

CHAPTER
10

GUIDED READING *The Divisive Politics of Slavery*

Section 1

A. The time line below reviews important events related to the issue of slavery. As you read about the political effects of this issue, take notes summarizing the terms of the Compromise of 1850 and the part played by several key players in developing it.

1787	The Three-Fifths Compromise attempts to settle issues of slavery and representation in the Northwest Ordinance. Congress bans slavery in territories north of the Ohio River.
1820	The Missouri Compromise attempts to balance the power of North and South by admitting Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state.
1845	Texas is admitted to the Union as a slave state.
1848	The war with Mexico comes to an end, and Americans ask themselves whether territories won in the war should be open to slavery.
1849	California's application for statehood forces the nation to deal with the issue of the expansion of slavery.
1850	Compromise of 1850.

1. The terms of the Compromise of 1850

2. The role played by the following figures in the Compromise
Henry Clay
John C. Calhoun
Daniel Webster
Stephen Douglas

B. On the back of this paper, explain what the **Wilmot Proviso** was, identify who **Millard Fillmore** was, and discuss the relationship that existed between **secession** and the concept of **popular sovereignty**.

CHAPTER
10
Section 2

GUIDED READING *Protest, Resistance, and Violence*

A. As you read, make notes to answer questions about the issue of slavery.

After the Compromise of 1850 is reached, Northern abolitionists continue to attack slavery.

In reaction to the Fugitive Slave Act, Northern states pass personal liberty laws.	Harriet Tubman conducts more than 300 slaves to freedom on the Underground Railroad.	Harriet Beecher Stowe describes slavery's evils in her novel, <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> .
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The North-South split grows deeper. Stephen Douglas proposes replacing the Missouri Compromise with the Kansas-Nebraska Act.	
1. How had the Missouri Compromise proposed to limit slavery?	2. How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act propose to deal with the issue of slavery?

The Kansas-Nebraska Act is passed in 1852.	
3. Why did Douglas believe that popular sovereignty would solve the problem of slavery in the Nebraska Territory?	4. Why did popular sovereignty, in fact, lead to "Bleeding Kansas," instead of settling the issue of slavery in the Nebraska Territory?

B. On the back of this paper, explain why **John Brown** is an important figure in U.S. history.

CHAPTER
10
Section 3

GUIDED READING *The Birth of the
Republican Party*

A. As you read about political changes in the mid-19th century, fill out the chart below by writing answers in the appropriate boxes.

1834	The Whig Party is formed and then splits over slavery issue.	
1848	The Free-Soil Party is formed.	→ 1. What did the Free-Soilers oppose? Why?
1854	The Know-Nothing Party, formed to promote nativism, is soon split over the slavery issue.	→ 2. What did the Know-Nothings oppose? Why?
1855	"Bleeding Kansas"	→ 3. What did supporters of the Republican Party have in common? 4. What made the party strong?
1856	In the presidential election, Democrat James Buchanan defeats Republican John C. Frémont and the Know-Nothing candidate, Millard Filmore.	→ 5. What did the election indicate about the Democrats? → 6. What did the election indicate about the Republicans?

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B. On the back of this paper, briefly identify **Horace Greeley** and **Franklin Pierce**.

CHAPTER
10

GUIDED READING *Slavery and Secession*

Section 4

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

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

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

Roger B. Taney Freeport Doctrine Confederate States of America Jefferson Davis

CHAPTER
10

Section 2

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Analyzing Causes*

The Kansas-Nebraska Act, which was largely responsible for the upheaval and violence in the Kansas territory, was in itself a result of various other causes. Read the passage below, then fill out the chart at the bottom of the page. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. 1040.)

Railroad to the Pacific Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois developed the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in response to his own vision and the political realities of the time. Douglas recognized that the Nebraska Territory was important in the expansion of the United States across the continent. He envisioned an organized, settled Nebraska crossed by a railroad line reaching from Chicago, his hometown, to San Francisco on the Pacific coast. Such a railroad would bring settlers heading west—and thus businesses and wealth—to Chicago. It would also strengthen the political position of the Midwest, which could act as a balance between Northern and Southern factions, helping to unite the country. For these reasons, Douglas wanted to see the Nebraska Territory heading toward statehood.

