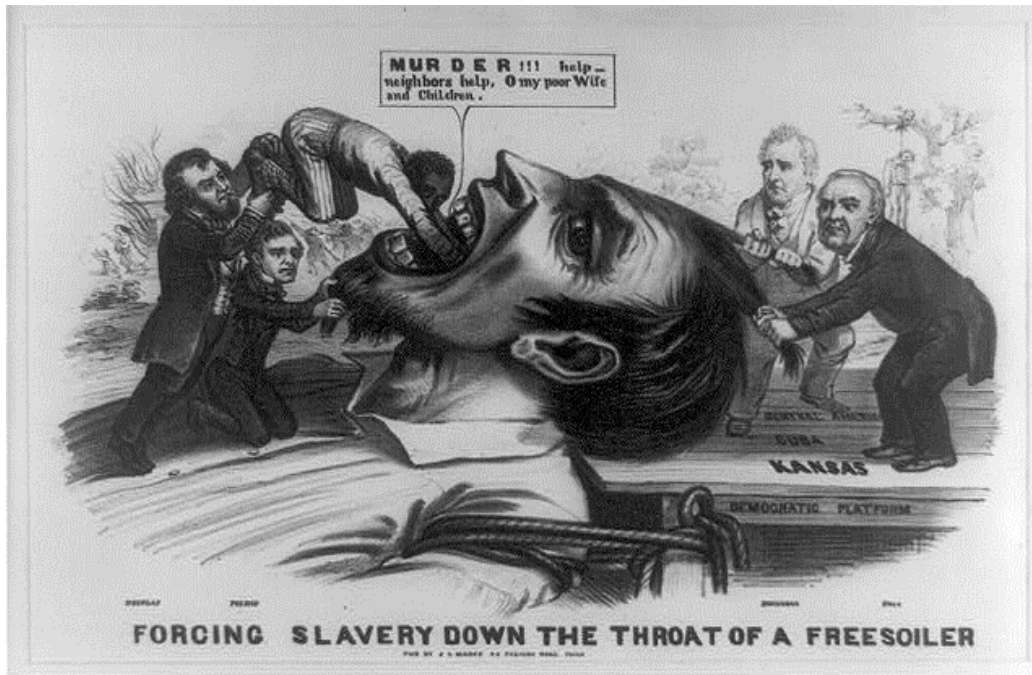


## 1. Free Soil Cartoon, 1856

The speech bubble reads: “MURDER!!! Help-neighbors help, O my poor Wife and Children.” The Democratic platform that the two figures on the left are standing on reads: “Central America, Cuba, Kansas.”



Magee, John L. *Forcing Slavery down the Throat of a Freesoiler*. Philadelphia: J.L. Magee, 1856. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. Web.

### Investigation Questions:

Was the expansion of slavery into new western territories the primary cause of secession and the Civil War?

**Once you complete your investigation, you will select one of the following products:**

A local historic site dedicated to the Civil War has just opened a new exhibit focusing on the causes of secession. This exhibit presents the expansion of slavery as being only one of many causes of secession and Civil War.

- Write a letter to the director of the historical site persuading her to change the focus of the exhibit, concentrating on either the expansion of slavery or commending her for its intentions and supporting in her in the endeavor. In taking either position, use references from the provided sources to support your stance.
- Using the provided primary source documents, prepare a paper that you will read at a meeting arguing that either a larger focus on the expansion of slavery into the new territories is necessary or that the exhibit should be left alone.

## 2. Excerpt from Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes, April 22, 1820

I thank you, Dear Sir, for the copy you have been so kind as to send me of the letter to your constituents on the Missouri question. It is a perfect justification to them. I had for a long time ceased to read the newspapers or pay any attention to public affairs, confident they were in good hands, and content to be a passenger in our bark to the shore from which I am not distant. But this momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once, as the knell of the Union. It is hushed indeed for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. I can say with conscious truth that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would, to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any *practicable* way. The cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me in a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and *expatriation* could be effected; and gradually, and with due sacrifices, I think it might be. But, as it is, we have the wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other.

