

Shared Stories of the Civil War Reader's Theater Project

Compromise to Conflict

The Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska Act

The British colonists in America began wrestling with the issue of slavery while drafting the founding documents of the United States. After the American Revolution, many people recognized the contradiction between the principles of the nation and the institution of slavery. As the United States expanded into the West, the question of slavery remained unresolved and became increasingly political.

Please Note: Regional historians have reviewed the source materials used, the script, and the list of citations for accuracy.



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The Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska Act is part of the Shared Stories of the Civil War Reader's Theater project, a partnership between the **Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area** and the **Kansas Humanities Council**.



FFNHA is a partnership of 41 counties in eastern Kansas and western Missouri dedicated to connecting the stories of settlement, the Border War and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom in this area. KHC is a non-profit organization promoting understanding of the history and ideas that shape our lives and strengthen our sense of community.

For More Information:

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Introduction

Instructions: *The facilitator can either read the entire introduction out loud or summarize key points.*

This introduction is intended to provide context to the reader's theater script. It is not a comprehensive examination of the Missouri Compromise or the Kansas-Nebraska Act. As we commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Civil War in 2011, this topic reminds us to consider the complexities of the time period.

The British colonists in America began wrestling with the issue of slavery while drafting the founding documents of the United States. After the American Revolution, some Americans began to recognize the contradiction between the principles of the nation and the institution of slavery. Are all men created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights? Who is entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?" Gradually states in the North began to prohibit slavery. Yet, as the United States expanded into the West, the question of slavery remained unresolved and became increasingly political.

In 1820, in an effort to preserve the balance of power between slave and free states, Congress passed the Missouri Compromise. This compromise admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state. Furthermore, with the exception of Missouri, this law prohibited slavery north of the 36 degrees 30 minutes latitude line.

Westward expansion and a war with Mexico in the 1840s brought more territories into the United States and intensified the debate over slavery. The balance between slave and non-slave states was threatened once again when California applied for admission to the Union as a free state in 1850. In order to prevent secession by the Southern states and preserve the Union, Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky authored the Compromise of 1850. The compromise allowed California to be admitted as a free state, but introduced the principle of popular sovereignty as a way to settle the issue of slavery in the Utah and New Mexico territories.

In 1854, Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas introduced a bill dividing the land west of Missouri into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska. He argued for popular sovereignty, which would allow the settlers of the new territories to decide whether or not slavery would be allowed when the territory became a state. Southern slave states were supportive of the act. Anti-slavery supporters were not. After months of debate, the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed on May 30, 1854, effectively repealing the Missouri Compromise.

Many expected the two territories would enter the Union in the same pattern as Missouri and Maine: Kansas would be admitted as a slave state and Nebraska would be admitted as a free state. But, anti-slavery sentiments in the North would prove otherwise as they mobilized supporters to settle in the Kansas Territory. Once there, they came face-to-face with Southerners supportive of the expansion of slavery.

In the early history of the United States, compromises had saved the Union from the brink of collapse. But, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act positioned proslavery and anti-slavery forces for a dramatic clash in the Kansas Territory. The conflict on the Kansas-Missouri border divided the nation, and unlike previous conflicts, no compromise would save the Union from the eventual outbreak of war.

Group Discussion Questions

Instructions: The facilitator should pose one or more of these questions in advance of the reading of the script. At the conclusion of the reading, participants will return to the questions for consideration.

1. How would the history of America have been altered had the Founding Fathers included African-Americans, American Indians, and women as equal along with “all men?” Are all Americans “created equal” today?
2. Some of America’s leaders believed that slavery would eventually go away on its own. Do you believe that would have been possible?
3. Was the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and its policy of popular sovereignty, responsible for the start of the Civil War?
4. The Missouri Compromise divided the country along a geographical line. What might have happened had it not been repealed?
5. Heated debate over slavery arose with the passage of the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, the Missouri Compromise in 1820, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. The nation avoided war in each instance. What was different about 1861? Could these issues be resolved by debate rather than war?

Script

Instructions: Each part will be read out loud by an assigned reader. Readers should stand and speak into a microphone when it's their turn. The source of the quote should also be read out loud (this is the information bolded beneath each quote).

