

UNIT 5 — Period 5: 1844–1877

Topic 5.1

Contextualizing Period 5

Learning Objective: Explain the context in which sectional conflict emerged from 1844 to 1877.

Between 1844 and 1877, the United States expanded its territory to the Pacific Ocean and suffered from rising sectionalism over the issue of expanding slavery into this new territory. In 1861, tensions exploded into the Civil War that permanently expanded the power of the federal government. After four years of fighting and the death of 750,000 people, the country emerged with a “new birth of freedom” as a result of the end of slavery. But racism remained.

The first half of the 19th century included many advances in the young nation. Political, demographic, economic, and territorial development changed the country. The right to vote expanded political participation. New technology and transportation combined to support a market revolution that altered the relationships between peoples in the different regions. Reforms in education and other areas improved life. New expressions in art and literature signified an emergent American culture. Yet these advancements were not shared by all, and challenges, particularly over foreign affairs and slavery, remained.

Growth in Land and Population Between 1844 and 1877, the United States expanded westward, with many citizens believing it had a destiny to control all the land to the Pacific Ocean. The country added land through negotiations, purchase, and war. The largest acquisition came from the Mexican War, through which the United States established its southern border and claimed ports on the Pacific.

This rapid expansion attracted new immigrants, who left Europe because of famine, poverty, and political turmoil. In response to immigration, particularly of people from Ireland and China, some native-born Americans argued against citizenship for new residents. This resulted in the forming of political organizations to restrict immigration and citizenship.

Political Conflicts over Slavery Expansion and sectionalism also intensified differences over politics, economics, and, most seriously, slavery. Slaveowners became more insistent on their right to own enslaved people and argued for strong federal laws to return enslaved people who escaped bondage. Abolitionists became more insistent on ending slavery. Free-Soilers argued that the institution should not be allowed into the territories. Opponents of

slavery organized an “underground railroad” to help fugitives escape from slavery. Congress passed a series of compromises attempting to settle the issue of whether slavery could expand into new territories.

The Civil War and Reconstruction Then, in 1860, the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln for president. Though opposed to slavery, he also opposed immediate abolition. Still, his election frightened slaveholders. They feared that, despite his pledge to allow slavery to continue where it existed, his opposition to the expansion of slavery would lead to its eventual end. Eleven states left the Union, and a four-year civil war ravaged the country.

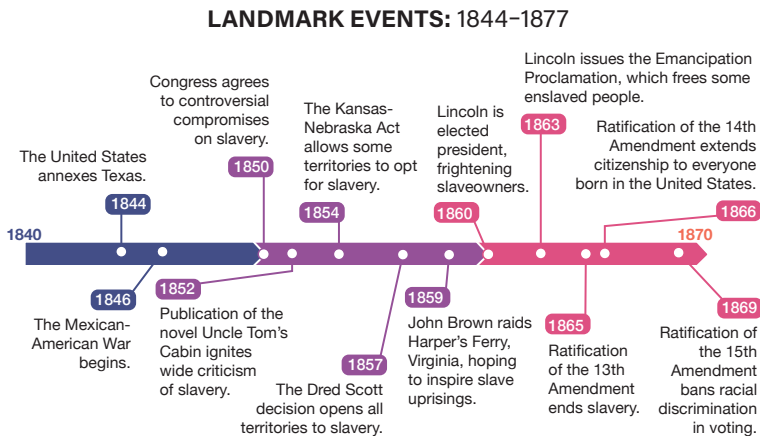
The Union victory ended slavery and shifted power to the federal government from the states. The 12 years after the war, known as Reconstruction, were marked by conflict. It was a period of fierce confrontations between the executive and legislative branches and between the federal and state governments. These confrontations reshaped how people thought about federalism and the separation of powers among the branches of government.

Racism and Discrimination Further, the country suffered from tremendous racial conflict. As the freed African Americans worked to establish new lives, White-dominated legislatures passed Black Codes that restricted the basic rights of Black citizens. In place of slavery, a new labor system known as sharecropping emerged that kept Black farmers in conditions almost as subservient to White landowners as slavery had. Finally, White Americans attempting to maintain racial supremacy killed thousands of Black citizens.

While the Civil War preserved the Union, historians vigorously debate the successes and failures of Reconstruction. In the future, the nation that survived a civil war would continue to grow, expand, and industrialize. Further, it would continue to struggle over achieving equal treatment for all of its people.

ANALYZE THE CONTEXT

1. Explain the historical context for the debate over slavery in the 1850s.
2. Explain the historical context for the varied results of Reconstruction.



The Idea of Manifest Destiny

Away, away with all these cobweb issues of the rights of discovery, exploration, settlement, contiguity [nearness], etc. . . . [The American] claim is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty.

John L. O'Sullivan, "The True Title," *New York Morning News*, 1845

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of westward expansion from 1844 to 1877.

While European settlers began assuming a right to territorial conquest during the colonial era, writers such as John O'Sullivan promoted that idea across the land in the 1840s and 1850s. Expansionists wanted the United States to extend westward to the Pacific and southward into Mexico, Cuba, and Central America. By the 1890s, expansionists fixed their sights on acquiring islands in the Pacific and the Caribbean.

The phrase **Manifest Destiny** expressed the popular belief that the United States had a divine mission to extend its power and civilization across the breadth of North America. (For a map showing the territorial expansion of the United States, see the multiple-choice questions in Topic 5.3.) Enthusiasm for expansion reached a fever pitch in the 1840s. It was driven by a number of forces: nationalism, population increase, rapid economic development, technological advances, and reform ideals. But not all Americans united behind expansionism. Critics argued vehemently that at the root of the expansionist drive was the ambition to spread slavery into western lands.

Conflicts Over Texas, Maine, and Oregon

U.S. interest in pushing its borders south into **Texas** (a Mexican province) and west into the **Oregon Territory** (claimed by Britain) largely resulted from American pioneers migrating into these lands during the 1820s and 1830s.

Texas

In 1823, after having won its national independence from Spain, Mexico hoped to attract settlers—including Anglo settlers—to farm its sparsely populated northern frontier province of Texas. Moses Austin, a Missouri banker, had obtained a large land grant in Texas but died before he could recruit American

settlers for the land. His son, **Stephen Austin**, succeeded in bringing 300 families into Texas and thereby beginning a steady migration of American settlers into the vast frontier territory. By 1830, Americans (both White farmers and enslaved Black people) outnumbered Mexicans in Texas by three to one.

Friction between the Americans and the Mexicans worsened in 1829 when Mexico outlawed slavery and required all immigrants to convert to Roman Catholicism. Many settlers refused to obey these laws. In reaction, Mexico closed Texas to additional American immigrants. Land-hungry Americans from the Southern states ignored the Mexican prohibition and streamed into Texas by the thousands.

Revolt and Independence A change in Mexico's government intensified the conflict. In 1834, General **Antonio López de Santa Anna** made himself dictator of Mexico and abolished that nation's federal system of government. When Santa Anna attempted to enforce Mexico's laws in Texas, a group of American settlers led by **Sam Houston** revolted and declared Texas an independent republic in March 1836. In its new constitution, Texas made slavery legal again.

A Mexican army led by Santa Anna captured the town of Goliad and attacked the **Alamo** in San Antonio, killing every one of its American defenders. Shortly afterward, however, at the Battle of the San Jacinto River, an army under Sam Houston caught the Mexicans by surprise and captured their general, Santa Anna. Under the threat of death, the Mexican leader was forced to sign a treaty that recognized independence for Texas and granted the new republic all territory north of the Rio Grande. However, when the news of San Jacinto reached Mexico City, the Mexican legislature rejected the treaty and insisted that Texas was still part of Mexico.

Annexation Denied As the first president of the Republic of Texas (or Lone Star Republic), Houston applied to the U.S. government for his country to be annexed, or added to, the United States as a new state. However, presidents Jackson and Van Buren both put off the request for annexation primarily because of political opposition among Northerners to the expansion of slavery. If annexed, Texas might be divided into five new states, which could mean ten additional proslavery members of the U.S. Senate. The threat of a costly war with Mexico also dampened expansionist zeal. The next president, William Henry Harrison, died after a month in office. His successor, **John Tyler** (1841–1845), was a Southern Whig who was worried about the growing influence of the British in Texas. He worked to annex Texas, but the U.S. Senate rejected his treaty of annexation in 1844.

Boundary Dispute in Maine

Another diplomatic issue arose in the 1840s over the ill-defined boundary between Maine and the Canadian province of New Brunswick. At this time, Canada was still under British rule and many Americans regarded Britain as their country's most significant enemy—an attitude carried over from the

Revolution and the War of 1812. A conflict between rival groups of lumber workers on the Maine-Canadian border erupted into open fighting. Known as the Aroostook War, or “battle of the maps,” the conflict was soon resolved in a treaty negotiated by U.S. Secretary of State Daniel Webster and the British ambassador, Lord Alexander Ashburton. In the **Webster-Ashburton Treaty** of 1842, the disputed territory was split between Maine and British Canada. The treaty also settled the boundary of the Minnesota territory, leaving what proved to be the iron-rich Mesabi Range on the U.S. side of the border.

Boundary Dispute in Oregon

A far more serious British-American dispute involved Oregon, a vast territory on the Pacific Coast that originally stretched as far north as the Alaskan border. At one time, this territory was claimed by four different nations: Spain, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States. Spain gave up its claim to Oregon in a treaty with the United States (the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819).

Britain based its claim to Oregon on the Hudson’s Bay Company’s profitable fur trade with the American Indians of the Pacific Northwest. However, by 1846, fewer than a thousand British settlers lived north of the Columbia River.

The United States based its claim on (1) the exploration of the Columbia River by Captain Robert Gray in 1792; (2) the overland expedition to the Pacific Coast by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805; and (3) the fur trading post and fort in Astoria, Oregon, established by John Jacob Astor in 1811. Protestant missionaries and farmers from the United States settled in the Willamette Valley in the 1840s. Their success in farming this fertile valley caused 5,000 Americans to catch “Oregon fever” and travel 2,000 miles over the Oregon Trail to settle in the area south of the Columbia River.

By the 1844 election, many Americans believed that taking undisputed possession of all of Oregon and annexing the Republic of Texas was their country’s Manifest Destiny. In addition, expansionists hoped to persuade Mexico to give up its province on the West Coast—the huge land of California. By 1845, Mexican California had a small Spanish-Mexican population of some 7,000 along with a much larger number of American Indians, but American emigrants were arriving in sufficient numbers “to play the Texas game.”

The Election of 1844

The possibility of annexing Texas and allowing the expansion of slavery split the Democratic Party in 1844. The party’s Northern wing opposed immediate annexation and wanted to nominate former president Martin Van Buren to run again. Southern Whigs who were proslavery and proannexation rallied behind former vice president John C. Calhoun of South Carolina as a candidate.

The Van Buren-Calhoun dispute deadlocked the Democratic convention. After hours of wrangling, the Democrats finally nominated a *dark horse* (lesser-known candidate). They chose **James K. Polk** of Tennessee, a protégé of Andrew Jackson, who was firmly committed to Manifest Destiny. Polk favored

the annexation of Texas, the acquisition of California, and the “reoccupation” of Oregon Territory all the way to the border with Russian Alaska at latitude 54° 40′. The Democratic slogan of “**Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!**” appealed strongly to American Westerners and Southerners who were in an expansionist mood.

Henry Clay of Kentucky, the Whig nominee, attempted to straddle the controversial issue of Texas annexation, opposing it and then supporting it. This strategy alienated a group of voters in New York State, who abandoned the Whig Party to support the antislavery Liberty Party (see Topic 4. 11). In a close election, the Whigs’ loss of New York’s electoral votes proved decisive and Polk, the Democratic dark horse, was the victor. The Democrats interpreted the election as a mandate to add Texas to the Union.

Annexing Texas and Dividing Oregon

Outgoing president John Tyler took the election of Polk as a signal to push the annexation of Texas through Congress. Instead of seeking Senate approval of a treaty that would have required a two-thirds vote, Tyler persuaded both houses of Congress to pass a joint resolution for annexation. This procedure required only a simple majority of each house. Tyler left Polk with the problem of dealing with Mexico’s reaction to annexation.

On the Oregon question, Polk decided to back down from his party’s bellicose campaign slogan. Instead of fighting for 54° 40′, he signed an agreement with the British to divide the Oregon territory at the 49th parallel (the parallel that had been established as the northern border in 1818 for the Louisiana Territory). Final settlement of the issue was delayed until the United States agreed to grant Vancouver Island and the right to navigate the Columbia River to Britain. In June 1846, the treaty was submitted to the Senate for ratification. Some Northerners viewed the treaty as a sellout to Southern interests because it removed British Columbia as a source of potential free states. Nevertheless, by this time war had broken out between the United States and Mexico. Not wanting to fight both Britain and Mexico, Senate opponents of the treaty reluctantly voted for the compromise settlement.

Settlement of the Western Territories

Following the peaceful acquisition of Oregon and the more violent acquisition of California (see Topic 5.3), the migration of Americans into these lands increased. The arid region between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific Coast was popularly known in the 1850s and 1860s as the **Great American Desert**. Emigrants passed quickly over this vast area to reach the more inviting lands on the West Coast. Therefore, California and Oregon were settled several decades before people attempted to farm the Great Plains.

Fur Traders’ Frontier

Fur traders known as mountain men were the earliest nonnative individuals to open the **Far West**. In the 1820s, they held yearly rendezvous in the Rockies with

American Indians to trade for animal skins. James Beckwourth, Jim Bridger, Kit Carson, and Jedediah Smith were among the hardy band of explorers and trappers who provided much of the early information about trails and frontier conditions to later settlers.

Overland Trails

After the mountain men, a much larger group of pioneers made the hazardous journey west in hopes of clearing the forests and farming the fertile valleys of California and Oregon. By 1860, hundreds of thousands had reached their westward goal by following the Oregon, California, Santa Fe, and Mormon trails. The long and arduous trek usually began in St. Joseph or Independence, Missouri, or in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and followed the river valleys through the Great Plains. Inching along at only 15 miles a day, a wagon train needed months to finally reach the foothills of the Rockies or face the hardships of the southwestern deserts. The final life-or-death challenge was to get through the mountain passes of the Sierras and Cascades before the first heavy snow. While pioneers feared attacks by American Indians, the most common and serious dangers were disease and depression from the harsh everyday conditions on the trail.

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND PIONEER TRAILS, 1840s



Mining Frontier

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 set off the first of many migrations to mineral-rich mountains of the West in the 1800s. Gold or silver rushes occurred in Colorado, Nevada, the Black Hills of the Dakotas, and other western territories. The mining boom brought tens of thousands of men and some women into the western mountains. Mining camps and towns—many of them short-lived—sprang up wherever a strike (discovery) was reported. Largely as a result of the gold rush, California's population soared from a mere 14,000 in 1848 to 380,000 by 1860. Booms attracted miners from around the world. By the 1860s, almost one-third of the miners in the West were Chinese.

Farming Frontier

Most pioneer families moved west to start homesteads and begin farming. Congress's Preemption Acts of the 1830s and 1840s gave squatters the right to settle public lands and purchase them for low prices once the government put them up for sale. In addition, the government made it easier for settlers by offering parcels of land as small as 40 acres for sale.

However, moving west was not for the poor. At a time when a typical laborer made about \$1.00 per day, a family needed at least \$200 to \$300 to make the overland trip. The trek to California and Oregon was largely a middle-class movement.

The isolation of the frontier made life for pioneers especially difficult during the first years, but rural communities soon developed. The institutions that the people established (schools, churches, clubs, and political parties) were modeled after those that they had known in the East or, for immigrants from abroad, in their native lands.

Urban Frontier

Western cities that arose as a result of railroads, mineral wealth, and farming attracted a number of professionals and business owners. For example, San Francisco and Denver became instant cities created by the gold and silver rushes. Salt Lake City grew because it offered fresh supplies to travelers on overland trails for the balance of their westward journey.

Foreign Commerce

The growth in manufactured goods as well as in agricultural products (both Western grains and Southern cotton) caused a large growth of **exports and imports**. Other factors also played a role in the expansion of U.S. trade in the mid-1800s:

1. Shipping firms encouraged trade and travel across the Atlantic by establishing a regular schedule for departures instead of the 18th-century policy of waiting to sail until a ship was full.

2. The demand for whale oil to light the homes of middle-class Americans caused a whaling boom between 1830 and 1860. New England merchants took the lead in this industry.
3. Improvements in ship design came just in time to speed gold seekers on their journey to the California gold fields. The development of the American clipper ship cut the six-month trip from New York around the Horn of South America to San Francisco to as little as 89 days.
4. Steamships took the place of clipper ships in the mid-1850s because they had greater storage capacity, could be maintained at lower cost, and followed a schedule more reliably.
5. The United States expanded trade to Asia. New England merchants conducted profitable trade with China for tea, silk, and porcelain. The government sent Commodore **Matthew C. Perry** and a small fleet of naval ships to Japan, which had been closed to most foreigners for over two centuries. In 1854, Perry pressured Japan's government to sign the **Kanagawa Treaty**, which allowed U.S. vessels to enter two Japanese ports to take on coal. This treaty soon led to a trade agreement.

Expansion After the Civil War

From 1855 until 1870, the issues of union, slavery, civil war, and postwar reconstruction would overshadow the drive to acquire new territory. Even so, Manifest Destiny continued to be an important force for shaping U.S. policy. In 1867, for example, Secretary of State William Seward succeeded in purchasing Alaska at a time when the nation was just recovering from the Civil War.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the reasons for and results of westward expansion from 1844 to 1877.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Belief (NAT)

Manifest Destiny

Westward (MIG, GEO, ARC)

Great American Desert
mountain men
Far West
overland trails
mining frontier
gold rush
silver rush

farming frontier

urban frontier

Expansion Politics (POL)

John Tyler
Oregon Territory
"Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!"
James K. Polk

Military & Diplomatic Expansion (WOR)

Texas
Stephen Austin

Antonio López de Santa Anna

Sam Houston

Alamo

Webster-Ashburton Treaty

foreign commerce

exports and imports

Matthew C. Perry

Kanagawa Treaty

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“Where, where was the heroic determination of the Executive to vindicate our title to *the whole of Oregon*—yes, sir, ‘THE WHOLE OR NONE’ . . .

It has been openly avowed . . . that Oregon and Texas were born and cradled together in the Baltimore convention; that they were the twin offspring of that political conclave [meeting]; and in that avowal may be found the whole explanation of the difficulties and dangers with which the question is now attended. . . .

I maintain—

1. That this question . . . is . . . one for negotiations, compromise, and amicable adjustment.
2. That satisfactory evidence has not yet been afforded that no compromise which the United States ought to accept can be effected.
3. That, if no other mode of amicable settlement remains, arbitration ought to be resorted to.”

Representative Robert C. Winthrop (Whig), speech to the House of Representatives, January 3, 1846

1. Winthrop’s position about territory in Oregon was based primarily on his desire to
 - (A) end all British power in North America
 - (B) obtain more land for settlers
 - (C) show his readiness to use military force
 - (D) oppose Southern desires to expand slavery
2. Which historical development illustrates the fulfillment of Winthrop’s argument?
 - (A) Polk negotiated a compromise with the British over Oregon.
 - (B) Polk went to war to obtain the whole of Oregon from Great Britain.
 - (C) Polk called a meeting in Baltimore to discuss annexation of Oregon.
 - (D) Polk asked foreign countries to arbitrate the Oregon dispute.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “The Manifest Destiny impulse fed off a mixture of crassness, truculence [hostility], and high idealism. Without question, there were those who proclaimed America’s providential mission to expand as a eulogistic [honorary] cover for speculation in land and paper. But those were hardly the motives of John L. O’Sullivan, the writer who coined the term For O’Sullivan and his allies, the expansionist imperative was essentially democratic . . . in a supercharged moral sense, stressing America’s duties to spread democratic values and institutions to a world still dominated by monarchs and deformed superstitions.”

Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 2005

“O’Sullivan and Young America provided a . . . set of aspirations that could be embraced by expansionists with less lofty ambitions The ‘young American’ who would transport ‘democracy’ into new territories was recognizably white, male, probably Protestant, and of martial [confrontational] demeanor— . . . facing, as he saw it, a world beset by economic backwardness, political lethargy, ignorance, superstition, Catholicism, effeminacy, and racial mixing. Expansionism would defeat the institutions that bred these maladies [illnesses] and offer the benefits of ‘civilization’ for those who wished to seize them.”

Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*, 2016

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Wilentz’s and Hahn’s historical interpretations of Manifest Destiny.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1830 to 1860 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Wilentz’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1830 to 1860 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Hahn’s interpretation.

Manifest Destiny and the Mexican–American War

The Southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican war.

Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of General U.S. Grant*, 1885

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of the Mexican–American War.

The U.S. annexation of Texas quickly led to diplomatic trouble with Mexico. The Mexicans' anger over the annexation and the newly elected President Polk's desire to expand the nation to the Pacific Ocean combined to bring both sides to the edge of war.

Conflict with Mexico

Upon taking office in 1845, President Polk dispatched John Slidell as his special envoy to the government in Mexico City. Polk wanted Slidell to (1) persuade Mexico to sell the **California** and New Mexico territories to the United States and (2) settle the disputed Mexico–Texas border. Slidell's mission failed on both counts. The Mexican government refused to sell California and insisted that Texas's southern border was on the **Nueces River**. Polk and Slidell asserted that the border lay farther to the south, along the **Rio Grande**.

Immediate Causes of the War

While Slidell waited for Mexico's response to the U.S. offer, Polk ordered General **Zachary Taylor** to move his army toward the Rio Grande, across territory claimed by Mexico. On April 24, 1846, a Mexican army crossed the Rio Grande and captured an American army patrol, killing 11. Polk used the incident to justify sending his prepared war message to Congress. Northern Whigs opposed going to war over the incident and doubted Polk's claim that American blood had been shed on American soil. Whig protests were in vain. A large majority in both houses approved the war resolution.

Military Campaigns

Most of the war was fought in Mexican territory by small armies of Americans. Leading a force that never exceeded 1,500, General **Stephen Kearney** succeeded in taking the New Mexico territory and southern California. Backed by only

several dozen soldiers, a few navy officers, and American civilians who had recently settled in northern California, **John C. Frémont** quickly overthrew Mexican rule in the region in June 1846. He proclaimed California to be an independent republic. Because the new republic's flag included a California grizzly bear, it became known as the **Bear Flag Republic**.

Meanwhile, Zachary Taylor's force of 6,000 men drove the Mexican army from Texas, crossed the Rio Grande into northern Mexico, and won a major victory at Buena Vista (February 1847). President Polk then selected General **Winfield Scott** to invade central Mexico. The army of 14,000 under Scott's command succeeded in taking the coastal city of Vera Cruz and then captured Mexico City in September 1847.

Consequences of the War

For Mexico, the war was a military disaster from the start, but the Mexican government was unwilling to sue for peace and concede the loss of its northern lands. Finally, after the fall of Mexico City, the government had little choice but to agree to U.S. terms.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) The treaty negotiated by diplomat Nicholas Trist with Mexico consisted of terms favorable to the United States:

- Mexico recognized the Rio Grande as the southern border of Texas.
- The United States took possession of the former Mexican provinces of California and New Mexico—the **Mexican Cession**. For these territories, the United States paid \$15 million and assumed responsibility for any claims of American citizens against Mexico.

In the Senate, some Whigs opposed the treaty because they saw the war as an immoral effort to expand slavery. A few Southern Democrats disliked the treaty for opposite reasons. As expansionists, they wanted the United States to take all of Mexico. Since this land was south of the line established in the Missouri Compromise dividing slave and free territory, it was a region where slavery could expand into. Nevertheless, the treaty was finally ratified in the Senate.

Wilmot Proviso The issue of slavery made the U.S. entry into a war with Mexico controversial from start to finish. In 1846, Pennsylvania Congressman David Wilmot proposed that an appropriations bill be amended to forbid slavery in any territory acquired from Mexico. This prohibition appealed to many voters and lawmakers who wanted to preserve the land for White settlers and protect them from having to compete with enslaved labor. The Wilmot Proviso, as it was called, passed the House, where the populous Northern states had greater power, twice. Both times, it was defeated in the Senate, where Southern states had greater influence.

Prelude to Civil War? By increasing tensions between the North and the South, did the war to acquire territories from Mexico lead inevitably to the American Civil War? Without question, the acquisition of vast western lands

did renew the sectional debate over the extension of slavery. Many Northerners viewed the war with Mexico as part of a Southern plot to extend the “slave power.” Southerners realized they could not count on Northerners to accept the expansion of slavery. The Wilmot Proviso was the first round in an escalating political conflict that led ultimately, though not inevitably, to civil war.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHY WAS MANIFEST DESTINY SIGNIFICANT?

Traditional historians stressed the accomplishments of westward expansion in bringing civilization and democratic institutions to a wilderness area. The heroic efforts of **mountain men** and pioneering families to overcome a hostile environment have long been celebrated by historians and the popular media.

Attitudes about Race As a result of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and the continuing diversification of American society, historians became more sensitive than their predecessors to racist language and beliefs. They recognized the racial undercurrents in the political speeches of the 1840s that argued for expansion into American Indian, Mexican, and Central American territories.

Some historians argue that racist motives prompted the decision to withdraw U.S. troops from Mexico instead of occupying it. They point out that Americans who opposed the idea of keeping Mexico had asserted that it was undesirable to incorporate large non-Anglo populations into the republic.

Diverse Contributions Recent historians have broadened their research into westward movement. Rather than concentrating on the achievements of Anglo pioneers, they have focused more on these topics: (1) the impact on American Indians whose lands were taken, (2) the influence of Mexican culture on U.S. culture, (3) the contributions of African American and Asian American pioneers, and (4) the role of women in the development of western family and community life.

The Impact on Mexico Some Mexican historians point out that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo took half of Mexico’s territory. They argue that the war of 1846 gave rise to a number of long-standing economic and political problems that have impeded Mexico’s development as a modern nation.

Economics over Race Some historians argue that the war with Mexico, especially the taking of California, was motivated by imperialism rather than by racism. They argue that the United States had commercial ambitions in the Pacific and wanted California as a base for trade with China and Japan. U.S. policy makers were afraid that California would fall into the hands of Great Britain or another European power if the United States did not move in first.

Support an Argument *Explain two perspectives on either causes or effects of the belief in Manifest Destiny important during the 19th century.*

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the reasons for and results of the Mexican War.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Military & Diplomatic Expansion (WOR)

Mexican-American War
California
Nueces River

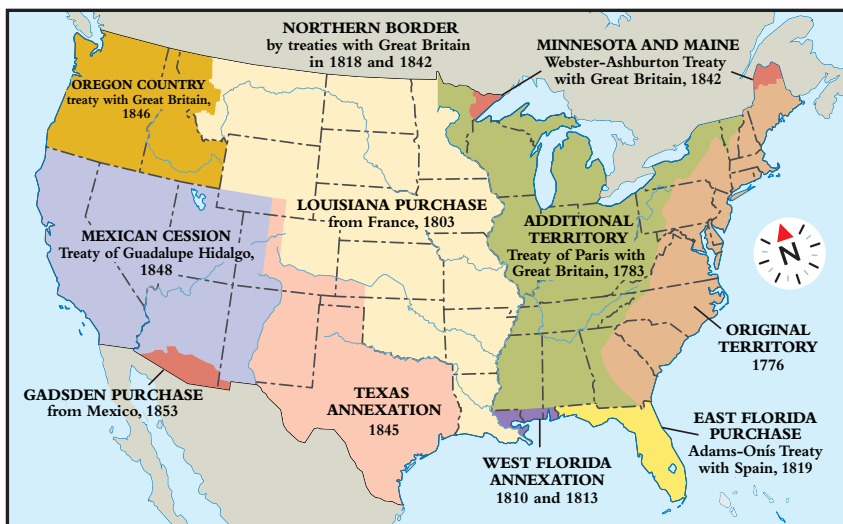
Rio Grande
Zachary Taylor
Stephen Kearney
John C. Frémont
Bear Flag Republic

Winfield Scott
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Mexican Cession
Wilmot Proviso
mountain men

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the map below.

LAND ACQUISITIONS BY THE UNITED STATES, 1776-1853



1. Why was the period of expansion between 1842 and 1853 so significant to the development of the United States?
- (A) The United States established borders that still exist today.
 - (B) The United States purchased its largest single territory in one act.
 - (C) The United States obtained territory along the Gulf of Mexico.
 - (D) The United States expanded westward for the first time.

2. The acquisitions of land in the West before 1845 were similar to land acquisitions after 1845 because they both were motivated by the controversial desire to
- (A) expand the institution of slavery
 - (B) build factories near mineral resources
 - (C) keep foreign influences out of the country
 - (D) take advantage of wars among European countries
3. Which territory did the United States gain most directly by going to war?
- (A) Louisiana Purchase
 - (B) Texas Annexation
 - (C) Oregon Country
 - (D) Mexican Cession

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific reason for American expansionism between 1840 and 1855.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific criticism of American expansionism between 1840 and 1855.
 - (c) Briefly describe how ONE group of people were profoundly impacted by America's expansionism between 1800 and 1860.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the 1840s that contributed to causing the Mexican War.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the 1840s that contributed to the United States victory in the Mexican War.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific consequence of the Mexican War for the United States.

Topic 5.4

The Compromise of 1850

*I owe a paramount allegiance to the whole Union—
a subordinate one to my own State.*

Senator Henry Clay, Kentucky, July 22, 1850

Learning Objective: Explain the similarities and differences in how regional attitudes affected federal policy in the period after the Mexican–American War.

Manifest Destiny and expansion intensified the debate about the spread of slavery. Abolitionists and White people eager to settle Western lands without the competition of slave labor opposed expansion. Slaveowners and people who felt they benefited from slavery wanted the continued growth of slavery. At the same time, most Americans still hoped for compromise that could keep the Union together.

Southern Expansion

Many Southerners resented the Missouri Compromise because it barred slavery from the Louisiana Purchase lands. They were also dissatisfied with the territorial gains from the Mexican War because they were not large enough. In general, they were eager to find new land for cultivation using enslaved labor.

Manifest Destiny to the South

In the early 1850s, many slaveowners hoped to acquire new territories, especially in areas of Latin America where they thought plantations worked by enslaved people were economically feasible. The most tempting, eagerly sought possibility in the eyes of Southern expansionists was the acquisition of Cuba.

Ostend Manifesto President Polk offered to purchase Cuba from Spain for \$100 million, but Spain refused to sell the last major remnant of its once glorious empire in the Americas. Several Southern adventurers led small expeditions to Cuba in an effort to take the island by force. These forays, however, were easily defeated, and those who participated were executed by Spanish firing squads.

Elected to the presidency in 1852, Franklin Pierce adopted pro-Southern policies and dispatched three American diplomats to Ostend, Belgium, where they secretly negotiated to buy Cuba from Spain. The agreement that the diplomats drew up, called the **Ostend Manifesto**, was leaked to the press in the United States. Antislavery members of Congress reacted angrily and forced President Pierce to drop the scheme.

Walker Expedition Expansionists continued to seek new empires with or without the federal government's support. Southern adventurer William Walker had tried unsuccessfully to take Baja California, the long peninsula stretching south of San Diego, from Mexico in 1853. Then, leading a force mostly of Southerners, he seized power in Nicaragua in 1855. Walker's regime even gained temporary recognition from the United States in 1856. However, his grandiose scheme to develop a proslavery Central American empire collapsed when a coalition of Central American countries invaded his country and defeated him. Walker was executed by Honduran authorities in 1860.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) Another American ambition was to build a canal through Central America. A canal would provide a shortcut to allow ships traveling from the Northern Atlantic to the Northern Pacific to avoid sailing around South America. Great Britain had the same ambition. To prevent each other from seizing this opportunity on its own, Great Britain and the United States agreed to the **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** of 1850. It provided that neither nation would attempt to take exclusive control of any future canal route in Central America. This treaty continued in force until the end of the century. A new treaty signed in 1901 (the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty) gave the United States a free hand to build a canal without British participation.

Gadsden Purchase Although he failed to acquire Cuba, President Pierce succeeded in purchasing a small strip of land from Mexico in 1853 for \$10 million (see map in Topic 5.2). Though the land was semidesert, it lay on the best route for a railroad through the region. Known as the **Gadsden Purchase**, it forms the southern sections of present-day New Mexico and Arizona.

Conflict Over Status of Territories

The issue of slavery in the territories gained in the Mexican War became the focus of sectional differences in the late 1840s. The Wilmot Proviso, which excluded slavery from the new territories, would have upset the Compromise of 1820 and the delicate balance of 15 free and 15 slave states. However, the proviso's defeat only increased sectional feelings.

Three Conflicting Positions on Slavery Expansion

Most people held one of three positions on whether to allow slavery in the Western territories. No single policy would appeal to them all, but many people hoped for a compromise that would allow each group to get something of what it wanted.

Free-Soil Movement Northern Democrats and Whigs supported the Wilmot Proviso and the position that all African Americans—slave and free—should be excluded from the Mexican Cession (territory ceded to the U.S. by Mexico in 1848). While abolitionists advocated eliminating slavery everywhere, many Northerners who opposed the westward expansion of slavery did not oppose slavery in the South. They sought to keep the West a land of opportunity for Whites only. This meant keeping out both enslaved and

free African Americans. In 1848, Northerners who opposed allowing slavery in the territories organized the **Free-Soil Party**, which adopted the slogan “free soil, free labor, and free men.” In addition to its chief objective—preventing the extension of slavery—the new party advocated free homesteads (public land grants to small farmers) and internal improvements such as roads and harbors.

Southern Positions Southern plantation owners, whose wealth and social status made them politically powerful, viewed attempts to restrict the expansion of slavery as violations of their constitutional right to take their property wherever they wished. They saw the Free-Soilers—and the abolitionists—as intent on the destruction of slavery. Some Southerners held more moderate views. They would agree to extend the Missouri Compromise line westward to the Pacific Ocean and permit territories north of that line to be free of slavery.

Popular Sovereignty A Democratic senator from Michigan, **Lewis Cass**, proposed a compromise solution that soon won considerable support from moderates across the country. Instead of Congress determining whether to allow slavery in a new western territory or state, Cass suggested that the matter be determined by a vote of the people who settled a territory. Cass’s approach to the problem was known as squatter sovereignty, or **popular sovereignty**.

The Election of 1848

The expansion of slavery into the territories was a vital issue in the presidential race of 1848. Three parties represented different positions on the issue:

- The Democrats nominated Senator Cass and adopted a platform pledged to popular sovereignty.
- The Whigs nominated Mexican War hero General **Zachary Taylor**, who had never been involved in politics and took no position on slavery in the territories.
- A third party, the Free-Soil Party, opposed expansion. It nominated former president Martin Van Buren. The party consisted of Conscience Whigs (who opposed slavery) and antislavery Democrats. Members of this latter group were ridiculed as “**barnburners**” because their defection threatened to destroy the Democratic Party.

Taylor narrowly defeated Cass, in part because of the vote given the Free-Soil Party in key Northern states such as New York and Pennsylvania.

Compromises to Preserve the Union

The Gold Rush of 1849 and the influx of about 100,000 settlers into California created the need for law and order in the West. In 1849, Californians drafted a constitution for their new state—a constitution that banned slavery. Even though President Taylor was a Southern slaveholder himself, he supported the immediate admission of both California and New Mexico as free states. (At this time, however, the Mexican population of the New Mexico territory had little interest in applying for statehood.)

Taylor's plan sparked talk of secession among the "fire-eaters" (radicals) in the South. Some Southern extremists even met in Nashville in 1850 to discuss secession. By this time, however, the astute Kentucky senator **Henry Clay** had proposed yet another compromise for solving the political crisis:

- Admit California to the Union as a free state.
- Divide the remainder of the Mexican Cession into two territories—Utah and New Mexico—and allow the settlers in these territories to decide the slavery issue by majority vote, or popular sovereignty.
- Give the land in dispute between Texas and the New Mexico territory to the new territories in return for the federal government assuming Texas's public debt of \$10 million.
- Ban the slave trade in the District of Columbia but permit Whites to own enslaved people there as before.
- Adopt a new Fugitive Slave Law and enforce it rigorously.

In the ensuing Senate debate over the compromise proposal, the three congressional giants of the age—Henry Clay of Kentucky, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina—delivered their last great speeches. (Webster and Calhoun, who were both born in 1782, died in 1850; Clay died two years later.) Webster argued for compromise in order to save the Union, and in so doing alienated the Massachusetts abolitionists who formed the base of his support. Calhoun argued against compromise and insisted that the South be given equal rights in the acquired territory.

Northern opposition to compromise came from younger antislavery lawmakers, such as Senator William H. Seward of New York, who argued that a higher law than the Constitution existed. Opponents managed to prevail until the sudden death in 1850 of President Taylor, who had also opposed Clay's plan. Succeeding him was a strong supporter of compromise, Vice President Millard Fillmore. Stephen A. Douglas, a young Democratic senator from Illinois, engineered different coalitions to pass each part of the compromise separately. President Fillmore readily signed the bills into law.

Passage The passage of the **Compromise of 1850** bought time for the Union. Because California was admitted as a free state, the compromise added to the North's political power. The political debate deepened the commitment of many Northerners to saving the Union from secession. Parts of the compromise became sources of controversy, especially the new Fugitive Slave Law and the provision for popular sovereignty.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how the different views of the individual regions influenced the federal government in the years after the Mexican-American War.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Expansion Politics (POL) Ostend Manifesto (1852)	Gadsden Purchase	Compromising (POL) Lewis Cass
Military & Diplomatic Expansion (WOR) Walker Expedition	Battle for the Territories (MIG, POL) free-soil movement	popular sovereignty Zachary Taylor
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty	Free-Soil Party "barnburners"	Henry Clay Compromise of 1850

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpts.

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

Henry Clay, Resolution on the Compromise of 1850

“We are told now . . . that the Union is threatened with subversion and destruction. . . . If the Union is to be dissolved for any existing causes, it will be dissolved because slavery is interdicted [interfered with] or not allowed to be introduced into the ceded Territories; because slavery is threatened to be abolished in the District of Columbia, and because fugitive slaves are not returned . . . to their masters. . . .

I am for staying within the Union and fighting for my rights.”

Henry Clay, Speech on the Compromise Resolution, 1850

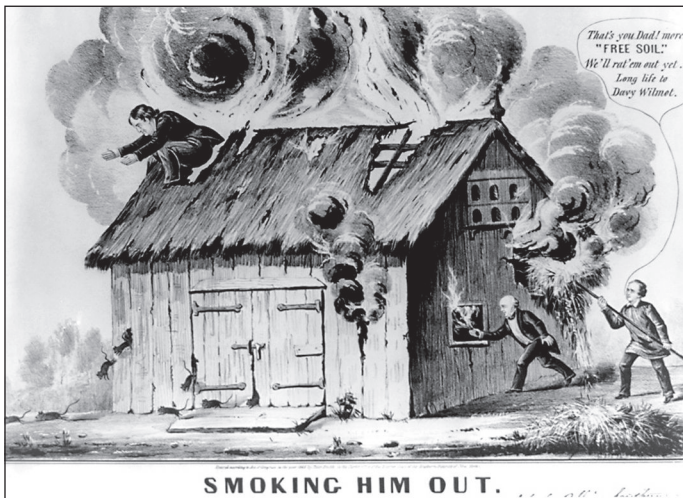
1. To which politician or politicians was Clay directing the last line of the second excerpt?
 - (A) Southerners who were threatening to secede
 - (B) Senators such as Daniel Webster who rejected any compromise
 - (C) Advocates of popular sovereignty
 - (D) The president, Zachary Taylor
2. The provision of the Compromise of 1850 that appealed most to advocates for slavery was the one regarding
 - (A) the conditions under which California would become a state
 - (B) the assumption of Texas’s public debt by the federal government
 - (C) the status of slave trade in Washington, D.C.
 - (D) the features of a new Fugitive Slave Law

3. Clay's position on slavery in "ceded territories" was opposed by people who were mostly concerned that they could take enslaved people into
- (A) islands in the Caribbean that might be acquired, such as Cuba
 - (B) the lands acquired in the Louisiana Purchase and from Mexico
 - (C) Texas, where slavery had been banned under Mexico
 - (D) Maine, which had been part of Massachusetts

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1.



