

2

Manifest Destiny, Civil War, and Reconstruction

1800–1877



WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A House Divided

In 1858, thousands of people from all over Illinois traveled for miles just to stand in the hot sun and listen to two candidates for the Senate talk.

Stephen Douglas, known as the Little Giant, had a commanding presence and voice. Abraham Lincoln was tall and gangly and spoke in a hesitant manner. For three hours at a stretch, these longtime rivals debated the most troubling issue of the day: slavery.

Douglas proclaimed that each state should decide the issue for itself. But Lincoln said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free."

Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about Abraham Lincoln.

- ◀ Abraham Lincoln addresses the crowd at one of his debates with Stephen Douglas.

Chapter Preview

Chapter Focus Question: What challenges did the United States face as a result of expansion, regional differences, and slavery?

Section 1

Reform and Westward Expansion

Section 2


The Union in Crisis

Section 3

The Civil War

Section 4

The Reconstruction Era

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



Antislavery newspaper



Mining tools from California Gold Rush

Civil War caps from South (left) and North



Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector
Web Code: nee-6251



▲ Andrew Jackson, known as the “People’s President”

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A “Mob” at the White House

Washington, D.C., March 4, 1829. Andrew Jackson, a popular war hero from the Tennessee frontier, had been sworn in as President. The aristocratic Margaret Bayard Smith was horrified to see the White House overrun by what she called “a rabble, a mob”:

“Cut glass and china to the amount of several thousand dollars had been broken in the struggle to get the refreshments. . . . Ladies fainted, men were seen with bloody noses and such a scene of confusion took place as is impossible to describe. . . . But it was the People’s day, and the People’s President and the People would rule.”

—Margaret Bayard Smith, *The First Forty Years of Washington Society*

Reform and Westward Expansion

Objectives

- Analyze growing democratization, as well as limits on democracy, in the early 1800s.
- Discuss the importance of the Second Great Awakening and the rise of various reform movements.
- Explain how the nation expanded westward.

Terms and People

Andrew Jackson
Second Great Awakening
civil disobedience
abolitionist

Missouri Compromise
Frederick Douglass
Underground Railroad
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Susan B. Anthony
Manifest Destiny

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas As you read, outline the main ideas.

- | |
|--|
| <p>I. Democracy and the Age of Jackson</p> <p>A. More Americans can vote</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Suffrage grows in West 2. |
|--|

Why It Matters The Constitution established the framework for a democratic government based on principles of liberty and justice. In the mid-1800s, as the nation expanded westward, some Americans also called for an expansion of democratic rights. Today, issues raised by reformers in such areas as women’s rights continue to stir debate. **Section Focus Question:** What trends in democratization and reform were taking shape in the United States by 1850?

Democracy and the Age of Jackson

In the first years of the Republic, political power was concentrated. Congressional caucuses nominated presidential candidates, and state legislatures chose the electors who cast votes for President. In general, only adult white men who owned property and paid taxes could vote.

More Americans Can Vote A major political shift began on the western frontier, where suffrage laws gave the vote to any white man over 21. Gradually, most eastern states also ended property requirements. Voting remained restricted—free African American men could vote in only a handful of northern states, women and Native Americans could not vote at all. Still, by 1828, more white men could vote than ever before.

Jackson Becomes President This new generation of voters made **Andrew Jackson** the overwhelming winner of the presidential election of 1828. Seen as a representative of the “common man,” Jackson had a background quite different from earlier Presidents.

Born to poor Irish immigrant parents, he had little early education. He had made a name for himself as a military hero in the War of 1812. By the time he became President, he had acquired wealth and a plantation, but he never lost his appeal to ordinary voters.

Although the Jackson era saw increased rights for some, Jackson's policies restricted the rights of Native Americans. He supported Georgia's efforts to reverse earlier treaties that had guaranteed lands to the Cherokees. When the Supreme Court upheld the Cherokees' rights, Jackson refused to enforce the decision. Instead, he ordered the relocation of Indians across the Mississippi to the West. Beginning in 1831, tens of thousands of Indians were compelled to leave their homes in Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama and march to what is now Oklahoma. The forced march of the Cherokees from Georgia in 1838 caused so much suffering and death that it became known as the Trail of Tears.

Tariffs Threaten National Unity Another issue during Jackson's presidency highlighted a growing conflict between state and federal power. The federal government had imposed high **tariffs**, or taxes on imported products. These tariffs protected northern manufacturers by raising the prices of foreign-made goods. But southerners resented paying higher prices for imports. John Calhoun of South Carolina argued that the tariff gave too much authority to the federal government—and that states had the right to nullify, or cancel, any federal law that went against their interests.

When South Carolina passed a law nullifying a federal tariff, Jackson responded strongly to the Nullification Crisis. He asked Congress for the authority to use federal troops if necessary. Congress eased tensions by lowering the tariff. Though the immediate crisis passed, southern distrust of federal authority continued to fester.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did tariffs lead to a conflict between federal and state authority?

Religion and Social Reform

Even while strife divided diverse groups, many American men and women supported religious, political, or social experiments to create a better society. Reformers came from many backgrounds and all regions of the country.

Religious Revival Sweeps the Nation Starting in the 1820s, a religious movement swept across America that became known as the **Second Great Awakening**. Marked by outdoor camp meetings that might last as long as a week, this movement attracted thousands of religious converts. The Second Great Awakening encouraged the belief that people could and should work to achieve a state of moral perfection. The Second Great Awakening helped bring religious fervor to social reform.

The Second Great Awakening fueled the rapid growth of several Christian denominations, especially the Baptists and Methodists. Other denominations also expanded during this period, including the African

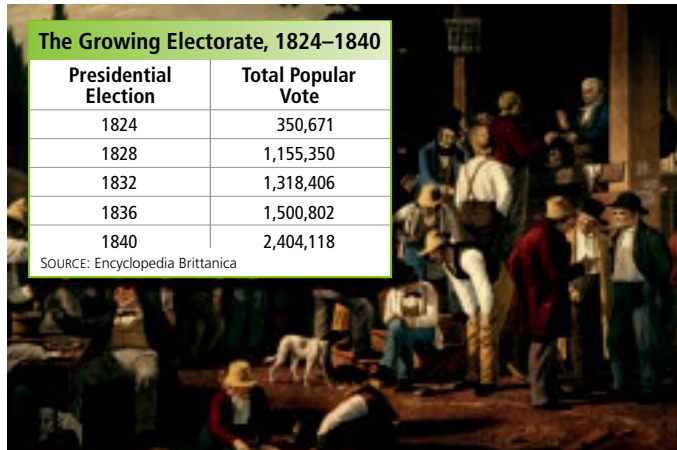
Vocabulary Builder
compel—(kuhm PEHL) *v.* to force

The Growing Electorate

Before 1824, presidential election results did not even include a popular vote count. By 1840, the number of voters had skyrocketed. *Which Americans were not represented on the table below?*

Presidential Election	Total Popular Vote
1824	350,671
1828	1,155,350
1832	1,318,406
1836	1,500,802
1840	2,404,118

SOURCE: Encyclopedia Britannica




Methodist Episcopal Church. One of the most dramatic developments was the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Mormon Church, in 1830.

Religious Conflicts Surface From the earliest days of the Republic, Americans debated the relationship between church and government. While some favored what Thomas Jefferson called a “wall of separation” between church and state, others felt that the government should encourage public morality by supporting religion. In the 1830s, reformers known as Sabbatarians urged the federal government to officially observe Sunday, the Christian day of rest and worship. While the post office did end Sunday mail delivery, Congress rejected petitions to ban commerce on Sundays.

Members of minority religious groups, such as Roman Catholics and Jews, often faced discrimination. Most state constitutions forbade non-Christians from holding public office. Anti-Catholic rioting broke out in Philadelphia and Boston. In Illinois, Mormon leader Joseph Smith was murdered by an angry mob. As you will read, the murder of Smith spurred the Mormons to seek a safe haven in Utah.

Reformers Work to Improve Society The link between religious zeal and social reform was especially clear in the temperance movement, which worked to end alcohol abuse. But social reform took many other shapes. Dorothea Dix worked to improve the treatment of prisoners and the mentally ill. Horace Mann fought for the improvement of public schools.

A group of thinkers known as Transcendentalists also became involved in social reform. They included Ralph Waldo Emerson and Margaret Fuller, who taught that it was important to follow one’s conscience. Henry David Thoreau went even further, arguing that people should peacefully refuse to obey laws they considered to be immoral. He called this concept **civil disobedience**. Thoreau himself once went to jail for refusing to pay a tax to support a war that he felt encouraged the spread of slavery.

 **Checkpoint** How did the Second Great Awakening encourage reform?

The Antislavery Movement

Thoreau was one of a small but fervent number of reformers, known as **abolitionists**, who sought a gradual or immediate end to slavery. They insisted that owning another human being was morally wrong, harming both slaves and slaveholders. Still, abolitionists faced an uphill struggle because many Americans believed their prosperity rested on the institution of slavery. Cotton produced by slave labor in the agrarian South supplied the textile mills of the industrial North.

Slavery Causes Suffering Some 2 million African Americans were unfairly treated by law as human property. Most labored at backbreaking tasks—picking tobacco or cotton, loading freight onto ships, or preparing meals in scorching kitchens. At any time, enslaved people could be whipped or sold away from their families.

