

Unit Four

America in Crisis 1848–1877

“A New Birth of Freedom?”

19. Crisis and Compromise
20. Irrepressible Conflicts
21. The Union Collapses
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THEME

When the U.S.-Mexican War began, the essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson turned prophet. He wrote, “The United States will conquer Mexico, but it will be as the man who swallows the arsenic which brings him down in turn. Mexico will poison us.” That war immediately reopened the divisive issue of the expansion of slavery into the territories. This was not a new issue, but this time the attempts to compromise it would ultimately fail.

During the 1850s, conflicts over the issues centering on slavery proved to be irrepressible. Resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 dramatized the issue of freedom, and abolitionists pounded away at the moral evil of the South’s “peculiar institution.” The opening of Kansas and Nebraska territories to the possibilities of slavery led to bloodshed on the plains and in the halls of Congress. National political parties splintered, and a northern sectional party emerged with a position diametrically opposed to the ruling of the Supreme Court in its *Dred Scott* decision. When the Republicans won the presidential election of 1860, southern secessionists proceeded to attempt to dissolve the United States of America. And the war came.

The Civil War tested, as Abraham Lincoln would say at Gettysburg in 1863, whether a nation “conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal” could long endure. In that same address, Lincoln called for the nation to seek “a new birth of freedom.” The results of the Civil War preserved the Union and brought about the abolition of slavery, but freedom remained contested territory during Reconstruction. By the time of the nation’s centennial in 1876, Americans had much to celebrate and many challenges to face. The generation living then, like those before and afterward, would build upon the past as they shaped their future.

Lesson 19

Crisis and Compromise

OVERVIEW

As the American people approached the midpoint of the nineteenth century, the geographical boundaries of the United States resembled those recognized today. However, the ties that bind the American people together in a union were then being threatened by sectional divisions based on slavery.

The cotton economy reached out of the South, but the institution of slavery did not. People living in New York, Charleston, and St. Louis were increasingly drawn into the emotional political debate about the future of slavery in America. Some politicians, as before, looked westward in hopes of finding ways to skirt the issue. Residents in the areas of Santa Fe and Portland were experiencing transitions associated with becoming part of the United States, but the changes in the San Francisco area were even more dramatic. There the rush of people in pursuit of gold propelled California to seek admission to the United States as a free state.

When the U.S. Senate eyed “the forbidden fruit” of California, they saw poison. John C. Calhoun trembled at the possibility that the slave power might be losing its control. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, as he did before, sought compromise. William H. Seward labeled any compromise with slavery “radically wrong.” Into this breach moved young Stephen Douglas, who managed to garner majority approval for pieces of legislation that together became known as the Compromise of 1850. Secession and possible war had been averted. But how long could such a compromise last?

LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Text: Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Chapter 11, “The Free North and West,” pp. 400–401, and Chapter 13, “The House Divided,” pp. 448–457.

Video: “Crisis and Compromise” from the series *Shaping America*.

Documents:
“California Diary, 1849–1850 ” and “Union and Freedom without Compromise”
found at the end of this lesson.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This lesson is about the state of the nation in 1850, why a crisis faced the union at that time, and how that crisis was addressed by political compromise. Upon completing this lesson, you should be able to:

1. Describe the state of the nation in 1850, particularly as reflected in six geographical areas surrounding New York, Charleston, St. Louis, Santa Fe, Portland, and San Francisco.
2. Explain how the issue of slavery in the territories had been dealt with prior to the late 1840s.
3. Discuss the three major philosophical positions on the issue of slavery in the territories.
4. Analyze the presidential election of 1848.
5. Explain the background, issues, terms, and consequences of the Compromise of 1850.

LESSON FOCUS POINTS

The following questions are designed to help you get the most benefit from the sources selected for this lesson. For reference purposes, the titles for the video segments are: (1) Introduction, (2) "The United States in 1850," (3) "The Compromise of 1850," and (4) Summary Analysis: "The Only Thing of Substance . . ."

1. What factors divided the North and the South by 1850? Why had these divisions taken place? (video segment 1)
2. What characterized life in the following areas in 1850: New York, Charleston, St. Louis, Santa Fe, Oregon, and San Francisco? (textbook, pp. 400–401; document; video segment 2)
3. How had the issue of slavery in the territories been dealt with in the Northwest Ordinance, the Constitution, the Louisiana Purchase, the Missouri Compromise, and the annexation of Texas? (textbook, pp. 450–451)
4. Who was David Wilmot? What was the Wilmot Proviso? On what precedent did this proposal rest? Who supported the proviso? Why? (textbook, pp. 451–452)
5. Why were white Southerners so vehement in opposition to the Wilmot Proviso? What arguments did John C. Calhoun put forward to justify the expansion of slavery? (textbook, p. 452)
6. What was meant by "popular sovereignty"? Why did Lewis Cass and other proponents think that this concept might be an acceptable middle ground? (textbook, pp. 452–453)
7. Who were the candidates in the 1848 presidential election? What positions did they take on the issue of slavery in the territories? (textbook, pp. 453–454)

8. What were the results of the 1848 presidential election? What did the election results say about slavery in the territories? What did the election portend for political parties? (textbook, pp. 453–454)
9. How did the California gold rush help precipitate a political crisis by 1850? What was significant about the possible admission of California as a free state? (textbook, pp. 454–455; video segments 2 and 3)
10. Besides the California question, what other issues were on the table during the Senate debate in 1850? (textbook, p. 455; video segment 3)
11. Who were the major players in the “Great Debate” in the Senate? What were their positions on the issues? (textbook, pp. 454–456; document; video segment 3)
12. What were the major provisions of the Compromise of 1850? How and why were these agreements reached? (textbook, pp. 456–457; video segments 3, 4)
13. What did the North and South give up in the Compromise of 1850? What did each section gain? Why was the compromise not a true compromise at all? (textbook, pp. 456–457; video segment 4)
14. In the end, what was important about the Compromise of 1850? What was the “poison pill” that it contained? (video segment 4)

HISTORICAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

Joyce Appleby, Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA

Robert Archibald, President, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO

Eric Foner, Professor of History, Columbia University, New York City, NY

Charles Fracchia, President, San Francisco Historical Society, San Francisco, CA

Deena Gonzalez, Professor of History/Chicano/a Studies, Pomona College, Claremont, CA

Michael Holt, Professor of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA

Frances Levine, Division Head of Arts and Sciences, Santa Fe Community College, Santa Fe, NM

John Majewski, Associate Professor, University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA

Chet Orloff, Director, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, OR

Jonathan Poston, Director of Museums and Preservation Initiatives, Historic Charleston Foundation, Charleston, SC

James Roark, Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of American History, Emory University, Atlanta, GA

PRACTICE TEST

The following items will help you evaluate your understanding of this lesson. Use the Answer Key at the end of the lesson to check your answers or to locate material related to each question.

Multiple choice: Choose the BEST answer.

1. In 1850, New York City was _____.
 - A. a hotbed of abolitionist activity
 - B. losing business to Albany
 - C. closely involved with the well-being of the South
 - D. the eastern terminus for the transcontinental railroad
2. In referring to Santa Fe in 1850, Professor Deena Gonzalez uses the story of Gertrudes Barcelo to illustrate _____.
 - A. opportunities available in a time of transition
 - B. discrimination against women of Mexican origin
 - C. resistance to the United States takeover
 - D. attempts to destroy the pueblo people
3. As the battle over the expansion of slavery intensified in the 1840s, Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan proposed the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," a measure that would allow _____.
 - A. a popular election of Supreme Court justices to decide whether territories might sanction slavery
 - B. a national referendum on the issue of slavery expansion
 - C. the people who settled the territories to decide whether they wanted slavery
 - D. a special congressional commission to decide slavery's fate in the territories
4. To reunite their party, the Whig strategy in the presidential campaign of 1848 was to run a _____.
 - A. slaveholder and denounce abolitionists
 - B. military hero and remain silent on the issue of slavery
 - C. wealthy Southerner who opposed slavery
 - D. Southerner who advocated admitting California as a slave state
5. Southerners feared the admission of California as a free state because they _____.
 - A. wanted to use San Francisco as a slave-trading center
 - B. believed in upholding the terms of the Missouri Compromise
 - C. knew Mexican Americans were in positions of power there
 - D. would lose the balance of power in the U.S. Senate

6. In the video, Professor Michael Holt supports the view that the Compromise of 1850 _____.
- conceded too much to the South
 - averted a civil war for a decade
 - should have balanced California's admission with a slave state
 - left too many issues unresolved

Short Answer: Your answers should be one or two paragraphs long and specifically address the points indicated.

- Why and how was New York state somewhat divided on the issue of slavery in 1850?
- How did the views of David Wilmot, John C. Calhoun, and Lewis Cass articulate three distinct positions on the issue of slavery in the territories? Why did each take the position that he did?

Essay Question: Your answer should be several paragraphs long and express a clear understanding of the points indicated.

- Describe and explain the background, issues, terms, and consequences of the Compromise of 1850.

ANSWER KEY

	Learning Answer Objectives	Focus Points	References
1.	C..... LO 1.....	FP 2.....	pp. 400–401; video segment 2
2.	A..... LO 1.....	FP 2.....	pp. 400–401; video segment 2
3.	C..... LO 3.....	FP 6.....	pp. 452–453
4.	B..... LO 4.....	FP 7.....	pp. 453–454
5.	D..... LO 5.....	FP 9.....	pp. 454–455; video segments 2, 3
6.	B..... LO 5.....	FP 14.....	video segment 4
7.	 LO 1.....	FP 2.....	pp. 400–401; video segment 2
	- What was going on in upstate New York regarding slavery? - Why did New York City have less enthusiasm for abolition?		
8.	 LO 3.....	FP 4–6.....	pp. 451–453
	- Who was Wilmot? Why did he want to keep slavery out of the territories? How did he propose to do that? - Who was Calhoun? On what basis did he think that slaves could not be kept out of the territories? Why is there some irony in his position? - Who was Cass? What did “popular sovereignty” mean? Why was it a middle ground?		

9. LO 2, 5.....FP 1–14.....pp. 400–401, 450–457; document; video segments 1–4
- Background: How had the issue of slavery in the territories been dealt with previously? What prompted the “Great Debate” in 1850?
 - Issues: Why was California’s admission as a free state important? What should be done with the other territory acquired from Mexico? What was the border dispute between Texas and New Mexico? Why were fugitive slaves in general and the slave trade in Washington, D.C., issues?
 - Terms: What agreement was reached on the above issues?
 - Consequences: What did each side gain or lose? What was the poison pill in the agreement? Why was it important?

ENRICHMENT IDEAS

These activities are not required unless your instructor assigns them. They are offered as suggestions to help you learn more about the material presented in this lesson.

1. Imagine yourself to be a U.S. Senator from the state of Missouri in 1850. Write the text of a speech that articulates your views on the fugitive slave and slave-trade provisions of the proposed Compromise of 1850.
2. Imagine yourself to be the editor of a newspaper published in either New York City or Charleston. Write an editorial in which you explain your position on the Compromise of 1850.
3. Research the boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico in the 1840s. Then submit a well-developed essay in which you explain the dispute and how and why it was resolved in the Compromise of 1850.
4. What elements are necessary to reach a true compromise? What process must leaders go through to reach compromise on difficult issues? In a thoughtful essay, address those questions and use an example from the recent history to illustrate your points.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See the “Bibliography” on pages 488–490 of the text if you wish to examine other books related to the material presented in this lesson.

DOCUMENTS

Gold fever struck many men in the 1840s. Walter Colton, a local resident, kept a diary of what he observed as the fever struck the Monterey, California, area.

As you read this document, focus on answering the following questions:

1. How were people affected by the gold fever? How did it upset social and domestic arrangements?
2. How did the gold rush illustrate the free-labor system?
3. Did the gold fever influence white's attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups?

"California Diary, 1849–1850" by Walter Colton

Monday, May 29 [1849]. Our town was startled out of its quiet dreams to-day, by the announcement that gold had been discovered on the American Fork. The men wondered and talked, and the women too; but neither believed.

Monday, June 5. Another report reached us this morning from the American Fork. The rumor ran, that several workmen, while excavating for a millrace, had thrown up little shining scales of a yellow ore, that proved to be gold; that an old Sonoranian, who had spent his life in gold mines, pronounced it the genuine thing. Still the public incredulity remained, save here and there a glimmer of faith.

Tuesday, June 6. Being troubled with the golden dream, I determined to put an end to the suspense, and dispatched a messenger this morning to the American Fork. He will have to ride, going and returning, some four hundred miles, but his report will be reliable. We shall then know whether this gold is a fact or a fiction.

Tuesday, June 20. My messenger sent to the mines, has returned with specimens of the gold; he dismounted in a sea of upturned faces. As he drew forth the yellow lumps from his pockets, and passed them around among the eager crowd, the doubts, which had lingered till now, fled. All admitted they were gold, except one old man, who still persisted they were some Yankee invention, got up to reconcile the people to the change of flag. The excitement produced was intense; and many were soon busy in their hasty preparations for a departure to the mines. The family who had kept house for me caught the moving infection. Husband and wife were both packing up; the blacksmith dropped his hammer, the carpenter his plane, the mason his trowel, the farmer his sickle, the baker his loaf, and the tapster his bottle. All were off for the mines, some on horses, some on carts, and some on crutches, and one went in a litter. An American woman, who had recently established a boarding-house here, pulled up stakes, and was off before her lodgers had even time to pay their bills. Debtors ran, of course. I have only a community of women left, and a gang of prisoners, with here and there a soldier, who will give his captain the slip at the first chance. I don't blame the fellow a whit; seven dollars a month, while others are making two or three hundred a day! [T]hat is too much for human nature to stand.

Tuesday, July 18. Another bag of gold from the mines, and another spasm in the community. It was brought down by a sailor from Yuba river, and contains a hundred and thirty-six ounces. It is the most beautiful gold that has appeared in the market. My carpenters, at work on the schoolhouse, on seeing it, threw down their saws and planes, shouldered their picks, and are off for the Yuba. Three seamen ran from the Warren, forfeiting their four years' pay; and a whole platoon of soldiers from the fort left only their colors behind.