Source: Nathaniel Currier, 1848. Library of Congress

Using the cartoon, answer (a), (b), and (c). The figure on the right side of the cartoon is saying, "That's you Dad! more 'Free Soil.' We'll rat 'em out yet. Long life to Davy Wilmot."

- (a) Briefly explain ONE historical perspective expressed by the artist concerning slavery in the territories in the period 1840 to 1854.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE development in the period 1840 to 1854 that supported the perspective expressed by the artist.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE development in the period 1840 to 1854 that challenged the perspective expressed by the artist.

Topic 5.5

Sectional Conflict: Regional Differences

I did not write it. God wrote it. I merely did his dictation.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, describing her book *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1879

Learning Objective 1: Explain the effects of immigration from various parts of the world on American culture from 1844 to 1877.

Learning Objective 2: Explain how regional differences related to slavery caused tension in the years leading up to the Civil War.

Among the issues that divided people politically in the mid-1800s were immigration, particularly by Roman Catholics, and how to promote and respond to industrial growth. However, the dominant issue increasingly became the possible expansion of slavery into the territories.

Immigration Controversy

As immigration increased, especially from Ireland and Germany, opposition arose on many fronts. Some Americans disliked the ethnicity or religious faiths of the immigrants, while others feared them as low-wage workers who might take their jobs.

Irish

During this period, half of all the immigrants—almost 2 million—came from Ireland. These **Irish** immigrants were mostly tenant farmers driven from their homeland by crop failures and a devastating famine in the 1840s. They came with limited interest in farming, few skills, and little money. They faced discrimination because of their **Roman Catholic** religion. The Irish worked hard, often competing with African Americans for domestic work and low-skill jobs that required physical strength and endurance. Most stayed where they landed, so strong Irish communities developed in Northern cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. In Irish neighborhoods, people continued the customs they brought with them. For example, perhaps one-third spoke Irish. Several newspapers included an Irish-language section and churches held services for Irish speakers.

The Irish did bring two valuable skills. Since their country was dominated by the British, most Irish spoke English well and understood electoral politics. Using these skills, many entered local politics. They often organized their fellow immigrants and joined the Democratic Party, which was traditionally anti-British and pro-worker. Initially excluded from New York City's Democratic organization, **Tammany Hall**, the Irish had secured jobs and influence by the 1850s. By the 1880s they controlled Tammany Hall.

Germans

Both economic hardships and the failure of democratic revolutions in 1848 caused more than 1 million **Germans** to seek refuge in the United States in the late 1840s and the 1850s. Most German immigrants had some modest means as well as considerable skills as farmers and artisans. Moving westward in search of cheap, fertile farmland, they established homesteads throughout the Old Northwest and generally prospered. At first their political influence was limited. As they became more active in public life, many strongly supported public education and staunchly opposed slavery.

Like the Irish, they often formed close-knit communities in cities where the German language was commonly spoken. Germans in rural areas often formed their own Roman Catholic or Lutheran churches.

Nativist Opposition to Immigration

Many native-born Americans were alarmed by the influx of immigrants, fearing that the newcomers would take their jobs and dilute the culture of the Anglo majority. These ethnic tensions were closely tied to religion. Most of the native-born opponents of immigration were Protestants and most of the Irish and many of the German immigrants were Roman Catholics. In the 1840s, hostility to these immigrants, known as **nativism**, led to sporadic rioting in the big cities.

Nativists formed a secretive antiforeign society, the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, which evolved into a political organization, the American Party. Because party members often responded "I know nothing" to political questions, the American Party was commonly called the Know-Nothing Party. The policies they supported included increasing the time required for immigrants to attain citizenship from five years to twenty-one years and allowing only native-born citizens to hold public office.

For a short period in the early 1850s, as the Whig Party disintegrated, the Know-Nothing Party gained strength, particularly in the New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. In the 1856 presidential election the party unsuccessfully ran former president Millard Fillmore.

By the late 1850s, antiforeign feeling faded in importance as the North and the South grew increasingly divided over slavery. However, nativism would periodically return when enough native-born citizens felt threatened by a sudden increase in immigration.

Ethnic Conflict in the Southwest

Though not immigrants, American Indians and Mexican Americans who had become part of the United States because of the Mexican-American War also faced religious discrimination. Many were Roman Catholics or practiced traditional American Indian beliefs.

POPULATION BY REGION, 1820 TO 1860			
Region	1820	1840	1860
Northeast	4,360,000	6,761,000	10,594,000
North Central	859,000	3,352,000	9,097,000
South	4,419,000	6,951,000	11,133,000
West	—	—	619,000
All States	9,618,000	17,120,000	31,513,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*.

The Expanding Economy

The era of territorial expansion coincided with a period of remarkable economic growth from the 1840s to 1857.

Industrial Technology

Before 1840, factory production had been concentrated mainly in the textile mills of New England. After 1840, industrialization spread rapidly to the other states of the Northeast. New factories produced shoes, sewing machines, ready-to-wear clothing, firearms, precision tools, and iron products for **railroads** and other new technologies. The invention of the sewing machine by **Elias Howe** took much of the production of clothing out of homes and into factories. An electric telegraph demonstrated in 1844 by its inventor, **Samuel F. B. Morse**, went hand in hand with the growth of railroads in enormously speeding up communication and transportation across the country.

Railroads

The canal-building era of the 1820s and 1830s was replaced in the next two decades with the expansion of rail lines, especially across the Northeast and Midwest. The railroads soon emerged as America's largest industry. As such, they required immense amounts of capital and labor and gave rise to complex business organizations. Local merchants and farmers would often buy stocks in the new railroad companies in order to connect their area to the outside world. Local and state governments also helped the railroads grow by granting special loans and tax breaks. Then, in 1850, the U.S. government made its first land grant to railroads. It gave 2.6 million acres of federal land to build the Illinois Central Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico.

Cheap and rapid transportation particularly promoted Western agriculture. Farmers in Illinois and Iowa were now more closely linked by rail to the

Northeast than by the rivers to the South. The railroads united the commercial interests of the Northeast and Midwest and would also give the North strategic advantages in the Civil War.

Panic of 1857

In 1857 a financial panic caused a sharp decrease in prices for Midwestern agricultural products and a sharp increase in unemployment in Northern cities. However, cotton prices remained high and the South was less affected. As a result, some Southerners believed that their plantation economy was superior to the Northern economy and that continued union with the Northern economy was not needed.

Agitation Over Slavery

For a brief period—between the Compromise of 1850 and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854—political tensions relaxed slightly. However, the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act and the publication of a best-selling antislavery novel kept the slavery question before the public.

Fugitive Slave Law

The passage of a strict **Fugitive Slave Law** in 1850 persuaded many Southerners to accept that California would be a free state. However, many Northerners bitterly resented the law. As a result, it drove a wedge between North and South.

Enforcement The law’s purpose was to help owners track down runaway (fugitive) enslaved people who had escaped to a Northern state, capture them, and return them to their Southern owners. The law removed fugitive slave cases from state courts and made them the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government. It also authorized special U.S. commissioners to issue warrants to arrest fugitives. A captured person who claimed to be free and not someone who had just escaped slavery was denied the right of trial by jury. State and local law enforcement officials were required to help enforce the federal law.

Opposition Anyone who attempted to hide a runaway or obstruct enforcement of the law was subject to heavy penalties. However, Black and White activists in the North bitterly resisted the law. Through court cases, protests, and sometimes force, they tried to protect African Americans from being returned—or taken for the first time—into slavery.

Underground Railroad

The **Underground Railroad** was a loose network of activists who helped enslaved people escape to freedom in the North or Canada. Most of the “conductors” and those operating the “stations” were free African Americans and people who had escaped slavery themselves with the assistance of White abolitionists. The most famous conductor was **Harriet Tubman**, a woman who had escaped slavery. She made at least 19 trips into the South to help some 300 people escape.

Free Black citizens in the North and abolitionists also organized vigilance committees to protect fugitive slaves from the slave catchers. During the Civil War, African American leaders such as Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth worked for emancipation and supported Black soldiers.

Books on Slavery—Pro and Con

Popular books as well as unpopular laws stirred the people of all regions.

Uncle Tom’s Cabin The most influential book of its day was a novel about the conflict between an enslaved man, Tom, and the brutal White slave owner, Simon Legree. The publication of **Uncle Tom’s Cabin** in 1852 by the Northern writer **Harriet Beecher Stowe** moved a generation of Northerners and many Europeans to regard all slave owners as cruel and inhuman. Southerners condemned the “untruths” in the novel and looked upon it as one more proof of the North’s incurable prejudice against the Southern way of life. Later, when President Lincoln met Stowe, he is reported to have said, “So you’re the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war.”

In response to Stowe’s book, Mary Eastment wrote the pro-slavery novel *Aunt Phillis’s Cabin*. She portrayed a world of kind slaveowners and happily enslaved people.

Impending Crisis of the South Appearing in 1857, **Hinton R. Helper’s** nonfiction book, **Impending Crisis of the South**, attacked slavery from another angle. The author, a native of North Carolina, used statistics to demonstrate to fellow Southerners that slavery weakened the South’s economy. Southern states quickly banned the book, but it was widely distributed in the North by antislavery and Free-Soil leaders.

COMPARING THE FREE AND SLAVE STATES IN THE 1850s			
Category	Free States	Slave States	Slave States as Percentage of Free States
Population	18,484,922	9,612,979	52%
Patents for New Inventions	1,929	268	14%
Value of Church Buildings	\$67,778,477	\$21,674,581	32%
Newspapers and Periodicals	1,790	740	41%
Capital	\$230,100,840	\$109,078,940	47%
Value of Exports	\$167,520,098	\$107,480,688	64%

Source: Hinton R. Helper, *Impending Crisis of the South*, 1857. Data from various years between 1850 and 1856.

Southern Reaction Responding to the Northern literature that condemned slavery, proslavery Southern Whites counterattacked, arguing that slavery was good for both the master and the enslaved. They pointed out that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible and grounded in philosophy and history. Slavery was also permitted by the U.S. Constitution. Southern authors contrasted the

conditions of Northern wage workers—“wage slaves” forced to work long hours in factories and mines—with the familial bonds that developed on plantations between slaves and masters. **George Fitzhugh**, the best-known proslavery author, questioned the principle of equal rights for “unequal men” and attacked the wage system as worse than slavery. Among his works were *Sociology for the South* (1854) and *Cannibals All!* (1857).

Effect of Law and Literature

The Fugitive Slave Law and the books on slavery increasingly polarized the nation. Many Northerners who had opposed the expansion of slavery only for economic reasons and had scorned abolition became more concerned about slavery as a moral issue. At the same time, a growing number of Southerners, particularly wealthy ones, became more convinced that Northerners would abolish slavery and the way of life based upon it as soon as they could.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how sectional variations related to slavery increased hostilities in the years leading up to the Civil War.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Expanding Economy (WXT)

industrial technology
Elias Howe
Samuel F. B. Morse
railroads
Panic of 1857

Conflict (NAT) nativism

Urban Growth (MIG)

Irish
Roman Catholic
Germans

Changing Politics (PCE)

Tammany Hall

Slavery (POL, ARC)

Fugitive Slave Law
Underground Railroad

Harriet Tubman

Literature (ARC)

Uncle Tom’s Cabin
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Hinton R. Helper
Impending Crisis of the South
George Fitzhugh
Sociology for the South

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“The gentleman . . . has been anxious to proclaim the death of native Americanism. Sir, it is a principle that can never die. . . .

Native Americanism seeks to defend every institution that exists under that glorious Constitution

But we have been told that we belong to a party of ‘one idea.’ . . . Our great object is to attain to unity of national character; and, as necessary to that end, we embrace every measure and policy decidedly American We go for every thing American in contradistinction to every thing foreign. That . . . may be called ‘one idea’; but it is a glorious idea. . . .

No alien has a right to naturalization To prevent this universal admission to citizenship, we frame naturalization laws, and prescribe forms that operate as a check upon the interference of foreigners in our institutions. . . .

We are now struggling for national character and national identity We stand now on the very verge of overthrow by the impetuous force of invading foreigners.”

Rep. Lewis C. Levin, Speech in Congress, December 18, 1845

1. Which of the following groups would have most likely supported Levin’s concern “to attain unity of national character”?
 - (A) Reformers who opposed the mistreatment of Native Americans
 - (B) Southerners who viewed abolition as a threat to a long-standing institution
 - (C) Protestants who viewed Roman Catholicism as a foreign faith
 - (D) Men who opposed giving women the rights of citizenship, such as suffrage
2. How successful were Levin and his supporters in the mid-19th century?
 - (A) They slowed down the growth of sectional division over slavery.
 - (B) They helped pass a Fugitive Slave Law that appealed to Southerners.
 - (C) They supported government funding of railroads to unite the country.
 - (D) They formed a secretive society that evolved into a political party.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific social or political response to immigration in the 1850s.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific social or political response to the conflict over slavery in the 1850s.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific example of how a piece of literature influenced social or political change in the 1850s.

Failure of Compromise

The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong.

Abraham Lincoln, during a debate with Stephen Douglas in Alton, Illinois, 1858

Learning Objective: Explain the political causes of the Civil War.

By 1861, politicians attempted many compromises to prevent war. Historians agree on the sequence of major events from 1848 to 1861 that led to the outbreak of the Civil War between the Union and the Confederacy. Facts alone, however, do not automatically assemble themselves into a convincing interpretation of *why* war occurred when it did. Three large issues, all related to slavery, divided the North and the South: (1) attitudes about the morality of slavery, (2) views about the constitutional rights of states, particularly the right to protect slavery, and (3) differences over economic policies between the free-labor industrial North and the slave-labor agricultural South. Some historians argue that solving these issues was possible but blundering politicians and extremism resulted in an unnecessary war. Others argue that the war was inevitable.

National Parties in Crisis

The potency of the slavery controversy increased political instability. The two major parties—the Democrats and the Whigs—grew weak and divided over how to resolve the sectional differences over slavery. One effort to settle the issue, the application of popular sovereignty in the territory of Kansas, resulted in disaster.

The Election of 1852

Signs of trouble for the Whig Party appeared in the 1852 election for president. The Whigs nominated another military hero of the Mexican War, General Winfield Scott. Attempting to ignore the slavery issue, the Whigs concentrated on the party's traditional platform: improving roads and harbors. But Scott quickly discovered that sectional issues could not be held in check. The antislavery and Southern factions of the party fell to quarreling, and the party was on the verge of splitting apart.

The Democrats nominated a compromise candidate, **Franklin Pierce** of New Hampshire, who they hoped would be a safe choice, one acceptable to people in all regions. A Northerner, Pierce was acceptable to Southern Democrats because he supported the Fugitive Slave Law. In the Electoral College, Pierce and the Democrats won all but four states, suggesting the days of the Whig Party were numbered.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)

The Democrats, firmly in control of both the White House and Congress, found they could not avoid the issue of slavery in the territories. Senator **Stephen A. Douglas** of Illinois proposed building a transcontinental railroad through the center of the country, with a major terminus in Chicago, to promote Western settlement (and increase the value of his own real estate in Chicago).

Southerners preferred a more southerly route. To win their support, Douglas introduced a bill to divide the Nebraska Territory into two parts, the Kansas and Nebraska territories, and allow settlers in each territory to decide whether to allow slavery. Since these territories were located *north* of the 36°30' line, Douglas's bill gave Southerners an opportunity to expand slavery into lands that had been closed to it by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Many Northern Democrats condemned the bill as a surrender to "slave power." Still, after three months of bitter debate, both houses of Congress passed Douglas's bill as the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** of 1854, and President Pierce signed it into law.

Extremists and Violence

The Kansas-Nebraska Act, in effect, repealed the Missouri Compromise that had lessened regional tensions for more than three decades. After 1854, the conflicts between antislavery and proslavery forces exploded, both in Kansas and on the floor of the United States Senate.

"Bleeding Kansas"

Stephen Douglas, the Kansas-Nebraska Act sponsor, expected the slavery issue in the territory to be settled peacefully by the antislavery farmers from the Midwest who migrated to Kansas and constituted a majority. Slaveholders from neighboring Missouri also set up homesteads in Kansas as a means of winning control for the South. Northern abolitionists and Free-Soilers responded by organizing the **New England Emigrant Aid Company** (1855), which paid for the transportation of antislavery settlers to Kansas. Fighting broke out between the proslavery and the antislavery groups, and the territory became known as "**bleeding Kansas.**"

Proslavery Missourians, called "border ruffians" by their enemies, crossed the border to create a proslavery legislature in LeCompton, Kansas. Antislavery settlers refused to recognize this government and created their own legislature in Topeka. In 1856, proslavery forces attacked the free-soil town of Lawrence,

killing two and destroying homes and businesses. Two days later, John Brown, a stern abolitionist, retaliated. He and his sons attacked a proslavery farm settlement at **Pottawatomie Creek**, killing five.

THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT OF 1854



In Washington, the Pierce administration did nothing to keep order in the Kansas territory and failed to support honest elections there. As Kansas became bloodier, the Democratic Party became more divided between its Northern and Southern factions. The plan to let territories decide on slavery for themselves had resulted in chaos and bloodshed.

Caning of Senator Sumner The violence in Kansas spilled over into the halls of the U.S. Congress. In 1856, Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner attacked the Democratic administration in a vitriolic speech, “The Crime Against Kansas.” His remarks included personal charges against South Carolina senator Andrew Butler. Butler’s nephew, Congressman Preston Brooks, defended his uncle’s honor by walking into the Senate chamber and beating Sumner over the head repeatedly with a cane. Sumner never fully recovered from the attack. The action by Brooks outraged the North, and the House voted to censure him while Southerners applauded the deed. The **Sumner-Brooks incident** was another sign of growing passions on both sides.

Birth of the Republican Party

The increasing tensions over slavery divided Northern and Southern Democrats, and completely broke apart the Whig Party. Ex-Whigs scattered. Those who were frightened about immigration joined the **Know-Nothing Party**. With the support of new members, the Know-Nothings won a few local and state elections in the mid-1850s. However, as the expansion of slavery became the paramount political issue, the significance of immigration declined, and along with it, the Know-Nothing Party.

Ex-Whigs who supported the expansion of slavery usually joined the Democratic Party. The South became the core of the party, although Democrats were still strong in the North.

Former Whigs who opposed slavery expansion formed the core of a new party. The **Republican Party** was founded in Wisconsin in 1854 as a reaction to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Composed of Free-Soilers and antislavery Whigs and Democrats, its purpose was to oppose the spread of slavery in the territories—not to end slavery itself. Its first platform called for the repeal of both the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Law. As violence increased in Kansas, more and more people, including some abolitionists, joined the Republican Party, and it became the second largest party in the country. But it was strictly a Northern, or sectional, party. Its success alienated and threatened the South.

The Election of 1856

The Republicans' first test of strength came in the presidential election of 1856. Their nominee was a California senator, the explorer and "Pathfinder," **John C. Frémont**. The Republican platform called for no expansion of slavery, free homesteads, and a probusiness protective tariff. The Know-Nothings also competed strongly in this election, with their candidate, former President **Millard Fillmore**, winning 20 percent of the popular vote.

As the one major national party, the Democrats expected to win. They nominated **James Buchanan** of Pennsylvania, rejecting President Pierce and Stephen Douglas because they were too closely identified with the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act. As expected, the Democrats won a majority of the popular and electoral vote. The Republicans made a strong showing for a sectional party. In the Electoral College, Frémont carried 11 of the 16 free states. Some predicted that the antislavery Republicans could win the White House without a single vote from the South.

The election of 1856 foreshadowed the emergence of a powerful political party that would win all but four presidential elections between 1860 and 1932.

