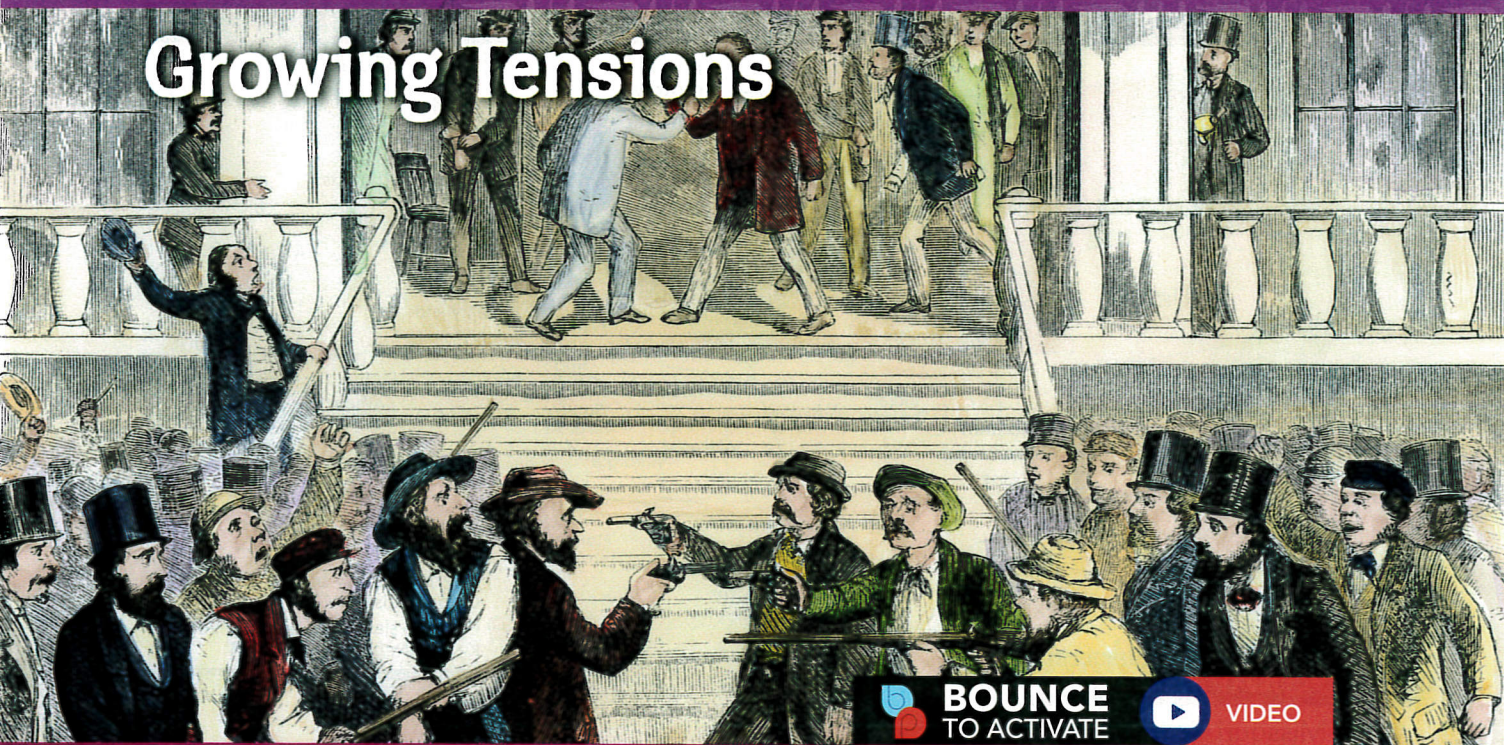


LESSON 2

Growing Tensions



BOUNCE
TO ACTIVATE



VIDEO

GET READY TO READ

START UP


Why do you think people, such as these Border Ruffians in Kansas, were so determined in their support of slavery?

GUIDING QUESTIONS


- What were the goals and outcomes of the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
- How did the Dred Scott case impact the nation?
- Why was the Republican Party founded, and how did Abraham Lincoln emerge as its leader?

TAKE NOTES

Literacy Skills Identify Cause and Effect

Use the graphic organizer in your  Active Journal to practice the vocabulary words.

PRACTICE VOCABULARY

Use the vocabulary activity in your  Active Journal to practice the vocabulary words.

Vocabulary

Kansas-
Nebraska Act
Border Ruffian
guerrilla warfare
Dred Scott v.
Sandford

Academic Vocabulary

Republican Party
arsenal
treason
martyr
denounce
maintain

The Compromise of 1850 dealt mainly with the Mexican Cession lands. It did not change the slavery policies for lands that had been part of the Louisiana Purchase—policies set by the Missouri Compromise. However, the Compromise of 1850 caused some people to question whether the Missouri Compromise needed to be changed.