NARRATOR *John Alexander Martin, future governor of Kansas, was born in Pennsylvania. In 1857, at age 19, he moved to Atchison in the Kansas Territory and soon began editing the Squatter Sovereign, a proslavery newspaper. He turned it into an anti-slavery newspaper and renamed it the Freedom's Champion.*

One year before moving to Kansas, Martin delivered an address before the Franklin Literary Institute of Brownsville, Pennsylvania, entitled "The Progress of Tyranny" [sic]. In his speech, he identified three stages in America's slave history. The first stage, "Opposition to Tyranny," occurred in the late 18th century when America's founders addressed the issue of slavery while drafting documents to govern the new nation.

READER 1 In this age, all the great men of the day united in condemning [slavery] on moral, political, and religious grounds...Though slavery was tolerated where it existed, for the sake of general government...they looked forward to the day when it should be abolished.

John A. Martin, *The Progress of Tyranny* [sic], December 10, 1856.¹

READER 2 There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of...the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other...The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who [permits] one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other...Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep forever...

Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1787.²

READER 1 In the North they saw State after State, [throw] off the shackles of this Institution, and stand forth in the everlasting beauties of freedom, and wishing to circumscribe it in the Territories, they united in enclosing them with an eternal barrier against Slavery. This is shown in the proceedings of the Congress of that period, and in the passage of the Ordinance of 1787.

John A. Martin, *The Progress of Tyranny* [sic], December 10, 1856.³

NARRATOR *The Ordinance of 1787, also known as the Great Northwest Ordinance, was one attempt by the Continental Congress to create, what Martin called, the “eternal barrier against slavery.” The ordinance outlined the process for admitting a new state to the Union, and guaranteed that newly created states would be equal to the original thirteen states. It also outlawed slavery in the new territories of Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.*

READER 5 *Article the Sixth: There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from who labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.*

An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, North-West of the River Ohio, July 13, 1787. ⁴⁵

NARRATOR *Although Martin believed that America’s founders did not support the practice of slavery, the truth was more complicated. Differences between Northern and Southern interests emerged early on and compromises were made both for and against slavery.*

Framers of the Constitution did not include the word “slave” in the document. However, a number of compromises about slavery were included to win the support of the Southern delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The Three-Fifths Clause counted three-fifths of the slave population for apportionment of members to the House of Representatives, giving the South extra representation in Congress and extra votes in the Electoral College. The Constitution also prohibited Congress from ending the slave trade until 1808 and included a fugitive slave clause requiring the return of runaway slaves to their owners.

READER 4 Article. I, Section. 9.

The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

Article. IV, Section. 2

...No Person held to Service or Labour 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 Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

The Constitution of the United States, September 17, 1787.⁶

READER 3 It seems now well understood that the real difference of interest lies, not between the large and small, but between the northern and southern states. The institution of slavery and its consequences form the line of discrimination.

James Madison, July 1787.⁷

NARRATOR *The North's relationship with slavery was complex. While some Northerners were opposed to slavery, many showed little concern for it. In fact, some Northern businesses benefitted financially from the slave economy. Not all Northerners, during Martin's second stage, the "age of indifference," were as blameless as he portrayed them.*

READER 1 There followed the age of indifference...But while the South claimed non-interference with Slavery, and the North acquiesced, the Slave holders themselves had not come to defend Slavery either as a good or a righteous institution, nor sought to extend it, nor dreamed of rendering it co-equal with Freedom, nor denied the power of Congress to prohibit its ingress upon the national Territories. This was the age of conservatism, or indifference, and had this state of affairs continued long, Slavery would rapidly have wasted itself away and died.

John A. Martin, *The Progress of Tyranny* [sic], December 10, 1856.⁸

NARRATOR *Martin's "age of indifference" came to an abrupt end with the question of Missouri's statehood. Missouri was part of land acquired from France in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase, slavery already existed throughout this "new" territory.*

The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited the expansion of slavery into existing territories. But what happened when the United States purchased land from another country? Did the rules of the ordinance apply? Or, could slavery remain?