Popular Sovereignty Douglas needed the support of Southern leaders not only to push his railroad plans through but also to further his political ambition of becoming U.S. president. He knew, however, that under the Missouri Compromise, if Nebraska became a state it would be a free state. By supporting the formation of a free state he would lose the support of Southern leaders. Douglas’s solution was to embrace the idea of “popular sovereignty,” which held that the voters in a territory should decide whether they wanted to become a free state or a slave-holding state. Under pressure from Southern powers, he also supported splitting the Nebraska Territory into two parts, Kansas and Nebraska. He assumed that Kansas, next door to slave-holding Missouri, would become a slave-holding state, while Nebraska would be a free state.

Three Reasons for Stephen Douglas’s Proposal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act
1. One economic reason:
2. One political reason:
3. One personal reason:

CHAPTER
10

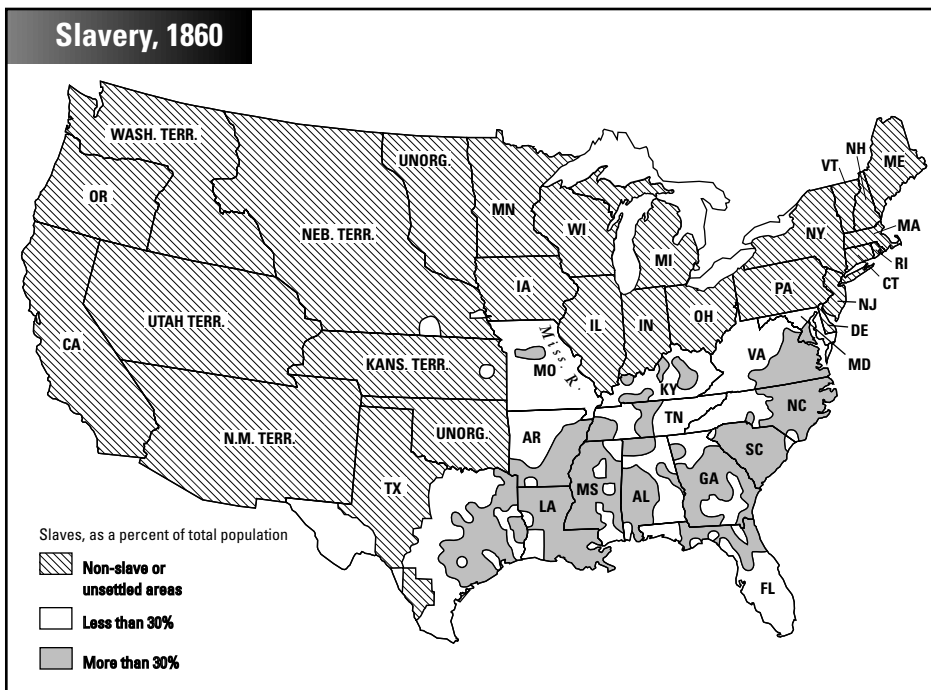
Section 1

GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT INTERACTIONS
Slave Populations in the United States

Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map and chart carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, the vast majority of African Americans in the United States were slaves living in the rural areas of the South. Even after the Union victory, however, most African Americans remained in the South. During World War I, the distribution of African Americans began

to change. Drawn by job opportunities, they began to move to the industrial cities of the North and Northeast. In recent years, though, large numbers of African Americans have joined the migration to the Sunbelt, the region made up of the Southwestern and Western states.



States with the Largest African-American Populations, 1990			
1. New York	2,859,000	7. North Carolina	1,456,000
2. California	2,209,000	8. Louisiana	1,299,000
3. Texas	2,022,000	9. Michigan	1,292,000
4. Florida	1,760,000	10. Maryland	1,190,000
5. Georgia	1,747,000	11. Virginia	1,163,000
6. Illinois	1,694,000	12. Ohio	1,155,000

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Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. List the 14 states that had areas with a slave population of more than 30 percent in 1860. _____

2. List the four free states west of the Mississippi River. _____

3. In contrast to many other states, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland had a difficult time deciding which side to join during the Civil War. Why do you think this was so?

4. Study the map and the table. Then list the states that had both a substantial slave population in 1860 and a large African-American population in 1990. _____

5. Name the six states that had African-American populations of more than 1.5 million in 1990. _____

6. Despite the history of slavery in the South, many free African Americans chose to stay there after the Civil War. What factors do you think might have caused them to make this choice?