Historians estimate that nearly 200 significant slave revolts took place in the first half of the 1800s. In 1831, Nat Turner led a rebellion in which more than 60 white Virginians were killed. Turner was later captured, tried, and executed. Fear of slave revolts led slave states to impose even harsher treatment. New laws made it a crime to teach a slave to read and write.

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch *The Struggle Over Slavery* on the *United States Witness History DVD* to learn more about the lives of enslaved African Americans and efforts to resist slavery.

TRACK THE ISSUE



What is the proper relationship between government and religion?

The First Amendment says that government may not establish an official church or interfere with the free exercise of religion. But Americans differ over whether “separation of church and state” is meant to keep government out of religion or religion out of government. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1791 Bill of Rights

First Amendment bars government involvement in religion.

1840s Sabbatarian Controversy

Congress debates whether to ban commerce and mail delivery on Sundays.

1947 *Everson v. Board of Education*

Supreme Court affirms separation of government and religion.

1984 Federal Equal Access Act

Law allows students to form religious clubs at public high schools.

2000 *Mitchell v. Helms*

Ruling allows private schools to receive federal funds for educational materials.



A church of the early 1800s



Students pray around a flagpole outside their school.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

Should prayer be allowed in public schools? One controversial topic in the church-state debate is the issue of prayer in public schools. Current law prohibits public-school-sponsored prayers. Some Christians believe this ban violates their right to practice their beliefs.

“We’re deeply religious. . . . And we believe that prayer in school is a necessity because, although yes, my children say blessings at home and pray at home and they learn to do that at church, most of their waking hours are spent in school. So why shouldn’t they be able to pray, on the intercom, anywhere.”

—Pat Mounce, high school parent, Pontotoc, Mississippi

“I’m a Catholic and I hope a devout one, but I think that the public school classroom is no place for me to try and impose my world formula for prayer on children who don’t share it, and for that very reason, I don’t want my children in a public school classroom to be exposed to someone else’s religion or formula.”

—Senator Phillip A. Hart, Michigan



TRANSFER Activities

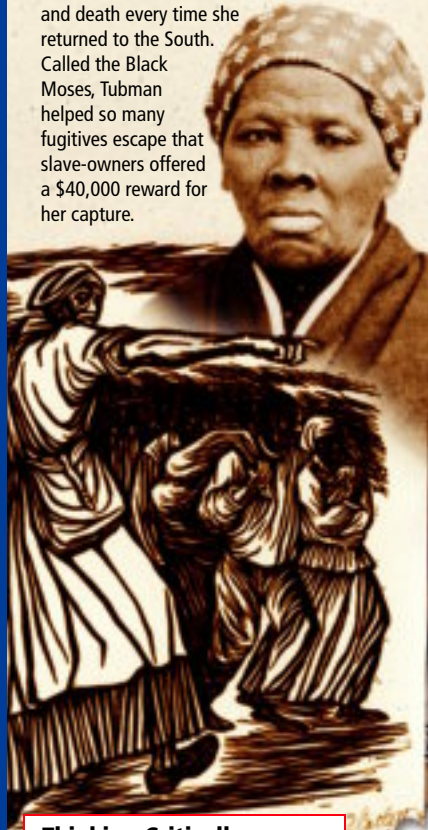
- 1. Compare** What views do Mounce and Hart share? On what point do they differ?
- 2. Analyze** How do you think each of these two speakers would have reacted to the issue of outlawing commerce on Sunday?
- 3. Transfer** Use the following Web site to see a video, try a WebQuest, and write in your journal. **Web Code:** neh-6802

Three Antislavery Heroes

Today, we take for granted that slavery is wrong. But in the mid-1800s, it took courage to oppose slavery. These three abolitionists took great risks to stand up for their beliefs.

Harriet Tubman

As a conductor on the Underground Railroad, Harriet Tubman risked enslavement and death every time she returned to the South. Called the Black Moses, Tubman helped so many fugitives escape that slave-owners offered a \$40,000 reward for her capture.



William Lloyd Garrison

William Lloyd Garrison published *The Liberator*, the most influential abolitionist newspaper. In October 1835, a proslavery mob put a rope around his neck and dragged him through the streets of Boston.



Frederick Douglass

When Frederick Douglass revealed at a public meeting that he had escaped from slavery, he knowingly ran the risk of being recaptured. Here, police break up an antislavery rally where Douglass is speaking.



Thinking Critically

Contrast How did Tubman's method of opposing slavery differ from those of Garrison and Douglass?

History Interactive*

For: More about the Underground Railroad

Web Code: nep-0213

Slavery Becomes a Political Issue Slavery became one of many issues separating the slaveholding South and the northern states, which had gradually done away with slavery. American leaders sought to keep a balance of power between North and South in Congress. The **Missouri Compromise** of 1820 allowed Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state, so long as a free state—Maine—was admitted at the same time. It also set 36°30'N latitude as the dividing line between slave territory and free territory. This compromise worked until the 1840s. But by then, abolitionists had begun to increase the outcry against slavery.

Abolitionists Call For Freedom Some leading abolitionists had firsthand knowledge of slavery: they themselves had been born into slavery and ran away to seek freedom in the North. In 1838, **Frederick Douglass** struck out for the North from Maryland. In time, he started an antislavery newspaper and became a powerful speaker at abolitionist meetings. His booming voice filled lecture halls as he recounted the harrowing stories of his cruel master and his daring escape.

Like Douglass, Harriet Tubman had fled from slavery in Maryland. But Tubman returned to the South many times to help others escape. For this she earned the nickname Black Moses, after the biblical figure who led the Jewish people out of bondage. Tubman was one of the many “conductors” on the **Underground Railroad**, a network of abolitionists—white and black—who led enslaved people to freedom in the North or in Canada.

Douglass and Tubman added their efforts to those of a small but increasing number of white abolitionists. In January 1831, Bostonian William Lloyd Garrison began publishing *The Liberator*, which became the most influential abolitionist newspaper. Garrison proclaimed his mission: “I will be as harsh as Truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest. I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I WILL BE HEARD.” Unlike most white abolitionists, Garrison called not only for the immediate emancipation of all people held in slavery, but also for full political and social rights for African Americans.

In several northern states, abolitionists faced violent attacks. In Alton, Illinois, an irate crowd killed abolitionist newspaper editor Elijah Lovejoy. Such violence only increased the determination of abolitionists.

✔ **Checkpoint** How did the goals of the abolitionist movement change over time?

The Women’s Rights Movement

While the abolitionist movement was gaining strength, another reform movement was just beginning. The focus of this movement was the political and legal rights of women.

Women Have Limited Rights Under the law, women could not hold office or vote. Married women could not own property in their own name. In the rare instances of divorce, husbands usually gained custody of children. When women began working in factories in the early 1800s, their wages went to their fathers or husbands. In addition, colleges and most professions were closed to women.

Slowly, some restrictions loosened. By the 1840s, a few women’s labor unions asked for higher wages and more control over their own wages for women. Some women worked for educational reform. Emma Willard opened the Troy Female Academy in New York to offer women a chance at higher education.

Women Begin to Organize Real progress began when women began to take a leading role in the abolitionist movement. In the 1830s, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, an organization of middle-class white and black women, led the movement to gain economic and political rights for both women and African Americans.

HISTORY MAKERS

Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906)

For five decades, Susan B. Anthony led the fight for women’s right to vote. Working with close friend Elizabeth Cady Stanton, she tirelessly pushed the cause by traveling, writing, speaking, and organizing. In 1872, she was arrested for casting a ballot in the presidential election. Defiantly, she refused to pay the fine when found guilty.



Growth of the United States

Map Skills By 1853, the United States had extended its borders to the Pacific Ocean, achieving the goal of Manifest Destiny.

- 1. Locate:** (a) Oregon, (b) Texas, (c) the Mexican Cession, (d) the Pacific Ocean
- 2. Regions** What areas did the United States gain as a result of war?
- 3. Link Past to Present** Was the state in which you live part of the United States by 1803? By 1853? If so, how was it acquired?

Geography Interactive
For: Interactive map
Web Code: nep-0203



Then, in 1848, **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** and Lucretia Mott helped organize the nation's first women's rights convention. Several hundred men and women, black and white, attended this gathering at Seneca Falls, New York. There they drew up a Declaration of Sentiments, modeled after the Declaration of Independence, beginning with the lines, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal." The document goes on to charge:

Primary Source "The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. . . . He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns. . . . He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education."

—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Declaration of Sentiments

Over the next decades, women's rights leaders such as Stanton and **Susan B. Anthony** worked to achieve greater rights for women. But their ultimate goal—suffrage, or the right to vote—would not be attained in their lifetimes.

Checkpoint How did Elizabeth Cady Stanton try to promote women's rights?

Manifest Destiny

As in colonial times, Americans continued to expand westward. Seeking good farmland, gold, or animal furs—or just to satisfy a sense of adventure—some men crossed the Great Plains to explore the West. They marked out trails that crossed the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas. By 1850, St. Louis, Mis-

souri, had become the launching point from which settlers traveled west along the Santa Fe Trail, the Oregon Trail, the Mormon Trail, or the California Trail.