This question was put to the test in 1819 and 1820 when Missouri sought admission to the United States as a slave state. The debate signaled the arrival of Martin's third stage – the "age of extension."

READER 1 ...[the age of indifference] was followed by the present age of extension where Slavery for the first time, began to exhibit an aggressive character, that has been rapidly growing more bold and reckless. It commenced by demanding the Missouri territory to be admitted as a Slave State. Then the slumbering North awoke, surprised, grieved, and indignant that the system of human bondage was demanding to break our bonds where it was merely allowed to exist by those who framed the Constitution. Our own states, with united voice, issued a legislative protest against the measure.

John A. Martin, *The Progress of Tyranny* [sic], December 10, 1856.⁹

NARRATOR *The prospect of Missouri's admission as a slave state, and the fear that it would upset the balance between slave and non-slave states, sparked a bitter debate in Congress over the expansion of slavery into new territories. The issue was resolved with a compromise authored by Representative Henry Clay of Kentucky.*

To maintain the balance between free and slave states, Missouri would be admitted as a slave state and Maine would be admitted as a free state. Furthermore, slavery would be prohibited in the Louisiana Territory north of the 36 degrees 30 minutes latitude line, with the exception of Missouri.

READER 5 And be it further enacted. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the state, contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited: Provided always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid.

Missouri Compromise, March 6, 1820.¹⁰

NARRATOR *The passage of the Missouri Compromise momentarily calmed the debate over slavery. However, the debate was far from over. The establishment of a dividing line – north of which would be free and south of which would be slave – only served to increase sectionalism within the nation and threaten the strength of the Union.*

READER 3 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.

Letter, Thomas Jefferson to Senator John Holmes, April 22, 1820.¹¹

READER 1 Then Slavery seemed to be satisfied; the fears of the North subsided, and the tempest seemed to have ceased. But the tiger had tasted blood and was ravenous for more.

John A. Martin, *The Progress of Tyranny* [sic], December 10, 1856.¹²

NARRATOR *The United States expanded rapidly in the 1840s due to territorial acquisitions. The growth was so substantial that many Americans believed the United States had a “manifest destiny” to span the continent from coast to coast. In 1845, Texas was annexed as a slave state. The following year, Northern interests were addressed when the United States acquired the free territory of Oregon.*

The United States entered into a war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848. With war came the anticipation of new land and questions about how to address the issue of slavery. Pennsylvania Representative David Wilmot offered a proposal prohibiting slavery from any territories acquired from Mexico.

READER 2 *Provided, That, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of moneys herein appointed, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.*

Wilmot Proviso, August 12, 1846.¹³

NARRATOR *Although the Wilmot Proviso was not enacted into law, it became the foundation for a free-soil platform opposed to the extension of slavery.*¹⁴

At war’s end, Mexico ceded its territory – spanning the area from modern-day Texas to California – to the United States. At the time, no law about slavery in the new territories existed. In 1849, California applied for admission as a free state. Once again, the balance between free and slave states was at stake, and the issue of slavery made a dramatic return to Congress. Southerners blocked California’s admission based on fears that the South, and the institution of slavery, would be prohibited in the territories. The issue threatened to result in the secession of the Southern states and the dissolution of the Union.

Thirty years after drafting the Missouri Compromise, Senator Henry Clay introduced a series of resolutions meant to reconcile the dispute between North and South and to avert a crisis within the Union.

READER 4 Mr. President, never on any former occasion have I risen under feelings of such painful solitude. I have seen many periods of great anxiety, of peril, and of danger in this country; and I have never before risen to address any assemblage so oppressed, so appalled, and so anxious...

...I implore, as the best blessing which Heaven can bestow upon me, upon earth, that if the direful event of the dissolution of the Union is to happen, I shall not survive to behold the sad and heart-rending spectacle.

Henry Clay, February 5 and 6, 1850.¹⁵

NARRATOR *Clay's Compromise of 1850 admitted California as a free state, but organized the remainder of the Mexican Cession – the Utah and New Mexico territories – without restrictions on slavery. The compromise also amended the Fugitive Slave Act and abolished the slave trade in Washington, D.C.*¹⁶

Congress embarked on a series of passionate debates about the compromise. South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun voiced the South's opposition to the compromise, pointing to a legacy of legislation that had excluded the South from expansion into the new territories.