Thursday, Aug. 16. Four citizens of Monterey are just in from the gold mines on Feather River, where they worked in company with three others. They employed about thirty wild Indians, who are attached to the rancho owned by one of the party. They worked precisely seven weeks and three days, and have divided seventy-six thousand eight hundred and forty-four dollars,—nearly eleven thousand dollars to each. Let me introduce a man, well known to me, who has worked on the Yuba river sixty-four days, and brought back, as the result of his individual labor, five thousand three hundred and fifty-six dollars. Let me introduce another townsman, who has worked on the North Fork fifty-seven days, and brought back four thousand five hundred and thirty-four dollars. Is not this enough to make a man throw down his leger and shoulder a pick?

Tuesday, Aug. 28. The gold mines have upset all social and domestic arrangements in Monterey; the master has become his own servant, and the servant his own lord. The millionaire is obliged to groom his own horse, and roll his wheelbarrow; and the hidalgo—in whose veins flows the blood of all the Cortes—to clean his own boots! Here is lady L—, who has lived here seventeen years, the pride and ornament of the place, with a broomstick in her jewelled hand! And here is lady B— with her daughter—all the way from “old Virginia,” where they graced society with their varied accomplishments—now floating between the parlor and kitchen, and as much at home in the one as the other! And here is lady S—, whose cattle are on a thousand hills, lifting, like Rachel of old, her bucket of water from the deep well! And here is lady M. L—, whose honeymoon is still full of soft seraphic light, unhouseling a potatoe, and hunting the hen that laid the last egg. And here am I, who have been a man of some note in my day, loafing on the hospitality of the good citizens, and grateful for a meal, though in an Indian's wigwam. Why, is not this enough to make one wish the gold mines were in the earth's flaming centre, from which they sprung?

Saturday, Sept. 16. All distinctions indicative of means have vanished; the only capital required is muscle and an honest purpose. I met a man to-day from the mines in patched buckskins, rough as a badger from his hole, who had fifteen thousand dollars in yellow dust, swung at his back. And there is more where this came from. His rights in the great domain are equal to yours, and his prospects of getting it out vastly better. With these advantages, he bends the knee to no man, but strides along in his buckskins, a lord of earth by a higher prescriptive privilege than what emanates from the partiality of kings. Clear out of the way with your crests, and crowns, and pedigree trees, and let this democrat pass.

Wednesday, Oct. 18. We are camped in the centre of the gold mines, in the heart of the richest deposits which have been found, and where there are many hundred at work. I have taken some pains to ascertain the average per man that is got out; it must be less than half an ounce per day. It might be more were there any stability among the diggers; but half their time is consumed in what they call prospecting; that is, looking up new deposits. An idle rumor, or more surmise, will

carry them off in this direction or that, when perhaps they gathered nothing for their weariness and toil. I have never met with one who had the strength of purpose to resist these roving temptations.

Thursday, Oct. 19. All the gold-diggers through the entire encampment, were shaken out of their slumbers this morning by a report that a solid pocket of gold had been discovered in a bend of the Stanislaus. In half an hour a motley multitude, covered with crowbars, pickaxes, spades, rifles, and washbowls, went streaming over the hills in the direction of the new deposits. You would have thought some fortress was to be stormed, or some citadel sapped. The most curious feature in this business is, that out of a regiment of gold-hunters, where the utmost apparent confusion prevails, the absence of two men should be noticed. But the motions of every man are watched. Even when he gathers up his traps, takes formal leave, and is professedly bound home, he is tracked for leagues. No disguise can avail him; the most successful war-stratagem would fail here.

Thursday, Nov. 2. Quite a sensation was produced among the gold-diggers this morning by the arrival of a wagon from Stockton, freighted with provisions and a barrel of liquor. The former had been getting scarce, and the latter had long since entirely given out. The prices of the first importation were—flour, two dollars a pound; sugar and coffee, four dollars; and the liquor, which was nothing more nor less than New England rum, was twenty dollars the quart. But few had bottles: every species of retainer was resorted to; some took their quart cups, some their coffee-pots, and others their sauce-pans; while one fellow, who had neither, offered ten dollars to let him suck with a straw from the bung. All were soon in every variety of excitement, from prattling exhilaration, to roaring inebriety. Some shouted, some danced, and some wrestled: a son of Erin poured out his soul on the beauties of the Emerald isle; a German sung the songs of his father-land; a Yankee apostrophized the mines, which swelled in the hills around; an Englishman challenged all the bears in the mountain glens to mortal combat; and a Spaniard, posted aloft on a beetling crag, addressed the universe.

Wednesday, Nov. 8. Some fifty thousand persons are drifting up and down these slopes of the great Sierra, of every hue, language, and clime, tumultuous and confused as a flock of wild geese taking wing at the crack of a gun, or autumnal leaves strown on the atmospheric tides by the breath of the whirlwind. All are in quest of gold; and, with eyes dilated to the circle of the moon, rush this way and that, as some new discovery, or fictitious tale of success may suggest. Some are with tents, and some without; some have provisions, and some are on their last ration; some are carrying crowbars; some pickaxes and spades; some wash-bowls and cradles; some hammers and drills, and powder enough to blow up the rock of Gibraltar. Such a mixed and motley crowd—such a restless, roving, rummaging, ragged multitude, never before roared in the rookeries of man. Each great camping-ground is denoted by the ruins of shovels and shanties, the bleaching bones of the dead, disinhumed by the wolf, and the skeleton of the culprit, still swinging in the wind, from the limb of a tree, overshadowed by the raven.

Monday, May 14 [1850]. Much has been said of the amounts of gold taken from the mines by Sonoranians, Chilians, and Peruvians, and carried out of the country. As a general fact, this apprehension and alarm is without any sound basis. Not one pound of gold in ten, gathered by these foreigners, is shipped off to their credit: it is spent in the country for provisions, clothing,

and in the hazards of the gaming table. It falls into the hands of those who command the avenues of commerce, and ultimately reaches our own mints. I have been in a camp of five hundred Sonorians, who had not gold enough to buy a month's provisions—all had gone, through their improvident habits, to the capacious pockets of the Americans. To drive them out of California, or interdict their operations, is to abstract that amount of labor from the mines, and curtail proportionably the proceeds. If gold, slumbering in the river banks and mountains of California, be more valuable to us than when stamped into eagles and incorporated into our national currency, then drive out the Sonorians: but if you would have it here and not there, let those diggers alone. When gold shall begin to fail, or require capital and machinery, you will want these hardy men to quarry the rocks and feed your stampers; and when you shall plunge into the Cinnabar mountains, you will want them to sink your shafts and kindle fires under your great quicksilver retorts. They will become the hewers of wood and drawers of water to American capital and enterprise. But if you want to perform this drudgery yourself, drive out the Sonorians, and upset that cherished system of political economy founded in a spirit of wisdom and national justice.

Wednesday, June 20. The causes which exclude slavery from California lie within a nut-shell. All here are diggers, and free white diggers wont dig with slaves. They know they must dig themselves: they have come out here for that purpose, and they wont degrade their calling by associating it with slave-labor: self-preservation is the first law of nature. They have nothing to do with slavery in the abstract, or as it exists in other communities; not one in ten cares a button for its abolition, nor the Wilmot proviso either: all they look at is their own position; they must themselves swing the pick, and they wont swing it by the side of negro slaves. That is their feeling, their determination, and the upshot of the whole business. An army of half a million, backed by the resources of the United States, could not shake their purpose. Of all men with whom I have ever met, the most firm, resolute, and indomitable, are the emigrants into California. They feel that they have got into a new world, where they have a right to shape and settle things in their own way. No mandate, unless it comes like a thunder-bolt straight out of heaven, is regarded. They walk over hills treasured with the precious ores; they dwell by streams paved with gold; while every mountain around soars into the heaven. All these belong to them; they walk in their midst; they feel their presence and power, and partake of their grandeur. Think you that such men will consent to swing the pick by the side of slaves? Never! While the stream owns its source, or the mountain its base. You may call it pride, or what you will, but *there* it is—deep as the foundations of our nature, and unchangeable as the laws of its divine Author.

Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (1850; new ed. 1949; reprint, Temecula, California: Reprint Services Corp., 1992), pp. 242–375.

During the debates over the Compromise of 1850, the abolitionist Salmon P. Chase argued against the passage of the bill. His long opposition to the continuation of slavery gave his position a deep emotional intensity.

As you read this document, focus on answering the following questions:

1. How did he invoke a sense of patriotism to his cause?
2. What changed the slavery issue for the worse?

“Union and Freedom without Compromise” (1850) by Salmon P. Chase

I think, Mr. President, that two facts may now be regarded as established: First that in 1787 the national policy in respect to slavery was one of restriction, limitation, and discouragement. Second that it was generally expected that under the action of the State Governments slavery would gradually disappear from the States.

Such was the state of the country when the Convention met to frame the Constitution of the United States. The framers of the Constitution acted under the influence of the general sentiment of the country. Some of them had contributed in no small measure to form that sentiment. Let us examine the instrument [the Constitution] in its light, and ascertain the original import of its language.

What, then, shall we find in it? The guaranties so much talked of? Recognition of property in men? Stipulated protection for that property in national territories and by national law? No, sir: nothing like it.

We find, on the contrary, extreme care to exclude these ideas from the Constitution. Neither the word “slave” nor “slavery” is to be found in any provision. There is not a single expression which charges the National Government with any responsibility in regard to slavery. No power is conferred on Congress either to establish or sustain it. The framers of the Constitution left it where they found it, exclusively within and under the jurisdiction of the States. Wherever slaves are referred to at all in the Constitution, whether in the clause providing for the apportionment of representation and direct taxation [Article I, section 2], or in that stipulating for the extradition of fugitive from service [the “fugitive slave” clause, Article IV, section 2], or in that restricting Congress as to the prohibition of importation or migration [Article I, section 9], they are spoken of, not as persons held as property, but as persons held to service, or having their condition determined, under State laws. We learn, indeed from the debates in the Constitutional Convention that the idea of property in men was excluded with special solicitude.

Unhappily, the original policy of the Government and the original principles of the Government in respect to slavery did not permanently control its action. A change occurred—almost imperceptible at first but becoming more and more marked and decided until nearly total. It was natural, though it does [not] seem to have been anticipated, that the unity of the slave interest strengthened by this accession of political power, should gradually weaken the public sentiment and modify the national policy against slavery. Mr. President, I have spoken freely of slave State ascendancy in the affairs of this Government, but I desire not to be misunderstood. I take no sectional position. The supporters of slavery are the sectionalists. Freedom is national; slavery only is local and sectional.

What have been the results of the subversion of the original policy of slavery restriction and discouragement instead of slavery being regarded as a curse, a reproach, a blight, an evil, a wrong, a sin, we are now told that it is the most stable foundation of our institutions; the happiest relation that labor can sustain to capital; a blessing to both races this is a great change, and a sad change. If it goes on, the spirit of liberty must at length become extinct, and a despotism will be established under the forms of free institutions. There can be no foundation whatever for the doctrine advanced that an equilibrium between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding sections of our country has been, is, and ought to be, an approved feature of our political system. I shall feel myself supported by the precepts of the sages of the Revolutionary era, by the example of the founders of the Republic, by the original policy of the Government, and by the principles of the Constitution.

Excerpt taken from *Union and Freedom, without Compromise, Speech of Mr. Chase of Ohio, on Mr. Clay's Compromise Resolutions* by Salmon P. Chase. (Washington, D.C.: Buell and Blanchard, 1850).

Lesson 20

Irrepressible Conflicts

OVERVIEW

Developments taking place in the 1850s are critical to understanding why the people of the United States would ultimately experience a gruesome civil war. As historian Richard Blackett observes, a “triangle of disasters,” all involving the persistent issue of slavery, shattered the Compromise of 1850 and led to irrepressible conflicts.

Implementation of the Fugitive Slave Act in the early 1850s aroused deep emotions, and abolitionists and slave catchers dramatized the moral issues involved. Resistance to the federal law involved both violence and appeals to a “higher law.” Meanwhile, abolitionist literature heightened awareness about the evils inherent in the slave system.

Stephen Douglas may have hoped that the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 would resolve the issue of slavery in the territories, but that legislation unleashed a torrent of violence and invective. As blood flowed in Kansas and on the floor of the United States Senate, political rhetoric sharpened and political party realignment indicated a further erosion of a middle ground. If popular sovereignty would not work, what choices were left?

After the Supreme Court’s 1857 decision in the *Dred Scott* case, compromise seemed legally impossible. By ruling that slaves were property and that slaveholders could take them wherever they wanted, the Court affirmed the belief that the Constitution was a proslavery document. Besides, the “slave power” now appeared to be in total control of the national government. In order to change that, more radical action would be needed.

LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Text: Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Chapter 13, “The House Divided,” pp. 456–476.

Video: “Irrepressible Conflicts” from the series *Shaping America*.

Documents:

“The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850” found at the end of this lesson.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This lesson explains how and why the conflicts surrounding the Fugitive Slave Act, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the *Dred Scott* decision threatened the national unity of the United States of America. Upon completing the lesson, you should be able to:

1. Explain the controversy surrounding the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act.
2. Assess the effect of abolitionist literature and activities in the 1850s.
3. Analyze the reasons for and the results of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
4. Describe how sectional interests were affecting elections and political parties in the 1850s.
5. Explain the *Dred Scott* decision and its consequences.
6. Assess how choices made and actions taken between 1850 and 1857 had moved the nation toward a more intense division between the North and South.

LESSON FOCUS POINTS

The following questions are designed to help you get the most benefit from the sources selected for this lesson. For reference purposes, the titles for the video segments are: (1) Introduction, (2) "A Higher Law," (3) Short-take: "Uncle Tom's Cabin," (4) "Bleeding Kansas," (5) Short-take: "A New Party," (6) "Dred Scott," (7) Summary Analysis: "Revolutions Never Go Backward."