In 1845, journalist John O'Sullivan predicted that it was the nation's "manifest destiny . . . to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." The term **Manifest Destiny** came to stand for the idea that the United States was intended by God to stretch from the Atlantic Ocean all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

Conflict Erupts With Mexico Westward expansion brought the United States into conflict with Mexico. In the 1820s, the Mexican government encouraged Americans to move into Texas. Many did so, especially southerners with slaves. By the 1830s, these American Texans sought independence from Mexico. In 1836, after a short war against Mexico, they won their independence, and Texas became the Republic of Texas. Suddenly, without having moved, many Mexicans lived in a new country—one in which they often were treated as second-class citizens.

The United States annexed Texas as a state in 1845. The following year, a dispute over the boundary between Texas and Mexico led to the outbreak of war. Some northerners opposed the Mexican-American War, viewing it as an attempt to extend slavery. Still, the United States won a quick victory. In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo set the Rio Grande as the southern boundary of Texas. Mexico also agreed to cede an immense expanse of land to the United States, including California and parts of other southwest states.

Gold Brings Settlers to California In 1848, gold was discovered in California. Within months, easterners were streaming into California in search of quick riches. These "forty-niners" set up campsites and hastily constructed towns as they staked a claim to a plot of land that they hoped would make them wealthy. The gold rush also attracted emigrants from as far away as China.

In 1850, enough American citizens lived in California that it was able to apply for statehood as a free state. This request would inflame the growing national conflict over slavery.

 **Checkpoint** What were the causes and effects of the Mexican-American War?

Vocabulary Builder

manifest—(MAN uh fehst) *adj.*
obvious; clear; plain



Gold Rush

News about the discovery of gold brought thousands of "forty-niners" like these rushing to California.

SECTION

1

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0204

Comprehension

- Terms and People** Write a sentence explaining how each of the following was connected with reform or the growth of democracy.
 - Andrew Jackson
 - Second Great Awakening
 - civil disobedience
 - abolitionist
 - Frederick Douglass
 - Underground Railroad
 - Elizabeth Cady Stanton
 - Susan B. Anthony

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Main Ideas Use your outline to answer the Section Focus Question: What trends in democratization and reform were taking shape in the United States by 1850?

Writing About History

- Quick Write: Identify a Viewpoint** Write a paragraph describing one of the two viewpoints on the Nullification Crisis discussed in this section. Be sure to identify the underlying attitude about the nature of federal versus state authority.

Critical Thinking

- Evaluate Information** To what extent did the presidency of Andrew Jackson represent a move toward democratization? How was this trend limited?
- Analyze Effects** Describe one direct and one indirect effect of the Second Great Awakening.
- Compare and Contrast** How were the abolitionist movement and the women's rights movement similar? How were they different?



- ▲ This poster warns African Americans in Boston about the arrival of “slave catchers” like the ones shown at left.

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A Fugitive Escapes

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made it a crime to help African Americans escape slavery. But that did not stop Levi Coffin and his fellow abolitionists from taking action when slave catchers in Indiana arrested a fugitive named Louis. Coffin described how Louis escaped from a public courtroom in broad daylight:

“[Louis] slipped his chair back a little way. Neither his master nor the marshal noticed the movement, as they were intently listening to the judge, and he slipped his chair again, until he was back of them. . . . Next he rose quietly to his feet and took a step backward. Some abolitionist friendly to his cause gave him an encouraging touch on the foot, and he stepped farther back. Then a good hat was placed on his head by some one behind, and he quietly and cautiously made his way . . . toward the door.”

—*Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*

The Union in Crisis

Objectives

- Trace the growing conflict over the issue of slavery in the western territories.
- Analyze the importance of the Dred Scott decision.
- Explain how the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 led to secession.

Terms and People

Wilmot Proviso
Free-Soil Party
Compromise of 1850
popular sovereignty
Harriet Beecher Stowe

Kansas-Nebraska Act
Dred Scott v. Sandford
Abraham Lincoln
John Brown
secede

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence As you read, trace the sequence of events that led to the division of the Union.

1820: Missouri Compromise keeps balance between slave states and free states



Why It Matters Regional differences between the North and South had existed since colonial times. These differences widened in the 1800s as the North developed an industrial economy while the South continued to depend on plantation agriculture and slavery. In time, conflict over the issue of slavery led to an armed struggle that would forever change the nation: the Civil War. **Section Focus Question:** How did the issue of slavery divide the Union?

Slavery and Western Expansion

After the Mexican-American War, the question of slavery in the West emerged as a major issue. A Pennsylvania congressman proposed the **Wilmot Proviso**, which stated that, though slavery would continue in the South, it would be banned in the territory won from Mexico. The proposal passed the House of Representatives, where northern members held a majority, but was defeated in the Senate, where some northern Democrats opposed the measure.

New Parties Oppose Slavery The Wilmot Proviso helped spur the rise of antislavery political parties. In 1848, the **Free-Soil Party** nominated former President Martin Van Buren for President. Although Van Buren did not win, he and other Free-Soil candidates garnered enough votes to show that the party’s motto of “free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men” would not easily be silenced.

Congress Tries to Compromise In 1850, California applied to enter the Union as a free state, thus threatening the balance between slave and free states in Congress. To ease southern concerns, Congress passed what became known as the **Compromise of 1850**. According to this measure, California was admitted as a free state. In the rest of the territory acquired from Mexico, voters would decide for themselves whether or not to allow slavery. This approach became known as **popular sovereignty**. By permitting slavery north of 36°30'N latitude, the Compromise of 1850 undid the Missouri Compromise.

Another provision of the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act, required citizens to help apprehend runaway slaves. Northern opponents of the law mounted an intense and disruptive resistance. In 1851, at Christiana, Pennsylvania, a small band of African Americans gathered to protect several runaways from southern slave catchers. Local white bystanders not only refused to help the slave-hunting party but, when the slave owner died in the scuffle, a white jury refused to convict the killers. In other northern cities, white and black opponents found nonviolent ways to defy the hated law.

✔ **Checkpoint** How did the Compromise of 1850 lead to conflict between the North and South?

The Road to Disunion

Resentment against the Fugitive Slave Act spurred **Harriet Beecher Stowe** to write the antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Southerners argued that Stowe presented a false picture of slavery and the South. But the novel became a best-seller in the North, increasing opposition to slavery.

Violence Erupts in Kansas In 1854, Congress again tried to settle the issue of slavery in the West by passing the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, which divided the Nebraska Territory into Kansas and Nebraska. Voters in each territory would decide the issue of slavery by popular sovereignty. Many northerners complained that this plan allowed slavery in areas where it had been banned by the Missouri Compromise.

Soon, both proslavery and antislavery settlers were flocking to Kansas, each hoping to outnumber the other when the time came to vote on slavery. By 1856, Kansas had two governments, one proslavery, the other antislavery. For several months there was so much violence between the two sides that the territory became known as “Bleeding Kansas.” Finally, in 1861, Kansas entered the Union as a free state.

The Republican Party Emerges The election of 1856 pitted Democrat James Buchanan against John C. Frémont, candidate of the new Republican Party. Like the earlier Free-Soil Party, the Republican Party opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories. Republicans included abolitionists who believed slavery was immoral, business leaders who felt that slavery stifled industry, and northerners who argued that the Fugitive Slave Act intruded into state politics.

Vocabulary Builder
intense—(ihn TEHNS) *adj.* very strong; violent; extreme

Bleeding Kansas

In the dispute over slavery in Kansas, both sides turned to violence. Below, proslavery raiders attack settlers who oppose slavery.



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



Exhaust and waste gases from cars are just one of the many issues in the center of the continuing national debate about the environment.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

The Environment and States' Rights Since 1967, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) allowed California to make its own emissions rules. California is exempt from the Clean Air Acts as long as its rules are stricter than those of the Federal Government and it obtains a waiver from the federal government. In November 2007, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger sued the Federal Government because the EPA denied California a waiver.

“The authority of the States to address greenhouse gas emissions from motor vehicles has been supported—by the Supreme Court [and] by a federal court here in California. On this issue, the . . . EPA . . . has failed to follow the States’ lead . . . we are prepared to force it out of the way . . . to protect the environment.”

—Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger,
April 2, 2008

“I believe that Congress by passing a . . . federal standard of 35 mpg (miles per gallon) delivers significant reductions that are more effective than a state-by-state approach. This applies to all 50 states. . . and that’s great for the economy, for national security, and for the environment.”

—Stephen L. Johnson,
EPA Administrator



TRANSFER Activities

- 1. Compare** Why does Governor Schwarzenegger feel California should oppose the federal government? Why does Stephen Johnson disagree?
- 2. Analyze** Should a state have the right to determine its own environmental standards?
- 3. Transfer** Use the following Web site to see a video, try a WebQuest, and write in your journal. **Web Code:** neh-7002

Buchanan won the election. But Frémont's strong showing underscored the importance of the slavery issue and the growing appeal of the new party.

The Dred Scott Decision Inflames the Nation In 1857, a Supreme Court decision widened the growing divisions over slavery. Dred Scott, an enslaved African American from Missouri, had sued for his freedom, based on the fact that he had traveled with his master into free territory.

In *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the Court made a sweeping ruling that went far beyond the particulars of Scott's case. The Court declared that African Americans were not citizens, and therefore were not entitled to sue in the courts. Furthermore, the Court ruled that the federal government did not have the power to ban slavery in any territory and that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, since it could deprive citizens of their property without due process of law. Southerners were delighted with the Dred Scott decision, but northerners were outraged.

