics In many ways, the Civil War eased the history of disunity in American political life. While sectional differences remained strong, never again would such differences trigger threats of secession. Instead, over time, the economic, political, and social life of the nation's disparate regions would increasingly intertwine.

Debates over states' rights did not end with the Civil War. Still, the war helped cement federal authority. The government had fought a war to assert that individual states did not have the power to break the national bond forged by the Constitution. Increasingly, the federal government would come to play a larger role in Americans' lives. And more Americans would see themselves as citizens not just of a state but of a united nation.





Monument at Antietam National Battlefield

SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1111

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each of the following items, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Thirteenth Amendment
 - · John Wilkes Booth
 - Mathew Brady
 - Land Grant College Act
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What was the final outcome and impact of the Civil War?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Draft a News **Article** Outline the news article you would write about the surrender at Appomattox or the assassination of President Lincoln. Then, write the headline and the first two paragraphs.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Identify Alternatives What alternatives did the South face in February 1865? Do you think they made the right choice?
- **5. Predict Consequences** What was Lincoln's attitude toward the defeated South? How do you think his death might have affected plans for reuniting the country?
- 6. Draw Conclusions Why do you think a larger percentage of American troops died in the Civil War than in any other American war?

Quick Study Guide



Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1112

■ Comparing North and South

Union Advantages

Population 22 million 9 million Railroads 21,700 miles 9,000 miles **Factories** 20,600 CONFEDERACY

Confederate Advantages

Military Strategy: Did not need to attack or conquer the North; had only to avoid defeat in order to win the war

Leadership: Many United States Army officers sided with the South at the outbreak of the war (foremost among them was Robert E. Lee).

Morale: Most white southerners were willing to fight to protect their way of life.

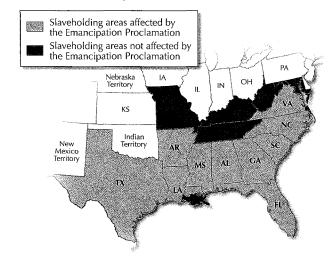
emancipates

Russian serfs

■ Key Battles of the Civil War

Union Victories	Confederate Victories
Glorieta Pass	Fort Sumter
• Shiloh	• First Bull Run (First Manassas)
New Orleans	Seven Days
Antietam	Second Bull Run (Second Manassas)
Perryville	Sabine Pass
Gettysburg	Fredericksburg
Vicksburg	Chancellorsville
Port Hudson	Chickamauga
Chattanooga	Wilderness
Atlanta	Spotsylvania Court House
Petersburg	Cold Harbor

■ Extent of the Emancipation Proclamation, 1863



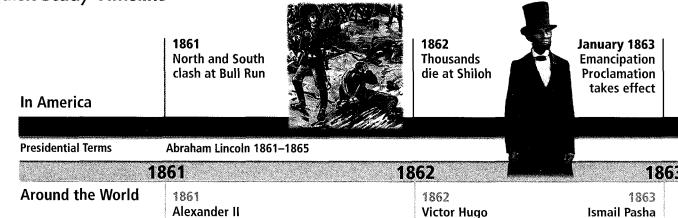
publishes

Les Misérables

comes to power

in Ottoman Egypt

Quick Study Timeline



American Issues •••• Connector



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code**: nch-1113).

Issues You Learned About

- Social Problems and Reforms Initially, the North engaged in the Civil War to prevent the breakup of the United States. Over time, however, the nature of the northern war effort changed to focus more on abolishing slavery.
- **1.** What was the practical effect of the Emancipation Proclamation? What was the emotional effect?
- **2.** What new right was extended to African Americans in the North around the time of the Emancipation Proclamation?
- **3.** Is it likely that the Thirteenth Amendment, ending slavery in the United States, would have passed in 1865 if the Civil War had not been taking place? Explain.
- **Women in American Society** As with previous conflicts and movements in American history, the Civil War encouraged women to assume new responsibilities.
- **4.** What new roles did women take on during the American Revolution?
- **5.** How did women contribute to the antislavery movement in the early nineteenth century?
- **6.** How did the Civil War create new opportunities for women on both sides?

- **Government's Role in the Economy** The federal government may pass new laws in response to the economic impact of a war.
- **7.** What measures did the federal government pass to increase war funds during the Civil War?
- **8.** What was the Homestead Act? How did the Civil War contribute to its passage?

Connect to Your World

New York

Women in American Society Like Clara Barton and other nurses, New Yorker Mary Edwards Walker cared for sick and wounded soldiers during the Civil War. However, Walker was one of very few women to work as a doctor during that time. At the start of the war, she volunteered her services as an unpaid assistant surgeon, becoming the first female surgeon in the U.S. Army. In 1865, she became the first woman to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor for her work during the war. In addition to working as a doctor, Walker was a lifelong advocate of women's rights. Study enrollment patterns for women attending medical school in the 1800s and today; then write an essay comparing opportunities for women in medicine today compared to the 1800s.

July 1863 Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg 1864 Sherman's March to the Sea; Lincoln reelected



1865
Lee surrenders
to Grant;
Lincoln
assassinated



Andrew Johnson 1865-1869

1864

1865

1865 Joseph Lister founds modern antiseptic surgery

History Interactive,

For: Interactive timeline Web Code: ncp-1114

Chinese government crushes Taiping Rebellion

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

- 1. Who was Ulysses S. Grant? Why was he important to the Union war effort?
- 2. What was the Battle of **Antietam**? What effect did it have on the North?
- **3.** Define **conscription**. Which members of society did conscription fall most heavily on? Why?
- **4.** Who were the **Copperheads**? Which people were most likely to be Copperheads, and why?
- 5. What were the siege of Vicksburg and the Battle of Gettysburg? What effects did they have on the progress of the war?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **What were the causes**, **key events**, **and effects of the Civil War?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 5 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. How did each side's resources and strategies affect the early battles of the war?

Section 2

7. How did the Emancipation Proclamation and the efforts of African American soldiers affect the course of the war?

Section 3

8. How did the Civil War bring temporary and lasting changes to American society?

Section 4

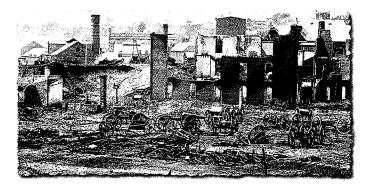
9. How did the Battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg change the course of the Civil War?

Section 5

10. What was the final outcome and impact of the Civil War?

Critical Thinking

- 11. Analyze Evidence Think about Robert E. Lee's reasons for turning down leadership of the Union forces and serving the South instead. What does this tell you about some of the difficulties the Civil War posed for all Americans?
- **12. Analyze Information** How did African American soldiers surpass the initial expectations the Union had about them?
- **13. Draw Conclusions** What is a possible explanation for Lincoln's refusal to obey the Supreme Court's ruling that only Congress had the right to suspend habeas corpus?
- **14. Analyze Photographs** Study the image below of Richmond, Virginia, in 1865. What does the photograph suggest about the needs of the postwar period?



- **15. Compare Points of View** How did Lincoln's ideas about the course the nation should take after the Civil War differ from those held by many northerners?
- **16. Make Comparisons** Which side experienced more losses in the Civil War, the North or the South? Explain why this was the case.

Writing About History

Write a News Article People on both sides during the Civil War followed the war's events through news reports printed in local newspapers. Imagine that you are a reporter during the Civil War. Decide whether you are reporting from one of the national capitals or are traveling with one of the armies. Choose an event and write an article for your newspaper.

Prewriting

- Gather information about an event that interests you. Make sure you will be able to answer the five Wquestions: Who? What? Where? When? Why?
- Consider your audience and remember that a news article is an objective account of events.
- Gather additional information about the event from other sources.

Drafting

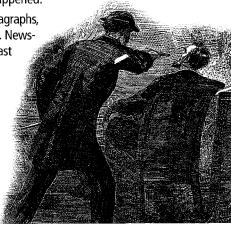
- Sort your information and write an outline of the article.
- Write the first paragraph, which should tell the most basic information about what happened.

 Write at least two more paragraphs, filling in further information. Newspaper articles include the least important information last.

 Write a headline that will help readers know what the article will be about.

Revisina

 Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your essay.



Regents DBQ Practice



Total War

Union General William Tecumseh Sherman implemented a strategy of total war during his "march to the sea" in 1864. The concept of total war called for expanding military targets to include civilian economic resources. Use your knowledge of the Civil War and Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4 to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document 1

"Sherman's Atlanta campaign in May to September 1864 won the Confederate prize that ensured Lincoln's reelection that year. Sherman ordered a civilian evacuation of Atlanta, burned everything of any military value, and in November headed out of the city on his famous 'march to the sea.' More than any other Civil War commander, Sherman grasped the brutal logic of total war. In such a war, civilian morale and economic resources are as much military targets as the enemy's armies. For Sherman, war unleashed the fury of hell, and he refused to sentimentalize the killing and pillaging required for victory."

--- William L. Barney, The Reader's Companion to American History

Document 2



"Citizens of Atlanta leaving the City in Compliance With General Sherman's Orders."

Document 3

"Many people on both sides believed that the war would be short—one or two battles and the cowardly Yankees or slovenly rebels would give up. . . . Responsible leaders on both sides did not share the popular faith in a short war. Yet even they could not foresee the kind of conflict this war would become—a total war, requiring total mobilization of men and resources, destroying these men and resources on a massive scale, and ending only with unconditional surrender. In the spring of 1861 most northern leaders thought in terms of a limited war. Their purpose was not to conquer the South but to suppress insurrection and win back the latent loyalty of the southern people. The faith in southern unionism lingered long."

—James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom

Document 4

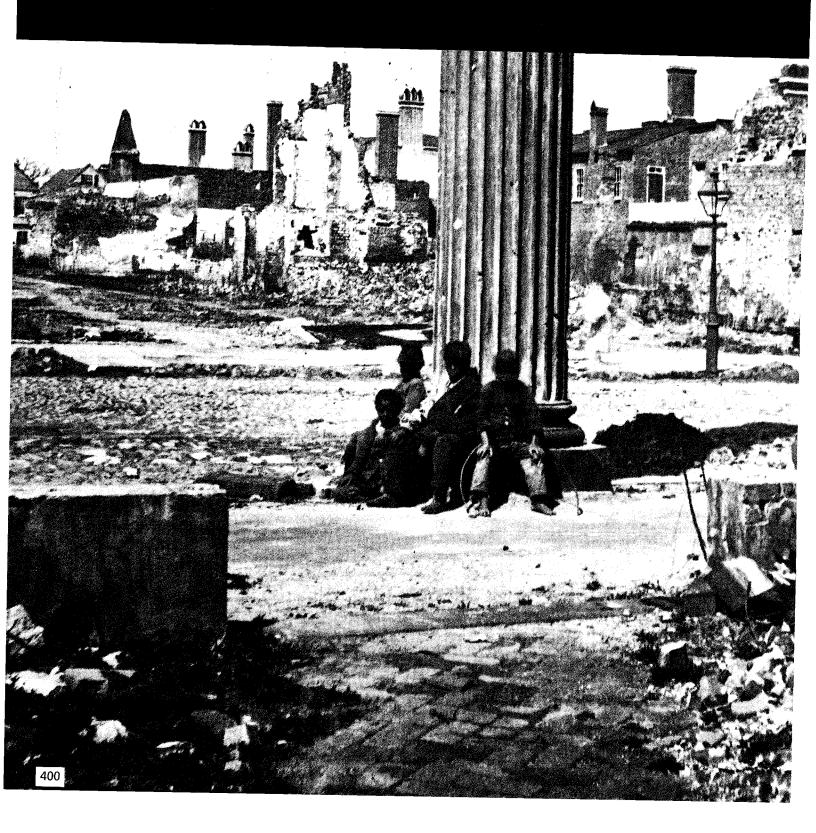
"William Tecumseh Sherman was considered one of the ablest generals in the Federal army, but he was a cruel one. . . . His celebrated march through Georgia put a stain upon his name that will cling to it as it is found upon the pages of history. . . . With his grand army of veterans, almost unopposed, he had overrun and desolated the fairest sections of the South, burning cities, towns, and country dwellings; had wantonly destroyed many millions of dollars worth of property, both public and private; had made thousands of women and children and aged men homeless and destitute by burning their homes and destroying their means of subsistence. And it was to glorify him for these deeds of barbarism that 'Marching through Georgia' was written, and it is for this that it is sung."

