



**GUIDED READING** *The Divisive Politics of Slavery*

**Section 1**

**A.** As you read about the events and decisions that led to the South’s secession, fill out the chart below.

	<b>Supporters</b>	<b>Reasons for Their Support</b>
1. Compromise of 1850	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
2. Fugitive Slave Act	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
3. Underground Railroad	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
4. Kansas-Nebraska Act	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
5. Republican Party	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
6. <i>Dred Scott</i> decision	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
7. The raid on Harpers Ferry	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
8. The election of Lincoln to the presidency	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	

**B.** On the back of this paper, note something important that you learned about the following:

**Harriet Beecher Stowe**

**Lincoln-Douglas debates**

**Jefferson Davis**





## Section 1

**RETEACHING ACTIVITY** *The Divisive Politics of Slavery*

**Finding Main Ideas** Choose the best answer for each item. Write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. The Compromise of 1850 provided that \_\_\_\_\_ be admitted as a free state.
- New Mexico
  - Kansas
  - Nebraska
  - California
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The \_\_\_\_\_ Party was comprised of numerous groups, including antislavery Whigs and Democrats as well as nativists.
- Republican
  - Free-Soil
  - Federalist
  - Know-Nothing
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. The celebrated \_\_\_\_\_ debates helped to push the slavery issue to the nation's forefront.
- Hayne-Webster
  - Lincoln-Douglas
  - Grant-Lee
  - Brooks-Sumner
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. The raid on Harpers Ferry made \_\_\_\_\_ a hero in the North and a villain in the South.
- Jefferson Davis
  - Harriet Tubman
  - John Brown
  - Charles Sumner
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. The \_\_\_\_\_ in essence repealed the Missouri Compromise by allowing popular sovereignty in territories that had been legally closed to slavery.
- Fugitive Slave Act
  - Compromise of 1850
  - Kansas-Nebraska Act
  - Emancipation Proclamation
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. The president of the Confederacy was \_\_\_\_\_.
- Jefferson Davis
  - Abraham Lincoln
  - William Tecumseh Sherman
  - Stephen Douglas
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. The *Dred Scott* decision was a victory for \_\_\_\_\_.
- slaves
  - slaveholders
  - abolitionists
  - nativists
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. The first state to secede from the Union was \_\_\_\_\_.
- Virginia
  - Tennessee
  - Georgia
  - South Carolina



## Section 1

**PRIMARY SOURCE** *from* **The Lincoln-Douglas Debates**

*During the Illinois senatorial campaign in 1858, Abraham Lincoln and his opponent, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, took part in a series of joint debates. As you read this excerpt from the seventh debate, which was held in Alton on October 15, compare and contrast the two candidates' views on the issues.*

*from* **Senator Douglas's Speech**

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is now nearly four months since the canvass between Mr. Lincoln and myself commenced. On the 16th of June the Republican Convention assembled at Springfield and nominated Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate, and he, on that occasion, delivered a speech in which he laid down what he understood to be the Republican creed, and the platform on which he proposed to stand during the contest. The principal points in that speech of Mr. Lincoln's were: First, that this government could not endure permanently divided into free and slave States, as our fathers made it; that they must all become free or all become slave; all become one thing, or all become the other,—otherwise this Union could not continue to exist. I give you his opinions almost in the identical language he used. His second proposition was a crusade against the Supreme Court of the United States because of the Dred Scott decision, urging as an especial reason for his opposition to that decision that it deprived the negroes of the rights and benefits of that clause in the Constitution of the United States which guarantees to the citizens of each State all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the citizens of the several States. . . . He insisted, in that speech, that the Declaration of Independence included the negro in the clause asserting that all men were created equal and went so far as to say that if one man was allowed to take the position that it did not include the negro, others might take the position that it did not include other men. He said that all these distinctions between this man and that man, this race and the other race, must be discarded, and we must all stand by the Declaration of

***[Lincoln] said that all these distinctions between this man and that man, this race and the other race, must be discarded, and we must all stand by the Declaration of Independence, declaring that all men were created equal.***

Independence, declaring that all men were created equal.

The issue thus being made up between Mr. Lincoln and myself on three points, we went before the people of the State. During the following seven weeks . . . he and I addressed large assemblages of the people in many of the central counties. In my speeches I confined myself closely to those three positions which he had taken, controverting his proposition that this Union could not exist as our fathers made it, divided into free and slave States, controverting his proposition of a crusade against the Supreme Court because of the Dred Scott decision, and controverting his proposition that the Declaration of Independence included and meant the negroes as well as the white men, when it declared all men to be created equal. . . . I took up Mr. Lincoln's three propositions in my several speeches, analyzed them, and pointed out what I believed to be the radical errors contained in them. First, in regard to his doctrine that this government was in violation of the law of God, which says that a house divided against itself cannot stand, I repudiated it as a slander upon the immortal framers of our Constitution. I then said, I have often repeated, and now again

assert, that in my opinion our government can endure forever, divided into free and slave States as our fathers made it,—each State having the right to prohibit, abolish, or sustain slavery, just as it pleases. This government was made upon the basis of the sovereignty of the States, the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself. . . . Our fathers knew when they made the government that the laws and institutions which were well adapted to the Green Mountains of

Vermont were unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina. They knew then, as well as we know now, that the laws and institutions which would be well adapted to the beautiful prairies of Illinois would not be suited to the mining regions of California. They knew that in a republic as broad as this, having such a variety of soil, climate, and interest, there must necessarily be a corresponding variety of local laws,—the policy and institutions of each State adapted to its condition and wants. For this reason this Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question; and the various States were not allowed to complain of, much less interfere with, the policy of their neighbors. . . .

