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Chapter Preview

TERMS

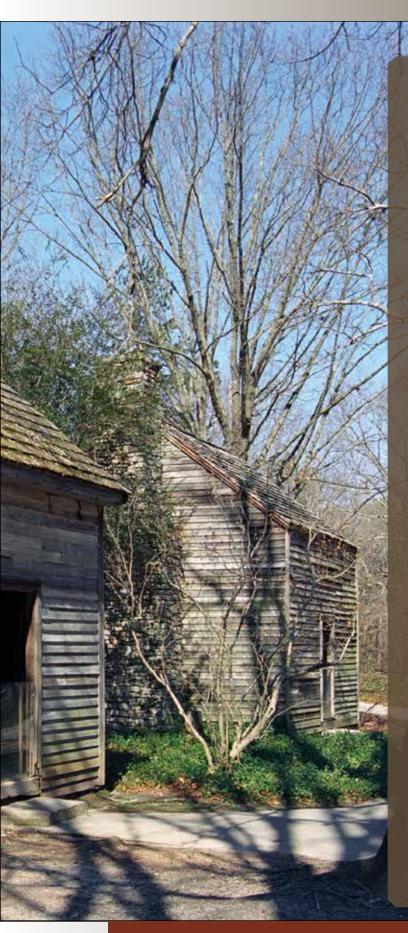
antebellum, abolitionist, driver, arson, urban, rural, sectionalism, tariff, slave state, free state, Missouri Compromise, nullification, states' rights, Underground Railroad, annex, manifest destiny, free-soil, popular sovereignty, Compromise of 1850, Georgia Platform, Kansas-Nebraska Act, border state

PEOPLE

William and Ellen Craft, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, William Lloyd Garrison, Alexander Stephens, Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs, James Buchanan, Dred Scott, John Brown, Joseph E. Brown, Thomas R. R. Cobb, Linton Stephens, Benjamin Hill, Herschel Johnson

PLACES

Texas, Kansas



great African American poet of the twentieth century, Langston Hughes, called the institution of slavery the "American heartbreak, Rock on which freedom stumped its toe...." Understanding slavery and its effects is still a challenge.

Much of Georgia's wealth was based on the labor of enslaved people. The number of slaves increased throughout the period historians call the antebellum, or pre-Civil War, period of U.S. history. (The word comes from Latin; ante means "before" and bellum means "war.") By 1860, almost one-half million slaves lived in Georgia, making up over 40 percent of the state's population. Almost 60 percent of Georgia's slaves were on plantations with more than twenty slaves. Toiling in the rice fields of the coast and the cotton fields across the middle of the state, slaves cultivated the cash crops that made their owners wealthy people. They also worked in their owners' houses as servants and in their shops as craftsmen.

Unlike most other immigrants to the United States, the migration of Africans to this country was forced on them. But they created lives for themselves as best they could under the limitations they had. They survived their hard lives and lack of freedom by forming families and friendships and by relying on religious faith. Some even resisted by running away or, in rare cases, planning rebellion or revolt.

As the institution of slavery grew in the South, opposition to it grew in the North. The antislavery movement, including the abolitionists who wanted to do away with slavery throughout the United States, became an important cause for many northerners. Others did not believe slavery could be abolished where it already existed. But they also did not want it to expand into new areas. Slavery eventually became an issue in politics. Sectional tension between the North and South became stronger and stronger. By the late 1850s, the two areas of the country were on the road that led to war.

Slave dwellings, such as these reconstructed cabins at Stone Mountain Park, were in marked contrast to the mansions of the wealthiest planters. Slave labor made such wealth possible.

Section

Slavery in Georgia

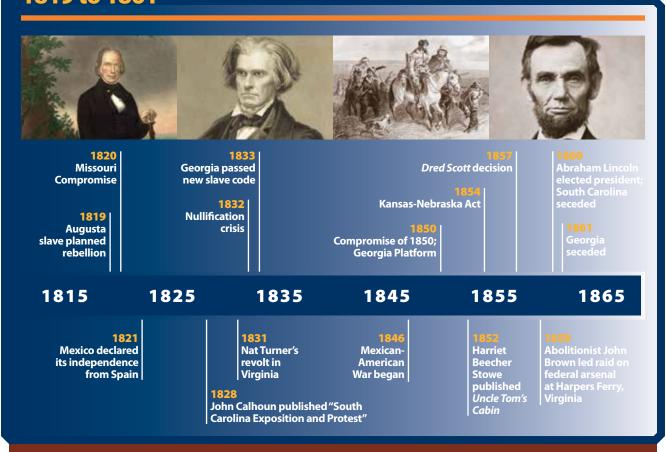
As you read, look for

- daily life for slaves in Georgia,
- how slaves fought back against slavery,
- terms: driver, arson.

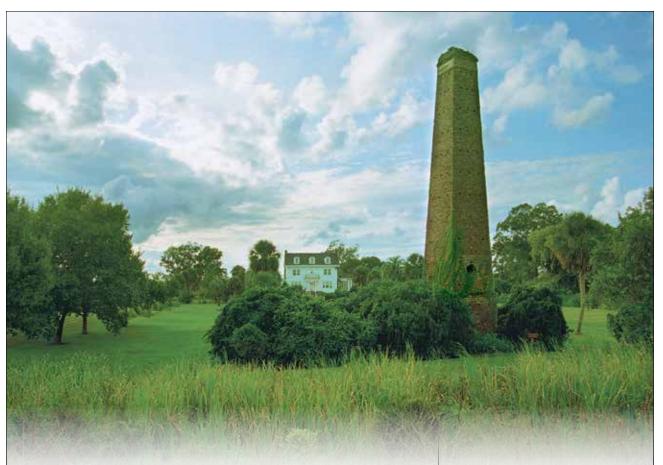
Slaves in Georgia all lived under the same set of laws about slavery, called the slave code. They all lacked the freedom to make most decisions about their lives and where and how they would spend them. Although the lives of slaves had these similarities, the everyday lives of individual slaves were affected by many different influences.

No factor in a slave's well-being was more important than his or her owner. The amount of food and clothing, the quality of housing, the likelihood of

Figure 27 Timeline: 1819 to 1861



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being able to stay with family members, and the amount of punishment could all vary by the kindness, neglect, or greed of an owner.

Other factors that affected how slaves lived included where in Georgia they were, how large the farms or plantations were, and how much time they had away from whites to create a culture and community of their own. Men and women had different experiences in slavery; women were expected not only to work, but also to produce many children. In this section, we will explore life for enslaved people in pre-Civil War Georgia and examine all these factors.

Work

An individual slave spent most of the day working. The majority of slaves were field slaves, which meant they worked planting, tending, and harvesting the crops they grew for their owners, especially the cash crops. How they worked depended on which crop they grew, and that depended on where the plantations were.

Rice grew in the tidal areas of the coast. Growing rice required a great deal of work, which meant that not enough rice could be grown by a small farmer to be profitable. Therefore, rice was grown on large plantations with many slaves. Rice plantations used the *task system*, where each day a specific amount of work, usually in a portion of a rice field, was assigned to each slave. Once that work was completed, the slaves had time for themselves. Average task assignments had slaves working from eight to ten hours a day; those who

Above: The Butler Plantation was a rice plantation on the Altamaha River near Darien. The rice fields used a system of dikes and canals designed by Dutch engineers. The chimney is for a steam-driven rice mill. The plantation was owned by a Philadelphian, Pierce Butler.







