

Toward Civil War

1840-1861

Confederate forces bombarded Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. The attack on the fort, located in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, marked the beginning of the Civil War.



**WILLIAM
HENRY
HARRISON**
1841



JOHN TYLER
1841-1845



JAMES POLK
1845-1849

★ **1846**
Congress
establishes
the
Smithsonian
Institution



**ZACHARY
TAYLOR**
1849-1850



**MILLARD
FILLMORE**
1850-1853

PRESIDENTS

U.S. Events

World Events

1840

1845

1850

★ **1843**

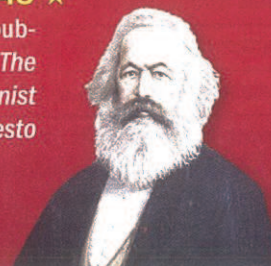
Charles Dickens:
A Christmas Carol
published

★ **1845**

Many Irish
emigrate to
escape famine

★ **1848**

Marx pub-
lishes *The*
Communist
Manifesto



Section 1: Slavery and the West

Essential Question Did the compromises that Congress made effectively address slavery and sectionalism?

Section 2: A Nation Dividing

Essential Question How did popular sovereignty lead to violence in Kansas?

Section 3: Challenges to Slavery

Essential Question What was the significance of the *Dred Scott* decision?

Section 4: Secession and War

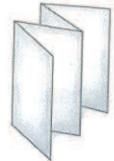
Essential Question What role did the theory of states' rights play in the outbreak of the Civil War?

FOLDABLES[®] Study Organizer

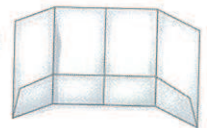
Organizing Information

Make this Foldable to help organize what you learn about events leading up to the Civil War.

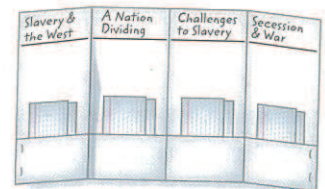
Step 1 Fold an 11" x 17" sheet of paper accordion style.



Step 2 Fold the bottom edge up three inches. Glue the edges to make pockets.



Step 3 Label the panels with the section titles as shown. Use the pockets to hold notes taken on index cards.



Reading and Writing As you read the chapter, take notes on key issues and key events in the years leading up to war.

◀ Edwin Drake drills the first oil well near Titusville, Pennsylvania.



FRANKLIN PIERCE
1853–1857

1854 ★
Kansas-Nebraska Act passes

1857 ★
U.S. Supreme Court makes *Dred Scott* decision



JAMES BUCHANAN
1857–1861

★ **1859**
The Drake Well becomes first U.S. oil well

★ **1861**
Civil War begins



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
1861–1865

★ **1855**
Florence Nightingale improves health care during Crimean War

★ **1856**
Henry Bessemer introduces process for making steel inexpensively

★ **1861**
Alexander II frees serfs in Russia



Section

1

Slavery and the West



Section
Audio



Spotlight
Video

Essential Question

Did the compromises that Congress made effectively address slavery and sectionalism?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

sectionalism (p. 449) secede (p. 451)

fugitive (p. 451) abstain (p. 451)

Academic Vocabulary

temporary (p. 449) regulate (p. 450)

Key People and Events

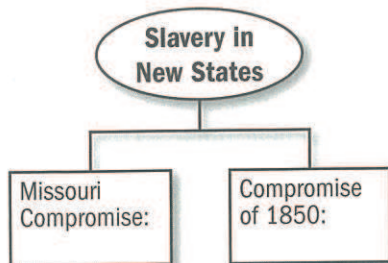
Missouri Compromise (p. 449)

Stephen A. Douglas (p. 451)

Compromise of 1850 (p. 451)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read, use a diagram like the one below to describe how two compromises addressed the issue of slavery in new states.



American Diary

When Missouri applied for statehood in 1819, controversy arose in Congress. Slavery was legal in Missouri, and Missouri's admission would change the balance between free states and slave states. The Missouri debate became so bitter that Thomas Jefferson wrote: "This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell [funeral bell] of the Union."

—letter to John Holmes

A riverboat traveling on the Mississippi River at St. Louis

The Missouri Compromise

Main Idea The Missouri Compromise temporarily resolved the issue of whether new states would be slave states or free states.

History and You Do you feel loyalty to your school during a contest with another school? Read how differences between the North and the South created feelings of loyalty to a region.

Many settlers brought enslaved African Americans into Missouri with them. When Missouri applied for statehood, its constitution allowed slavery. The request sparked an angry debate in Congress. In 1819, 11 states permitted slavery and 11 did not. The Senate—with two members from each state—was, therefore, evenly balanced between slave and free states. The admission of a new state would upset that balance.

In addition, the North and the South, with their different economic systems, were competing for new lands in the western territories. At the same time, a growing number of Northerners wanted to restrict or ban slavery. Southerners, even those who disliked slavery,

opposed these antislavery efforts. They resented the interference by outsiders in Southerners' affairs. These differences between the North and the South grew into **sectionalism**—an exaggerated loyalty to a particular region of the country.

The Senate suggested a way to resolve the crisis—allow Missouri to join as a slave state and admit Maine at the same time as a free state. Maine, formerly part of Massachusetts, had also applied for statehood. The Senate wanted to settle the issue of slavery in the territories for good. It proposed banning slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36°30' N latitude.

Speaker of the House Henry Clay carefully guided the bill through the House of Representatives, which passed it by a close vote in 1820. Maine joined the union that year. In 1821 Missouri became the twenty-fourth state. The **Missouri Compromise** preserved the balance between slave and free states in the Senate. It also brought about a **temporary**, or brief, lull in the debate over slavery.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why was the admission of a new state controversial in 1819?

By the Numbers The Missouri Compromise

The Vote The map shows how the House of Representatives voted on provisions in a law restricting slavery.



Critical Thinking

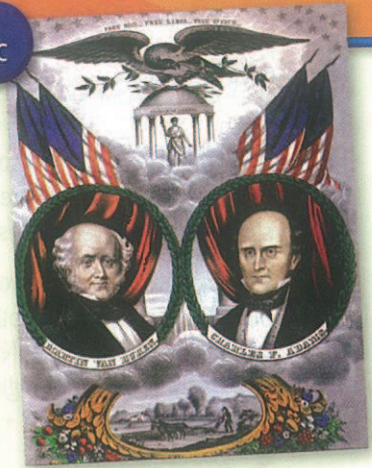
Comparing Which region united in favor of extending slavery? Which region opposed extending slavery?

New Territories and the Free-Soil Party

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC



A New Party Forms The acquisition of New Mexico and California brought the slavery issue into the open. Many Southern senators argued that Congress had no constitutional power to forbid slavery in the new territories. In 1848, a new party—the Free-Soil Party—formed. Free-Soilers supported the Wilmot Proviso, which banned the spread of slavery into the new territories gained from Mexico.



▲ The Van Buren-Adams Free-Soil ticket received nearly 300,000 votes in 1848. Later the Republican Party would adopt many principles from the Free-Soil Party.

"Gen. [Zachary] Taylor and Gen. [Lewis] Cass are proslavery candidates. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Adams are antislavery candidates. The former are the shameless tools of the slave-power. The latter bravely resist it."

—Gerrit Smith, New York abolitionist, August 1848

Critical Thinking

Finding the Main Idea What led to the formation of the Free-Soil Party?

A New Compromise

Main Idea The Compromise of 1850 addressed several issues, including slavery in the territories.

History and You Do you engage in some give and take in order to settle an argument? Read how Congress settled its differences in 1850.

The debate over slavery in new territories erupted again in the 1840s. The annexation of Texas, where slavery already existed, became the main issue in the presidential election of 1844. Democrat James Polk won the election and pressed forward on acquiring Texas. Texas became a state in 1845. At the same time, support grew in the South for taking New Mexico and California from Mexico. Government actions led to war with Mexico.

Conflicting Views

Soon after the Mexican War began, Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced a proposal. Called the Wilmot

Proviso, it would ban slavery in any lands that might be acquired from Mexico.