Constitutional Issues

Both the Democrats' position of popular sovereignty and the Republicans' stand against the expansion of slavery received serious blows during the Buchanan administration (1857–1861). Republicans attacked Buchanan as a weak president.

Lecompton Constitution

One of Buchanan's first challenges as president in 1857 was to decide whether to accept or reject a proslavery state constitution for Kansas submitted by the Southern legislature at Lecompton. Buchanan knew that the **Lecompton Constitution**, as it was called, did not have majority support. Even so, he asked Congress to accept the document and admit Kansas as a slave state. Congress did not do so because many Democrats, including Stephen Douglas, joined with the Republicans in rejecting the constitution. The next year, 1858, the proslavery document was overwhelmingly rejected by Kansas settlers, most of whom were antislavery Republicans.

Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

Congressional folly and presidential ineptitude contributed to the sectional crisis of the 1850s. Then the Supreme Court worsened the crisis when it infuriated many Northerners with a controversial proslavery decision in the case of an enslaved man named Dred Scott. Scott had been held in slavery in Missouri and then taken to the free territory of Wisconsin, where he lived for two years before returning to Missouri. Arguing that his residence on free soil made him a free citizen, Scott sued for his freedom in Missouri in 1846. The case worked its way through the court system. It finally reached the Supreme Court, which rendered its decision in March 1857, only two days after Buchanan was sworn in as president.

Presiding over the Court was Chief Justice **Roger Taney**, a Southern Democrat. A majority of the Court decided against Scott and gave these reasons:

- Dred Scott had no right to sue in a federal court because the Framers of the Constitution did not intend African Americans to be U.S. citizens.
- Congress did not have the power to deprive any person of property without due process of law. If slaves were a form of property, then Congress could not exclude slavery from any federal territory.
- The Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional because it excluded slavery from Wisconsin and other Northern territories.

The Court's ruling delighted Southern Democrats and infuriated Northern Republicans. In effect, the Court declared all parts of the Western territories open to slavery. Republicans denounced the decision as "the greatest crime in the annals of the republic." The timing of the decision, after Buchanan's inauguration, led Northerners to suspect the Democratic president and majority on the Supreme Court, including Taney, had planned the decision so that it would settle the slavery question. This increased Northern suspicions of a conspiracy and induced thousands of Democrats to vote Republican. Northern Democrats such as Senator Douglas were left with the impossible task of supporting popular sovereignty without rejecting the Dred Scott decision. Douglas's hopes for compromise and the presidency were in jeopardy.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates

In 1858, the focus of the nation was on Stephen Douglas's campaign for reelection as senator from Illinois. Challenging him was a successful trial lawyer and former member of the Illinois legislature, **Abraham Lincoln**, as the Republican candidate. Lincoln had served one term in Congress in the 1840s as a Whig. Nationally, he was an unknown compared to Douglas (the Little Giant), who was the champion of popular sovereignty and possibly the best hope for holding the nation together if elected president in 1860.

Lincoln was not an abolitionist. As a moderate who was against the expansion of slavery, he spoke effectively of slavery as a moral issue. ("If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong.") Accepting the Illinois Republicans' nomination, he delivered his celebrated "**house-divided**" speech that won him fame. "I believe this government," said Lincoln, "cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*," a statement that made Southerners view Lincoln as a radical. In seven campaign debates in different Illinois towns, Lincoln shared the platform with his famous opponent, Douglas. The Republican challenger attacked Douglas's indifference to slavery as a moral issue.

In a debate in Freeport, Illinois, Lincoln challenged Douglas to reconcile popular sovereignty with the Dred Scott decision. In what became known as the **Freeport Doctrine**, Douglas responded that slavery could not exist in a community if the local citizens did not pass laws (slave codes) maintaining it. His views angered Southern Democrats because, from their point of view, Douglas did not go far enough in supporting the implications of the Dred Scott decision.

Douglas won his campaign for reelection to the U.S. Senate. In the long run, however, he lost ground in his own party by alienating Southern Democrats. Lincoln, on the other hand, emerged from the debates as a national figure and a leading contender for the Republican nomination for president in 1860.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the political causes for the Civil War.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Battle for the Territories (MIG, POL)

New England Emigrant Aid Company

"bleeding Kansas"

Pottawatomie Creek

Lecompton Constitution

Compromising (POL)

Stephen A. Douglas

Kansas-Nebraska Act

Politics in Crisis (POL)

Franklin Pierce

Know-Nothing Party

Republican Party

John C. Frémont

Millard Fillmore

James Buchanan

Slavery (POL, ARC)

Dred Scott v. Sandford

Roger Taney

Lincoln-Douglas debates

Abraham Lincoln

house-divided speech

Freeport Doctrine

Violent Responses (POL)

Sumner-Brooks incident

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“Mr. President . . . I proposed on Tuesday last, that the Senate should proceed to the consideration of the bill to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas

Now I ask the friends and the opponents of this measure to look at it as it is. Is not the question involved the simple one, whether the people of the Territories shall be allowed to do as they please upon the question of slavery, subject only to the limitations of the Constitution? . . .

If the principle is right, let it be avowed and maintained. If it is wrong, let it be repudiated. Let all this quibbling about the Missouri Compromise, about the territory acquired from France, about the act of 1820, be cast behind you; for the simple question is, will you allow the people to legislate for themselves upon the subject of slavery? Why should you not?”

Stephen A. Douglas, Defense of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854

1. Which of the following ideas best describes what Douglas is proposing in this excerpt?
 - (A) The theme of *The Impending Crisis of the South*
 - (B) The concept of popular sovereignty
 - (C) The right of a state to secede
 - (D) The distinction between a territory and a state
2. Opponents of Douglas’s views in this excerpt were mainly concerned that
 - (A) the Supreme Court had ruled popular sovereignty unconstitutional
 - (B) Congress was repealing a law that had held the Union together for more than 30 years
 - (C) the president would not fully support implementation of a new law
 - (D) European powers would object to the possibility of slavery’s expansion

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following excerpts.

1. “The country had been founded in compromise, and to compromise it was dedicated. . . . But this conception of compromise was in trouble, and the word would . . . become an epithet. . . .

The underlying issue was the North’s increasing power. And that power endangered slavery. Secessionists worried if slavery did not expand into the territories, the black population would stay where it was, bottled up and likely to explode. Fear motivated them. That is to say, racial anxiety was as pervasive as economic anxiety when it came to secession, though it was hard to separate the two, for they were threaded together with the rope that bound secessionists and many Southerners to their land, their way of life, their mint juleps, and their pride of race.

Lincoln’s election was thus not so much the *cause* of secession as its excuse: institutional restraints (read: the federal government) had insulted Southerners, imperiled their way of life, and held them in thrall to Northern financiers who had forced planters to buy goods in a protected market.”

Brenda Wineapple, *Ecstatic Nation*, 2013

“During the 1850s, however, the forces that had worked to hold the nation together in the past fell victim to new and much more divisive pressures that were working to split the nation apart. Driving the sectional tensions of the 1850s was a battle over national policy toward the western territories which were clamoring to become states of the Union—and over the place of slavery within them. Should slavery be permitted in the new states? And who should decide whether to permit it or not? . . . Positions on slavery continued to harden in both the North and South until ultimately each region came to consider the other its enemy.”

Alan Brinkley, *American History*, 2003

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Wineapple’s and Brinkley’s historical interpretations of Manifest Destiny.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1848 to 1861 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Wineapple’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1848 to 1861 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Brinkley’s interpretation.

Election of 1860 and Secession

I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood.

John Brown, December 1859

Learning Objective: Describe the effects of Lincoln's election.

In Northern states outside of Illinois where Douglas and the Democrats defeated Lincoln, the Republicans did well in the congressional elections of 1858. This greatly alarmed many Southerners. They worried not only about the antislavery plank in the Republicans' program but also about that party's economic program, which favored Northern industrialists at the expense of the South. The higher tariffs pledged by the Republicans would help Northern businesses but hurt the South, which depended on exporting cotton. The events leading up to Lincoln's election and the **secession** of eleven Southern states from the Union set the stage for war.

The Road to Secession

Southern fears grew that a Republican victory in 1860 would spell disaster for their economy and threaten their "constitutional right," as affirmed by the Supreme Court, to own enslaved people as property. Adding to their fears were Northern radicals supporting John Brown, the man who had massacred five farmers in Kansas in 1856.

John Brown's Raid at Harpers Ferry

John Brown confirmed the South's worst fears of radical abolitionism when he tried to start an uprising of enslaved people in Virginia. In October 1859, he led a small band of followers, including his four sons and some formerly enslaved people, to attack the federal arsenal at **Harpers Ferry**. His impractical plan was to use guns from the arsenal to arm Virginia's enslaved African Americans, whom he expected to rise up in revolt. Federal troops under the command of Robert E. Lee captured Brown and his band after a two-day siege. Brown and six of his followers were tried for treason by the state of Virginia. At the trial, Brown spoke with simple eloquence of his humanitarian motives in wanting to free enslaved people. However, he was convicted and hanged.

Brown's raid divided Northerners. Moderates condemned his use of violence, while abolitionists hailed him as a martyr. Southern whites saw the raid, and Northern support for it, as final proof of the North's true intentions—to use slave revolts to destroy the South.

The Election of 1860

After John Brown's raid, more and more Americans feared that their country was moving to disintegration. The presidential election of 1860 would test the Union.

Breakup of the Democratic Party As 1860 began, the Democratic Party represented the last hope for compromise. The Democrats held their national convention in Charleston, South Carolina. Stephen Douglas was the party's leading candidate and the most capable of winning the presidency. Blocking his nomination were angry Southerners and supporters of President Buchanan.

After deadlocking at Charleston, the Democrats held a second convention in Baltimore. Many delegates from the slave states walked out, enabling the remaining delegates to nominate Douglas on a platform of popular sovereignty and enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. Southern Democrats then held their own convention in Baltimore and nominated Vice President **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky as their candidate. The Southern Democratic platform called for the unrestricted extension of slavery in the territories and annexation of Cuba, a Spanish colony that still practiced slavery.

Republican Nomination of Lincoln When the Republicans met in Chicago, they enjoyed hopes of an easy win over the divided Democrats. They drafted a platform that appealed to the economic self-interest of Northerners and Westerners. They called for the exclusion of slavery from the territories, a protective tariff for industry, free land for homesteaders, and internal improvements to encourage Western settlement, including a railroad to the Pacific. To win moderates on slavery, they rejected the well-known New York Senator William Seward, a strong opponent of slavery. They turned to a little-known Illinois lawyer Abraham Lincoln, a strong debater. They believed that Lincoln could carry the Midwestern states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. One cloud darkened the Republicans' otherwise bright future. In the South, radicals warned that if the country elected Lincoln, their states would leave the Union.

A Fourth Political Party Fearing a Republican victory, a group of former Whigs, Know-Nothings, and moderate Democrats formed a new party: the **Constitutional Union Party**. For president, they nominated **John Bell** of Tennessee and pledged enforcement of the laws and the Constitution and, above all, preservation of the Union.

Election Results While Douglas campaigned across the country, Lincoln remained at home in Springfield, Illinois, meeting with Republican leaders and giving statements to the press. The election results were predictable. Lincoln carried every free state of the North, which represented a solid majority of 59 percent of the electoral votes. Breckinridge, the Southern Democrat, carried the Deep South, leaving Douglas and Bell with just a few electoral votes in the **border states**.

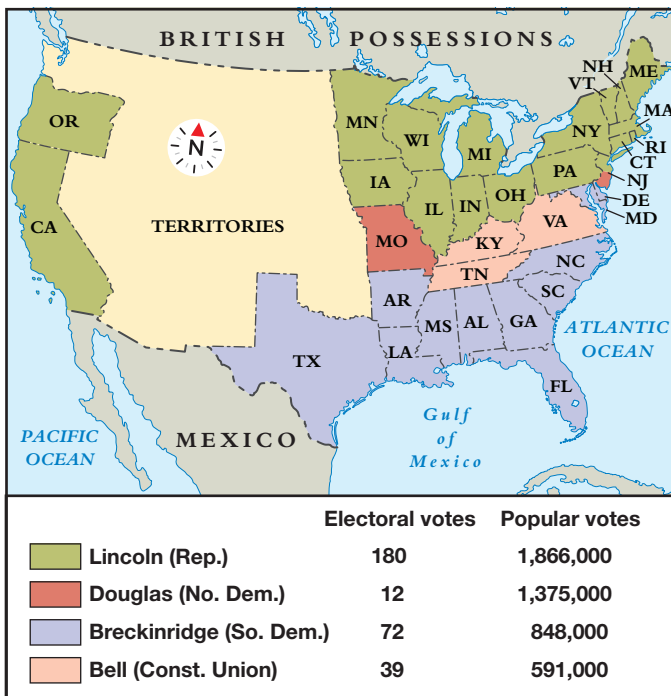
However, Lincoln won only 39.8 percent of the *popular* vote, so he would be a minority president. The new political reality was that the populous free states had enough electoral votes to elect a president without any electoral votes from the South. Southern fears that the North would dominate the federal government—and could soon threaten slavery—appeared to be coming true.

Secession of the Deep South

In 1860, Republicans controlled neither the Senate nor the Supreme Court. Even so, the election of Lincoln was all that Southern secessionists needed to call for immediate disunion. In December 1860, a special convention in South Carolina voted unanimously to secede, saying they needed to protect slavery. Within six weeks, state conventions in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas did the same. In several states, particularly Georgia and Alabama, many people were uncertain about or opposed to secession. However, large slaveowners, arguing that states had a right to defend slavery, prevailed.

In February 1861, representatives of the seven states of the Deep South met in Montgomery, Alabama, and created the Confederate States of America. The constitution of this Southern country was like the U.S. Constitution, except that the Confederacy placed limits on the government’s power to impose tariffs and restrict slavery. Elected president and vice president were Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander Stephens of Georgia.

THE ELECTION OF 1860



Crittenden Compromise A lame-duck president (a leader completing a term after someone else has been elected to his or her office), Buchanan had five months in office before Lincoln succeeded him. Buchanan was a conservative who did nothing to prevent the secession. Congress was more active. In a last-ditch effort to appease the South, Senator John Crittenden of Kentucky proposed a constitutional amendment that would guarantee the right to hold slaves in

all territories south of the old Missouri Compromise line, 36°30'. Lincoln, however, said that he could not accept this compromise because it violated the Republican position against extension of slavery into the territories.

Southern Whites who voted for secession believed they were acting in the tradition of the Revolution of 1776. They argued that they had a right to national independence and to dissolve a constitutional compact that no longer protected them from the “tyranny” of Northern rule. Many also thought that Lincoln, like Buchanan, might permit secession without a fight. Those who thought this had badly miscalculated.

A Nation Divided

When Lincoln took office as the president in March 1861, people wondered if he would challenge the secession militarily. In his inaugural address, Lincoln assured Southerners that he would not interfere with slavery where it existed. At the same time, he warned, no state had the right to break up the Union. He appealed for restraint: “In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors.

Fort Sumter

Despite the president’s message of conciliation, the danger of a war was acute. Critical was the status of federal forts in states that had seceded. **Fort Sumter**, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, was cut off by Southern control of the harbor. Rather than either giving up Fort Sumter or attempting to defend it, Lincoln announced that he was sending provisions of food to the small federal garrison. He thus gave South Carolina the choice of either permitting the fort to hold out or opening fire. Carolina’s guns thundered and thus, on April 12, 1861, the war began. The attack on Fort Sumter and its capture after two days of pounding united most Northerners behind a patriotic fight to save the Union.

Secession of the Upper South

Before South Carolina attacked Fort Sumter, only seven states of the Deep South had seceded. After it was clear that Lincoln would use troops to defend the Union, four states of the Upper South—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—seceded and joined the Confederacy. As in the earlier states, the decision to secede was controversial. The Confederates then moved their capital to Richmond, Virginia. The people of western Virginia remained loyal to the Union, becoming a separate state in 1863.

Keeping the Border States in the Union

Four other slaveholding states remained in the Union. The decisions of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky *not* to join the Confederacy were partly a result of pro-Union sentiment in those states and partly the result of shrewd federal policies. In Maryland, pro-secessionists attacked Union troops and threatened the railroad to Washington. The Union army resorted to martial

law to keep the state under federal control. In Missouri, U.S. troops prevented the pro-South elements from gaining control, although guerrilla forces for the Confederacy were active during the war. In Kentucky, the state legislature voted to remain neutral. Lincoln initially respected its neutrality and waited for the South to violate it before moving in federal troops.

Keeping the border states in the Union was a military and political goal for Lincoln. Their loss would increase the Confederate population by 50 percent and weaken the North's strategic position. Partly to avoid alienating Unionists in the border states, Lincoln rejected initial calls for the emancipation of slaves.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT CAUSED THE CIVIL WAR?

Was slavery the primary cause of the Civil War? In the decades after the war, Northern historians argued emphatically that the South's attachment to slavery was the principal, if not the only, cause. They blamed the war on a conspiracy of slave owners—a small minority of Southerners—who wanted only to expand slavery at the expense of White and Black Americans alike.

Southern historians, on the other hand, viewed the conflict between the two sections, North and South, as a dispute over the nature of the Constitution. They argued that Northern politicians violated the original compact of the states by attacking their property rights (the ownership of enslaved people). Therefore, the Southern states had to secede to defend their constitutional rights and escape tyranny of the Northern majority.

By the early 20th century, passions had cooled on both sides, and scholars of the Progressive era (1900–1917) thought economic interests were the foundation of all political conflict. The Civil War, then, was a clash between two opposing economic systems: the industrial North versus the agricultural South. They downplayed the divisive issue of slavery.

American disillusionment with World War I led historians to question whether the Civil War was necessary or inevitable. Previously, people had assumed that the Civil War was an “irrepressible conflict.” In the 1920s and 1930s, historians challenged that assumption, arguing that blundering politicians and fanaticism on both sides, such as radical abolitionists in the North and secessionists in the South, were chiefly responsible for the war. The leaders admired from this perspective were politicians of the 1850s who worked for compromise, such as Henry Clay and Stephen Douglas. They criticized Lincoln for his passionate “house-divided” speech.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the civil rights movement provided the backdrop for rethinking the causes of the Civil War. Historians who were affected by African Americans' struggles for civil rights returned to the view that slavery was the chief cause of disunion after all. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a leading historian of the 1950s, argued: “A society closed in the defense of evil institutions thus creates moral differences far too profound to be solved by compromise.” In this view, slavery was an inherently evil institution and the root of a conflict that was indeed “irrepressible.”

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the consequences of Lincoln's election.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Violent Responses (POL)

John Brown
Harpers Ferry

Politics in Crisis (POL)

John C. Breckenridge

Constitutional Union Party
John Bell
secession

Compromising (POL)

Crittenden Compromise

The Break (NAT, POL)

border states

The Fighting

(POL, GEO, CUL)

Fort Sumter

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. . . .

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

Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861

1. Which of the following actions by the Confederates was the first sign of their rejection of Lincoln's words in the excerpt above?
 - (A) The secession of seven states in the Deep South
 - (B) The decision to locate the Confederate capital in Virginia
 - (C) The adoption of a new constitution by the Confederacy
 - (D) The attack on Fort Sumter by South Carolina
2. The position of Lincoln and the Republicans on which of the following issues caused the greatest fear among Southern defenders of slavery?
 - (A) The extension of slavery into the territories
 - (B) The Fugitive Slave Act
 - (C) The slave trade in Washington, D.C.
 - (D) The Dred Scott decision

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “[In the Civil War,] great issues were at stake, issues about which Americans were willing to fight and die, issues whose resolution profoundly transformed and redefined the United States. The Civil War was a total war in three senses: It mobilized the total human and material resources of both sides; it ended not in a negotiated peace but in total victory by one side and unconditional surrender by the other; it destroyed the economy and social system of the loser and established those of the winner as the norm for the future. . . .

The North went to war to preserve the Union; it ended by creating a nation.”