CHAPTER
10

Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE **The Underground Railroad**

In this passage from his Reminiscences (1880), abolitionist Levi Coffin describes how the Underground Railroad operated. According to Coffin, what were some of the risks of helping slaves escape to freedom?

I was personally acquainted with all the active and reliable workers on the Underground Railroad in the city [Cincinnati, Ohio], both colored and white. There were a few wise and careful managers among the colored people, but it was not safe to trust all of them with the affairs of our work. Most of them were too careless, and a few were unworthy—they could be bribed by the slave hunters to betray the hiding places of the fugitives. We soon found it to be the best policy to confine our affairs to a few persons and to let the whereabouts of the slaves be known to as few people as possible.

When slave hunters were prowling around the city we found it necessary to use every precaution. We were soon fully initiated into the management of Underground Railroad matters in Cincinnati, and did not lack for work. Our willingness to aid the slaves was soon known, and hardly a fugitive came to the city without applying to us for assistance. There seemed to be a continual increase of run-aways, and such was the vigilance of the pursuers that I was obliged to devote a large share of time from my business to making arrangements for their concealment and safe conveyance of the fugitives.

They sometimes came to our door frightened and panting and in a destitute condition, having fled in such haste and fear that they had no time to bring any clothing except what they had on, and that was often very scant. The expense of providing suitable clothing for them when it was necessary for them to go on immediately, or of feeding them when they were obliged to be concealed for days or weeks, was very heavy.

Added to this was the cost of hiring teams when a party of fugitives had to be conveyed out of the city by night to some Underground Railroad depot, from twenty to thirty miles distant. The price for a two-horse team on such occasions was generally ten dollars, and sometimes two or three teams were required. . . .

It was necessary to use every precaution, and I thought it wise to act, as the monkey did, take the cat's paw to draw the chestnut from the fire, and not burn my own fingers. I generally gave the money to

a second person to hand to the colored man. We had several trusty colored men who owned no property and who could lose nothing in a prosecution, who understood Underground Railroad matters; and we generally got them to act as drivers, but in some instances white men volunteered to drive—generally young and able-bodied. Sometimes the depot to which the fugitives were consigned was not reached until several hours after daylight, and it required a person of pluck and nerve to conduct them to their stopping place. If the party of fugitives were large they were soon scattered among the Abolitionists in the neighborhood, and remained in safe concealment until the next night. . . .

Our house was large and well adapted for secret-ing fugitives. Very often slaves would lie concealed in upper chambers for weeks without the boarders or frequent visitors at the house knowing anything about it. My wife had a quiet unconcerned way of going about her work as if nothing unusual was on hand, which was calculated to lull every suspicion of those who might be watching, and who would have been at once aroused by any sign of secrecy or mystery. Even the intimate friends of the family did not know when there were slaves hidden in the house, unless they were directly informed. . . .

The fugitives generally arrived in the night and were secreted among the friendly colored people or hidden in the upper room of our house. They came alone or in companies, and in a few instances had a white guide to direct them.

from William Benton, pub., 1850–1857: A House Dividing, vol. 8 of The Annals of America (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 1968), 134–138.

Discussion Questions

1. What were some of the risks involved in helping slaves escape to freedom?
2. According to this excerpt, what was the role of a conductor on the Underground Railroad?
3. Based on your reading of this excerpt, weigh the pros and cons of being an Underground Railroad conductor like Levi Coffin.

CHAPTER
10

Section 4

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

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

from **Senator Douglas's Speech**

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

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

and we must all stand by the Declaration of Independence, declaring that all men were created equal.

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

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

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

from Mr. Lincoln's Reply

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

man is misplaced if he is on our platform. We disclaim sympathy with him in practical action. He is not placed properly with us.

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

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

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

Activity Options

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

CHAPTER
10
Section 4

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

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

I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted,—the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case),—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends,—either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class,—and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to “remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.” I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done—as I have always freely admitted I have done—in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of

the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments,—I submit; so let it be done!

Let me say one word further.

I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

Let me say, also, a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

Now I have done.

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

Discussion Questions

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

CHAPTER
10

Section 2

LITERATURE SELECTION *from Uncle Tom's Cabin*
by Harriet Beecher Stowe

Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin after her sister-in-law urged her to put her moral outrage over slavery into words. The novel deals primarily with Tom, a deeply religious slave. This excerpt describes events after Tom's master, Augustine St. Clare, dies. As you read, think about why this novel touched both Northern and Southern readers.