Southerners protested. They believed that any antislavery policy about the territories endangered slavery everywhere. They wanted California and New Mexico to remain open to slavery. Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina countered with another proposal. It stated that neither Congress nor any territorial government had the authority to ban slavery from a territory or **regulate**, or control, it.

Neither proposal passed, but both caused bitter debate. By the 1848 presidential election, the United States had gained California and New Mexico from Mexico but took no action on slavery in those areas.

The Free-Soil Party

In 1848 the Whigs selected Zachary Taylor, a Southerner and a hero of the Mexican War, as their candidate. The Democrats chose Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan. Both candidates ignored the slavery issue.

This failure to take a stand angered voters. Many opponents of slavery left their parties and formed the Free-Soil Party. Adopting the slogan "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," they chose former president Martin Van Buren as their candidate. Taylor won, but the Free-Soil Party gained several seats in Congress.

The Compromise of 1850

With the backing of President Taylor, California applied to become a free state in 1849. Meanwhile, antislavery forces wanted to ban slavery in Washington, D.C. Southerners, however, wanted a strong national law that required states to return **fugitive**, or runaway, enslaved people. The key issue, however, remained the balance of power in the Senate. If California entered as a free state, the slaveholding states would be outvoted in the Senate. Southerners talked about **seceding** from, or leaving, the Union.

In 1850 Senator Henry Clay tried to find a compromise. He proposed that California enter as a free state, while the rest of the new territories would have no limits on slavery. In

addition, the slave trade, but not slavery itself, would be banned in Washington, D.C. Finally, Clay pushed for a stronger fugitive slave law.

A heated debate began in Congress. Senator Calhoun opposed Clay's plan. He felt that the Union could be saved only by protecting slavery. Senator Daniel Webster supported the plan. He reasoned that slavery had little chance in the new territories because the land was not suited to plantations.

When President Taylor—an opponent of Clay's plan—died unexpectedly, Vice President Millard Fillmore succeeded him and favored a compromise. To end the crisis, Illinois Senator **Stephen A. Douglas** divided Clay's plan into parts that could be voted on separately. Fillmore had several Whigs **abstain**, or not vote, on the parts they opposed. Congress finally passed five bills in 1850. Taken together, these laws became known as the **Compromise of 1850**.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Who formed the Free-Soil Party and why?

Section 1 Review

History ONLINE
Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com.

Vocabulary

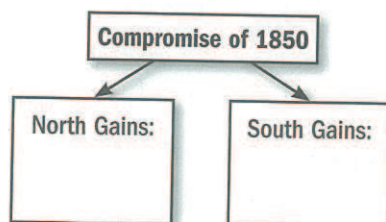
1. Use each of the following terms in a sentence that clearly expresses its meaning:
sectionalism, temporary, regulate, fugitive, secede, abstain.

Main Ideas

2. **Describing** How did the Missouri Compromise preserve the balance of power in the U.S. Senate?
3. **Explaining** How did Stephen Douglas help win approval of the Compromise of 1850?

Critical Thinking

4. **Analyzing** What was the Wilmot Proviso? Why was this amendment to a bill so controversial?
5. **Comparing** Describe what the North and South each gained from the Compromise of 1850. Use a diagram like the one below.



6. **Creative Writing** Write a dialogue in the form of a conversation in which John Calhoun and Daniel Webster express their views on the Compromise of 1850.

Answer the Essential Question

7. Did the compromises that Congress made effectively address slavery and sectionalism?

Section

2

A Nation Dividing



Section
Audio



Spotlight
Video

Essential Question

How did popular sovereignty lead to violence in Kansas?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

popular sovereignty
(p. 454)

civil war
(p. 455)

border ruffians (p. 455)

Academic Vocabulary

network (p. 453)

inevitable (p. 455)

Key People and Events

Fugitive Slave Act (p. 453)

Kansas-Nebraska Act (p. 454)

John Brown (p. 455)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes Use a diagram like the one below to note reactions to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Also, summarize the reasons for these reactions.

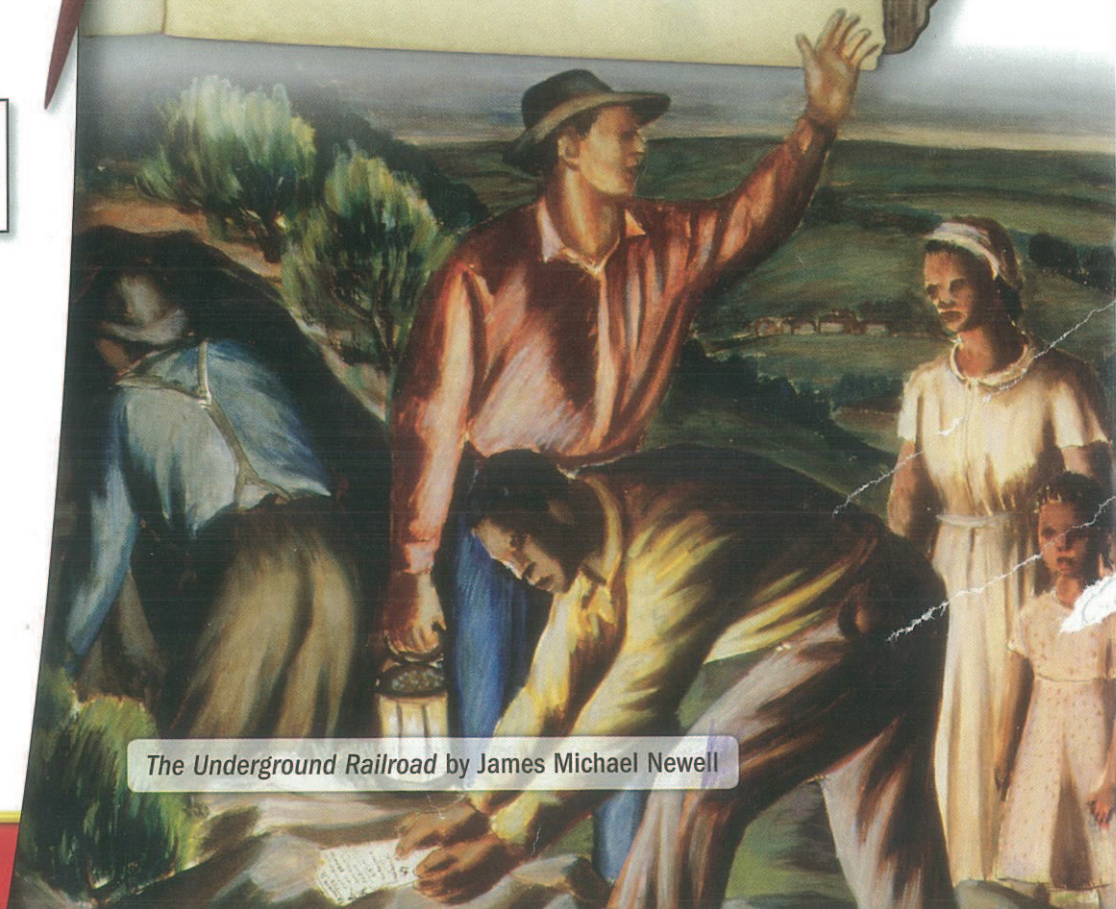
Kansas-Nebraska Act

Antislavery:

Pro-slavery:

American Diary

On May 24, 1854, the people of Boston erupted in outrage. Federal officers had seized Anthony Burns, a runaway enslaved African American who lived in Boston, to return him to slavery. Abolitionists tried to rescue Burns from the federal courthouse, and city leaders attempted to buy his freedom. All efforts failed. Federal troops escorted Burns to a ship that would carry him back to Virginia and into slavery. In a gesture of bitter protest, Bostonians draped buildings in black and hung the American flag upside down.



The Underground Railroad by James Michael Newell

The Fugitive Slave Act

Main Idea The Fugitive Slave Act required all citizens to help catch runaways, yet many Northerners refused to cooperate.