—*Milford Overley,* "What 'Marching "Through Georgia' Means

- 1. The authors of Documents 1 and 3 define total war as
 - (1) total mobilization of men and resources against both military and civilian targets.
 - (2) a diplomatic effort aimed at avoiding the outbreak of hostilities.
 - (3) a military effort devoted almost entirely against civilian targets.
 - **(4)** a policy for controlling the civilian populations of cities.
- **2.** Which of the documents focuses on southerners reacting to total war?
 - (1) Documents 1 and 2
 - (2) Documents 2 and 3
 - (3) Documents 2 and 4
 - (4) Documents 1 and 4

- **3.** According to Document 1, why might Sherman have refused to "sentimentalize" total war?
 - (1) He wanted to protect Confederate government property.
 - **(2)** He wanted captured Confederate soldiers to help rebuild war-torn areas.
 - (3) He wanted more troops and supplies from Washington.
 - **(4)** He wanted civilian suffering to speed the collapse of the Confederate war effort.
- 4. Writing Task What impact did the military strategy of total war have on the people of the South during the Civil War? Use your knowledge of the war and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.

The Reconstruction Era 1865–1877



WITNESS HISTORY (a) AUDIO



All Is Now Lost

At the end of the Civil War, much of the South was in ruins. As described below by a member of a southern plantation family, all southerners faced not only the reconstruction of their cities and homes, but the reconstruction of the South as a whole. Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about Reconstruction.

66Our losses have been frightful, and we have, now, scarcely a support. My Father had five plantations on the coast, and all the buildings were burnt, and the negroes . . . are roaming in a starving condition. Our farm near Charleston was abandoned. . . . All is now lost, and the negroes, left to themselves . . . seek a little food, about the city. Our Residence in the city, was sacked . . . and the house well riddled by shell & shot. Our handsome Residence in the country was burnt. The Enemy passed over all our property on the coast in their march from Savannah to Charleston, the whole country, down there, is now a howling wilderness. . . . [I]t will be many years, before this once productive

--- Edward Barnwell Heyward

■ Young African Americans sitting amid the rubble and ruins of Charleston, South Carolina



Core Curriculum Preview

Chapter Focus Question: What lasting consequences arose from the struggles over Reconstruction?

country will be able to support itself. 99

Section 1

Rival Plans for Reconstruction 3.1.A.1, 3.1.A.2, 3,I.C.3, 3.I.C.5

Section 2

Reconstruction in the South 3.1.C.1, 3.1.C.2a. 3.I.C.2b

Section 3

The End of Reconstruction 3.I.C.4, 3.I.D.1, 3.I.D.3

Use the **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



Ticket to **President** Johnson's impeachment trial

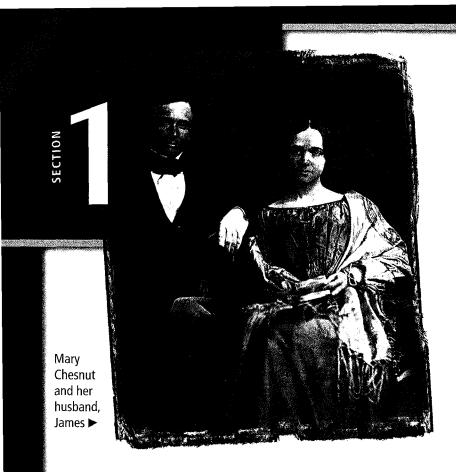
A carpetbag suitcase



Lithograph with portraits of African American politicians

Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector Web Code: nce-1201



WITNESS HISTORY (AUDIO



Nothing Left But the Bare Land

Mary Chesnut was the wife of a wealthy and respected South Carolina planter and politician. During the Civil War, her husband resigned from the United States Senate to fight for the Confederacy. Now, at war's end, the family was penniless. The world they had known was gone. Mary Chesnut described the devastation.

66 Mrs. Bartow drove me to our house at Mulberry. On one side of the house, every window was broken, every bell torn down, every piece of furniture destroyed, every door smashed in. . . . [The Yankee soldiers] carried off sacks of our books and our papers, our letters were strewed along the Charleston road. Potter's raid ruined us. He burned our mills and gins, and a hundred bales of cotton. Indeed nothing is left now but the bare land. 99

-Mary Boykin Chesnut, May 1865

Rival Plans for Reconstruction



Core Curriculum Objectives

- 3.I.A.1 Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction
- 3.I.A.2 Congressional Reconstruction
- **3.1.C.3** Struggle for political control in the New South
- **3.1.C.5** The emerging debate over "proper" role of African Americans

Terms and People

Reconstruction Radical Republican Wade-Davis Bill Freedmen's Bureau Andrew Johnson

black code Civil Rights Act of 1866 Fourteenth Amendment impeach Fifteenth Amendment

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Use a chart to record main ideas about Reconstruction.

Plans for Reconstruction			
Lincoln •	Johnson •	Congress	

Why It Matters Even before the end of the Civil War, Congress and the President disagreed over how the seceded states would rejoin the Union. When the war ended, bitterness between the North and South was compounded by a power struggle between the executive and legislative branches of government. The issues that arose and how they were dealt with would have consequences for generations to come. Section Focus Question: How did the Radical Republicans' plans for Reconstruction differ from Lincoln's and Johnson's?

The Issues of Reconstruction

When the Civil War ended, parts of the South lay in ruins—homes burned, businesses closed, many properties abandoned. African Americans, though emancipated, lacked full citizenship and the means to make a living. During the era of **Reconstruction** (1865–1877), the federal government struggled with how to return the eleven southern states to the Union, rebuild the South's ruined economy, and promote the rights of former slaves.

How Will Southern States Rejoin the Union? To many Americans, the most important issue was deciding the political fate of Confederate states. Should Confederate leaders be tried for treason. or should they be pardoned so that national healing could proceed as quickly as possible? And what should be the process by which southern representatives could reclaim their seats in Congress?

The Constitution provided no guidance on secession or readmission of states. It was not clear whether Congress or the President should take the lead in forming Reconstruction policy. Some argued that states should be allowed to rejoin the Union quickly with few conditions. But many claimed that the defeated states should first satisfy certain <u>stipulations</u>, such as swearing loyalty to the federal government and adopting state constitutions that guaranteed freedmen's rights.

How Will the Southern Economy Be Rebuilt? The Civil War devastated the South's economy. Between 1860 and 1870, the South's share of the nation's total wealth declined from more than 30 percent to 12 percent. The Union army had destroyed factories, plantations, and railroads. Nearly half of the region's livestock and farm machinery were gone. About one fourth of southern white men between the ages of 20 and 40 had died in the war. In addition, more than 3 million newly freed African Americans were now without homes or jobs. After the war, the land was the South's most valuable asset, and arguments raged over who should control it.

During Reconstruction, some people proposed using the land to benefit former slaves. General William Tecumseh Sherman proposed that millions of acres abandoned by planters, or confiscated by the federal government, should be given to former slaves. "Forty acres and a mule," he suggested, would be sufficient to support a family. Many northerners thought this might also be a way to restore the South's productivity, reconstruct its economy, and provide employment as well as income for many African Americans.

Not everyone agreed. Southern landowners rejected the idea that the government could simply give away their land. Many white northerners worried that confiscating property violated the Constitution. Even some southern African Americans felt that the government should pay white southerners for farmland, and then sell it to former slaves on easy terms.

What Rights Will African Americans Have? The Thirteenth Amendment freed African Americans from slavery, but it did not grant them the privileges of full citizenship. The former slaves hoped that they would gain voting rights and access to education, benefits that most northern black people also did not have. Most leaders of the Republican Party, which at the time dominated the federal government, supported programs to extend full citizenship to African Americans. However, most white southerners opposed the idea. They feared it would undermine their own power and status in society.

✓ Checkpoint What were three major issues of Reconstruction?

Lincoln Sets a Moderate Course

Even while the war was in progress, Union politicians had debated programs for repairing the nation's political structure and economy. For President Lincoln, one of the first major goals was to reunify the nation.

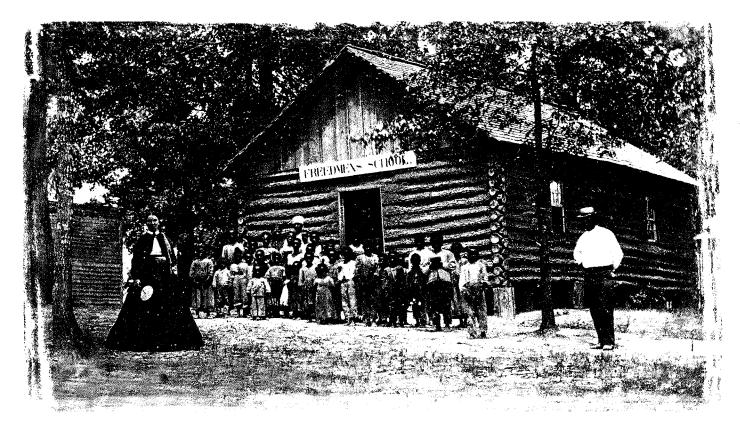
Ten Percent Plan Offers Leniency Throughout the war, Lincoln had felt some sympathy for the South and hoped that southern states might easily rejoin the Union after the war. To this end, in 1863 he issued a Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, known as the "Ten Percent Plan." According to its terms, as soon as ten percent of a state's voters took a loyalty oath to the Union, the state could set up a new government. If the state's constitution abolished slavery and provided education for African Americans, the state would regain representation in Congress.

Vocabulary Builder <u>stipulation</u>—(stihp yuh LAY shuhn) *n*. act of specifying a condition in an agreement

Destruction and Devastation

The destruction of the Richmond, Virginia, rail depot (below) and the many other stations and railroads during the Civil War contributed to the South's devastated economy during Reconstruction. Why would destroying a region's rail system affect the local economy?





Freedmen's Bureau

Freedmen's Bureau schools like this one brought new educational opportunities for African Americans. How old do the students at this school appear to be?

Vocabulary Builder compensate-(KAHM puhn sayt) v. to make up for

Lincoln was generous in other ways to white southerners. He was willing to grant pardons to former Confederates, and he considered compensating them for lost property. In addition, Lincoln did not require a guarantee of social or political equality for African Americans. He recognized pro-Union governments in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee even though they denied African Americans the right to vote.