James M. McPherson, historian, “A War That Never Goes Away,” *American Heritage*, March 1990

“Should we consecrate a war that killed and maimed over a million Americans? Or should we question . . . whether this was really a war of necessity that justified its appalling costs? . . .

Very few Northerners went to war seeking or anticipating the destruction of slavery. They fought for the Union, and the Emancipation Proclamation was a means to that end: a desperate measure to undermine the South and save a democratic nation that Lincoln called ‘the last, best hope of earth.’ . . .

From the distance of 150 years, Lincoln’s transcendent vision at Gettysburg of a ‘new birth of freedom’ seems premature. . . . Rather than simply consecrate the dead with words, he said, it is for ‘us the living’ to rededicate ourselves to the unfinished work of the Civil War.”

Tony Horwitz, journalist and writer, “150 Years of Misunderstanding the Civil War,” *The Atlantic*, June 2013

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between McPherson’s and Horwitz’s historical interpretations of the Civil War.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development from the period 1861 to 1865 not directly mentioned in the excerpts supports McPherson’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development from the period 1861 to 1865 not directly mentioned in the excerpts supports Horwitz’s interpretation.

Topic 5.8

Military Conflict in the Civil War

It is enough to make the whole world start to see the awful amount of death and destruction that now stalks abroad. I see no signs of a remission till one or both the armies are destroyed.

General William T. Sherman, June 1864

Learning Objective: Explain the various factors that contributed to the Union victory in the Civil War.

The Civil War between the Union and the Confederacy (1861–1865) was the costliest American war in terms of the loss of human life, resulting in the deaths of 750,000 people. Most important, the Civil War freed 4 million enslaved African Americans, giving the nation what President Lincoln called a “new birth of freedom.” The war also transformed American society by accelerating industrialization and modernization in the North and destroying much of the South. These changes were so fundamental and profound that some historians refer to the Civil War as the **Second American Revolution**.

War

Less than 100 years after fighting a war to establish their republic, the Union and the Confederacy each entered the Civil War with strengths and weaknesses.

Military Differences The Confederacy started with the advantage of having to fight only a defensive war to win, while the Union had to conquer an area as large as Western Europe. The Confederacy had to move troops and supplies shorter distances than the Union. It had a long, indented coastline that was difficult to blockade, experienced military leaders, and high troop morale.

The Union’s population of 22 million against the Confederate’s of 5.5 million free Whites would work to its favor in a war of attrition. Its population advantage was aided by 800,000 immigrants, and emancipation brought 180,000 African Americans into the Union army. The Union could also count on a loyal U.S. Navy, which ultimately gave it command of the rivers and territorial waters.

Economic Differences The Union dominated the nation’s economy, controlling most of the banking and capital of the country, 85 percent of the factories, 70 percent of the railroads, and 65 percent of the farmland. The skills of Northern clerks and bookkeepers proved valuable in the logistical support of military operations. Confederates hoped that European demand for its

cotton would bring recognition and financial aid. Like other rebel movements in history, the Confederates counted on outside help to be successful.

Political Differences The two sides had distinct goals. The Confederates were struggling for independence, while the Union was fighting to preserve the Union. But states' rights proved a liability for the Confederate government; to win the war, they needed a strong central government with strong public support. They had neither, while the Union had an established central government. The ultimate hope of the Confederates was that the people of the Union would turn against Lincoln and the Republicans and quit the war because it was too costly.

The Confederate States of America The Confederate constitution was modeled after the U.S. Constitution, but it denied the Confederate congress the powers to levy a protective tariff and to appropriate funds for internal improvements. However, it did prohibit the foreign slave trade. President **Jefferson Davis** tried to increase his executive powers during the war, but Southern governors resisted his attempts, some holding back troops and resources to protect their own states. At one point, Vice President **Alexander H. Stephens**, in defense of states' rights, even urged the secession of Georgia in response to the “despotic” actions of the Confederate government.

The Confederacy was chronically short of money. It tried loans, income taxes, and even impressment of private property, but these revenues paid only a part of war costs. The government issued more than \$1 billion in paper money, causing severe inflation. By war's end, a Confederate dollar was worth less than two cents. The Confederate congress nationalized railroads to promote industrial growth, but it was not enough. In a war of attrition, the Confederacy faced the challenge of making its resources last until the Union stopped fighting.

First Years of a Long War: 1861–1862

People at first expected the war to last no more than weeks. Lincoln called the first volunteers for a period of only 90 days. “On to Richmond!” was the cry, but it would take four years of fighting before Union troops marched into the Confederate capital.

Union Strategy General-in-Chief **Winfield Scott**, veteran of the 1812 and Mexican wars, devised a three-part strategy for winning a long war:

- Use the U.S. Navy to blockade Southern ports (called the **Anaconda Plan**), cutting off essential supplies from reaching the Confederacy
- Take control of the Mississippi River, dividing the Confederacy in two
- Raise and train an army 500,000 strong to conquer Richmond

The first two parts of the strategy proved easier to achieve than the third, but ultimately all three were important in achieving Northern victory.

After the Union's defeat at **Bull Run**, federal armies experienced a succession of crushing defeats as they attempted various campaigns in Virginia.

First Battle of Bull Run In the first major battle of the war (July 1861), 30,000 federal troops marched from Washington, D.C., to attack Confederate forces near Bull Run Creek at Manassas Junction, Virginia. As the Union forces seemed close to victory, Confederate reinforcements under General **Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson** counterattacked and sent the inexperienced Union troops in disorderly flight back to Washington. The battle ended the illusion of a short war and also promoted the myth that the rebels were invincible in battle.

Peninsula Campaign General **George B. McClellan**, the new commander of the Union army in the East, insisted that his troops be given a long period of training before going into battle. Finally, after many delays that tested Lincoln’s patience, McClellan’s army invaded Virginia in March 1862. The Union army was stopped by brilliant tactical moves by Confederate general **Robert E. Lee**, the commander of the South’s eastern forces. After five months, McClellan was forced to retreat and was ordered back to the Potomac, where he was replaced by General John Pope.

THE CIVIL WAR: THE UNION VS. THE CONFEDERACY



Second Battle of Bull Run Lee struck quickly against Pope’s army in Northern Virginia. He drew Pope into a trap, struck the enemy’s flank, and sent the Union army back to Bull Run. Pope withdrew to defend Washington.

Antietam Following his victory at Bull Run, Lee led his army across the Potomac into Maryland. He hoped that a Confederate victory in a Union state would convince Britain to give recognition and support to the Confederacy. By this time (September 1862), Lincoln had restored McClellan to command. McClellan had the advantage of knowing Lee's plan because a copy of it had been dropped accidentally by a Confederate officer. The Union army intercepted the Confederates at **Antietam** Creek in the Maryland town of Sharpsburg. Here the bloodiest single day of combat in the entire war took place, with more than 22,000 soldiers killed or wounded.

Unable to break through Union lines, Lee's army retreated to Virginia. Disappointed with McClellan for failing to pursue Lee's army, Lincoln removed him for the final time as the Union commander.

While essentially a draw on the battlefield, Antietam was among the most significant battles of the war. Because the Confederates did not win, they failed to get what they so urgently needed—recognition and aid from Great Britain and France. Because the Union did not lose, Lincoln found enough encouragement in a Union victory. As explained in Topic 5.9, Lincoln used the partial triumph to announce a direct assault on the institution of slavery.

Fredericksburg Replacing McClellan with the aggressive General Ambrose Burnside, Lincoln discovered that a strategy of reckless attack could have even worse consequences than McClellan's strategy of caution. In December 1862, a Union army under Burnside attacked Lee's army at **Fredericksburg**, Virginia, and suffered immense losses: 12,000 dead or wounded compared to 5,000 Confederate casualties. Both Union and Confederate generals were slow to learn that improved weaponry took the romance out of heroic charges against entrenched positions. By the end of 1862, the awful magnitude of the war was all too clear—with no prospect of victory for either side.

The second year of war, 1862, was a disastrous one for the Union except for two engagements, one at sea and the other on the rivers of the West.

Monitor vs. Merrimac The Union's hopes for winning the war depended upon its ability to maximize its economic advantages by an effective blockade of Confederate ports (the Anaconda Plan). During McClellan's Peninsula campaign, the Union's blockade strategy was jeopardized by an unusual Confederate ship, the *Merrimac*, that attacked and sank several Union ships near Hampton Roads, Virginia. Unlike the standard wooden ships of the day, the *Merrimac* was covered with metal plates. The "ironclad" seemed unstoppable. However, on March 9, 1862, the Union's own ironclad, the *Monitor*, engaged the *Merrimac* in a five-hour duel. The battle ended in a draw, but the *Monitor* prevented the Confederates' new weapon from breaking the U.S. naval blockade. The two ships marked a turning point in naval warfare, as ironclad ships replaced wooden ones.

Grant in the West The battle of the ironclads occurred at about the same time as a bloodier encounter was taking place in western Tennessee. The Union's campaign for control of the Mississippi River was partly under the command

of a West Point graduate, **Ulysses S. Grant**, who had joined up for the war after an unsuccessful civilian career. Striking south from Illinois in early 1862, Grant used a combination of gunboats and army maneuvers to capture Fort Henry and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River (a branch of the Mississippi). These stunning victories, in which 14,000 Confederate soldiers were taken prisoner, opened up the state of Mississippi to Union attack.

A few weeks later, a Confederate army under Albert Johnston surprised Grant at **Shiloh**, Tennessee, but the Union army forced the Confederates to retreat after terrible losses on both sides (more than 23,000 dead and wounded). Grant's drive down the Mississippi was complemented in April 1862 by the capture of New Orleans by the Union navy under **David Farragut**.

Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy

The Confederacy's hopes for independence hinged as much on its diplomats as on soldiers. Confederate leaders expected that cotton would prove to be “king” and induce Britain or France, or both, to give aid to their war effort. Besides cotton for their textile mills, wealthy British industrialists and aristocrats looked forward to ending the American democratic experiment. From the Union's point of view, it was critically important to prevent the Confederacy from gaining the foreign support and recognition that it desperately needed.

Trent Affair Britain came close to siding with the Confederacy in late 1861 over an incident at sea. Confederate diplomats James Mason and John Slidell were traveling to England on a British steamer, the *Trent*, on a mission to gain recognition for their government. A Union warship stopped the British ship, removed Mason and Slidell, and brought them to the United States as prisoners of war. Britain threatened war over the incident unless the diplomats were released. Despite intense criticism, Lincoln gave in to British demands. Mason and Slidell were set free, but they failed to obtain full recognition of the Confederacy from either Britain or France.

Confederate Raiders The British did allow the Confederates to purchase warships from British shipyards. These commerce-raiders did serious harm to U.S. merchant ships. One of them, the *Alabama*, captured more than 60 vessels before being sunk off the coast of France by a Union warship. After the war, Great Britain eventually agreed to pay the United States \$15.5 million for damages caused by Confederate attacks in ships built in Britain.

Failure of Cotton Diplomacy In the end, the Confederacy's hopes for European intervention were disappointed. “King Cotton” did not have the power, as Europe quickly found ways of obtaining cotton from other sources. Shipments of cotton began arriving from Egypt and India for the British textile industry. Also, other materials could be used for textiles, and the woolen and linen industries took advantage of this opportunity.

Two other factors went into Britain's decision not to recognize the Confederacy. First, General Lee's setback at Antietam played a role. Without a decisive Confederate victory, the British government would not risk

recognition. Second, Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (January 1863) made the end of slavery an objective of the Union, which appealed strongly to Britain's working class. While conservative leaders of Britain were sympathetic to the Confederacy, they could not defy the pro-Northern, antislavery feelings of the British majority.

The Union Triumphs, 1863–1865

By early 1863, the fortunes of war were turning against the Confederacy. Although General Lee started the year with a victory at Chancellorsville, Virginia, the Confederate economy was in bad shape as planters lost control of their slave labor, and an increasing number of starving soldiers were deserting the Confederate army.

Turning Point

The decisive turning point in the war came in the first week of July when the Confederacy suffered two crushing defeats in the West and the East.

Vicksburg In the West, by the spring of 1863, Union forces controlled New Orleans as well as most of the Mississippi River and surrounding valley. The Union objective of securing complete control of the Mississippi River was close when General Grant began his siege of the heavily fortified city of **Vicksburg**, Mississippi. Union artillery bombarded Vicksburg for seven weeks before the Confederates finally surrendered the city (and nearly 29,000 soldiers) on July 4. Federal warships now controlled the full length of the Mississippi, which cut off Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas from the rest of the Confederacy.

Gettysburg Meanwhile, in the East, Lee again took the offensive by leading an army into Maryland and Pennsylvania. If he could either destroy the Union army or capture a major Northern city, Lee hoped to force the Union to call for peace—or to gain foreign intervention for the Confederacy. On July 1, 1863, the Confederate army surprised Union units at **Gettysburg** in southern Pennsylvania. What followed was the most crucial battle of the war and the bloodiest, with more than 50,000 casualties. Lee's assault on Union lines on the second and third days, including a famous but unsuccessful charge led by George Pickett, proved futile and destroyed part of the Confederate army. Lee's forces retreated to Virginia, never to regain the offensive.

Grant in Command

In Grant, Lincoln finally found a general who would fight and could win. In early 1864, he brought Grant east to Virginia and made him commander of all Union armies. Grant settled on a strategy of war by attrition. He aimed to wear down the Confederacy's armies and destroy their lines of supply. Fighting for months, Grant's Army of the Potomac suffered heavier casualties than Lee's forces in the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor. But Grant succeeded in reducing Lee's army in each battle and forcing it into

a defensive line around Richmond. Rather than a small-scale war “between gentlemen” over control of territory, the war had become more like a modern “total” war in which victory depended on undercutting civilian support for the opponent’s military.

Sherman’s March The chief instrument of Grant’s aggressive tactics for subduing the South was the veteran general **William Tecumseh Sherman**. Leading a force of 100,000 men, Sherman set out from Chattanooga, Tennessee, on a campaign of deliberate destruction that went across the state of Georgia and then swept north into South Carolina. Sherman was a pioneer of the tactics of total war. Marching through Georgia, his troops destroyed everything, burning cotton fields, barns, and houses—everything the enemy might use to survive. Sherman took Atlanta in September 1864 in time to help Lincoln’s reelection. He marched into Savannah in December and completed his campaign in February 1865 by setting fire to Columbia, the capital of South Carolina and cradle of secession. Sherman’s march had its intended effect: to break the spirit of the Confederacy and destroy its will to fight.

The End of the War

The effects of the Union blockade, combined with Sherman’s march of destruction, spread hunger through much of the South in the winter of 1864–1865. In Virginia, Grant continued to outflank Lee’s lines until they collapsed around Petersburg, resulting in the fall of Richmond on April 3, 1865. Everyone knew the end was near.

Surrender at Appomattox The Confederate government tried to negotiate for peace. However, Lincoln would accept nothing short of restoration of the Union, and Jefferson Davis still demanded nothing less than independence. Lee retreated from Richmond with an army of fewer than 30,000 men. He tried to escape to the mountains, only to be cut off and forced to surrender to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on April 9, 1865. The Union general treated his longtime enemy with respect and allowed Lee’s men to return to their homes with their horses.

Still to be seen were the long-term effects of the war. What would be the impact of the many changes led by Lincoln and his government on the policies, laws, and society of the United States? What would the nearly 4 million African Americans freed from slavery do as free people? What would happen to American democracy?

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain several reasons for the Union victory in the Civil War.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

The Break (NAT, POL)

Confederate States of America
Jefferson Davis
Alexander H. Stephens
Second American Revolution

The Fighting (POL, GEO)

Bull Run
Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson
Winfield Scott
Anaconda Plan
George B. McClellan
Robert E. Lee
Antietam

Fredericksburg
Monitor vs. Merrimac

Ulysses S. Grant
Shiloh

David Farragut

Vicksburg

Gettysburg

Sherman's March

William Tecumseh Sherman

Appomattox Court House

War Diplomacy (WOR)

Trent Affair

Alabama

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“We drift fast toward war with England, but I think we shall not reach that point. The shopkeepers who own England want to do us all harm they can and to give all possible aid and comfort to our slave-breeding and woman-flogging adversary, for England has degenerated into a trader, manufacturer, and banker, and has lost all the instincts and sympathies that her name still suggests

She cannot ally herself with slavery, as she inclines to do, without closing a profitable market, exposing her commerce to [Yankee] privateers, and diminishing the supply of [Northern] breadstuffs on which her operatives depend for life. On the other side, however, is the consideration that by allowing piratical *Alabamas* to be built, armed, and manned in her ports to prey on our commerce, she is making a great deal of money.”

George Templeton Strong, New York lawyer, *Diary*, 1863

1. A major part of the Confederate strategy for winning independence was based on
 - (A) building a modern navy to break the Union blockade
 - (B) developing factories to manufacture weapons
 - (C) encircling the Union capital, Washington, D.C.
 - (D) winning recognition and support from Great Britain

2. Which of the following describes a reason not mentioned by Strong in this excerpt that discouraged Britain from recognizing the Confederacy?
 - (A) Concern about retaliation by British leaders in Canada
 - (B) Desire for closer ties with Mexico by British investors
 - (C) Respect for the Monroe Doctrine by the British public
 - (D) Opposition to slavery among the British working class

3. The Union was most disturbed because they believed that Britain was supporting the Confederates by doing which of the following?
 - (A) Allowing British shipyards to build warships for the Confederacy
 - (B) Transporting Confederate diplomats on British ships
 - (C) Lending money to Confederate states
 - (D) Supplying food to the Confederate army

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Question 1 is based on the following cartoon.

1.



Source: J. B. Elliot, 1861. Library of Congress

Using the cartoon, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE perspective expressed by the author of this political cartoon.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period 1861 to 1865 that resulted from the Union strategy to win the war.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific part of the Confederate strategy to counteract the Union strategy illustrated here.

Government Policies During the Civil War

The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise—with the occasion.

Abraham Lincoln, Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1862

Learning Objective: Explain how Lincoln’s leadership during the Civil War impacted American ideals over the course of the war.

More than any previous president, Lincoln acted in unprecedented ways, drawing upon his powers as both chief executive and commander in chief, often without the authorization or approval of Congress. For example, right after the Fort Sumter crisis he (1) called for 75,000 volunteers to put down the “insurrection” in the Confederacy, (2) authorized spending for a war, and (3) suspended the privilege of the writ of **habeas corpus**. Since Congress was not in session, the president acted completely on his own authority, explaining that it was “indispensable to the public safety.”

The End of Slavery

Though Lincoln in the 1850s spoke out against slavery as “an unqualified evil,” as president he hesitated to take action against slavery. Lincoln’s concerns included (1) a wish to keep the support of the border states, (2) the constitutional protections of slavery, (3) the racial prejudice of many Northerners, and (4) the fear that premature action could be overturned in the next election. All these concerns made the timing and method of ending slavery difficult. Enslaved individuals were freed during the war as a result of military events, governmental policy, and their own actions.

Confiscation Acts

Early in the war (May 1861), several enslaved people escaped to the Union lines. General Benjamin Butler refused to return them to their Confederate owners, arguing that their labor could be used to help the Confederates. Therefore, they were “contraband,” and he was not required to return them. Building on this example, Congress passed two laws known as the **Confiscation Acts**:

- The law passed in August 1861 gave the Union army the power to seize enemy property, including enslaved people, used to wage war against the United States. The law also empowered the president to use those freed in the Union army in any capacity, including battle.
- The law passed in July 1862 freed persons enslaved by any individual in rebellion against the United States.

Because of these laws, thousands of “contrabands” were using their feet to escape slavery by going into Union camps. As they did, they added pressure on the Union to abolish slavery. At the same time, they deprived the Confederacy of badly needed laborers to grow food to avoid starvation.

Emancipation Proclamation

By July 1862, Lincoln had decided to use his powers as commander in chief to free all enslaved persons in the states then at war. He justified his policy as a “military necessity.” However, he worried that such a move would alienate conservative Northerners who were pro-Union and pro-slavery. Furthermore, the action might look desperate if it came when the army was losing battles, so he delayed announcement of the policy. At the same time, he encouraged the border states to plan for emancipation that provided compensation to the owners. No one proposed providing compensation to the freedpeople.