Lincoln Debates Douglas The 1858 Senate race in Illinois crystallized the slavery issue for many Americans. At a series of debates, Republican **Abraham Lincoln** challenged Democrat Stephen Douglas, architect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Lincoln did not call for the immediate abolition of slavery, nor for political equality for African Americans. Still, he argued:

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 to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . . In the right to eat the bread, without 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, debate at Ottawa, Illinois

Douglas continued to champion popular sovereignty. “This Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question,” he insisted. Douglas won the senate race, but the debates helped Lincoln win national attention.

John Brown Plans a Revolt In 1859, a violent attack on slavery occurred in northern Virginia. In the fall of 1859, white abolitionist **John Brown** led a small band of white and black followers in an attempt to seize a federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now in West Virginia). He hoped to inspire local enslaved African Americans to join a revolution that would destroy slavery in the South. Brown's plan failed.

Put on trial for treason, Brown proclaimed his willingness to “mingle my blood . . . with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments.” In the eyes of many abolitionists, Brown's defense of his actions and the dignified calm with which he faced execution made him a heroic martyr to the antislavery cause. Northern support for Brown further inflamed southern anger.

 **Checkpoint** How did northerners and southerners react to the Dred Scott decision?

HISTORY MAKERS

Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)

Born in a log cabin to a struggling farmer, Abraham Lincoln had little formal education. “When I came of age I did not know much,” he later wrote. “I could read, write, and cipher . . . but that was all. I have not been to school since.” Still, he developed a thirst for learning, eventually gaining enough knowledge to practice law and enter politics. He was elected to the Illinois state legislature four times and, in 1846, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. While in Congress, he spoke out against the Mexican-American War—an unpopular position that cost him reelection. Ten years later, he joined the newly formed Republican Party.



● INFOGRAPHIC

The Election of 1860

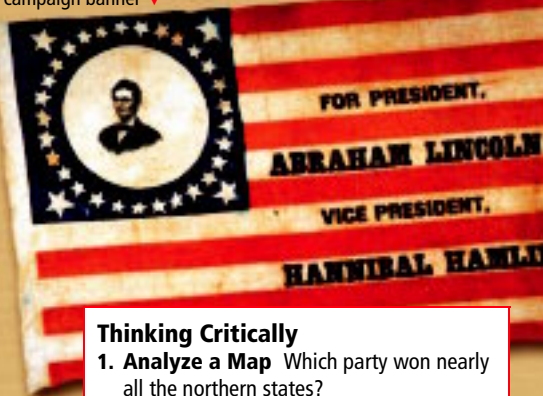
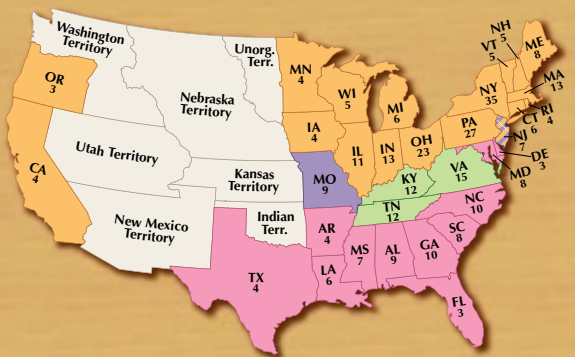
“We believe that this election is a turning-point in our history.” So wrote poet James Russell Lowell a month before the presidential election of 1860. In fact, he was right. The victory of Abraham Lincoln literally split the nation in two.



▲ This 1860 cartoon shows Lincoln and Douglas (left) fighting over slavery in the West. While Breckinridge (center) tears off the South, Bell (right) vainly tries to glue the Union back together.

The issue of slavery was so divisive in 1860 that the Democratic Party nominated different candidates in the North and South. As the map and chart show, each of the four presidential candidates won support in a different region. ▼

Lincoln campaign banner ▼



Thinking Critically

- Analyze a Map** Which party won nearly all the northern states?
- Synthesize Information** Does the cartoon accurately reflect the information given on the map? Explain.

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

Lincoln, Secession, and War

Brown’s execution and the Dred Scott decision were still fresh in voters’ minds as the 1860 presidential elections approached. Meeting in Chicago, the Republican Party adopted a platform that affirmed the Wilmot Proviso and the authority of Congress to ban slavery in the territories.

The Election Fragments the Nation Republicans saw Abraham Lincoln, with his reputation for integrity, as the ideal candidate to carry their platform to victory. Around the country, newspapers had publicized Lincoln’s positions—his objections to slavery, and his defense of the West as a land of opportunity for

free white men. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party fractured over the slavery issue. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas, while Southern Democrats nominated John Breckinridge. A fourth candidate, John Bell, represented a small moderate coalition who wanted to keep the Union together.

Benefiting from the Democrat split, Lincoln easily won the election, carrying 18 northern and western free states. He ended up with only 40 percent of the popular vote but almost 60 percent of the electoral vote, even though he did not receive a single southern electoral vote.

The South Secedes To southerners, the election was a clear sign that the more populous free states were now in a position to control national politics. On December 20, 1860, a convention in South Carolina declared that “the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States . . . is hereby dissolved.” South Carolina thus became the first state to **secede**, or break away, from the Union.

Six other states soon joined South Carolina to establish the Confederate States of America. They framed a constitution modeled on the U.S. Constitution but with some important differences. First, the Confederate constitution stressed the independence of each state, implying that states had the right to secede. Second, the new constitution guaranteed the protection of slavery. In time, four additional states joined the Confederacy.

War Begins at Fort Sumter At first, Lincoln insisted he had no authority to force Confederate states to return to the Union. Then, the Confederacy began to seize federal military bases in southern states. When Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, ran short of supplies, Lincoln notified the Confederacy that he was sending food but no armaments. Confederates decided to try to seize the fort before provisions could arrive.

On April 11, 1861, Confederate troops demanded that Union troops give up Fort Sumter. When the commander refused, the Confederates fired on the fort. After heavy bombardment, the federal troops surrendered. The fall of Fort Sumter marked the start of the Civil War, a four-year struggle that threatened to bring the Union to a bloody end.

 **Checkpoint** How did the election of 1860 split the nation in two?

Fort Sumter Flag

The tattered Union flag shown below was flying over Fort Sumter when Confederate troops fired on the fort.



SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0206

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** Write a sentence explaining how each of the following was connected with the growing rift between North and South.
 - Wilmot Proviso
 - Free-Soil Party
 - Compromise of 1850
 - popular sovereignty
 - Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - *Dred Scott v. Sandford*
 - Abraham Lincoln
 - John Brown
 - secede

- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence** Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the issue of slavery divide the Union?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: State a Point of View** Write a paragraph defining a viewpoint on the following issue: Should states have the right to secede from the Union? Give one argument someone might use to support that viewpoint.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Inferences** Why do you think southerners in Congress insisted on the passage of a Fugitive Slave Act? Why did many northerners oppose it?
- 5. Analyze Information** Why was the *Dred Scott* decision a blow to those who opposed the extension of slavery?
- 6. Draw Conclusions** Do you think the issue of slavery could have been settled without war? Why or why not?



▲ Civil War soldier and gear

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

The Battle of Gettysburg: A Soldier's Story

On July 1, 1863, the Battle of Gettysburg began. The Union victory on July 3 ended General Lee's invasion of the North and was a turning point in the Civil War. A 22-year-old lieutenant from New York described the Battle of Little Round Top:

“As 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. . . . But fascinating as was this terrible scene we had no time to spend upon it. Bloody work was ready for us at our very feet.”

—Lieutenant Porter Farley, 140th New York Infantry, Weed's Brigade

The Civil War

Objectives

- Evaluate the advantages the North enjoyed in the Civil War.
- Analyze the impact of the Civil War on the North and South, especially the impact of the Emancipation Proclamation.
- Explore the outcome and aftermath of the Civil War.

Terms and People

Robert E. Lee
Anaconda Plan
Emancipation
Proclamation
habeas corpus
inflation

Ulysses S. Grant
Battle of Gettysburg
Gettysburg Address
William T. Sherman
total war

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence As you read, identify the events and developments that led to the final Union victory in the Civil War.

Civil War
begins

1861 1862 1863 1864 1865

Why It Matters With the election of Lincoln, the slavery issue that had long divided North from South finally split the nation in two. From April 1861 to April 1865, the United States of America and the Confederate States of America faced each other in the bloody Civil War. At stake was the future not only of slavery but of the Union itself. **Section Focus Question: What factors and events led to the Union victory in the Civil War?**

Resources, Strategies, and Early Battles

As the Civil War began, each side had a clear goal. The North was determined to preserve the Union, arguing that no state had the right to secede. The southern states who formed the Confederacy aimed to gain their independence from a Union that they felt had become hostile to their interests, especially slavery.

Advantages and Disadvantages Although each side faced challenges, a variety of factors favored the Union. In the Northeast, growing urban populations supported a wide range of manufacturing. Replenished by a continuing influx of immigrant workers from Europe, northern factories were able to increase production of the supplies needed to wage war: ammunition, arms, uniforms, medical supplies, food, ships, and railroad cars.

Across the North, the railroad network was well developed, as were systems for farming, mining, and processing raw materials. Banking, insurance, and financing industries were also clustered in the urbanized North. The federal government had a well-organized navy. By the end of 1861, the Union navy had outfitted and launched

more than 250 warships and was constructing dozens more. Naval superiority allowed the Union to blockade the South's few vital ports.