1. What were the terms of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850? Why was enforcement of the act so controversial? How was the act resisted? What was meant by a "higher law" doctrine? (textbook, pp. 456–459; documents; video segment 2)
2. How did the arrest of Anthony Burns in Boston in 1854 illustrate the tension brought about by the Fugitive Slave Act? (video segment 2)
3. Why was *Uncle Tom's Cabin* so popular in the North? What did Southerners think about it? How influential was this book on shaping attitudes toward slavery? What other pieces of abolitionist literature affected public opinion in the 1850s? How important was this in the coming of the Civil War? (textbook, pp. 459–462; video segment 3)
4. Why did Franklin Pierce win the presidential election of 1852? Why was the Gadsden Purchase made? Where was it? (textbook, pp. 462–463)
5. What were Stephen Douglas' motives for introducing the Kansas-Nebraska Act? What were the terms of this legislation? How did it affect Indian peoples in the region? Why did the act include a repeal of the Missouri Compromise line? (textbook, pp. 463–464; video segment 4)

6. Examine Map 13.3 on page 465 of the text. Answer the questions posed there. (textbook, p. 465)
7. Why did the Kansas-Nebraska Act prompt a restructuring of the political party system? Why did the Whig Party die? What was important about that? Why did some northern Democrats have difficulty with the Kansas-Nebraska Act? (textbook, pp. 464–468; video segments 4 and 5)
8. What explains the emergence of the American (Know-Nothing) Party? Why was this party short-lived? (textbook, pp. 466–468)
9. Why was the Republican Party successful in attracting supporters in the North? How successful were the Republicans in the 1856 presidential election? What did this portend? (textbook, pp. 466–469; video segment 5)
10. How did the events associated with “Bleeding Kansas” affect that area and the rest of the nation? (textbook, pp. 469–474; video segment 4)
11. Why did “popular sovereignty” fail in Kansas? What was the significance of that failure? (textbook, pp. 472–474; video segment 4)
12. Who was Dred Scott? On what grounds did he sue for his freedom? (textbook, pp. 474–475; video segment 6)
13. What was the majority decision in the *Dred Scott* case? Why did Chief Justice Taney and the majority make this ruling? What did the minority dissent claim? (textbook, pp. 475–476; video segment 6)
14. What did the *Dred Scott* decision mean to African Americans? How did it affect the issue of slavery in the territories? How did the decision affect the Republican and Democratic parties? (textbook, p. 476; video segment 6)
15. In summary, why and how had the nation moved toward greater division between the North and the South between 1850 and 1857? What choices were available to the American people by the end of 1857? (textbook, pp. 456–476; video segments 1–7)

HISTORICAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

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PRACTICE TEST

The following items will help you evaluate your understanding of this lesson. Use the Answer Key at the end of the lesson to check your answers or to locate material related to each question.

Multiple choice: Choose the BEST answer.

1. As part of the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act _____.
 - A. was designed to operate in conjunction with personal liberty laws
 - B. pleased Northerners weary of the increasing numbers of runaway slaves in their communities
 - C. was the least controversial component of the agreement
 - D. placed the force of the federal government behind Southerners seeking the return of runaway slaves
2. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) influenced Northerners' attitude toward slavery _____.
 - A. by including some of the first-ever research yielding scientific evidence of the effects of slavery on those enslaved
 - B. because it was a compelling novel and a vehicle for a stirring moral indictment of slavery
 - C. by arguing that the North was in no way responsible for the institution of slavery
 - D. by suggesting that the federal government should free slaves by paying the fair market value for them
3. As a result of the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, _____.
 - A. the nation once again had only one functioning political party
 - B. the Whigs gained new strength and vitality
 - C. the nation witnessed the rise of a new two-party system
 - D. the Democrats came to dominate northern politics
4. When the first territorial legislature in Kansas met, it _____.
 - A. voted to settle the slavery issue peacefully
 - B. voted to secede from the union
 - C. enacted tough proslavery laws and prompted the organization of a rival government
 - D. voted to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act within the territorial boundaries
5. In the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that _____.
 - A. Dred Scott could not claim violation of his constitutional rights because he was not a citizen of the United States
 - B. the Missouri Compromise was constitutional
 - C. black people in the United States could be declared citizens under certain circumstances
 - D. Congress had the power to prohibit slavery in the territories

6. In the video, Professor Richard Blackett observes that the events of the mid-1850s
- radicalized many Northerners
 - illustrated the weakness of the abolitionists
 - solidified Democratic Party unity
 - all of the above

Short Answer: Your answers should be one or two paragraphs long and specifically address the points indicated.

- What role did violence play in shaping public opinion and public policy in the period of 1850–1857? Describe two examples to support your answer.
- Why did Stephen Douglas support the concept of popular sovereignty? Why did popular sovereignty fail in Kansas?
- Why did the national party system break down in the 1850s? What was important about that?

Essay Question: Your answer should be several paragraphs long and express a clear understanding of the points indicated.

- Describe and explain how and why the conflicts surrounding the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the *Dred Scott* decision threatened the national unity of the United States of America.

ANSWER KEY

	Learning Answer Objectives	Focus Points	References
1.	D LO 1.....	FP 1.....	pp. 456–459; document; video segment 2
2.	B..... LO 2.....	FP 3.....	pp. 459–462; video segment 3
3.	C..... LO 3, 4.....	FP 7.....	pp. 464–468; video segments 4, 5
4.	C..... LO 3.....	FP 11.....	pp. 472–474; video segment 4
5.	A LO 5.....	FP 13.....	pp. 475–476; video segment 6
6.	A LO 6.....	FP 15.....	pp. 456–476; video segments 1–7
7.	 LO 1–3.....	FP 1, 2, 10.....	pp. 456–459, 469–474; video segments 2, 4
	- Consider how violent action sharpened the growing division over slavery. - How much violence was used in resisting the Fugitive Slave Act? What happened in Boston in particular? - What types of violence were associated with “Bleeding Kansas”? What were the effects?		

8. LO 3.....FP 5, 11 pp. 463–464, 472–474; video segment 4
 - Consider Douglas’ party, the interests he represented, and his goals.
 - Why would popular sovereignty be attractive?
 - Explain what happened in Kansas that led to failure of the concept there.
9. LO 3, 4.....FP 7, 9 pp. 464–469; video segments 4, 5
 - Why did the Whig Party practically disappear during the decade?
 - What area and positions did the Republican Party represent?
 - What stresses were being placed on the Democratic Party?
 - What happens when sectional interests are paramount?
10. LO 1–6.....FP 1–15 pp. 456–476; video segments 1–7
 - Why did the Fugitive Slave Act heighten tensions? How was it resisted? How were sectional interests affected?
 - Why was the Kansas-Nebraska Act so controversial? What happened as a result?
 - What did the *Dred Scott* decision say? What choices were left for those opposed to the expansion of slavery?
 - Consider how the Compromise of 1850 was breaking down. What was dividing the nation?

ENRICHMENT IDEAS

These activities are not assigned unless your instructor assigns them. They are offered as suggestions to help you learn more about the material presented in this lesson.

1. If you live in an area where abolitionist activity took place in the 1850s, research what happened. Then submit an essay in which you describe your findings and assess the effects of the activity.
2. Imagine yourself to be a free black or a fugitive slave in the early 1850s. Write a letter to a close friend in which you describe what actions you are going to take to avoid capture and possible return to a slave state.
3. Imagine yourself to be a newspaper editor in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1856. Write an editorial in which you take a stand on the caning of Senator Charles Sumner.
4. In a well-developed essay, explain how and why the “higher law” doctrine has been used to justify acts of civil disobedience in your lifetime.
5. Consider the role of third parties today. In a thoughtful essay, explain what these parties are trying to accomplish. How do they measure success? Do you think any of them will become a major political party?

SUGGESTED READINGS

See the "Bibliography" on pages 488–490 of the text if you wish to examine other books related to the material presented in this lesson.

DOCUMENTS

One of the elements of the Compromise of 1850 was a much stricter Fugitive Slave Act. The provisions of this act became the most despised element of the compromise for northern opponents.

As you read this document, focus on answering the following questions:

1. What rights were the accused slaves denied?
2. Is support of this measure in keeping with the South's strong support of states' rights?

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, . . .

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another State or Territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent or attorney, duly authorized, by power of attorney, in writing, acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or court of the State or Territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the courts, judges, or commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive, where the same can be done without process, and by taking, or causing such person to be taken, forthwith before such court, judge, or commissioner, whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case of such claimant in a summary manner. . . In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence; and the certificates in this and the first [fourth] section be mentioned, shall be conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted, to remove such fugitive to the State or Territory from which he escaped, and shall prevent all molestation of such person or persons by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid, or shall rescue, or attempt to rescue, such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given and

declared; or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months. . . and shall moreover forfeit and pay, by way of civil damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of one thousand dollars, for each fugitive so lost as aforesaid.

SEC. 9. And be it further enacted, That, upon affidavit made by the claimant of such fugitive, his agent or attorney, after such certificate has been issued, that he has reason to apprehend that such fugitive will be rescued by force from his or their possession before he can be taken beyond the limits of the State in which the arrest is made, it shall be the duty of the officer making the arrest to retain such fugitive in his custody, and to remove him to the State whence he fled, and there to deliver him to said claimant, his agent, or attorney. And to this end, the officer aforesaid is hereby authorized and required to employ so many persons as he may deem necessary to overcome such force, and to retain them in his service so long as circumstances may require. The said officer and his assistants, while so employed, to receive the same compensation, and to be allowed the same expenses, as are now allowed by law for transportation of criminals, to be certified by the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and paid out of the treasury of the United States.

“The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.” Taken from *Statutes at Large*, vol. 9, pp. 462ff.

Lesson 21

The Union Collapses

OVERVIEW

Even though the *Dred Scott* decision had validated the extreme southern position on the issue of slavery in the territories, those who held the opposite view were not about to concede. The Republicans had shown strength in the 1856 elections, and, if they could expand their northern base and nominate an exceptional candidate, victory was possible in the presidential race of 1860.

Enter Abraham Lincoln. He burst upon the national political scene in 1858 when he ran against the incumbent Democrat Stephen Douglas for a seat in the U.S. Senate. At the beginning of that campaign, Lincoln challenged prevailing attitudes in his “House Divided” speech. Then, during a series of debates with Douglas, Lincoln proved to be sound on Republican principles and an adept campaigner. Even though he lost the race for the Senate, Lincoln was now poised to seek an even higher office.

Meanwhile, the violence often accompanying the ongoing national debate over slavery escalated in the fall of 1859, when the fanatical abolitionist John Brown attacked the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown’s quick conviction on treason charges and subsequent execution created a martyr for northern abolitionists and aroused fears in the South that the Republicans were ready to unleash more assaults on slavery.

Raging emotions spilled over into the election year of 1860, when Lincoln and the Republicans achieved a remarkable victory. Seven states in the lower South quickly proceeded to enact ordinances of secession. Thus, even before Abraham Lincoln took office as president of the United States, the Union itself had collapsed. As the new president finished his inaugural address, the stage was set for war.

LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Text: Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Chapter 11, “The Free North and West,” pp. 365–366, and Chapter 13, “The House Divided,” pp. 448–450, 458–459, and 476–490.

Video: “The Union Collapses” from the series *Shaping America*.

Documents: “The Lincoln-Douglas Debates” and “The Trial of John Brown” found at the end of this lesson.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This lesson explains how Abraham Lincoln emerged as a national politician and how and why his election to the presidency in 1860 led to the collapse of the Union in 1861. After completing this lesson, you should be able to:

1. Explain the emergence of Abraham Lincoln as a major national political figure.
2. Analyze the Lincoln-Douglas debates.
3. Explain John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry and its effects on the nation.
4. Analyze the presidential election of 1860.
5. Explain the secession of seven southern states during the winter of 1860–1861.
6. Analyze why compromise failed between 1850 and 1861.

LESSON FOCUS POINTS

The following questions are designed to help you get the most benefit from the sources selected for this lesson. For reference purposes, the titles for the video segments are: (1) Introduction, (2) "Mr. Lincoln," (3) Short-take: "Mathew Brady," (4) "John Brown," (5) "Election and Secession," (6) Summary Analysis: "The Stage for War."

1. What was Abraham Lincoln's family background? How successful was he by 1858? (textbook, pp. 365–366, 476; video segment 2)
2. What was Abraham Lincoln's political background? How had his political views been shaped? Why did he become a Republican in 1856? What were his political convictions by 1858, particularly in reference to slavery? (textbook, pp. 476–479; video segment 2)
3. Why is Lincoln's "House Divided" speech considered a turning point in his political career? (video segment 2)
4. How did the economy and the events in Kansas intrude on the Illinois senatorial election of 1858? (textbook, pp. 477–479)
5. Why did Lincoln and Douglas have a series of debates? What was the central issue of the debates? What was Lincoln trying to accomplish during these debates? (textbook, p. 479; video segment 2)
6. What was important about the "Freeport Doctrine"? (textbook, p. 479; document; video segment 2)

7. Why did Lincoln lose the Senate election to Douglas? What did he gain? (textbook, p. 479; video segment 2)
8. Why was the Cooper Union speech an important one in Lincoln's political career? (video segment 2)
9. What were daguerreotypes? What was important about Mathew Brady's famous photograph of Lincoln? (textbook, pp. 458–459, 482; video segment 3)
10. Why did John Brown organize a raid on Harpers Ferry? Why did Brown fail to accomplish his immediate objective? (video segment 2)
11. How and why was John Brown's hanging turned into a major event? Was he crazy? Was he a traitor? Was he a martyr? What did the South think of his exploits? (textbook, pp. 480–481; document; video segment 4)
12. Why did the Democratic party split into three factions prior to the presidential election of 1860? Who were the candidates of each faction and what did they stand for? How did the split among the Democrats open the way for Republican victory? (textbook, pp. 480–483; video segment 5)
13. How did the Republicans broaden their political base in 1860? Why did they choose Lincoln as their nominee for president? (textbook, p. 483; video segment 5)
14. Why was the presidential election of 1860 unique in American politics? What was at stake? Why did Lincoln win? What did the results indicate about the political state of the nation? (textbook, pp. 483–484; video segment 5)
15. Why did the states in the lower South proceed to secede from the Union during the winter of 1860–61? What was the historical and philosophical basis for the idea of secession? To what extent were Southerners united on the issue of secession? (textbook, pp. 483–485; video segment 5)
16. What did President Buchanan and Congress propose to do about secession during the winter of 1860–1861? What was President-elect Lincoln's position on the issue? How did Lincoln address the issue at his inauguration? (textbook, pp. 485–486; video segment 5)
17. In summary, why had compromise failed between 1850 and 1861? Was the coming Civil War inevitable? (textbook, p. 486; video segment 6)

HISTORICAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

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PRACTICE TEST

The following items will help you evaluate your understanding of this lesson. Use the Answer Key at the end of the lesson to check your answers or to locate material related to each question.

Multiple choice: Choose the BEST answer.