Lincoln took the position that the Union was unbreakable and therefore the southern states had never really left the Union. In his Second Inaugural Address, delivered a month before the war ended, Lincoln promised forgiveness:

Primary Source With malice toward none, and charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. 77

-Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, March 1865

Radicals Oppose the Ten Percent Plan Members of Lincoln's own party opposed his plan. Led by Representative Thaddeus Stevens and Senator Charles Sumner, these "Radical Republicans" in Congress insisted that the Confederates had committed crimes—by enslaving African Americans and by entangling the nation in war.

The Radical Republicans advocated full citizenship, including the right to vote, for African Americans. They favored punishment and harsh terms for the South, and they supported Sherman's plan to confiscate Confederates' land and give farms to freedmen.

Rejecting Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan, Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill in 1864. It required that a majority of a state's prewar voters swear loyalty to the Union before the process of restoration could begin. The bill also demanded guarantees of African American equality. President Lincoln killed this plan with a "pocket veto" by withholding his signature beyond the 10-day deadline at the end of the congressional session.

Government Aids Freedmen One Radical Republican plan did receive the President's support. This was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, known as the Freedmen's Bureau. Created a few weeks before Lincoln's death, its goal was to provide food, clothing, healthcare, and education for both black and white refugees in the South.

The Freedmen's Bureau helped reunite families that had been separated by slavery and war. It negotiated fair labor contracts between former slaves and white landowners. By representing African Americans in the courts, the Bureau also established a precedent that black citizens had legal rights. The Freedmen's Bureau continued its efforts until 1872.



✓ **Checkpoint** How did Lincoln's goals differ from those of the Radical Republicans?

HISTORY MAKERS

in 1864.

Andrew Johnson (1808–1875) Despite a lack of formal schooling, Andrew Johnson became a skilled public speaker and entered Tennessee politics as a Democrat. When Tennessee seceded in 1861, Johnson was the only southern senator who refused to join the Confederacy. When the Union occupied Tennessee in 1862, Lincoln appointed him military governor. Hoping to attract Democratic voters, the Republican Party chose Johnson as Lincoln's Vice President

Johnson's Reconstruction Plan

Lincoln was assassinated in April 1865, just weeks after his second inaugural. Lincoln's death thrust his Vice President, Andrew Johnson, into the presidency.

Johnson Seeks to Restore the Union Like Lincoln, Johnson wanted to restore the political status of the southern states as quickly as possible. He offered pardons and the restoration of land to almost any Confederate who swore allegiance to the Union and the Constitution. His main requirement was that each state ratify the Thirteenth Amendment and draft a constitution that abolished slavery. However, Johnson resented wealthy planters and required that they and other Confederate leaders write to him personally to apply for a pardon.

Johnson's dislike of the planter class did not translate into a desire to elevate African Americans. Like many southerners, Johnson expected the United States to have a "government for white men." He did not want African Americans to have the vote. In fact, he had little sympathy for their plight. Johnson supported states' rights, which would allow the laws and customs of the state to outweigh federal regulations. States would, therefore, be able to limit the freedoms of former slaves.

By the time Congress reconvened in December 1865, most Confederate states had met Johnson's requirements for readmission. Radical and moderate Republicans were concerned about the lack of African American suffrage, but they remained hopeful that black political rights would soon follow.

Southerners Aim to Restore Old Ways That hope was soon dashed. Beginning with the state conventions required by Johnson, southern leaders proceeded to rebuild their prewar world. Many states specifically limited the vote to white men. Some states sent their Confederate officials to the United States Congress. All of the states instituted black codes—laws that sought to limit the rights of African Americans and keep them as landless workers.

The codes required African Americans to work in only a limited number of occupations, most often as servants or farm laborers. Some states prohibited African Americans from owning land, and all set up vagrancy laws. These laws stipulated that any black person who did not have a job could be arrested and sent to work as prison labor. Even though the South remained under Union military occupation, white southerners openly used violence and intimidation to enforce the black codes.

Congress Fights Back Both Radical and moderate Republicans were infuriated by the South's disregard of the spirit of Reconstruction. When the southern representatives arrived in Washington, D.C., Congress refused them their seats. Congress also created a committee to investigate the treatment of former slaves.

Through the spring of 1866, the political situation grew worse. While the Radicals claimed that federal intervention was needed to advance African American political and civil rights, President Johnson accused them of trying "to Africanize the southern half of our country." When Congress passed a bill to allow the Freedmen's Bureau to continue its work and provide it with authority to punish state officials who failed to extend civil rights to African Americans, Johnson vetoed it. Undaunted, Congress sought to overturn the black codes by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1866. This measure created federal guarantees of civil rights and superseded any state laws that limited them. But once again, Johnson used his veto power to block the law. Johnson was now openly defying Congress.

Checkpoint How did the southern states try to reestablish conditions before the war?

Congressional Reconstruction

As violence against African Americans in the South increased, moderate and Radical Republicans blamed the rising tide of lawlessness on Johnson's lenient policies. Congress then did something unprecedented. With the required two-thirds majority, for the first time ever, it passed major legislation over a President's veto. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 became law.

Decision O Point

Who Controls the Readmission of States?

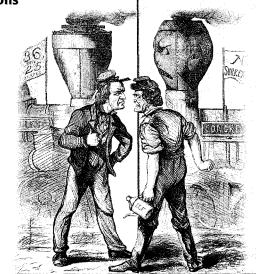
Although their main purpose was to reunite the nation, Reconstruction policies actually created new divisions between the President and Congress. A critically divisive issue was how the southern states should be readmitted into the Union.

Johnson Opposes Tight Restrictions

Primary Source

"As eleven States are not at this time represented in either branch of Congress, it would seem to be [the President's] duty on all proper occasions to present their just claims to Congress. . . . [I]f they are all excluded from Congress, if in a permanent statute they are declared not to be in full constitutional relations to the country, they may think they have cause to become a unit in feeling and sentiment against the Government."

—President Andrew Johnson, 1866



You Decide

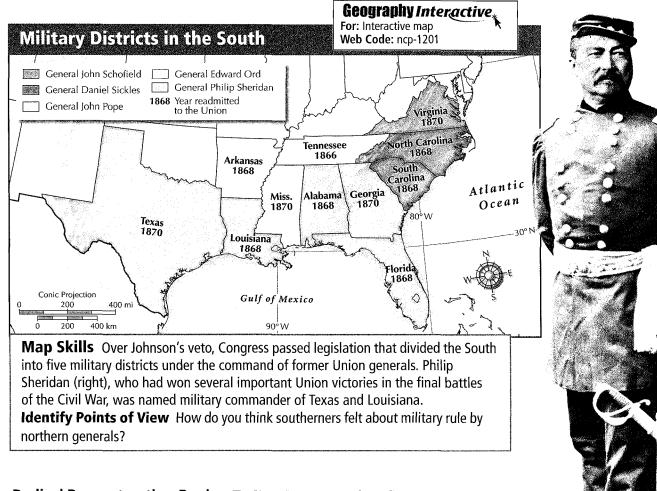
- 1. Why did Johnson favor immediate readmission?
- 2. Why did Stevens want tight restrictions?
- 3. What decision would you have made? Why?

Stevens Favors Tight Restrictions

Primary Source

edged belligerents . . . broke all the ties that bound them together. The future condition of the conquered power depends on the will of the conqueror. . . . Hence a law of Congress must be passed before any new State can be admitted. . . . Until then no member can be lawfully admitted into either House. . . . Then each House must judge whether the members . . . possess the requisite qualifications. **

—Thaddeus Stevens, 1865



Radical Reconstruction Begins Feeling their strength in Congress, a coalition of Radical and moderate Republicans spent nearly a year designing a sweeping Reconstruction program. To protect freedmen's rights from presidential vetoes, southern state legislatures, and federal court decisions, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It guaranteed equality under the law for all citizens. Under the amendment, any state that refused to allow black people to vote would risk losing the number of seats in the House of Representatives that were represented by its black population. The measure also counteracted the President's pardons by barring leading Confederate officials from holding federal or state offices.

Congress again passed legislation over Johnson's veto with the ratification of the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867. The act divided the 10 southern states that had yet to be readmitted into the Union into five military districts governed by former Union generals (see map above). The act also delineated how each state could create their new state government and receive congressional recognition. In each state, voters were to elect delegates to write a new constitution that guaranteed suffrage for African American men. Then, once the state ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, it could reenter the Union.

Congress Impeaches the President The power struggle between Congress and the President reached a crisis in 1867. To limit the President's power, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act. Under its terms, the President needed Senate approval to remove certain officials from office. When Johnson tried to fire Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, the last Radical Republican in his Cabinet, Stanton barricaded himself in his office for about two months.

Angrily, the House of Representatives voted to impeach Johnson, that is, to charge him with wrongdoing in office, for trying to fire Stanton. The trial in the

Checks and Balances

TRACK THE ISSUE

Does any branch of the federal government have too much power?

Our system of checks and balances is meant to prevent any branch of government from becoming too powerful. Yet at times the balance of power between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches has shifted. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1803 *Marbury v. Madison*John Marshall affirms Supreme Court's right of judicial review.

1830s Jackson Presidency Andrew Jackson increases executive power.

1868 Johnson ImpeachmentCongress tries to remove President
Andrew Johnson from office

1930s New DealFranklin D. Roosevelt boosts presidential power to fight the depression.

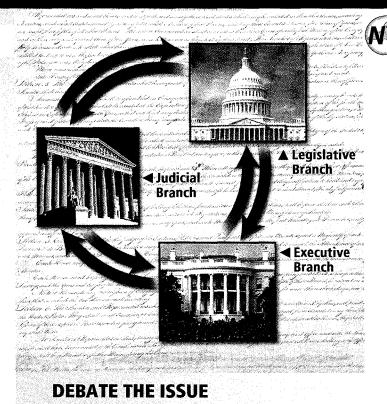
1960s Warren CourtSupreme Court under Earl Warren becomes a force for social reform.

1973 War Powers Act Congress limits the President's power to wage war.

2000s War on TerrorismCongress increases executive branch powers to combat terrorism.



▲ Ticket to Andrew Johnson's trial



Imbalance of Power? During the administration of President George W. Bush, much debate focused on the relative powers of the President

years there had been an erosion of presidential power. . . . I served in the Congress for 10 years. I've got enormous regard for the other body . . . but . . . the President of the United States needs to have his constitutional powers unimpaired, if you will, in terms of the conduct of national security policy. ??

and Congress.

—Vice President Richard Cheney, December 20, 2005 World War II era, power was relatively well-balanced . . . but major shifts, . . . have made Congress much weaker and the President dangerously stronger. . . . The Bush presidency has attained a level of power over Congress that undermines sound democratic governance. ??

—Walter Williams, Seattle Times, May 2004

Connect to Your World

- **1. Draw Conclusions** How did the administration of President Andrew Johnson reflect a similar power struggle?
- Debate Learn more about recent clashes between the President and Congress. Then, prepare an argument supporting either view above.
 Web Code: nch-1201

Senate lasted through the spring of 1868. In the end, the Radicals failed—by only one vote—to win the two-thirds majority necessary in the Senate to remove Johnson from office. Several moderate Republicans backed away from conviction. They felt that using impeachment to get rid of a President who disagreed with Congress would upset the balance of power in the government. During his impeachment trial, Johnson had promised to enforce the Reconstruction Acts. In his remaining time in office, he kept that promise.

The Fifteenth Amendment Extends **Suffrage** In 1868, the Republican candidate. Grant

Suffrage in 1868, the Republican candi-	voters a federal crime	
date, former Union general, Ulysses S.		
Grant was elected President. Although he		
won the electoral vote by a huge margin and had a significant lead in the popu-		
lar vote, his opponent, Horatio Seymour, a Democrat from New York, received a		
majority of the white vote. Republican leaders now had another reason for		
securing a constitutional amendment that would guarantee black suffrage		
throughout the nation.		