Given such advantages, northerners anticipated a quick victory. But the North had distinct disadvantages as well. When the war began, the Union army consisted of only about 16,000 men. Although the South had an even smaller army, its troops at the outset of the war were generally more highly committed to the fight. In addition, some of the nation's finest military leaders were from the South. The experienced and inspiring **Robert E. Lee** had originally been offered command of Union forces but chose instead to remain loyal to his native Virginia. Throughout the war, General Lee provided the Confederacy with expert military leadership. The North struggled for much of the war to find a commander of comparable skill and daring.

North and South Develop Their Strategies Each side had a clear military goal. Here, again, the South enjoyed an advantage. The Confederacy simply had to survive, keeping their armies in the field until northerners became tired of fighting. The Union, however, had to crush and conquer the Confederacy.

The North adopted a strategy designed to starve the South into submission. It was called the **Anaconda Plan** after the snake that slowly squeezes its prey to death. The plan involved seizing the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico so that the South could not send or receive shipments. By the middle of 1862, with victories in Mississippi and New Orleans, the North had captured the Mississippi Valley. Union soldiers also seized the strategic railroad juncture at Chattanooga, Tennessee, and scored victories in battles as far west as New Mexico.

Vocabulary Builder
anticipate—(an TIHS uh payt) *v.* to expect; to look forward to

A Confederate Victory

Two major Civil War battles took place at Bull Run, a creek in Virginia. Both were Confederate victories. The painting below depicts the Second Battle of Bull Run (known in the South as the Second Battle of Manassas.) *What advantages might the Confederates have had at Bull Run?*



A Stalemate Develops On the east coast, though both sides won battles, neither side could gain a clear and decisive victory in the early part of the war. Union armies hoped to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia. But troops outside Washington, D.C., could not seem to make progress toward that goal. Confederate troops were equally unsuccessful in pushing the war north toward Washington, D.C.

Thanks to efficient new weapons—especially more accurate rifles and deadlier bullets—a single day’s battle might produce more than 10,000 casualties. This new lethal warfare stung the public consciousness. Battle sites such as Bull Run (July 1861), Shiloh (April 1862), Antietam (September 1862), and Fredericksburg (December 1862) are still remembered as the scenes of some of the deadliest encounters in American history. Limited medical care ensured that many of the wounded died of infection rather than of the wounds themselves.

 **Checkpoint** What advantages did the Union enjoy as the Civil War began?

Lincoln Proclaims Emancipation

Early in the war, President Lincoln insisted that he did not have the authority to end slavery. In his public statements, he emphasized the fact that his chief goal was to preserve the Union. Although Lincoln personally opposed slavery, he did not want to lose the support of the four slave states—Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri—that had remained loyal to the Union.

However, by the autumn of 1862, Lincoln decided that he did, indeed, have the authority to proclaim the end of slavery, and that as a “practical war measure” he wished to do so. In January 1863, he issued the **Emancipation Proclamation**. This presidential decree declared that “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.”

The Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to the loyal slave states or to those areas of the South already under Union control. As a result, it did not immediately free a single slave. Nevertheless, it was an important turning point because it encouraged enslaved African Americans in the South to run away to Union army encampments and to aid the Union cause. It also symbolically redefined the war as being “about slavery.”

African Americans had always believed that the war should be about slavery, and they had volunteered to fight as soon as the war began. But at first they were turned away and told “this is a white man’s war.” After the Emancipation Proclamation, however, the Union began to actively recruit both free blacks from the North and newly freed African Americans from the South. Eventually, some 180,000 African American men served in the Union Army.

 **Checkpoint** What was the impact of the Emancipation Proclamation?

War Affects Daily Life

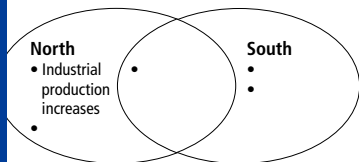
The Civil War transformed the nation’s civilian life. In the North, mines and factories stepped up production to supply military needs such as ships, railroads, weapons, uniforms, provisions, and fuel. To pay for the war, the federal government raised tariffs, imposed income taxes, and printed money. Congress also encouraged western settlement and offered free land to soldiers who would give two years of military service. Such land grants sparked agricultural growth, which helped feed Union troops.

Vocabulary Builder

emphasize—(EHM fuh siz) *v.* to stress; to give special attention or importance

NoteTaking

Reading Skills: Compare and Contrast As you read, note effects of the war on the North and South.



Emancipation is Proclaimed

Issued January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation did not free a single slave. It applied only to those areas still "in rebellion against the United States." Yet Lincoln's bold declaration changed the nature of the war, offered hope to enslaved persons, and led to the complete abolition of slavery.

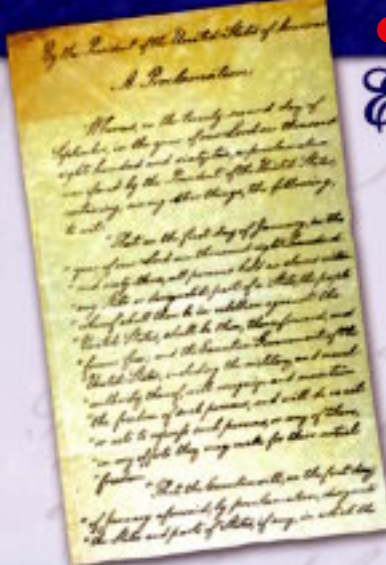


From Slave to Soldier ▶

The Emancipation Proclamation paved the way for African Americans to serve in the U.S. military. *The Recruit*, an 1866 painting by Thomas Waterman Wood, depicts a newly freed African American who has become a proud Union soldier.



◀ Lincoln's handwritten copy of the Emancipation Proclamation



"... thenceforward, and forever free..."

The Promise of Freedom

This 1863 drawing, *The Sanctuary*, shows an enslaved family heading toward a Union camp—toward freedom. Though greatly idealized, the picture does express the hope enslaved people felt when they heard of the Emancipation Proclamation.



Thinking Critically

- 1. Apply Information** Why did the family in the drawing need to reach the army camp in order to become free?
- 2. Identify Effects** How did the Emancipation Proclamation aid the Union cause?

The North Faces Problems As the war dragged on, the Union army experienced a shortage of volunteers. When Congress passed a draft law in 1863, requiring all able-bodied men between the ages of 20 and 45 to serve in the military if called, riots broke out in several northern cities. The most severe rioting took place in New York City in July 1863. White workers attacked free African Americans as well as wealthy New Yorkers who were able to pay a fee to avoid military service.

Some Northerners opposed Lincoln's conduct of the war and demanded immediate peace. To deal with dissent, Lincoln suspended the Constitutional right of **habeas corpus**, which guarantees that no one can be held in prison without specific charges being filed. Union troops arrested many people suspected of


disloyalty. Although Lincoln felt such measures were necessary to preserve the Union, others criticized his actions as unconstitutional.

The South Suffers Hardships Almost all of the battles took place on southern soil. The fighting destroyed some of the South's traditional strengths, such as large-scale agriculture, and stripped the Confederacy of the resources it might have used to rebuild. By 1863, the Union plan to starve the South into submission seemed to be on the verge of succeeding.

The South seized every opportunity to ease its economic problems. As Lincoln had done, Confederate President Jefferson Davis authorized the Confederacy to issue paper money, backed only by the government's promise to pay. Doubts about the true value of Confederate money led to severe **inflation**, or price increases. The combination of rising prices and food shortages sparked food riots in some parts of the South.

War Leads to Social Change On both sides, the war gave women new tasks. Women set up field hospitals and nursed wounded soldiers. Many Confederate women took to the fields to harvest crops. White and black teachers from the North went south to become teachers of newly freed slaves.

Churches in both the North and South supported the war effort. Confederate soldiers often held revival meetings near the field of battle. One Virginia chaplain claimed that many southern men “have come out of this war Christian soldiers.”

 **Checkpoint** How did the Civil War affect the economies of the North and South?

HISTORY MAKERS

In May 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. In a month's time, the two armies suffered nearly 70,000 combined casualties. By late summer, the bloody contest between Grant and Lee had settled into a siege at Petersburg, south of Richmond. In April 1865, Lee abandoned the city and eventually surrendered to Grant.

Ulysses S. Grant
(1822–1885)



Robert E. Lee
(1807–1870)



The Union Prevails

In the summer of 1863, the Union succeeded in capturing Vicksburg, Mississippi. Advancing from the Louisiana side of the Mississippi River, Union General **Ulysses S. Grant** scored five victories in three weeks, ending with the surrender of 30,000 Confederate troops. The Anaconda Plan had achieved one of its major goals: Confederate territory was split apart.

The Union Wins a Victory at Gettysburg Meanwhile, in the East, General Lee marched into Pennsylvania. He hoped to win a surprise victory, then swing south to Washington, D.C. But in July 1863, Union troops defeated Lee at the town of Gettysburg. The **Battle of Gettysburg** destroyed one third of Lee's forces and marked the last major Confederate attempt to invade the North.