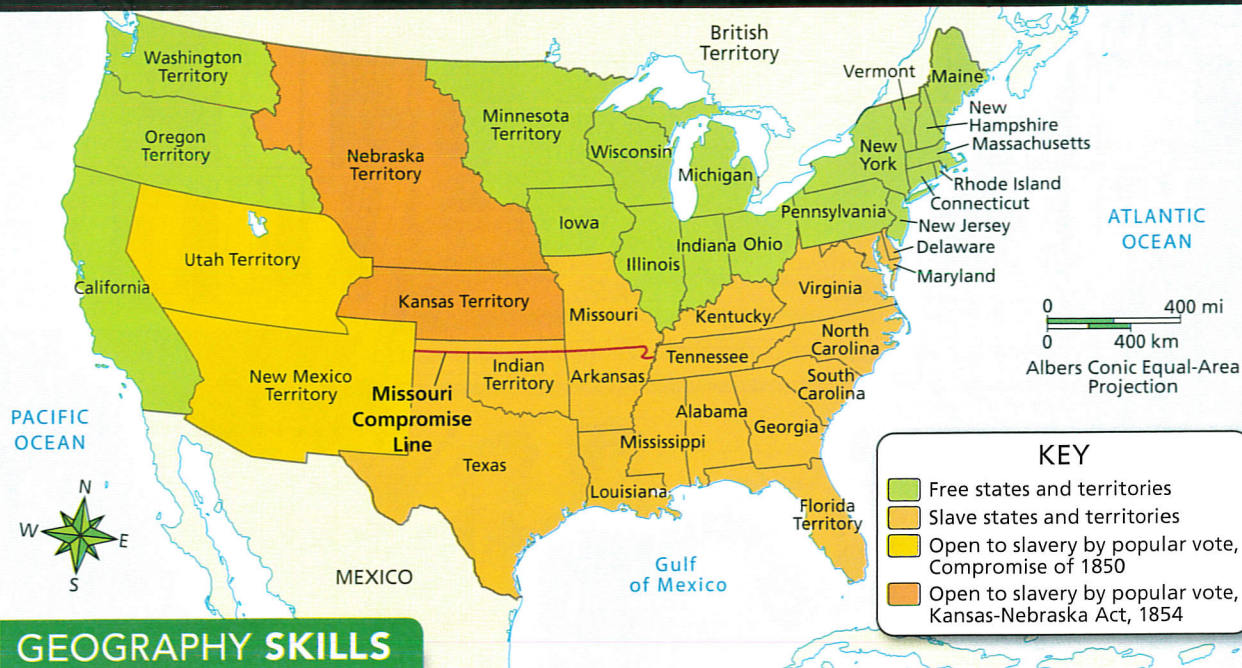
Slavery in Kansas and Nebraska

In January 1854, Senator Stephen Douglas introduced a bill to set up a government for the lands in the northwestern part of the Louisiana Purchase. This territory stretched from present-day Oklahoma north to present-day Canada, and from Missouri west to the Rockies.

Congress Chooses Popular

Sovereignty Douglas knew that white southerners did not want to add another free state to the Union. He proposed that this large region be divided into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska. The settlers in each territory would decide the issue of slavery by popular sovereignty.

Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854



GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

The Missouri Compromise of 1820 prohibited slavery in territory north of the 36° 30' parallel.

- Locate** Which territories were opened to popular vote for slavery as a result of the Compromise of 1850?
- Analyze Information** How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 conflict with the Missouri Compromise of 1820?

Douglas's bill was known as the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**. The Kansas-Nebraska Act seemed fair to many people. After all, the Compromise of 1850 had applied popular sovereignty in New Mexico and Utah. Southern leaders especially supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act. They expected slave owners from neighboring Missouri would move with their enslaved African Americans across the border into Kansas, and that in time, Kansas would become a slave state.

President Franklin Pierce, a Democrat elected in 1852, also supported the bill. With the president's help, Douglas pushed the Kansas-Nebraska Act through Congress.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act Ignites Sectionalist Disputes

Douglas did not realize it at the time, but he had lit a fire under a powder keg. Sectionalist arguments over slavery once again erupted, this time bringing the nation closer to civil war.

Many northerners were unhappy with the new law. The Missouri Compromise had already banned slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, they insisted. In effect, the Kansas-Nebraska Act would repeal the Missouri Compromise.

The northern reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska Act was swift and angry. Opponents of slavery called the act a "criminal betrayal of precious rights." Slavery could now spread to areas that had been free for more than 30 years.



INTERACTIVE

The Effects of the Kansas-Nebraska Act



READING CHECK Check Understanding Why did northerners consider the Kansas-Nebraska Act a betrayal?

Violent Clashes in Kansas

Kansas now became a testing ground for popular sovereignty. Stephen Douglas hoped that settlers would decide the slavery issue peacefully. Instead, proslavery and antislavery forces sent settlers to Kansas to fight for control.

Activists Populate Kansas Most of the new arrivals were farmers from neighboring states. Their main interest in moving to Kansas was to acquire cheap land. Few of these settlers owned enslaved African Americans. At the same time, abolitionists brought in more than 1,000 settlers from New England.