History and You Have you ever tried to protect someone from a bully? Read how Northerners tried to thwart the efforts of slave hunters.

As part of the Compromise of 1850, Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky convinced Congress to pass the **Fugitive Slave Act** as an attempt to pacify slaveholders. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 required all citizens to help catch runaways. Anyone who aided a fugitive could be fined or imprisoned. People in the South believed the law would force Northerners to recognize the rights of Southerners. Instead, enforcement of the law convinced more people in the North of the evils of slavery.

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, slaveholders stepped up their efforts to catch runaway enslaved people. They even tried to capture runaways who had lived in freedom in the North for years. Sometimes they seized African Americans who were not trying to escape and forced them into slavery.

History ONLINE

Student Web Activity Visit glencoe.com and complete the Chapter 15 Web Activity about the Underground Railroad.

In spite of the penalties, some Northerners refused to cooperate with the law. They justified their opposition on moral grounds. In his 1849 essay "Civil Disobedience," Henry David Thoreau wrote that if the law "requires you to be the agent [cause] of injustice to another, then I say, break the law."

The Underground Railroad, a **network**, or interconnected system, of free African Americans and whites, helped runaways make their way to freedom. Antislavery groups tried to rescue African Americans who were being pursued or to free those who were captured. In Boston, members of one such group followed federal agents shouting, "Slave hunters—there go the slave hunters." People contributed funds to buy the freedom of African Americans. Northern juries refused to convict those accused of violating the Fugitive Slave Act.

Reading Check **Explaining** What was the purpose of the Underground Railroad?

Primary Source Reward Poster

A poster advertises a substantial reward for a runaway enslaved man.

\$150 REWARD



RANAWAY from the subscriber, on the night of the 2d instant, a negro man, who calls himself *Henry May*, about 22 years old, 5 feet 6 or 8 inches high, ordinary color, rather chunky built, bushy head, and has it divided mostly on one side, and keeps it very nicely combed; has been raised in the house, and is a first rate dining-room servant, and was in a tavern in Louisville for 18 months. I expect he is now in Louisville trying to make his escape to a free state, (in all probability to Cincinnati, Ohio.) He is a good cook, and has the capacity as a house servant. Had on when he left, a dark striped cassinett pantaloons, new—had other dark striped if taken in Louisville: 100 dollars if taken in this State, and 150 dollars if taken out of the State. I can get him if I can get him.

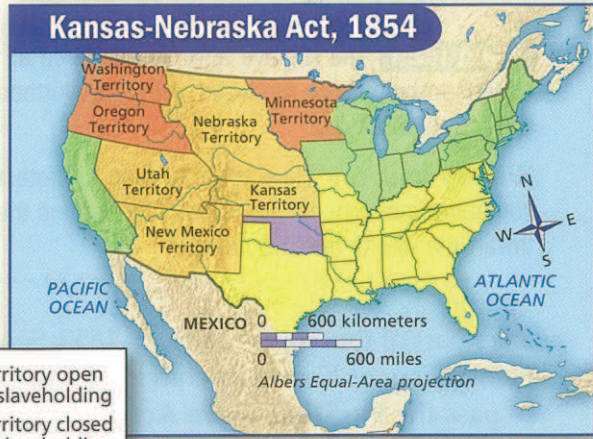
Critical Thinking

Making Inferences Under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, any citizen might be required to help capture a runaway slave. Why do you think some people condemned this law?

The Compromise of 1850



Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854



◀ Stephen Douglas sponsored the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Map Skills

Regions What territories were non-slaveholding in 1854?

Maps in Motion See StudentWorks™ Plus or glencoe.com.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

Main Idea The Kansas-Nebraska Act resulted from another dispute over slavery in Congress.

History and You Do you recall how the Missouri Compromise limited slavery in the territories? Read how this agreement fell apart in the 1850s.

Franklin Pierce, a New Hampshire Democrat, became president in 1853. Pierce intended to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act.

In 1854 Stephen A. Douglas, the Illinois senator who forged the Compromise of 1850, introduced a bill in Congress. He proposed organizing the region west of Missouri and Iowa as the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Douglas hoped his plan to expand the nation would be acceptable to both the North and the South.

Because of their location, Kansas and Nebraska seemed likely to become free states. Both lay north of 36°30'N latitude, the line set in the Missouri Compromise as the limit of slavery. Douglas knew Southerners would object to admitting Kansas and Nebraska as

free states because it would give free states more votes in the Senate. As a result, Douglas proposed abandoning the Missouri Compromise and letting the settlers in each territory vote on whether to allow slavery. He called this **popular sovereignty**—allowing the people to decide.

Passage of the Act

Many Northerners protested. Douglas's plan to repeal the Missouri Compromise would allow slavery into areas that had been free for more than 30 years. Southerners in Congress, however, supported the bill. They expected Kansas to be settled mostly by slaveholders from Missouri who would vote to keep slavery legal. With some support from Northern Democrats and the backing of President Pierce, Congress passed the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** in 1854.

Conflict in Kansas

Right after the law passed, pro-slavery and antislavery groups rushed into Kansas. When elections took place, a pro-slavery legislature was elected.

Although only about 1,500 voters lived in Kansas at the time, more than 6,000 people cast ballots. Thousands of pro-slavery supporters from Missouri crossed the border just to vote in the election. These Missourians traveled in armed groups and became known as **border ruffians**.

Soon, the new Kansas legislature passed laws supporting slavery. One law even restricted political office to pro-slavery candidates.

The antislavery people refused to accept these laws. Instead they armed themselves, held their own elections, and adopted a constitution that banned slavery. By January 1856, rival governments existed in Kansas—one for and one against slavery.

“Bleeding Kansas”

With both sides arming themselves, an outbreak of violence became **inevitable**, or unavoidable. In May 1856, 800 slavery supporters attacked the town of Lawrence, a stronghold of antislavery settlers. The attackers burned the Free State Hotel and destroyed two newspaper offices and many homes. Soon after, antislavery forces retaliated.

John Brown, a fervent abolitionist, believed God chose him to end slavery. The attack on Lawrence enraged Brown. He vowed to “strike terror in the hearts of the pro-slavery people.” One night Brown led a group along Pottawatomie Creek, where they seized and killed five supporters of slavery.

Armed bands soon roamed the territory. Newspapers referred to “Bleeding Kansas” and “the Civil War in Kansas.” A **civil war** is a conflict between citizens of the same country. In October 1856 the territorial governor sent federal troops to stop the bloodshed.

Violence also broke out in Congress. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts lashed out against pro-slavery forces in Kansas. He also criticized pro-slavery senators, such as Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina. Two days later, Butler’s cousin, Representative Preston Brooks, walked into the Senate chamber and hit Sumner with a cane. Sumner fell to the floor, unconscious and bleeding. This incident and the Kansas feud revealed the rising hostility between North and South.

 **Reading Check** “Bleeding Kansas”?

Explaining What events led to

Section 2 Review

History ONLINE
Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com.

Vocabulary

1. Use each of these terms in a sentence that will help explain its meaning: **network**, **popular sovereignty**, **border ruffians**, **inevitable**, **civil war**.

Main Ideas

2. **Listing** What were some ways that Northerners defied the Fugitive Slave Act?
3. **Explaining** How would the issue of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska be decided under the Kansas-Nebraska Act?

Critical Thinking

4. **Contrasting** How did Southerners expect Northerners to react to the Fugitive Slave Act? How did Northerners actually react?
5. **Sequencing** Use a diagram like the one below to list the steps leading to bloodshed in Kansas.



6. **Persuasive Writing** Decide whether you would have been for or against the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the concept of popular sovereignty. Then write a newspaper editorial arguing your position.

7. **Answer the Essential Question**
How did popular sovereignty lead to violence in Kansas?