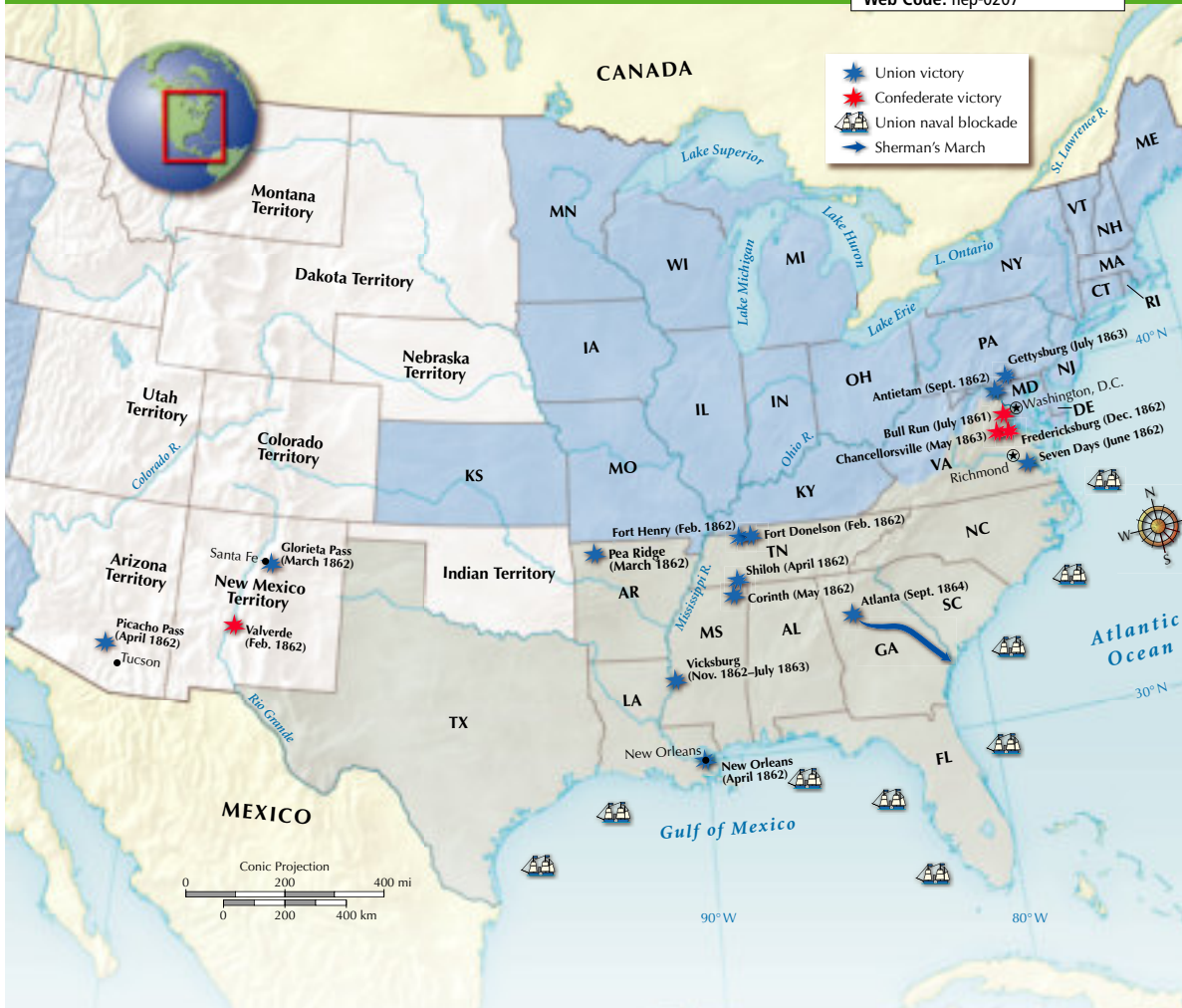
A few months later, the President went to Gettysburg to help dedicate a battle cemetery. In a speech known as the **Gettysburg Address**, Lincoln used the occasion to reaffirm the ideas for which the Union was fighting:

Primary Source

“We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

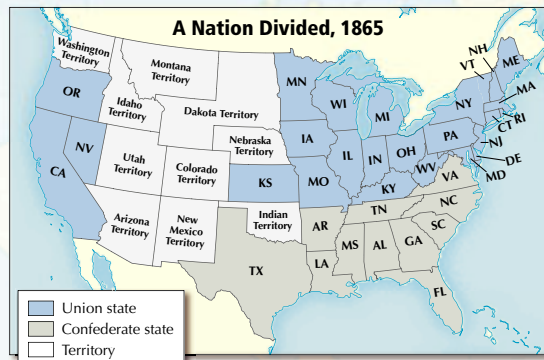
—Abraham Lincoln, *Gettysburg Address*, November 19, 1863

The Civil War, 1861–1865



Map Skills The Civil War split the nation into two opposing countries. Although most of the fighting took place on Confederate land, some fighting extended north into Pennsylvania or as far west as Arizona.

- 1. Locate:** (a) Gettysburg, (b) Vicksburg, (c) Richmond, (d) Washington, D.C.
- 2. Regions** How would northern control of the Mississippi River affect the Confederacy?
- 3. Draw Conclusions** Describe the Union naval blockade. What do you think was its goal?





The War Ends In the fall of 1864, Union General **William T. Sherman** led more than 60,000 troops on a 400-mile march of destruction through Georgia and South Carolina. The march was part of a strategy of **total war**, which targeted not only troops but all of the resources needed to feed, clothe, and support an army. Sherman's troops burned crops in fields, tore up railroad tracks, and destroyed homes, plantations, and public buildings.


By spring 1865, the Confederacy was exhausted. Union troops captured the Confederate capital. On April 9, in the small Virginia town of Appomattox Court House, Lee surrendered to Grant.

The Civil War Has Lasting Impact The Civil War ushered in the harsh reality of modern warfare. More than one third of northern and southern soldiers were killed or disabled.

The southern landscape and economy were in shambles. Millions of dislocated

southerners drifted north in search of new lives in Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, or other points north. Others joined the increasing migration to the West, becoming cowboys or farmers. For African Americans in the South, freedom promised them new opportunities, including a chance to work for wages and to control their own lives. Some joined the migration to the North and West.

The war ended an era in American political life. Although debates about states' rights and federal authority continue to this day, never again would states attempt to secede. More and more, Americans would see themselves not just as citizens of a state, but of a united nation.

 **Checkpoint** What were the goals and effects of the Union strategy of total war?

Civil War Casualties, 1861–1865

	Total Forces	Wounded	Battle Deaths	Other Deaths in Service	Total Deaths
Union	2,213,363	280,040	140,414	224,097	364,511
Confederate	1,050,000	226,000	94,000	166,000	260,000

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs; *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy*

The Deadly Toll of War

The Civil War was the deadliest military conflict in American history. *Why do you think a higher percentage of American troops died in the Civil War than in any other war?*

SECTION 3 Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0208

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining how it was connected with the course and outcome of the Civil War.

- Robert E. Lee
- Anaconda Plan
- Emancipation Proclamation
- habeas corpus
- Ulysses S. Grant
- Battle of Gettysburg
- Gettysburg Address
- William T. Sherman
- total war

2. **NoteTaking** Reading Skill:

Recognize Sequence Use your timeline to answer the Section Focus Question: What factors and events led to the Union victory in the Civil War?

Writing About History

3. **Quick Write: Prioritize Arguments**

List three arguments in favor of or against Lincoln freeing all enslaved African Americans as soon as the war began. Then, order the three arguments from most important to least important.

Critical Thinking

4. **Recognize Causes and Effects**

What impact did the economic differences between the North and South have on the course of the Civil War?

5. **Draw Inferences**

How do you think the Anaconda Plan and Sherman's march affected southerners psychologically?

6. **Predict Consequences**

List three challenges that African Americans in the South might face after emancipation from slavery.

The Devastated South

Mary Chesnut was the wife of a wealthy and respected South Carolina planter and politician. Now, at war's end, the family was penniless. The world they had known was gone. Chesnut described the devastation:

“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 strewn 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.”

—Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary From Dixie*

▲ A southerner sits amid the postwar ruins of Charleston, Virginia.

The Reconstruction Era

Objectives

- Explore how Congress and the President clashed over Reconstruction.
- Describe the impact of Reconstruction on the South.
- Explain how Reconstruction came to an end.

Terms and People

Reconstruction	impeachment
Freedmen’s Bureau	Fourteenth Amendment
Andrew Johnson	Fifteenth Amendment
Thirteenth Amendment	Ku Klux Klan
Radical Republican	de jure segregation

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Categorize As you read, identify the political, social, and economic aspects of Reconstruction.

Political	Social	Economic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radical Republicans clash with President 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharecropping develops •

Why It Matters The Civil War ended in April 1865 with the Union victorious. Now, North and South faced the challenge of reunion. Political decisions made in the next decades helped shape the modern South. And constitutional amendments passed during this period redefined American notions of citizenship and civil rights. **Section Focus Question:** What were the immediate and long-term effects of Reconstruction?

The Nation Moves Toward Reunion

Even while the war was in progress, Union politicians had been debating ways to achieve **Reconstruction**, bringing the South back into the Union. For President Lincoln, the major goal was to reunify the nation—in the words of his Second Inaugural Address, to “bind up the nation’s wounds.” But some congressional leaders favored a harsh Reconstruction plan designed to punish the South.


The Freedmen’s Bureau Aids Southerners Shortly before the war ended, Lincoln and Congress did agree on the creation of the **Freedmen’s Bureau**, a federal agency designed to aid freed slaves and relieve the South’s immediate needs. The black and white agents of the Bureau delivered food and healthcare and began to develop a public school system for both black and white southerners. It also helped to reunite families separated by slavery and to negotiate fair labor contracts between formerly enslaved African Americans and white landowners.