Legislation

(1865 - 1866)

(1868)

Freedmen's Bureau Acts

Civil Rights Act of 1866

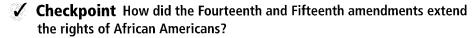
Reconstruction Act of 1867

Fifteenth Amendment (1870)

Enforcement Act of 1870

Fourteenth Amendment

In 1869, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment forbidding any state from denying suffrage on the grounds of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Unlike previous measures, this guarantee applied to northern states as well as southern states. Both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments were ratified by 1870, but both contained loopholes that left room for evasion. States could still impose voting restrictions based on literacy or property qualifications, which in effect would exclude most African Americans. Soon the southern states would do just that.



SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

Major Reconstruction Legislation, 1865–1870

Provisions

black codes

citizen's rights

of servitude"

freed slaves and war victims

Create a government agency to provide services to

Grants citizenship to African Americans and outlaws

Divides former Confederacy into military districts

Guarantees citizenship to African Americans and

prohibits states from passing laws to take away a

because of "race, color, or previous condition

Protects voting rights by making intimidation of

States that no citizen can be denied the right to vote

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1201

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance:
 - Reconstruction
 - Radical Republican
 - Wade-Davis Bill
 - Freedmen's Bureau
 - Andrew Johnson
 - black code
 - Civil Rights Act of 1866
 - Fourteenth Amendment
 - impeach
 - Fifteenth Amendment

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: **Identify Main Ideas** Use your chart to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the Radical Republicans' plans for Reconstruction differ from Lincoln's and Johnson's?

Writing About History

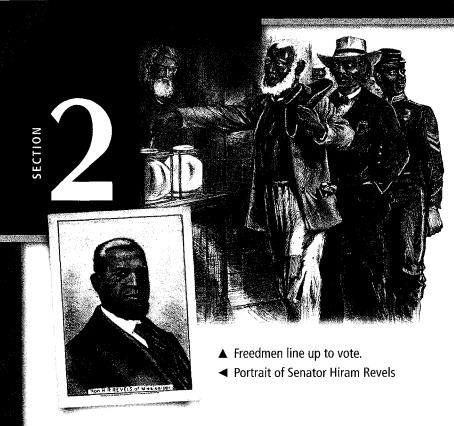
3. Quick Write: Identify Audience and Purpose Write a letter to your constituents about the passage of the Civil Rights Acts as if you were Thaddeus Stevens. Before you begin, consider your audience and the purpose of your letter—information, persuasion, or explanation.

Critical Thinking

4. Predict Consequences Why was Reconstruction of the South likely to be a difficult process?

Quick Study

- 5. Draw Conclusions Why do you think President Lincoln proposed generous terms for Reconstruction in 1863?
- 6. Analyze Information How did the Radical Republicans try to protect the rights of African Americans?



WITNESS HISTORY (***) AUDIO



An African American in the Senate

In 1861, Jefferson Davis left his seat in the U.S. Senate and became President of the Confederacy. In 1870, his unfinished term was resumed by Hiram Revels—an African American. A few months later, Senator Revels stood up to make his first speech. He answered those who charged that African Americans in the South were using their new political power to seek revenge on white southerners:

44 As the recognized representative of my downtrodden people, I deny the charge. . . . They bear toward their former masters no revengeful thoughts, no hatreds, no animosities. They aim not to elevate themselves by sacrificing one single interest of their white fellow-citizens. They ask but the rights which are theirs by God's universal law. . . . [to] enjoy the liberties of citizenship on the same footing with their white neighbors and friends. 77

> - Hiram Revels, speech in the U.S. Senate, March 16, 1870

Reconstruction in the South



Core Curriculum Objectives

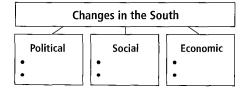
- 3.I.C.1 Agriculture: land and labor (sharecropping and tenant farming)
- **3.1.C.2a** Status of freedmen: Economic, political, social, and educational experiences
- 3.I.C.2b Status of freedmen: From exclusion to segregation

Terms and People

scalawag carpetbagger segregation integration sharecropping share-tenancy tenant farming Ku Klux Klan **Enforcement Acts**

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Use a chart like the one below to record details about changes in the South during Reconstruction.



Why It Matters Before the Civil War, a limited number of powerful men had controlled the South. In the wake of the war, a very basic question needed to be resolved. Who would gain power and how would they use it? How this question was answered at the time would have both immediate and lasting consequences. Section Focus Question: What were the immediate effects of Reconstruction?

Republican Governments Bring Change

By 1870, all of the former Confederate states had met the requirements under Radical Reconstruction and rejoined the Union. Republicans dominated their newly established state governments.

African Americans Use Political Power Almost 1,500 black men—some born free, some recently released from slaveryhelped usher the Republican Party into the South. These new black citizens served the South as school superintendents, sheriffs, mayors, coroners, police chiefs, and representatives in state legislatures. Six served as lieutenant governors. Two state legislatures in Mississippi and South Carolina—had black Speakers of the House. Between 1870 and 1877, two African American senators and fourteen African American congressmen served in the United States Congress.

Most importantly, millions of southern African American men were now voters. Since the Radical Republicans required a loyalty oath, many white southerners were not eligible to vote, or chose to stay

away from the constitutional conventions and from the elections that followed. Black men, however, quickly signed up to use their new right of suffrage. Thus, by 1868, many southern states had both African American elected officials and a strong Republican Party. Ironically, South Carolina—the state that had ignited the Civil War—became the one state where a black majority ruled the legislature, although only for a short time.

Scalawags and Carpetbaggers Take Part in Southern Politics The Republican Party attracted not only black southerners but also others who sought change and challenge. Scalawags, as southern white critics called them, were white men who had been locked out of pre-Civil War politics by their wealthier neighbors. The new Republican Party invited them in.

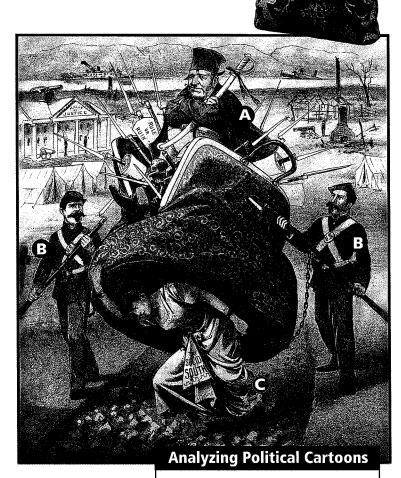
Scalawags found allies in northern white or black men who relocated to the South. These northerners came seeking to improve their economic or political situations, or to help make a better life for freedmen. Many southern white people resented what they felt was the invasion of opportunists, come to make their fortunes from the South's misfortune. Southerners labeled the newcomers "carpetbaggers," after the inexpensive carpet-cloth suitcases often carried by northerners.

For carpetbaggers, the opportunities in the new South were as abundant as those in the western frontier: new land to be bought, new careers to be shaped. The progress of Blanche K. Bruce presents an example. Born a slave in Virginia, Bruce learned to read from his owner's son. When the war began, Bruce left the plantation and moved to Missouri, where he ran a school for black children for a short time before moving on to Oberlin College in Ohio. In 1866,

Bruce—now 25 years old—went south to Mississippi, where he became a prosperous landowner and was elected to several local political positions. In 1874, in his mid-thirties, Bruce was elected to the United States Senate.

Bruce's story highlights several characteristics of the carpetbaggers. First, they were often young. Second, since only the wealthy minority of white southerners were literate, a northerner with even a basic education had a real advantage. Finally, for African Americans, the South was the only place to pursue a political career. Even though the Fifteenth Amendment established suffrage nationally, no black congressman was elected from the North until the twentieth century.

Successes and Failures Result On the other hand, the Republican Party did not support women's suffrage, arguing that they could not rally national support behind the essential goal of black suffrage if they tried to include women too. Even so, the Reconstruction South offered northern women—white and black—opportunities that they could not pursue at home. In medical facilities, orphanages, and other relief agencies, single women carved out new roles and envisioned new horizons. They also participated in



The Burden of Reconstruction This cartoon appeared in a northern newspaper in the 1870s.

- A President Grant
- Union soldiers
- the South
- 1. What do the weapons and soldiers in the cartoon represent?
- 2. What is the woman doing? Is her task easy or difficult?
- 3. What is this cartoonist's view of Reconstruction?

nevertheless-(nehv uhr thuh

Vocabulary Builder

LEHS) adv. in spite of

what was the most enduring development of the new South—the shaping of a public school system.

Mandated by Reconstruction state constitutions, public schools grew slowly, drawing in only about half of southern children by the end of the 1870s. Establishing a new school system was expensive. This was especially so since southerners opted for segregation, or separation of the races. Operating two school systems—one white, one black—severely strained the southern economy. A few of the most radical white Republicans suggested integration combining the schools—but the idea was with Republicans. unpopular mostNevertheless, the beginning of a taxsupported public school system was a major Reconstruction success.

Despite these successes, the South still faced many challenges. Many southerners remained illiterate. The quality of medical care, housing, and economic production lagged far behind the North and, in some cases, behind the newly settled West. Legal protection for African Americans was limited, and racial

violence remained a problem until well into the twentieth century.

A new reality was sweeping the country. Political offices, which were once an honor bestowed upon a community's successful business people, were becoming a route to wealth and power rather than a result of these attributes. However, conditions in the South were not unlike the rest of the country in that respect. Ambitious people everywhere were willing to bribe politicians in order to gain access to attractive loans or contracts.

> Some of the most attractive arenas for corruption involved the developing railroads. Republicans were the party of African American freedom, but they were also the party of aggressive economic development. Building railroads had two big advantages. First, the construction of tracks and rail cars created jobs. Second, the rail lines would provide the means to carry produce and industrial goods to expanded markets. Hence, in many states across the nation, legislatures gave public land or lent taxpayers' money to railroad speculators.

> In some cases, the speculators delivered on their promises and repaid the loans. But southern leaders, who had fewer resources and less financial expertise than their northern peers, found that a good number of their loans were stolen or mismanaged. Though northern white speculators defaulted, too, many Americans used these examples to argue that southern black politicians were dishonest or incompetent.

Checkpoint What new groups were active in politics under Republican governments?

Rebuilding the South

After the Civil War, the South faced the challenge of rebuilding. Some of its most important cities lay in ruins. What evidence of rebuilding can you see in this photograph?





Freed People Build New Communities

For newly freed African Americans, the importance of such issues as public corruption was matched by the importance of trying to work out new social institutions and economic relationships. Some freedmen deliberately moved away from the plantation, even if the owner had been a generous person. As one minister put it, "As long as the shadow of the great house falls across you, you ain't going to feel like no free man and no free woman."