Top: These slaves are bringing in the harvest at the end of a long day. Field slaves on cotton plantations worked from "can see" to "can't see." Above: Slaves with special skills got jobs in the kitchen or the house. This costumed guide at Stone Mountain is portraying a plantation cook. worked fast finished early. So the task system had the benefit of giving the slaves time that many used to grow extra food for themselves and their families.

Work on rice plantations, however, was very difficult. Rice fields had to be flooded with water off and on during the growing period. Slaves did their work while standing in water that might also harbor snakes and alligators. Rice fields were breeding grounds for mosquitoes, which carried disease. Both men and women worked in the fields, given tasks based on what

owners or overseers (supervisors) thought them capable of doing. Children usually received their first tasks around age ten.

Cotton plantations were different. Slaves worked on the *gang system*, where work was based on time. Men and women planted, tended, or harvested cotton in groups, or gangs, from sunup to sundown. This is what slaves sometimes called "can see" to "can't see." Those on the gang system had no hope of extra time for themselves, no matter how fast they worked. In fact, to make sure they kept a steady pace, slaves under the gang system

worked under the watchful eyes of overseers and **drivers** (older slaves the plantation owner thought were loyal). If the slaves worked too slowly, they were often punished, especially by being whipped.

Although most slaves worked in the fields, a few worked as house servants and some were artisans. The larger the plantation, the more servants and artisans it might have. House servants included butlers, coachmen, housekeepers, cooks, seamstresses, gardeners, and women who cared for the white children in the family. Some house servants slept in the main house, sometimes on cots in the hall or in the rooms with children under their care.

Most slaves, however, had cabins away from the main house. On large plantations, the "quarters" where they lived was similar to a small village. On some plantations, families could have a small garden plot to raise extra food. Cabins were usually one room, simple, with few pieces of furniture. Owners provided basic food rations





Above: This rare portrait from life of a slave is of Nancy, a servant in the household of Dr. Tomlinson Fort of Milledgeville. Left: In 1850, there were more than 200 slaves at the Hermitage Plantation near Savannah. The cabins in the slave quarters are unusual because they are solidly made of brick, rather than wood. The plantation ran its own brickworks, providing millions of bricks for buildings all around Savannah.

Below: Plantation owners saw slave families as a way to increase their labor force. Bottom: This interior of a reconstructed slave cabin can be seen at Stone Mountain Park.

and handed out clothing each year. In the hot summers, slaves did not wear shoes, although most got a pair of shoes for winter. In spite of the lack of possessions, slaves did create meaning for their lives. In their quarters, friendships were made, music was played and sung, stories were told, and prayers were said.



Family and Religion

Two important aspects of life for many slaves were family and religion. A slave marriage was not a legal marriage with a license from the courthouse, but many slaves considered themselves married to their partners. Many owners encouraged those relationships and sometimes had wedding ceremonies. Owners thought that couples made slave communities more stable. Owners also wanted their slave women to have children because that increased their slave population without their having to buy additional slaves. Since slave relationships did not have the legal status of marriage, owners could



still separate the couple by selling one of them. Separation from family was one of the greatest fears of slaves. In spite of these difficulties, enslaved men and women did form loving households and usually stayed together if they could. Sometimes slaves married partners who lived on nearby plantations, so they saw each other mainly on Sundays and perhaps at night. Sometimes

a slave would marry a free black person. Those marriages were usually between two partners who lived in a town.

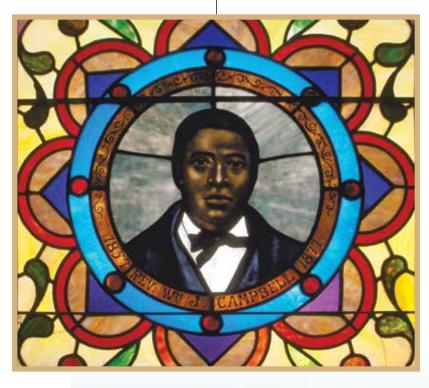
Religion was also an important part of the lives of many slaves. Most had religious services on plantations, although some attended churches with their owners. Churches of this period had both black and white members, although many sanctuaries had separate balconies where the slaves and free blacks sat. Some towns had independent black churches where slaves could worship more freely without their owners around. Such churches were sometimes required to have a white person present to make sure no rebellions were plotted. Wherever they worshiped, religion offered

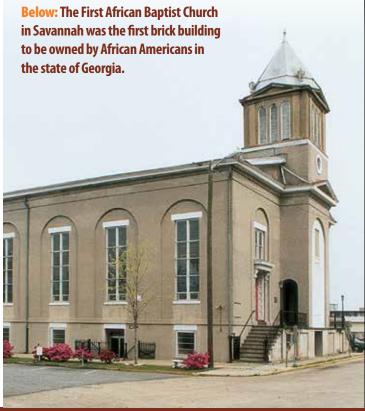
comfort and, for some slaves, the hope of justice, if not on earth then in heaven. Masters, on the other hand, saw religion as a way of controlling slaves by emphasizing parts of the Bible that stressed obedience and meekness.

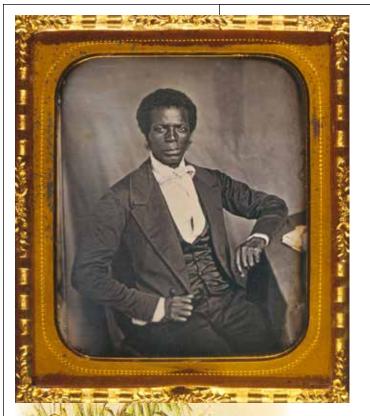
Slave Laws and Resistance to Slavery

In 1833, Georgia passed a new slave code. These laws affected many aspects of slaves' lives. Because slave owners in Georgia and other southern states believed that uneducated slaves were easier to control, it was illegal to teach slaves to read and write. No slaves were allowed to work in print shops. They could not own property. They also could not travel without written passes from their owners. There were many crimes that could result in a slave's execution including murder, **arson** (setting a fire), and plotting a rebellion. Other crimes, such as stealing, were punished by whippings.

Below: This stained-glass window at the First African Baptist Church honors Reverend William D. Campbell, pastor of the church during the tumultuous years from 1857 to 1877.







Top: The American Colonization
Society enabled Francis M. Priest, a slave from Kentucky, to emigrate to Liberia in 1843. He became the vice president of Liberia and served on its supreme court. Above: For a slave to run away was the ultimate act of desperation. Most were caught, and the punishments were severe.

Because slaves could not testify against whites, they had difficulty defending themselves, although records show that juries did sometimes find slaves "not guilty."

While owners had been able to grant or sell freedom to slaves before 1833, that was no longer allowed under the new code. Under the law, the legislature had to pass an act specifically granting an individual slave his or her freedom. Some slave owners who wanted to free slaves joined the organization called the American Colonization Society, which sent freed slaves to a country it had bought in Africa called Liberia.

With the law and law enforcement on the side of white slave owners, resistance to slavery was difficult and dangerous. Some acts of resistance were hidden, such as working slowly, pretending to be sick, breaking tools, or taking extra food. The most common open resistance was running away. Owners put ads in the newspapers describing runaway slaves. Women were less likely to flee because they did not want to leave

their children behind, and hiding out with children was unlikely to be successful. In fact, most attempts at freedom were unsuccessful.