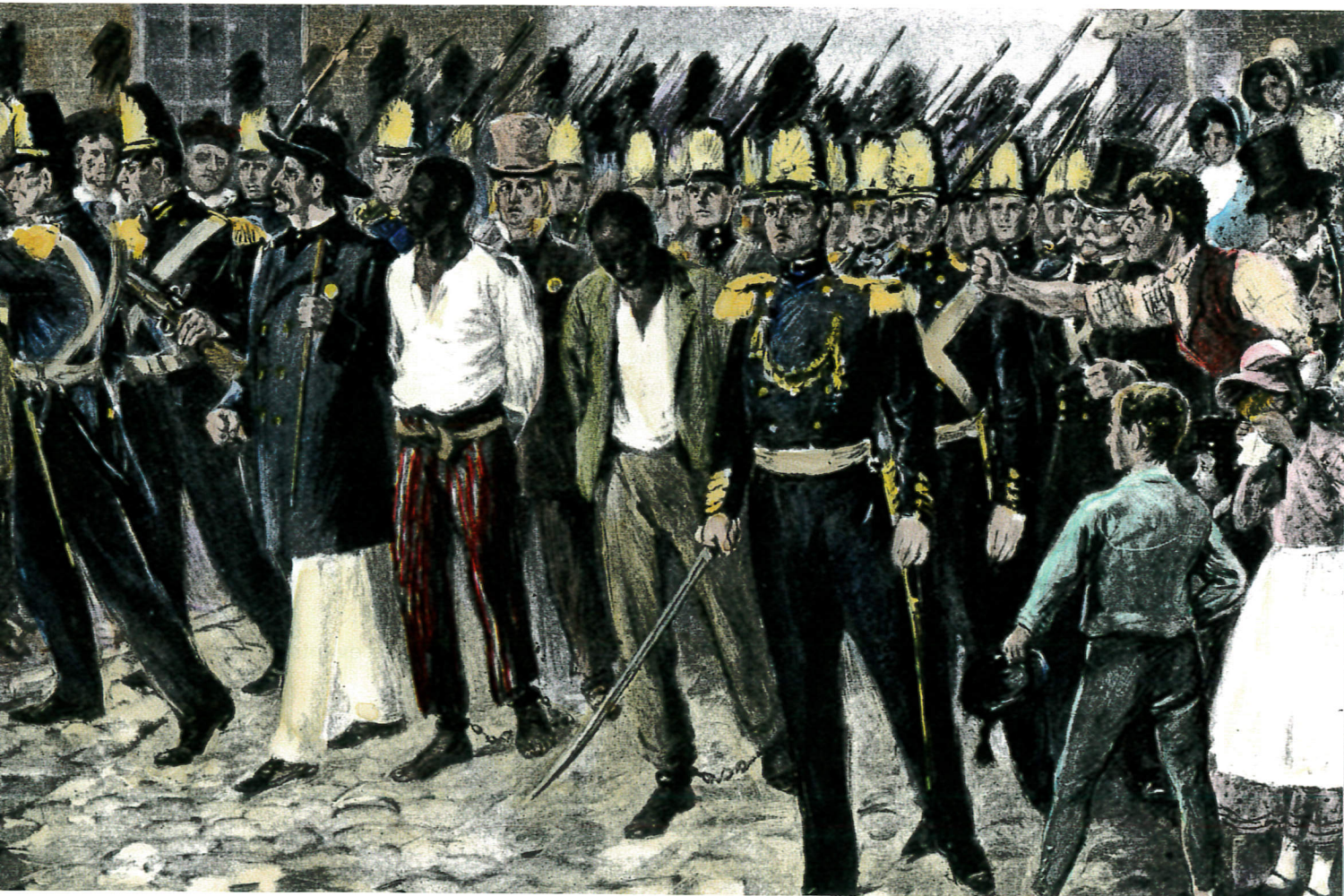
Proslavery settlers moved into Kansas as well. They wanted to make sure that antislavery forces did not overrun the territory. Proslavery bands from Missouri often rode across the border. These **Border Ruffians**, as they were called, battled the antislavery forces in Kansas.

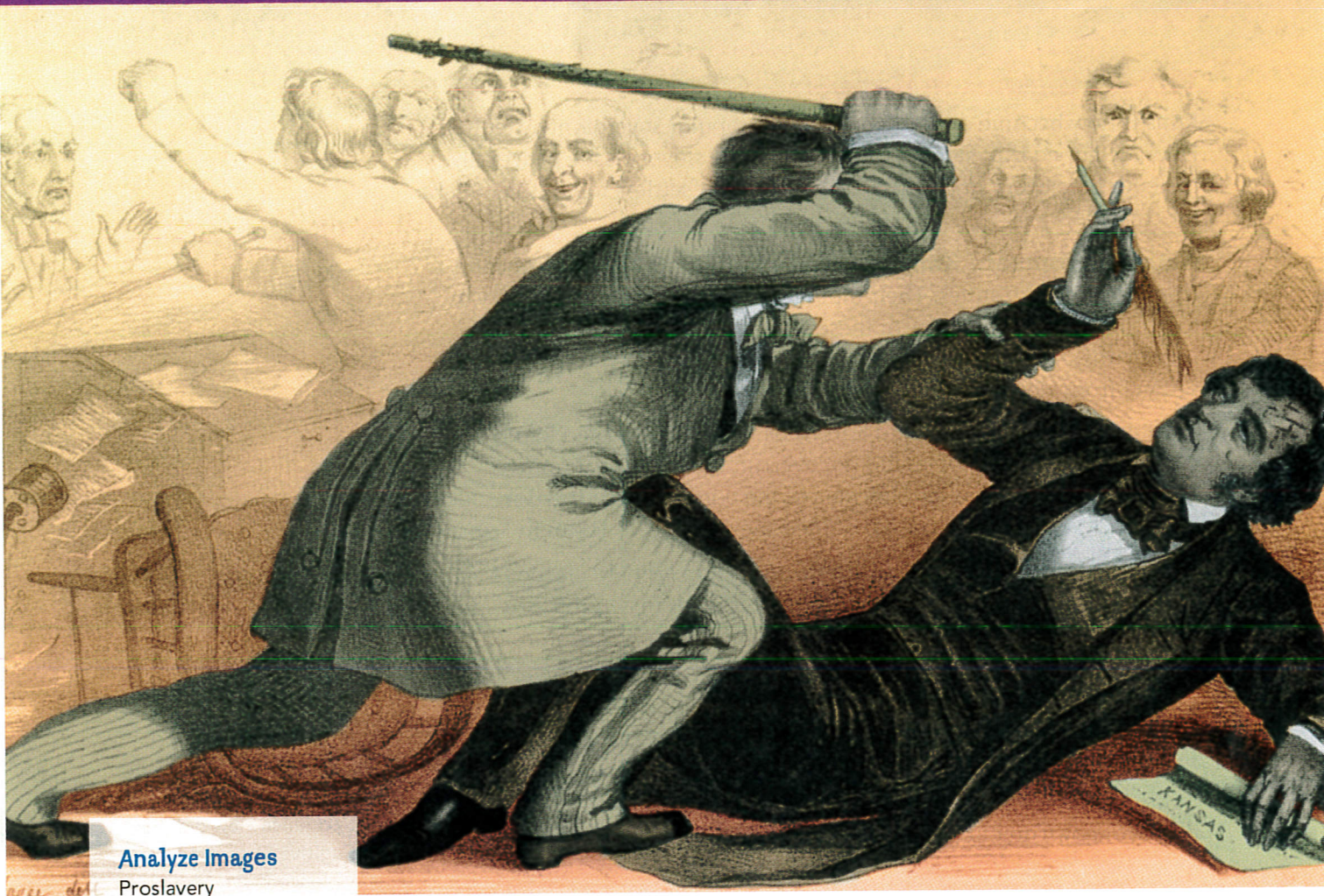
Rival Governments in Kansas In 1855, Kansas held elections to choose lawmakers. Hundreds of Border Ruffians crossed into Kansas and voted illegally. They helped to elect a proslavery legislature.