After the Confederates retreated at the Battle of Antietam on September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued a warning that slaves in states still in rebellion on January 1, 1863, would be “then, thenceforward, and forever free.” On the first day of the new year, 1863, he issued his **Emancipation Proclamation**, which stated:

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, shall recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

Consequences Since the president’s proclamation applied only to the Confederate states *outside* Union control, it freed only about 1 percent of enslaved people. Slavery in the border states also continued. Still, the proclamation was important because it enlarged the purpose of the war by adding weight to the Confiscation Acts. Now Union armies were openly fighting against slavery, not merely against secession. By the end of the war, hundreds of thousands of enslaved people had become free by escaping to Union lines.

African Americans in the War

An even greater blow to the Confederacy was that the Union army soon had thousands of dedicated new recruits. Almost 200,000 African Americans, most of whom had recently escaped slavery, served in the Union army and navy. Segregated into all-Black units, such as the **Massachusetts 54th Regiment**, they won the respect of White Union soldiers for their bravery under fire. More than 37,000 African American soldiers died in this “Army of Freedom.”

Effects of the War on Civilian Life

Both during the war and in the years that followed, American society underwent deep and sometimes wrenching changes.

Political Change

The electoral process continued during the war with surprisingly few restrictions. Secession of the Southern states left Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. Northerners were split into several factions:

- Radical Republicans demanded immediate abolition of slavery.
- Free-Soil Republicans focused on economic opportunities for Whites.
- Most Democrats supported the war but criticized Lincoln's conduct of it.
- Some Democrats, called Peace Democrats or **Copperheads**, opposed the war and wanted a negotiated peace.

Civil Liberties Like many wartime leaders, Lincoln focused more on prosecuting the war than on protecting constitutional rights. Early in the war, he suspended the writ of habeas corpus in states with strong pro-Confederate sentiment. Suspension of this constitutional right meant that persons could be arrested without being informed of the charges against them. During the war, an estimated 13,000 people were arrested on suspicion of aiding the enemy. Without a right to habeas corpus, many of them were held without trial.

Democrats accused Lincoln of tyranny, but most historians have been less critical. In the border states, people had difficulty distinguishing between combatants and noncombatants. Furthermore, the Constitution allows only Congress, not the president, to suspend the writ of habeas corpus “when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.” After the war, the Supreme Court ruled in *Ex Parte Milligan* (1866) that the government had improperly subjected civilians to military trials. The Court declared that such procedures could be used only when regular civilian courts were unavailable.

The Draft When the war began in 1861, those who fought were volunteers. As the need for replacements increased, both the Union and the Confederacy resorted to laws for conscripting, or drafting, men into service. The Union's March 1863 Conscription Act made all men aged 20 to 45 liable for military service. However, a draftee could avoid service by finding a substitute to serve or paying a \$300 exemption fee. The law provoked fierce opposition among poorer laborers, most of whom were Irish or German immigrants. They feared that when they returned to civilian life their jobs would be taken by freed African Americans. In July 1863, protests against the draft in New York City quickly turned into a riot against the city's Black residents. About 117 people were killed before federal troops and a temporary suspension of the draft restored order.

The Election of 1864 The Democrats' nominee for president was the popular General George McClellan, whose platform calling for peace had wide appeal among millions of war-weary voters. The Republicans renamed their

party the Unionist Party as a way of attracting the votes of “War Democrats” (those who disagreed with the Democratic platform). A brief “ditch Lincoln” movement fizzled out, and the Republican (Unionist) convention again chose Lincoln as its presidential candidate and a loyal War Democrat from Tennessee, Senator Andrew Johnson, as his running mate. The Lincoln-Johnson ticket won 212 electoral votes to the Democrats’ 21. The popular vote was much closer as McClellan took 45 percent of the total votes cast.

Political Dominance of the North The suspension of habeas corpus and the operation of the draft were only temporary. More important were the long-term effects of the power of the federal government and the balance of power between the North and the South. With the military triumph of the Union came a clearer definition of the nature of the federal union. Old arguments for nullification and secession receded. After the Civil War, few people doubted the supremacy of the federal government.

The abolition of slavery—in addition to its importance to freed African Americans—gave new meaning to the concept of American democracy. In his famous **Gettysburg Address**, November 19, 1863, Lincoln rallied Americans to the idea that their nation was “dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.” Lincoln was probably alluding to the Emancipation Proclamation when he spoke of the war bringing “a new birth of freedom.” His words—and even more, the abolition of slavery—advanced the cause of democratic government in the United States and inspired democracy around the world.

Economic Change

The costs of the war in both money and men were staggering and called for extraordinary measures by the government.

Financing the War The Union financed the war by borrowing \$2.6 billion through the sale of government bonds. To gain added funds, Congress raised tariffs, added excise taxes, and instituted the first income tax. The U.S. Treasury also issued \$430 million in a paper currency, **greenbacks**, not backed by gold, which contributed to creeping inflation. Prices in the North rose by about 80 percent during the war. To manage the added revenue Congress created a national banking system in 1863, the first since Andrew Jackson vetoed the recharter of the Bank of the United States in the 1830s.

CIVILIANS EMPLOYED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT				
Year	Post Office	Defense	Other	Total
1841	14,290	598	3,150	18,038
1851	21,391	403	4,480	26,274
1861	30,269	946	5,457	36,672
1871	36,696	1,183	13,741	51,020
1881	56,421	16,297	27,302	100,020

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Modernizing Northern Society Economic historians differ on the question of whether, in the short run, the war promoted or retarded the growth of the Northern economy. Workers' wages did not keep pace with inflation, but the war accelerated many aspects of a modern industrial economy. By placing a premium on mass production and complex organization, the war sped up the consolidation of the North's manufacturing businesses. War profiteers took advantage of the need for military supplies to sell shoddy goods at high prices—a problem that decreased after the federal government took control of the contract process away from the states. Fortunes made during the war produced a concentration of capital in the hands of a new class of millionaires who would finance the North's industrialization in the postwar years.

Republican politics also stimulated the economic growth of the North and the West. With a wartime majority in Congress, the Republicans passed the probusiness Whig program that was designed to stimulate the industrial and commercial growth of the United States:

- The **Morrill Tariff Act** (1861) raised tariff rates to increase revenue and protect American manufacturers. Its passage initiated a Republican program of high protective tariffs to help industrialists.
- The **Homestead Act** (1862) promoted settlement of the Great Plains by offering parcels of 160 acres of public land free to any person or family that farmed that land for at least five years. Like the headright system in colonial Virginia and the sale of land in the Northwest Territory, this act helped many White settlers, but very few African Americans.
- The **Morrill Land Grant Act** (1862) encouraged states to use the sale of **federal land grants** to found and maintain agricultural and technical colleges. These schools not only educated farmers, engineers, and scientists, but they also became centers of research and innovation.
- The **Pacific Railway Act** (1862) authorized the building of a transcontinental railroad over a northern route in order to link the economies of California and the Western territories with the Eastern states.

While four years of nearly total war, the tragic human loss of 750,000 lives and an estimated \$15 billion in war costs and property losses had enormous effects on the nation, far greater changes were set in motion. The Civil War destroyed slavery and devastated the Southern economy. It also acted as a catalyst to transform America into a complex modern industrial society of capital, technology, national organizations, and large corporations.

Assassination of Lincoln

Only a month before Lee's surrender, Lincoln delivered one of his greatest speeches, the second inaugural address. He urged that the defeated South be treated benevolently, "with malice toward none; with charity for all."

On April 14, John Wilkes Booth, an embittered actor and Confederate sympathizer, shot and killed the president while he was attending a performance

at Ford’s Theater in Washington. On the same night, a co-conspirator attacked and wounded Secretary of State William Seward. These shocking events aroused the fury of Northerners when the Confederates most needed a sympathetic hearing. The loss of Lincoln’s leadership was widely mourned, but the extent of the loss was not fully appreciated until the two sections of a reunited country had to cope with the problems of Reconstruction.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how Lincoln’s governance during the Civil War influenced American principles during the war.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Economic Growth (WXT)

greenbacks
Morrill Tariff Act
Morrill Land Grant Act
federal land grants
Pacific Railway Act

Free Land (MIG)

Homestead Act (1862)

War and the Law (POL)

habeas corpus
Confiscation Acts
Emancipation Proclamation
Ex Parte Milligan

Wartime Politics (POL)

Copperheads

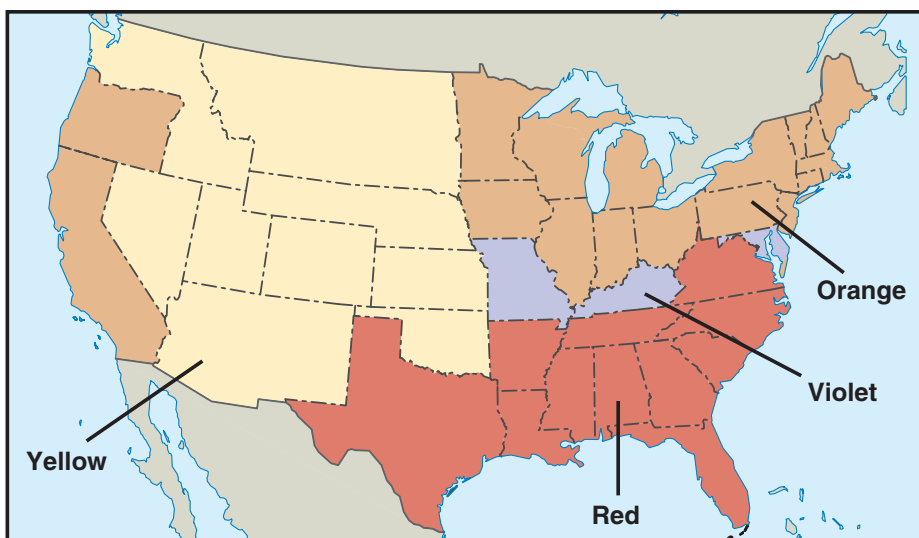
Social Impact (NAT, SOC)

Gettysburg Address
Massachusetts 54th Regiment

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the map below.

UNITED STATES, JULY 1861



1. In July of 1861, President Lincoln was particularly concerned about how his policies on slavery would affect which areas?
 - (A) The states in violet because they were slave states that remained in the Union
 - (B) The states in orange because they were home to most of his political supporters
 - (C) The states in red because he thought he could persuade them to rejoin the Union
 - (D) The region in yellow because it consisted of territories that had not yet become states
2. Which of the following statements best describes the states in orange?
 - (A) Most people lived in large cities.
 - (B) Most people advocated abolition of slavery.
 - (C) They lacked good river transportation.
 - (D) They included most of the country's population.
3. Which of the following statements best describes the states in red?
 - (A) They were economically self-sufficient.
 - (B) They were well connected by railroads.
 - (C) They were fighting a defensive war.
 - (D) They had a strong navy.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific action of President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War that supports the view that he was one of the most democratic presidents.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific action of President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War that supports the view that he was one of the most autocratic presidents.
 - (c) Briefly explain how ONE president who came before Lincoln was both democratic and autocratic.

Reconstruction

“The whole fabric of Southern society must be changed, and never can it be done if this opportunity is lost. Without this, this government can never be, as it never has been, a true republic.”

Thaddeus Stevens, September 6, 1865

Learning Objective: Explain the effects of government policy during Reconstruction on society from 1865 to 1877.

The silencing of the cannons of war left the victorious United States with immense challenges. How would the South rebuild its shattered society and economy after four years of war? What would be the place in that society of 4 million freed Black Americans? How responsible was the federal government for helping former slaves adjust to freedom? Should the states of the Confederacy be treated as though they had never left the Union—Lincoln’s position—or as conquered territory under military occupation? Under what conditions would those states be fully accepted as equal partners in the Union? Finally, who had the authority to decide these questions, the president or Congress?

Postwar Conditions

Slavery gradually crumbled as African Americans escaped to Union-controlled territory. The last people to hear they were free lived in Texas. The date they heard the news, June 19th, became a day for celebration known as Juneteenth.

Most freedpeople began their free lives with no money, no land, and no formal education. Near the end of the war, some freedpeople in South Carolina and Georgia received “40 acres and a mule” under an order from Union General William Sherman. However, this order was soon cancelled by President Andrew Johnson. The land they had was taken away from them.

The South was devastated by the war. It had lost about one-third of its horses, cattle, and hogs. Roads, bridges, railroad tracks, and fencing had been destroyed. Though people had not died from mass starvation as often happens in war, chronic food shortages, particularly for African Americans, left many in poor health and susceptible to epidemic diseases.

The regional, political, and economic conflicts that existed before and during the Civil War continued after the war. Northern Republicans wanted to continue the economic progress begun during the war. Southern aristocrats still wanted low-cost labor to work their plantations. The freedmen and

freedwomen hoped for independence and equal rights. However, traditional beliefs limited the actions of the federal government. Concepts of limited government and states' rights discouraged national leaders from taking bold action. Little economic help was given to White or Black Southerners, as most Americans believed that people had an opportunity and a responsibility to care for themselves. The physical rebuilding of the South was left up to the states and individuals, while the federal government concentrated on political issues.

Reconstruction Plans of Lincoln and Johnson

Throughout his presidency, Abraham Lincoln held firmly to the belief that the Southern states could not constitutionally leave the Union and therefore never did leave. He viewed the Confederates as only a disloyal minority. After Lincoln's assassination, **Andrew Johnson** attempted to carry out Lincoln's plan for the political **Reconstruction** of the 11 former states of the Confederacy.

Lincoln's Policies

Lincoln believed the Southern states could regain their full place in the Union by meeting a minimum test of political loyalty.

Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (1863) As early as December 1863, Lincoln set up a process for political reconstruction of the state governments in the South so that Unionists were in charge rather than secessionists. The president's **Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction** was simple:

- Full presidential pardons would be granted to most Confederates who (1) took an oath of allegiance to the Union and the U.S. Constitution, and (2) accepted the emancipation of slaves.
- A state government could be reestablished and accepted as legitimate by the U.S. president as soon as at least 10 percent of the voters in that state took the loyalty oath.

In practice, Lincoln meant that each Southern state would be required to rewrite its state constitution to abolish slavery. Lincoln's seemingly lenient policy was designed both to shorten the war and to give added weight to his Emancipation Proclamation.

Wade-Davis Bill (1864) Many Republicans in Congress objected to Lincoln's 10-percent plan, arguing that it would allow supposedly reconstructed state governments to be dominated by disloyal secessionists. In 1864, Congress passed the **Wade-Davis Bill**, which required 50 percent of the voters of a state to take a loyalty oath and permitted only non-Confederates to vote for a new state constitution. Lincoln pocket-vetoed the bill after Congress adjourned. Congress was ready to reassert its powers, as Congresses usually do after a war.

Freedmen's Bureau In March 1865, Congress created an important new agency: the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, or **Freedmen's Bureau**. The bureau acted as a welfare agency, providing food, shelter, and medical aid for both Black and White Americans left destitute by

the war. At first, the Freedmen's Bureau had authority to resettle freedpeople on confiscated farmlands in the South. Its efforts at resettlement, however, were later frustrated when President Johnson pardoned Confederate owners of the confiscated lands, and courts restored most of the lands to their original owners.

The bureau's greatest success was in education. Under the able leadership of General Oliver O. Howard, it established nearly 3,000 schools for freedpeople, including several colleges. Before federal funding was stopped in 1870, the bureau's schools taught an estimated 200,000 African Americans how to read.

Johnson and Reconstruction

Andrew Johnson's origins were as humble as Lincoln's. A self-taught tailor, he rose in Tennessee politics by championing poor Whites in conflict with rich planters. Johnson was the only senator from a Confederate state who remained loyal to the Union. He was appointed Tennessee's governor when it was occupied by Union troops. Johnson was a Southern Democrat, but Republicans picked him to encourage pro-Union Democrats to vote for Lincoln. Johnson ended up being the wrong man for the job. As a White supremacist, he was bound to clash with Republicans in Congress who believed that the war was fought not just to preserve the Union but also to liberate African Americans from slavery.

Johnson's Reconstruction Policy At first, many Republicans in Congress welcomed Johnson's presidency because of his animosity toward the Southern aristocrats who had led the Confederacy. In May 1865, Johnson issued his own Reconstruction plan. In addition to Lincoln's terms, it provided for the disenfranchisement (loss of the right to vote and hold office) of (1) all former leaders and officeholders of the Confederacy and (2) Confederates with more than \$20,000 in taxable property. However, the president could grant individual pardons to "disloyal" Southerners. This was an escape clause for the wealthy planters, and Johnson made use of it. As a result of his pardons, many former Confederate leaders were back in office by the fall of 1865.

Johnson's Vetoes One sign of the battle between Congress and the presidents was his use of the veto. The three presidents before Johnson vetoed a total of 23 bills. In his one term, he vetoed 29 bills. Johnson alienated even moderate Republicans in early 1866 with vetoes of two bills. One increased the services and protection of the Freedmen's Bureau. The other was a civil rights bill that nullified the Black Codes and guaranteed full citizenship and equal rights to African Americans. The vetoes marked the end of the first round of Reconstruction. During this round, Presidents Lincoln and Johnson had restored the 11 former Confederate states to the Union, ex-Confederates had returned to high offices, and Southern states began passing Black Codes to restrict the rights of former slaves.

Congressional Reconstruction

By the spring of 1866, the angry response of many members of Congress to Johnson's policies led to the second round of Reconstruction. This one was

dominated by Congress and featured policies that were harsher on Southern Whites and more protective of freed African Americans.

Radical Republicans

Republicans had long been divided between (1) moderates, who were chiefly concerned with economic gains for the White middle class, and (2) radicals, who championed civil rights for Black citizens. Although most Republicans were moderates, several became more radical in 1866, partly out of fear that a reunified Democratic Party might again become dominant. After all, now that the federal census counted all people equally (no longer applying the old three-fifths rule for enslaved persons), the South would have more representatives in Congress than before the war and more strength in the Electoral College.

The leading Radical Republican in the Senate was **Charles Sumner** of Massachusetts. In the House, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania hoped to revolutionize Southern society through a period of military rule in which African Americans could exercise their civil rights, attend schools operated by the federal government, and take ownership of lands confiscated from the planters. Many Radical Republicans endorsed several liberal causes: women's suffrage, rights for labor unions, and civil rights for Northern African Americans. Although their program was never fully implemented, the Radical Republicans struggled to extend equal rights to all Americans.

Thirteenth Amendment Laws, but not the U.S. Constitution, banned slavery. To free all enslaved people in the border states, the country needed to ratify an amendment. Even the abolitionists gave Lincoln credit for playing an active role in the political struggle to secure enough votes in Congress to pass the **13th Amendment**. By December 1865 (months after Lincoln's death), this amendment abolishing slavery was ratified by the required number of states. Its language was clear: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

After the adoption of the 13th Amendment in 1865, 4 million people (3.5 million in the Confederate states and 500,000 in the border states) were "freedmen" and "freedwomen." For these people and their descendants, economic hardship and political oppression would continue for generations. Even so, the end of slavery represented a momentous step. Suddenly, formerly enslaved people who had no rights could claim protection by the U.S. Constitution and had open-ended possibilities of freedom.

Civil Rights Act of 1866 Among the first actions in Congressional Reconstruction were votes to override, with some modifications, Johnson's vetoes of both the Freedmen's Bureau Act and the first Civil Rights Act. The Civil Rights Act pronounced that all African Americans were U.S. citizens (thereby nullifying the decision in the Dred Scott case) and attempted to provide a legal shield against the operation of the Southern states' Black Codes. Fearing that the law could be repealed if the Democrats ever won control of

Congress, Republicans looked for a more permanent solution in the form of a constitutional amendment.