Section

3

Challenges to Slavery



Section
Audio



Spotlight
Video

Essential Question

What was the significance of the *Dred Scott* decision?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

arsenal (p. 461)

martyr (p. 461)

Academic Vocabulary

rigid (p. 458)

topic (p. 460)

Key People and Events

Republican Party (p. 457)

John C. Frémont (p. 457)

James Buchanan (p. 457)

Dred Scott (p. 458)

Abraham Lincoln (p. 460)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read, use a diagram like the one below to note each party's candidate and platform in the 1856 presidential election. Also record the election result.

Republican:	Platform:
Democrat:	Platform:
American Party:	Platform:

↓

Election Result:

American Diary

A few years after the attacks in Kansas, John Brown led a raid in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Many people considered Brown and his followers to be ruthless murderers. The Fredericksburg Herald declared that, "shooting is a mercy they should be denied." Others viewed Brown as a freedom fighter. When Brown was executed in 1859, writer Henry David Thoreau wrote, "He is not Old Brown any longer, [but] an angel of light."

—quoted in "John Brown at Harpers Ferry" and from Thoreau's "A Plea for Capt. John Brown"



John Brown leaving Charleston jail on his way to his execution

A New Political Party

Main Idea Opponents of slavery from different political parties came together to form the new Republican Party.

History and You Which of today's political issues is most important to your family? Read to learn how the parties stood on key issues of the 1854 and 1856 elections.

.....

Even before Brown's raid, other events drove the North and South further apart. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Democratic Party began to divide along sectional lines, with Northern Democrats leaving the party. Differing views over the slavery issue destroyed the Whig Party.

The Election of 1854

In 1854 additional antislavery Whigs and Democrats joined forces with Free-Soilers to form the **Republican Party**. The Republicans challenged the pro-slavery Whigs and Democrats, choosing candidates to run in the state and congressional elections of 1854. Their main message was that the government should ban slavery from new territories. The

Republican Party quickly showed its strength in the North. In the election, the Republicans won control of the House of Representatives and of several state governments. In the South, the Republican Party had almost no support.

Almost three-fourths of the Democratic candidates from free states lost in 1854. The Democrats were increasingly becoming a Southern party.

The Election of 1856

Democrats and Republicans met again in the presidential election of 1856. The Whig Party, disintegrating over the slavery issue, did not offer a candidate of its own.

The Republicans chose **John C. Frémont** of California as their candidate for president. Frémont gained fame as an explorer in the West. The party platform called for free territories, and its campaign slogan became "Free soil, Free speech, and Frémont."

The Democratic Party nominated **James Buchanan** of Pennsylvania, an experienced diplomat and former member of Congress. Buchanan wanted to appease the South in order to save the Union. As a result, the party endorsed the idea of popular sovereignty.

Primary Source Hero or Villain?

Views of John Brown Some Northerners regarded John Brown as a hero. In a letter to Brown, a free African American in Indiana wrote: "I thank you that you have been brave enough to reach out your hands to the crushed and blighted of my race." A Southern newspaper, however, wrote: "The miserable old traitor and murderer belongs to the gallows, and the gallows will have its own."



Critical Thinking

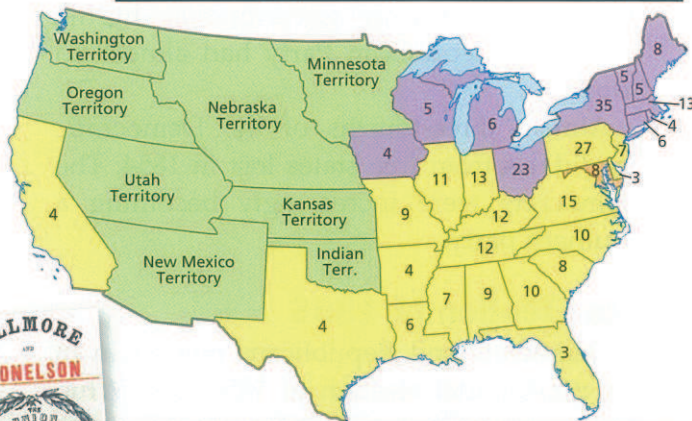
Evaluating In what ways might a Northerner and a Southerner view John Brown's actions differently?



The Election of 1856



Buchanan (Democratic)
Fillmore (American/ Know Nothing)
Frémont (Republican)



Candidate	Popular Vote (%)	Electoral Vote (%)
Buchanan	1,838,169 (45%)	174 (59%)
Frémont	1,341,264 (33%)	114 (38%)
Fillmore	874,534 (22%)	8 (3%)

▲ Third-party candidate Fillmore appealed to voters concerned about immigration and Catholicism.

Democrats stressed that Buchanan was the candidate of conciliation and stability and believed that a Frémont victory would lead to civil war. ►



Northern States for Buchanan The presidential election of 1856 was decided in the swing states of Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana. Democratic candidate James Buchanan won all three. Only 1,200 of Republican John Frémont's 1.34 million popular votes came from slaveholding states.

The Republican ticket of John C. Frémont and William L. Dayton opposed slavery's expansion into the territories. ►



Map Skills

Regions In which region was Frémont most successful? Which states in that area did he not win?

Maps in Motion See StudentWorks™ Plus or glencoe.com.

The American Party, or Know Nothings, grew quickly between 1853 and 1856 by attacking immigrants. The Know Nothings nominated former president Millard Fillmore. Most of the Northern delegates, however, walked out of the convention when the party refused to call for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The presidential vote divided along **rigid**—firm and inflexible—sectional lines. Buchanan won the election. He took all Southern states except Maryland and received 174 electoral votes compared to 114 for Frémont and 8 for Fillmore. Frémont did not receive a single electoral vote south of the Mason-Dixon line, but he carried 11 of the 16 free states.

✓ Reading Check **Identifying** Which political party was emerging as the party of the South in the 1854 and 1856 elections?

The Dred Scott Case

Main Idea The Supreme Court's decision in the *Dred Scott* case dealt a severe blow to antislavery forces and further divided the country.

History and You How would you feel if the Supreme Court decided that you were "property"? Read to find out how the decision in the *Dred Scott* case shocked the nation.

Dred Scott was an enslaved African American bought by an army doctor in Missouri, a slave state. In the 1830s, the doctor moved his household to Illinois, a free state, and then to the Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was banned by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Later the family returned to Missouri, where the doctor died. In 1846, with the help of anti-slavery lawyers, Scott sued for his freedom.

Scott claimed he should be free because he once lived in areas of the North where slavery was prohibited.

Eleven years later, as anger grew over the slavery issue, the case reached the Supreme Court. The case attracted enormous attention across the country. While the immediate issue was Dred Scott's status, the Court also had the opportunity to rule on the question of slavery in the territories.

The Court's Decision

The Court's decision electrified the nation. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (TAW•nee) said that Dred Scott was still an enslaved person. As such, Scott was not a citizen and had no right to bring a lawsuit. Taney continued on, addressing broader issues.

Taney wrote that Scott's residence on free soil did not make him free. An enslaved person was property, and the Fifth Amendment prohibits Congress from taking away property without "due process of law."

Finally, Taney wrote that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in any territory. The

Missouri Compromise—which banned slavery north of 36°30'N latitude—was unconstitutional. For that matter, so was popular sovereignty. Not even the voters in a territory could prohibit slavery because that would amount to taking away a person's property. In effect, the decision meant that the Constitution protected slavery.

Reaction to the Decision

Rather than settling the issue, the decision divided the country even more. The Court upheld what many in the South had always maintained: Nothing could legally stop the spread of slavery. The Republicans' main issue—limiting the spread of slavery—was ruled unconstitutional.

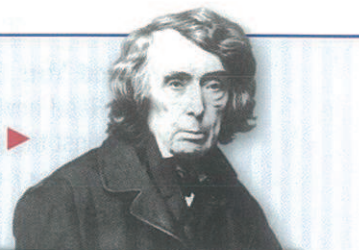
Republicans and other antislavery groups were outraged. They called the *Dred Scott* decision "a wicked and false judgment" and "the greatest crime" ever committed in the nation's courts.

✓ Reading Check **Applying** Based on the *Dred Scott* decision, could voters ban slavery? Explain.