1. In the mid-1850s Abraham Lincoln's search for a political home was based on his _____.
 - A. commitment to the abolition of slavery everywhere in the United States
 - B. belief that nothing short of an armed confrontation would settle the slavery issue in the country
 - C. desire to fight the *Dred Scott* decision
 - D. opposition to the extension of slavery in the United States
2. Abraham Lincoln's "House Divided" speech was important because it _____.
 - A. stated his opposition to secession in vivid language
 - B. helped him emerge as a national opponent to Stephen Douglas
 - C. foreshadowed his position fortifying Fort Sumter
 - D. enabled him to gain the presidential nomination on the first ballot
3. Seeking to capitalize on the central issue of the debates, slavery and freedom, Stephen A. Douglas tried to depict Abraham Lincoln as _____.
 - A. an abolitionist and color-blind egalitarian who loved blacks
 - B. uninformed on some of the key issues pertinent to their debates
 - C. an avid supporter of the Fugitive Slave Act
 - D. pandering to public sentiment when he insisted that slavery was wrong

4. The precise objectives of John Brown's assault on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 remain hazy, but most believe he wanted to _____.
 - A. steal arms from the arsenal to take back to New England
 - B. set up a training camp for militant abolitionists
 - C. initiate a slave insurrection
 - D. shut down the federal arsenal so it could no longer manufacture weapons
5. Democrats meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860 to choose a presidential candidate wound up _____.
 - A. agreeing unanimously on Stephen A. Douglas
 - B. splitting the party into Southern and Northern wings
 - C. selecting Jefferson Davis as their candidate
 - D. deadlocking over their choice for seventy-two ballots
6. The slave states of the upper South were not as quick to secede from the Union after Lincoln's election because _____.
 - A. they generally believed that secession was an ill-considered idea
 - B. they had great difficulty in getting together a quorum of legislators to debate the issue
 - C. the U.S. army had already assembled on the north bank of the Potomac River as a persuasive deterrent to secession.
 - D. they simply did not have the same stake in slavery as did the states in the Deep South.
7. In the video, several historians state the view that _____.
 - A. better political leadership could have avoided the Civil War
 - B. greater freedom for blacks in the South was inevitable
 - C. some kind of conflict between the sections seemed certain to happen
 - D. stronger efforts should have been made to compromise the issues in 1861

Short Answer: Your answers should be one or two paragraphs long and specifically address the points indicated.

8. Explain Abraham Lincoln's views on slavery prior to the outbreak of the Civil War.
9. Explain why the Lincoln-Douglas debates were significant in 1858 and in 1860.
10. Why would Abraham Lincoln give some credit to Mathew Brady for his victory in the 1860 election? What does this say about elections in general?
11. Do you think it is fair to say that John Brown fired the "first shots" of the Civil War at Harpers Ferry in 1859? Why or why not?
12. Why did Abraham Lincoln win the presidential election of 1860?

Essay Questions: Your answers should be several paragraphs long and express a clear understanding of the points indicated.

13. How and why had the United States moved to the brink of a Civil War between 1858 and 1861? Was the Civil War inevitable?
14. Looking at the period from 1850 to 1861, analyze the key developments that led to the failure of compromise.
15. During the winter of 1860–1861, seven southern states seceded from the Union. Explain the development of this idea and process from the 1780s to 1861.

ANSWER KEY

	Learning Answer Objectives	Focus Points	References
1.	D LO 1.....	FP 2.....	pp. 476–477; video segment 2
2.	B..... LO 1.....	FP 3.....	video segment 2
3.	A LO 2.....	FP 5, 7.....	p. 479; video segment 2
4.	C..... LO 3.....	FP 10.....	pp. 448–450; video segment 4
5.	B..... LO 4.....	FP 12.....	pp. 480–483; video segment 5
6.	D LO 5.....	FP 15.....	pp. 483–485; video segment 5
7.	C..... LO 6.....	FP 17.....	p. 486; video segment 6
8.	 LO 1.....	FP 1, 2, 3, 5.....	pp. 365–366, 476–477, 479; video segment 2
	• How did his family background and work experience affect his outlook? • What did his membership in the Whig and then Republican parties mean in this regard? • Why was he so opposed to the <i>Dred Scott</i> decision and popular sovereignty?		
9.	 LO 2, 4.....	FP 5, 6, 7, 14.....	pp. 479, 483–484; document; video segments 2, 5
	• What was Lincoln trying to accomplish in the debates? • What was important about the Freeport Doctrine? • What happened as a result of the debates in 1858? • How is the Illinois senate race connected to the presidential election in 1860?		
10.	 LO 4.....	FP 14.....	pp. 483–484; video segment 5
	• Who is Mathew Brady and what did he do? • What effect did Brady's action have on the election? • How important is image in elections? Why is it important?		

11. LO 3.....FP 10, 11 pp. 448–450, 480–481; document, video segment 4
 - What exactly did Brown do?
 - What were the reactions from the North and the South to Brown’s actions and his hanging?
 - What is your opinion? Why do you hold that view?
12. LO 4.....FP 12–14..... pp. 480–484; video segment 5
 - Why was Lincoln a strong candidate? Who were his opponents?
 - What issues attracted voters to Lincoln?
 - What sort of campaign did Lincoln undertake? What did he have to do to win?
 - What do the election results demonstrate about our electoral system?
13. LO 2–5.....FP 4–16..... pp. 448–450, 458–459, 477–484; video segments 2–5
 - What was the significance of the Lincoln-Douglas debates?
 - What role did John Brown’s raid and execution have on emotions and beliefs?
 - What was the importance of the 1860 presidential election?
 - Why was secession a threat to the United States?
14. All LOs All FPs..... Comprehensive of Lessons 20, 21
 - What was the most controversial part of the Compromise of 1850? What issues did this arouse?
 - What role did the abolitionists play in the 1850s?
 - Why was the Kansas-Nebraska Act so significant?
 - What effect did “Bleeding Kansas” have on the nation?
 - What was the significance of the *Dred Scott* decision?
 - Why were the Lincoln-Douglas debates important?
 - Why were the actions of John Brown critical?
 - Why did the presidential election of 1860 lead to a secession movement?
15. All LOs All FPs..... Comprehensive of Lessons 20, 21
 - Was the Constitution a compact between states or a compact between the people of all the states?
 - How did the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions affect the concept of states’ rights?
 - Why did the nullification crisis of the 1830s escalate the development of secessionist thought?
 - How and why did the leaders of the secessionist movement finally proceed to act in 1860–1861?

ENRICHMENT IDEAS

These activities are not required unless your instructor assigns them. They are offered as suggestions to help you learn more about the material presented in this lesson.

1. Imagine yourself to be a voter in the 1860 presidential election. In a well-developed essay, explain why you voted for the candidate of your choice.
2. Examine Map 13.5 on page 484 of the textbook. Then submit a thoughtful essay in which you explain why different areas of the country supported each of the candidates in the 1860 presidential election.
3. Imagine yourself to be an editor for a major newspaper in 1859. Write an editorial in which you either defend or condemn John Brown.
4. Imagine yourself to be a southern politician during the winter of 1860–1861. Write a thoughtful position paper in which you defend your vote for or against secession of your state.
5. Research the photos and images of Abraham Lincoln circulated during the 1860 presidential election. Then submit a well-documented essay in which you analyze how those images may have affected the outcome of the election.
6. Abraham Lincoln still holds a special place in the American memory and among American historians. Read the article “How I Met Lincoln,” published in *American Heritage* magazine in July/August 1999, and then write a review of that article. What are your thoughts about Mr. Lincoln?
7. John Brown was not able to initiate a massive slave uprising. In a thoughtful essay, examine why this attempt and others prior to the Civil War were not successful.
8. Read Stephen Benet’s epic poem “John Brown’s Body.” How does this poem influence the memory of John Brown? Submit your thoughts in a well-developed essay, citing passages from the poem as appropriate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See the “Bibliography” on pages 488–490 of the textbook if you wish to examine other books related to the material presented in this lesson.

DOCUMENTS

Abraham Lincoln was nominated to run against Stephen Douglas in the 1858 senatorial race in Illinois. In order to improve his chances to win the necessary support, Lincoln challenged the better-known Douglas to series of debates. Douglas accepted and the two men squared off at seven different sites all across the state of Illinois. Douglas espoused views that made him unacceptable to the Deep South when he attempted to gain the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party in 1860. Just as importantly, Lincoln created a moderate position on slavery that appealed to many Northerners. Although Lincoln lost the senate seat, the debates propelled him toward the presidential nomination in 1860.

As you read this document, focus on answering the following questions:

1. What did Southerners find most objectionable in Douglas's positions? In Lincoln's?
2. How was Lincoln a moderate on the slave and race issues (in his own time)?

"The Lincoln-Douglas Debates" (1858)

Lincoln's Opening Speech

As to the first one, in regard to the fugitive slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the southern states are entitled to a congressional fugitive slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing fugitive slave law further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave states into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave state admitted into the Union; . . . but I must add, that if slavery shall be kept out of the territories during the territorial existence of any one given territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. . . . I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions. First, that the abolition should be gradual. Second, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District, and third, that compensation should be

made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our Capital that foul blot upon our nation."

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the territories of the United States is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question of whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories, as far as I have framed them. The first one is —

Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a state constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English Bill—some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?

Question 2. Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?

Question 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that states can not exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Question 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question?

Douglas's Reply

In a few moments I will proceed to review the answers which he has given to these interrogatories; but in order to relieve his anxiety I will first respond to those which he has presented to me.

First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable and ask admission into the Union as a state, before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. In reference to Kansas; it is my opinion, that as she has population enough to constitute a slave state, she has people enough for a free state. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other states of the Union. ("Sound," and "hear, hear.") I hold it to be a sound rule of universal application to require a territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress, before it is admitted as a state into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no territory of the United States should form a constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population.

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, can the people of a territory in any lawful way against the wishes of any citizen of the United States; [sic] exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a

state constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska Bill on that principle all over the state in 1854, in 1855 and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska Bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is, if the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a state of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits will I submit to it? I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. Yes, a school boy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the *Washington Union*, in an article published on the 17th of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate.

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is, are you in favor of acquiring additional territory in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly, that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you (addressing Mr. Lincoln) opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns, Yankee-fashion, and without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery, and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory, as they prefer. It is idle to tell me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi River, but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana territory, from the west branch of the Mississippi, to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present, but this is a young and a growing nation. It swarms as often as a hive of bees, and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey.

"The Lincoln-Douglas Debates" (1858). Taken from *Political Speeches and Debates of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas, 1854-1861* edited by Alonzo T. Jones. (Battle Creek, Michigan, 1895).

Among the most controversial figures in the antebellum period was John Brown. This violent abolitionist, who killed in Kansas and fled the territory, emerged again in Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859. Following his taking of the arsenal, he was captured and tried for treason, for which he was executed.

As you read this document, focus on answering the following questions:

1. What were John Brown's stated intentions for his attack on Harpers Ferry?
2. What were his feelings about what he had done?

"The Trial of John Brown" (1859)

The clerk then asked Mr. Brown whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced upon him.

Mr. Brown immediately rose, and in a clear, distinct voice, said: I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, of a design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri, and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended to do. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite the slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. I have another objection, and that is that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved—for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right, and every man in this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. This Court acknowledges, too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done in behalf of His despised poor, is no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done. Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what

was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason or excite slaves to rebel or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind. Let me say also in regard to statements made by some of those who were connected with me, I fear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me, but the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. Not one but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated. Now, I am done.

While Mr. Brown was speaking, perfect quiet prevailed, and when he had finished the Judge proceeded to pronounce sentence upon him. After a few primary remarks, he said, that no reasonable doubt could exist of the guilt of the prisoner, and sentenced him to be hung in public, on Friday, the 2nd of December next.

Mr. Brown received his sentence with composure.

“The Trial of John Brown” (1859). Excerpt taken from *The Life, Trial and Execution of Captain John Brown...* (New York: R. M. Dewitt, 1859), pp. 94–95.

The second point is that the Union was not a homogeneous entity. It was a collection of diverse peoples, languages, and cultures. The Russian Empire, which was the core of the Union, was a vast and multi-ethnic state. The Ukrainians, who were the largest non-Russian ethnic group, were often treated as a separate nation. The Poles, who were also a significant group, were often treated as a separate nation. The Caucasus, which was a region of great strategic importance, was also a collection of diverse peoples and cultures. The Union was a complex and diverse entity, and it was this diversity that made it so difficult to govern.

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Lesson 22

And the War Came

OVERVIEW

The Civil War holds a special place in American memory. Battlefield sites, historical markers, books, websites, and family histories are just some of the reminders of the conflict that tested the very survival of the nation. In this and the subsequent two lessons, we will examine why the war was fought, how the war was conducted, how it affected the home fronts, why the North won, and what that meant in the shaping of America.

In his second inaugural address, President Abraham Lincoln reflected on the beginning of the Civil War four years earlier: “Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.”

The Civil War fundamentally transformed the United States. But at the time of the first shots fired at Fort Sumter in 1861, it was far from clear what would happen in the ensuing conflict. Political and military leaders made choices that brought thousands of people into harm’s way. Individuals had to choose if they were going to fight for a cause that might take the last full measure of devotion.

At the beginning of the war, politicians, military officers, soldiers, and most people at home expected to win and hoped that the victory might be relatively easy. However, it did not take long for the reality of battle to drive home the point that this was going to be a long and costly struggle. In the eastern theater of the war, General Robert E. Lee and other Confederate generals scored enough victories to prevent any significant Union penetration into the South. Meanwhile, in the western theater, General Ulysses S. Grant demonstrated his capacity to direct Union successes, but the Confederacy still controlled traffic up and down the Mississippi River. Thus, by the end of 1862, the war seemed to have reached a stalemate, a condition that might have placed the Confederacy on the verge of an ultimate victory.

LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Textbook: Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Chapter 14, “The Crucible of War,” pp. 492–507.

Video: “And the War Came” from the series *Shaping America*.

Documents:

“Fort Sumter Inflames the North” (1861) and “Fort Sumter Inspires the South” (1861) found at the end of this lesson.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This lesson examines the significant political, economic, social, and military developments during the early stages of the Civil War. Upon completing this lesson, you should be able to:

1. Explain the decisions made by Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis regarding Fort Sumter in April 1861 and the effects of those decisions.
2. Analyze why soldiers fought in the Civil War.
3. Assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of each side at the start of the war.
4. Explain the major developments in the military and diplomatic theaters of the war during 1861–62.