The new legislature quickly passed laws to support slavery. One law said that people could be put to death for helping enslaved African Americans escape. Another made speaking out against slavery a crime punishable by two years of hard labor. Refusing to accept these laws, antislavery settlers elected their own governor and legislature. With two rival governments, Kansas was in chaos.

Analyze Images Angry citizens in Boston protested an 1854 court order to return Anthony Burns to slavery in Virginia.

Sequence How did the Fugitive Slave Act lead to violence in the North?





Analyze Images

Proslavery Representative Preston Brooks beat abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner on the Senate floor.

Analyze Political Cartoons How does the cartoon portray northerners and southerners differently?

Open Fighting in Kansas In 1856, a band of proslavery men, including the town sheriff, raided the town of Lawrence. Lawrence was known as an antislavery stronghold. The attackers destroyed the Free State hotel as well as private homes and smashed the press of a Free-Soil newspaper.

John Brown, an abolitionist, decided to strike back. Brown and his five sons had moved to Kansas to help make it a free state. He claimed that God had sent him to punish supporters of slavery.

Three days after the Lawrence attacks, Brown rode with four of his sons and two or three other men to a settlement on Pottawatomie (paht uh WAHT uh mee) Creek. In the middle of the night, they dragged five proslavery settlers from their beds and murdered them.

The killings at Pottawatomie Creek led to even more violence. Both sides engaged in **guerrilla warfare**, or warfare in which small, informal military groups use surprise attacks and hit-and-run tactics. By late 1856, more than 200 people had been killed. Newspapers started calling the territory “Bleeding Kansas.”

READING CHECK Understand Effects How did events in Kansas foreshadow the looming Civil War?

Violence Over Slavery Breaks Out in the Senate

Even before John Brown's attack, the battle over Kansas had spilled into the Senate. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was the leading abolitionist senator. In one speech, the sharp-tongued Sumner **denounced** the proslavery legislature of Kansas. He then viciously criticized his southern foes, singling out Andrew Butler, an elderly senator from South Carolina.

Butler was not in the Senate on the day Sumner spoke. A few days later, Butler's nephew, Congressman Preston Brooks, marched into the Senate chamber. Using a heavy cane, Brooks beat Sumner until he fell, bloody and unconscious, to the floor. Sumner did not fully recover from the beating for three years.

Many southerners thought Sumner got what he deserved. Hundreds of people sent canes to Brooks to show their support.

To northerners, however, the brutal act was more evidence that slavery led to violence. The violence in the Senate was another warning that the nation was veering toward a civil war over slavery.

READING CHECK **Draw Conclusions** What does the violence in the Senate tell you about the mood of the country in the late 1850s?

How Did the Dred Scott Case Affect the Nation?

With Congress in an uproar, many Americans looked to the Supreme Court to settle the slavery issue and restore peace. In 1857, the Court ruled on a case involving an enslaved man named Dred Scott. Instead of bringing harmony, however, the Court's decision further divided the North and the South.

Dred Scott had been enslaved for many years in Missouri. Later, he moved with his owner to Illinois and then to the Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was not allowed. After they returned to Missouri, Scott's owner died. Antislavery lawyers helped Scott to file a lawsuit, a legal case brought to settle a dispute between people or groups. Scott's lawyers argued that, because Dred Scott had lived in a free territory, he had become a free man.

The Supreme Court Rules on *Dred Scott v.*

Sandford In time, the case reached the Supreme Court as ***Dred Scott v. Sandford***. The Court's decision shocked and dismayed Americans who opposed slavery. First, the Court ruled that Scott could not file a lawsuit because he was a slave, not a citizen. Also, the Court's written decision clearly stated that enslaved persons were considered to be property.

The Court's ruling did not stop there. Instead, the Justices went on to make a sweeping decision about the larger issue of slavery in the territories. According to the Court, Congress did not have the power to outlaw slavery in any territory. This meant that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.

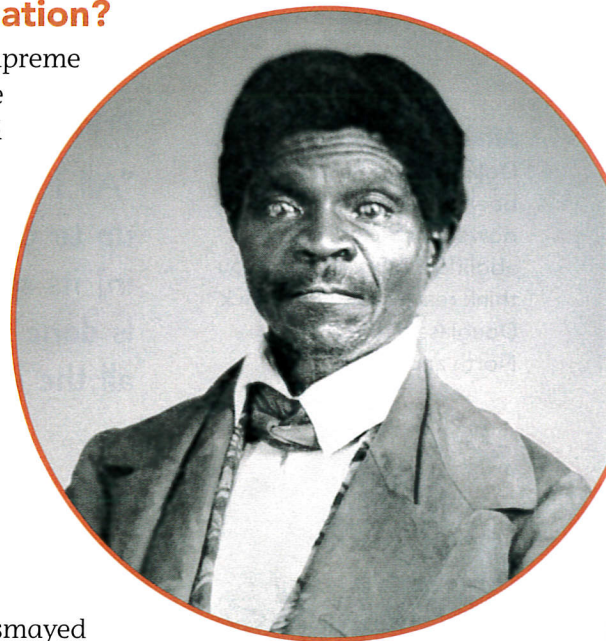
Academic Vocabulary

denounce • v., to publicly say that someone or something is wrong or bad



INTERACTIVE


The Dred Scott Case



Analyze Images Dred Scott, who had once lived in a free territory, appealed for his freedom after his owner died. **Predict Consequences** How did the Supreme Court ruling against Dred Scott challenge the Missouri Compromise?

Quick Activity

How might an enslaved person planning an escape to the North have felt about the Dred Scott decision?

Write a few sentences in your  Active Journal examining this issue.

Academic Vocabulary

maintain • *v.*, to keep in an existing state

Analyze Images Frederick Douglass, who had once been enslaved, became a powerful spokesperson for abolition. **Infer** How do you think reactions to Frederick Douglass differed in the North and South?



The Dred Scott decision meant that enslaved African Americans could not find freedom anywhere in the country. Moreover, together with the Fugitive Slave Act, it meant that no part of the United States could be completely free of slavery.

The Democratic Party began to divide over the issue of slavery. The decision also increased support for abolition in the North.

Reactions to *Dred Scott v. Sandford* White southerners rejoiced at *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. It meant slavery was legal in all the territories.

African Americans responded angrily to the decision. In the North, many held public meetings to condemn the ruling. At one meeting in Philadelphia, a speaker hoped that the ruling would lead more whites to “join with us in our efforts to recover the long lost boon of freedom.”

White northerners were shocked by the ruling. Many had hoped that slavery would eventually die out. Now, slavery could spread throughout the West. A newspaper in Cincinnati declared, “We are now one great . . . slaveholding community.”

Abolitionist Frederick Douglass also spoke out against *Dred Scott v. Sandford*: “This infamous decision,” he declared, “**maintains** that slaves . . . are property in the same sense that horses, sheep, and swine are property . . . that [people] of African descent are not and cannot be citizens of the United States.” He told his listeners:

Primary Source

“All I ask of the American people is that they live up to the Constitution, adopt its principles, [take in] its spirit, and enforce its provisions. When this is done . . . liberty . . . will become the inheritance of all the inhabitants of this highly favored country.”

—Frederick Douglass, *Collected Speeches*, 1857

 **READING CHECK** **Identify Main Ideas** What American values did the Dred Scott decision contradict?

The Republican Party Forms

By the mid-1850s, people who opposed slavery in the territories sought a new political voice. Neither Whigs nor Democrats, they maintained, would take a strong stand against slavery. “We have submitted to slavery long enough,” an Ohio Democrat declared.



Birth of the Republican Party A group of Free-Soilers, northern Democrats, and antislavery Whigs gathered in Michigan in 1854. There they formed the **Republican Party**. While some Republicans hoped to completely abolish slavery throughout the country, the new party's main goal was to keep slavery from spreading to the western territories.

The Election of 1856 The new party grew quickly. In 1856, Republicans selected John C. Frémont to run for president. Frémont was a frontiersman who had fought for California independence. He had little political experience, but he opposed the spread of slavery.

Frémont's main opponent was Democrat James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. Many Democrats saw Buchanan as a "northern man with southern principles." Former President Millard Fillmore also ran as the candidate of the American, or "Know-Nothing," party. Fillmore, a strong supporter of the Union, feared that a Republican victory would split the nation apart.

Buchanan won the election with support from a large majority of southerners and many northerners. Still, the Republicans made a strong showing. Without the support of a single southern state, Frémont won one third of the popular vote. Southerners worried that their influence in the national government was fading.

READING CHECK **Check Understanding** Why was the Republican Party established in 1854?

Analyze Images American Party candidate Millard Fillmore separates Republican John Frémont (left) and Democrat James Buchanan (right) before they can harm one another.

Analyze Political Cartoons What can you infer about Fillmore's view on sectional tensions?



How Did Abraham Lincoln Come to Lead the Republican Party?

The next chance for the Republican Party came in 1858 in Illinois. Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, challenged Democrat Stephen Douglas for his seat in the Senate. Because most Americans expected Douglas to run for president in 1860, the race captured the attention of the whole nation.

Lincoln's Early

Career Abraham Lincoln was born on the Kentucky frontier. Like many frontier people, his parents moved often to find better land. The family lived in Indiana and later in Illinois. As a child, Lincoln spent only a year in school, but he taught himself to read.