Occasionally, slaves went beyond running away and planned full-scale revolts. In Augusta, a slave named Coco, or Coot, conspired in 1819 to set fires on two ends of the town. While whites were busy putting out the fires, he and his followers planned to raid the place where guns and ammunition were kept and take over the town. His revolt never happened because it was reported. He was arrested, found guilty, and hanged. The price for rebellion was his life. The most famous revolts were in other states. Nat Turner's revolt in 1831 in Southampton, Virginia, caused so much fear in slave owners throughout the South that most southern states passed new, stricter slave codes.

Reviewing the Section

- 1. Define: driver.
- 2. What was the gang system? The task system?
- 3. How did slaves resist slavery?
- 4. Why would religion have been so important in the life of a slave?

Georgia Portraits

William and Ellen Craft

Throughout the antebellum period, the yearning for freedom led many slaves to run away from their owners. Most were not successful, especially from a state as far south as Georgia. One of the most dramatic successful escapes, however, was a couple from the heart of the Cotton Belt in central Georgia—William and Ellen Craft. In 1860, they published the story of their incredible journey in *Running a Thousand Miles to Freedom*.

Ellen Craft was the daughter of her slave owner and one of his slaves. Her mother also had white heritage, so Ellen was very light in skin color. She became a skillful seamstress and, at eleven, became the seamstress for one of her white half-sisters in Macon. There she met the slave carpenter William, who could move around the town because he had permission to hire himself out. He was able to acquire some money, because artisan slaves were often allowed to keep a small portion of the money they earned.

Over time, one piece at a time, William bought clothing suit-

able for Ellen to dress as a young white male planter. Since she could not write, she put her arm in a sling. She bandaged her face as if she had a toothache so she would not have to talk much. She also pretended to be deaf. Her story was that she was going north

for medical treatment. Accompanying this young planter was "his" faithful slave, William. The two managed to travel by train to Savannah, by boat to Charleston and another boat to Wilmington, North Carolina. From there, they traveled by train to Philadelphia, with a ferry ride across the Susquehanna River.

They were often separated since William, as an African American, could not stay in cabins reserved for whites, where Ellen was staying. They

were almost stopped at the train connection from Baltimore to Philadelphia because southern whites were not supposed to take slaves with them from the slave state of Maryland to the free state of Pennsylvania without proof of owner-

ship. However, because Ellen was so convincingly disguised as a sickly young master, the two were allowed through.

They arrived to freedom in Philadelphia on Christmas Day 1848. They soon settled in Boston, Massachusetts, a stronghold of the abolition movement. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, they had to flee again, this time to England, so they would not be recaptured and returned to slavery.

Left: Light-skinned Ellen Craft was able to disguise herself as a young white gentleman while William played the part of "his" servant.

Section 2

Georgia, the Nation, and Sectionalism, 1820-1848

Below: Cyrus McCormick's invention of a mechanical reaper (bottom) revolutionized the farming of wheat as the cotton gin had done that of cotton.



As you read, look for

- the differences between the North and the South in the antebellum period,
- slavery and the part it played in the events of this period,
- the growth of the abolition movement,
- the territory won from the Mexican-American War,
- terms: urban, rural, sectionalism, tariff, slave state, free state, Missouri Compromise, nullification, states' rights, Underground Railroad, annex.

As the United States grew economically in the 1800s, different regions or sections of the country developed in different ways. In upper South states such as Virginia and Kentucky, tobacco was still a major crop. After Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, the lower South states from South Carolina all the way across to eastern Texas had become cotton producers by the 1820s. Rice was still grown in coastal Georgia, the Carolinas, and Louisiana. Louisiana also produced some sugar from sugar cane. All of these cash crops required many workers, so slavery grew in all those areas.



Farming was also important in the upper Midwestern states, which included Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and eventually Iowa. The major crop in those states, however, was grain such as wheat. The invention in the 1830s of a better plow by John Deere and of a machine to reap (harvest) wheat by Cyrus McCormick made it possible for the average farmer to grow much more wheat without extra workers. So both the South and this western area of the North based their economies on farming. But the cultivation

of grain crops took less labor, so the major difference in these two agricultural areas was that the northern farmers did not use slaves. In fact, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, passed during the Confederation period, made slavery illegal in those areas. As the tensions between the North and South grew, the agricultural areas of the North did not join with the agricultural South, even though both had economies based on farming.

The northeastern area of the country had some farming, but it also relied on merchants and trade

as an important part of its economy. By the 1800s, New Englanders had built factories that manufactured various goods including guns, shoes, and, most importantly, cloth. The textile mills of the New England states used cotton grown in the southern states to manufacture cloth. Factories led to the growth of towns and cities, so the Northeast became increasingly **urban** (city-centered), while the South stayed mainly **rural** (farm-centered).

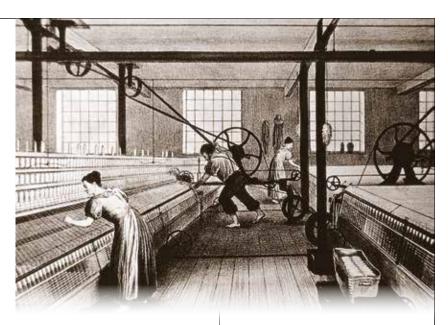
The workers in the northern factories received wages for their work. After the American Revolution, northeastern states had taken steps to begin the process of ending slavery. Vermont's constitution did not allow slavery. In Massachusetts, the courts had said slavery was against the state constitution. In other northern states, the legislatures had passed laws that ended slavery over a period of time, sometimes decades.

These regional differences led to differences in the kind of policies the areas were willing to support. This emphasis on policies good for one's own region over others and the tensions that emerged over these differences is known as **sectionalism**. From the 1820s to the end of America's war with Mexico in 1848, many events increased sectionalism in the United States.

The Missouri and Tariff Crises

Following the War of 1812, Georgians and other Americans were very proud of their country and wanted to make it stronger. That led to the passage of laws that strengthened the national government by giving it more responsibility. For example, Congress created a national bank and passed America's first protective **tariff** (a tax on imports). A tariff is considered "protective" when it imposes a high tax on foreign goods, making them cost more than the same goods made in the United States. Because people usually want to pay the lowest price, they buy the less costly goods made in the United States. Thus the tariff protects the American manufacturer from foreign competition by making the American-made goods cheaper.

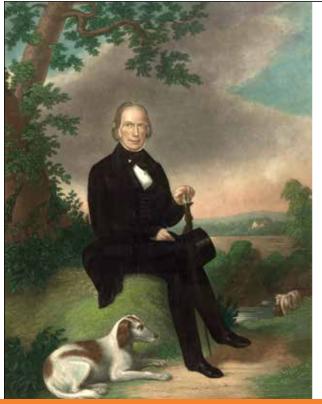
Because Americans agreed that they wanted their nation to be stronger, the period after the War of 1812 until the mid-1820s is known as the "Era



Above: Cotton grown in the South was exported all over the world, and also in great quantities to New England, where the large number of textile mills led to urbanization.

This gave the North a great advantage in the upcoming war.





of Good Feelings." However, in the middle of that period, sectionalism briefly appeared in the conflict over Missouri becoming a state.

The Missouri Compromise

Missouri was part of the Louisiana Purchase territory, and no laws had been passed about whether slavery would be allowed in states made from the territory. In fact, when Louisiana became a state in 1812, it allowed slavery.

In 1819, Missouri requested statehood. At that time, there were eleven **slave states** (those that allowed slavery) and eleven **free states** (those that no longer allowed slavery or were in the process of abolishing it). This meant that the U.S. Senate had an equal number of senators from slave states and from free states. In the U.S. House of Representatives, the free states had more representatives because they had a greater population than the slave states. Missouri planned to allow slavery. This would upset the balance in the Senate.