Primary Source The Dred Scott Decision

A Controversial Ruling In his ruling in the *Dred Scott* case, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional because it deprived slaveholders of their property without due process or compensation. Southerners praised the decision, which opened all U.S. territory to slavery.

Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney ▶



"They [African Americans] had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race . . . and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. . . . No one . . . should induce the Court to give to the words of the Constitution a more liberal construction in their favor than they were intended to bear when the instrument was framed and adopted."

—Roger Taney, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision, March 1857

▶ Newspaper announcing the *Dred Scott* decision



▶ The Old Courthouse in St. Louis where the *Dred Scott* case was heard

Critical Thinking

Assessing How do you think the *Dred Scott* decision affected sectional tensions in the country?

Primary Source The Raid on Harpers Ferry

A Raid to Fight Slavery John Brown gained notoriety fighting against pro-slavery forces in Kansas in the mid-1850s. Financed by wealthy abolitionists, Brown led a raid in 1859 to capture the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown hoped to use the weapons at the arsenal to spark an uprising by enslaved people in Virginia.

John Brown and his men barricaded themselves in this brick engine house to fight off attacks from federal troops. ▼

"Now if . . . I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and MINGLE MY BLOOD . . . 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."

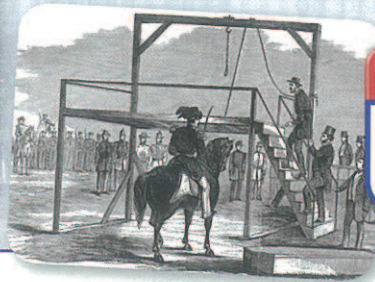
—John Brown's statement to the Virginia Court



▲ Federal troops commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee crushed Brown's raid. More than half of Brown's force, including two of his sons, died in the fighting. Brown and his surviving men were captured and Brown was later hanged.

Critical Thinking

Drawing Conclusions Was the raid on Harpers Ferry a success for abolitionists? Why or why not?



Lincoln and Douglas

Main Idea The Lincoln-Douglas debates placed the little-known Lincoln into the national spotlight.

History and You Do you like to root for the underdog? Read how Abraham Lincoln skillfully debated against the powerful Stephen Douglas.

In the congressional election of 1858, the Senate race in Illinois was the center of national attention. The contest pitted the current senator, Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, against Republican challenger **Abraham Lincoln**. People considered Douglas a likely candidate for president in 1860. Lincoln was nearly an unknown.

Douglas, a successful lawyer, joined the Democratic Party and won election to the House in 1842 and to the Senate in 1846. Short, stocky, and powerful, Douglas was called "the Little Giant." He disliked slavery but thought that the controversy over it would interfere with the nation's growth. He

believed the issue could be resolved through popular sovereignty.

Born in the poor backcountry of Kentucky, Abraham Lincoln moved to Indiana as a child, and later to Illinois. Like Douglas, Lincoln was intelligent, ambitious, and a successful lawyer. He had little formal education—but excellent political skills. He had served in the Illinois legislature and in the U.S. House of Representatives. Lincoln saw slavery as morally wrong but admitted there was no easy way to end slavery where it existed. He was certain, though, that slavery should not be allowed to spread.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Not as well-known as Douglas, Lincoln challenged the senator to a series of debates. Douglas reluctantly agreed. The two met seven times in August, September, and October of 1858 in cities and villages throughout Illinois. Thousands came to these debates. The main **topic**, or subject of discussion, was slavery.

During the debate at Freeport, Lincoln pressed Douglas about his views on popular sovereignty. Could the people of a territory legally exclude slavery before becoming a state? Douglas replied that the people could exclude slavery by refusing to pass laws protecting slaveholders' rights. Douglas's response, which satisfied antislavery followers but lost him support in the South, became known as the Freeport Doctrine.

Douglas claimed that Lincoln wanted African Americans to be fully equal to whites. Lincoln denied this. Still, Lincoln said, "in the right to eat the bread . . . which his own hand earns, [an African American] is my equal and the equal of [Senator] Douglas, and the equal of every living man." The real issue, Lincoln said, is "between the men who think slavery a wrong and those who do not think it wrong. The Republican Party think it wrong."

Following the debates, Douglas won a narrow victory in the election. Lincoln lost the election but did not come away empty-handed. He gained a national reputation as a man of clear thinking who could argue with force and persuasion.

The Raid on Harpers Ferry

After the 1858 election, Southerners felt threatened by Republicans. In late 1859, an act of violence added to their fears. On October 16 the abolitionist John Brown led a group on a raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia. His target was an **arsenal**, a storage site for weapons. Brown hoped to arm enslaved African Americans and start a revolt against slaveholders. Abolitionists had paid for the raid.

Brown's raid was defeated by local citizens and federal troops. Convicted of treason and murder, Brown was sentenced to hang. His execution shook the North. Some antislavery Northerners denounced Brown's use of violence. Others saw Brown as a **martyr**—a person who dies for a great cause.

John Brown's death rallied abolitionists. When Southerners learned of Brown's abolitionist ties, their fears of a great Northern conspiracy against them seemed to be confirmed. The nation was on the brink of disaster.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** Why did John Brown raid the arsenal at Harpers Ferry?

Section 3 Review

History ONLINE

Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com.

Vocabulary

1. Define each of the following terms, and use each in a sentence: **rigid**, **topic**, **arsenal**, **martyr**.

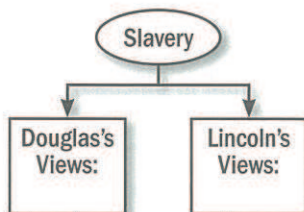
Main Ideas

2. **Specifying** What issue led to the formation of the Republican Party, and what stand did the new party take on that issue?
3. **Explaining** What reasons did Taney give for Dred Scott's status as an enslaved person?

4. **Identifying** How did the Lincoln-Douglas debates benefit Lincoln?

Critical Thinking

5. **Identifying Points of View** Use a diagram like the one below to compare the views of Lincoln and Douglas on the issue of slavery.



6. **Making Inferences** Why do you think the raid on Harpers Ferry by a mere 18 men seemed so threatening to Southerners?

7. **Persuasive Writing** Write a rebuttal, or response, to Roger B. Taney on the *Dred Scott* decision. Address the points he made in his remarks on the Court's decision.

Answer the Essential Question

8. What was the significance of the *Dred Scott* decision?

Section

4

Secession and War



Section
Audio



Spotlight
Video

Essential Question

What role did the theory of states' rights play in the outbreak of the Civil War?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

secession (p. 463) states' rights (p. 464)

Academic Vocabulary

reject (p. 464) justify (p. 464)

Key People and Events

John Crittenden (p. 463)

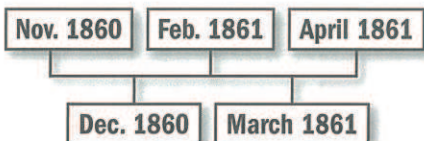
Confederate States of America (p. 464)

Jefferson Davis (p. 464)

Fort Sumter (p. 466)