A slave warehouse! Perhaps some of my readers conjure up horrible visions of such a place. They fancy some foul, obscure den. But no, innocent friend; in these days men have learned the art of sinning expertly and genteelly, so as not to shock the eyes and senses of respectable society. Human property is high in the market; and is, therefore, well fed, well cleaned, tended, and looked after, that it may come to sale sleek, and strong, and shining. A slave warehouse in New Orleans is a house externally not much unlike many others, kept with neatness; and where every day you may see arranged, under a sort of shed

along the outside, rows of men and women, who stand there as a sign of the property sold within.

Then you shall be courteously entreated to call and examine, and shall find an abundance of husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers, and young children, to be "sold separately, or in lots, to suit the convenience of the purchaser;" and that soul immortal, once bought with blood and anguish by the Son of God, when the earth shook, and the rocks were rent, and the graves were opened, can be sold, leased, mortgaged, exchanged for groceries or dry goods, to suit the phases of trade, or the fancy of the purchaser.

It was a day or two after the conversation between Marie and Miss Ophelia, that Tom, Adolph, and about half a dozen others of the St. Clare estate, were turned over to the loving kindness of Mr. Skeggs, the keeper of a depot on _____ street, to await the auction next day.

Tom had with him quite a sizable trunk full of clothing, as had most others of them. They were ushered, for the night, into a long room, where many

other men, of all ages, sizes, and shades of complexion, were assembled, and from which roars of laughter and unthinking merriment were proceeding.

"Ah, ha! that's right. Go it, boys,—go it!" said Mr. Skeggs, the keeper. "My people are always so merry! Sambo, I see!" he said, speaking approvingly to a burly Negro who was performing tricks of low buffoonery, which occasioned the shouts which Tom had heard.

As might be imagined, Tom was in no humor to join these proceedings; and, therefore, setting his trunk as far as possible from the noisy group, he sat down on it, and leaned his face against the wall.

The whole object of the training to which the Negro is put, from the time he is sold in the northern market till he arrives south, is systematically directed towards making him callous, unthinking, and brutal.

The dealers in the human article make scrupulous and systematic efforts to promote noisy mirth among them, as a means of drowning reflection, and rendering them insensible to their condition. The whole object of the training to which the Negro is put, from the time he is sold in the northern market till he arrives south, is systematically directed towards making him callous, unthinking, and brutal. The slave-dealer collects his gang in Virginia or Kentucky, and drives them to some convenient, healthy place,—often a watering-place,—to be fattened. Here they are fed full daily; and, because some incline to pine, a fiddle is

kept commonly going among them, and they are made to dance daily; and he who refuses to be merry—in whose soul thoughts of wife, or child, or home, are too strong for him to be gay—is marked as sullen and dangerous, and subjected to all the evils which the ill-will of an utterly irresponsible and hardened man can inflict upon him. Briskness, alertness, and cheerfulness of appearance, especially before observers, are constantly enforced upon

them, both by the hope of thereby getting a good master, and the fear of all that the driver may bring upon them, if they prove unsalable.

"What dat ar nigger doin' here?" said Sambo, coming up to Tom, after Mr. Skeggs had left the room. Sambo was full black, of great size, very lively, voluble, and full of trick and grimace.

"What you doin' here?" said Sambo, coming up to Tom, and poking him facetiously in the side. "Meditatin', eh?"

"I am to be sold at the auction, to-morrow!" said Tom, quietly.

"Sold at auction,—haw! haw! boys, an't this yer fun? I wish't I was gwine that ar way!—tell ye, wouldn't I make 'em laugh? but how is it,—dis yer whole lot gwine to-morrow?" said Sambo, laying his hand freely on Adolph's shoulder.

"Please to let me alone!" said Adolph, fiercely, straightening himself up, with extreme disgust.

"Law, now, boys! dis yer 's one o' yer white niggers,—kind o' cream-color, ye know, scented!" said he, coming up to Adolph and snuffing. "O Lor! he'd do for a tobaccer-shop; they could keep him to scent snuff! Lor, he'd keep a whole shop agwine,—he would!"