LESSON FOCUS POINTS

The following questions are designed to help you get the most benefit from the sources selected for this lesson. For reference purposes, the video segments are (1) Introduction, (2) "Fort Sumter," (3) "Why They Fought," (4) Short-take: "Two Generals," (5) "Bull Run to Fredericksburg," and (6) Summary Analysis: "On the Verge."

1. Why was Fort Sumter so important to the Union and the Confederacy in April 1861? What choices did President Lincoln have regarding Fort Sumter? Why did he choose the course of action that he did? (textbook, pp. 494–495; video segment 2)
2. What choices did President Davis have? Why did he pursue the option that he did? Did Lincoln "force" the South to fire the first shots of the war? Why or why not? (textbook, p. 495; video segment 2)
3. Why did Major Anderson surrender Fort Sumter? (video segment 2)
4. How did both the North and the South respond to the fall of Fort Sumter? (textbook, pp. 495–496; documents; video segment 3)
5. Why did the slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri stay in the Union? What was important about that? How and why did West Virginia come into existence? (textbook, pp. 496–497; video segment 3)
6. What were the various classes of white Southerners fighting for? Why did they shy away from naming slavery as the cause of their fight? What were the long-term effects of this? (textbook, pp. 497–498; video segment 3)
7. Why did Northerners fight? Why didn't they just let the South go? (textbook, p. 498; video segment 3)

8. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the North and of the South? (textbook, pp. 498–499; video segment 3)
9. How and why did the South expect to win? How did cotton fit into the South’s calculations for victory? What was the South’s war strategy? (textbook, pp. 498–500; video segment 3)
10. How and why did the North expect to win? What did the North have to do to win? What was the North’s strategy for victory? In what way did both sides miscalculate what would happen? (textbook, p. 500; video segment 3)
11. What challenges did the Lincoln and Davis administrations face in mobilizing for war? How successful were they in meeting the challenges? How did Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis compare as war leaders? (textbook, pp. 500–502)
12. How did Generals Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee compare as military leaders? (video segment 4)
13. Examine Map 14.2 on page 503 of the textbook. What does that map tell you about the relative advantages and disadvantages of each side in the war? (textbook, p. 503)
14. What was meant by the “eastern theater” of the war? What was important about this theater of war? How decisive were the battles fought there during 1861–62? Why was Lincoln frustrated with many of his generals? How and why did Robert E. Lee become commander of the Confederate forces? (textbook, pp. 502–504; video segment 5)
15. What was meant by the “western theater” of the war? What was important about this theater? What major battles were fought there during 1861–62? Why was the battle of Shiloh Church significant? What qualities had Ulysses S. Grant demonstrated in this theater of war? (textbook, pp. 504–506; video segment 5)
16. How effective was the naval blockade of the South? What were the diplomatic goals of each side in the war? Why did cotton diplomacy fail the South? Why did European countries shy away from recognizing the Confederacy? (textbook, pp. 506–507)
17. How did the war stand at the end of 1862? (textbook, p. 507; video segment 6)

HISTORICAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

Gary Gallagher, John L. Nau III Professor of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA
James McPherson, Professor of History, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

PRACTICE TEST

The following items will help you evaluate your understanding of this lesson. Use the Answer Key at the end of the lesson to check your answers or to locate material related to each question.

Multiple choice: Choose the BEST answer.

1. In the video, Professor James McPherson refers to Lincoln's choice of action regarding Fort Sumter as a _____.
 - A. miscalculation
 - B. stroke of genius
 - C. recognition of Southern claims
 - D. provocation to Great Britain
2. Typically, Northerners viewed secession as _____.
 - A. an attack on the best government on earth and a severe challenge to the rule of law
 - B. constitutionally viable but impractical
 - C. too expensive and therefore illegal
 - D. a concept they wished they had thought of first
3. When considering the wartime leadership offered by Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, a central irony emerges in that _____.
 - A. neither man was very committed to the efforts he embarked on
 - B. Jefferson Davis made grandiose public statements about what the Confederate States of America might be able to accomplish but privately believed that the South never had a chance
 - C. Abraham Lincoln brought little political experience to his presidency yet rose to the occasion to become a masterful leader, while Jefferson Davis, a seasoned politician, proved to be a relatively ineffectual chief executive
 - D. while Lincoln successfully shepherded the nation through an awful war, he struggled with his own misgivings about America's form of republicanism
4. In the video, Professor Gary Gallagher states that the key to victory in the Civil War for each side was _____.
 - A. conquering the other's territory
 - B. gaining diplomatic recognition from Great Britain
 - C. establishing an effective railway system
 - D. maintaining the support of the civilian population
5. The first battle at Manassas (or Bull Run), in July 1861, is significant because it _____.
 - A. disheartened Northerners to the extent that men stopped volunteering for the army
 - B. demonstrated that Americans were in for a real war, one that would be neither quick nor easy
 - C. was a bloodbath in which thousands of men died
 - D. had an instant sobering effect on Southerners, who realized they would have to beef up their troops to have a chance at winning the war

6. After the battle at Shiloh Church, Tennessee, in April 1862, General Ulysses S. Grant
- believed the war would ruin the nation forever
 - gave up all idea of saving the Union except by complete conquest
 - seriously questioned the war aims of the Lincoln administration
 - believed that God had made it clear which side he supported in the conflict

Short Answer: Your answers should be one or two paragraphs long and specifically address the points indicated.

- Do you think that President Abraham Lincoln forced the South to fire the first shots of the Civil War? Why or why not?
- Why did Southerners generally avoid saying that they were fighting the war to maintain slavery? What were the effects of taking this position?
- What did the South have to do to win the war? What did the North have to do?
- Compare and contrast the military leadership of Generals Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee.

Essay Question: Your answer should be several paragraphs long and express a clear understanding of the points indicated.

- Describe and explain the advantages and disadvantages of each side at the beginning of the Civil War. How did the major battles fought in 1861–1862 illustrate each side's strengths and weaknesses? What was the status of the war at the end of 1862?

ANSWER KEY

	Learning Answer Objectives	Focus Points	References
1.	B..... LO 1.....	FP 1, 2.....	pp. 494–495; video segment 2
2.	A..... LO 2.....	FP 7.....	p. 498; video segment 3
3.	C..... LO 3.....	FP 11.....	pp. 500–502
4.	D..... LO 3.....	FP 9, 10.....	pp. 498–500; video segment 3
5.	B..... LO 4.....	FP 14.....	pp. 502–504; video segment 5
6.	B..... LO 4.....	FP 15.....	pp. 504–506; video segment 5
7.	 LO 1.....	FP 1.....	pp. 494–495; video segment 2
	- What did Lincoln do? - What choices did the South have? - Take a position and defend it.		

8. LO 2.....FP 6..... pp. 497–498; video segment 3
 - What reasons did they give for fighting?
 - To what extent was their way of life dependent on slavery?
 - How would this appeal to non-slaveholders?
 - Would this make the cause more noble?
 - How would this affect southern attitudes after the war?
9. LO 3.....FP 8–10 pp. 498–500; video segment 3
 - Explain the advantages, challenges, and strategy of each side.
 - Consider the importance of maintaining civilian support.
10. LO 4.....FP 12..... video segment 4
 - What was Grant’s greatest talent as a commander?
 - What was Lee’s greatest talent?
 - What quality of leadership did they both have in common?
11. LO 3, 4.....FP 4–15 pp. 495–506; documents; video segments 3, 4, 5
 - Consider resources, geography, and civilian and military leadership.
 - Consider the battles of Bull Run, Forts Henry and Donelson, Shiloh, Antietam, and Fredericksburg.
 - Evaluate the relative positions of each side at this point in the war.

ENRICHMENT IDEAS

These activities are not required unless your instructor assigns them. They are offered as suggestions to help you learn more about the material presented in this lesson.

1. Imagine yourself to be an advisor to either President Lincoln or President Davis. Write a position paper in which you recommend a course of action regarding the situation at Fort Sumter. Be sure to include an analysis of the likely outcomes of the action that you are recommending.
2. Imagine yourself as a young man living in Kentucky at the start of the Civil War. Write a letter to your parents in which you explain your decision to fight for the Union or the Confederacy.
3. Research the issue of secession in our times, for example, in Chechnya, Kosovo, Quebec, or elsewhere. Select one area and then write an essay explaining how and why the region is seeking independence. How is the “mother country” responding? Explain any parallels with the Civil War in America.

SUGGESTED READINGS

See the "Bibliography" on pages 533–535 of the textbook if you wish to examine other books related to the material presented in this lesson.

DOCUMENTS

South Carolina officials, in consultation with the new Confederate government, decided to fire on Fort Sumter in April of 1861. Lincoln responded by calling forth the forces of the Union to put down rebellion. In response to Lincoln's call for troops, the South began arming itself. The undecided slave states were left with the difficult option of joining their fellow slave states or remaining loyal to the Union.

As you read this document, focus on answering the following questions:

1. How did John Adams Dix react to the firing on Fort Sumter?
2. What was the reaction of the editorial in the *Daily Richmond Examiner*?

"Fort Sumter Inflames the North" (1861)

On Sunday, April 14 [1861], the fact became known that Fort Sumter had surrendered. The excitement created by the bombardment of that fortress and its magnificent defense by Anderson was prodigious. The outrage on the government of the United States thus perpetrated by the authorities of South Carolina sealed the fate of the new-born Confederacy and the institution of slavery.

Intelligent Southerners at the North were well aware of the consequences which must follow. In the city of New York a number of prominent gentlemen devoted to the interests of the South, and desirous to obtain a bloodless dissolution of the Union, were seated together in anxious conference, studying with intense solicitude the means of preserving the peace. A messenger entered the room in breathless haste with the news: "General Beauregard has opened fire on Fort Sumter!" The persons whom he thus addressed remained a while in dead silence, looking into each other's pale faces; then one of them, with uplifted hands, cried, in a voice of anguish, "My God, we are ruined!"

The North rose as one man. The question had been asked by those who were watching events, "How will New York go?" There were sinister hopes in certain quarters of a strong sympathy with the secession movements; dreams that New York might decide on cutting off from the rest of the country and becoming a free city. These hopes and dreams vanished in a day. The reply to the question how New York would go was given with an energy worthy of herself.

Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883), vol. 2, p. 9.

"Fort Sumter Inspires the South" (1861)

The news of the capture of Fort Sumter was greeted with unbounded enthusiasm in this city. Everybody we met seemed to be perfectly happy. Indeed, until the occasion we did not know how happy men could be. Everybody abuses war, and yet it has ever been the favorite and most honored pursuit of men; and the women and children admire and love war ten times as much as the men. The boys pulled down the stars and stripes from the top of the Capitol (some of the boys were sixty years old), and very properly run [sic] up the flag of the Southern Confederacy in its place. What the women did we don't precisely know, but learned from rumor that they praised South Carolina to the skies, abused Virginia, put it to the Submissionists hot and heavy with their two-edged swords, and wound up the evening's ceremonies by playing and singing secession songs until fifteen minutes after twelve on Saturday night. The boys exploded an infinite number of crackers; the price of tar has risen 25 percent, and sky-rockets and Roman candles can be had at no price, the whole stock in trade having been used up Saturday night. We had great firing of cannon, all sorts of processions, an infinite number of grandiloquent, hifaluting speeches, and some drinking of healths, which has not improved healths; for one half the people we have met since are hoarse from long and loud talking, and the other half have a slight headache, it may be, from long and patriotic libations.

Daily Richmond Examiner, April 15, 1861, in W. J. Kimball, *Richmond in Time of War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), p. 4.

Lesson 23

Home Fronts

OVERVIEW

During 1861–1862, the realities of the Civil War began to hit home. It was clear this war was not going to be resolved quickly on the battlefields, and its effects would change the course of the nation and its people.

Among those most affected were African Americans. President Abraham Lincoln's initial reluctance to take any bold steps to alter the status of slaves gave way to the needs of war and the desire to transform the nature of the conflict. With Lincoln's decisions to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and to authorize the use of black troops, the war now became a war of liberation as well as a war to preserve the Union.

On the home fronts, both the Union and Confederate governments grappled with the challenges of sustaining the war effort. This led to centralization of power, and, given the eventual outcome of the war, northern initiatives on economic and social policies had lasting effects. Drafting men to fight brought resistance in both sections, especially when the wealthy could evade the call, but each side armed hundreds of thousands of troops. As their husbands and brothers went off to do battle, women worried and had to assume new roles. Hardship was especially acute in the South, the area where most of the fighting took place. As slavery began disintegrating from within and the presence of black troops became more important to northern successes, the resolve of white Southerners approached its ultimate test.

In the video accompanying this lesson, a brief segment on “digital history” emphasizes the point that access to primary source material relating to the Civil War is voluminous and expanding. As with other sources, the challenge is to incorporate and evaluate this material in an attempt to gain a fuller understanding of the Civil War and how it shaped America.

LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Text: Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Chapter 14, “The Crucible of War,” pp. 507–522.

Video: “Home Fronts” from the series *Shaping America*.

Documents: “Home and Country” found on pp. 516–518 of the textbook.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This lesson examines how and why decisions made and actions taken on the home fronts affected the Civil War and how the war affected the home fronts. Upon completing this lesson, you should be able to:

1. Analyze the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation and its effects.
2. Explain the role of African Americans in the Civil War.
3. Describe the effects of the war on the home fronts of the South and the North.
4. Examine how we learn about history in general and the Civil War in particular.
5. Analyze how developments on the home fronts affected the progress of the war.

LESSON FOCUS POINTS

The following questions are designed to help you get the most benefit from the sources selected for this lesson. For reference purposes, the titles of the video segments are: (1) Introduction, (2) "Emancipation," (3) "The War at Home – The North," (4) "The War at Home – The South," (5) Short-take: "Digital History," and (6) Summary Analysis: "The Center of the Struggle."