Jefferson, Thomas. "Letter from Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes." 22 April 1820. *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Web.

### 3. Excerpt from Senator James Henry Hammond, speech to the U.S. Senate, March 4, 1858

But if there were no other reason why we should never have war, would any sane nation make war on cotton? Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they make war on us we could bring the whole world to our feet.... What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine, but this is certain: England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton *is* king....

The South have sustained you [the North] in a great measure. You are our factors [goods-makers]. You fetch and carry for us. One hundred and fifty million dollars of our money passes annually through your hands. Much of it sticks; all of it assists to keep your machinery together and in motion. Suppose we were to discharge you; suppose we were to take our business out of your hands; —we should consign you to anarchy and poverty.

Senator James Henry Hammond, Speech on the admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution. Delivered in the Senate of the United States, 4 March 1858. In: *Selections from the Letters and Speeches of the Honorable James H. Hammond, of South Carolina*. New York, NY, 1866. Web.

**4. Excerpt from John Brown, letter to Reverend Mr. McFarland,  
November 23, 1859**

While I trust that I have some experimental and saving knowledge of religion, it would be a great pleasure to me to have someone better qualified than myself to lead my mind in prayer and meditation, now that my time is so near a close. You may wonder, are there no ministers of the gospel here? I answer, No. There are no ministers of Christ here. These ministers who profess to be Christian, and hold slaves or advocate slavery, I cannot abide them. My knees will not bend in prayer with them while their hands are stained with the blood of souls....

Let them hang me; I forgive them, and may God forgive them, for they know not what they do. I have no regret for the transaction for which I am condemned. I went against the laws of men, it is true; but “whether it be right to obey God or men, judge ye.” Christ told me to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, to do towards them as I would wish them to do towards me in similar circumstances. My conscience bade me do that. I tried to do it, but failed. Therefore I have no regret on that score.

Brown, John. “Letter to Reverend Mr. McFarland, Wooster, Ohio, 23 November 1859.” *The life and letters of Capt. John Brown, who was executed at Charlestown, Virginia, Dec. 2, 1859, for an armed attack upon American slavery; with notices of some of his confederates*. Ed. Richard D. Webb. London: Smith, Elder and co., 1861. Web.

## 5. Conflict in Kansas, ca. 1856

This illustration depicts fighting between factions of pro- and anti-slavery supporters at a political convention in Kansas. Kansas was the scene of much fighting between these groups prior to the Civil War, as Congress struggled to determine whether Kansas would be admitted to the Union as a free or slave state.



Fotosearch/Stringer. *Pro Vs Anti-Slavery*. C. 1856. Archive Photos. Getty Images. Web.



## 6. Excerpt from South Carolina's Declaration of Secession, December 1860

We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties, the obligation is mutual; that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement, entirely releases the obligation of the other; and that where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure, with all its consequences.

In the present case, that fact is established with certainty. We assert that fourteen of the States have deliberately refused for years past to fulfill their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own Statutes for the proof.

The Constitution of the United States, in its 4<sup>th</sup> Article, provides as follows:

“No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

This stipulation was so material to the compact that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties held slaves, and they had previously evinced their estimate of the value of such a stipulation by making it a condition in the Ordinance for the government of the territory ceded by Virginia, which now composes the States north of the Ohio river....

For many years these laws were executed. But an increasing hostility on the part of the non-slaveholding States to the Institution of Slavery has led to a disregard of their obligations.... Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States, and the consequence follows that South Carolina is released from her obligation.

South Carolina. *Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union; and the Ordinance of Secession.* Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, printers to the Convention, 1860. Web.

## 7. Excerpt from Mississippi's Declaration of Secession, January 1861

In the momentous step which our State has taken of dissolving its connection with the government of which we so long formed a part, it is but just that we should declare the prominent reasons which have induced our course.

Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery—the greatest material interest of the world.... A blow at slavery is a blow at commerce and civilization. That blow has been longed aimed at the institution, and was at the point of reaching its consummation. There was no choice left us but submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union, whose principles had been subverted to work out our ruin.

That we do not overstate the dangers to our institution a reference to a few facts will sufficiently prove.

The hostility to this institution commenced before the adoption of the Constitution, and was manifested in the well-known Ordinance of 1787, in regard to the Northwestern Territory.

The feeling increased, until, in 1819-20, it deprived the South of more than half the vast territory acquired from France.

The same hostility dismembered Texas and seized upon all the territory acquired from Mexico....

It refuses the admission of new slave States into the Union, and seeks to extinguish it by confining it within its present limits, denying the power of expansion.

Mississippi. *Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union*. Jackson: Mississippian Book and Job Printing Office, 1861. Web..



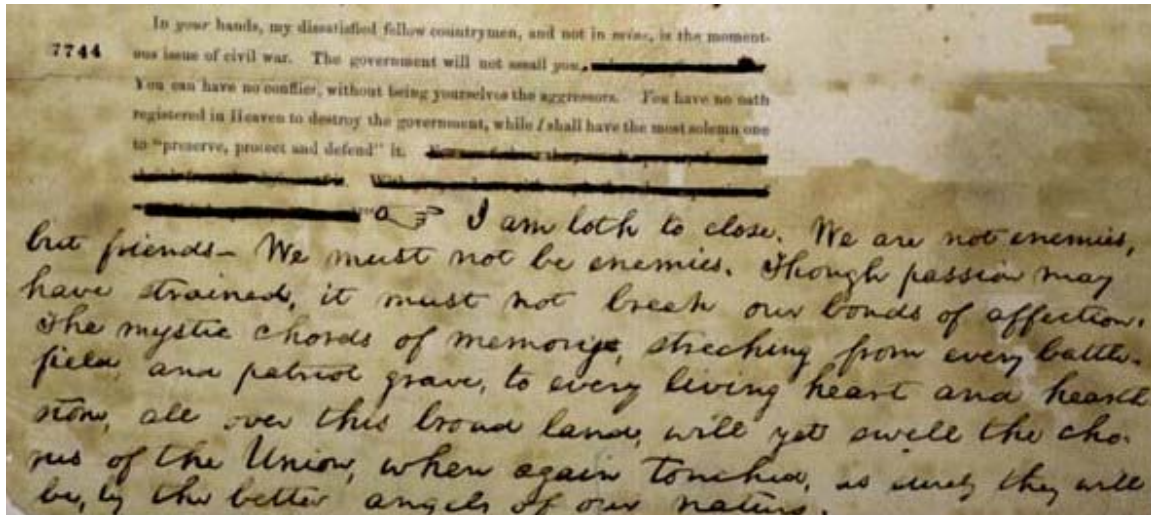
**8. Excerpt from Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861**

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy, or despotism in some form is all that is left....

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, an[d] no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

Abraham, Lincoln. *Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address*. Web.

## 9. Last page from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, with notes in his handwriting, 1861



Lincoln, Abraham. "Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, printed text with emendations in the hand of Lincoln." Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Web.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend" it.

I am loth to close. 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 battle-field, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone, 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.

## 10. Excerpt from the speech of Alexander Stephens, vice president of the Confederacy, March 1861

But not to be tedious in enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow me to allude to one other—though last, not least: The new Constitution has put at rest, *forever*, all agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the “rock upon which the old Union would split.” He was right.... The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in *principle*, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time.... Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of the races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it; when the “storm came and the wind blew, it *fell*.”