Fourteenth Amendment In June 1866, Congress passed and sent to the states an amendment, ratified in 1868, that had immediate and even greater long-term significance:

- It declared that all persons born or naturalized in the United States were citizens.
- It obligated the states to respect the rights of U.S. citizens and provide them with “**equal protection of the laws**” and “**due process of law.**”

For the first time, the Constitution required *states* as well as the federal government to uphold the rights of citizens. The amendment’s key clauses about citizenship and rights produced mixed results in 19th-century courtrooms. However, in the 1950s and later, the Supreme Court used the power of the federal government to protect individuals from encroachment of their constitutional rights by state and local governments, making “equal protection of the laws” and the “due process” clause the keystone of civil rights for minorities, women, children, disabled persons, and those accused of crimes.

Other parts of the **14th Amendment** applied specifically to Congress’s plan of Reconstruction. These clauses:

- disqualified former Confederate political leaders from holding either state or federal offices
- repudiated the debts of the defeated governments of the Confederacy
- penalized a state if it kept any eligible person from voting by reducing that state’s proportional representation in Congress and the Electoral College

Report of the Joint Committee In June 1866, a joint committee of the House and the Senate issued a report declaring that the reorganized Confederate states were not entitled to representation in Congress. Therefore, those elected from the South as senators and representatives should not be permitted to take their seats. The report further asserted that Congress, not the president, had the authority to determine the conditions for allowing reconstructed states to rejoin the Union. By this report, Congress officially rejected the presidential plan of Reconstruction and promised to substitute its own plan, part of which was embodied in the 14th Amendment.

The Election of 1866 Unable to work with Congress, Johnson took to the road in the fall of 1866 to attack his opponents. His speeches appealed to the racial prejudices of White citizens by arguing that equal rights for Black Americans would result in an “Africanized” society. Republicans counterattacked by accusing Johnson of being a drunkard and a traitor. They appealed to anti-Southern prejudices by “waving the bloody shirt”—inflaming the anger of Northern voters by reminding them of the hardships of war.

Republican propaganda emphasized that Southerners were Democrats and, by a jump in logic, branded the Democrats a party of rebellion and treason.

Election results gave the Republicans an overwhelming victory. After 1866, Johnson's political adversaries—both moderate and Radical Republicans—had more than a two-thirds majority in both the House and the Senate.

Reconstruction Acts of 1867 Over Johnson's vetoes, Congress passed three Reconstruction Acts in 1867 that placed the South under military occupation. The acts divided the former Confederate states into five military districts, each under the control of the Union army. In addition, the acts increased the requirements for gaining readmission to the Union: an ex-Confederate state had to ratify the 14th Amendment and place guarantees in its constitution to grant the franchise (right to vote) to all adult males, regardless of race.

Impeachment of Andrew Johnson

Also in 1867, Congress passed the **Tenure of Office Act** over Johnson's veto. This law prohibited the president from removing a federal official or military commander without Senate approval. The purpose of the law was strictly political. Congress wanted to protect the Radical Republicans in Johnson's cabinet, such as Secretary of War **Edwin Stanton**, who was in charge of the military governments in the South.

Johnson challenged the constitutionality of the new law by dismissing Stanton. The House responded by impeaching Johnson. He was charged with 11 “high crimes and misdemeanors,” thus becoming the first president to be impeached. In 1868, after a three-month Senate trial, Johnson's foes fell one vote short of the two-thirds vote needed to remove him from office.

Reforms After Grant's Election

The impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson occurred in 1868, a presidential election year. At their convention, the Democrats nominated another candidate, Horatio Seymour, so that Johnson's presidency would have ended soon in any case, with or without a conviction in Congress.

The Election of 1868 At their presidential convention, the Republicans turned to a war hero, General Ulysses S. Grant, even though he had no political experience. Despite Grant's popularity in the North, he managed to win only 300,000 more popular votes than his Democratic opponent. The votes of 500,000 Black men gave the Republican ticket its margin of victory. Even the most moderate Republicans began to realize that the voting rights of the freedmen needed federal protection if their party hoped to keep control of the White House in future elections.

Fifteenth Amendment Republican majorities in Congress acted quickly in 1869 to secure the vote for African Americans. Adding one more Reconstruction amendment to those already adopted (the 13th Amendment in 1865 and the 14th Amendment in 1868), Congress passed the **15th Amendment**, which prohibited any state from denying or abridging a citizen's

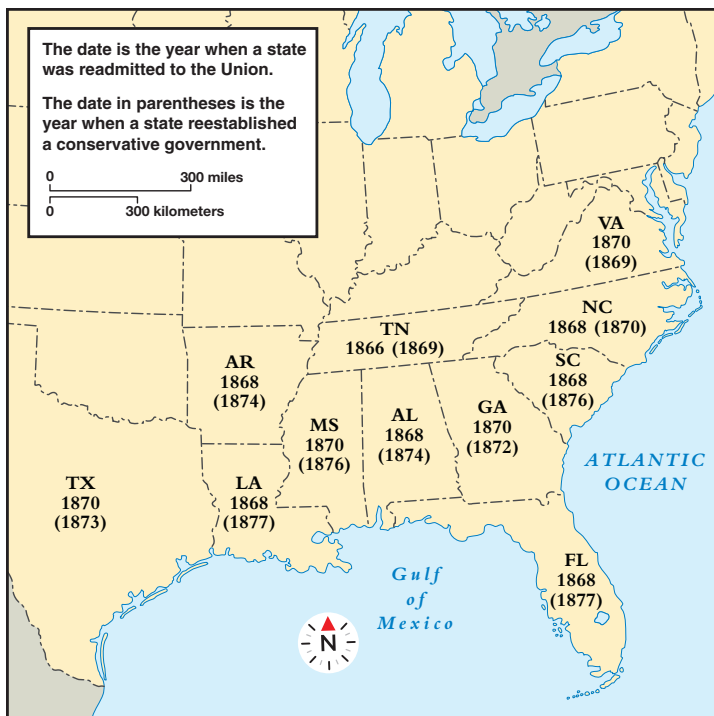
right to vote “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” It was ratified in 1870. While it banned open racial discrimination in voting laws, it did not prevent states from passing other restrictions on voting rights that disproportionately affected African Americans.

Civil Rights Act of 1875 The last civil rights reform passed by Congress during Reconstruction was the Civil Rights Act of 1875. This guaranteed equal accommodations in public places (hotels, railroads, and theaters) and prohibited courts from excluding African Americans from juries. The law was poorly enforced, as moderate and conservative Republicans tired of trying to reform an unwilling South and feared losing White votes in the North. By 1877, Reconstruction was abandoned by Congress.

Reconstruction in the South

During the second round of Reconstruction by Congress, the Republican Party in the South dominated the governments of the former Confederate states. Beginning in 1867, each Republican-controlled government was under the military protection of the Army until Congress was satisfied that a state had met its Reconstruction requirements. Then the troops were withdrawn. The period of Republican rule in a Southern state lasted from as little as one year (Tennessee) to as much as nine years (Florida), depending on how long it took conservative Democrats to regain control.

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION 1865-1877



Composition of the Reconstruction Governments

In every Republican state government in the South except South Carolina, Whites were in the majority in both houses of the legislature. In South Carolina, freedmen controlled the lower house in 1873. Republican legislators included native-born White Southerners, freedmen, and recently arrived Northerners.

“Scalawags” and “Carpetbaggers” Democratic opponents derisively called Southern Republicans **“scalawags”** and Northern newcomers **“carpetbaggers”** (after cheap luggage made from carpet fabric). Southern Whites who supported the Republican governments were usually former Whigs who were interested in economic development for their states and peace between the sections. Northerners went south after the war for various reasons. Some were investors interested in setting up new businesses, while others were ministers and teachers with humanitarian goals. Some went simply to plunder.

African American Legislators Most African Americans who held elective office in the reconstructed state governments were educated property holders who took moderate positions on most issues. During the Reconstruction era, Republicans in the South sent two African Americans, **Blanche K. Bruce** and **Hiram Revels**, to the Senate and more than a dozen African Americans to the House of Representatives. Revels was elected in 1870 to take the Mississippi Senate seat once held by Jefferson Davis. Seeing African Americans and former slaves in positions of power caused bitter resentment among ex-Confederates.

African Americans Adjusting to Freedom

Undoubtedly, the Southerners who had the greatest adjustment to make during the Reconstruction era were the freedmen and freedwomen. Having been so recently emancipated from slavery, they were faced with the challenges of securing their economic survival as well as their political rights as citizens.

Building Black Communities Freedom meant many things to African Americans: reuniting families, learning to read and write, or migrating to cities where “freedom was freer.” Most of all, formerly enslaved people viewed emancipation as an opportunity for achieving independence from White control. This drive for autonomy was most evident in the founding of hundreds of independent African American churches after the war. By the hundreds of thousands, Black members left White-dominated churches for the Negro Baptist and African Methodist Episcopal churches. During Reconstruction, Black ministers emerged as leaders in the African American community.

The desire for education induced large numbers of African Americans to use their scarce resources to establish independent schools for their children and to pay educated African Americans to become their teachers. Black colleges such as Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, and Morehouse were established during Reconstruction to prepare African American ministers and teachers.

Another aspect of African Americans’ search for independence and self-sufficiency was the decision of many freedpeople to migrate away from the South and establish new Black communities in frontier states such as Kansas.

PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN ENROLLED, 1850 TO 1880		
Year	White	African American
1850	56	2
1860	60	2
1870	54	10
1880	62	34

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

The North During Reconstruction

The North's economy in the postwar years continued to be driven by the Industrial Revolution and the probusiness policies of the Republicans. As the South struggled to reorganize its labor system, Northerners focused on railroads, steel, labor problems, and money.

Greed and Corruption

During the Grant administration, as the material interests of the age took center stage, the idealism of Lincoln's generation and the Radical Republicans' crusade for civil rights were pushed aside.

Rise of the Spoilsmen In the early 1870s, Republican Party leadership passed from reformers (**Thaddeus Stevens**, Charles Sumner, and **Benjamin Wade**) to political manipulators such as senators Roscoe Conkling of New York and James Blaine of Maine. These politicians were masters of the game of **patronage**—giving jobs and government favors (spoils) to their supporters.

Corruption in Business and Government The postwar years were notorious for the corrupt schemes devised by business bosses and political bosses to enrich themselves at the public's expense. For example, in 1869, Wall Street financiers **Jay Gould** and James Fisk obtained the help of President Grant's brother-in-law in a scheme to corner the gold market. The Treasury Department broke the scheme, but not before Gould had made a huge profit.

In the **Crédit Mobilier** affair, insiders gave stock to influential members of Congress to avoid investigation of the profits they were making—as high as 348 percent—from government subsidies for building the transcontinental railroad. In the case of the Whiskey Ring, federal revenue agents conspired with the liquor industry to defraud the government of millions in taxes. While Grant himself did not personally profit from the corruption, his loyalty to dishonest men around him badly tarnished his presidency.

Local politics in the Grant years were equally scandalous. In New York City, **William Tweed**, the boss of the local Democratic Party, masterminded dozens of schemes for helping himself and his cronies steal \$200 million from New York's taxpayers before *The New York Times* and the cartoonist **Thomas Nast** exposed "Boss" Tweed and brought about his arrest and imprisonment in 1871.

The Election of 1872

The scandals of the Grant administration drove reform-minded Republicans to break with the party in 1872 and select **Horace Greeley**, editor of the *New York Tribune*, as their presidential candidate. The **Liberal Republicans** advocated civil-service reform, an end to railroad subsidies, withdrawal of troops from the South, reduced tariffs, and freer trade. Surprisingly, the Democrats also nominated Greeley. The regular Republicans countered by merely “waving the bloody shirt” again—and it worked. Grant was reelected in a landslide.

The Panic of 1873

Grant’s second term began with an economic disaster that rendered thousands of Northern laborers both jobless and homeless. Overspeculation by financiers and overbuilding by industry and railroads led to widespread business failures and depression. Debtors on the farms and in the cities argued about what should be done. Grant finally adopted the ideas of Eastern bankers and creditors, setting a new trend for the Republican Party. Black Southerners were the biggest losers, as preoccupation with the financial crisis diverted the North’s attention away from what was happening in the South.

Women’s Changing Roles

Every part of American society away from the battlefield was touched by the war. The impact of the war on the roles and opportunities of women was significant.

The absence of millions of men from the fields and factories added to the responsibilities of women in all regions. They stepped into the vacuum created by the war, operating farms and plantations and taking factory jobs customarily held by men. In addition, women played a critical role as military nurses and as volunteers in soldiers’ aid societies. When the war ended and the war veterans returned home, most urban women vacated their jobs in government and industry, while rural women gladly accepted male assistance on the farm.

Women’s Suffrage

The responsibilities undertaken by women during the war also boosted demands for equal voting rights for women. Some members of the women’s suffrage movement who had worked tirelessly for the abolition of slavery opposed the passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments. While they supported extending the franchise to African Americans, they objected to the fact that these amendments specifically limited it to men. Ironically, this was the first time sex was mentioned in the Constitution, in an amendment meant to extend rights but that ended up discriminating against half the nation’s citizens.

In 1869, Wyoming Territory became the first territory or state to grant women full suffrage rights. The suffragists’ goal would not be achieved until women’s efforts in another war—World War I—finally convinced enough male conservatives to adopt the 19th Amendment, with wording that echoed that of the 15th Amendment.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the consequences of government policy during Reconstruction on society from 1865 to 1877.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Equality (NAT, POL)	patronage	Radical Republicans
13th Amendment	Thomas Nast	Charles Sumner
Civil Rights Act of 1866	Horace Greeley	Thaddeus Stephens
14th Amendment	Liberal Republicans	Benjamin Wade
equal protection of the laws	Panic of 1873	Reconstruction Acts
due process of law	Reconstruction (POL, SOC, ARC)	Tenure of Office Act
15th Amendment	Reconstruction	Edwin Stanton
Civil Rights Act of 1875	Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction	impeachment
Corruption (WXT, POL)	Wade-Davis Bill	scalawags
Jay Gould	Andrew Johnson	carpetbaggers
Crédit Mobilier	Freedmen's Bureau	Blanche K. Bruce
William Tweed	congressional Reconstruction	Hiram Revels
Politics (POL)		Social Impact (NAT, SOC)
spoilsmen		women's suffrage

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“All persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens. . . . No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens . . . nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process; nor deny . . . equal protection of the laws.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States . . . counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election . . . thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants . . . being twenty-one years of age, and citizens . . . or in any way abridged, except for . . . crime, . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced. . . .

No person shall . . . hold any office . . . who, having previously taken an oath . . . shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same . . . But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.”

14th Amendment, Constitution of the United States, July 9, 1868

1. In proclaiming that all persons born in the United States were citizens, the 14th Amendment directly repudiated which of the following?
 - (A) Compromise of 1850
 - (B) Dred Scott decision
 - (C) Johnson's Reconstruction plan
 - (D) Wade-Davis Bill

2. Which of the following provisions would be the basis of one of the most contentious judicial issues of the late 19th and early 20th centuries?
 - (A) "nor deny . . . equal protection of the laws"
 - (B) "Representatives shall be apportioned"
 - (C) "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced"
 - (D) "shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion"

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain how federal government actions taken during Reconstruction were similar to federal government actions taken during the Civil War.
 - (b) Briefly explain how federal government actions taken during Reconstruction were different from federal government actions taken during the Civil War.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE factor that accounts for the difference in federal government actions during the two periods.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific part or aspect of President Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific part or aspect of President Johnson's approach to Reconstruction.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific example of the efforts of formerly enslaved African Americans to use their freedom during the period of Reconstruction.

Failure of Reconstruction

Though slavery was abolished, the wrongs of my people were not ended. Though they were not slaves, they were not yet quite free.

Frederick Douglass, 1882

Learning Objective: Explain how and why Reconstruction resulted in continuity and change in regional and national understandings of what it meant to be American.

Views of Reconstruction have varied greatly. Many historians have seen it as a missed opportunity to promote racial equality. However, some have pointed out that the institutions and amendments from the Reconstruction era provided the foundation for the civil rights movement that emerged nearly a century after the Civil War ended.

Lincoln's Last Speech

In his last public address (April 11, 1865), Lincoln encouraged Northerners to accept Louisiana as a reconstructed state. (Louisiana had already drawn up a new constitution that abolished slavery in the state and provided for African Americans' education.) The president also addressed the question—highly controversial at the time—of whether freedmen should be granted the right to vote. Lincoln said: “I myself prefer that it were *now* conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.” Three days later, Lincoln's evolving plans for Reconstruction were ended with his assassination. His last speech suggested that, had he lived, he probably would have moved closer to the position taken by the progressive, or Radical, Republicans. In any event, hope for lasting reform was dealt a devastating blow by the sudden removal of Lincoln's skillful leadership.

Evaluating the Republican Record

As mentioned in Topic 5.10, Congress and presidents fought over specific amendments, laws, and actions. In evaluating Reconstruction, it is particularly useful to look at the controversial record of the Republicans during their brief control of Southern state politics. Did they abuse their power for selfish ends (corruption and plunder), or did they govern responsibly in the public interest? They did some of each.

Accomplishments On the positive side, Republican legislators liberalized state constitutions in the South by providing for universal male suffrage, property rights for women, debt relief, and modern penal codes. They promoted the building of railroads, roads, bridges, and other internal improvements. They established such institutions as hospitals, asylums, and homes for the disabled. The reformers provided for state-supported public-school systems, which benefited Whites and African Americans alike. They paid for all of this by overhauling the tax system and selling bonds.

Failures Long after Reconstruction ended, many Southerners and some Northern historians continued to depict Republican rule as utterly wasteful and corrupt. Some instances of graft and wasteful spending did occur, as Republican politicians took advantage of their power to take kickbacks and bribes from contractors who did business with the state. However, corruption occurred throughout the country, in Northern states and cities as well. No geographic section, political party, or ethnic group was immune to the decline in ethics in government during the postwar era.

The End of Reconstruction

The way Reconstruction ended shows how it failed to fulfill the nation's needs. During Grant's second term, it was apparent that Reconstruction had entered a third phase, which would be its final one. With Radical Republicanism on the wane, Southern conservatives—known as **redeemers**—took control of one state government after another. This process was completed by 1877. The redeemers had different backgrounds, but they agreed on their political program: states' rights, reduced taxes and spending on social programs, and White supremacy.

White Supremacy and the Ku Klux Klan

During the period that Republicans controlled state governments in the South, some Whites organized secret societies to intimidate African Americans and White reformers. The most prominent of these was the **Ku Klux Klan**, founded in 1867 by a former Confederate general, Nathaniel Bedford Forrest. The “invisible empire” burned Black-owned buildings and flogged and murdered several thousand freedmen to keep them from exercising their voting rights. To give federal authorities the power to stop Ku Klux Klan violence and to protect the civil rights of citizens, Congress passed the **Force Acts** of 1870 and 1871.

Southern Governments Just eight months after Johnson took office in 1865, all 11 of the ex-Confederate states qualified under the president's Reconstruction plan to become part of the Union. The Southern states drew up constitutions that repudiated secession, negated the debts of the Confederate government, and ratified the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery. On the other hand, none of the new constitutions extended voting rights to Blacks citizens. Furthermore, to the dismay of Republicans, former leaders of the Confederacy won seats in Congress. For example, Alexander Stephens, the former Confederate vice president, was elected U.S. senator from Georgia.

Black Codes The Republicans became further disillusioned with Johnson as Southern state legislatures adopted **Black Codes** that restricted the rights and movements of African Americans:

- They could not rent land or nor borrow money to buy land.
- They could not testify against Whites in court.
- They had to sign work agreements or they could be arrested for vagrancy. Under this contract-labor system, African Americans worked cotton fields under White supervision for deferred wages.

The costs of being convicted of any crime could be disastrous for an African American. The 13th Amendment had abolished slavery “except as a punishment for crime.” Hence, a person convicted of a minor or even made-up offense could be rented from the government by a landowner or business and used as essentially slave labor.

Sharecropping The South’s agricultural economy was in turmoil after the war, in part because landowners had lost their compulsory labor force. At first, White landowners attempted to force freed African Americans into signing contracts to work the fields. These contracts set terms that bound the signer to almost permanent and unrestricted labor. African Americans’ insistence on autonomy, however, combined with changes in the postwar economy, led White landowners to adopt a system based on tenancy and sharecropping. Under **sharecropping**, the landlord provided the seed and needed farm supplies in return for a share (usually half) of the harvest.