1. Why was President Lincoln's original position on emancipation very cautious? What sort of pressure did Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists put on Lincoln? How did Congress engage this issue? What did slaves do to force emancipation onto the political agenda? Why was an attempt at colonization unsuccessful? (textbook, pp. 507–509; video segment 2)
2. Why did Lincoln finally issue the Emancipation Proclamation? What did it actually do? Who criticized the proclamation? Why? How did the proclamation transform the nature of the Civil War? (textbook, pp. 509–510; video segment 2)
3. What roles did African Americans play in the military at the beginning of the war? Why were these roles limited? (textbook, p. 510; video segment 2)
4. Why did Lincoln eventually authorize the use of black troops in Union forces? How were these troops initially organized and treated? What were the black troops fighting for? (textbook, pp. 510–511; video segment 2)
5. Generally, how did black troops perform in the war? Why was the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts regiment famous? How important would black troops be in the outcome of the war? How did participation in the war affect the lives of African Americans? (textbook, pp. 510–511; video segment 2)

6. What actions did the Confederate government take in its attempts to sustain the war effort? What limited the effectiveness of the government's actions? (textbook, pp. 511–513; video segment 4)
7. What sort of hardships did the war cause in the South? Were these deprivations shared equally? What effect did this have on southern unity? How did the war affect women in the South? (textbook, pp. 513–515; video segment 4)
8. How did the wartime experiences in Augusta County, Virginia, reflect the general nature of the southern home front? (video segment 4)
9. How did slavery in the South begin to disintegrate during the war? How was the master-slave relationship altered? How did slaves react to the war? (textbook, p. 515; video segment 4)
10. What perspectives about the war are gained from reading the exchange of letters between Marion and Mary Epperly? (textbook, pp. 516–518)
11. Once the war began, why and how did the U.S. Congress enact legislation that affected industrial, agricultural, educational, and financial institutions? What were the short- and long-term effects of this legislation? (textbook, pp. 515, 518–519; video segment 3)
12. What sort of hardships did the war cause in the North? In what ways did northern women of all classes and geographic areas contribute to the war effort? (textbook, pp. 519–520; video segment 3)
13. In what ways did life in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, during the war reflect the northern home front? How was it different? (video segment 3)
14. How did the war affect northern politics? How did the two-party system operate during the war? How and why did Lincoln exert unusual presidential authority? How were dissenters treated? (textbook, pp. 520–521)
15. How was conscription handled in the North? Why did draft riots break out? (textbook, pp. 521–522)
16. How does the emergence of “digital history” affect the study of history in general and the Civil War in particular? (video segment 5)
17. In summary, how did the war affect the economy, society, and politics of both the North and the South? How did the developments on the home fronts affect the eventual outcome of the war? (textbook, pp. 507–577; video segments 2, 3, 4, 6)

HISTORICAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

Gary Gallagher, John L. Nau III Professor of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA
James Oliver Horton, Benjamin Banneker Professor of American Civilization and History, The George Washington University, Washington, DC
James McPherson, Professor of History, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ
William Thomas, Director of Virginia Center for Digital History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA

PRACTICE TEST

The following items will help you evaluate your understanding of this lesson. Use the Answer Key at the end of the lesson to check your answers or to locate material related to each question.

Multiple choice: Choose the BEST answer.

1. When the Civil War broke out, President Lincoln chose not to make the conflict a struggle over slavery because he _____.
 - A. believed slavery to be a relatively insignificant issue
 - B. doubted his right to tamper with the “domestic institutions” of any state, even those in rebellion
 - C. was not completely confident that destroying slavery was the best thing for African Americans
 - D. thought that eradicating slavery would unleash millions of angry freedmen on the white South
2. In the video, Professor James Oliver Horton points out that the Emancipation Proclamation _____.
 - A. freed all slaves in the United States
 - B. reflected President Lincoln’s racist views
 - C. focused the war on the South’s attempt to preserve slavery
 - D. appeased the non-slaveholding Southerners
3. To most African Americans, the Civil War was _____.
 - A. a political struggle for power between whites in the North and the South
 - B. a military struggle that they avoided being a part of
 - C. an attempt to save the Union
 - D. a struggle to overthrow slavery and gain racial equality

4. The Confederacy's efforts to centralize its government and production facilities encountered resistance in _____.
 - A. the general unwillingness of white Southerners to support the war effort after 1863
 - B. the South's traditional values of states' rights and individualism
 - C. the conviction on the part of slaveholders that the Davis government meant to confiscate some of their slaves
 - D. frequent riots by soldiers, who were paid inadequately or not at all
5. Strikes by workers in northern industries calculated to improve wages during the Civil War _____.
 - A. often proved remarkably successful
 - B. drastically undermined the patriotism of most workers
 - C. were more effective for women than for men
 - D. rarely succeeded
6. The former Democratic congressman Clement L. Vallandigham was arrested for treason in 1863 because he _____.
 - A. frequently appeared in Richmond to urge Jefferson Davis to change his war strategy
 - B. instigated factory workers engaged in the war effort into striking for higher wages
 - C. had vigorously criticized the war
 - D. had attempted to assassinate President Lincoln
7. "Digital history" opens up new opportunities for _____.
 - A. students to become historians
 - B. universities to offer fewer classes
 - C. businesses to alter records
 - D. libraries to restrict access to sources

Short Answer: Your answers should be one or two paragraphs long and specifically address the points indicated.

8. How was the Civil War a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight" on both sides? Do you think this is typical of most wars? Why or why not?
9. How did Augusta County, Virginia, and Franklin County, Pennsylvania, illustrate the issues of the home fronts during the Civil War?

Essay Questions: Your answers should be several paragraphs long and express a clear understanding of the points indicated.

10. Slavery was the fundamental issue leading to the outbreak of the Civil War and remained a key issue during the war. Explain the background, purpose, and results of the Emancipation Proclamation. How was slavery disintegrating during the war? How did the use of black troops alter the course of the war? What did all of these wartime developments indicate about the future of slavery in the United States?

11. Compare and contrast the home fronts of the North and South during the Civil War. In your answer, be sure to address how the war affected the economy, politics, and society of both sections. How did the developments on the home fronts affect the eventual outcome of the war?

ANSWER KEY

	Learning Answer Objectives	Focus Points	References
1.	B..... LO 1.....	FP 1	pp. 507–509; video segment 2
2.	C..... LO 1.....	FP 2	pp. 509–510; video segment 2
3.	D..... LO 2.....	FP 4	pp. 510–511; video segment 2
4.	B..... LO 3.....	FP 6	pp. 511–513; video segment 4
5.	D..... LO 3.....	FP 12.....	pp. 519–520; video segment 3
6.	C..... LO 3.....	FP 14.....	pp. 520–521
7.	A..... LO 4.....	FP 16.....	video segment 5
8.	 LO 3.....	FP 7, 12, 15	pp. 513–515, 519–522; video segments 3, 4
			• Consider who was in a position to benefit from the Civil War. • Describe how conscription was handled in the war. Who could be exempt? • From what you know, how does the Civil War compare to other wars in this regard?
9.	 LO 3.....	FP 8, 13	video segments 3, 4
			• How was the economy affected by the war in these areas? • To what extent was physical damage due to battles (or the threat of fighting) a factor? • Consider how slavery was disintegrating in Augusta County and the experience of Franklin County with refugees. • How were families most affected?
10.	 LO 1–3, 5.....	FP 1–5, 8, 9, 17	pp. 507–522; video segments 2–4, 6
			• Consider the pressures Lincoln faced prior to the Proclamation. • Clarify the purpose of the document. What exactly did it do? • How did the Proclamation transform the nature of war? • How did slaves take their own initiatives toward emancipation in areas in rebellion? • How important were black troops? How did they get involved in the fighting? • What expectations were raised? Could slavery survive if the Union won?
11.	 LO 3, 5.....	FP 17	pp. 507–522; video segments 2–4, 6
			• Consider the economic challenges and opportunities of both sides. • How could the North maintain a two-party system? How much power could and did Lincoln exercise? How did the South's emphasis on states' rights affect their war effort? • How did class issues surface? How was the race issue addressed? • Consider how and why the North was able to marshal its resources and maintain the war. • How could the South sustain the support of the civilian population?

ENRICHMENT IDEAS

These activities are not required unless your instructor assigns them. They are offered as suggestions to help you learn more about the material presented in this lesson.

1. Imagine yourself to be an advisor to either President Lincoln or President Davis. In a well-developed position paper, convince the president of the need to use black troops. Be sure to anticipate arguments against your position.
2. Imagine yourself to be a woman trying to manage a farm in either the North or the South during the Civil War while your husband is away in the military. Write a series of three letters to him in which you describe your thoughts and feelings.
3. Read the novel *Cold Mountain* by Charles Frazier. Then write a review of the book, emphasizing what you derived from the story. Would you recommend this book to others? Why or why not?
4. Research the history of the draft in America. Who has to register? Who is usually exempted from the draft? Who ends up being drafted and does the bulk of the fighting in wars? What do the answers to the preceding questions mean? Finally, take a stand on whether women should have to register for the draft.
5. The video for this lesson mentions “The Valley of the Shadow” website. Research this project to find out how this project was accomplished. Submit a paper in which you report your findings. How can “digital history” change our study of the past? What are the challenges inherent in this type of historical database?

SUGGESTED READINGS

See the “Bibliography” on pages 533–535 of the textbook if you wish to examine other books related to the material presented in this lesson.

LESSON 23—HOME FRONTS

The home front is the area of the country that is not in the front lines of battle. It is the area where the war is fought at home.

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Lesson 24

Union Preserved, Freedom Secured

OVERVIEW

By 1863, President Abraham Lincoln had transformed the Civil War into a war to preserve the union *and* to free the slaves. If those goals were to be accomplished, the South would have to be defeated on the battlefields. Two key turning points in the war came in July 1863: one at Vicksburg, Mississippi, and the other at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Once General Ulysses S. Grant secured Union control of the Mississippi River and General Robert E. Lee retreated to the south, the stage was set for northern victory. But the cost was horrifying. Lincoln's eloquent Gettysburg Address gave meaning to the appalling sacrifices of war and called upon the nation to pursue a new birth of freedom.

During the final stages of war, General Grant employed a comprehensive military strategy to crush the Confederacy. Benefiting from the Union's military successes, Lincoln was reelected in November 1864. That political victory assured that President Lincoln's war aims would be pursued. In his second inaugural address, he appealed for a just and lasting peace. Five weeks later, on April 9, 1865, General Grant accepted General Lee's surrender at Appomattox. And then, at the moment of triumph, Lincoln himself became a victim of war.

LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Text: Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Chapter 14, "The Crucible of War," pp. 522–535.

Video: "Union Preserved, Freedom Secured" from the series *Shaping America*.

Document: "The Gettysburg Address" found at the end of this lesson.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This lesson examines why the Union won the Civil War and what that victory meant to the nation. Upon completing this lesson, you should be able to:

1. Explain the significance of the battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg.
2. Analyze the meaning of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.
3. Explain the significance of the military operations of the Civil War during its final eighteen months.

4. Assess why the North won and the South lost the war.
5. Assess the place of Abraham Lincoln in U.S. history.
6. Analyze the role of the Civil War in the shaping of America.

LESSON FOCUS POINTS

The following questions are designed to help you get the most benefit from the resources selected for this lesson. For reference purposes, the titles of the video segments are: (1) Introduction, (2) "The Beginning of the End," (3) "The Gettysburg Address," (4) "Total War," (5) "The End," and (6) Summary Analysis: "The Legacy."

1. Examine Map 14.3 in the textbook. Where did the bulk of fighting take place? How was the "divide and conquer" strategy of the Union implemented in the South? (textbook, p. 523)
2. What happened at the battle of Vicksburg? Why was this victory so important to the Union? (textbook, pp. 522–523; video segment 2)
3. What happened at the battle of Gettysburg? Why did General Lee engage the Union forces there? Why did Lee fail? What was the significance of the Union victory there? (textbook, pp. 523–524; video segment 2)
4. Why is President Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address significant? What ideas did he express? How did he give meaning to the war? (document; video segment 3)
5. Why did Lincoln eventually appoint U. S. Grant to be commander of all Union armies? What strategy did Grant and his subordinates, Philip Sheridan and William T. Sherman, use to try to beat the Southerners into submission? (textbook, pp. 524–525, 528; video segment 4)
6. What happened during Grant's military engagements with Lee in Virginia in 1864–1865? Why did Sherman march to the sea? What was important about that? (textbook, pp. 524–525, 528, 531; video segment 3)
7. Why did so many soldiers die in the Civil War? How did the death toll compare to other wars involving the United States? (textbook, pp. 526–528)
8. How did the developments on the battlefields affect the elections of 1864? How did the Republicans broaden their appeal? What was significant about the results? (textbook, pp. 528–530; video segment 4)
9. Why did the Confederacy collapse in the late winter and early spring of 1865? (textbook, pp. 530–531; video segments 4, 5)
10. In summary, why did the North win and the South lose the Civil War? (textbook, pp. 493–531; video segment 6)

11. Why can the Civil War be considered to be the “Second American Revolution”? (textbook, p. 532; video segment 6)

HISTORICAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

Gary Gallagher, John L. Nau III Professor of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA
Howard Jones, University Research Professor and Chairman, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL
James McPherson, Professor of History, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

PRACTICE TEST

The following items will help you evaluate your understanding of this lesson. Use the Answer Key at the end of the lesson to check your answers or to locate material related to each question.

Multiple choice: Choose the BEST answer.

1. Vicksburg, Mississippi, was an important military objective for the Union because seizing it would allow the Union to _____.
 - A. stop the export of cotton
 - B. divide the Confederacy
 - C. force General Lee to surrender
 - D. implement the Emancipation Proclamation in that area
2. General Robert E. Lee invaded Pennsylvania in June of 1863 for all of the following reasons EXCEPT to _____.
 - A. take the war out of Virginia
 - B. gather food and fodder
 - C. engage Grant’s army in a final showdown
 - D. shatter northern civilian morale
3. In the Gettysburg Address, President Abraham Lincoln _____.
 - A. framed the Civil War as a test of American principles
 - B. called for the immediate emancipation of all slaves
 - C. recognized the values of the Confederacy
 - D. promoted General Meade to commander of all Union forces
4. The strategy employed by the Union forces in 1864–1865 was one of _____.
 - A. coordinated offensives
 - B. passive resistance
 - C. massive retaliation
 - D. aggressive defense

5. The purpose of General William T. Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea was to _____.
 - A. trap the Confederate army at Savannah
 - B. escape a Confederate attack
 - C. demoralize the civilian population
 - D. link up with Grant's forces
6. The death toll from the Civil War was _____.
 - A. almost equal to the death total from all wars in which the United States has engaged
 - B. significantly smaller than the death toll of U.S. personnel in World War II
 - C. relatively light compared to U.S. casualties in Vietnam
 - D. grossly overstated by journalists covering the war
7. All of the following contributed to Lincoln's reelection in 1864 except _____.
 - A. massive voter registration of northern blacks
 - B. Union military victory on the eve of the election.
 - C. the Democratic candidate's stance on the war issue
 - D. Andrew Johnson's selection as Lincoln's running mate
8. In March of 1865, as the Confederacy was close to defeat, Jefferson Davis proposed the final desperate strategy of _____.
 - A. paying German mercenaries to fight against the North
 - B. using women in combat
 - C. assassinating Lincoln
 - D. having slaves become soldiers

Short Answer: Your answers should be one or two paragraphs long and specifically address the points indicated.