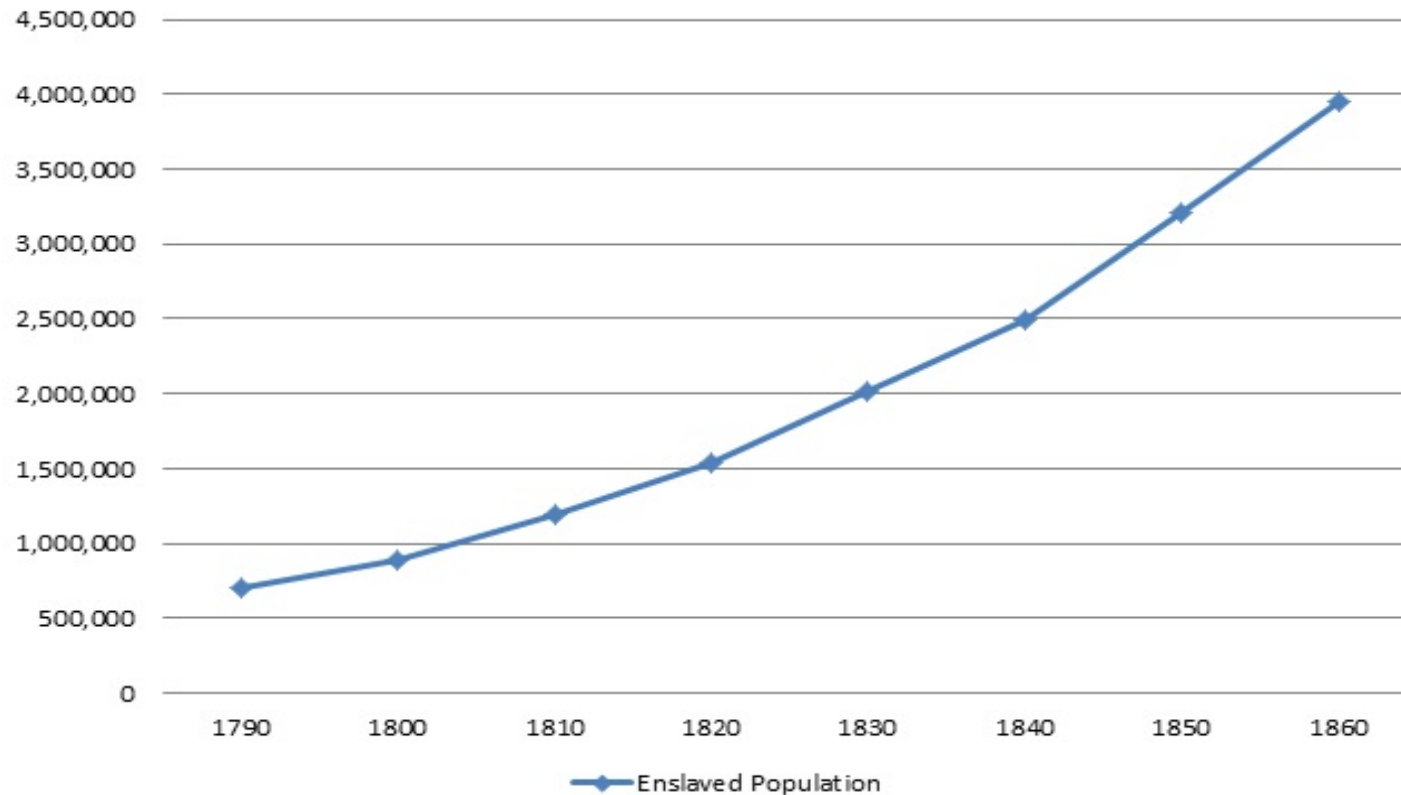
Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man. That slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and moral condition.

This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

Stephens, Alexander. “African Slavery, the Cornerstone of the Southern Confederacy, delivered Savannah, GA, 22 March 1861.” In: *Three unlike speeches, by William Lloyd Garrison, of Massachusetts, Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia....* New York, NY: E.D. Barker; [etc, etc.], 1862. Web.