"I say, keepoff, can't you?" said Adolph, enraged.

"Lor, now, how touchy we is,—we white niggers! Look at us, now!" and Sambo gave a ludicrous imitation of Adolph's manner; "here's de airs and graces. We's been in a good family, I specs."

"Yes," said Adolph; "I had a master that could have bought you all for old truck!"

"Laws, now, only think," said Sambo, "the gentlemen that we is!"

"I belonged to the St. Clare family," said Adolph, proudly.

"Lor, you did! Be hanged if they aren't lucky to get shet of ye. Specks they's gwine to trade ye off with a lot o' cracked teapots and sich like!" said Sambo, with a provoking grin.

Adolph, enraged at this taunt, flew furiously at his adversary, swearing and striking on every side of him. The rest laughed and shouted, and the uproar brought the keeper to the door.

"What now, boys? Order,—order!" he said, coming in and flourishing a large whip.

All fled in different directions, except Sambo, who, presuming on the favor which the keeper had

to him as a licensed wag, stood his ground, ducking his head with a facetious grin, whenever the master made a dive at him.

"Lor, Mas'r, 't an't us,—we's reg'lar stiddy,—it's these yer new hands; they's real aggravatin',—kinder pickin' at us, all time!"

The keeper, at this, turned upon Tom and Adolph, and distributing a few kicks and cuffs without much inquiry, and leaving general orders for all to be good boys and go to sleep, left the apartment. . . .

But now it is morning, and everybody is astir; and the worthy Mr. Skeggs is busy and bright, for a lot of goods is to be fitted out for auction. There is a brisk lookout on the toilet; injunctions passed around to every one to put their best face and be spry; and now all are arranged in a circle for a last review, before they are marched up to the Bourse.

Mr. Skeggs, with his palmetto on and his cigar in his mouth, walks around to put farewell touches on his wares. . . .

Beneath a splendid dome were men of all nations, moving to and fro, over the marble pave. On

every side of the circular area were little tribunes, or stations, for the use of speakers and auctioneers. Two of these, on opposite sides of the area, were now occupied by brilliant and talented gentlemen, enthusiastically forcing up, in English and French commingled, the bids of connoisseurs in their various wares. A third one, on the other side, still unoccupied, was surrounded by a group, waiting the moment of sale to begin. And here we may recognize the St. Clare servants,—Tom, Adolph, and others; and there, too, Susan and Emmeline, awaiting their turn with anxious and dejected faces. Various spectators, intending to purchase, or not intending, as the case might be, gathered around the group, handling, examining, and commenting on their various points and faces with the same freedom that a set of jockeys discuss the merits of a horse.

"Hulloa, Alf! what brings you here?" said a young exquisite, slapping the shoulder of a sprucely dressed young man, who was examining Adolph through an eye-glass.

"Well, I was wanting a valet, and I heard that St. Clare's lot was going. I thought I'd just look at his—" "Catch me ever buying any of St. Clare's peo-

"I am to be sold at the auction, to-morrow!" said Tom, quietly.

ple! Spoilt niggers, every one. Impudent as the devil!" said the other.

"Never fear that!" said the first. "If I get 'em, I'll soon have their airs out of them; they'll soon find that they've another kind of master to deal with than Monsieur St. Clare. 'Pon my word, I'll buy that fellow. I like the shape of him."

"You'll find it'll take all you've got to keep him. He's deucedly extravagant!"

"Yes, but my lord will find that he can't be extravagant with me. Just let him be sent to the calaboose [local jail] a few times, and thoroughly dressed down! I'll tell you if it don't bring him to a sense of his ways! Oh, I'll reform him, up hill and down,—you'll see. I buy him, that's flat!"

Tom had been standing wistfully examining the multitude of faces thronging around him, for one whom he would wish to call master. And if you should ever be under the necessity, sir, of selecting, out of two hundred men, one who was to become your absolute owner and disposer, you would, perhaps, realize, just as Tom did, how few there were that you would feel at all comfortable in being made over to. Tom saw abundance of men,—great, burly, gruff men; little, chirping, dried men; long-favored, lank, hard men; and every variety of stubbed-looking, commonplace men, who pick up their fellow-men as one picks up chips, putting them into the fire or a basket with equal unconcern, according to their convenience; but he saw no St. Clare.