While sharecropping gave poor people of all races in the rural South the opportunity to work a piece of land for themselves, sharecroppers usually remained dependent on the landowners or in debt to local merchants. By 1880, no more than 5 percent of Southern African Americans owned their own land. Sharecropping had evolved into a new form of servitude.

The Amnesty Act of 1872

Seven years after Lee’s surrender at Appomattox, many Northerners were ready to put the war behind them. In 1872 Congress passed a general Amnesty Act that removed the last restrictions on ex-Confederates, except for the top leaders. The chief political consequence of the act was to allow Southern conservatives to vote for Democrats and thus to retake control of state governments.

The Election of 1876

By 1876, federal troops had been withdrawn from all Southern states except—South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The Democrats had returned to power in all of the other former Confederate states. This was important in the presidential election.

At their convention, the Republicans looked for someone untouched by the corruption of the Grant administration. They nominated the governor of Ohio, **Rutherford B. Hayes**. The Democrats chose New York’s reform governor,

Samuel J. Tilden, who had fought the corrupt Tweed Ring. In the popular votes, the Democrats won a clear majority and expected to put Tilden in the White House. However, in three Southern states, the returns were contested. To win the election, Tilden needed only one *electoral* vote from the contested returns of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana.

A special electoral commission was created to determine who was entitled to the disputed votes of the three states. In a straight party vote of 8–7, the commission gave all the votes to Hayes, the Republican. Outraged Democrats threatened to filibuster the results and send the election to the House of Representatives, which they controlled.

The Compromise of 1877

Leaders of the two parties worked out an informal deal. The Democrats would allow Hayes to become president. In return, he would (1) immediately end federal support for the Republicans in the South, and (2) support the building of a Southern transcontinental railroad. Shortly after his inauguration, President Hayes fulfilled his part in the Compromise of 1877 and promptly withdrew the last of the federal troops protecting African Americans and other Republicans.

The end of a federal military presence in the South was not the only thing that brought Reconstruction to an end. In a series of decisions in the 1880s and 1890s, the Supreme Court struck down a number of Reconstruction laws that protected Black citizens from discrimination. Even though some Southern leaders called for a “New South” based on industrial development, most Southerners, regardless of race, remained poor farmers. The region fell further behind the rest of the nation in prosperity.

By 1877 the nation was more interested in its recent Centennial celebration and was again looking westward and for industrial growth. Tired of Reconstruction, the majority left it to the historians to decide the success or failure of Reconstruction.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: DID RECONSTRUCTION FAIL?

Historical opinions on Reconstruction have changed dramatically over the past century. Scholars have disagreed over how well it worked and who deserves praise or blame for what happened.

Blame for Too Much Equality Generations of both Northern and Southern historians, starting with William Dunning in the early 1900s, portrayed Reconstruction as a failure. Dunning and others charged that illiterate African Americans and corrupt Northern carpetbaggers abused the rights of Southern Whites and stole vast sums from the state governments. These historians blamed the Radical Republicans for bringing on these conditions by their desire to punish the South and to give formerly enslaved people too many rights. The Dunning school of historical thought provided a rationale for the racial segregation in the early 20th century. It was given popular expression in a 1915 movie, D. W. Griffith’s *The Birth of a Nation*, which pictured the Ku

Klux Klansmen as heroes coming to the rescue of Southern Whites oppressed by vindictive Northern radicals and African Americans.

Praise for Accomplishments African American historians such as W. E. B. Du Bois and John Hope Franklin countered Dunning by highlighting the positive achievements of the Reconstruction governments and Black leaders. Their view was supported and expanded upon in 1965 with the publication of Kenneth Stampp’s *Era of Reconstruction*. Other historians of the 1960s and 1970s also stressed the significance of the civil rights legislation passed by the Radical Republicans and pointed out the humanitarian work of Northern reformers.

Blame for Too Little Equality By the 1980s, some historians criticized Congress’s approach to Reconstruction, not for being too radical, but for being not radical enough. They argued that Congress failed to provide land for African Americans, which would have enabled them to achieve economic independence. Furthermore, these historians argued, the military occupation of the South should have lasted longer to protect the freedmen’s political rights. Eric Foner’s comprehensive *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution* (1988) acknowledged the limitations of Reconstruction in achieving lasting reforms but also pointed out that, in the post-Civil War years, the freedmen and freedwomen established many of the institutions in the African American community upon which later progress depended: churches, schools, universities, and businesses. According to Foner, it took a “second Reconstruction” after World War II (the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s) to achieve the promise of the “first Reconstruction.”

Support an Argument *Explain two perspectives on the failures of Reconstruction.*

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how Reconstruction caused both continuity and change in the regional and national views of what it meant to be American.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Politics (POL)

redeemers
Rutherford B. Hayes
Samuel J. Tilden
Election of 1876
Compromise of 1877

Reconstruction

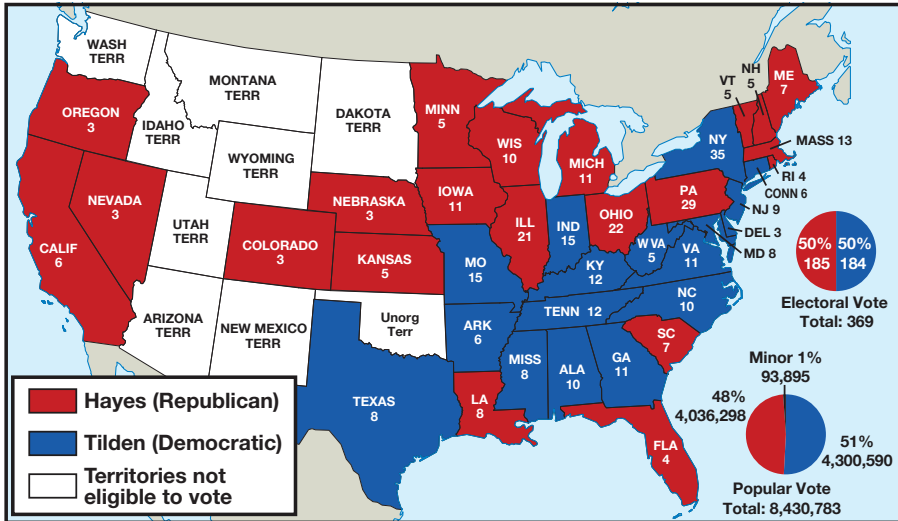
(POL, SOC, ARC)

Ku Klux Klan
Force Acts
Black Codes
sharecropping
Amnesty Act of 1872

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the map below.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS, 1876



- Which of the following was most important in enabling the Democratic Party to regain political power in the South?
 - The limits on education for the freedpeople
 - The restrictions on the voting rights of the freedmen
 - The effects of the Panic of 1873
 - The impact of the development of sharecropping
- The victor in the 1876 presidential election was decided based on the recommendation of
 - a special electoral commission
 - a meeting of state governors
 - the Senate
 - the Supreme Court
- Democrats agreed to accept Rutherford B. Hayes as president in 1876 because he agreed to
 - support a nationwide Black Code
 - remove federal troops from the South
 - promote Southern industrial development
 - support civil service reform

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “Alone among the societies that abolished slavery in the nineteenth century, the United States, for a moment, offered the freedmen a measure of political control over their own destinies. However brief its sway, Reconstruction allowed scope for a remarkable political and social mobilization of the black community. It opened doors of opportunity that could never be completely closed. Reconstruction transformed the lives of Southern blacks in ways unmeasurable by statistics and unreachable by law. It raised their expectations and aspirations, redefined their status in relation to the larger society, and allowed space for the creation of institutions that enabled them to survive the repression that followed. And it established constitutional principles of civil and political equality that, while flagrantly violated after Redemption, planted the seeds of future struggle.”

Eric Foner, “The New View of Reconstruction,”
American Heritage, 1983

“Reconstruction, which was far from radical, constituted the most democratic decades of the nineteenth century, South or North, so much so that it amounted to the first progressive era in the nation’s history. Just ten years after Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney endorsed the expansion of slavery into the western territories and announced that black Americans, even if free born, could not be citizens of the republic, blacks were fighting for the franchise in northern states; battling to integrate streetcars in Charleston, New Orleans, and San Francisco; funding integrated public schools; and voting and standing for office in the erstwhile Confederacy. . . . Black veterans, activists, ministers, assemblymen, registrars, poll workers, editors, and a handful of dedicated white allies risked their lives in this cause, nearly brought down a racist president, but ultimately lost their fight because of white violence.”

Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction*, 2014

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Foner’s and Egerton’s historical interpretations of the success or failure of Reconstruction.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1863 to 1877 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Foner’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1863 to 1877 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Egerton’s interpretation.

Comparison in Period 5

Learning Objective: Compare the relative significance of the effects of the Civil War on American values.

The reasoning process of *comparison* is based on describing similarities and differences between specific historical developments. It helps highlight the many factors that show the effects of the Civil War on American values.

For example, consider the role of Manifest Destiny in influencing Americans and how they viewed slavery. Use *historical reasoning* to understand how expansion affected those who wanted new land and the expansion of slavery as opposed to those who wanted to abolish slavery or to reserve western lands for White settlers as the nation extended its borders. For some on each side, this was a question supported by *historical evidence* from many areas including economic, cultural (religious), and regional interests.

The development of distinct views on slavery and the Civil War continued through Reconstruction. Presidents Lincoln and Johnson proposed quick reunification and forgiveness of the former Confederates. In contrast, Radical Republicans wanted to control the rebels and protect the rights of those formerly enslaved. What was the general reaction of the majority of Americans? Overall, the country supported equal rights as reflected in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, yet many people supported or at least accepted Black Codes and the idea of White supremacy. Reasoned comparison of the evidence is needed to understand American values during this period.

QUESTIONS ABOUT COMPARISON

Use the questions below to make a historically defensible claim.

1. Explain the extent to which people in the North and South held different views on Manifest Destiny. For example, compare how Northerners viewed expansion as new lands for immigrants and the market revolution while Southerners saw it as a way to spread slavery.
2. Explain the extent of the impact on the country of parallel efforts by Northerners and Southerners to compromise over the issue of slavery in the 1840s and 1850s. For example, compare the acceptance by Northerners and Southerners of banning slave trading in Washington, D.C., but allowing ownership of enslaved people to continue.



THINK AS A HISTORIAN: SUPPORT, MODIFY, AND REFUTE CLAIMS

An important part of the skill of argumentation is being able to respond to a claim or argument that a source makes. You can usually respond in three ways:

- **Support a claim:** This means you provide reasons, quotations, facts, statistics, visuals, or other evidence to back up the claim. This evidence should be logical, relevant, and from a reliable source.
- **Modify a claim:** When you modify a claim, you provide evidence that part of it is true and part of it is false. Or perhaps part is relevant and part is not relevant, or part is accurate and part is exaggerated.
- **Refute a claim:** This means you provide evidence that the claim is not true. For instance, you might provide different statistics from a more reliable source, or an eyewitness account that contradicts the claim.

Consider how one argument might be supported, modified, or refuted.

Argument: Abraham Lincoln's performance in the Lincoln-Douglas debates made it a certainty that he would become president.

- **Statement 1:** After the debates, Lincoln lost the election to Douglas.
- **Statement 2:** Lincoln's ideas and performance made him well-known.
- **Statement 3:** Although Lincoln won the Republican nomination in 1860, he had to run against candidates from three other parties.

Which statement supports the argument, which modifies it, and which refutes it? Take a few moments to decide before reading further.

Statement 1 refutes the argument by pointing out that Lincoln lost the election. Statement 2 supports the argument. If the debates had interested local voters only, then Lincoln would not have become well known nationally. Statement 3 qualifies the argument. People often assume that there have always been two parties in U.S. politics, but there have at times been more than that.

Read the argument and statements. Then answer the questions.

Argument: Lincoln's handling of the crisis at Fort Sumter showed his willingness to plunge the country into civil war.

- **Statement 1:** Lincoln said, "The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors."
- **Statement 2:** Lincoln chose to resupply the fort even though it was unfinished and already obsolete.
- **Statement 3:** Lincoln did not abandon the fort, but he did not send troops to it either. He merely sent supplies to the soldiers already there.

1. Which statement supports the claim? Explain your answer.
2. Which statement modifies the claim? Explain your answer.
3. Which statement refutes the claim? Explain your answer.

UNIT 5 – Period 5 Review: 1844-1877



WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: DEVELOP A THESIS

The thesis statement must 1) assert a historically defensible claim, 2) lay out a line of reasoning, and 3) directly address the topic and focus of the task.

Historically Defensible Claim A thesis, or claim, is a nonfactual statement asserted to be true. It is a statement about which people can disagree because it requires an explanation or evaluation. A historically defensible claim is one that can be supported with sound historical evidence. For example, a writer could claim that building railroads contributed to the Civil War. This is a defensible claim because it could point to how railroads connected the Northeast and Midwest more than they did the South. Others could disagree, noting that the South needed fewer railroads because it was linked to the Northeast through the cotton industry and the Midwest through trade on the Mississippi River.

Line of Reasoning A thesis or claim also conveys a line of reasoning for the argument that will be used to explain the relationships among pieces of evidence. In the thesis on railroads, for example, the line of reasoning uses *comparison*: the similarities and differences in regional ties. Other lines of reasoning include causation and continuity/change. Each line of reasoning needs to be embedded in a strong thesis statement.

Topic and Focus of Task A strong thesis or claim directly addresses the topic and focus of the task. It must be limited to the time and geography stated in the long essay question. Questions often ask the writer to “evaluate the extent” to which something happened. Which historical events or trends were the most important, significant, influential, long-lasting, or in other ways largest in scope? What evidence supports your evaluation?

Application: Read the following long essay question and a thesis statement developed to address it. Evaluate the thesis statement on how well it 1) expresses a historically defensible claim, 2) embeds a line of reasoning, and 3) addresses the topic and task, including evaluating extent, and stays within the limitations of the question. Revise the thesis statement as appropriate so that it meets all three standards.

Long Essay Question: Evaluate the extent of the importance of the efforts of the Confederate states in gaining international support during the Civil War.

Thesis Statement: Between 1861 and 1865, Confederate failure to gain international support was a primary reason the Union won the Civil War.

For current free-response question samples, visit: <https://apcentral.collegeboard.org/courses/ap-united-states-history/exam>

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: The suggested writing time for each question is 40 minutes. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using specific and relevant examples of evidence.
 - Use historical reasoning (e.g., comparison, causation, continuity or change) to frame or structure an argument that addresses the prompt.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which the idea of Manifest Destiny fostered the territorial expansion in the period from 1844 to 1877.
 2. Evaluate the extent to which the United States changed how it handled its border disputes in the period from 1844 to 1877.
 3. Evaluate the extent to which the reaction to immigration changed in the period from 1844 to 1877.
 4. Evaluate the extent to which the arguments about slavery presented by Abraham Lincoln in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas had an effect on national politics in the period from 1858 to 1861.
 5. Evaluate the extent to which the actions of Abraham Lincoln had an effect on the decision of states to secede in the period 1860 to 1865.
 6. Evaluate the extent to which the efforts of the Confederate states to gain international support during the Civil War had an effect on the conduct of the war.
 7. Evaluate the extent to which the Reconstruction plans of President Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans differed.
 8. Evaluate the extent to which efforts to protect equal rights for all citizens had an effect during the period of Reconstruction.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 45 minutes writing your answer. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.
 - Use at least one additional piece of specific historical evidence (beyond that found in the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
 - For at least three documents, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which the territorial expansion of Manifest Destiny caused the United States to become more unified in the period of the 1830s and 1840s.

Document 1

Source: William Ellery Channing, abolitionist and pacifist, statement opposing the annexation of Texas, 1837

Texas is the first step to Mexico. The moment we plant authority on Texas, the boundaries of these two countries will become nominal, will be little more than lines on the sand. . . .

A country has no right to adopt a policy, however gainful, which, as it may foresee, will determine it to a career of war. A nation, like an individual, is bound to seek, even by sacrifices, a position which will favor peace, justice, and the exercise of beneficent influence on the world. A nation provoking war by cupidity, by encroachment, and above all, by efforts to propagate the curse of slavery, is alike false to itself, to God, and to the human race.

Document 2

Source: President James Polk, Inaugural Address, 1845

None can fail to see the danger to our safety and future peace if Texas remains an independent state, or becomes an ally or dependency of some foreign nation more powerful than herself. Is there one among our citizens who would not prefer perpetual peace with Texas to occasional wars, which often occur between bordering independent nations? Is there one who would not prefer free intercourse with her, to high duties on all our products and manufactures which enter her ports or cross her frontiers? Is there one who would not prefer an unrestricted communication with her citizens, to the frontier obstructions which must occur if she remains out of the Union?

Document 3

Source: Anonymous, "California and the National Interest," *American Review* (a Whig journal), 1846

The natural progress of events will undoubtedly give us that province [California] just as it gave us Texas. Already American emigrants thither are to be numbered by thousands, and we may, at almost any moment, look for a declaration, which shall dissolve the slight bonds that now link the province to Mexico, and prepare the way for its ultimate annexation to the United States. . . .

Here, then, lies the Pacific coast, adjoining our western border . . . which embrace the southern sections of the United States and stretching northward to the southern boundary of Oregon. . . .

California, to become the seat of wealth and power for which nature has marked it, must pass into the hands of another race. And who can conjecture what would now have been its condition, had its first colonists been of the stock which peopled the Atlantic coast?

Document 4

Source: John L. O'Sullivan, editor, *Democratic Review*, 1846

California will, probably, next fall away from [Mexico]. . . . The Anglo-Saxon foot is already on its borders. Already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it, armed with the plough and the rifle, and marking its trail with schools and colleges, courts and representative halls, mills and meeting-houses. A population will soon be in actual occupation of California, over which it be idle for Mexico to dream of dominion. They will necessarily become independent. All this without . . . responsibility of our people—in the natural flow of events.

Document 5

Source: Editorial, “New Territory versus No Territory,” *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, October 1847

This occupation of territory by the people is the great movement of the age, and until every acre of the North American continent is occupied by citizens of the United States, the foundation of the future empire will not have been laid. . . .

When these new states come into the Union, they are controlled by the Constitution only; and as that instrument permits slavery in all the states that are parties to it, how can Congress prevent it? . . .

When through the results of war, territory comes into the possession of the Union, it is equally a violation of the Constitution for Congress to undertake to say that there shall be no slavery then. The people of the United States were nearly unanimous for the admission of Texas into the Union; but probably not an insignificant fraction require its annexation “for the purpose” of extending slavery.

Document 6

Source: Senator Thomas Corwin, Speech, 1847

What is the territory, Mr. President, which you propose to wrest from Mexico? . . .

Sir, look at this pretense of want of room.

There is one topic connected with this subject which I tremble when I approach, and yet I cannot forbear to notice it. It meets you in every step you take; it threatens you which way soever you go in prosecution of this war. I allude to the question of slavery . . . the North and the South are brought together into a collision on a point where neither will yield. Who can foresee or foretell the result . . . why should we participate this fearful struggle, by continuing a war the result of which must be to force us at once upon a civil conflict? . . . Let us wash Mexican blood from our hands, and . . . swear to preserve honorable peace with all the world.

Document 7

Source: Senator Charles Sumner, Massachusetts Legislature, 1847

Resolved, That the present war with Mexico has its primary origin in the unconstitutional annexation to the United States of the foreign state of Texas while the same was still at war with Mexico; that it was unconstitutionally commenced by the order of the President . . . —by a powerful nation against a weak neighbor—unnecessarily and without just cause, at immense cost of a portion of her territory, from which slavery has already been excluded, with the triple object of extending slavery, of strengthening “Slave Power,” and of obtaining the control of the Free States, under the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That our attention is directed anew to the wrong and “enormity” of slavery, and to the tyranny and usurpation of the “Slave Power,” as displayed in the history of our country, particularly in the annexation of Texas and the present war with Mexico.