9. Describe and explain the significance of the battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg. How did the results of each battle shape the course of the Civil War?
10. How did Abraham Lincoln give meaning to the Civil War in the Gettysburg Address? What were the main ideas that he expressed? Why does that speech live on in American memory?
11. Describe and explain the major features of the Union's military strategy after Gettysburg. How did Generals Sherman, Sheridan, and Grant implement that strategy?

Essay Questions: Your answers should be several paragraphs long and express a clear understanding of the points indicated.

12. Describe and explain why the North won and the South lost the Civil War. In your answer, be sure to consider both the civilian and military aspects of the war.
13. Why is Abraham Lincoln considered to be the nation's greatest president? In your answer, be sure to analyze the essence of the Lincoln legacy and consider how he lives on in American memory.
14. How did the Civil War fundamentally transform America? In your answer, consider why some refer to the war as the "Second American Revolution" and how the Civil War lives on in American memory.

ANSWER KEY

	Learning Answer Objectives	Focus Points	References
1.	B..... LO 1.....	FP 2.....	pp. 522–523; video segment 2
2.	C..... LO 1.....	FP 3.....	pp. 523–524; video segment 2
3.	A..... LO 2.....	FP 4.....	document; video segment 3
4.	A..... LO 3.....	FP 5.....	pp. 524–525, 528; video segment 4
5.	C..... LO 3.....	FP 6.....	pp. 524–525, 528, 531; video segment 4
6.	A..... LO 3.....	FP 7.....	pp. 526–528
7.	A..... LO 4.....	FP 8.....	pp. 528–530; video segment 4
8.	D..... LO 4.....	FP 9.....	pp. 530–531; video segments 4, 5
9.	 LO 1.....	FP 1, 2, 3.....	pp. 523–524; video segment 2
	• How were Grant and the Union forces able to attack Vicksburg, place it under siege, and eventually force it to surrender? • How did the victory at Vicksburg give the Union a strategic advantage? • What advantages did the North have in the battle of Gettysburg? • Why was the Union victory at Gettysburg a tremendous morale boost for the North? • How did the Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg alter the course of the Civil War?		
10.	 LO 2.....	FP 4.....	document; video segment 3
	• How did the Gettysburg Address explain the significance of the battle at Gettysburg from the northern perspective? • How did Lincoln bring forward the ideals of the Declaration of Independence? • How did Lincoln add the element of a "new birth of freedom," and what did that mean? • How was "freedom" given a more inclusive definition? • What is your opinion on why the Gettysburg Address lives on in American memory?		

11. LO 3.....FP 1, 5, 6, 7 p. 523–528, 531; video segment 4
 - How did the Union plan to conquer the South?
 - What did General Sherman do to destroy the South’s ability and willingness to fight?
 - What role did General Sheridan play in Union victory?
 - Why was General Grant able to push through to victory?
12. LO 4.....FP 8, 9, 10 pp. 493–531; video segments 4, 5, 6
 - How and why was the Union able to capitalize on its advantages?
 - How and why was the Confederacy not able to defend its claimed territory?
 - How important was President Lincoln to the Union cause?
 - What is your assessment of the most significant factors in the outcome?
13. LO 5.....FP 10 pp. 493–531; video segment 6
 - What factors determine presidential greatness?
 - How important was Lincoln’s role during the Civil War?
 - What were Lincoln’s strongest personal qualities?
 - How was Lincoln able to transform the nature of the Civil War?
 - What is your assessment of Lincoln’s legacy, and how do he and that legacy live on?
14. LO 6.....FP 11 p. 532; video segment 6
 - How did the war alter the economic and political landscape of America?
 - How did the war affect African Americans?
 - What aspects of the war do you consider to be revolutionary?
 - Why does the Civil War have an enduring place in our national memory?

ENRICHMENT IDEAS

These activities are not required unless your instructor assigns them. They are offered as suggestions to help you learn more about the material presented in this lesson.

1. In a well-reasoned essay, compare and contrast the military leadership of Generals Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant. Who do you think was the superior commander? Why?
2. If you live in an area that experienced significant military action during the Civil War, visit the relevant historic site(s). Then summarize that you learned from the visit. How does the Civil War live on in your area?
3. Read the book *The Killer Angels*, and then write a critical analysis of it.
4. Watch the movie “Gettysburg,” and then write a critical analysis of it.
5. You are an advisor to President Jefferson Davis. In a well-reasoned position paper, try to convince him either to use or not to use black troops.
6. Research the effects of the Civil War on American culture (literature, poetry, music, monuments, etc.). Then submit a thoughtful essay describing what you discovered.

SUGGESTED READINGS

See the "Bibliography" on pages 533–535 of the textbook if you wish to examine other books related to the material presented in this lesson.

DOCUMENTS

President Abraham Lincoln's address at Gettysburg is considered to be among America's most important documents.

As you read this document, focus on answering the following questions:

1. How did he give meaning to the Civil War?
2. What were the main ideas that he expressed?
3. Why does the speech live on in American memory?

"The Gettysburg Address" November 19, 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

CHAPTER IN HISTORY

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Lesson 25

Reconstructing the Nation

OVERVIEW

When the Civil War ended with northern victory, the Union was preserved and freedom for slaves was secured. However, important political, social, and economic issues remained on the agenda, and the American people now faced the daunting task of reconstructing the nation. To what extent would the shape of the reconstructed nation resemble the old?

Before his death, Abraham Lincoln had called upon his fellow Americans to approach the unfinished work before them “with malice toward none; with charity for all.” During the twelve years after the war, the idealism projected by Lincoln could not be sustained by his successors, and the realities of power politics and resistance to change impeded progress.

One of the key questions facing the nation concerned the status of the states that had seceded or attempted to secede from the United States during the Civil War. Many of those who had denied the legality of secession now wanted to impose conditions for *readmitting* those states. Others who had defended the right and practice of secession now acted as if nothing had happened in the previous four years. Leaders of Congress disagreed sharply with President Andrew Johnson on who should control the process of reconstruction. Of course, the ex-Confederate states did rejoin the Union, but the “ideals” of the Old South lingered for generations.

An essential issue of reconstruction involved the status of the ex-slaves. As the video for this lesson illustrates, establishing a new birth of freedom for African Americans was contested at almost every step. While some significant gains were made, the hope of aligning the nation with its revolutionary ideals of freedom *and* equality was only half accomplished in the short term. More than a century later, the ideals are still there, and the challenge continues.

LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Text: Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Chapter 15, “Reconstruction,” pp. 536–573.

Video: “Reconstructing the Nation” from the series *Shaping America*.

Documents:

“The Meaning of Freedom” found on pp. 542–544 of the textbook.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This lesson examines how and why the choices made and the actions taken during the era of Reconstruction helped shape America. Upon completing this lesson, you should be able to:

1. Explain the major political, social, and economic issues of the Reconstruction era.
2. Describe the evolution of presidential and congressional plans for reconstruction.
3. Describe the conditions of ex-slaves after the Civil War and the attempts to help them adjust to a new status.
4. Analyze how southern whites resisted and eventually overthrew reconstruction.
5. Explain why northern whites abandoned reconstruction.
6. Assess the short- and long-term effects of reconstruction.

LESSON FOCUS POINTS

The following questions are designed to help you get the most benefit from the sources selected for this lesson. For reference purposes, the titles for the video segments are: (1) Introduction, (2) Short-take: "The 13th Amendment," (3) "Early Reconstruction," (4) Short-take: "The 14th Amendment," (5) "Radical Reconstruction," (6) Short-take: "The 15th Amendment," (7) "The End of Reconstruction," and (8) Summary Analysis: "The Battle of History."

1. What were the major issues and opportunities facing the nation at the beginning of the Reconstruction era? (textbook, pp. 536–538; video segment 1)
2. Why did both the President and Congress want to control the process of reconstruction? Why did controlling the process matter? (textbook, pp. 538–539)
3. What characterized Abraham Lincoln's initial plan for reconstruction? Why did some oppose it? How did Congress actively dispute Lincoln's plan? (textbook, pp. 539–540)
4. What does the Thirteenth Amendment say and mean? (video segment 2)
5. What kinds of labor systems evolved in the Union-occupied areas of the South during the war? Why did these systems satisfy neither southern whites nor blacks? (textbook, p. 540)
6. Why did blacks think that the federal government might distribute land to freedmen after the war? Why wasn't this done? Why did the sharecropping system evolve? (textbook, pp. 540, 560–562; video segment 3)
7. What was the Freedmen's Bureau? What did it do? (textbook, p. 540; video segment 3)

8. What did “freedom” mean to the ex-slaves? How would you answer the questions posed in the textbook in the section entitled “Documenting the American Promise”? (textbook, pp. 541–545; video segment 3)
9. How did Andrew Johnson’s personal and political background shape his views? What were his strengths and weaknesses as a politician? Why and how did he alter Lincoln’s reconstruction plan? (textbook, pp. 545–546)
10. Who dominated southern politics immediately after the war? What acts of defiance were made in the South? Why were black codes passed? What did these state laws attempt to do? How did President Johnson and Congress react to these developments in the South? (textbook, pp. 546–549; video segment 3)
11. Why was the Fourteenth Amendment proposed? What are its most important provisions? What were the short-term effects of this amendment? (textbook, pp. 549–551; video segment 4)
12. Why did Radical Republicans enact the Military Reconstruction Act (1867) and subsequent acts of “radical reconstruction”? (textbook, pp. 551–552; video segment 5)
13. Why was President Andrew Johnson impeached? Why did the Senate fail to convict him? What lessons were learned from this experience? (textbook, pp. 552–553)
14. Why was the Fifteenth Amendment proposed? What did it do? Why did women feel betrayed by the Fifteenth Amendment (and some of the wording in the Fourteenth)? (textbook, pp. 553–555; video segment 6)
15. What three groups formed the majority of the Republican Party in the South? What did each group want from this coalition? How did black politicians perform? Why was this an “extraordinary moment in American politics”? (textbook, pp. 555–557, 560; video segment 5)
16. Who resisted the Republicans in the South? When was the Ku Klux Klan formed? What did it really want to accomplish? How did it go about its business? What did Congress do to try to curb the Klan? (textbook, pp. 556–559; video segment 5)
17. What changes did new reconstruction state constitutions introduce into southern life? What initiatives did the state legislatures make in the areas of public education, civil rights, and economic development? What limited further changes? (textbook, pp. 557, 560; video segment 5)
18. Why was Ulysses S. Grant elected president in 1868 and 1872? Why did corruption become so common during his administration? Did he have any accomplishments as president? What happened to the economy during his tenure? (textbook, pp. 562–564)
19. Why was the Civil Rights Act of 1875 passed? Despite this act, how and why did northern resolve to sustain reconstruction begin to wither in the 1870s? What decisions by the Supreme Court limited reconstruction? (textbook, pp. 564–565; video segment 7)

20. Who were the “Redeemers”? What was their agenda? How did they go about driving whites from the Republican Party and eliminating black voting power? How successful were they by 1876? (textbook, pp. 565–567; video segment 7)
21. Examine Map 15.2 in the textbook. Answer the questions posed below the map. (textbook, p. 567)
22. Who were the candidates in the 1876 presidential election? What was so peculiar about the initial results? What was the Compromise of 1877? How and why did it end Reconstruction? (textbook, pp. 567–569)
23. In summary, what were the short-term political, economic, and social effects of Reconstruction? In what ways was the Civil War only a “half-accomplished” revolution by the end of the Reconstruction era? What were the long-term effects of the choices made and the actions taken at that time? How was the American memory of Reconstruction affected by historians? (textbook, entire chapter; all video segments)

HISTORICAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

Richard Blackett, Moores Professor of History and African American Studies, University of Houston, Houston, TX
W. Fitzhugh Brundage, Professor of History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL
Michael Perman, Professor of History, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL
James Roark, Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of American History, Emory University, Atlanta, GA
Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Richard J. Milbauer Professor of History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

PRACTICE TEST

The following items will help you evaluate your understanding of this lesson. Use the Answer Key at the end of the lesson to check your answers or to locate material related to each question.

Multiple choice: Choose the BEST answer.

1. In the video, Professor Richard Blackett observes that for black Americans the Reconstruction era began as a period of _____.
 - A. despair
 - B. hope
 - C. fear
 - D. prosperity

2. In the attempt to establish a reconstruction policy after the Civil War, _____.
 - A. Lincoln's primary goal was to extend full political rights to ex-slaves
 - B. Lincoln rejected the "10 per cent plan"
 - C. Congress and the president disagreed about which had authority to devise a plan of reconstruction
 - D. Congress wanted to ensure the return to power of the former southern ruling class
3. After the Civil War, African Americans believed that ownership of land _____.
 - A. meant social equality with white landowners
 - B. would give them income equity with white workers
 - C. was a moral right and was linked to black freedom
 - D. would mean economic and social equality
4. The black codes were essentially an attempt to _____.
 - A. subordinate blacks to whites and regulate the labor supply
 - B. extend rights, although limited, to the freedmen
 - C. extend to blacks the same rights as whites enjoyed
 - D. provide economic equality but restrict social and political equality
5. "Redeemers" were _____.
 - A. reformers who hoped to establish public education in the South
 - B. economic reformers who believed Confederate dollars should be redeemed in U.S. dollars to revitalize the southern economy
 - C. evangelical reformers who hoped to heal the breach between northern and southern churches of the same denomination
 - D. southern Democrats who wished to restore white southern control to the South
6. The role of the Supreme Court in reconstruction could be summarized as _____.
 - A. an important agent in the Radical Republican agenda for civil rights
 - B. a decisive agent for the expansion of civil rights and federal power
 - C. a reactionary agent which undermined reconstruction
 - D. a progressive, but objective, arbitrator over civil rights issues
7. The Compromise of 1877 essentially _____.
 - A. spelled the end of Reconstruction and the Republican commitment to the civil rights of African Americans
 - B. destroyed the efforts of the Redeemers and helped rebuild the southern economy
 - C. shifted the racist political strategies from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party
 - D. had little impact on southern blacks

Short Answer: Your answers should be one or two paragraphs long and specifically address the points indicated.