A little before the sale commenced, a short, broad, muscular man, in a checked shirt considerably open at the bosom, and pantaloons much the worse for dirt and wear, elbowed his way through the crowd, like one who is going actively into a business; and, coming up to the group, began to examine them systematically. From the moment that Tom saw him approaching, he felt an immediate and revolting horror at him, that increased as he came near. . . . This man proceeded to a very free personal examination of the lot. He seized Tom by the jaw, and pulled open his mouth to inspect his teeth; made him strip up his sleeve, to show his muscle; turned him round, made him jump and spring, to show his paces.

"Where was you raised?" he added, briefly, to these investigations.

"In Kintuck, Mas'r," said Tom, looking about, as if for deliverance.

"What have you done?"

"Had care of Mas'r's farm," said Tom.

"Likely story!" said the other, shortly, as he passed on. He paused a moment before Dolph; then spitting a discharge of tobacco-juice on his well-blackened boots, and giving a contemptuous umph, he walked on. Again he stopped before Susan and Emmeline. He put out his heavy, dirty hand, and drew the girl towards him; passed it over her neck and bust, felt her arms, looked at her teeth, and then pushed her back against her mother, whose patient face showed the suffering she had been going through at every motion of the hideous stranger.

The girl was frightened, and began to cry.

"Stop that, you minx!" said the salesman; "no whimpering here,—the sale is going to begin." And accordingly the sale began.

Adolph was knocked off, at a good sum, to the young gentleman who had previously stated his intention of buying him; and the other servants of the St. Clare lot went to various bidders.

"Now, up with you, boy! d'ye hear?" said the auctioneer to Tom.

Tom stepped upon the block, gave a few anxious looks round; all seemed mingled in a common, indistinct noise,—the clatter of the salesman crying off his qualifications in French and English, the quick fire of French and English bids; and almost in a moment came the final thump of the hammer, and the clear ring on the last syllable of the word "dollars," as the auctioneer announced his price, and Tom was made over.—He had a master.

He seized Tom by the jaw, and pulled open his mouth to inspect his teeth.

Research Options

1. Work with a small group of classmates to find out more about the buying and selling of slaves in the 19th century. Then prepare and present an oral report to the class. Discuss whether Stowe's fictional depiction of a slave auction rings true in light of your research.
2. What was the critical reception to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*? Use on-line or print resources to find reviews of the novel. Write summaries of one Northern and one Southern review and share it with your classmates.

CHAPTER
10

AMERICAN LIVES **John C. Calhoun**
Philosopher of States' Rights

Section 1

"[Abolitionism] strikes directly and fatally, not only at our prosperity, but our existence as a people. . . . The door must be closed against all interference on the part of the general government in any form [with slavery]."—John C. Calhoun (1836)

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina began his career as a devoted nationalist. As sectional tensions increased, he tried to protect what he saw as the North's attacks on southern rights. In this effort, he created a bold new political theory.

Calhoun (1782–1850) was born into a fairly well-off family and graduated from Yale College. He entered politics in 1807 with a speech sharply criticizing the British for trampling on American rights. He was elected to the South Carolina legislature, where political opponents had agreed to a special arrangement to balance political power. The state's legislative districts were drawn to ensure that each of its two main regions enjoyed a majority in one house of the state legislature.

Elected to Congress in 1812, Calhoun helped lead the "war hawks" in pushing the United States to declare war on Great Britain. All during the war, he worked tirelessly to secure victory. An admirer called him "a young Hercules who carried the war on his shoulders." After the war, he worked to increase the power of the national government by building national roads, strengthening the army and navy, and creating a national bank. He also supported a tariff to encourage domestic manufacturers.

In the late 1820s, tariff policy led Calhoun to become the defender of states' rights. Southern planters, facing falling cotton prices, did not want higher tariffs. But Congress voted for higher rates. People in South Carolina raised the idea of nullification—a state vetoing a federal law. Calhoun wrote two pieces supporting the idea. The people of any state, he wrote, could make a national law null and void in their state. The federal government would have to give in and not try to enforce the law there.

In the nullification crisis, Calhoun tried to protect the rights of South Carolina while maintaining the union. Though he wrote in support of nullification, he also worked in Congress to forge a compromise that eased the situation. He persuaded South Carolina to accept that compromise.

