In developing your answers to Part III, be sure to keep these general definitions in mind:
(a) **describe** means to “illustrate something in words or tell about it”
(b) **discuss** means “to make observations about something using facts, reasoning, and arguments; to present in some detail”

**DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION**

This question is based on the accompanying documents. The question is designed to test your ability to work with historical documents. Some of the documents have been edited for the purpose of this question. As you analyze the documents, take into account the source of each document and any point of view that may be presented in the document.

**Historical Context:**

By 1861, sectional conflict over slavery and states’ rights escalated to new heights, making further compromise impossible.

**Task:** Using information from the documents and your knowledge of United States history, answer the questions that follow each document in Part A. Your answers to the questions will help you write the Part B essay in which you will be asked to

- Account for the failure of compromise over slavery and states’ rights during the period from **1820 to 1861**.
- Evaluate the relative importance of slavery, sectionalism, and states’ rights as major causes of the Civil War.

**Part A**

**Short-Answer Questions**

*Directions:* Analyze the documents and answer the questions that follow each document in the space provided.

**Document 1**

> But this momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I consider 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. [T]here is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in a practicable way. The cession of that kind of property … would not cost me a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected… But as it is, we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other. . . . I regret that I am now to die in the belief, that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness to their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons, and that my only consolation is to be, that I live not to weep over it.

*-Letter from Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes, April 22, 1820*
1a. What issue is Jefferson referring to as a “fire bell in the night?” [1]

______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________

1b. According to Jefferson, what obstacle(s) prevented the resolution of this issue? [1]

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______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________

**Document 2**

[W]e believe and affirm:
That every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property
is (according to Scripture) a MAN STEALER.
That the slaves ought instantly to be set free…
That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are…, before God,
utterly null and void, being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative…
[T]hat no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves… [That], if
compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves and not
to those who have plundered and abused them.
[That] we concede the Congress under the present national compact, has no right to interfere
with any of the slave states, in relation to this momentous subject [slavery]. But we maintain
that Congress has a right… to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several states, and
to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its
[Congress’s] exclusive jurisdiction.

-“Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention,”
First Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1834

2. What demands did the American Anti-Slavery Society make? [1]

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______________________________________________________________________________
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**Document 3a**

![COMPROMISE OF 1850](image)

- Free state or territory
- Territory open to slavery under the principle of popular sovereignty
- Slave state or territory
Document 3b

Mr. President, I wish to speak today, not as a Northern man, but as an American…

I will state… one complaint of the South… that there has been found at the North, among individuals and among the legislatures of the North, a disinclination to perform fully their constitutional duties in regard to the return of persons bound to service who have escaped into the free states. In that respect, it is my judgment that the South is right and the North is wrong…

-Senator Daniel Webster, Speech to the Senate, March 7, 1850

3. State two ways that the Compromise of 1850 attempted to resolve tensions over slavery. [2]
   a. __________________________________________
   b. __________________________________________

Document 4

Tom spoke in a mild voice, but with a decision that could not be mistaken. Legree shook with anger; his greenish eyes glared fiercely, and his very whiskers seemed to curl with passion. But, like some ferocious beast, that plays with its victim before he devours it, he kept back his strong impulse to proceed to immediate violence, and broke into biter raillery…

“An’t I yer master? Didn’t I pay down twelve hundred dollars, cash, for all there is inside yer old cussed black shell? An’t yer mine now body and soul?” he said, giving Tom a violent kick with his heavy boot; “tell me!”

-Excerpt from Uncle Tom’s Cabin, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, published 1852

4. How did this novel increase tensions over sectional tensions? [1]
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________

Document 5

Free society! We sicken at the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists? All northern, and especially the New England, states are devoid of society fitted for well-bred southern genteel, and small farmers who do their drudgery, and yet are hardly fit for association with a southern gentleman’s body servant.

-Muscogee, Georgia, Herald, quoted in the New York Tribune, September 10, 1856

5. How did this document reflect sectional rivalries? [1]
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
The rights of private property have been guarded with equal care. Thus the rights of property are united with the rights of person, and placed on the same ground by the fifth amendment to the Constitution… An Act of Congress which deprives a person of the United States of his liberty or property merely because he came himself or brought his property into a particular Territory of the United States, and who had committed no offense against the laws, could hardly be dignified with the name of due process of law…

Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the court that the Act of Congress the Missouri Compromise which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution and is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any member of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory; even if they had been carried there by the owner, with the intention of becoming a permanent resident…

-Chief Justice C.J. Taney, Dred Scott v. Sanford, 1857

6. What impact did this case have on the campaign to ban the expansion of slavery to the western territories? [1]

______________________________________________________________________________
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______________________________________________________________________________

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 great basis of the sovereignty of the states, the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself; and that right was conferred with the understanding and expectation that, inasmuch as each locality had separate interests, each locality must have different and distinct local and domestic institutions, corresponding to its wants and interests. 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.

-Stephen Douglas, Speech at Alton, Illinois, October 15, 1858

7. How did Stephen Douglas attempt to resolve the impasse over the extension or abolition of slavery? [1]

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______________________________________________________________________________
8. What did the presidential election of 1860 suggest about the political power of the South? [1]

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Document 9

…A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to Slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that “government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free,” and that the public mind must rest in the belief that Slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

We, therefore, the people of South Carolina… have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent state, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

-South Carolina Declaration of Causes of Secession,” December 24, 1860

9. What is the primary reason given for South Carolina’s secession from the Union? [1]