A congressman from the free state of Illinois (which was next to Missouri) wanted to change the Missouri statehood law to require Missouri to do away with slavery. This caused a huge debate. Southern states were outraged, while northern states supported the idea.

Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky offered a compromise: Missouri would be allowed to join the Union as a slave state. Maine, which was a part of Massachusetts at that time, would be divided from Massachusetts and admitted as a free state. That would maintain the balance between slave and free states in the U.S. Senate. To prevent further arguments, a line was drawn westward across the rest of the Louisiana

Purchase territory even with Missouri's southern border (36°30' latitude). North of the line would be free territory; slavery would be allowed south of that line. Even though that meant there was more free territory, most of it was plains. That dry land was not good for crops and not attractive to settlers. Although both sides accepted this **Missouri Compromise** in 1820, the event showed that the question of slavery and its expansion into new areas was going to be an issue that divided people.



Compromis

Map Skill: Would slavery be

allowed in Florida Teritory?

The Nullification Crisis

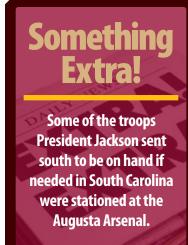
When the first protective tariff passed in 1816, it had wide support from the public, who wanted to encourage the establishment of manufacturing in America. During the War of 1812, it had been hard to get goods from other countries, and the United States did not manufacture much itself. The 1816 tariff had passed with southern support. Southerners thought it would be temporary, lasting until American manufacturers became successful enough to compete without it. When an even higher tariff passed Congress in 1828, however, many in the South objected. With little manufacturing in their area, southerners increasingly saw the protective tariff as a tax that helped northerners. Vice President John C. Calhoun, who had supported the 1816 tariff, secretly wrote a pamphlet against the 1828 tariff. He argued that a state had the right to void a law that it thought unconstitutional. This idea of voiding and not following national laws within a state is known as nullification. This argument was one of Henry Clay of Kentucky (opposite

the ideas that became part of the states' rights argument. States' rights is the belief that all powers not *specifically* given to the national government in the U.S. Constitution or specifically denied to the states remain with the states. Calhoun thought a state had a right to put itself between the national government and the people. A law could be nullified only in a special state

convention called for that purpose, not by the state legislature. Under his doctrine, the law would remain void while the national government passed a constitutional amendment giving it the specific power to make such a law. If the state was still op-Some of the troops posed, he argued the state had the right to secede, or withdraw, from **President Jackson sent** the United States. south to be on hand if

In 1829, John C. Calhoun was reelected vice president of the United States under the administration of President Andrew Jackson. When another tariff was passed in 1832,

page) and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina (above) were two of the most influential southern politicians of the early nineteenth century. Senator Clay proposed the Missouri Compromise: Vice President Calhoun was the leader of the nullification movement. Both events were early signs of the conflict to come.





Above: William Lloyd Garrison, publisher of *The Liberator*, was a catalyst for the growth of the antislavery movement, by depicting slavery as both a moral wrong and, in practice, a brutal and inhumane system.

an angry Calhoun resigned and went home to South Carolina to fight the tariff. The South Carolina legislature called a convention that nullified the tariff. South Carolina planned to refuse to collect the taxes on goods coming into its port of Charleston. As president, Andrew Jackson had to enforce the national law, so he prepared to do that even if it meant having to use federal troops. South Carolina threatened to secede if troops were used. This was a real crisis, and other southern states discussed what to do. South Carolina hoped that other states might also nullify the tariff.

Georgia's legislature had come out in opposition to the 1828 tariff. But while Georgians did not like the 1832 tariff, they also did not respond as strongly as South Carolinians. Most Georgians opposed nullification and supported President Jackson's pro-Union stand. Leaders formed a political party called the Union Party. Those who were more opposed to the tariff formed the States' Rights Party, although there were few in that party who believed a state could actually get rid of a national law.

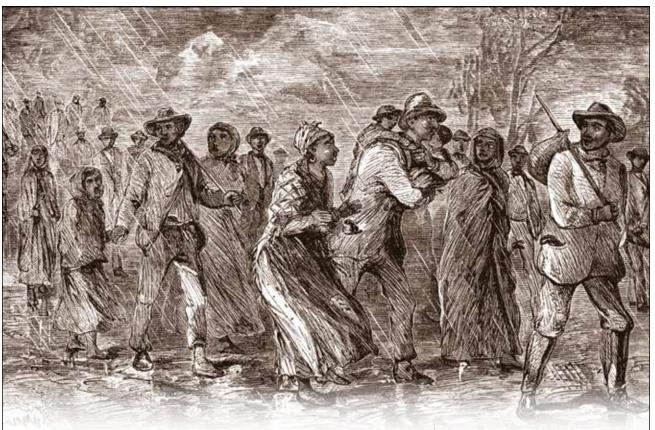
The Georgia legislature again came out in opposition to protective tariffs, but it also opposed nullification. This action probably convinced other states to follow Georgia, and South Carolina was left alone. In 1833, Henry Clay offered another compromise, and South Carolina agreed to follow the national law.

This entire incident is known as the *nullification crisis*. However, this stance for states' rights in South Carolina had an even deeper issue than the tariff—the question of slavery. Slaves made up over 50 percent of South Carolina's population, and South Carolina's political leaders did not want the national government to have the power to pass a law that would limit or abolish slavery. Great Britain was planning to pass a law ending slavery in all its territories (it passed in 1833). South Carolinians were afraid that Congress might do the same in the United States.

The Abolition Movement in the North

In 1831, the abolition movement found a voice and greater organization when William Lloyd Garrison founded his newspaper, *The Liberator*. The newspaper was dedicated to writing about the horrors of slavery and calling for it to end. He hoped to persuade people that slavery was morally wrong. Within two years, Garrison and others had founded both the New England Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society. While most northerners initially opposed these efforts and simply wanted to leave the issue to the South, the movement grew stronger and stronger over the next years. Their early efforts mainly involved what they called "moral persuasion." Some also participated in the informal system of routes and safe houses that helped slaves, mainly from the border states, escape to the North. In 1831, this became known as the **Underground Railroad**.

By 1840, however, abolitionism was becoming a political issue. Antislavery northerners founded the Liberty Party in 1840 and nominated James Birney for the presidency. He had been a slave owner but had become convinced that slavery was immoral. He moved to Ohio and freed all his slaves. He also ran for the presidency in 1840 and 1844.



Southern slave owners and some other white southerners felt threatened by the antislavery movement. They saw slaves as necessary to their economic system. As northerners attacked the system, white southerners became more defensive of it. They argued that African Americans were racially inferior and were better off in slavery. They even said that slavery had good points because slaves were taken care of and taught Christianity. For the next twenty years, northern attacks on the morality of slavery increased southern attempts to protect it.

The Mexican-American War

The Louisiana Purchase territory was the western edge of the United States in the early 1800s. Beyond that was the country of Mexico, which had won its independence from Spain in 1821. In the 1820s, southerners from the United States began to move across the border into what was then the northern territory of Mexico called Texas. Eastern Texas had land that was good for growing cotton.

At first, the Mexican government had encouraged these American immigrants to their territory. But the Americans who migrated there took slavery with them. In 1829, Mexico passed a law abolishing slavery and, in 1830, another law forbidding the bringing of slaves into Texas. At this point, Mexico also tried to stop Americans from settling there. The number of Americans living in Texas, however, grew to the point that they vastly outnumbered the number of native-born Mexicans.