President and Congress Clash Meanwhile, debate over Reconstruction continued. Before he could gain support for his moderate plan, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865. As the nation mourned, Vice President **Andrew Johnson** became President.

Johnson favored a plan that restored political power to southerners if they merely swore allegiance to the United States. Under Johnson's plan, the South also had to accept the **Thirteenth Amendment**, which ended slavery in 1865. In return, the new President promised to uphold states' rights, with the laws of individual states taking precedence over federal regulations.

Many congressmen disagreed. Arguing that southerners had caused the war, these **Radical Republicans** favored punishment and harsh reorganization for the South. Radicals also advocated full citizens' rights for African Americans and wanted states' authority to be subordinate to federal power. When southern legislatures passed laws to restrict the activities of African Americans, Radicals became even more determined to impose a harsh Reconstruction policy on the South.

Johnson and the Radicals in Congress clashed repeatedly. In 1868, Congress voted to impeach Johnson. **Impeachment** is the act of bringing charges against an official in order to determine whether he or she should be removed from office. The Senate narrowly voted not to remove Johnson from office, but by that time he had lost control of Reconstruction. A few months later, Civil War hero Ulysses S. Grant was elected President.

 **Checkpoint** What were the Reconstruction goals of the Radical Republicans?

The Reconstruction South

With Congress firmly under their control, Radical Republicans designed a sweeping Reconstruction plan. They divided the South into five military districts under the command of Union generals. As a condition of readmission to the Union, all southern states were required to grant the vote to African American men. Perhaps most important, Radicals passed the **Fourteenth Amendment**, which guaranteed full citizenship status and rights to every person born in the United States, including African Americans. The Amendment was ratified in 1868.

African Americans Gain Political Rights Under Radical Reconstruction, many white southerners were not eligible to vote or chose to stay away from the polls. African American men, on the other hand, eagerly signed up to exercise their new right of suffrage. Thus, by 1868, many southern states had black elected officials and were dominated by a strong Republican Party. South Carolina—the first state to secede—became the only state where, for a short time, an African American majority dominated the legislature.

At this time, no laws guaranteed the vote to African Americans in the North. To remedy this imbalance, Congress passed the **Fifteenth Amendment**, which guaranteed that no male citizen could be denied the right to vote on the basis of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” It was ratified in 1870.

Freedmen Rebuild Their Lives In the South, formerly enslaved African Americans worked to carve out new lives. Some struck out for the North or West. But many more stayed in the South. They assembled their scattered families and built strong churches that also served as community centers, employment agencies, schoolhouses, and—in later years—centers of protest.

For the first time, many African American men and women could legalize and celebrate their marriages, set up housekeeping with their families and make

Vocabulary Builder

status—(STAT uhs) *n.* standing or position, especially with regard to the law

TRACK THE ISSUE



Does any branch of the 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 Impeachment

Congress tries to remove President Andrew Johnson from office.

1930s New Deal

Franklin D. Roosevelt boosts presidential power to fight the depression.

1960s Warren Court

Supreme 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 Terrorism

Congress increases executive branch powers to combat terrorism.



DEBATE THE ISSUE

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

“I do have the view that over the 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, Title I of the Constitution, 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.”

—Vice President Richard Cheney,
December 20, 2005

“During the early years of the post-World War II era, power was relatively well-balanced. . . . but major shifts, particularly those in the last two decades of the 20th century, 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



Ticket to Andrew Johnson's trial



TRANSFER Activities

- 1. Compare** When does Vice President Cheney feel the President should have more power? Why would Walter Williams disagree?
- 2. Analyze** How did the administration of President Andrew Johnson reflect a similar power struggle?
- 3. Transfer** Use the following Web site to see a video, try a WebQuest, and write in your journal. **Web Code:** neh-7202



The Ku Klux Klan

Ku Klux Klan members wore hoods, like those shown above, to hide their identities and terrorize their victims.

Vocabulary Builder

withdraw—(with DRAW) *v.* to remove; to pull back from

choices about where they would reside. Freed women could care for their families and leave field labor. Freed people also realized the importance of learning to read and to count their money. So the Freedmen's Bureau schools quickly filled. By 1869, as many as 300,000 African American adults and children were acquiring basic literacy.

The Ku Klux Klan Uses Terror Tactics Even though the South remained under military occupation, organized secret societies, such as the **Ku Klux Klan**, used terror and violence against African Americans and their white supporters. A federal grand jury concluded that the chief goal of the Klan attacks was to keep African Americans from voting:

Primary Source “The Klan . . . inflicted summary vengeance on the colored citizens of these counties by breaking into their houses at the dead of night, dragging them from their beds, torturing them in the most inhuman manner, and in many instances murdering them; and this, mainly, on account of their political affiliations.”

—42nd Congress, House Report No. 22, 1871

Congress passed federal laws making it a crime to use violence to prevent people from voting. Although Klan activities lessened somewhat, the threat of violence persisted, keeping many southern African Americans from the polls.

✓ **Checkpoint** What political gains did African Americans make in the early phases of Reconstruction?

Reconstruction Comes to an End

After a decade of Reconstruction, northerners began to lose interest in remaking the South and to focus on other social, political, and economic issues. In the fall of 1873, a series of bank failures sparked a severe economic downturn. At the same time, a series of political scandals in the Grant administration damaged the Radical Republicans. Under these circumstances, Reconstruction began to fade. Gradually and quietly, beginning in 1871, troops were withdrawn from the South. In 1872, Congress dissolved the Freedmen's Bureau.

Southern Democrats Regain Power Meanwhile, southern white Democrats patiently devised a strategy for regaining political control of the South. They argued that Republican programs for public schools and road building resulted in higher taxes. Most white southerners shunned anyone who supported Radical Republicans. Southern Democrats grasped every opportunity to discredit African American politicians as corrupt and incompetent. At the same time, the ever-present threat of violence kept African Americans from voting, thus depriving the Republicans of a large segment of their political base.

One by one, southern states reinstated wealthy white southern men as governors and sent former Confederate leaders to the U.S. Congress. In the 1874 elections, the Republicans lost control of the House of Representatives. By 1876, only South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana—three states with large African American populations—still had Reconstruction governments and remained under military occupation.

Election of 1876 Ends Reconstruction The presidential election of 1876 signaled the end of Reconstruction. Democratic candidate Samuel Tilden won more popular votes than Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes, but the


electoral vote was in dispute. The disputed votes were those of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, the three southern states still controlled by Republican Reconstruction governments.

In an informal compromise, a congressional committee declared Hayes the winner. In return, he promised to pull all remaining federal troops from the South. In effect, the election of Hayes ended Reconstruction.

Historians Evaluate Reconstruction Was Reconstruction a success or a failure? Southerners and northerners, black and white, then and now would give different answers. All will agree, however, that some things were changed forever by those dozen years during which the victorious North tried to remake the vanquished South.

Certainly, Radical Reconstruction failed in most of its aims. By the end of the century, the political rights of African Americans in the South had eroded. Southern states slowly took away the voting rights of African Americans. **De jure segregation**, or legal separation of the races, became the law in all southern states.

Still, Reconstruction did mark the beginning of the physical and economic rebuilding of the South. Despite continuing conflicts and resentments, the nation was permanently reunited. And the constitutional amendments passed during Reconstruction, especially the Fourteenth Amendment, would eventually form the basis for a revived civil rights movement that sought political equality for all citizens.

 **Checkpoint** How did the influence of Radical Reconstruction in the South erode?

Cause and Effect

Causes

- Civil War destroys South's economy and infrastructure.
- Freed slaves and war victims need help.
- Black codes discriminate against African Americans.
- Radical Republicans want to restructure the South.
- Southern states need to rejoin Union.



Reconstruction

Effects

- South is divided into military districts.
- African Americans gain citizenship and voting rights.
- Union is restored.
- Sharecropping becomes the new farming system.
- White backlash leads to Ku Klux Klan and segregation.



Connections to Today

- Constitutional amendments protect civil rights.
- Debate over states' rights and the federal government continues.

Analyze Cause and Effect

Although it failed in some of its major goals, Reconstruction had a lasting impact, especially on the South. *Which of the effects of Reconstruction were temporary?*

SECTION

4 Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0210

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining how it was connected with the reshaping of the South after the Civil War.

- Reconstruction
- Freedmen's Bureau
- Andrew Johnson
- Thirteenth Amendment
- Radical Republican
- impeachment
- Fourteenth Amendment
- Fifteenth Amendment
- Ku Klux Klan
- de jure segregation

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Categorize Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: What were the immediate and long-term effects of Reconstruction?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Chart Conflicting Arguments Make a table with two columns. In one column, list two arguments in favor of a harsh Reconstruction policy toward the South. In the other column, list two arguments in favor of a lenient Reconstruction policy.

Critical Thinking

4. Recognize Ideologies How did the clash between President Johnson and Congress reflect a difference in attitudes about the role of the federal government?

5. Evaluate Information How did the Fifteenth Amendment guarantee the voting rights of some Americans but not others?

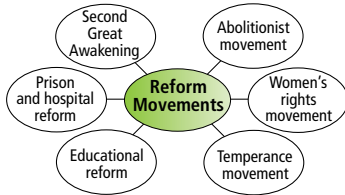
6. Contrast Viewpoints How do you think a northern Radical Republican and a southern Democrat would evaluate the long-term impact of Reconstruction?