Beginning in the 1830s, though, the rise of abolitionism created new strains between the sections. Calhoun still supported some national programs, such as a system of railroads linking the South to the West. His main attention, though, fell on defending states' rights in order to protect slavery.

The issue became acute with the Mexican War. Calhoun bitterly opposed the Wilmot Proviso, which would prevent slavery from entering any lands acquired from Mexico. He had no expectation that slavery would be introduced there, and the proviso seemed nothing but a Northern insult.

Calhoun remained enough of a nationalist that he could not accept the idea of secession. His solution was to devise a political philosophy that would retain southern power. In his "Disquisition on Government," he argued that the purpose of a constitution is to prevent a majority from taking away the rights of a minority. In his "Discourse on the Constitution," he suggested changing the U.S. Constitution. Instead of one president, there should be two, each from one of the two great sections and each holding veto power over any law passed by Congress.

This radical proposal never went far, and Calhoun had to devote himself to the political realities of the debate over slavery in the territories. Just weeks after his speech on the Compromise of 1850, he died. His last words were, "The South, the poor South; God knows what will become of her now."

Questions

1. What turned Calhoun from a nationalist to more narrow sectional concerns?
2. What was ironic about Calhoun's view of constitutional government as presented in the "Disquisition on Government"?
3. Do you think Calhoun's idea of a dual presidency would work? Explain.

CHAPTER
10**AMERICAN LIVES** **Harriet Tubman**
*Conductor to Freedom***Section 2**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Questions

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

CHAPTER
10
Project

LIVING HISTORY *Surveying Sectionalism Today*

IDENTIFYING REGIONS First, make a list of the sections of the country that you wish to cover. For example, decide whether your questions will be generally about the West or about the Pacific Northwest and the Southwest. Also, for clarity, list the states that are included in each region.

IDENTIFYING RESPONDENTS Ask relatives, friends, acquaintances, and neighbors to respond to your survey. Try to find people who have lived in different regions of the country. Think about contacting friends or relatives in different states with whom you can communicate by phone, e-mail, or letter. Once you have identified about ten people to interview, create a short biographical profile on each respondent that includes information on regions where they have lived or visited. Here's a sample biographical profile:

*Name: John Sample
Current residence: Bethesda, Maryland
States formerly lived in: Texas and Louisiana
States visited: Virginia, Florida, California,
Minnesota, Illinois, Colorado, Arizona*

PLANNING YOUR QUESTIONS Prepare a list of questions in advance and ask each of your respondents the same questions. Try asking a series of questions for each region you've identified. You can refer to your textbook for sample questions. Use these categories to help you write and organize your questions:

- **Region** (List the region you identified and include the states.)
- **Speech** (Ask a question about accents and regional vocabulary or slang.)
- **Lifestyle** (Ask about clothing, housing, employment, and recreation.)
- **Customs** (Find out about the influences of various ethnic groups, as well celebrations and traditions influenced by climate and geography.)
- **Distinguishing characteristics** (Ask about common sights, sounds, tastes, smells, and other experiences or events associated with the region.)
- **Slogans and ads** (Find out whether there are any slogans or ads that appeal specifically to people in the region.)

- Tips for Good Survey Questions**
- ✓ Keep them clear and to the point.
 - ✓ Make them open-ended to encourage people to elaborate.
 - ✓ Avoid questions that can be answered with a simple *yes* or *no*.

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS After you have conducted your survey, study the answers to each question. Draw conclusions about what makes each section of the country unique. Do the sectional differences create tension? Are they the source of lively diversity? Or both?

PRESENTING YOUR DATA Decide on the best way to showcase the findings of your survey and your conclusions—a written report, a poster, a map, or any combination.

CHAPTER
10
Project

LIVING HISTORY *Standards for Evaluating
a Survey*

IDEAS AND CONTENT	Exceptional	Acceptable	Poor
1. Contains a clear statement of purpose and methods			
2. Includes clearly worded, open-ended questions			
3. Presents differences in speech, lifestyle, and customs			
4. Identifies distinguishing characteristics of a region			
5. Describes slogans and ads (if any) aimed at specific regions			
6. Draws conclusions about differences among regions of the country			
INDIVIDUAL PERFORMANCE			
7. Shows judgment in choice of respondents and survey questions			
8. Presents survey results effectively			
9. Displays survey results in a clear, readable format			

Comments _____

Overall Rating _____