After Lincoln left home, he opened a store in Illinois. There, he studied law on his own and launched a career in politics. He served eight years in the state legislature and one term in Congress.

▲ Abraham Lincoln had to teach himself to read by firelight.

Bitterly opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln decided to run for the U.S. Senate in 1858. When the race began, Lincoln was not a national figure. Still, people in Illinois knew him well and liked him. To them, he was “just folks”—someone who enjoyed picnics, wrestling contests, and all their favorite pastimes. His honesty, wit, and plain-spoken manner made him a good speaker.

Lincoln strongly opposed the Dred Scott decision and used his political platform to speak against it. In his “House Divided” speech, which he delivered upon being nominated for senator in 1858, he attacked the ruling. He expressed concern that popular sovereignty would lead to slavery throughout the country.

Lincoln continued to voice his opposition in debates with Stephen Douglas and later during his presidential campaign. He rallied Republicans to oppose the Court’s decision.

Lincoln and Douglas Debate During the Senate campaign, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates. Douglas was not eager to accept, but he did. During the campaign, the question of slavery in the territories was the most important issue.

Douglas wanted to settle the slavery question by popular sovereignty, or a popular vote in each territory. He personally disliked slavery, but stated that he did not care whether people in the territories voted it “down or up.”

Lincoln was not an abolitionist, either. He had no wish, he said, to interfere with slavery in the states where it already existed. And, like nearly all whites of his day, he did not believe in “perfect equality” between blacks and whites. He did, however, believe that slavery was wrong.

Primary Source

“There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights [listed] in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. . . . In the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.”

—Abraham Lincoln, Speech at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858


Since slavery was a “moral, social, and political wrong,” said Lincoln, Douglas and other Americans should not treat it as an unimportant question to be voted “down or up.” No one’s liberty, he thought, should be subject to a popular vote, nor should it be decided by the sort of violence that arose in Kansas.

Lincoln Becomes a Leader Week after week, both men spoke nearly every day to large crowds. Newspapers reprinted their campaign speeches. The more northerners read Lincoln’s words, the more they thought about the injustice of slavery.

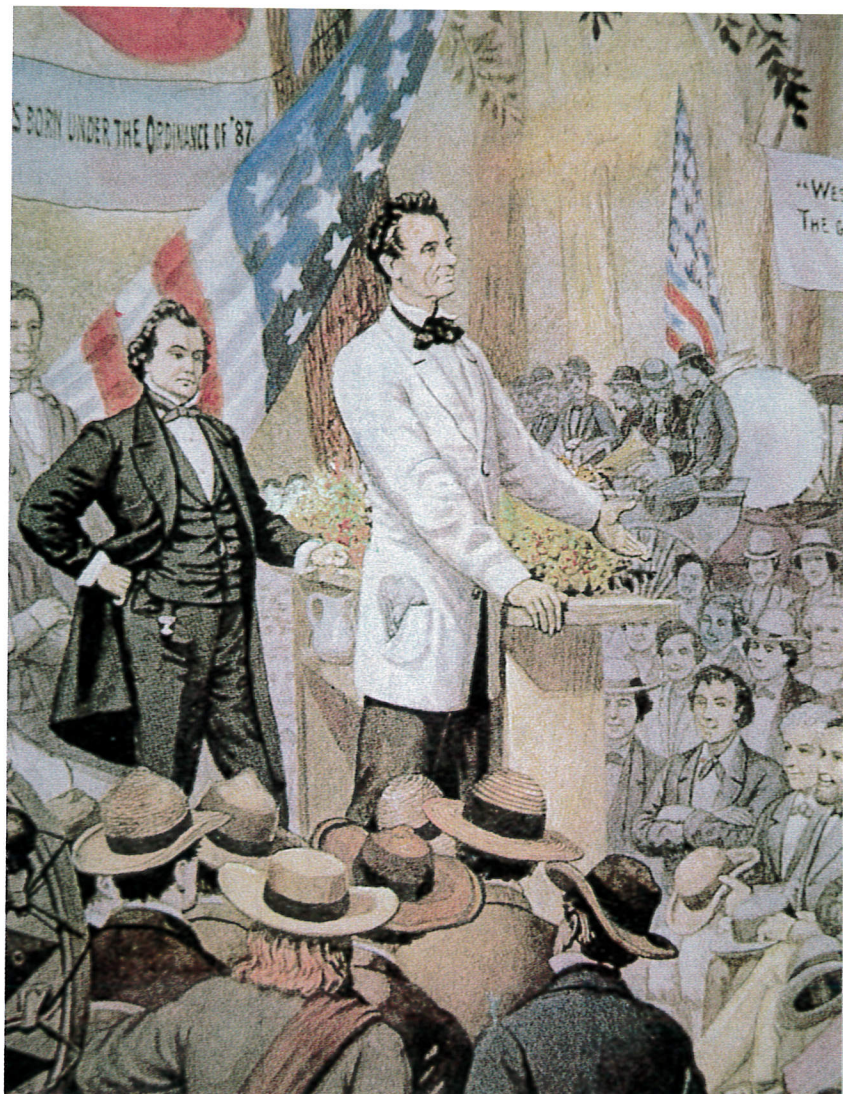
In the end, Douglas won the election by a slim margin. Still, Lincoln was now known throughout the country. Two years later, the two rivals would again meet face to face—both seeking the office of president.

READING CHECK Describe the contradiction in Lincoln’s position on slavery.

Quest CONNECTIONS

Read the passage in the Declaration of Independence that explains the rights of all men. How do Lincoln’s comments support the meaning expressed in the Declaration of Independence? Record your findings in your  Active Journal.

Analyze Images In 1858, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas debated over the spread of slavery. **Draw Conclusions** What was the significance of the Lincoln-Douglas debates?



John Brown Fights Slavery

In the meantime, more bloodshed inflamed divisions between the North and the South. In 1859, the radical abolitionist John Brown led a group of followers, including five African Americans, to the town of Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

There, Brown raided a federal **arsenal**, or weapons and ammunition warehouse. He thought that enslaved African Americans would join him there. He then planned to arm them and lead them in a revolt. No slave uprising took place, however. Instead, troops under the command of Robert E. Lee killed ten raiders and captured Brown.

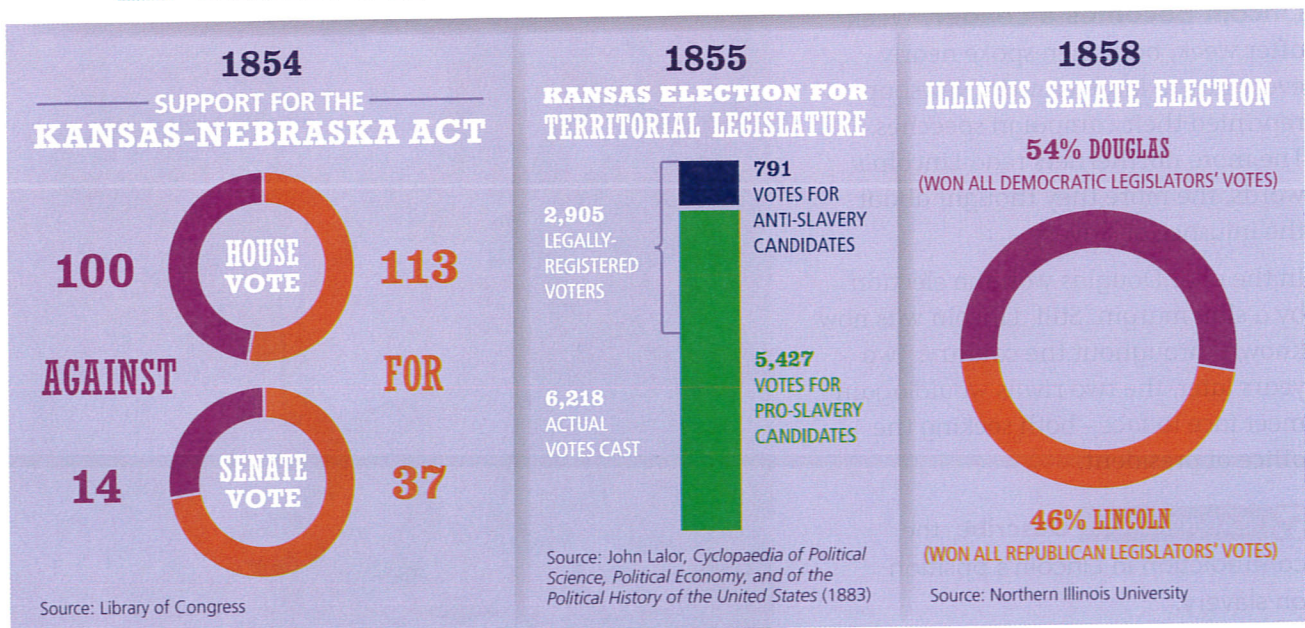
John Brown's Raid Most people, in both the North and the South, thought that Brown's plan to lead a slave revolt was insane. First of all, there were few enslaved African Americans in Harpers Ferry to join a revolt. Furthermore, after seizing the arsenal, Brown did nothing further to encourage a slave revolt.

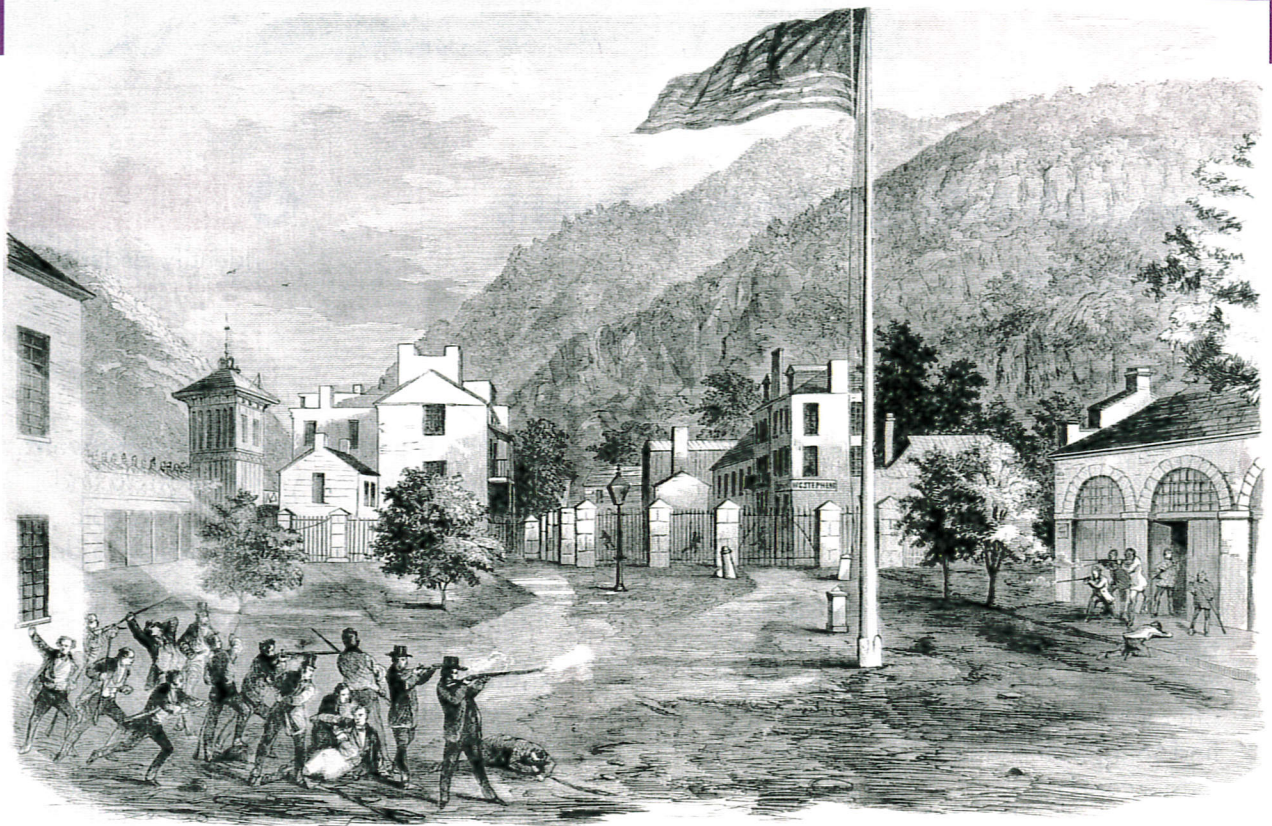
At his trial, however, Brown seemed perfectly sane. He sat quietly as the court found him guilty of murder and **treason**, or actions against one's country. Before hearing his sentence, he gave a moving defense of his actions. He showed no emotion as he was sentenced to death.

A Symbol of the Nation's Divisions Because he conducted himself with such dignity during his trial, Brown became a hero to many northerners. Some considered him a **martyr** because he was willing to give up his life for his beliefs. On the morning he was hanged, church bells rang solemnly throughout the North. In years to come, New Englanders would sing a popular song with the chorus: "John Brown's body lies a mold'ring in the grave, but his soul is marching on." When poet Julia Ward Howe heard the song, she was inspired to write the

Analyze Graphs The chart shows results of three votes in which slavery was a central issue. **Draw Conclusions** Did the Kansas-Nebraska Act influence the outcome of the Kansas election for territorial legislature in 1855? Explain.

THE CHANGING PERCEPTION OF SLAVERY





poem “The Battle Hymn of the Republic,” which became a popular Civil War song set to the same tune.

To white southerners, the northern response to John Brown’s death was outrageous. People were singing the praises of a man who had tried to lead a slave revolt. Many southerners became convinced that the North wanted to destroy slavery—and the South along with it. The nation was poised for a violent clash.

Analyze Images This illustration shows John Brown’s band attacking the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry. **Explain an Argument** Why did people say John Brown’s raid was insane?

READING CHECK **Check Understanding** Why were southerners outraged at the northern response to John Brown’s execution?

Lesson Check

Practice Vocabulary

1. Why was the **Republican Party** formed?
2. Why did a court decide John Brown had committed **treason**?
3. In what way was John Brown a **martyr**?

Critical Thinking and Writing

4. **Draw Conclusions** Some northerners were outraged by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. What did that outrage have to do with the location of the Kansas Territory?
5. **Summarize** the issue that was brought to the Supreme Court in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.
6. **Identify Main Ideas** Neither Stephen Douglas nor Abraham Lincoln approved of slavery, so what disagreement did they have?
7. **Writing Workshop: Pick an Organizing Strategy** Begin thinking about how you will organize your essay on the differences between the North and South before, during, and after the Civil War. Take notes in your Active Journal.

Distinguish Relevant from Irrelevant Information



INTERACTIVE

Identify Evidence

Follow these steps to learn to distinguish relevant from irrelevant information.

1 Identify your focus or topic By clearly defining your topic, you can better determine which pieces of information will be relevant or irrelevant.

2 Locate sources and read about the topic Based on the topic you identified, select a number of sources that will likely offer information on this topic. You may find sources online or in your school's media center.

3 Identify the information that is relevant to your topic Scan your sources to find passages that may relate to your topic. Then, read these passages closely to determine whether or not they provide relevant information.

4 Identify the information that is irrelevant to your topic Irrelevant information, such as anecdotes, may be interesting, but not central to the topic. In the source, what passages are not relevant to the topic of attitudes toward popular sovereignty?

The letter below is historical fiction. In the letter, William, a farmer who had moved to Kansas Territory, writes to his brother Joseph in Vermont.

November 20, 1854

Dear Joseph,

I was pleased to receive your last letter. The success of your store is a great achievement. Our new farm continues to prosper and little Sarah has recovered from the fever that had sickened her for a month. Of course, the issue of the Kansas-Nebraska Act continues to trouble me. I do not agree with your support of Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois;

however, I enjoy reading his speeches. Those who oppose slavery, as I do, do not want that cruel system in place in a territory where it had been banned. Under the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, it is up to the people to decide the issue peacefully by voting their hearts. Yet, settlers who are for and against slavery in the territory seem intent on using force, instead of the ballot box. The elections next year will settle the issue once and for all.

Your loving brother,

William