READER 3 The first of the series of acts by which the south was deprived of its due share of the territories originated with the Confederacy, which preceded the existence of this Government. It is said to be found in the provision of the ordinance of 1787. Its effect was to exclude the South entirely from that vast and fertile region which lies between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, now embracing five states and One Territory. The next of the series is the Missouri compromise, which excluded the South from that large portion of Louisiana...excepting what is included in the State of Missouri. The last of the series excluded the South from the whole of the Oregon Territory.

John C. Calhoun, March 4, 1850.¹⁷

NARRATOR *Senator Stephen A. Douglas, a democrat from Illinois, worked to move the legislation through Congress. In September 1850, after eight months of debate, the Compromise of 1850 passed.*

READER 1 The discovery of gold in California, and the rush of Northern emigrants to that State, kept [California] Free. But all our Mexican territory was left open to Slavery, and added to this came the re-enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, armed with more stringent provisions than before. After this, there came a lull of the tempest. But the aggressive spirit of Slavery was not yet satisfied.

John A. Martin, *The Progress of Tyranny* [sic], December 10, 1856.¹⁸

NARRATOR *Prior to 1854, the northern portion of the Louisiana Purchase, west of Missouri and Iowa, was Indian Territory. By the early 1850s, Americans appetite for westward expansion was insatiable, and they looked upon Indian Territory with great interest. Missourians, in particular, were interested in expanding into the land immediately to their west.*

At first, Congress did not share Missouri's eagerness to open the territory for settlement. To do so meant to once again remove the Native Americans to new land. However, railroad interests finally motivated Congress to act. The Committee on Territories, chaired by Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas, presented a bill that would do two things:

First, the bill would divide the Nebraska Territory in half with Nebraska to the north and Kansas to the south. Secondly, it would call for any decision about slavery to be determined by popular sovereignty. Settlers in the new territories would decide whether or not slavery would be allowed. In doing so, the act repealed the Missouri Compromise and the prohibition of slavery above the 36 degrees 30 minutes latitude line

The act reignited the debate between Northern anti-slavery supporters who objected to the act's repeal of the Missouri Compromise and Southern proslavery supporters who supported popular sovereignty and the opportunity to expand Southern interests into the western territories.

READER 4

According to existing law, this territory is now guarded against slavery by a positive prohibition, embodied in the act of Congress, approved March 6th, 1820, preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, as a sister State, and in the following explicit words:

“Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, That in all that territory, ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana...SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, otherwise than as the punishment of crimes, SHALL BE AND IS HEREBY, FOREVER PROHIBITED.”

It is now proposed to set aside this prohibition; but there seems to be a singular indecision as to the way in which the deed shall be done. From the time of its first introduction, in the report of the Committee on Territories, the proposition has assumed different shapes; and it promises to assume as many as Proteus...but, in every form and shape, identical in substance; with but one end and aim – its be-all and end-all – the overthrow of the prohibition of slavery.

Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, February 21, 1854.¹⁹

READER 2

The friends of the measure place their support of it upon its conformity to the Constitution, to the great American principle of popular sovereignty, and upon the absolute requirements of political justice and equality. It is not demanded as a measure of justice to the south, though such is its effect...

Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia, February 28, 1854.²⁰

NARRATOR

After months of debate, Congress approved the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854.

READER 5

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all that part of the territory of the United States...included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to wit: beginning at a point in the Missouri River where the fortieth parallel of north latitude crosses the same; then west on said parallel to the east

boundary of the Territory of Utah, the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence on said summit northwest to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the territory of Minnesota; thence southward on said boundary to the Missouri River; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning, be, and the same ...is hereby, created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory Nebraska; and when admitted as a State or States, the said Territory or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of the admission...