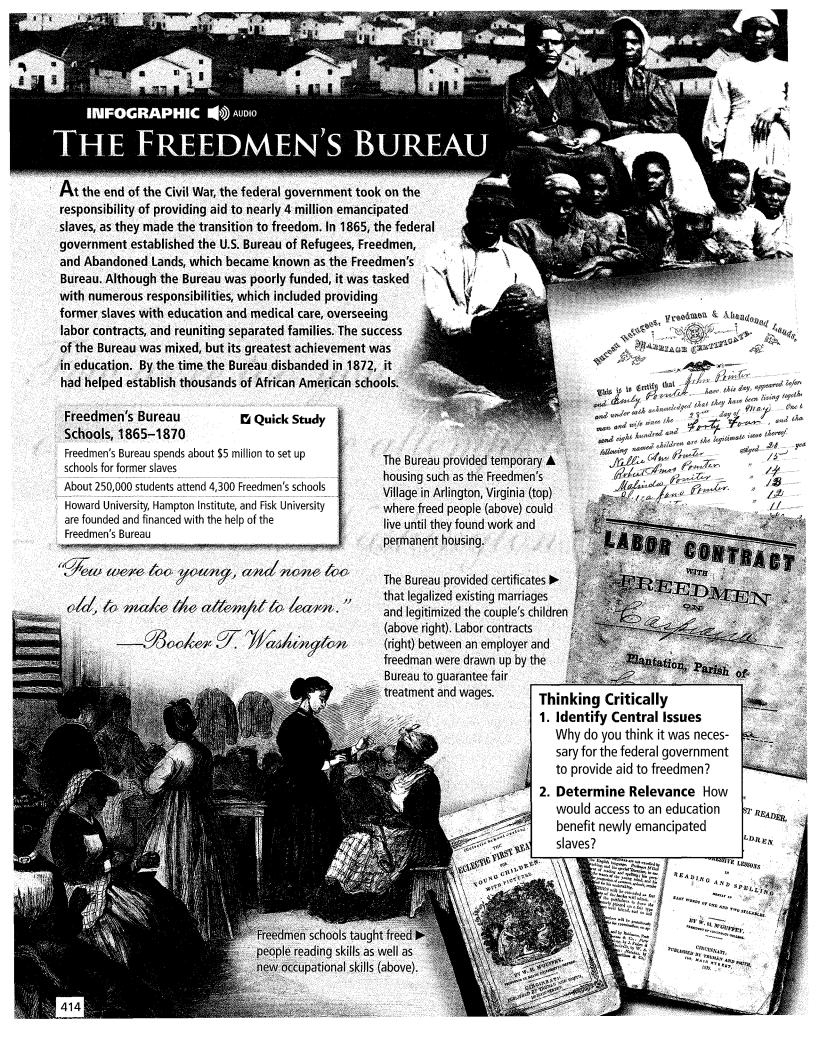
Work and Family For the first time, many African American men and women could legalize and celebrate their marriages, create homes for their families, and make choices about where they would reside (though these choices were restricted by black codes limiting what work they might do). Life presented new problems and opportunities.

Primary Source 66 I stayed on [the plantation] 'cause I didn't have no place to go. . . . Den I starts to feeling like I ain't treated right. So one night I just put that new dress in a bundle and set foot right down the big road, a-walking west!" -Mary Lindsey, age 19

Many African Americans headed for southern cities, where they could develop churches, schools, and other social institutions. They also hoped to find work. Skilled men might find work as carpenters, blacksmiths, cooks, or house servants; women took in laundry, or did child care or domestic work. However, most often, black workers had to settle for what they had had under slavery: substandard housing and poor food, in return for hard labor.

African American Farmers

Although some African Americans moved to southern cities after the Civil War, many remained in rural areas. How do you think the lives of these freed African Americans compared to their lives during slavery?



The majority of African American families remained in rural areas. There, they labored in such occupations as lumbering, railroad building, or farming land for landowners—white or black—who themselves were often poor.

Schools and Churches Freed people immediately realized the intrinsic value of learning to read and perform basic arithmetic. Only in this way could they vote wisely and protect themselves from being cheated. So the Freedmen's Bureau schools filled quickly. By 1866, there were as many as 150,000 African American students—adults and children—acquiring basic literacy. Three years later, that number had doubled. Tuition amounted to 10 percent of a laborer's wage, but attendance at Freedmen's schools represented a firm commitment to education.

In addition to establishing its own schools, the Freedmen's Bureau aided black colleges. It also encouraged the many northern churches and charitable organizations that sent teachers, books, and supplies to support independent schools. Mostly these schools taught the basics of reading, writing, and math, but they also taught life skills such as health and nutrition, or how to look for a job.

The black church was an important component of Reconstruction education. Under slavery, slave owners sometimes allowed their slaves to hold their own religious services. Now, with freedom, black churches were established throughout the South and often served as school sites, community centers, employment agencies, and political rallying points. By providing an arena for organizing, public speaking, and group planning, churches helped develop African American leaders. A considerable number of African American politicians began their careers as ministers.

✓ Checkpoint Why were schools and churches important to freed people?

Remaking the Southern Economy

Many of the South's problems resulted from the uneven distribution of land. As an agricultural region, the South's wealth was defined by landownership. Yet, in 1860, the wealthiest 5 percent of white southerners owned almost half the region's land. Relatively few people held the rest of the land. In fact, more than 90 percent of southern land was owned by only 50 percent of the people. This meant that even before the war, the South had a large number of white citizens with little or no land. After the war, the millions of landless southern white people were competing with millions of landless black people for work as farm laborers on the land of others.

The plan developed by General Sherman and the Radical Republicans to give or sell land to freed people did not provide a solution. Congress had no interest in Thaddeus Stevens's radical suggestion that large plantations be confiscated from once-wealthy planters and redistributed to freedmen. A few African American men, however, were able to gather together the means to buy land. By 1880, about 7 percent of the South's land was owned by African Americans.

Systems For Sharing the Land Even large land owners had no money to purchase supplies or pay workers. As a result, many southerners adopted one of three arrangements: sharecropping, share-tenancy, or tenant-farming.

The first two of these systems could be carried out without cash. Under the sharecropping system, which embraced most of the South's black and white poor, a landowner dictated the crop and provided the sharecropper with a place to live, as well as seeds and tools, in return for a "share" of the harvested crop. The landowner often bought these supplies on credit, at very high interest, from a supplier. The landlord passed on these costs to the sharecropper. Hence, sharecroppers

Vocabulary Builder intrinsic-(ihn TRIHN sihk) adj. basic; essential

were perpetually in debt to the landowner, and the landowner was always in debt to the supplier.

One problem with this system was that most landlords, remembering the huge profits from prewar cotton, chose to invest in this crop again. Dishonest land-owners could lie about the cost of supplies devaluing the sharecropper's harvest that now amounted to less than the season's expenses. Thus the sharecropper could never move, because he always owed the owner the labor for next year's crop.

Share-tenancy was much like sharecropping, except that the farmworker chose what crop he would plant and bought his own supplies. Then, he gave a share of the crop to the landowner. In this system, the farmworker had a bit more control over the cost of supplies. Therefore, he might be able to grow a variety of crops or use some of the land to grow food for his family. With these choices, it became more possible to save money.

Tenant Farmers The most independent arrangement for both farmer and landowner was a system known as **tenant farming**. In this case, the tenant paid cash rent to a landowner and then was free to choose and manage his own crop—and free to choose where he would live. This system was only viable for a farmer who had good money-management skills—and some good luck.

Checkpoint What arrangements allowed landless people to farm?

Violence Undermines Reform Efforts

The struggle to make a living in a region devastated by war led to fierce economic competition. Economic uncertainty in turn fueled the fire of white southerners' outrage. Already resentful of the Republican takeover of local politics and of occupation by federal troops, white southerners from all economic classes were united in their insistence that African Americans not have full citizenship.



The Sharecropping System

In theory, sharecropping provided an opportunity for poor, landless freedmen and white southerners to save money to purchase their own land. However, as the chart at right illustrates, sharecropping proved to be an endless cycle of debt and poverty that southern farmers could rarely escape. As agriculture was key to the southern economy, the sharecropping system remained a major source of labor until the 1940s when mechanized farming reduced the need for human laborers.

Why was the sharecropping

system considered an endless cycle for southern farmers?

Cotton was the primary crop of sharecroppers.

Sharecropping Cycle of Poverty

- 1 Landowner provides land, seed, and tools to sharecropper in exchange for a large share of the harvested crop.
- 5 Sharecropper must promise the landowner a larger share of the next year's crop and becomes trapped in a cycle of debt.
- 2 Sharecropper purchases supplies from landowner's store on credit, often at high interest rates.
- 4 Landowner sells the crop and takes the predetermined share. The sharecropper's portion of the crop is worth less than the amount owed to the landowner.
- 3 Sharecropper plants and harvests the crop.

The Ku Klux Klan Strikes Back The more progress African Americans made, the more hostile white southerners became as they tried to keep freedmen in a subservient role. During Reconstruction, dozens of loosely organized groups of white southerners emerged to terrorize African Americans. The best known of these was the Ku Klux Klan, formed in Tennessee in 1866. Klan members roamed the countryside, especially at night, burning homes, schools, and churches, and beating, maiming, or killing African Americans and their white allies. Dressed in white robes and hoods, mounted on horses with hooves thundering through the woods, these gangs aimed to scare freed people away from voting.

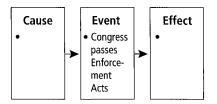
The Klan took special aim at the symbols of black freedom: African American teachers and schools, churches and ministers, politicians, and anyone—white or black—who encouraged black people to vote. Unfortunately, often their tactics succeeded. In many rural counties, African American voters were too intimidated to go out to the polls.

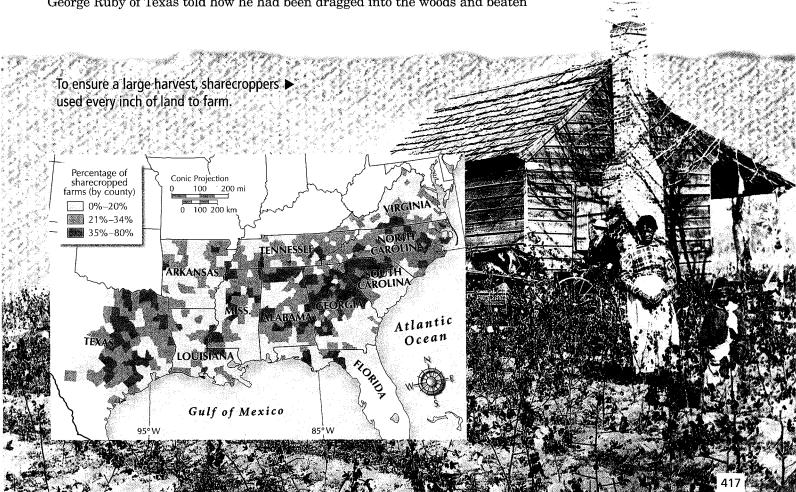
The Federal Government Responds Racial violence grew even more widespread, in the North as well as in the South, after the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed all American men the right to vote. In Arkansas, Republican legislators were murdered. In New Orleans, riots broke out. One freed woman from South Carolina reported that the Klan killed her husband, a sharecropper on the land of one Mr. Jones. The widow explained that Klan members were incensed because Mr. Jones had had "poor white folks on the land, and he [evicted them], and put all these blacks on the premises."

The United States Congress took action, passing **Enforcement Acts** (also known as Ku Klux Klan Acts) in 1870 and 1871. The acts made it a federal offense to interfere with a citizen's right to vote. Congress also held hearings inviting black politicians and other observers to describe the situation in the South. George Ruby of Texas told how he had been dragged into the woods and beaten

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Cause and Effect Use a chart like the one below to summarize the causes and effects of the Enforcement Acts.







