

CHAPTER
10

GUIDED READING *Slavery and Secession*

Section 4

A. As you read about reasons for the South’s secession, fill out the chart below.

	Supporters	Reasons for their Support
1. Dred Scott decision	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
2. Lecompton constitution	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
3. Douglas, in the Lincoln-Douglas debates	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
4. Lincoln, in the Lincoln-Douglas debates	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
5. The raid on Harpers Ferry	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
6. John Brown’s hanging	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
7. The election of Lincoln to the presidency	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	
8. The secession of Southern states	<input type="checkbox"/> Proslavery forces <input type="checkbox"/> Antislavery forces	

© McDougal Littell Inc. All rights reserved.

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

Roger B. Taney Freeport Doctrine Confederacy Jefferson Davis

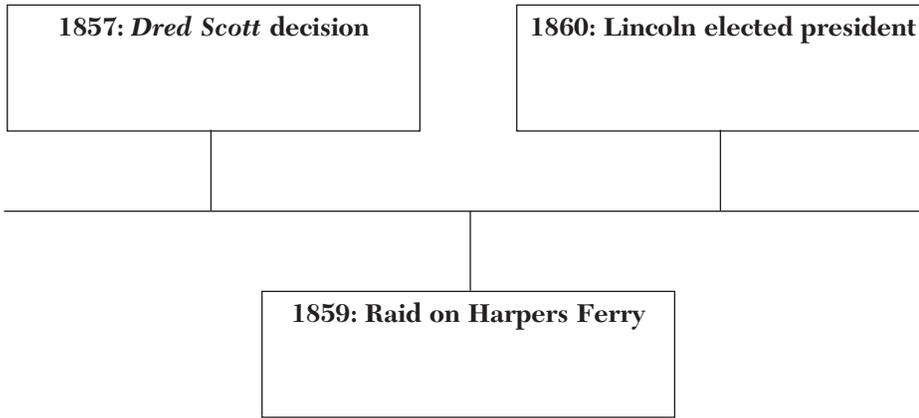
CHAPTER
10

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *Slavery and Secession*

Section 4

Sequencing

A. Complete the time line below by describing how each event led ultimately to secession by Southern states.



Finding Main Ideas

B. Answer the following questions in the space provided.

1. How did Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas differ in their views of popular sovereignty?

2. What was the Freeport Doctrine?

3. How were the presidential election victories by James Buchanan in 1856 and Abraham Lincoln in 1860 similar and different?

CHAPTER
10

Section 4

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,

[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.

and we must all stand by the Declaration of 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 disclaim 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.

CHAPTER
10

Section 4

PRIMARY SOURCE **John Brown's Last Speech**

Planning to spark a slave uprising, abolitionist John Brown led an unsuccessful raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, to seize weapons. In the following speech given at his trial for treason, how does Brown justify his actions?

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,—the design on my part to free the 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, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection; and that is, 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, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me 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, was not 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 submit; so 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 life 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, a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear 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. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part 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 have done.

from Henry Steele Commager, ed., Documents of American History (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1947), 361–362.

Discussion Questions

1. What were Brown's motives for committing a crime?
2. Why did Brown believe that his punishment—to be hanged for treason—was unjust?
3. Do you think that Brown's punishment fit his crime? Why or why not? Cite reasons from your textbook to support your opinion.