In 1836, the Americans living in Texas rebelled and declared themselves independent from Mexico. A brief revolution followed. The Americans won

Above: The Underground Railroad was a network of people opposed to slavery who took immense risks to help thousands of slaves escape to freedom in the North. When the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was passed, requiring northern law enforcement to actively work to return the escaped slaves to their owners, the Railroad sent the escaping slaves even further, to safety in Canada.

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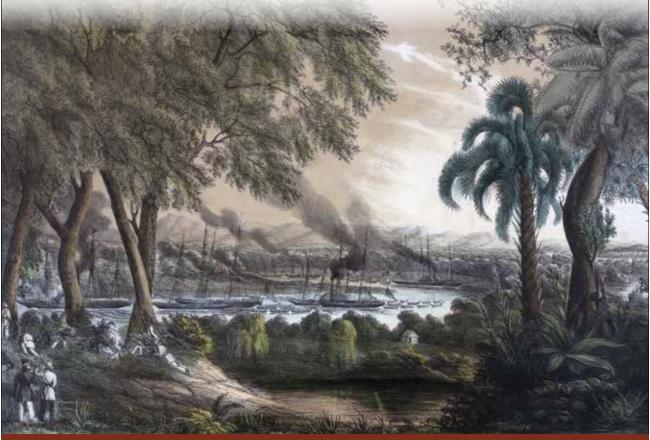
and declared themselves a separate country called the Republic of Texas. Its flag had one star.

Most Texans wanted to become part of the United States, but the U.S. government was afraid of making Mexico angry if it annexed (added) Texas. So Texas remained the Lone Star Republic for several years. In 1845, James

K. Polk from Tennessee became president. He had campaigned on annexing Texas, and so, in 1845, Texas became the Lone Star state. This did anger Mexico and helped lead to the Mexican-American War in 1846.

Southerners, including most Georgians, overwhelming supported this war. There were a few Georgia leaders who opposed the war, including Alexander Stephens, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Crawfordville. But for most Georgians, the annexation of Texas brought another slave state into the Union, and they wanted it to stay. Even nonslaveholders in Georgia saw Texas as a possible place to expand and become more prosperous. Most soldiers who fought in the war were volunteers, and 75 percent of those volunteers came from the South. The U.S. victory in that war led to a treaty that recognized Texas's independence from Mexico, and gave the United States a huge tract of land that is now the southwest corner of the United States, including California.







This new territory once again brought up the question of the expansion of slavery. The Missouri Compromise had settled the question of slavery only for the Louisiana Purchase territory; this land was west of that. Texas had come in as a slave state, but what would happen in the other new areas where slavery did not already exist? That became a major conflict. Congress had tried to pass a law during the war saying that any new territory acquired from the war would be free territory. But while the bill had passed the U.S. House of Representatives, it had been defeated in the Senate where the number of free and slave states was equal. The South became very concerned about keeping a balance of slave and free states in the Senate to make sure such a law could not pass. Southerners continued to argue that it was a state's right to decide whether to have slavery or not. They took the states' rights argument even farther by saying that Congress could not decide that issue for a territory that was not yet a state.

Reviewing the Section

- Define: sectionalism, Missouri Compromise, nullification, annex.
- 2. Why did southerners not want higher tariffs?
- 3. What is your opinion of states' rights? Support your opinion with some factual information.

Above: The American capture of Chapultepec Castle, guarding the western approach to Mexico City, was a significant victory. It is mentioned in the Marine hymn as the "Halls of Montezuma." Opposite page, above: The invention of the telegraph made the Mexican-American War the first that the public could follow from day to day. Opposite page, below: Commodore Matthew Perry's fleet sails up the Tabasco River prior to a successful attack on the port city of Tabasco.



Section 3

The Road to War: 1848-1861



As you read, look for

- the expansion of the United States and the role slavery played in that expansion,
- the Compromise of 1850,
- the Georgia Platform,
- the Kansas-Nebraska Act,
- the Dred Scott decision,
- the election of 1860 and its results,
- terms: manifest destiny, free-soil, popular sovereignty,
 Compromise of 1850, Georgia Platform, Kansas-Nebraska
 Act, border state.



The Mexican-American War had not

received the total support of American citizens. Some northerners saw it as an unjust war, taking the territory of a weaker country. But many other Americans had come to believe, even before the war, that America was destined to expand from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. A writer had called this America's manifest destiny.

In 1846, while the Mexican-American War was going on, the United States had signed a treaty with Great Britain dividing the northwest Oregon Territory between them at the 49th parallel line. The expansion of slavery was not really an issue in this more northern area. The settlement

of parts of the territory acquired in the Mexican-American War, however, raised the question of slavery. While some of the areas would not support the crops that required slavery, southern whites hoped that slavery would expand into the southwest including southern California.

In the late 1840s, other ideas about how to deal with slavery emerged as it became the major issue in the country. By the 1850s, event after event created more and more tension and conflict between the North and South, most revolving around the issue of slavery. Even the question of states' rights and the rights of the national government involved the right to decide whether slavery would continue to exist in the states that had it or whether it could be abolished by the national government.

By the late 1840s, the antislavery movement in the North had become stronger. Even northerners who believed that slavery could not be interfered with where it already existed also believed that the national government had the right to keep it from spreading into new territories. This idea was known as **free-soil**. In the election of 1848, the antislavery Liberty Party supporters joined with free-soil supporters to form the Free-Soil Party.

The Democratic Party responded by adopting a position called **popular sovereignty**, an idea that allows the people in a new territory to decide an issue, such as whether to allow slavery. From the election of 1848 until the

Civil War broke out, slavery and the question of its expansion continued to be a major political issue. It was the big argument over California, over the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, over the *Dred Scott* decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1857, and in the election of 1860. This section explores these events as they led the North and South toward a major split.

California and the Compromise of 1850

The new territory of the American Southwest included the desert lands of what later became Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico as well

as the Rocky Mountains. Many believed that those lands would not attract many settlers. Other new land was more inviting. California especially had many assets: There were good bays for ports and fertile valleys for farming and raising livestock. Mexican citizens had been settled there for many years. Some adventurous Americans from the East also began to settle in northern California in the valley of the Sacramento River during the rush toward Oregon in the 1840s. After 1848, they were all part of the United States.

In that very year, as workmen built a mill for Swiss immigrant John Sutter in California, they discovered shiny flakes of gold. Sutter tried to keep the discovery a secret, but word got out quickly. At first, Americans already in California were the main ones to head for the hills in search of their fortunes. But, by 1849, Americans from the East were coming in ships around the tip of South America or making the journey by wagon across the American

The Free-Soil Party was a short-lived third party. It was formed in 1848 and dissolved after the 1852 election. Most of its members were absorbed by the new Republican Party.



Above: The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in the newly acquired territory of California led to a huge influx of people hoping to share in the wealth. The population boom caused California to seek statehood as a free state, creating a crisis for the country, which was evenly divided between free and slave states.

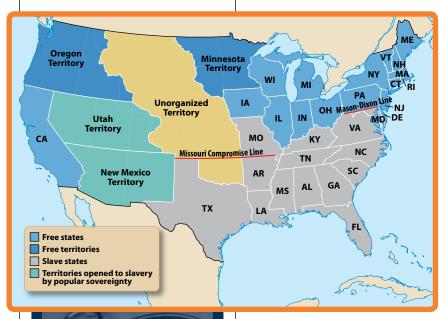
Figure 28 The Compromise of 1850

Benefits for the North

- California came into the Union as a free state.
- Slave trading was ended in the District of Columbia.
- Texas gave up its idea of annexing New Mexico, thus taking that territory away from a slave state.