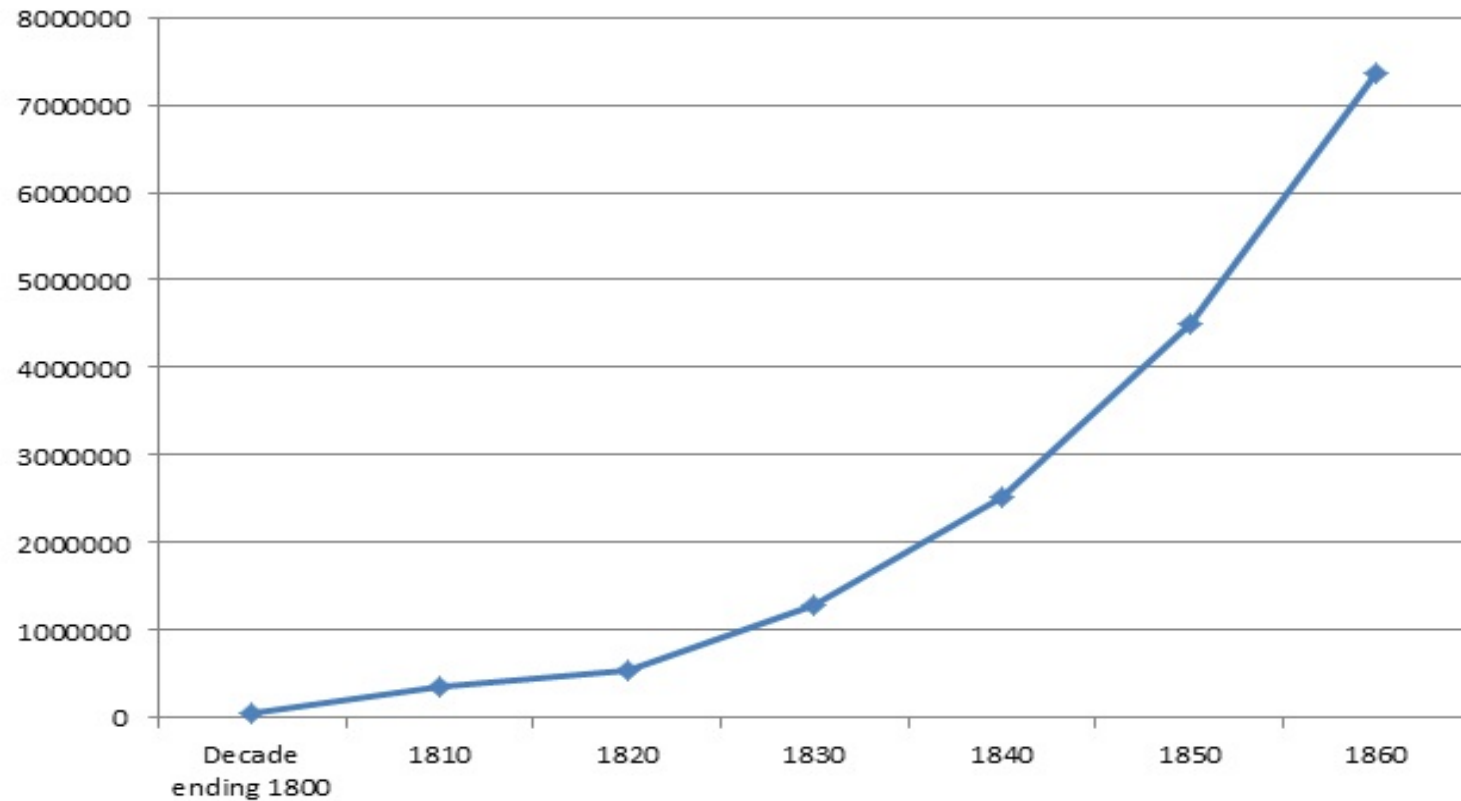
## 11. Enslaved population and U.S. Cotton Production charts

### Enslaved Population of the United States



Data derived from U.S. Census records, see 1860 Census Introduction. U.S. Census Bureau. "Census of Population and Housing." *United States Census Bureau*. Web.