Reading Strategy

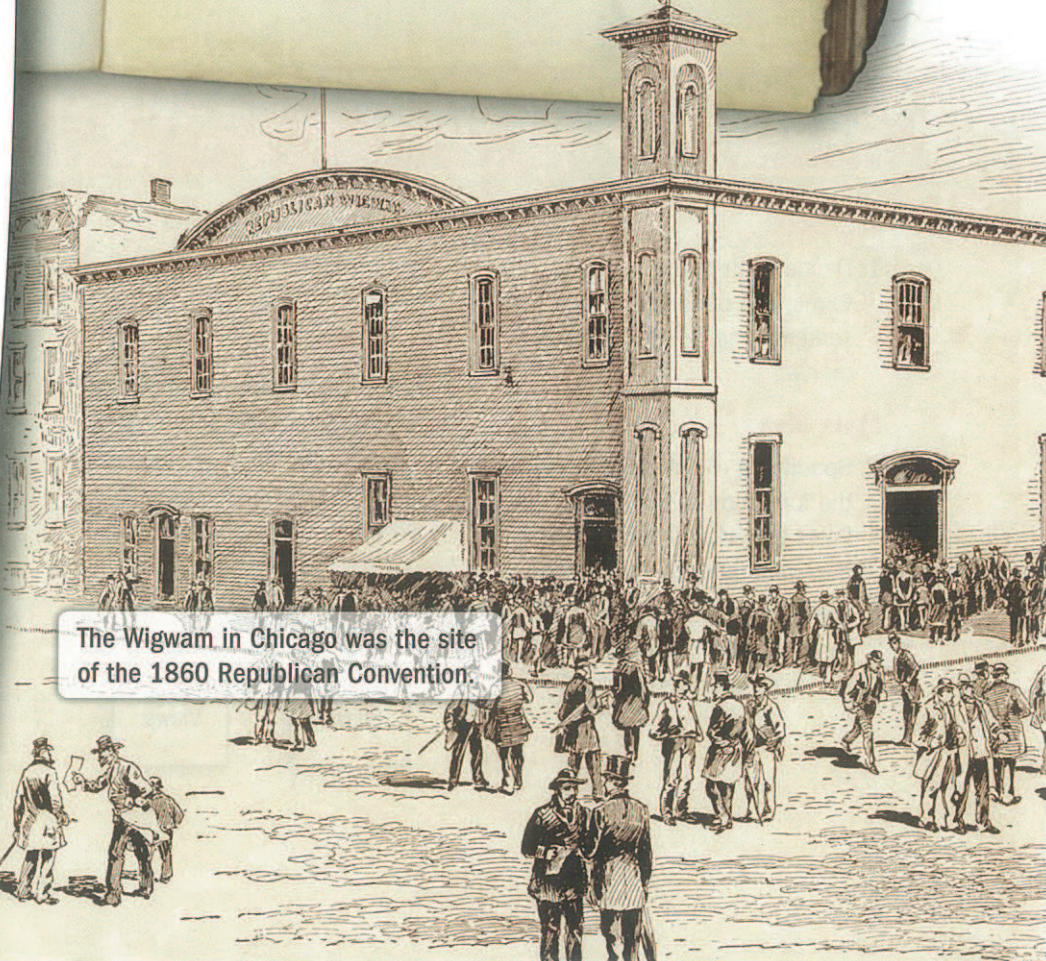
Taking Notes As you read, list the major events on a time line like the one below.



American Diary

The events at Harpers Ferry inflamed slaveholders. In 1859 the Charleston Mercury declared "The day of compromise is passed. . . . There is no peace for the South in the Union." Republicans argued that the South leaving the Union was a tactic to frighten voters from casting their ballots for Abraham Lincoln. To many Southerners, however, Lincoln's election would signal that their position in the Union was hopeless.

—from the Charleston Mercury



The Wigwam in Chicago was the site of the 1860 Republican Convention.

Secession

Main Idea Fearing that President Lincoln would not protect Southern rights, first South Carolina and then other states voted to leave the Union.

History and You Have you ever been so angry that you needed to leave a room? Read to learn about the South's decision to secede.

Would the Union break up? That was the burning question as the presidential election of November 1860 approached.

The Election of 1860

The issue of slavery split the Democratic Party. The northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas. They supported popular sovereignty. Southern Democrats vowed to uphold slavery. Their candidate was John C. Breckinridge. Moderates from the North and the South who formed the Constitutional Union Party chose John Bell. This party took no position on slavery.

The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln. Their platform was that slavery should be left undisturbed where it existed, but that it should be excluded from the territories.

Many Southerners feared, however, that a Republican victory would encourage slave revolts.

With the Democrats divided, Lincoln won a clear majority of the electoral votes. The vote was along purely sectional lines. Lincoln's name did not even appear on the ballot in most Southern states, but he won every Northern state. In effect, the more populous North outvoted the South.

Attempt at Compromise

The Republicans promised not to disturb slavery where it already existed. Many Southerners, though, did not trust the Republican Party to protect their rights. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina voted to secede from the Union.

As other Southern states debated the question of **secession**, or withdrawal from the Union, leaders in Congress worked frantically to fashion a compromise. Senator **John Crittenden** of Kentucky proposed a series of amendments to the Constitution. Central to his plan was a provision to protect slavery south of 36°30'N latitude—the line set by the Missouri Compromise—in all territories “now held or hereafter acquired.”

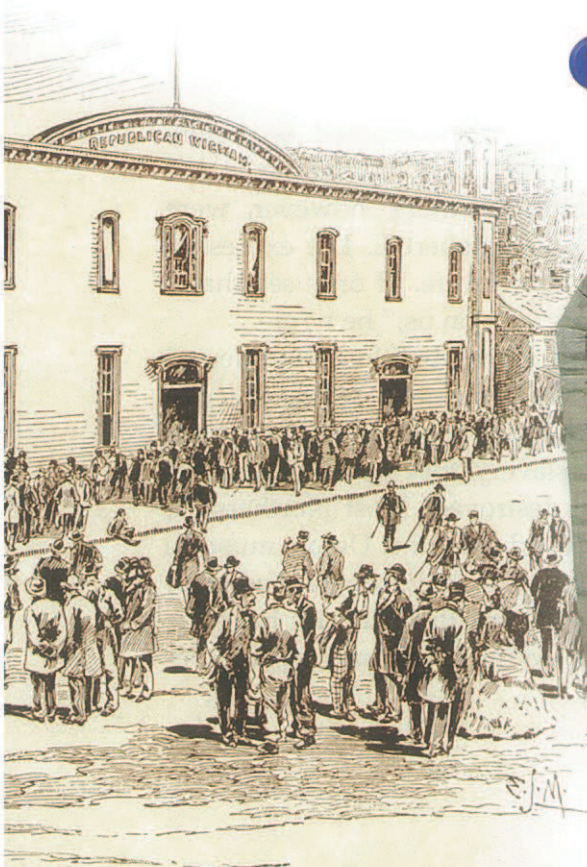
Primary Source

Secession Ribbon

Supporting Separation Secession means “separation from the Union.” Some Southerners wore ribbons like this one to show their support for separating from the United States. The words on the ribbon are mottoes, or well-known expressions, from the American Revolution.

Critical Thinking

Analyzing What did the mottoes mean during the American Revolution? Why do you think secessionists used these mottoes?



Primary Sources

INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS

This cartoon was created in 1861, just before the outbreak of the Civil War. Secession was breaking up the United States.

1. **Interpreting** What do the men in the cartoon represent?
2. **Analyzing** Look at each person's expression. How would you describe their expressions?
3. **Identifying Points of View** What does the cartoonist think will result from the men's action?



Republicans **rejected**, or refused to accept, this provision. They had just won an election on the principle that slavery would not be extended in any territories. "Now we are told..." Lincoln wrote, "the government shall be broken up unless we surrender to those we have beaten." Leaders in the South also rejected the plan. "We spit upon every plan to compromise," exclaimed one Southern leader. "No human power can save the Union," wrote another.

The Confederacy

By February 1861, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Georgia joined South Carolina and also seceded. On February 4, delegates from these states and South Carolina met to form a new nation. Calling themselves the **Confederate States of America**, they chose **Jefferson Davis** as their president.

Southerners **justified**, or found reasons to support, secession with the theory of **states' rights**. The states, they argued, had voluntarily chosen to enter the Union. They defined

the Constitution as a contract among the independent states. They believed the national government violated that contract by refusing to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act and by denying the Southern states equal rights in the territories. As a result, they argued, the states had a right to leave the Union.

Reactions to Secession

Many Southerners welcomed secession, ringing church bells and celebrating in the streets. Other Southerners, however, were alarmed. Virginian Robert E. Lee expressed concern about the future. "I only see that a fearful calamity is upon us," he wrote.