Benefits for the South

- The territories of New Mexico and Utah would determine whether they wanted to be slave or free.
- The residents of the District of Columbia could keep the slaves they already had.
- Congress would pass a law (the Fugitive Slave Act) requiring law enforcement to capture and return runaway slaves to their owners.



West. These were the "Forty-niners." California's population exploded as they settled in mining camps and small towns.

California needed government. When Zachary Taylor, a military hero of the Mexican-American War, became president in 1849, he advised California to apply for statehood. California voters had ratified a state constitution by November 1849 and requested statehood as a free state. Southern slave owners immediately opposed that, even though Californians had used popular sovereignty, deciding for themselves that they did not want slavery. California's admis-

sion as a free state would change the balance of power between free and slave states in the Senate. Debates over the issue, which lasted for eight months, were heated. Some southerners predicted that, if a balance of power was not guaranteed, a war between the North and South would come.

The two major national political parties at the time—the Democrats and the Whigs—found themselves being torn apart on sectional lines. Leaders trying to hold their parties and the country together tried to find another compromise. In the end, five laws passed Congress in a deal known as the Compromise of 1850. Supporters in the North and South saw this compromise as saving the country from breaking up. They hoped it would settle things as the Missouri Compromise had done.

The Georgia Platform

Southern leaders responded to the sectional crisis by holding conventions to decide how to defend the South and the institution of slavery. A "southern unity" convention was held in Nashville in 1850. The June meeting took a moderate wait-and-see attitude. In September, the Compromise of 1850 passed. Southern radicals met a second time in Nashville, but there were fewer states represented and fewer representatives there. They condemned the compromise and insisted the southern states had the right to secede. The governor of South Carolina was sure the South would secede from the Union to keep slavery.

Georgia played a key role in keeping this more extreme position of secession from happening in the 1850 crisis. While there were Georgians who believed in secession, more Georgians were pro-Union. The crisis over the Compromise of 1850 led to the formation of new state political parties in Georgia. Those who supported secession and opposed compromise became the Southern Rights Party. Those who supported compromise and opposed secession formed a faction that was pro-Union. This latter group was

led by Alexander Stephens, Howell Cobb, and Robert Toombs.

After the Compromise of 1850, Georgia held an election for a convention to meet on the compromise. The pro-Union faction won a major victory and formed the Constitutional Union Party at the convention in December. The convention then passed the **Georgia Platform** introduced by Charles Jones Jenkins. The Georgia Platform accepted the Compromise of 1850 but agreed to resist if the North did not live up to its obligations or if it hindered slavery. Other southern states accepted this idea. South Carolina found itself alone in wanting to secede, just as it had during the nullification crisis.

Thanks to other states following the Georgia Platform, the compromise was accepted, even though many in the North and South did not like it. In the North, the sight of runaway slaves, including some who had been in the North for a long time, being captured and taken away in shackles led many northerners to resist the Fugitive Slave Law. Some began to help slaves escape from those who captured them. In reaction to the compromise, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel that depicts the horrors of slavery through the story of the slaves Uncle Tom, Eliza, and Eliza's young child. When the book was

published in 1852, it sold three hundred thousand copies and stirred many northerners to become antislavery. Meanwhile, leaders in the South resented these attacks on slavery and became even more suspicious of the North.

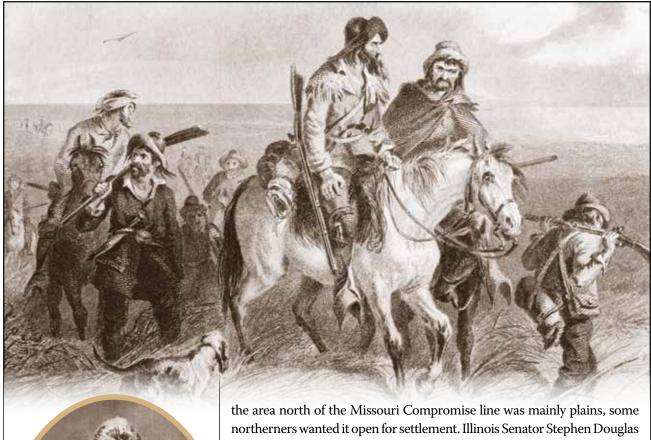
The Kansas-Nebraska Act

Back in 1820, southerners had supported the Missouri Compromise, which allowed slavery in the Louisiana Purchase territory south of Missouri's southern border. Since that time, Iowa had come into the Union as the only free state from the Louisiana Purchase territory. Even though

An overwhelming number of the 264 delegates to the Georgia special convention held in December 1850 were Unionists. In the end, only 19 delegates voted against the Georgia Platform.



Above: Opposition to the Compromise of 1850 inspired the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. Prints of scenes from the novel, like this one, and many theatrical adaptations performed around the country spread its influence. The South was outraged by its negative portrayal of slavery.



wanted to run a transcontinental railroad through the area, with its eastern end in Chicago.

In 1854, Douglas introduced legislation to organize this area into two new territories—Kansas and Nebraska. To get southern support, he included a clause stating that the Compromise of 1850 had made popular sovereignty available to the territories. This changed the prohibition of slavery set out in the Missouri Compromise. Since Kansas was next door to Missouri, it might possibly become a slave state, although Douglas personally believed that the land was not good for plantations and Kansas would probably become a free state. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed, many northern Free-Soilers believed that the national government had come under the control of some sort of "slave power." Georgia's Alexander Stephens had been the manager of the bill in the House, and he was very happy about its passage. But every northern Whig congressman had voted against it, as had every northern Whig in the Senate.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act killed the Whig Party in the country. Northern Whigs did not want to be in the same party with southern Whigs. In the elections in the fall of 1854, old northern Whigs ran under various names. In the end, they and Free-Soilers joined to form a new party—the Republican Party. The new party believed that the national government had the right to limit slavery to the areas where it already existed and to ban it in new territories. It also supported old Whig ideas of the national bank and protective tariff. One northerner who joined the Republican Party was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. The Kansas-Nebraska Act also strained the ties between

Top: Proslavery "border ruffians" make their way to Kansas before the first territorial elections in 1855. They succeeded in preventing Free-Soilers from voting, ensuring a proslavery legislature. Above: Fanatical abolitionist John Brown led retaliatory raids against proslavery forces in Kansas.

southern Democrats and some northern Democrats, but the Democratic Party managed to hold together for a few more years.

Kansas was the ground on which the increasing differences between the North and South became violent. Those who lived there were to decide if it would become a slave state or a free state. Thousands of settlers moved into Kansas so they could vote. Antislavery supporters in New England raised money to send antislavery voters to Kansas. Proslavery Missourians, some of whom never actually lived in Kansas, crossed into Kansas to vote yes on slavery. The result was a territorial legislature that had more proslavery members; it voted to allow slavery. Antislavery voters complained about the voting fraud. By January 1856, two governments were set up in Kansas, one proslavery and one antislavery. Each claimed to be the true government.

By the summer of 1856, the dispute had gone beyond the legislature into

the countryside. Proslavery supporters attacked the free-soil town of Lawrence, burning down buildings and looting. After hearing about Lawrence, white abolitionist John Brown and his followers vowed revenge. They murdered five unarmed, proslavery Kansans. Proslavery Kansans retaliated, and Kansas soon became "Bleeding Kansas."