An Act to Organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, May 30, 1854.²¹

NARRATOR *Many people believed that Nebraska would enter the Union as a free state and Kansas would enter the Union as a slave state. Missourians claimed a “natural right” to expand into Kansas Territory. Just as Virginians moved west to settle Kentucky and Illinois residents moved west to settle Iowa, it was expected that Missourians would move west to settle Kansas.*

READER 2 ...that I and my friends wish to make Kansas in all respects like Missouri. Our interests require it. Our peace through all time demands it, and we intend to leave nothing undone that will conduce to that end and can with honor be performed...We have all to lose in the contest; you and your friends have nothing at stake.

Letter, David Rice Atchison of Missouri to Amos A. Lawrence of Massachusetts, April 15, 1855.²²

NARRATOR *But Northern anti-slavery supporters did have something at stake. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise mobilized them to take action and organize emigrants to settle in the Kansas Territory.*

READER 3 Since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right.

Senator William Seward of New York, May 25, 1854.²³

READER 2 Whether slavery shall go into Nebraska [and Kansas], or other new territories, is not a matter of exclusive concern to the people who may go there. The whole nation is interested that the best use shall be made of these territories. We want them for the homes of free white people. This they cannot be, to any considerable extent, if slavery shall be planted within them. Slave States are places for poor white people to remove FROM; not to remove TO. New free States are the place for poor people to go to and better their condition. For this use, the nation needs these territories.

Abraham Lincoln, October 16, 1854.²⁴

READER 1 But its crowning act of villainy is yet to be told. When they repealed the [Missouri] Compromise, they professed to leave the people free to regulate their own domestic institutions. The people of the North went into Kansas, supposing they could there find a home. But slavery was watchful. It saw the North could spare twice as many emigrants as the South, and it resolved to stop them.

John A. Martin, *Progress of Tyranny* [sic], December 10, 1856.²⁵

NARRATOR *At time of the Kansas-Nebraska Act's passage, most Northerners were more concerned with keeping slavery out of new territories, rather than doing away with slavery where it existed. New Englanders, like Eli Thayer, saw an opportunity to invest in the new Kansas Territory. He became the manager of the New England Emigrant Aid Society.*

READER 2 AN ACT To incorporate the New England Emigrant Aid Company

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in general Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows.

Section 1. Eli Thayer, Amos A. Lawrence, John M. S. Williams and Thomas H. Webb, - their associates, successors and assigns, - are hereby made a corporation by the name of the New England Emigrant Aid Company; for the purpose of directing emigration westward and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination: - and for these purposes they have all the powers and privileges, and are subject to all the duties, restrictions and liabilities set forth in the forty-fourth chapter of the Revised Statutes.

Incorporation Document of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1855.²⁶

NARRATOR *Eli Thayer believed that by bringing enough anti-slavery supporters to the Kansas Territory, Kansas would become a free state. The New England Emigrant Aid Company was designed to support emigrants in their relocation to Kansas Territory. Missourians saw the Company as a threat.*

READER 3 Hessian band[s] of mercenaries were to be sent here as hired servants, to do the will of others, and were poised to pollute our fair land, to dictate to us a government, to preach Abolitionism and dig underground Rail Roads.

William Walker, Missouri settler in Kansas Territory, 1855.²⁷

READER 4 No one can fail to distinguish between an honest, bona fide emigration, prompted by choice or necessity, and an organized colonization with offensive purpose upon the institutions of the country proposed to be settled.

John H. Stringfellow, *Squatter Sovereign* newspaper [Atchison, Kansas], 1855.²⁸

READER 1 Thousands of patriotic men are coming to the rescue. There is wisdom and patriotism in the hearts of the American people, and this hour of trial will prove it as fire tries the gold...

John A. Martin, *The Progress of Tyranny* [sic], December 10, 1856.²⁹

NARRATOR *In the end, Missourians could not stem the tide of anti-slavery migration into Kansas Territory. After over sixty years of legislation and compromise, the stage was set for a showdown between proslavery and anti-slavery supporters. The years that followed brought tension and violence to the Kansas-Missouri border and increased the nation's sectional divide. This time, no compromise could save the Union from its ultimate dissolution and the inevitable outbreak of war.*

Instructions: The facilitator will now return to the questions found on page 3 for consideration by the group.