In the North, some abolitionists preferred to allow the Southern states to leave. If the Union could be kept together only by compromising on slavery, they declared, then let the Union be destroyed. Most Northerners, however, believed that the Union must be preserved. For Lincoln the issue was "whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose."

Lincoln Takes Office

Lincoln had won the election, but he was not yet president. James Buchanan's term ran until March 4, 1861. In December 1860, Buchanan sent a message to Congress saying that the Southern states had no right to secede from the Union. Then he added that he had no power to stop them from doing so.

As Lincoln prepared for his inauguration on March 4, 1861, people throughout the United States wondered what he would say and do. They wondered, too, what would happen in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas. These slave states chose to remain in the Union, but the decision was not final. If the United States used force against the Confederate States of America, the remaining slave states also might secede.

In his Inaugural Address, Lincoln spoke to the seceding states directly, mixing tough-

ness with words of peace. He said that secession would not be permitted, that "the Union of these States is perpetual [forever]." He vowed to hold federal property in the South, including a number of forts and military installations, and to enforce the laws of the United States. At the same time, Lincoln pleaded with the South:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, are the momentous issues of *civil war*. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. . . . We are not *enemies*, but *friends*. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."

—Abraham Lincoln, on reconciliation



Reading Check

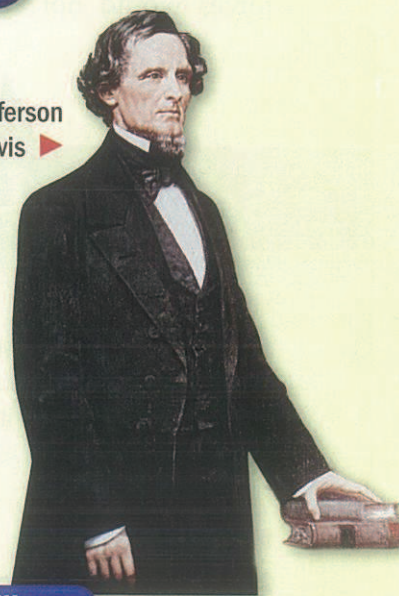
Explaining What was John Crittenden's proposal to save the Union?

Seceding States, 1860–1861

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC



Jefferson Davis



Map Skills

- Regions** Which states seceded before the attack on Fort Sumter?
- Regions** Which states did not secede until after the attack on Fort Sumter?

Maps in Motion See StudentWorks™ Plus or glencoe.com.

Fort Sumter

Main Idea The Civil War began when Confederate forces attacked Fort Sumter in South Carolina.

History and You Have you ever argued with a family member over an item that you each felt you owned? Read to learn about events at Fort Sumter.

Confederate forces had already seized some U.S. forts within their states. Although Lincoln did not want to start a war by trying to take the forts back, allowing the Confederates to keep them would amount to admitting their right to secede.

The day after taking office, Lincoln received a message from the commander of **Fort Sumter**, a U.S. fort on an island guarding Charleston Harbor. The message warned that the fort was low on supplies and the Confederates demanded its surrender.

Lincoln responded by sending a message to Governor Francis Pickens of South Carolina. He informed Pickens that he was sending an unarmed expedition with supplies to Fort Sumter. Lincoln promised that Union forces would not “throw in men, arms, or

ammunition” unless they were fired upon. The president thus left the decision to start shooting up to the Confederates.

Jefferson Davis made a fateful choice. He ordered his forces to attack Fort Sumter before the Union supplies could arrive. Confederate guns opened fire early on April 12, 1861. Union captain Abner Doubleday witnessed the attack from inside the fort:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“Showers of balls . . . and shells . . . poured into the fort in one incessant stream, causing great flakes of masonry to fall in all directions.”

—quoted in *Fort Sumter*

High seas kept Union relief ships from reaching the fort. Fort Sumter surrendered on April 14. Thousands of shots were fired during the siege, but there was no loss of life.

President Lincoln issued a call for troops, and volunteers quickly signed up. Meanwhile, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas voted to join the Confederacy. The Civil War had begun.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why did Lincoln decide not to send armed troops to Fort Sumter?

Section 4 Review

History ONLINE
Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com.

Vocabulary

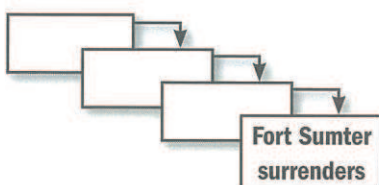
1. Use each of the following vocabulary terms in a sentence that will help explain its meaning: *secession*, *reject*, *justify*, *states' rights*.

Main Ideas

2. **Specifying** What action did South Carolina take after Lincoln won the election of 1860? Why?
3. **Explaining** What was the significance of the attack on Fort Sumter?

Critical Thinking

4. **Drawing Conclusions** How would you describe President Lincoln's priorities as he took office in March 1861?
5. **Sequencing** In a diagram like the one below, trace the events leading to the surrender of Fort Sumter.



6. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are a Confederate journalist. Write a brief announcement about the attack on Fort Sumter for your newspaper. Then write another brief announcement of the event—this time from a Union journalist's point of view.

- Answer the Essential Question**
7. What role did the theory of states' rights play in the outbreak of the Civil War?

Visual Summary

1848-1854

1848 The Free-Soil Party forms to oppose slavery in territories.

Van Buren-Adams poster, 1848 ▶



1850

- The Compromise of 1850 temporarily eases debate on slavery in Congress.
- The Fugitive Slave Act stirs up antislavery feelings in North.

1854

- The Kansas-Nebraska Act declares popular sovereignty in territories.
- Missouri voters help elect pro-slavery legislature in Kansas.
- The Republican Party forms as antislavery party.

1855-1859

1856

- Jan.** Kansas antislavery forces set up a rival government.
- May** Slavery supporters unleash violence in Kansas.
- Oct.** Federal troops are sent to end violence in "Bleeding Kansas."

1857 The *Dred Scott* decision rules that slavery is protected by the Constitution.



1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates focus on slavery and give Lincoln national recognition.

1859

- Oct.** John Brown raids Harpers Ferry arsenal uniting abolitionists.

1860-1861

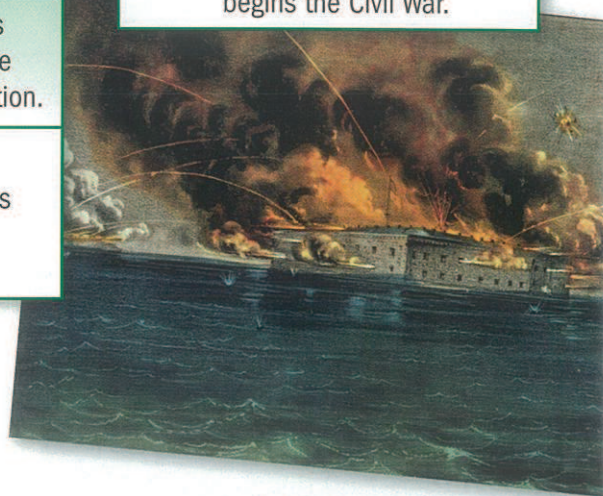
1860

- Nov.** Lincoln is elected president.
- Dec.** South Carolina secedes; other Southern states follow.



1861

- Feb.** Southern states form Confederate States of America.
- March** Lincoln speaks of preserving the Union and preventing war in his Inaugural Address.
- April** The Confederate attack on Fort Sumter begins the Civil War.



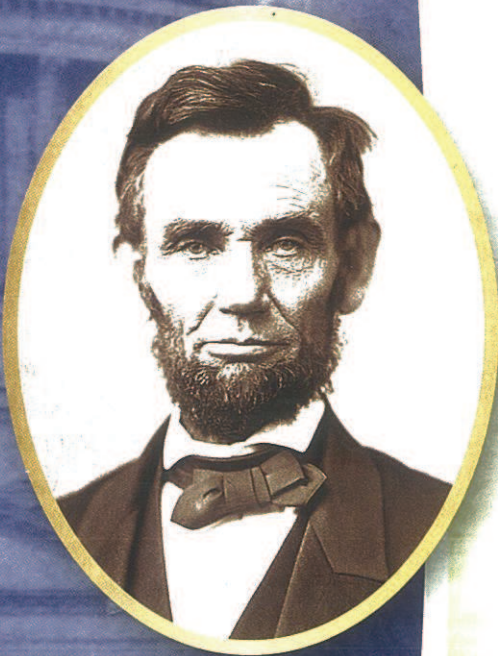
◀ Fighting at Harpers Ferry

▲ Confederate attack on Fort Sumter



Study anywhere, anytime! Download quizzes and flash cards to your PDA from glencoe.com.