Klan Spreads Terror

Ku Klux Klan members dressed in costumes to hide their identities. They used terror tactics to intimidate African Americans and their supporters, such as leaving miniature coffins as warnings.

because he had opened a school in Louisiana. Emanuel Fortune, one of Florida's political organizers, reported that his "life was in danger at all times" because he was "a leading man in politics."

Racial violence at the polls was not limited to the South. In the 1870 election in Philadelphia, a company of marines was sent in to protect African American voters. When no such protection was supplied for the 1871 elections, an African American teacher, Octavius Catto, was killed in antiblack political riots. At a protest meeting that followed, one African American Philadelphian spoke out:

Primary Source66 The Ku Klux of the South are not by any means the lower classes of society. The same may be said of the Ku Klux of the North. . . . Let no man think that we ask for people's pity or commiseration. What we do ask is fairness and equal opportunities in the battle of life. **

-Isaiah Wears, 1871

Congress used the Ku Klux Klan Acts to indict hundreds of Klansmen throughout the South. After 1872, on account of the federal government's readiness to use legal action, there was a decline in violence against Republicans and African Americans. The hatred may have been contained, but it was far from extinguished. Smoldering beneath the surface, it would flare up in the coming decades.

✓ Checkpoint How did the federal government react to racial violence?

2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1202

Comprehension

- **1. Terms and People** For each of the following terms, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - scalawag
 - carpetbagger
 - segregation
 - integration
 - sharecropping
 - share-tenancy
 - tenant farming
 - Ku Klux Klan
 - Enforcement Acts

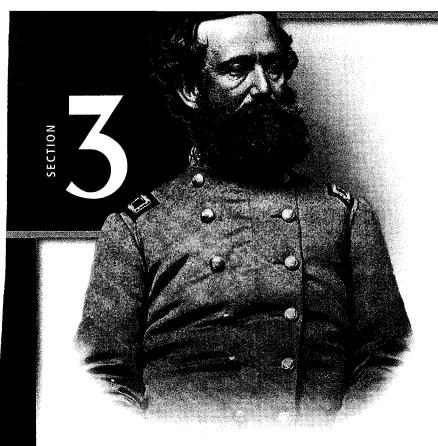
2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Use your chart to answer the Section Focus Question: What were the immediate effects of Reconstruction?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Write a Complaint
Letter Write to your supplier after a
poor harvest as if you were a southern
landowner during Reconstruction.
Explain why you will have a problem
paying for the supplies you bought at
the beginning of the season.

Critical Thinking

- **4. Analyze Information** How did Republican governments provide new opportunities in the South?
- **5. Make Generalizations** How did social and economic life change for freed people?
- **6. Summarize** Why did racial violence increase after 1870? How did the federal government respond?



▲ Wade Hampton

WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO



A Stormy Election

Wade Hampton was an old southern aristocrat from a long line of cotton planters and had been a Confederate general during the Civil War. In short, he was exactly the sort of man that Radical Republicans did not want to see in power.

In 1876, Hampton ran for governor of South Carolina. Across the state, huge crowds cheered his fiery speeches denouncing the carpetbaggers and scalawags who controlled the state government. Hampton won the election by a wide margin. But Radical Republicans charged fraud and refused to leave office. For four months, while federal troops barred Hampton from the statehouse, South Carolina had two separate governments. Not until the troops were withdrawn did Hampton take full possession of his office. The stormy election proved to be one of the last stands for Radical Republicans in the South.

The End of Reconstruction



Core Curriculum Objectives

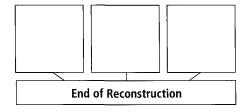
- 3.1.C.4 Supreme Court interpretations of the 13th and 14th amendments
- 3.I.D.1 End of Reconstruction: Disputed election of 1876
- **3.I.D.3** Abridgment of rights of freed African **Americans**

Terms and People

Redeemer Rutherford B. Hayes Compromise of 1877

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Use a chart like the one below to record main ideas about the factors that led to the end of Reconstruction.

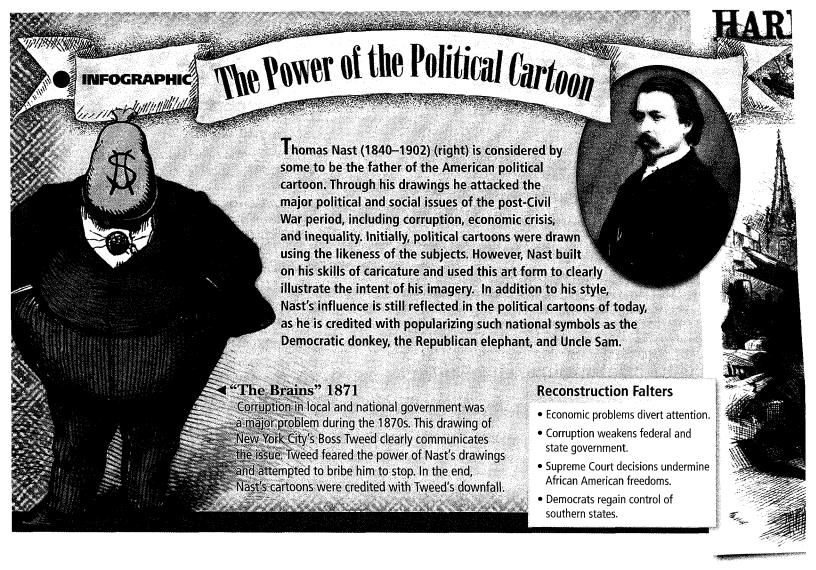


Why It Matters In the end, most northerners came to realize what southerners already knew. The rebuilding of the politics, economy, and society of the South would not be easy, nor would it happen quickly. As reformers lost their resolve, old prejudices took new shapes. It would take generations of striving before some issues were resolved. Section Focus Question: How and why did Reconstruction end?

The Nation Considers Other Matters

By 1872, the nation had been focusing its energies on regional strife for almost two decades. Meanwhile, other social, political, and economic issues cried out for attention. European immigration had swelled the population in the North and West. Corruption and intrigue had become part of city politics. As new technologies spurred the growth of industry and provided new opportunities for huge profits, they also provided opportunities for major corruption.

Corruption Plagues Grant's Administration Ulysses S. Grant was a popular war hero but a disappointing President. Allied with the Radical Republicans, he promised to take a strong stand against southern resistance to Reconstruction. But Grant's ability to lead was marred by scandal. He gave high-level advisory posts to untrustworthy friends and acquaintances who used their positions



to line their own pockets. His own Vice President, Schuyler Colfax, was investigated and implicated in a scheme to steal profits from the Union Pacific Railroad. A plan by railroad developer and financier Jay Gould to corner the gold market actually included President Grant's brother-in-law.

When Grant ran for reelection in 1872, some reform-minded Republicans withdrew their support and teamed up with some Democrats to create the Liberal Republican Party. The Liberal Republicans advocated civil service reform, removal of the army from the South, and an end to corruption in southern and national governments. Grant easily defeated their presidential candidate, the *New York Tribune* editor, Horace Greeley.

Not long after the election, however, Americans sensed the aura of greed surrounding American politics. When scandal swirled around the members of his administration including his private secretary, the Secretary of War, and members of Congress, Grant seemed to look the other way. Even though he had stated, "Let no guilty man escape," he seemed to lack the will to root out this corruption. Confidence in public officials plummeted.

Across the nation, local scandals came to light. Many city officials sold lucrative public construction contracts to their friends or diverted money from city accounts. The most notorious of these scandals involved a band of New York City Democratic politicians led by state senator William "Boss" Tweed. The "Tweed Ring," as it came to be known, plundered millions of dollars from the city's treasury. By 1873, when Tweed was convicted and sentenced to prison, the public's confidence in its leaders was at a low ebb.



"Worse Than Slavery" 1874 ▶

Nast was an advocate of black civil rights and drew many cartoons addressing the issue. Here he attacks the intolerable treatment of Africar Americans by Southern white supremacist groups.

"Out of the Ruins" 1873

At the end of Reconstruction, the nation's economy was very unstable. Eventually, the many financial and industrial bankruptcies led to the Panic of 1873. In this cartoon, Nast illustrates the nation's financial crisis while alluding to a hopeful future.



Thinking Critically

- 1. Draw Conclusions Why do you think a cartoon such as "The Brains" would inspire fear in a political figure?
- 2. Make Comparisons How are the Nast cartoons similar to the political cartoons of today? How are they different?

History Interactive.

For: To learn more about political cartoons Web Code: ncp-1204

Economic Panic Leads to Depression The public's discontent was worsened by economic turmoil and uncertainty. In the fall of 1873, one of the nation's most influential banks failed, apparently as a result of overextended loans to the expanding railroad industry. Suddenly, the southern economy was not the only one in trouble.

Across the nation, bank failures, job losses, and the uncertain economy added to the array of concerns that preoccupied northerners. The stamina necessary to keep pressure on the South waned.

Checkpoint Why did the public lose confidence in government?

Why Did Reconstruction End?

The end of Reconstruction did not come suddenly. However, ever since the Radical Republicans failed to convict President Johnson, their power and crusading zeal had faded.

Northern Support Evaporates As the 1860s ended, voters and politicians outside the South increasingly turned their attention to other pressing issues reforming politics and the economy, among other things. Also, the continued cost of military operations in the South worried many. Gradually and quietly, beginning in 1871, troops were withdrawn from the South. In 1872, the Freedmen's Bureau was dissolved.

Vocabulary Builder

transition-(tran ZIHSH uhn) n.process of moving from one stage to another

Vocabulary Builder

scope-(skohp) n. range covered by a subject

African Americans in Congress

The montage below shows the Mississippi delegates to the 44th U.S. Congress. Blanche K. Bruce (second row, right) was the first African American to serve a full term as a U.S. senator. After Bruce, no African American was elected to the U.S. Senate until the 90th Congress almost 100 years later.

The death of Radical Republican leader Charles Sumner in 1874 also symbolized an important transition. A generation of white reformers, forged by abolitionist fervor and anxious to carry that passion into the national politics of Reconstruction, had passed away. Without such leaders to temper it, northern racial prejudice reemerged.

Supreme Court Decisions Impede Equality The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments guaranteed African Americans' rights. Yet it was left to the courts to interpret how these new amendments would be applied.

In a series of landmark cases, the Supreme Court chipped away at African American freedoms in the 1870s. In what became known as the Slaughterhouse Cases (1873), the Court restricted the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment. It concluded that though a citizen had certain national rights, the federal government would have no control over how a state chose to define rights for the citizens who resided there. Three years later, the Supreme Court heard the case of United States v. Cruikshank. This case involved a white mob in Louisiana who had killed a large group of African Americans at a political rally. The Court ruled that the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment protected citizens only from the action of the state and not from the action of other citizens.

Southern Whites Gain Power While the Klan intimidated with violence and the courts with legal interpretation, some southern Democrats devised a more subtle strategy for suppressing black rights. They put together a coalition to return the South to the rule of white men. To appeal to small farmers, they emphasized how Republican programs like schools and road-building resulted in higher taxes. They compromised with local Republicans by agreeing to African American suffrage. In return, southern Republicans joined their

Democratic neighbors in ostracizing white southerners who supported the Radical Republicans. Playing on the national sensitivity to corruption, the new coalition seized every opportunity to discredit black politicians as being both self-serving and incompetent. These Democrats and Republicans agreed that racial segregation should be the rule of the new South.