The Republicans in 1856 ran on the Free-Soil platform of not allowing slavery to expand into new territory, while the Democrats supported popular sovereignty. For its first national election, the Republicans made a good showing. Some southerners had threatened secession if Republican nominee John C. Fremont won. But Democrat James Buchanan won the presidency. One Georgia planter said that the Democrat's victory would postpone the "great conflict" for four more years. He implied that when a Republican won the presidency, war would begin.

The *Dred Scott* Case

Two days after James Buchanan was sworn in, the U.S. Supreme Court tried to end the arguments over slavery through a decision in the case of Dred Scott and his family. Although he had been a slave his entire life, Dred Scott had traveled and lived with his owner, an army doctor, in Illinois (a free state) and Wisconsin (a free territory). His daughter had been born in Wisconsin. In 1846, Scott had begun the court

suit for his and his family's freedom because they had lived in territory that did not allow slavery.

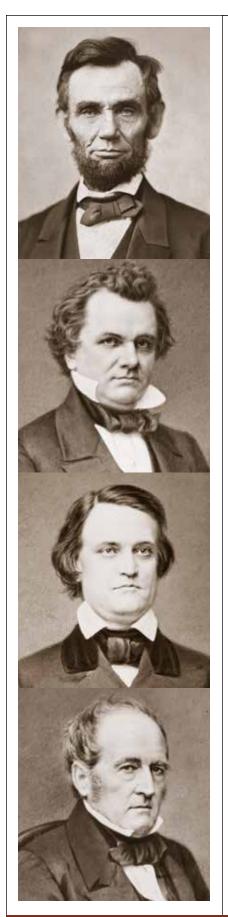
Ten years later, in 1857, the case reached the Supreme Court, which was in control of southerners and headed by Chief Justice Roger Taney from the slave state of Maryland. Taney wrote the decision of the majority of justices.

Something Extra!

The son of Dred Scott's first owner purchased Scott and his family in 1857 and freed them.



Above: The *Dred Scott* case received a great amount of publicity, including this front page feature in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, with portraits of Dred Scott, his wife, and daughters.



The Court ruled that blacks, free or slave, were not citizens, which meant they did not have the civil right to sue. But the Court went on to argue that slaves were property. Being in free territory did not change that. In other words, slaves could be taken to free territories by their owners. Finally, the Court ruled that Congress had never had the right to forbid slavery in territories. It was a victory for the southern position, but angry northerners were not ready to give up.

One northerner who had not given up was John Brown of "Bleeding Kansas." Brown had the idea that southern slaves needed help to liberate themselves. He came up with the idea of raiding the U.S. government's arsenal (arms storehouse) at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, to take guns and ammunition, arming the slaves, and starting a slave revolt. It was a wild scheme with no chance of success. Eight of his men, including two sons, were killed, and Brown himself captured. Brown was quickly convicted of trying to start a rebellion, as well as murder and treason. Brown's mental state has since been the topic of debate, but he went to his death believing in the justice of his cause.

Although many northerners opposed Brown's violence, some antislavery northerners saw him as a martyr. In the South, however, Brown's raid alarmed white southerners, whose greatest fear was a slave revolt. They were also surprised by northerners' sadness over Brown's execution. They came to believe that northerners supported the use of force against them, and that they would have to protect themselves. Some, like Robert Toombs of Georgia, warned that the South could not allow the national government to come under the control of Republicans.

The Election of 1860

The Whig Party had already died over the issue of slavery, replaced by the Republican Party, a northern party. In 1860, the Democratic Party also fell apart. Its first convention to choose a presidential candidate was deadlocked. At a second convention, most of the southern delegates walked out, had a convention of their own, and nominated John Breckinridge of Kentucky as the candidate of the Southern Democratic Party. The Northern Democratic Party chose Stephen Douglas of Illinois as its candidate, with Georgian Herschel V. Johnson as his vice presidential candidate. Douglas had been reelected as senator only two years earlier over his Republican challenger Abraham Lincoln. Some concerned citizens in the **border states** (those free states and slave states which were next to each other) formed a political party called the Constitutional Union Party and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for president. Meanwhile, the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. So there were four political parties with presidential candidates in the 1860 election.

The Southern Democrats called for the extension of slavery into the territories. They supported a federal slave code and stressed the rights of the states. The Republicans opposed that and supported the free-soil position. The Republicans also stressed old Whig ideas such as a national banking, protective tariffs, and a transcontinental railroad. The Northern Democrats supported popular sovereignty. The Constitutional Union Party hoped to find

some kind of compromise and preserve the Union. Breckinridge said that he and his followers also supported the Union, as long as it did not interfere with the institution of slavery. He did not campaign in the North, and the Republicans did not campaign in the South. Douglas of the Northern Democrats campaigned throughout the country, even though he did not believe he could win.

John Bell and the Constitutional Union Party got the endorsement of several of Georgia's major newspapers in cities like Savannah, Augusta, Macon, Columbus, Athens, and the state capital of Milledgeville. Stephen Douglas and his Georgia running mate Herschel Johnson also got some support, but they were far outnumbered by Breckinridge supporters.

Breckinridge won the popular vote in Georgia and Georgia's electoral votes. Abraham Lincoln was not even on the ballot in Georgia and nine other Deep South states. Nationally, Lincoln got about 40 percent of the popular vote. But Lincoln got 180 electoral votes, more than enough to win the election. The results of the election were a shock to southern whites who realized that they

had become a minority without enough political power to carry an election.

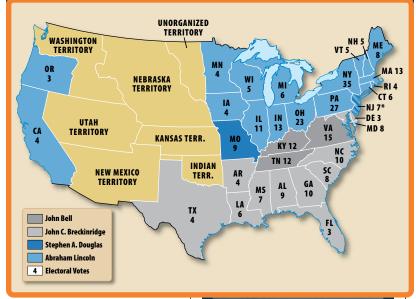
With Republican Abraham Lincoln on his way to the White House, many Georgia leaders thought that their way of life was threatened, as was the right of states to decide issues such as slavery. One Georgia newspaper said, "African slavery . . . is doomed to a war of extermination. . . . The only hope for its preservation, therefore, is out of the Union." Judge Henry L. Benning of Columbus said to the Georgia legislature that the election of Lincoln would lead to "the abolition of slavery as soon as the party which elected him shall acquire the power to do the deed." He told his fellow Georgians that to save themselves from the horrors that would occur with abolition "we must go out of the Union, however much we may deplore it."

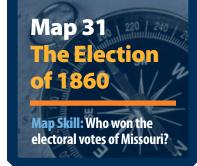
Secession

South Carolina led the way, holding a special convention in December 1860. The delegates voted to leave the United States. The secessionists in other states tried to move quickly as well, hoping that those who wanted to stay in the Union would not have time to get well organized. Opinion in

Figure 29 The Election of 1860

	Popular Vote Georgia	Popular Vote National	Electoral College Vote
Bell	42,886	592,906	39
Breckinridge	51,893	848,356	72
Douglas	11,580	1,382,713	12
Lincoln	0	1,865,593	180
Totals	106,359	4,689,568	303





Opposite page: There were four major candidates for president in 1860, top to bottom, Abraham Lincoln representing the Republican Party, Stephen A. Douglas, northern Democratic Party, John C. Breckinridge, Southern Democratic Party, and John Bell, Constitutional Union Party.

The Art of Politics



This cartoon, titled "The National Game. Three 'Outs' and One 'Run," depicts Abraham Lincoln, right, as the victor in a baseball game over his three opponents, left to right, John Bell, Stephen Douglas, and John Breckinridge.

the South was divided, especially in Georgia. Yeoman farmers as well as many city people favored trying to work out some type of compromise with the North.