**YOU
DECIDE**



Abraham Lincoln's first inauguration,
March 4, 1861

Did the South Have the Right to Secede?

Building Background

When Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated to his first term as president, on March 4, 1861, the unfinished Capitol dome seemed to reflect the uncertain future of the United States. Seven Southern states had already voted to secede from the Union and form the Confederate States of America.

The Confederate president, Jefferson Davis, had been inaugurated earlier, on February 18. Each man's inauguration address presented a different view on the basic question of whether a state had the right to secede from the Union.

NO

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. . . .

The [President] derives all his authority from the people, and they have referred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if also they choose, but the Executive as such has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer¹ the present Government as it came to his hands and to transmit it unimpaired² by him to his successor. . . .

We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

¹ administer manage

² unimpaired unharmed

YES

JEFFERSON DAVIS

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. . . . There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the Northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that a mutual interest would invite good will and kind offices. If, however, passion or the lust of dominion³ should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency and to maintain, by the final arbitrament⁴ of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. . . . As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity⁵ of the Confederacy which we have formed.

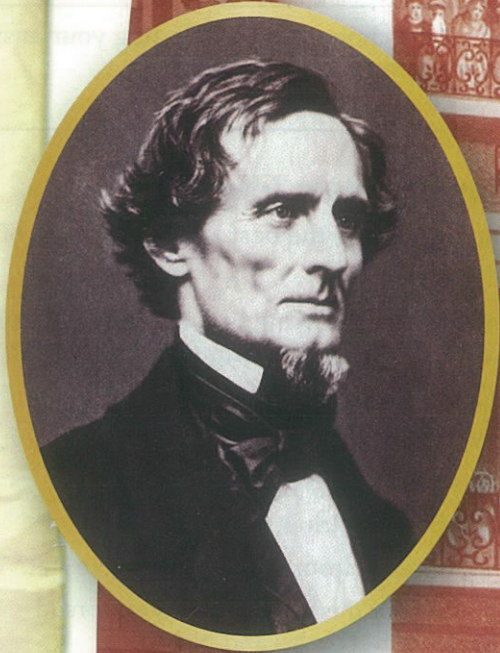
³ **dominion** territory

⁴ **arbitrament** power to decide

⁵ **perpetuity** lasting life

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Identifying** What are Abraham Lincoln's and Jefferson Davis's basic arguments against or in favor of secession?
- 2. Making Inferences** What issue seems most important to Lincoln? To Davis?
- 3. Analyzing** Did either president refer to the economies of the different regions? If so, how were they described?
- 4. Evaluating** In your opinion, which of the two addresses makes the more powerful appeal to emotions? Explain your answer in a short essay.



Jefferson Davis's inauguration
in Montgomery, Alabama,
February 18, 1861

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

TEST-TAKING TIP

Read all the choices before selecting your answer. You may overlook the correct answer if you are hasty!

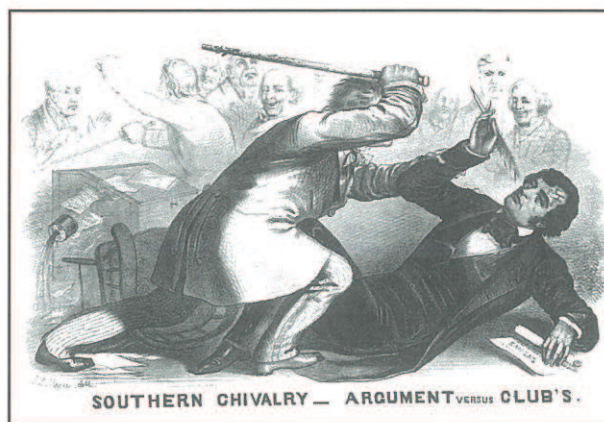
Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

- Which of the following was a proposal to ban slavery in any lands acquired from Mexico?
 - Compromise of 1850
 - Wilmot Proviso
 - Missouri Compromise
 - Freeport Doctrine
- What resulted from the Fugitive Slave Act?
 - Passage of the law quieted widespread violence in Kansas and Nebraska.
 - Most Northerners believed Southern slaveholders' rights should be upheld.
 - Abolitionists were jailed in the North.
 - The law angered the North, convincing many of the evils of slavery.
- The Supreme Court's decision in the *Dred Scott* case stated that
 - enslaved persons could bring lawsuits.
 - Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in any territory.
 - the slave trade should be abolished.
 - the Missouri Compromise was constitutional.
- Which was included in the Republican Party platform of the election of 1860?
 - The question of slavery should be decided by popular sovereignty.
 - In a free society, the minority has the right to break up the government.
 - Slavery should be left where it existed but be excluded from the territories.
 - Slavery should be protected in all territories south of 36°30'N latitude.

Short-Answer Question

Directions: Base your answer to question 5 on the political cartoon below and on your knowledge of social studies.



Source: Bettmann/CORBIS

- This cartoon shows the attack on Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber. What emotions might the event in this cartoon have stirred up in the North and in the South?

Review the Essential Questions

- Essay** Describe the various attempts to find a compromise between the demands of the North and the South.

To help you write your essay, review your answers to the Essential Questions in the section reviews and the chapter Foldables Study Organizer. Your essay should include:

- the compromises Congress made regarding sectionalism and slavery; and
- reactions by antislavery and pro-slavery forces.

GO ON 

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the documents and answer the short-answer questions that follow.

Document 1

In this passage, Erastus D. Ladd describes voters from Missouri crossing the border to vote in an 1855 election in Kansas.

They claimed to have a legal right to vote in the Territory [Kansas], and that they were residents by virtue of their being then in the Territory. They said they were free to confess that they came from Missouri; that they lived in Missouri, and voted as Missourians.

Source: Albert Bushnell Hart, *Source-Book of American History*

7. Were the actions of these voters legal? How did the voters from Missouri justify voting in Kansas?

Document 2

This is an excerpt from a speech by Georgia congressman Robert Toombs in 1849.

I do not . . . hesitate to avow [admit] before this House and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico, purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, and to abolish slavery in this District, thereby attempting to fix a national degradation [shame] upon half the States of this Confederacy, I am for disunion.

Source: Representative Robert Toombs of Georgia, 1849

8. Based on the excerpt, do you think Toombs favored or opposed the legalization of slavery in California and New Mexico? On what did Toombs base his views?

Document 3

In this passage from 1851, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., speaks of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

If the law were constitutional, which I firmly believe it is not, it would be the duty of a citizen not to resist it by force, unless he was prepared for revolution and civil war; but we rejoice in the escape of a victim of an unjust law as we would in the escape of an ill-treated captive deer or bird.

Source: Charles Francis Adams, *Richard Henry Dana*

9. Suppose Dana was a member of a jury during a trial of someone accused of breaking the Fugitive Slave Act. Based on the passage, do you think he would find the accused guilty or not guilty? Why?

Document 4

This is a campaign ribbon from the 1856 presidential election.



Source: David J. & Janice L. Frent Collection/CORBIS

10. Does this ribbon support or oppose John C. Frémont for president? Explain.
11. **Expository Writing** Using the information from the four documents and your knowledge of social studies, write an essay in which you:
- identify ways Northerners and Southerners appealed to emotion *and* to legal arguments to justify their positions; and
 - explain which type of argument you find most persuasive, and why.

Need Extra Help?

If you missed questions. . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Go to page. . .	450	453	458–459	463	455	448–466	454–455	451	453	457–458	448–466