At the conclusion of the event:

- ***The local coordinator will indicate whether the scripts need to be returned.***
- ***The page titled Citations is intended to be a take-home handout for participants.***

Footnotes

¹ John A. Martin ,“The Progress of Tyranny” (10 Dec. 1856) 2. *Territorial Kansas Online*. http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show_document&SCREEN_FROM=kansas_question&document_id=100250&FROM_PAGE=&topic_id=182

² Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787). 270-272. *Google Books*. http://books.google.com/books?id=UO0OAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Notes+on+the+State+of+Virginia.&source=bl&ots=AQrr8oYPXX&sig=na0F7QCtPcBRRVApm0-TMtoKz0E&hl=en&ei=_PSZTYmHCvOC0QG--vT8Cw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=7&ved=0CEwQ6AEwBg#v=onepage&q&f=false

³ Martin, 2-3.

⁴ United States, Continental Congress, *An ordinance of the government of the territory of the United States, North-west of the river Ohio* (13 July 1787). *Library of Congress*. [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/bdsdcc:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(bdsdcc22501\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/bdsdcc:@field(DOCID+@lit(bdsdcc22501)))

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⁶ United States, *Constitution of the United States* (12 Sept. 1787). *National Archives*. http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html

⁷ George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America, From the Discovery of the Continent, Volume VI* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888) 268. *Google Books*. http://books.google.com/books?id=U3QQAAYAAJ&pg=PA268&lpg=PA268&dq=It+seems+not+to+be+pretty+well+understood+that+the+real+difference+of+interests+lies+not+between+the+large+and+small+but+between+the+northern+and+southern+states.+The+institution+of+slavery+and+its+consequences+form+the+line+of+discrimination.%22&source=bl&ots=1wgbplUZE1&sig=4KcLX2U_MoC-e-3PHuez9xPmOxA&hl=en&ei=SD2bTbq_E86cgQf1_P2aBw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CCsQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false

⁸ Martin, 3-4.

⁹ Martin, 4.

¹⁰ United States Congress, *Missouri Compromise* (6 May 1820). *Territorial Kansas Online*. http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi-bin/index.php?SCREEN=show_document&SCREEN_FROM=kansas_question&document_id=102847&FROM_PAGE=&topic_id=187

¹¹ Letter, Thomas Jefferson to Senator John Holmes, (22 Apr. 1820). “Thomas Jefferson” *Library of Congress*. <http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/~imlskto/cgi->

bin/index.php?SCREEN=show_document&SCREEN_FROM=kansas_question&document_id=100250&FROM_PAGE=&topic_id=182

¹² Martin, 5.

¹³ David Wilmot, *Wilmot Proviso* (12 Aug. 1846). *Teaching American History*.
<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=948>

¹⁴ Nicole Etcheson. *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004) 12.

¹⁵ Henry Clay, *Presenting his Compromise Resolutions on the Subject of Slavery* (United States Senate: 5 and 6 Feb. 1850) 3, 37. *Google Books*.
http://books.google.com/books?id=VroQAQAIAAJ&pg=PA19&lpg=PA19&dq=henry+clay+kentucky+slaveholders&source=bl&ots=8PHRS2sHSO&sig=x-5fqN46NZWMA-Ims1qSf4exQGQ&hl=en&ei=ti-aTdjUPMy-0QGOzYXwCw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBw#v=onepage&q&f=false

¹⁶ Etcheson, 12.

¹⁷ Speech. John C. Calhoun, *The Congressional Globe*, Senate, 31st Congress, 1st Session (4 March 1850) 452. *Library of Congress*. <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llcg&fileName=022/llcg022.db&recNum=539>

¹⁸ Martin, 5.

¹⁹ Charles Sumner, *The Landmark of Freedom* (21 Feb. 1854) 1, 2. *Library of Congress*.
<http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/rbaapc:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28rbaapc28500div0%29%29>

²⁰ Robert Toombs, *Nebraska and Kansas* (28 Feb. 1854) 10. *National Archives*.
<http://www.archive.org/stream/speechofhonrober00lctoom#page/n0/mode/2up>

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²⁹ Martin, 8.