The main focus of their strategy was compromise: finding common issues that would unite white southerners around the goal of regaining power in Congress. These compromisers have become known as Redeemers, politicians who aimed to repair or "redeem" the South in the eyes of Congress. Sometimes their strategy is described as being designed to "redeem" or reclaim the South from northern domination. In either case, their plan brought some success. By 1870, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee had reinstated wealthy white southern men as governors, and had sent Confederate leaders back to the United States Congress. Other Confederate states soon followed their lead. In the congressional elections of 1874, the Republicans lost their control over the House of Representatives.



Can the Federal Government Enforce Protection of Rights?



After the Civil War, the Fourteenth Amendment declared that African Americans were citizens of the United States. Both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments protected them from discrimination. But how were those rights to be enforced? Did they apply only to the federal government or also to the states?

Cruikshank claimed

that his conviction

was unconstitutional

because his actions

did not come under

the authority of

federal law.

United States v. Cruikshank (1875)

William J. Cruikshank belonged to a
group that wanted to reestablish white
government in Louisiana.

- In Colfax, Louisiana, a clash between this group and some African Americans resulted in the deaths of 100 blacks.
- Cruikshank was convicted of trying to take away the civil rights of African Americans.

The Issue The Decision

The Court overturned Cruikshank's conviction saying that the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to individuals but only to the actions of states, and that the charges did not specify that he intended to deprive African Americans of their rights.

▼ Gathering the wounded following the Colfax massacre.

Why It Matters

The Facts

Cruikshank, along with several other Supreme Court rulings in the 1870s, severely limited the impact of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Although Congress passed several civil rights laws giving the federal government the power to enforce the protections of these amendments, the Court stripped away the authority of those laws.

Not long after *Cruikshank*, army troops were withdrawn from the South, and the federal government abandoned its efforts to protect African Americans. In the aftermath, white southerners used unfair laws and violence to limit African Americans' right to vote and to take away other rights as well. Not until the middle of the twentieth century did federal courts begin to strike down these laws as unconstitutional.



Connect to Your World

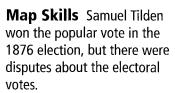
Later Court decisions upheld the federal government's authority on the civil rights protections provided by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. For that reason, employers cannot turn down jobseekers, schools cannot deny admissions, and restaurants cannot refuse to serve people because of their race or religion. Write an essay explaining how significant the Fourteenth Amendment is to American society today.

For: Supreme Court cases Web Code: nce-1202



Today, through the Fourteenth Amendment, the federal government ensures equal protection of all citizens, which includes equal access to education.

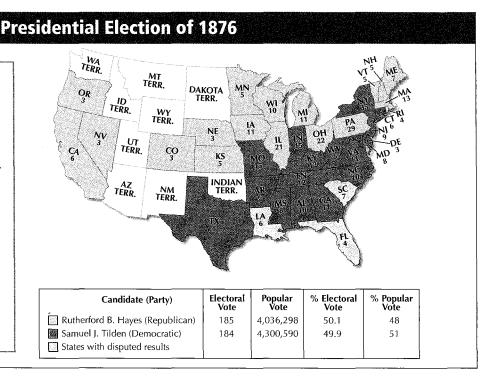




- 1. Location: In which southern states were election results disputed?
- 2. Draw Inferences Based on the map, do you think the Civil War brought an end to sectionalism?

Geography Interactive,

For: Interactive map Web Code: ncp-1202



Reconstruction Officially Ends With the Radical Republicans' loss of power, the stage was set to end northern domination of the South. The 1876 election pitted Ohio Republican Rutherford B. Hayes against New York Democrat Samuel Tilden. Hayes, a respected Union general, had served in the House of Representatives in 1866. He had resigned to become governor of Ohio, where he developed a reputation for honesty and reform-mindedness. Tilden had been active in fighting corruption in New York City. Both candidates, then, held appeal for voters who were tired of corrupt leadership.

Tilden received 51 percent of the popular vote and carried all of the southern states. However, Republicans claimed that the votes had been miscounted in three southern states, which happened to be states where Republicans controlled the reporting of ballots. Not surprisingly, in the recount, the Republicans found enough mistakes to swing the election to Hayes by one electoral vote.

When southern Democrats protested the results of this vote, Congress was charged with mediating the crisis. It created a commission of five senators (chosen by the Republican-dominated Senate), five representatives (chosen by the Democratic House of Representatives), and five Supreme Court Justices.

In what became known as the **Compromise of 1877**, Hayes was elected President. In return, the remaining federal troops were withdrawn from the South, a southerner was appointed to a powerful cabinet position, and southern states were guaranteed federal subsidies to build railroads and improve their ports.

Federal Reconstruction was over. The South and the millions of recently freed African Americans were left to negotiate their own fate.

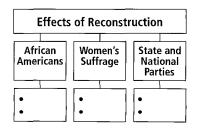
Checkpoint How did southern Redeemers gain power?

Evaluating Reconstruction's Effects

Was Reconstruction a "success" or a "failure"? There have been many different answers from southerners and northerners, black and white, then and now. All agree, however, that some things were forever changed when the victorious North tried to remake the vanquished South.

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Create a chart with information about the effects of Reconstruction.



Among the enduring changes to the South were the introduction of a taxsupported school system and an infusion of federal money to modernize railroads and ports. In addition, the economy expanded from one crop—cotton—to a range of agricultural and industrial products. There was a gradual transition to a wage economy from a barter-and-credit system. But some historians say that these changes might have happened anyway, since southern planters were concerned about their debt-ridden society even before the war.

Reconstruction failed to heal the bitterness between North and South or to provide lasting protection for freed people. However, it did raise African Americans' expectations of their right to citizenship, and it placed before Americans the meaning and value of the right to vote.

Effects on African Americans Before the Civil War, no African American in the South, and only a small number in the North, had the right to vote. Few black southerners owned land. Most worked others' land, without pay, and without hope of improving their lot.

Reconstruction changed these things. By 1877, a few southern black Americans owned their own farms. That number would grow slowly through the next decades. Before the Civil War, most southern African Americans workedinvoluntarily—in agriculture. Reconstruction began to give them choices. Perhaps most importantly, the Freedmen's Bureau helped reunite freed slaves with their families and promoted literacy within African American communities.

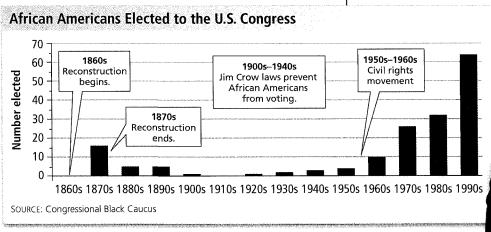
Though it fell short of its ambitious goals, Reconstruction opened new vistas for black Americans, North and South. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments provided hope for full inclusion in American society, though it would take later generations to use them to gain racial equality.

Effects on Women's Suffrage Movement One of the ironies of Reconstruction is that it gave the vote to black American men, while fragmenting the women's movement that had often been supportive of black freedom. In the debate over the Fifteenth Amendment, there was disagreement about whether it should also include a clause giving women the right to vote. Some felt the Fifteenth Amendment could not get ratified if it included women's suffrage. Those who agreed with this position formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) in 1869.

HISTORY MAKERS

Robert Smalls (1839–1915)

Born into slavery, Robert Smalls lived in Charleston, South Carolina, before the Civil War. During the war, he stole a Confederate boat full of military supplies and steamed it to a Union ship anchored in the harbor. The navy hired him as a pilot. After distinguished service in a battle, he became the first African American to command a navy ship. After the war, Smalls entered South Carolina's new state government and then was elected five times to the U.S. House of Representatives, a major post-Reconstruction achievement (see graph below). In the 1890s, he fought, unsuccessfully, against the movement in South Carolina to take away African Americans' civil rights.





Was Reconstruction "Radical"?

After the Civil War, Congress passed a series of increasingly radical measures designed to rebuild the South. The effectiveness of these measures was hotly debated at the time, and the debate has continued into the present day. How radical was Reconstruction?

Northern Newspaper, 1865

Radical Republicans advocated harsh treatment for the South.

Primary Source

**There is one, and only one, sure and safe policy for the immediate future: namely: the North must remain the absolute Dictator of the Republic until the spirit of the North shall become the spirit of the whole country. . . . The South is still unpurged of her treason. Prostrate in the dust she is no less a traitor at this hour than when her head was erect. . . . They cannot be trusted with authority over their former slaves. . . . The only hope for the South is to give the ballot to the Negro and in denying it to the rebels."

—The Independent, May 5, 1865

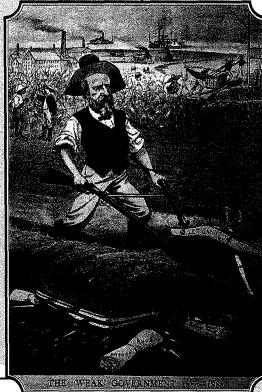
HISTORIAN FRANCIS SIMKINS

Reconstruction neglected the economic needs of the former slaves.

Secondary Source

44 truly radical program would have called for the confiscation of land for the freedmen. Land was the principal form of Southern wealth, the only effective weapon with which the ex-slaves could have battled for economic competence and social equality. . . . The dominant Radicalism of the day naively assumed that a people's salvation could be obtained through the ballot and the spelling book. . . . ??

-Francis Simkins, 1939



SOUTH CAROLINA SENATOR BENJAMIN TILLMAN

White southerners opposed northern domination and their ideas of equality.

Primary Source

44You had set us an impossible task. You had handcuffed us and thrown away the key, and you propped your carpetbag negro government with bayonets. . . . I want the country to get the full view of the Southern side of this question and the justification for anything we did. We were sorry we had the necessity forced upon us, but we could not help it, and as white men we are not sorry for it. . . . We did not disfranchise the negroes until 1895. . . . [W]e had a constitutional convention . . . with the purpose of disfranchising as many of them as we could. . . . We of the South have never recognized the right of the negro to govern white men, and we never will."

-Senator Benjamin Tillman, 1900

HISTORIAN **ERIC FONER**

Reconstruction set into motion the ongoing effort to address inequality.

Secondary Source

66Over a century ago . . . Americans made their first attempt to live up to the noble professions of their political creed. . . . The effort produced a sweeping redefinition of the nation's public life and a violent reaction that ultimately destroyed much, but by no means all, of what had been accomplished. From the enforcement of the rights of citizens to the stubborn problem of economic and racial justice, the issues central to Reconstruction are as old as the American republic, and as contemporary as the inequalities that still afflict our society today."

-Eric Foner, 2002

Compare

- 1. How do the opinions of Tillman and *The Independent* differ on northern control of the South?
- 2. What were the failures of Reconstruction according to Simkins and Foner?

Others, like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, believed that women and African Americans should get the vote immediately. They formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). This group scored its first victory in 1869, when the Wyoming Territory became the first political unit to extend the vote to women. Both the NWSA and the AWSA included some black women. However, a further division occurred when a group of black women split off to form the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise association in 1880.

The Effects on State and National Politics American politics were irrevocably shaped by the Civil War and Reconstruction. The Republican Party, born out of the controversy over slavery, continued

to be seen by many as "the party of Lincoln, that freed the slaves." White southerners therefore shunned it, while African Americans—in both the North and South—embraced it. Consequently, the Democratic Party came to dominate the white South.

Following Reconstruction, the national Republicans became the party of big business—a reputation that continues to the present. The national Democratic Party, which identified with industrial laborers, differed from the southern Democrats and had to maintain a delicate balance with the southern faction on this issue as well as on the question of race.