### Tons of U.S. cotton produced in decades



Data derived from book. Watkins, James Lawrence. *King Cotton; a historical and statistical review, 1790 to 1908*. New York: J.L. Watkins & sons, c. 1908. Web.

## Already Know/Need to Know

### Investigation Question:

Was the expansion of slavery into new western territories the primary cause of secession and the Civil War?

<b>Things I Already Know About This Topic</b>	<b>Things I Still Need to Know to Answer the Investigation Questions</b>

## Document-Based Investigation Resource Sheet

**Directions:** As you analyze the sources in your packet, complete the organizer below.

**Investigation Question:** Was the expansion of slavery into new western territories the primary cause of secession and the Civil War?

<p><b>Basic Information About the Source</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What is this?</li> <li>- Who created it? When?</li> <li>- What was its purpose?</li> <li>- Who was the desired audience?</li> <li>- Is it biased? How?</li> </ul>	<p><b>The Source's Overall Message</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- How would I summarize the content or overall message of this primary source?</li> </ul>	<p><b>The Source and the Focus Question</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Does this source help me address the focus questions? If so, how? If not, why not?</li> </ul>



**Investigation Question:** Was the expansion of slavery into new western territories the primary cause of secession and the Civil War?

<b>Basic Information About the Source</b>	<b>The Source's Overall Message</b>	<b>The Source and the Focus Question</b>

**Investigation Question:** Was the expansion of slavery into new western territories the primary cause of secession and the Civil War?

<b>Basic Information About the Source</b>	<b>The Source's Overall Message</b>	<b>The Source and the Focus Question</b>

**Investigation Question:** Was the expansion of slavery into new western territories the primary cause of secession and the Civil War?

<b>Basic Information About the Source</b>	<b>The Source's Overall Message</b>	<b>The Source and the Focus Question</b>

**Putting It All Together**

**Investigation Question:** Was the expansion of slavery into new western territories the primary cause of secession and the Civil War?

**Use the space below to respond directly to the focus questions.**

**FIRST POINT OF SUPPORTING EVIDENCE:**

Why is this point important?

Which sources demonstrate this point?

**SECOND POINT OF SUPPORTING EVIDENCE:**

Why is this point important?

Which sources demonstrate this point?

**THIRD POINT OF SUPPORTING EVIDENCE:**

Why is this point important?

Which sources demonstrate this point?

**COUNTERPOINTS:**

What will people who disagree with your position argue?

Why is your argument more convincing?

**Scoring Rubric**

<b>EXEMPLARY</b>
The letter or paper: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>-takes a clear position on the role of the expansion of slavery into the territories in precipitating the secession crisis</li><li>- provides relevant, insightful, and complete justification of the position taken, supported by specific evidence from multiple sources</li><li>-contains no misconceptions or content errors</li></ul>
<b>PROFICIENT</b>
The letter or paper: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- takes a clear position on the role of the expansion of slavery into the territories in precipitating the secession crisis</li><li>-provides relevant and accurate justification of the positions taken</li><li>-contains no misconceptions or content errors</li></ul>
<b>BASIC</b>
The letter or paper: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- takes a clear position on the role of the expansion of slavery into the territories in precipitating the secession crisis</li><li>-provides some relevant justification of the positions taken</li><li>-may contain minimal interfering misconceptions or content errors</li></ul>
<b>UNSATISFACTORY</b>
The letter or paper: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>-provides some information relevant to the topic of slavery and the secession crisis</li><li>-may contain significant misconceptions or content errors</li></ul>
<b>NO RESPONSE/IRRELEVANT RESPONSE</b>
The student provides a completely incorrect or irrelevant response or does not respond at all