Georgians also elected delegates to a special convention held in January 1861, but in Georgia it included many that favored moderation over secession. Breckinridge supporters favored secession, while Bell and Douglas supporters hoped for delay and compromise. Georgia's Governor Joseph E. Brown (an honorary delegate) favored secession, as did Howell Cobb, his brother Thomas R. R. Cobb, and Robert Toombs. Among other things, they argued that if they seceded they would have more power in talks with the North, which might agree to some of the South's demands.

Leading the moderates were Alexander Stephens, his brother Linton, Benjamin Hill, and defeated

vice presidential candidate Herschel Johnson. They argued that there should be a southern convention to discuss what to do.

The vote on a motion for secession was 166 to 130 in favor. While the secessionists had won, it was certainly not the enthusiastic 100 percent vote that secession had gotten in South Carolina. When delegates voted on the formal ordinance of secession the next day, however, the vote was 208 to 89 in favor. Some of the moderates had been persuaded to change their votes to show unity. Most of those hoped that Georgia's time out of the United States would be brief. All delegates signed the final written document, but many were sad about it. At 2 p.m. on January 19, 1861, secession convention President George Crawford declared that Georgia was officially no longer in the United States. Georgia was one of seven states to secede at that time.

Reviewing the Section

- 1. Define: manifest destiny, popular sovereignty, Compromise of 1850.
- 2. Who were the four candidates for president in the election of 1860?
- 3. Why was the Georgia Platform so important?

Two months later, Alexander Stephens delivered what became known as his "cornerstone speech." In it, while he mentioned tariffs and other federal government programs, he left little doubt about what he saw as the major source of conflict: "The new constitution has put at rest, forever, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution African slavery. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution."

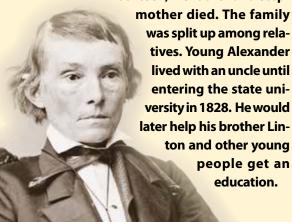
Georgia Portraits

Alexander Stephens: The Early Years

One of the most important politicians in Georgia before, during, and after the Civil War was Alexander Hamilton Stephens of Taliaferro (pronounced "Tolliver") County. His home, Liberty Hall, near Crawfordville is today a state park, and Stephens County bears his name.

Born in 1812, Stephens lost his mother when he was just a baby. His father remarried and had several more children, including his brother Linton, who became a well-respected judge. When Alexander was

fourteen, his father and step-



Stephens was a small and sickly man throughout his life, but he did not let his physical ailments and disabilities keep him from achievement. In 1861, Harper's Weekly magazine said of him, "Mr. Stephens is a remarkable example of what energy can do for a man. . . . He has all his life been a martyr to disease and has never weighed more than ninety-six pounds." Because of his size, he got the nickname "Little Aleck."

He graduated from the university at the top of his class and taught school in Madison County and later Liberty County to repay his loans. He then studied law, being admitted to practice in 1834. For two years, he practiced law in Crawfordville before launching his career in politics. He was twenty-four years old when he was elected to the state legislature in 1836. After being in the state legislature for several years, he ran for and was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He served from 1843 until 1859, when he decided to leave office.

Stephens was a Georgian who belonged to the Whig Party, the party that believed in a strong national government. He opposed state nullification of national laws and the war with Mexico, which he believed was "dishonorable." He defended the institution of slavery although he believed that slaves should be treated well. He supported the Compromise of 1850 and, throughout the 1850s, opposed secession. Even at Georgia's secession convention in 1861, he continued to oppose secession. However,

when his state seceded, he accepted the decision and went with the Confederacy. He still had a long career ahead of him.

Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

Section 1 Slavery in Georgia

- Slaves in Georgia lived under a set of laws called the slave code.
- The daily life of slaves was one of hard work and depended, in part, on where their plantations were.
- Slaves in rice plantations worked under the task system, which left them some time for themselves. Slaves on cotton plantations worked under a gang system, where work was based on time.
- Although a slave marriage was not legal, family and religion were very important in the lives slaves built for themselves.
- Slaves resisted slavery, ran away, and sometimes attempted revolts. No revolts were successful, however.

Section 2 Georgia, the Nation, and Sectionalism, 1820-1848

- In the early 1800s, the Deep South remained rural and depended increasingly on the growing of cotton. The North grew increasingly urban and depended more on manufacturing.
- Sectionalism developed and increased the tensions between the two parts of the country.
- In 1819, there were an equal number of free states and slave states. The Missouri Compromise maintained that balance by admitting Missouri to the Union as a slave state and Maine as a free state.
- Congress passed protective tariffs to support the growth of American manufacturing. The South initially favored the tariffs but came

- to view them as mainly a help to the North.

 When Congress passed another tariff in 1832, it resulted in the nullification crisis when South Carolina threatened to secede over the tariff.
- States' rights is the belief that all powers not specifically given to Congress or forbidden to the states in the U.S. Constitution belong to the states.
- The Mexican-American War resulted, in part, from the annexation of Texas as a slave state in 1845.

Section 3 The Road to War: 1848-1861

- The issue of slavery, and whether it could spread into new territories, became the major issue of the country during this period.
- The Compromise of 1850 allowed California to come into the Union as a free state. Other parts of the legislation created a stronger Fugitive Slave law, outlawed slavery in the District of Columbia, and allowed the people living in New Mexico and Utah to decide whether to allow slavery. The compromise saved the Union for a time.
- The Georgia Platform, adopted in a state convention in 1850, supported the Compromise of 1850 but identified certain actions that would not be tolerated, including any action that hindered slavery. The Georgia Platform delayed secession by the southern states.
- The Kansas-Nebraska Act undid the Missouri Compromise by allowing popular sovereignty north of the Missouri Compromise line.
- In the Dred Scott decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that blacks did not have citizenship and the rights that went with it and that slaves were property.

- In the election of 1860, Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected president.
- At a special convention held in January 1861, Georgia delegates voted to secede from the Union.



Understanding the Facts

- 1. Why were there so few accounts written by slaves about their lives during the antebellum period?
- 2. Define *sectionalism*, and explain how this idea contributed to dividing our country.
- 3. Explain the Compromise of 1850 and why the entry of California into the Union was so contentious.
- 4. Who was Dred Scott, and what was the outcome of his U.S. Supreme Court case?
- 5. How did the election of 1860 lead to the secession of some southern states?



Developing Critical Thinking

Many Americans wrestled with the idea of breaking the country into two parts. Make a chart that lists the pros and cons of secession. Your teacher may want to divide the class into northerners and southerners to compare arguments.



Writing Across the Curriculum

 Secession from the United States was a very serious step. Imagine you are a voter in Georgia. Write a persuasive letter to your local newspaper that either encourages or discourages secession from the Union after the election of Lincoln. 2. Imagine you are a reporter sent to observe the debate on Georgia's secession. Write a summary of what you saw that includes at least one argument for and one argument against secession.



Extending Reading Skills

According to the information in this chapter, what effect did the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act have on the political parties of the period?



Exploring Technology

Not all states that allowed slavery seceded from the Union. Research the states that allowed slavery in 1850, and make a chart or graph that shows these states and how many slaves each state contained.



Practicing Your Skills

Electoral College votes determine the outcome of our presidential elections. Research the results of the Electoral College votes during the 1860 election. Evaluate the results and draw conclusions based on what you know about secession and the Civil War in general.