The Effects on State and Federal Power What political unit has more power—the federal government or the individual states? In cases of disputes of public policy, which branch of the federal government has the last word? These questions have perplexed American lawmakers since the Constitution's creation. During Reconstruction, they acquired deeper meaning as the federal government asserted its authority not only over southern states but over state laws in other regions as well.

In the end, American voters and their representatives in government opted for a balance of power, at the expense of protecting freed people in the South. With the demise of the Radical Republicans, most congressmen concluded that it was better to let the South attend to its own affairs than to leave a whole region under the control of federal military power and federal political control. That choice would have far-reaching social, political, and economic implications.

✓ Checkpoint What were the positive effects of Reconstruction?

SECTION Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1203

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its role in bringing Reconstruction to an end.
 - Redeemer
 - Rutherford B. Hayes
 - Compromise of 1877
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: **Identify Main Ideas** Use your chart to answer the Section Focus Ouestion: How and why did Reconstruction end?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Write an E-mail Historians who specialize in Reconstruction disagree about the main reason that Reconstruction ended. Write an email as if you were a historian expressing your point of view to a colleague. Identify the subject line you would use, and summarize the main point you would make. Use complete sentences and remember to follow proper e-mail etiquette.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Identify Central Issues What factors contributed to the refocusing of the nation away from the problems of the South?
- 5. Recognize Cause and Effect Why did the goals of the Republican Party change during the 1870s?
- 6. Identify Point of View From the perspective of an African American in the South, how was Reconstruction a success and how was it a failure?

Effects of Reconstruction

· Union is restored.

- African Americans gain citizenship and voting rights.

Quick Study

- South's economy and infrastructure are improved.
- Southern states establish public school system.
- Ku Klux Klan and other groups terrorize African Americans.
- Sharecropping system takes hold in the South.

Quick Study Guide



Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nca-1204

Congressional Reconstruction

Cause and Effect

Causes

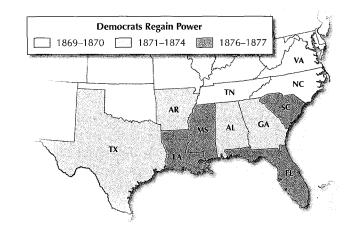
- · Southern governments pass black codes.
- Violence against African Americans in the South increases.
- Southerners disregard spirit of Reconstruction.
- Johnson defies Congress and vetoes key bills.

Congressional Reconstruction

Effects

- Congress overrides president's veto.
- South put under military rule.
- Congress passes 15th Amendment.
- House impeaches Johnson.
- Republicans control southern state governments.

Democrats Regain Control



Successes and Failures of Reconstruction

Successes	Failures
The Union is restored. Southern economic rebuilding begins. African Americans are granted citizenship and voting rights. Freedmen's Bureau helps African Americans get education, housing, and jobs. Public school system develops in the South.	 Distribution of wealth and power in the South remains unchanged. Many southerners are caught
	in a cycle of poverty. • Southern governments limit African American voting.
	Racism continues in the North and South.
	Many southerners remain bitter toward the federal government and Republican Party.

Quick Study Timeline

1863 Lincoln issues **Proclamation of** Amnesty and Reconstruction

1865 Freedmen's Bureau created

1866 Ku Klux Klan forms in Tennessee

1867 South placed under military rule



In America

Presidential Terms Abraham Lincoln 1861-1865

Andrew Johnson 1865-1869

1864

1865

1867 Russia sells Alaska to the United States

1868 Japan's Meiji Restoration

American Issues •••• Connector



By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study guide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code:** nch-1202).

Issues You Learned About

- **Checks and Balances** The Constitution gives each of the three branches of government the ability to check the powers of the other branches.
- Think about the political clashes and events that surrounded Congressional Reconstruction. Then, write a paragraph that describes how the system of checks and balances worked to shape the Reconstruction era. Consider:
 - the Fourteenth Amendment
 - presidential vetoes
 - the Tenure of Office Act
 - President Johnson's impeachment trial
- Expanding and Protecting Civil Rights During Reconstruction, new legislation guaranteed African American civil rights.
- **2.** Prior to the Civil War, how were the rights of free African Americans in the South restricted?
- **3.** After the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, southern states responded by passing "black codes." How did these codes affect African Americans' experience of freedom?
- **4.** Why did Republicans in Congress believe that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 was an insufficient response to the "black codes" and work for passage of the Fourteenth Amendment?

- Federal Power and States' Rights In some cases, the federal government passes laws that are contrary to the laws a state would make.
- **5.** What is the meaning of the term *states' rights*? Why was this an important issue prior to the Civil War? How was this an important issue during Reconstruction?
- **6.** In the 1870s, the Supreme Court issued several rulings that allowed states the opportunity to undermine federal laws. What were these cases, and how did they limit federal power?

Connect to Your World

New York

Sectionalism and National Politics Just as it was nationally, the Reconstruction era in New York was a time of sectional division, often coinciding with conflict between the two main political parties. Just after the war, Republicans in control of the state government tried to gain more power over Democrat-controlled New York City. In 1865, the legislature passed a law that reformed New York City's fire department, placing it under state, not local, control. In 1866, another law created a state-controlled Metropolitan Board of Health. Eventually, the balance of power swung back to the Democrats, who gave control of both new bodies to the city. Research the relationship between the parties on the national and state level and write an essay summarizing the conflicts.

History Interactive,

For: Interactive timeline Web Code: ncp-1203

1870
Fifteenth
Amendment
gives African
Americans the
right to vote



1876 Supreme Court rules in *Cruikshank* case 1877 Reconstruction ends

Ulysses S. Grant 1869-1877

Rutherford B. Hayes 1877-1881

1871

1869 Suez Canal opens 1871 Germany is unified 1874

1873 Slave markets abolished in Zanzibar 1877

1876 Diaz gains power in Mexico

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

- Who were the Radical Republicans? Identify two specific policies that they supported.
- 2. What was the **Wade-Davis Bill**? How did it differ from Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction?
- **3.** Define **scalawag**. Which groups of people in the South welcomed scalawags, and which groups disliked them?
- **4.** Define **segregation** and **integration**. Which policy was generally supported in the post—Civil War South?
- **5.** Who were the **Redeemers**? What strategy did they follow, and how successful were they?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **What lasting consequences arose from the struggles over Reconstruction?**Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 3 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. How did the Radical Republicans' plans for Reconstruction differ from Lincoln's and Johnson's?

Section 2

7. What were the immediate effects of Reconstruction?

Section 3

8. How and why did Reconstruction end?

Critical Thinking

9. Recognize Bias Think about the different policies that Johnson supported for Reconstruction. Which of his policies represent the beliefs of a typical white southerner? How did these beliefs shape his policies?

- 10. Draw Conclusions Why did most African American voters support the Republican Party? What is a likely explanation for the fact that southern African Americans were elected to Congress during Reconstruction but no northern African Americans were elected to Congress until 1928?
- 11. Distinguish False From Accurate Images Study the drawing of a carpet-bagger at right. Does this drawing present a faithful representation? Which elements seem accurate and which seem biased?
- 12. Determine Relevance Analyze the role that the Freedmen's Bureau played in the lives of newly freed African Americans.



13. Make Comparisons

Explain the differences between the three farming arrangements in the South after the Civil War. Which system was best for the farmer?

- **14. Make Generalizations** How did many white southerners react to the new status of African Americans in society?
- **15. Predict Consequences** How do you think passage of the Fifteenth Amendment would affect the future women's suffrage movement?
- **16. Analyze Information** Historians disagree about whether Reconstruction was a success or a failure. Explain what you think were Reconstruction's greatest success and greatest failure using examples and details from the text.

Writing About History

Writing a Letter Reconstruction was a period of enormous change in the South. It was an era of physical rebuilding, of great economic changes, and of adjusting social relationships. Choose one aspect of Reconstruction in the South, and, as if you have been commissioned by Congress to visit the region and investigate, write a letter reporting your observations.

Prewriting

- Choose an aspect of Reconstruction that interests you, and gather information from the text and other sources about it.
- Consider your audience and what they will be interested in reading.
- Gather additional information that you might have observed had you actually traveled to the South during Reconstruction.

Drafting

- Members of Congress are very busy, so plan to include a summary of your observations in the first paragraph or two of your letter.
- Make an outline to organize your ideas.
- Write the introductory summary and then write the rest of the letter including more details.
- Use the structure of a formal letter.

Revising

 Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your letter.



Regents DBQ Practice



The Freedmen's Bureau

Congress created the Freedmen's Bureau to help freed slaves in the South. What impact did the Bureau have on education? How did white southerners react to the work of the Freedmen's Bureau? Use your knowledge of the Freedmen's Bureau and Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4 to answer questions 1 through 4.

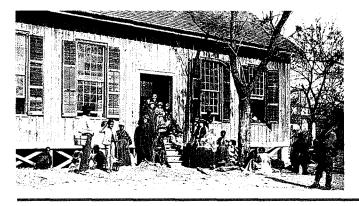
Document 1

"I am just returned from a tour through my district, and in reply to your note . . . have to say that at this place there are 366 colored children under 14 of which perhaps 200 might be gathered into a school. . . . The colored people here are anxious that a school may be established, and I heartily second their desire. Winchester also presents a favorable field for efforts in their behalf. There are 372 under 14, and a colored church that will accommodate about half of the pupils. . . . At Harpers Ferry I found a school of 40 pupils established by Miss Mann . . . and taught by her for four months under every discouragement illustrating heroic charity. She is about to accept a situation elsewhere, and was exceedingly anxious that the school should be continued. . . . I promised that the school should continue."

-W. Storer How, August 31, 1865

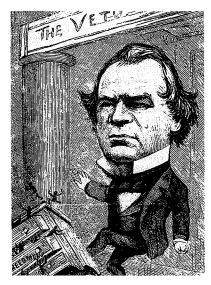
Document 2

Freedmen's Bureau school of Edisto Island, South Carolina



Document 3

Cartoon depicting President Johnson's veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill.



Document 4

"We have pronounced ourselves distinctly in favor of the education of the Freedmen. . . . It is the interest of the whites and blacks alike that education should be generally diffused, and it will prepare both classes for the better performance of their duties. Therefore, let the people of the South, even the true, and, in fact, we think, only real friends of the negro move in the matter wisely and upon system. If the negro is to possess civil rights, and those are already accorded him, a certain amount of education will be indispensable. . . . The following . . . remarks show very clearly what difficulties are in the way of the system which has been established by those who are ignorant of the nature and character of the blacks. The Southern people must take the matter in their own hands."

-J.D.B. DeBrow, Debow's Review, July 1866

- 1. Which documents present a constructive view of the Freedmen's Bureau's efforts?
 - (1) Documents 2 and 3
 - (2) Documents 1 and 4
 - (3) Documents 1 and 2
 - (4) Documents 3 and 4
- 2. In Document 4, what is the author's view of educating freed slaves?
 - (1) The job should be given to the Freedmen's Bureau.
 - (2) Northern teachers should be trained for the job.
 - (3) The job should be given to educated blacks.
 - **(4)** Southerners who understand freed slaves should educate them.

- **3.** Which document presents the conflict between President Johnson and Congress over the Freedmen's Bureau?
 - (1) Document 1
 - (2) Document 2
 - (3) Document 3
 - (4) Document 4
- 4. Writing Task How did the Freedmen's Bureau provide education for African Americans after the Civil War? Did everyone support its efforts to help freed slaves? Use your knowledge of the chapter content and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.