Quick Study Guide

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0211

■ Reform Movements



■ Civil War Amendments to the Constitution

Amendment	Ratified	Provisions
Thirteenth Amendment	1865	Abolishes slavery throughout United States
Fourteenth Amendment	1868	Defines citizenship; guarantees all citizens "equal protection of the laws"
Fifteenth Amendment	1870	Guarantees that right to vote cannot be denied on basis of race

■ Cause and Effect: The Civil War

Cause and Effect

Causes

- Economic differences divide agrarian South and industrial North.
- Abolitionist movement grows in North.
- Compromise of 1850, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, violence in Kansas, and Dred Scott decision increase tensions.
- Election of Lincoln leads to secession of southern states.
- Confederate troops fire on Fort Sumter.



The Civil War

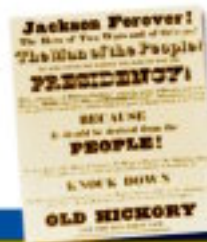


Effects

- Confederacy is defeated; Union is restored.
- Much of South lies in ruins.
- Thirteenth Amendment abolishes slavery.
- Radical Reconstruction puts South under military rule.
- African Americans in South temporarily gain political rights.

✓ Quick Study Timeline

<p>1820 Missouri Compromise</p>	<p>1828 Election of Jackson marks widening of suffrage</p>	<p>1848 Seneca Falls women's rights conference</p>
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Presidential Terms	Monroe 1817–1825	Adams 1825–1829	Jackson 1829–1837	Van Buren 1837–1841	Harrison 1841–1845	Polk 1845–1849
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1820

1830

1840

Around the World

1822
Liberia founded as colony for freed slaves

1832
Reform Act in Britain expands suffrage

1840
World Anti-Slavery Convention

1848
Democratic revolutions sweep Europe

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:** neh-6255).

Issues You Learned About

● **Checks and Balances** Each of the three branches of the federal government has the ability to check the powers of the others.

1. How can the executive branch check the power of the legislative branch? How can the Supreme Court check both?
2. Was President Jackson's refusal to uphold the Supreme Court's decision in the debate over Cherokee rights a legitimate usage of the system of checks and balances? Explain.
3. How did Congress check the power of the President during Reconstruction? Was this effort successful?

● **Federal Power and States' Rights** Conflicting ideas about federal and state authority under the Constitution have persisted for more than 200 years.

4. According to southern leaders during the tariff crisis in the early 1800s, what could states do if the federal government passed a law that went against their interests?
5. How did the system of popular sovereignty favor state power over federal power?

● **Church and State** The United States follows a policy of keeping religion separate from matters of government.

6. What guarantees the American people the right to freedom of religion?
7. Describe the debate about the relationship between church and state that emerged during the Second Great Awakening.
8. Some communities and states have passed "blue laws" banning the sale of certain goods on Sundays. Do you think such laws violate the separation of church and state?

Connect to Your World

Activity

Voting Rights As you have learned, the Fifteenth Amendment promised full voting rights to African American men. Today African Americans enjoy equal voting rights, but do they have equal political power? Conduct research online or go to the local library to investigate this question. Consider the percentage of the population that is African American as it compares to the percentage of African American elected officials and to the percentage of voters who are African American. Write a paragraph analyzing the political power of African Americans in this country and share your thoughts on what the future holds.

History Interactive

For: Interactive timeline
Web Code: nep-0212



1856
Violence erupts in Kansas

1861
Civil War begins

1865
Civil War ends; Thirteenth Amendment

1877
Reconstruction ends

Taylor 1849–1850
Fillmore 1850–1853

Pierce 1853–1857

Buchanan 1857–1861

Lincoln 1861–1865

Johnson 1865–1869

Grant 1869–1877

Hayes 1877–1881

1850

1860

1870

1880

1861
Czar of Russia frees serfs

1873
Slave markets are abolished in Zanzibar

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

1. Who was **Elizabeth Cady Stanton**? What was her main goal?
2. How would decisions about slavery be made under **popular sovereignty**?
3. What did the Supreme Court decide in the case of **Dred Scott v. Sandford**? Which Americans condemned this decision?
4. Who were **Robert E. Lee** and **Ulysses S. Grant**? What happened to these men in April 1865?
5. Who were the **Radical Republicans**? What were their goals?
6. What was the **Fifteenth Amendment**? To whom did it apply?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **What challenges did the United States face as a result of expansion, regional differences, and slavery?** Build answers to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 4 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

7. What trends in democratization and reform were taking shape in the United States by 1850?

Section 2

8. How did the issue of slavery divide the Union?

Section 3

9. What factors and events led to the Union victory in the Civil War?

Section 4

10. What were the immediate and long-term effects of Reconstruction?

Writing About History

Writing a Persuasive Essay In a persuasive essay, you try to identify an issue and present arguments that will persuade the readers to support a particular viewpoint. Choose one of the reform movements described in Section 1 of this chapter. Write a three-paragraph essay in which you define the issue and give reasons in support of your viewpoint.

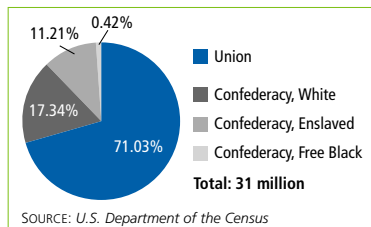
Prewriting

- Read the text in this chapter relating to the topic you have chosen.
- Use Internet or library sources to find additional descriptions and primary sources relating to your topic.
- Decide what viewpoint you wish to support.
- Make a list of arguments that might be used to support that viewpoint. Identify the two strongest arguments.

Critical Thinking

11. **Draw Conclusions** Andrew Jackson has been called the "People's President." How accurate do you think this nickname is? Explain your answer.
12. **Draw Conclusions** Why do you think many preachers of the Second Great Awakening supported the temperance and abolitionist movements?
13. **Solve Problems** What issue did the Missouri Compromise settle? How long did this compromise last, and why did it come to an end?
14. **Analyze Graphs** Describe the information shown on this pie graph. What impact do you think this data had on the outcome of the Civil War?

Population of North and South, 1860



15. **Analyze Information** How did Lincoln's and the Union's attitude toward African Americans change as the Civil War progressed?
16. **Draw Inferences** Why did southern states develop a strong Republican Party?

Drafting

- Make an outline identifying what aspects of your topic you want to describe.
- Write an opening paragraph in which you describe the issue and explain why it is important. Include a thesis statement.
- Write two persuasive paragraphs. In each paragraph, use reasoned but forceful language that explains one of the arguments you have identified in your prewriting.
- If possible, anticipate and counter possible objections to your arguments.

Revising

- Use the guidelines on page SH16 of the Writing Handbook to revise your writing.



Document-Based Assessment

American Democracy in the Age of Jackson

Historians have often used the term *Jacksonian democracy* to describe the expansion of democratic government during the era of President Andrew Jackson. But how democratic was Jacksonian democracy? Use your knowledge of the chapter material and Documents A, B, C, D, and E to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document A

"In America the people name those who make the law and those who execute it; they themselves form the jury that punishes infractions of the law. Not only are the institutions democratic in their principle, but also in all their developments; thus the people name their representatives directly and generally choose them every year in order to keep them more completely under their dependence. It is therefore really the people who direct."

—*Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 1835*

Document B



The Trail of Tears, 1838

Document C

"Jacksonians believed that there was a deep-rooted conflict in society between the 'producing' and 'non-producing' classes—the farmers and laborers, on the one hand, and the business community on the other. . . . Jacksonian democracy was [one] phase of that enduring struggle between the business community and the rest of society which is the guarantee of freedom in a liberal capitalist state."

—*Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson, 1945*

Document D

"The Jacksonian period, our Jacksonian democracy: Arthur Schlesinger writes this glowing book about Andrew Jackson and Jacksonian democracy. What else was going on? And then I find out that Jackson is responsible for the brutal treatment of the Indians in the Southeast, driving them across the Mississippi, thousands of them dying. Jackson is a racist. Jackson is a slave owner. Under Jackson, the industrial system begins with the mill girls going to work at the age of 12 and dying at the age of 25."

—*Howard Zinn, interview, 2001*

Document E

"These Americans . . . were champions of equality—that is, of course, for those who were white and male. . . . Women, blacks, and Indians just didn't enter the thinking of these people when they argued for equality."

To fault Americans of this period for failing to understand what the modern world means by equality is a pointless and futile exercise. But if they are examined on their own terms, with all their faults and limitations, they make an exciting bunch to watch as they changed their world and shaped so many things that became basic to the American system."

—*Robert V. Remini, The Revolutionary Age of Andrew Jackson, 1976*

1. According to Document A, what was the most important feature of American democracy in the 1830s?
 - A Americans had the right to trial by jury.
 - B Americans considered all people equal.
 - C The people were the source of political authority.
 - D All Americans had the right to vote.
2. Document B best illustrates one of the main points made in
 - A Document A.
 - B Document C.
 - C Documents C and E.
 - D Documents D and E.
3. According to Document C, which of the following groups benefited most from Jacksonian Democracy?
 - A Factory workers
 - B Bankers
 - C Westerners
 - D Slaveholders
4. **Writing Task** Was Jacksonian democracy democratic by modern standards? By the standards of the time? Use your knowledge of the chapter content and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.