### from Mr. Lincoln's Reply

I have stated upon former occasions, and I may as well state again, what I understand to be the real issue in this controversy between Judge Douglas and myself. . . . The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery *as a wrong*, and of another class that *does not look* upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republican party. It is the sentiment around which all their actions, all their arguments, circle, from which all their propositions radiate. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. . . . I have said, and I repeat it here, that if there be a man amongst us who does not think that the institution of slavery is wrong in any one of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced, and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform. We dis-

claim sympathy with him in practical action. He is not placed properly with us.

On this subject of treating it as a wrong, and limiting its spread, let me say a word. Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery,—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You may have a wen or cancer upon your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong. You see this peaceful way of dealing with it as a wrong,—restricting the spread of it, and not allowing it to go into new countries where it has not already existed. That is the peaceful way, the old-fashioned way, the way in which the fathers themselves set us the example. . . .

That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle.

from Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1947), 351–358.

## Activity Options

1. Work with a partner to re-create the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Using this excerpt or one of the other six joint debates, role-play either Douglas or Lincoln and present the debate to the class.
2. Use information in this excerpt as well as in your textbook to write two campaign slogans—one for Douglas and one for Lincoln—to express their views on slavery. Then share your slogans with classmates.



## AMERICAN LIVES Harriet Tubman

### Conductor to Freedom

#### Section 1

*“Excepting John Brown . . . I know of no one who has willingly encountered more perils and hardships to serve our enslaved people than you have.”— Frederick Douglass, letter to Harriet Tubman (1868)*

Herself an escaped slave, Harriet Tubman risked her life countless times by returning to the South to free others from slavery. She became known as “the Moses of her people,” because she led so many from captivity to the promise of the North.

Harriet Tubman (c. 1820–1913) was born around 1820 on the eastern shore of Maryland. When she was six, her master hired her out to another family to work. She was uncooperative, though, and was sent back. After another failed effort to hire her out, she was made a field hand. When only 13, she blocked an overseer from pursuing an escaping slave. He hurled a two-pound weight that hit Tubman, fracturing her skull. Until the end of her life, she suffered occasional black-outs as a result of the blow.

She recovered from the incident and later joined her father in being hired out to a builder. She worked hard, performing heavy labor that normally was done by men. She preferred such work to being in the kitchen or doing cleaning. She became strong and tough. She married John Tubman during this period.

When the plantation owner died, slaves were sold because the estate was struggling. One day in 1849, Tubman was told that she and her brothers had been sold. Determined not to be sent further South, she escaped that night.

Aided by the Underground Railroad, Tubman made it to Philadelphia and began to work in hotels. Visiting the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, which helped runaways, she learned that her brother-in-law was planning to come North with his wife, her sister, and their child. Tubman returned South to lead them to freedom. The next year she brought out a brother and his family. Later she returned for her husband, but he had remarried and chose not to leave. Tubman led out 11 others instead.

Throughout the 1850s, Tubman returned to the South almost twenty times. She let slaves know that she was nearby with a simple secret message:

“Moses is here.” She brought anywhere from sixty to three hundred slaves to the North—among them her parents. She became notorious throughout the South, where the reward for her capture went as high as \$40,000.

In the North, Tubman became friends with the leading abolitionists, including Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass. She was visited by John Brown. He had a plan to free large numbers of slaves and hoped to take advantage of Tubman’s detailed knowledge of geography and conditions in the South. At about this time, she also began to make public appearances, describing the evils of slavery and telling the stories of her rescue voyages.

Tubman was saddened by the collapse of Brown’s plan. When the Civil War broke out, she took direct action by helping the Union army in South Carolina. She served as a spy and a scout, going behind Confederate lines to gather information from slaves. She also worked as a nurse and helped African Americans who had escaped Confederate control.

After the war’s end and her husband’s death, she remarried. She lived on a farm sold to her for a small amount by William Seward, prominent New York Republican and Abraham Lincoln’s secretary of state. She devoted herself to helping others. She started the Harriet Tubman Home for Indigent Aged Negroes to help older former slaves. She campaigned to establish schools in the South for the now-freed African Americans. For many years Tubman tried to persuade Congress to grant her a pension for her work during the war. It was finally approved in 1897.

### Questions

1. Why was the route taken by escaping slaves called the Underground Railroad?
2. Why was such a high reward placed on Tubman?
3. In the 1850s, Tubman had a home in St. Catharines, a town in Canada near Buffalo, New York. Why did she lead escaped slaves there?