8. What did "freedom" mean to African Americans in 1865? How did ex-slaves begin to exercise freedom?

9. Why was freedom “contested territory” in the South during reconstruction? How was it contested?
10. What are the key provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments? To what extent did these amendments bring about a “Constitutional revolution”?
11. How and why did sharecropping emerge during reconstruction? What were the short- and long-term consequences of this arrangement?
12. Why did the Ku Klux Klan emerge in the late 1860s? How did their terrorist activities affect the course of reconstruction?
13. Explain the following statement: “By 1870, Northerners had begun a retreat from the ideals of reconstruction.”
14. Explain this statement: “The North won the war, but the South won the peace.”

Essay Question: Your answers should be several paragraphs long and express a clear understanding of the points indicated.

15. In 1865, former Union General Carl Schurz referred to the Civil War as a “revolution but half accomplished.” During the subsequent twelve years, the American people grappled with serious economic, social, and political issues. Describe and explain how these major issues were resolved. In what ways was the revolution still only half accomplished by 1877? What did that mean for the future of America?

ANSWER KEY

	Learning Answer Objectives	Focus Points	References
1.	B..... LO 1, 3.....	FP 1.....	pp. 536–538; video segment 1
2.	C..... LO 2.....	FP 2.....	pp. 538–539
3.	C..... LO 3.....	FP 6.....	pp. 540, 560–562; video segment 3
4.	A..... LO 4.....	FP 10.....	pp. 546–549; video segment 3
5.	D..... LO 4.....	FP 20.....	pp. 565–567; video segment 7
6.	C..... LO 5.....	FP 19.....	pp. 564–565; video segment 7
7.	A..... LO 6.....	FP 22.....	pp. 567–569
8.	 LO 3.....	FP 8.....	pp. 541–545; video segment 3
	• Consider elements of personal freedom that had not been possible before, e.g., regarding mobility, family, expression, religion, education, etc. • How did slaves pursue economic freedom?		

9. LO 4.....FP 10, 16, 20.....pp. 546–549, 556–559, 565–567; video segments 3, 5
 - Consider why black codes were passed and what they tried to do.
 - What happened regarding land and labor?
 - What motivated the Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist groups? How effective were they?
10. LO 2, 6..... FP 4, 11, 14, 15pp. 549–551, 553–557, 560; video segments 2, 4–6
 - How did these amendments affect slavery, citizenship and equal rights, and voting?
 - What fundamental changes did this mean for the American people?
11. LO 1, 3, 6.....FP 6 pp. 540, 560–562; video segment 3
 - Consider the needs of landowners and laborers.
 - How did this system address those needs?
 - Were there benefits of the system?
 - What was the major fault with this system?
12. LO 4.....FP 16..... pp. 556–559; video segment 5
 - Who joined the Klan? What were their motives?
 - What effect did the Klan have on black participation in politics?
 - How did Klan activity affect Northerners and reconstruction policies?
13. LO 5.....FP 19 pp. 564–565; video segment 7
 - Why would a shift in attitude set in?
 - How did the Grant administration indicate a different direction in northern policies and emphasis?
 - What role did racial prejudice play?
14. LO 6.....FP 23 pp. 536–573; video segments 1–8
 - How had the South successfully resisted northern efforts to reshape their society?
 - Who was in power in the South by 1877? What did that mean for African Americans?
 - Who told the story of Reconstruction for generations?
15. all all..... pp. 536–573; video segments 1–8
 - What were the major economic issues involving land and labor?
 - How was freedom for blacks going to be protected? How would equality be expanded?
 - How would black participation in the political process proceed?
 - How did resolution of these issues take place? What was the status of the ex-Confederate states by 1877? What was the status of the ex-slaves?
 - Do you think a golden opportunity was missed by the American people during Reconstruction? What issues were postponed for later generations?

ENRICHMENT IDEAS

These activities are not required unless your instructor assigns them. They are offered as suggestions to help you learn more about the material presented in this lesson.

1. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there has been renewed discussion about making reparations to African Americans for the deprivations brought about by slavery. In a well developed essay, take a stand on this issue. Be sure to acknowledge the arguments presented by those who would disagree with your position.
2. Imagine how Reconstruction could have worked out differently. Put yourself in a position of authority in the North in 1865. In a thoughtful essay, present your plan to redistribute land to ex-slaves and to provide them with resources to exercise their equal rights as citizens of the United States.
3. Research the establishment and work of the Freedmen's Bureau. Then submit a report on the success of this social program. Was this the first government effort at a large-scale welfare program? How was it similar/different from social programs of today?
4. In 2001, the president's pardoning power was in the news. In a well developed essay, explain the basis of the pardoning power and then compare the use of that power by President Bill Clinton and President Andrew Johnson.
5. Both President Andrew Johnson and President Bill Clinton were impeached. Write a report in which you compare and contrast the two proceedings.
6. The results of the presidential elections of both 1876 and 2000 were hotly disputed. Write a report in which you compare the elections and the resolutions of the disputes. What lessons were learned? Should the current system of elections be changed?

SUGGESTED READINGS

See the "Bibliography" on pages 571–573 of the text if you wish to examine other books related to the material presented in this lesson.

Lesson 26

Looking Backward, Looking Forward

OVERVIEW

In 1876, the United States marked the occasion of its centennial by taking time to look back and to look forward. While we do not have an event of that magnitude to commemorate the last lesson in our course, it is altogether fitting that we pause here and reflect upon what we have learned and what lay ahead. In particular, we want to focus attention on the themes tracked throughout our study of the shaping of America.

We began our journey by examining the geography and the indigenous peoples who lived in America long before the area was named by Europeans. Over time, different people settled and different cultures emerged in America. As we revisit the areas of New York, St. Louis, San Francisco, Portland, Santa Fe, and Charleston, ponder the changes that have taken place and why they have occurred.

From colonial times to the time of the centennial, freedom has been contested territory in America. The boundaries of freedom were expanded for millions of people, while others, most notably American Indians, had less freedom by the 1870s. Women and African Americans had gained some legal guarantees of freedom, but they were not yet allowed to practice it on par with white men. The story of freedom then, like now, remains unfinished and changeable.

The story of American identity is closely linked to ideas of freedom and equality. Moreover, American identity has involved race and ethnicity throughout our history. As you will see, in this lesson we use the story of the relationship between Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings to provoke thought on what it means to be an American. How have we constructed American identity in the past? How will we reconstruct it in the future?

Our final reflection in this lesson grows out of a sampling of comments from some of the truly outstanding historians who have enriched this course. Listen carefully. History has always mattered. It is based on choices. Every generation can shape America and what it means to be an American. Create your own history!

LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

Video: “Looking Backward, Looking Forward” from the series *Shaping America*.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This lesson is about what America and its people had become by 1876–77 and what that teaches us. Upon completing this lesson, you should be able to:

1. Describe the state of the nation at the time of its centennial.
2. Explain how the story of freedom in America evolved and why it is unfinished.
3. Assess what American identity means and how and why that meaning changes over time.
4. Explain how the idea of equality became a core principle of the United States and what that has meant to the American people.
5. Describe how each individual and each generation creates history.

LESSON FOCUS POINTS

The following questions are designed to help you get the most benefit from the source selected for this lesson. For reference purposes, the titles for the video segments are: (1) Introduction: "The Centennial Exhibition," (2) "The United States in 1876," (3) "The Story of Freedom," (4) "Who We Really Are," and (5) Program Close: "Creating History."

1. What was being celebrated at the Centennial Exhibition? (video segment 1)
2. How would you characterize the cities of New York, St. Louis, San Francisco, Portland, Santa Fe, and Charleston at the time of the centennial? (video segment 2)
3. How had the story of freedom changed by 1876? How and why was freedom limited, particularly as related to minority groups? Why was the story of freedom unfinished then? Why is it unfinished now? (video segment 3)
4. What does the story of Thomas Jefferson's relationship with Sally Hemings teach us about American history? What does it illustrate about American identity? (video segment 4)
5. How and why has race been a social construction in America? How might it be reconstructed? (video segment 4)
6. What does the study of the past teach us? How can you create history? Why does it matter? (video segment 5)

HISTORICAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

Robert Archibald, President, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO
Gerald Danzer, Professor of History, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL
David Edmunds, Watson Professor of American History, University of Texas at Dallas,
Richardson, TX
Eric Foner, Professor of History, Columbia University, New York City, NY
Charles Fracchia, President, San Francisco Historical Society, San Francisco, CA
Annette Gordon-Reed, Professor of Law, New York Law School, New York City, NY
David Gutierrez, Associate Professor, University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, CA
James Oliver Horton, Benjamin Banneker Professor of American Civilization and History, The
George Washington University, Washington, DC
Linda Kerber, May Brodbeck Professor in Liberal Arts, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA
James Merrell, Professor of History, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY
Chet Orloff, Director, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, OR
Jonathan Poston, Director of Museums and Preservation Initiatives, Historic Charleston
Foundation, Charleston, SC
Kathryn Sklar, Distinguished Professor of History, State University of New York, Binghamton,
NY
Mike Wallace, Co-author of *Gotham*, John Jay College, New York City, NY
Richard White, Margaret Byrne Professor of American History, Stanford University, Stanford,
CA
Gordon Wood, Alva O. Way University Professor and Professor of History, Brown University,
Providence, RI

PRACTICE TEST

The following items will help you evaluate your understanding of this lesson. Use the Answer Key at the end of the lesson to check your answers or to locate material related to each question.

Multiple choice: Choose the BEST answer.

1. All of the following were innovations featured at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876 EXCEPT _____.
 - A. radio
 - B. telephone
 - C. dishwashing machine
 - D. 1,500-horsepower engine
2. In 1876, Mexican Americans in the Santa Fe region were _____.
 - A. suffering an erosion of status
 - B. dominating local politics
 - C. benefiting from trade with the East
 - D. receiving compensation for lands taken after the war

3. In 1876, all of the following characterized San Francisco EXCEPT _____.
 - A. busy seaport
 - B. sophisticated culture
 - C. heavy damage from an earthquake
 - D. high percentage of foreign-born residents

Short Answer: Your answers should be one or two paragraphs long and specifically address the points indicated.

4. Why was Chicago displacing St. Louis as the commercial center of the Midwest by 1876?
5. In what ways did American Indians enjoy less freedom in 1876 than in 1776?
6. Why were women still told in the 1870s that different treatment was really privilege?
7. How and why has race been a social construction in America?

Essay Questions: Your answers should be several paragraphs long and express a clear understanding of the points indicated.

8. We have examined the development of the cities of New York, Charleston, St. Louis, Santa Fe, San Francisco, and Portland. How and why had these cities changed between the time of their founding and 1876? How would you characterize each city in 1876?
9. How and why had the story of American freedom changed from the colonial period to 1876? How and why was freedom limited? Why is the story of freedom unfinished?
10. Who is an American? What does being an American mean? How and why did American identity develop and change from the colonial period to 1876?
11. The idea of equality has been a core principle of the United States since 1776. How and why was the United States pushed to uphold this idea between 1776 and 1876? What was the status of equality in America in 1876?

ANSWER KEY

	Learning Answer Objectives	Focus Points	References
1.	A LO 1.....	FP 1	video segment 1
2.	A LO 1.....	FP 2	video segment 2
3.	C..... LO 1.....	FP 2	video segment 2

4. LO 1.....FP 2..... video segment 2
 - What effect were railroads having on commerce?
 - Why had St. Louis been slow to support railroad construction?
5. LO 2.....FP 3..... video segment 3
 - In what geographic area did Indians have freedom in 1776?
 - How and why had they lost territory during the century?
 - What was their status in 1876?
6. LO 2.....FP 3..... video segment 3
 - What rights were denied women in 1876?
 - Why did men fear granting women equal rights?
 - How did the “privilege” argument try to dispel women’s demands?
7. LO 3.....FP 5..... video segment 4
 - To whose advantage did racial definitions go?
 - Are there any biological reasons or natural law reasons to draw racial distinctions?
8. LO 1.....FP 2..... video segment 2; Lessons 2, 3, 5, 11, 19
 - Consider the role of geography in relation to each city.
 - How did population growth affect the cities? Who tended to settle there?
 - What sort of economic growth had taken place?
 - What is the status of each city in 1876?
9. All LOs All FPs.....video segments 1–5; Lessons 6, 12, 18
 - Who was free in colonial America? How was freedom expressed?
 - How did the revolutionary period universalize and democratize freedom?
 - What role did manifest destiny have on freedom?
 - What was the free-labor ideal?
 - How did freedom change for minorities?
 - How do you think the boundaries of freedom will change in the future?
10. All LOs All FPs.....video segments 1–5; Lessons 6, 12, 18
 - To what extent did American identity apply to all people living in America?
 - Did a distinctive American identity emerge in colonial America?
 - How did the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution affect American identity?
 - How did the Civil War result in a definition of citizenship?
 - Who was excluded from the full rights of citizenship in 1876?
11. All LOs All FPs.....video segments 1–5; Lessons 6, 12, 18
 - What did equality mean in 1776?
 - How did society give meaning to equality?
 - Who was excluded from equal rights and opportunities? How did they try to be included?
 - Who was still excluded from equality in 1876? Why?

ENRICHMENT IDEAS

These activities are not required unless your instructor assigns them. They are offered as suggestions to help you learn more about the material presented in this lesson.

1. Read the historical novel *1876* by Gore Vidal. Then submit a report on it. How does the novel depict the times?
2. Research the Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1876. In a well-developed essay, describe the main attractions and the main features of the Exhibition.
3. Research the cost and the time it would take to make a round trip across America taking the route described in the video for this lesson. Then submit a report on your findings.
4. In a thoughtful essay, describe how you will create history in your life.

SUGESSTED READINGS

In addition to the books listed in the bibliographies referenced in previous lessons, the following selections elaborate on the themes discussed in this course and are highly recommended to you:

Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution*

Jon Butler, *Becoming America*

Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*

Linda Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies*