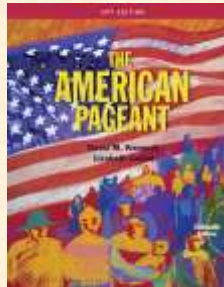


## Chapter 19

*Drifting Toward  
Disunion, 1854–1861*

## The Compromise of 1850

For the North:

1. Admit California as a Free State

For the South:

2. **STRONGER** Fugitive Slave Law

The New Mexico Territory:

3. Popular Sovereignty in Mexican Cession
4. Texas sells land / Federal Gov. assumes debt

Slavery in Washington, DC:

5. Abolish Slave Trade in Washington, D.C.



## Crisis Averted...



The Compromise of 1850 was supposed to be the final compromise between the sections...

*and it was – just for different reasons than Clay had intended.*



## Personal Liberty Laws

Passed by Wisconsin and other Northern states

- Guaranteed jury trials for accused slaves



*De facto* Nullification



The 1850s:  
Road  
to  
Secession

By: Ms. Susan M. Pojer  
Horace Greeley HS Chappaqua, NY  
Additions by M. Lynde  
Currituck County High School Barco, NC  
More additions by Darrell Duncan  
Merrol Hyde Magnet School Hendersonville, TN

U.S. History Quotes

### 27-Immediate Causes of the Civil War

- "If the people of Kansas were a governing state, let them have it, and if they want a free state they have a right to it, and it is just for the people of Illinois, or Missouri, or New York, or Kentucky, or constant, wherever the question of the people of Kansas has to do." — Stephen Douglas, *The Civil War by Geoffrey Ward*
- "A house divided against itself cannot stand." — Abraham Lincoln, 1858
- "Slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations." — Stephen Douglas
- "The time for compromise has now passed." — Jefferson Davis
- "This country will be divided in blood. The people of the North are not going to let the country be destroyed without a mighty effort to save it. They are equal and determined and are prepared for war. It is all over and is fully understood." — William Tecumseh Sherman
- "Confession of the slave states... We all engage in competition for the single soul of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is right." — Jay Gould's Speech
- "The erroneous decision furnished the confirmation of the already well-known fact that, under the Constitution and government of the U.S., the colored people are nothing and can be nothing but an alien, alienated, and degraded race." — Robert Purvis
- "It matters not what says the Supreme Court now, Justice: the people have the right to know it or not, and it is as they please. If the people are opposed to slavery, they will break compromises, and will by extraordinary legislation prevent the introduction of it into their state." — Stephen Douglas, *Frederick Douglass*, 1858
- "The history of the Republic, partly of the North is a history of repeated injuries and oppressions, of having in direct object the establishment of absolute slavery over the remaining states. The South has compromised until the compromise is further." — *New Orleans News*, 1858
- "I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have already admitted, and I desire on the part of free states." — John Brown

## Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811 – 1896)

*"So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war"*  
— Abraham Lincoln

## I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries

- ***Uncle Tom's Cabin***—Harriet Beecher Stowe
  - She was determined to awaken North to wickedness of slavery
    - By laying bare its terrible inhumanity, especially splitting families
    - Relied on powerful imagery and touching paths
    - Deeper sources of her anti-slavery sentiments lay in evangelical crusades of Second Great Awakening

## I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries (cont.)

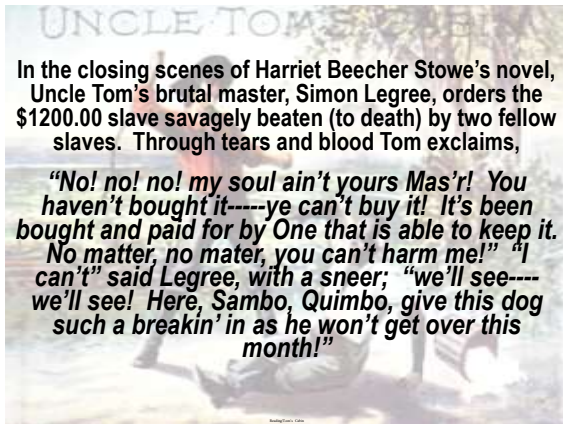
- Stowe never witnessed slavery in Deep South:
  - Had seen it briefly during visit to Kentucky
  - Lived in Ohio, center of Underground Railroad activity
- *Uncle Tom*:
  - Left endearing and enduring impression on North
  - Many swore they would have nothing to do with enforcing Fugitive Slave Law
  - Devoured by millions of impressionable youth
  - Immensely popular abroad, esp. Britain and France

## *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

1852

- Sold 300,000 copies in the first year.
- 2 million in a decade!





## I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries (cont.)

- *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857) by Hinton R. Helper:
  - Hating slavery and blacks, he attempted to prove with statistics that, indirectly, non-slaveholding whites were ones who suffered most from millstone of slavery
  - He finally found a publisher in North

## I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries (cont.)

- Helped fuel fears of planters that non-slaveholding majority might abandon them
- Book banned in South
- In North, thousands distributed as campaign literature by Republicans
  - Southerners embittered when learned northern brethren spreading wicked "lies"

## Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Scheme



Popular Sovereignty  
Breaks the Compromise  
of 1850

## KANSAS AND NEBRASKA ACT



- Build a transcontinental connecting California to the East Coast either in the South or North
- Stephen Douglas wanted the railroad built in the North but had to convince the South otherwise.
- Proposed a plan that Kansas and Nebraska territories be opened up to slavery in return for building the railroad in the North.
- Popular Sovereignty

## The Kansas-Nebraska Act

### POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

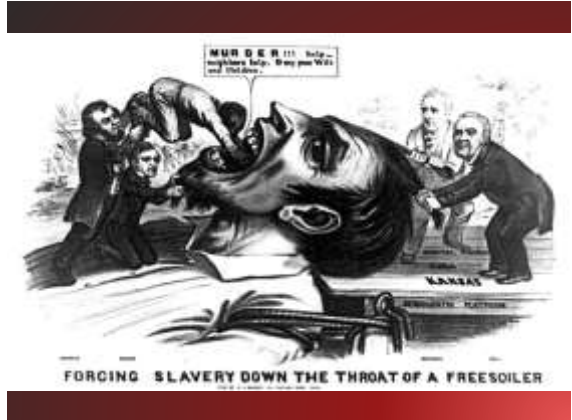
In Kansas and Nebraska Territories on the issue of slavery



MISSOURI-COMPROMISE

#### ANIMATED MAP:

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/neh/interactives/sectionalism/lesson3/>



## II. The North-South Contest for Kansas

- Popular sovereignty:
  - **New England Emigrant Aid Company:**
    - Antislavery organization sent 2,000 people to Kansas to forestall South and to make profit
    - Many carried new breech-loading Sharps rifles, nicknamed "Beecher's Bibles" after Rev. Henry Ward Beecher (Harriet Beecher Stowe's brother) who helped raise money to pay for them
    - Southern spokesmen raised cries of betrayal

### "Beecher's Bibles"

New England Emigrant Aid Society

"He (Henry W. Beecher) believed that the Sharps Rifle was a truly moral agency, and that there was more moral power in one of those instruments, so far as the slaveholders of Kansas were concerned, than in a hundred Bibles. You might just as well... read the Bible to Buffaloes as to [pro-slavery settlers]; but they have a supreme respect for the logic that is embodied in Sharp's rifle."

*New York Tribune*, 2/8/1856



Rev. Henry Ward Beecher  
(H.B. Stowe's relative)

## II. The North-South Contest for Kansas (cont.)

- Northern "Nebrascals," out to "abolitionize" both Kansas and Nebraska
- Some southern hotheads attempted to "assist" small groups of well-armed slave-owners to Kansas
- Planting slavery in Kansas a losing game:
  - Slaves were valuable and volatile property
  - Foolish for owners to take them where bullets were flying
  - Kansas might be voted free under popular sovereignty
- Census of 1860 found only two slaves among 107,000 souls in Kansas and only 15 in Nebraska

## II. The North-South Contest for Kansas (cont.)

- Crisis conditions in Kansas rapidly worsened
  - 1855 election for first territorial legislature:
    - Proslavery "border ruffians" poured in from Missouri to vote early and often
    - Slavery supporters triumphed; set up puppet government at Shawnee Mission
    - Free-soilers established extralegal regime of their own in Topeka



## Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854 signed by Franklin Pierce

This act set the stage for the violent Kansas-Missouri border wars where the Missouri "Border Ruffians" and the Kansas "Jayhawkers" transformed a frontier quarrel over slavery's borders into a national issue



[http://www.kcp.org/but/bloodborderwar\\_bloodline.shtml](http://www.kcp.org/but/bloodborderwar_bloodline.shtml)

## "Bleeding Kansas" 1855-1859 56 Dead

### "Race to Kansas"

- Proslavery vs. Antislavery
- "Border Ruffians" (from MO)
- N.E. Immigrant Aid Society
  - Beecher's Bibles



### ANIMATED MAP:

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/neh/interactives/sectionalism/lesson3/>

## III. Kansas in Convulsion

- John Brown now stalked upon Kansas battlefield
  - Obsessively dedicated to abolitionist cause:
    - Brooding over attack on Lawrence, he led a band to Pottawatomie Creek in May 1856
    - There they hacked to pieces 5 surprised men, presumed to be proslaveryites
    - Terrorist butchery besmirched free-soil cause
    - Brought vicious retaliation from proslavery forces



p403

## "Bleeding Kansas"



Border "Ruffians"  
(pro-slavery  
Missourians)



## III. Kansas in Convulsion (cont.)

- Civil war erupted in Kansas in 1856:
  - Continued until it merged with Civil War of 1861-1865
  - Destroyed millions of dollars' worth of property
  - Paralyzed agriculture in certain areas
  - Cost scores of lives
- Kansas applied for statehood on popular sovereignty basis

## Conflicting Constitutions

**Topeka**  
Antislavery

**Lecompton**  
Proslavery



## Lecompton Constitution

- 1857 - enough people (mainly free-soilers) in Kansas to apply for statehood.
- Proslavery forces create Lecompton Constitution
  - Vote for state constitution with or without slavery.
  - If vote for without slavery there was provision already in document allowing protection of slave owners already in the state
  - Free-soilers boycotted the polls.
  - Proslaveryites approved constitution with slavery 1857



[http://www.kcpl.org/badblood/images/timeline/forcing-slavery\\_19.jpg](http://www.kcpl.org/badblood/images/timeline/forcing-slavery_19.jpg)

### III. Kansas in Convulsion (cont.)

- **Lecompton Constitution**: a proslavery document
  - people not allowed to vote for or against constitution as a whole
  - Vote for constitution either "with slavery" or "with no slavery" (but with protections for slavery already there)
  - Whatever the outcome, there would still be slavery
  - Free-soilers boycotted polls
  - Proslaveryites approved constitution with slavery in late 1857
- Scene then shifted to Washington:
  - President Pierce had been succeeded by James Buchanan, who was strongly under southern influence

### III. Kansas Convulsion (cont.)

- Buchanan supported Lecompton Constitution
- Senator Douglas threw his support behind true popular sovereignty
- Compromise: submit entire Lecompton Constitution to people
- Free-soil voters thronged to polls and voted it down
- Kansas remained a territory until 1861, when southern secessionists left Congress
- Buchanan's action divided Democratic Party by antagonizing Democrats in North

## Lecompton Constitution

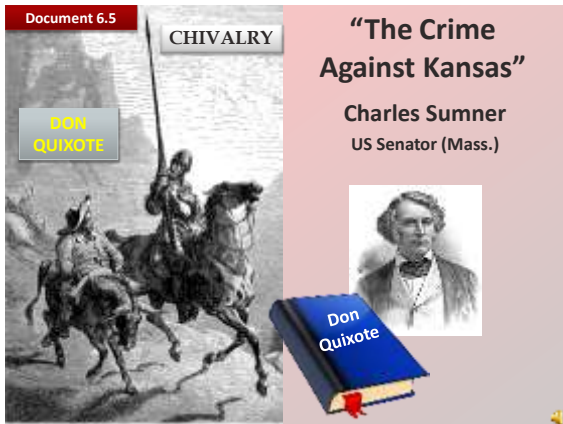
- Pierce succeeded by James Buchanan (Democrat)
- Buchanan supports Lecompton Constitution
- Stephen Douglas (Democrat) says this isn't true popular sovereignty!
- Lecompton resubmitted to vote - Kansas free state
- Democrats dangerously divided.



[http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/1d/James\\_Buchanan.jpg/220px-James\\_Buchanan.jpg](http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/1d/James_Buchanan.jpg/220px-James_Buchanan.jpg)

## IV. "Bully" Brooks and His Bludgeon

- **Bleeding Kansas:**
  - Spattered blood on Senate floor in 1856:
    - Senator Charles Sumner (Mass.) a leading abolitionist
    - Made himself one of most disliked men in Senate
    - Delivered speech "The Crime Against Kansas"
      - Condemned proslavery men
      - Referred insultingly to South Carolina and its senator Andrew Butler



#### IV. "Bully" Brooks and His Bludgeon (cont.)

- Congressman Preston Brooks (S.C.):
  - Resented insults to his state and to its senator
  - To Brooks, only alternative was to chastise senator
  - On May 22, 1856, he approached Sumner and pounded him with an 11-ounce cane until it broke

#### Brooks/Sumner Incident (1856)



Rep. Preston Brooks (SC)

VS.



Sen. Charles Sumner (MA)



*Regarding the Brooks assault on Sumner, one of the more moderate antislavery journals (Illinois State Journal) declared,*

*"Brooks and his Southern allies have deliberately adopted the monstrous creed that any man who dares to utter sentiments which they deem wrong or unjust, shall be brutally assailed...."*

*One of the milder southern responses came for the Petersburg (Virginia) Intelligencer:*

*"Although Mr. Brooks ought to have selected some other spot for the altercation than the Senate chamber, if he had broken every bone in Sumner's carcass it would have been a just retribution upon this slanderer of the South and her individual citizens"*

#### IV. "Bully" Brooks and His Bludgeon (cont.)

- House could not muster enough votes to expel Brooks
- He resigned but was triumphantly reelected
- Sumner had to go to Europe for treatment of his injuries
- For 3 ½ years, Massachusetts kept his seat open until Sumner could return
- Bleeding Sumner thus joined with Bleeding Kansas as political issues

#### IV. "Bully" Brooks and His Bludgeon (cont.)

- Free-soil North infuriated by Brooks:
  - Copies of Sumner's speech sold by thousands
  - Every blow to Sumner made thousands of Republicans
  - South not unanimous in approving Brooks, but:
    - Angered by Sumner's speech
    - Upset that speech so applauded in North
  - Sumner-Brooks clash and ensuing reactions revealed how dangerously inflamed passions had become
  - Blows rained on Sumner were among first blows of Civil War

#### II. The North-South Contest for Kansas (cont.)

- Confused Kansans had choice of two governments:
  - One based on fraud
  - Other on illegality
- Tensions mounted as settlers feuded over conflicting land claims
  - Breaking point (1856): gang of proslavery raiders, alleging provocation, shot up and burned part of free-soil town of Lawrence
  - Outrage was prelude to bloodier tragedy



• Democratic *national* party - dead. Now it is a *sectional* party

Whig *national* party - dead

Republican party (born 1854) only a sectional party

THERE ARE NO MORE NATIONAL PARTIES TO BIND THE COUNTRY TOGETHER

#### Birth of the Republican Party, 1854

- ★ Northern Whigs.
- ★ Northern Democrats.
- ★ Free-Soilers.
- ★ Know-Nothings.
- ★ Other miscellaneous opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

#### 1856 Presidential Election



✓ James Buchanan  
Democrat



John C. Frémont  
Republican



Millard Fillmore  
Whig & Know-Nothing Party



#### 1856 Election Results

Note: 2 year old Republicans received a large chunk of the votes even if they did lose.



## The “Know-Nothings” [The American Party]



- ★ Nativists.
- ★ Anti-Catholics.
- ★ Anti-immigrants.

1849 → Secret Order of the Star-Spangled Banner created in NYC.



## PREVIEW

*Nativism in Antebellum America*

- **Nativism** (citizens vs. immigrants) has often been a force in American politics.
- In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the U.S. population was overwhelmingly **Protestant**.
- **Catholic Irish** and [predominantly Catholic] **Germans** were the largest immigrant groups during the antebellum period.
  - Irish were the largest during this time
    - (Germans immigrated more consistently throughout U.S. history)
- The wave of Catholic immigrants provoked a **NATIVIST** response.
  - Nativist Societies
  - Nativist Riots (Philadelphia)
  - “**Know Nothing**” Party
- Nativism is still a force in U.S. politics and society today.

## From Washington's Farewell Address

“Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence... the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake...”



## PROTESTANTISM

A majority of Americans are **PROTESTANT** (as of 2007)

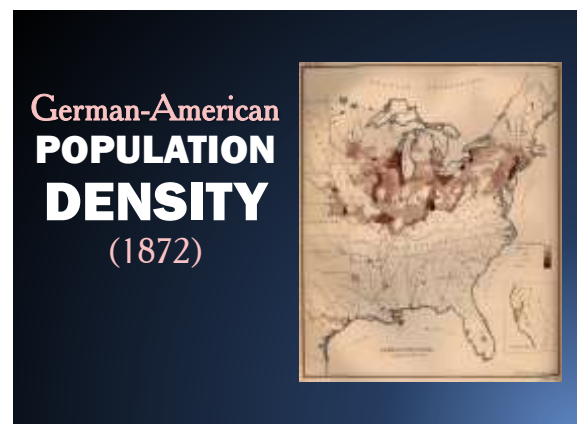
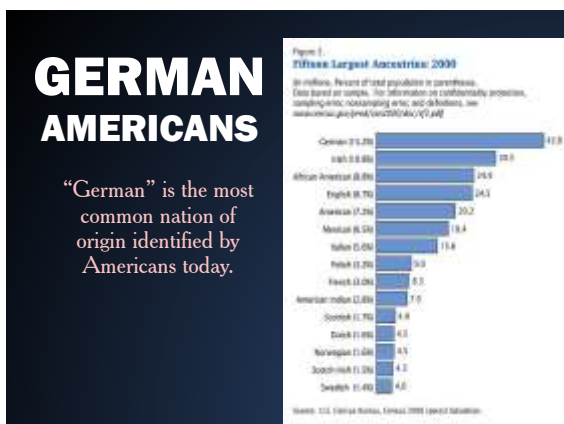
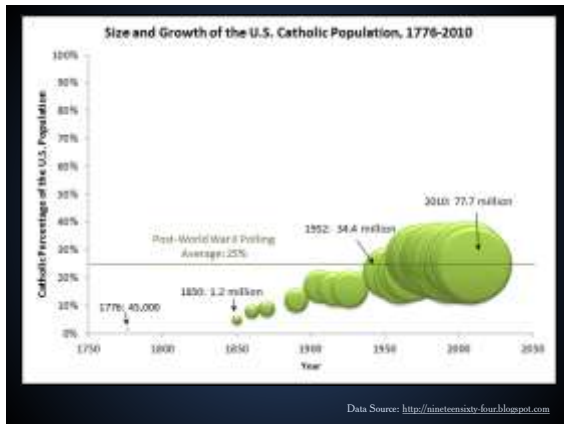
Source: Pew Forum

| Major Religious Traditions in the U.S. |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
|  | Percentage of U.S. pop. |
| Christianity                           | 70.4                    |
| Protestantism                          | 50.1                    |
| Catholicism                            | 23.9                    |
| Other Christian                        | 10.7                    |
| Judaism                                | 0.2                     |
| Islam                                  | 0.7                     |
| Hinduism                               | 0.7                     |
| Buddhism                               | 0.7                     |
| Other religions                        | 0.8                     |
| Unaffiliated                           | 28.6                    |
| Other                                  | 0.6                     |
| Other                                  | 0.6                     |
| Other                                  | 0.6                     |



**CATHOLICS** are the largest **RELIGIOUS GROUP**





Irish-American  
**POPULATION  
DENSITY**  
(1872)



# NATIVISM

Established Citizens  
vs. Recent Immigrants



## GANGS OF NEW YORK

A Film About Nativism

Screenshot from Gangs of New York © Miramax Home Entertainment (2003)

**POLITICAL  
POWER**





## NO IRISH NEED APPLY

W. COLE, No. 8 Ann-st.

**GROCERY CART AND HARNESS FOR SALE**—In good order, and one chestnut horse, 3 years old, excellent saddle horse; can be ridden by a lady. Also, young man wanted, from 16 to 18 years of age, able to work. No Irish need apply. **CLUFF & TUNIS**, No. 270 W. ington-st., corner of Myrtle-av., Brooklyn.

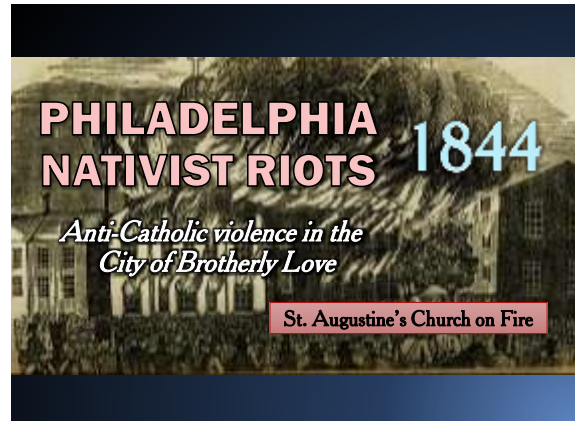
**BILLIARD TABLE FOR SALE**—Of Leona manufacture; been used about nine months. Also, tures of a Bar-room. Inquire on the premises, No.



## PHILADELPHIA NATIVIST RIOTS 1844

*Anti-Catholic violence in the City of Brotherly Love*

St. Augustine's Church on Fire



Cartoon by  
Thomas Nast  
*Harper's Weekly*  
(1876)



**The American Party**  
aka "Know Nothings"

CATHOLICS

IMMIGRANTS

"I know nothing..."







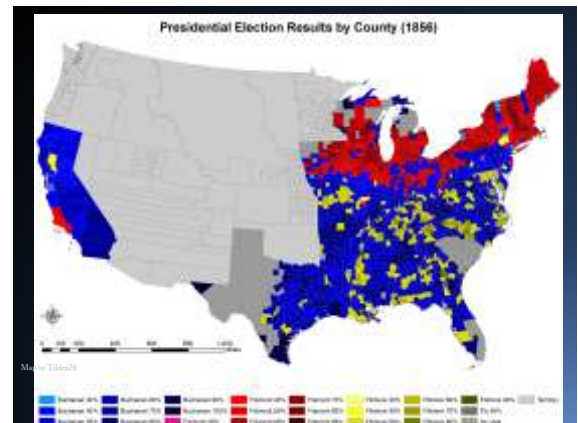
## VI. The Electoral Fruits of 1856

- The election returns:
  - Buchanan
    - Polled less than a majority of popular vote
    - Won handily (see Map 19.2)
    - Electoral College count was 174 to 114 (for Frémont) and 8 (for Fillmore)
  - Popular vote:
    - 1,832,955 for Buchanan
    - 1,339,932 for Frémont
    - 871,731 for Fillmore

## Know Nothing Popularity by County



Where were the Know Nothings most popular?



**"CITIZEN"**  
**KNOW NOTHING**

The Nativist Ideal



## Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

### FACTS OF THE CASE:

Dred Scott, a slave, lived with his master in free territory for two years.

Scott claimed this made him a free man.



## Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

### THE DECISION:

1. People of African descent (incl. Scott) could not be U.S. citizens.
2. Congress can't forbid slavery in federal territories (violation of property rights)
  - Ergo, the Missouri Compromise is **Unconstitutional**



**Judicial Activism**

## Judicial Activism

*When Judges Write the Law*



| EXECUTIVE<br>BRANCH | LEGISLATIVE<br>BRANCH | JUDICIAL<br>BRANCH |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| President           | Congress              | Supreme Court      |
| _____ Laws          | _____ Laws            | _____ Laws         |
|                     |                       |                    |

### DRED SCOTT DECISION



- Slave from Missouri traveled with his owner to Illinois & Minnesota both free states.
- His master died and Scott wanted to move back to Missouri—Missouri still recognized him as a slave.
- He sued his master's widow for his freedom since he had lived in a free state for a period of time.
- Court case went to the Supreme Court for a decision----National issue
  - Can a slave sue for his freedom?
  - Is a slave property?
  - Is slavery legal?

Picture/Dred Scott

### DRED SCOTT DECISION

- Supreme Court hands down the Dred Scott decision
- North refused to enforce Fugitive Slave Law
  - Free states pass personal liberty laws.
- Republicans claim the decision is not binding
- Southerners call on the North to accept the decision if the South is to remain in the Union.

- Slaves cannot sue the U.S. for their freedom because they are property.
- They are not citizens and have no legal right under the Constitution.
- Supreme Court legalized slavery by saying that
  - Congress could not stop a slaveowner from moving his slaves to a new territory
- Missouri Compromise and all other compromises were unconstitutional

## DRED SCOTT DECISION



Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (1777 to 1864) in the case of Dred Scott referred to the status of slaves when the Constitution was adopted.

"They had (slaves) for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order; and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race."



## Dred Scott v. Sanford, 1857



- lived in free state (Illinois & Wisconsin territory)
- Taney court ruled: Dred Scott was a slave and therefore not a citizen so he could not sue in federal court
- More: because a slave is property he/she could be taken into *any* territory and legally held there in slavery
- Which means: Compromise of 1820 was never legal and popular sovereignty is false no matter what local territories want

## What caused the Panic of 1857??

- California gold inflates the economy
- Demands of Crimean war (grain)
- Railroad and land speculation - free 160 acres hated by Easterners and by Southerners - why?
- Reduction of tariffs w/ new Tariff of 1857

## What were its affects on the nation?

## The Lincoln-Douglas (Illinois Senate) Debates, 1858



*A House divided against itself, cannot stand.*

## LINCOLN--DOUGLAS DEBATES

- Lincoln and Douglas both running for the U.S. Senate in Illinois.
- The debates were followed by the country because both candidates were interested in running for the Presidency in 1860.
- Slavery was the issue
- **Lincoln stated:** A House Divided against itself cannot stand. Either we become one or the other.
- was against the expansion of slavery
- Douglas believed that slavery should be decided by the people.
- Popular sovereignty

Chen/L&D Debates

## LINCOLN--DOUGLAS DEBATES



Lincoln got Douglas to admit that **Popular Sovereignty** could work against the expansion of slavery.....  
**Southerners** would not support Douglas for the presidency in 1860

Picture: L&D Debates



*Lincoln expressed his views on the relation of the black and white races in 1858, in his first debate with Stephen A. Douglas:*

"I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to those rights as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."



**Stephen Douglas**  
*Freeport Doctrine*

**Popular  
Sovereignty?**

Local people have to pass and to enforce those laws (Jefferson Embargo of 1807)

Southern democrats now really split from the Democratic party

### John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry, 1859



## JOHN BROWN



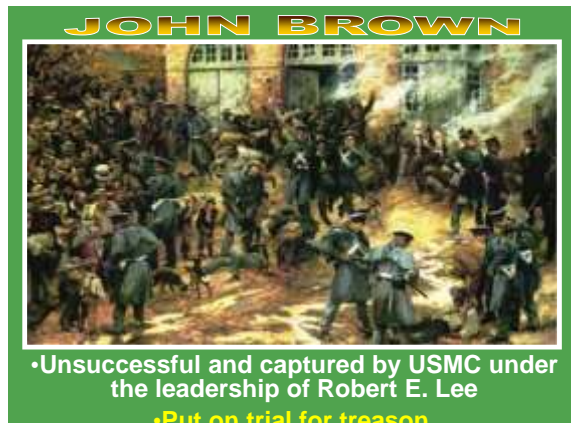
- Violent abolitionist
- Involved in the Bleeding Kansas
- Murdered 5 pro-slavery men in Kansas
- Wanted to lead a slave revolt throughout the South by raising an army of freed slaves and destroying the South.

## JOHN BROWN


FEARFUL AND EXCITING INTELLIGENCE.  
NEGRO INSURRECTION AT HARPER'S FERRY.  
Extensive Negro Conspiracy in Virginia and Maryland.  
Seizure of the United States Arsenal by the Insurrectionists.  
Arms Taken and Sent into the Interior.  
The Bridge Fortified and Defended by Cannon.  
Trains Fired into and Stopped—Several Persons Killed—Telegraph Wires Cut—Contributions Levied on the Citizens.  
Troops Despatched Against the Insurgents from Washington and Baltimore.

- Attacked a U.S. Ammunition depot in Harper's Ferry, Virginia in Oct. of 1859 to capture weapons and begin his slave revolt.





**JOHN BROWN**



Picture: J. Brown Hanging

- He was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death.
- His last words were to this effect: *"I believe that the issue of slavery will never be solved unless through the shedding of blood."*
- Northerners thought of John Brown as a martyr to the abolitionist cause.
- Southerners were terrified that if John Brown almost got away with this, there must be others like him in the North who are willing to die to end slavery.
- South's outcome: To leave the U.S. and start their own country.





*Upon hearing of John Brown's execution, escaped slave and abolitionist Harriet Tubman (c. 1820–1913) paid him the highest tribute for his self-sacrifice.*

"I've been studying, and studying upon it, and its clar to me, it wasn't John Brown that died on that gallows. When I think how he gave up his life for our people, and how he never flinched, but was so brave to the end; its clar to me it wasn't mortal man, it was God in him."

Reading Tubman on Brown

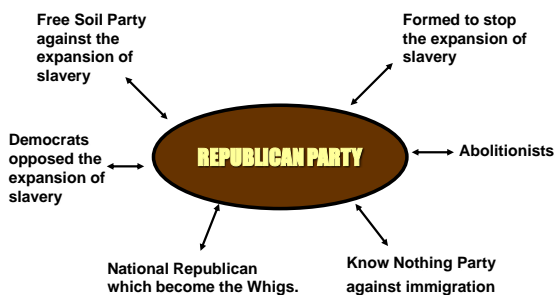
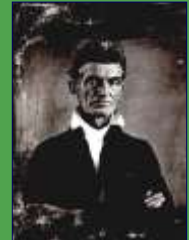
*Not all opponents of slavery, however, shared Tubman's reverence for Brown. Republican presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln dismissed Brown as deluded:*

"[The Brown] affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution."

## John Brown: Madman, Hero or Martyr?



Mural in the Kansas Capitol building by John Stuart Curry (20°)



Chart/Rep. Party



✓ Abraham Lincoln  
Republican



John Bell  
Constitutional Union  
(Know Nothing - Whigs)



Stephen A. Douglas  
Northern Democrat



John C. Breckinridge  
Southern Democrat

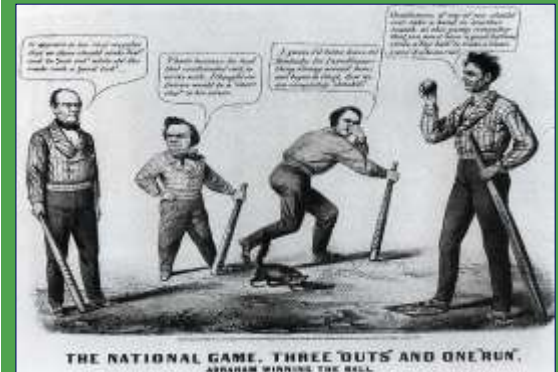
1860  
Presidential  
Election



## Republican Party Platform in 1860

- ★ Non-extension of slavery [for the Free-Soilers.]
- ★ Protective tariff [for the No. Industrialists].
- ★ No abridgment of rights for immigrants [a disappointment for the "Know-Nothings"].
- ★ Government aid to build a Pacific R.R. [for the Northwest].
- ★ Internal improvements [for the West] at federal expense.
- ★ Free homesteads for the public domain [for farmers].

## 1860 Election: 3 "Outs" & 1 "Run!"



## 1860 Election: A Nation Coming Apart?!



## 1860 Presidential Election



## Abraham Lincoln

(R-IL)

Sixteenth President of the U.S.  
1861-1865

Democratic Party split

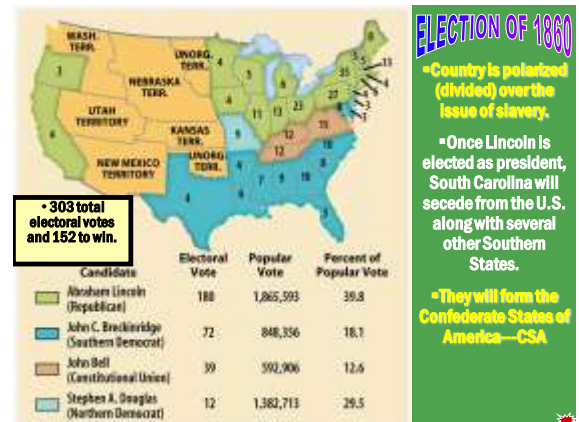
Election prompted  
secession of states in  
the Deep South



<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/al16.html>

## Secession





## South Begins To Secede

- Dec. 1860 S.C. votes to secede.
- Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas join them
- **Feb. 1861 they all meet to formally form the Confederate States of North America with Jefferson Davis as the President**
- Time of "lame duck" president Buchanan. Lincoln won the election Nov 1860 but won't take the office 'til March 1861



## Secession!: SC → Dec. 20, 1860



## Crittenden Compromise: A Last Ditch Appeal to Sanity



Senator John J. Crittenden (Know-Nothing-KY)

constitutional amendment proposed:

- no slavery in territories N of 36-30 line but S of that line - federal protection to all territories existing or acquired later (Cuba)
- future states could come in and choose their status
- Southerners guaranteed full rights in southern territories as long as they were territories, regardless of the wishes of majority under popular sovereignty

• Lincoln rejects the Crittenden Compromise



## Fort Sumter: April 12, 1861



## Secession!: SC → Dec. 20, 1860



## THE UNITED STATES, 1861



## Historical Viewpoints pp. 432-433

*Could the Civil War have been avoided?*

1. 1890s Nationalist School w/ James Ford Rhodes
2. 1910s Progressives w/ Charles and Mary Beard
3. 1920s Post WWI w/ James G. Randall & Avery Craven
4. 1950s Post WWII w/ Allan Nevins and David M. Potter
5. 1970s w/ Eric Foner & Eugene Genovese
6. Party politics as an explanation
7. Recent Ethnocultural School w/ Michael Holt

Historical Viewpoints pp. 432-433 *Could the Civil War have been avoided?*

1. 1890s Nationalist School w/ James Ford Rhodes - all about slavery - needed to end and preserve the Union
2. 1910s Progressives w/ Charles and Mary Beard - not slavery per se but deep rooted economic struggle b/w industrial North and agricultural South. War caused changes in class relations and shifted political balances of power by destroying plantation power and emphasizing industrial magnates and their power
3. 1920s Post WWI w/ James G. Randall & Avery Craven - could have been prevented. Caused by breakdown of political institutions and passion of reformers and blunders of political leaders.
4. 1950s Post WWII w/ Allan Nevins and David M. Potter - caused by irreconcilable differences b/w morality, politics, culture, economics which just eroded differences b/w N and S
5. 1970s w/ Eric Foner & Eugene Genovese - caused by paranoid fear of each side to maintain their way of life (N hate slavery b/c threatens free labor)
6. Party politics as an explanation - caused by breakdown of Jacksonian party system. Democratic and Whig national parties split over slavery issue and no national party left
7. Recent Ethnocultural School w/ Michael Holt - erosion of political parties not caused by differences over slavery but due to temporary consensus on all issues except slavery. This meant slavery rose to the front as major issue as all others were settled at the time.



## V. "Old Buck" versus "The Pathfinder"

- Democrats met in Cincinnati to elect presidential standard-bearer of 1856
  - Delegates chose James Buchanan:
    - He was serving in London during Kansas-Nebraska uproar—therefore "Kansas-less"
    - In a crisis that called for giants, he was mediocre, irresolute, and confused
- Republicans met in Philadelphia:
  - "Higher Law" Steward was conspicuous leader

## V. "Old Buck" versus "The Pathfinder" (cont.)

- However, final choice was John C. Frémont:
  - So-called "Pathfinder of the West"
  - Virtually without political experience, but not tarred with Kansas brush
- Republicans came out strongly against extension of slavery into territories
- Democrats declared emphatically for popular sovereignty

## V. "Old Buck" versus "The Pathfinder" (cont.)

- Ugly anteforeignism injected into campaign:
  - Influx of Irish and German immigrants alarmed "nativists"—name of old-stock Protestants
  - Organized Know-Nothing party because of its secretiveness
  - Anti-foreign, anti-Catholic
  - In 1856 nominated ex-president Millard Fillmore
  - Threatened to cut into Republican strength
- Mudslinging bespattered both candidates



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## VI. The Electoral Fruits of 1856 (cont.)

- Why Republican defeat:
  - Frémont's lack of honesty, capacity, sound judgment
  - Southern threat that election of "Black Republican" would be declaration of war, forcing South to secede
  - Many northerners thus intimidated to vote for Buchanan
  - Innate conservatism triumphed, assisted by southern bullyism

## VI. The Electoral Fruits of 1856 (cont.)

- Fortunate for Union that secession and Civil War did not come in 1856:
  - Frémont was ill-balanced and second-rate figure
  - In 1856, North was more willing to let South depart in peace than in 1860
  - Dramatic events (1856-1860) aroused still-apathetic northerners to fighting pitch
  - 1856 election cast long shadow as politicians, North and South, peered anxiously toward 1860

## VII. The Dred Scott Bombshell

- ***Dred Scott v. Stanford*** by Supreme Court on March 6, 1857:
  - Decision was one of the opening paper-gun blasts of Civil War
    - Case was simple (slave lived for 5 years on free soil)
    - Supreme Court turned it into complex political issue:
      - Ruled that Scott was a black slave and not a citizen, and hence could not sue in federal courts
      - Court could have thrown out case on these technical grounds

## VII. The Dred Scott Bombshell (cont.)

- Majority decided to go further, led by Chief Justice Roger Taney (from slave state-Maryland):
  - Decreed that because a slave was private property, he or she could be taken into *any* territory and legally held there in slavery
  - Reasons—Fifth Amendment—forbade Congress to deprive people of property without due process of law

## VII. The Dred Scott Bombshell (cont.)

Court went further:

- Ruled Compromise of 1820 unconstitutional
- Congress had no power to ban slavery from territories, regardless of what territorial legislatures themselves might want
- Southerners delighted with victory
- Champions of popular sovereignty aghast
- Another lethal wedge driven between northern and southern wings of once united Democratic party



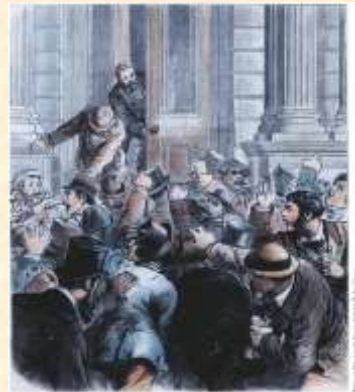
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## VII. The Dred Scott Bombshell (cont.)

- Foes of slavery extension infuriated by *Dred Scott*:
  - Insisted ruling was an opinion, not a binding decision
  - Republicans defied Court because:
    - Most members of Court were southern
    - By entering politics, Court had debased itself
  - Southerners inflamed by this defiance:
    - How long could they be joined to a section that refused to honor Supreme Court?

## VIII. The Financial Crash of 1857

- **Panic of 1857: why crash?**
  - Inpouring California gold inflated currency
  - Demands of Crimean War (Russia, 1853-1856) overstimulated grain production
  - Frenzied speculation in land and railroads
- Over 5,000 businesses failed:
  - North and its grain growers hardest hit
  - South enjoyed favorable cotton prices abroad



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## VIII. The Financial Crash of 1857 (cont.)

- Panic provided further proof cotton was king:
  - Helped drive overconfident southerners closer to shooting showdown
- Distress in North, esp. agriculture, invigorated call for homesteads of 160 acres from public domain
- Opposition to free farmland:
  - Eastern industrialists feared losing workers
  - South opposed because plantation slavery not possible on only 160 acres

## VIII. The Financial Crash of 1857 (cont.)

- Congress (1860) passed a homestead act
  - Public land available for 25 cents an acre
  - Killed by President Buchanan's veto
- Panic of 1857 created clamor for higher tariff rates
- because of large Treasury surplus as well as pressure from South, Congress lowered tariffs in 1857



## VIII. The Financial Crash of 1857 (cont.)

- **Tariff of 1857:**
  - Reduced duties to about 20 percent on dutiable goods—lowest point since 1812
  - As Treasury surplus melted away:
    - » Industrials in North pointed to need for higher duties
    - » Concerned mostly about need for increased protection
- Panic of 1857 gave Republicans two surefire economic issues for 1860 election:
  - Protection for unprotected
  - Farms for farmless

## IX. An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges

- Illinois senatorial election of 1858 claimed national spotlight:
  - Senator Stephen Douglas up for reelection
  - Republicans ran Springfield lawyer, Abraham Lincoln:
    - » Not well educated, but an avid reader
    - » Married “above himself” into influential Todd family of Kentucky—helped to school him in patience and forbearance
    - » Emerged as a trial lawyer in Illinois
    - » Widely referred to as “Honest Abe”
    - » Served an undistinguished term in Congress, 1847-1849

## IX. An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges (cont.)

- Kansas-Nebraska Act light a fire within him:
  - » Emerged as one of foremost Republican politicians and orators in Northwest
- At Republican convention in 1856, Lincoln received 100 votes for vice-presidential nomination



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## X. The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

- **Lincoln-Douglas debates:**
  - Lincoln challenged Douglas to series of debates
  - Douglas accepted
  - Took place from August to October 1858
  - Most famous debate at Freeport, Illinois:
    - Lincoln presented a question based on Supreme Court ruling in *Dred Scott* decision
    - Douglas had already publicly answered **Freeport question**
    - “Little Giant” did not hesitate to meet issue head-on, honestly and consistently

## X. The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

- **Freeport Doctrine:**
  - No matter how Supreme Court ruled, slavery would stay down if people voted it down
  - Laws to protect slavery would have to be passed by territorial legislatures
    - In absence of popular approval, slavery would soon disappear
  - Where public opinion does not support federal government, as was case with Jefferson's embargo (see Chap. 11), law is impossible to enforce

## X. The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas (cont.)

- Douglas defeated Lincoln for Senate seat:
  - His loyalty to popular sovereignty was decisive
  - Senators then chosen by state legislatures
- “Honest Abe” emerged as potential Republican nominee for president
- Douglas, in winning Illinois, lost chances of winning presidency
- Lincoln-Douglas debates proved to be one of the preliminary battles of Civil War



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## XI. John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

- Studied tactics of black rebels Toussaint L'Ouverture (Chap. 11) and Nat Turner (Chap. 16)
  - Hatched scheme to invade South secretly:
    - Then call upon slaves to rebel and furnish them with arms
    - Establish a black free state as a sanctuary
  - **Harpers Ferry:**
    - Brown seized federal arsenal in October 1859
    - Killed seven innocent people (incl. a free black)
    - Injured ten or so more
    - Slaves failed to rise up

## XI. John Brown: Murderer or Martyr? (cont.)

- Brown and his remnants captured by U.S. Marines under Robert E. Lee:
  - Convicted of murder and treason
  - Marched up scaffold steps without flinching
  - Devotion to freedom so inflexible, he took on exalted character
- Effects of Harper Ferry were inflammatory:
  - To South, Brown a murderer and an apostle of treason
    - Assumed entire North was “Brown-loving” Republicans

## XI. John Brown: Murderer or Martyr? (cont.)

- Moderate northerners and Republican leaders deplored Brown's actions
- Abolitionists and ardent free-soilers infuriated by Brown's execution
  - Free-soil centers in North tolled bells, fired guns, lowered flags, and held rallies
- Ghost of martyred Brown would not be laid to rest



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## XII. The Disruption of the Democrats

- Presidential election of 1860 was most fateful in American history:
  - Democrats met in Charleston, South Carolina:
    - Douglas leading candidate of northern wing
    - Southern wing regarded him as traitor because of Lecompton Constitution and Freeport Doctrine
    - Cotton state delegates walked out
    - Remaining delegates disbanded after unable to generate enough votes to nominate Douglas
  - First tragic secession was secession of southerners from Democratic National Convention:
    - Departure became habit-forming

## XII. The Disruption of the Democrats (cont.)

- Democrats tried again in Baltimore:
  - Douglas Democrats firmly in control
  - After cotton-state delegates again withdrew, rest of delegates enthusiastically nominated Douglas
  - Platform came out squarely:
    - For popular sovereignty
    - Against obstruction of Fugitive Slave Law by states
- Southern Democrats then selected John Breckinridge as their candidate:
  - Platform favored extension of slavery into territories and annexation of slave-populated Cuba

## XII. The Disruption of the Democrats (cont.)

- **Constitutional Union party:**
  - Middle-of-the-road group
  - Sneered as "Do Nothing" or "Old Gentleman's" party
  - Wanted a compromise candidate, met in Baltimore and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for presidency

## XIII. A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union

- Republicans met in Chicago:
  - William Seward was best known candidate:
    - "Irrepressible conflict" speech at Rochester 1858 ruined his prospects
    - Enemies' slogan, "Success Rather Than Steward"
  - Lincoln of Illinois:
    - "Second Best," but a strong candidate because had fewer enemies
    - Overtook Seward on third ballot to gain nomination
  - Platform made appeal to every nonsouthern group:
    - For free-soilers, nonextension of slavery
    - For northern manufacturers, a protective tariff
    - For immigrants, no abridgment of rights

## XIII. A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union (cont.)

- For Northwest, a Pacific railroad
- For West, internal improvements at federal expense
- For farmers, free homesteads from public domain
- Southern secessionists called Lincoln "abolitionist" rail-splitter who would split Union
- Lincoln hated slavery, but he was no outright abolitionist
- Lincoln enthusiasts staged roaring rallies and parades
- Douglas waged vigorous speaking campaign
- Returns proclaimed sweeping victory for Lincoln (see Table 19.1)



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**TABLE 19.3 Election of 1860**

| Candidate    | Popular vote | Percentage of Popular vote | Electoral Vote   |
|--------------|--------------|----------------------------|--|
| Lincoln      | 1,865,201    | 30.2%                      | 180 (every vote of the free states except for 3 of New Jersey's 7 votes) |
| Douglas      | 1,362,713    | 20.4%                      | 12 (only Missouri and 3 of New Jersey's 7 votes)                         |
| Breckinridge | 848,266      | 13.8%                      | 72 (all the cotton states)   |
| Bell         | 581,286      | 9.6%                       | 39 (Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee)                                       |

Source: Census Bureau, 1860 Census

Table 19-1 p413

## XIV. The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

- Lincoln a minority president:
  - 60% of voters preferred someone else
- Lincoln a sectional president:
  - In ten southern states, not on ballot
  - Election of 1860 was virtually two elections: one for North and one for South (see Map 19.3)
- South Carolina rejoiced over Lincoln's victory; they now had excuse to secede
- Douglas won only twelve electoral votes:
  - Campaigned energetically for himself
  - Douglas and Breckinridge together amassed 365,476 more votes than did Lincoln



Map 19-3 p414

## XIV. The Electoral Upheaval of 1860 (cont.)

- Ballot box did not indicate strong sentiment for secession (see Map 19.4)
- Breckinridge polled fewer votes in slave states than combined strength of Douglas and Bell
  - Breckinridge failed to carry his own state of Kentucky
- Even though Republicans had elected Lincoln:
  - They controlled neither Senate nor House
  - South had 5-4 majority on Supreme Court
  - U.S. government could not touch slavery in slave states, except by constitutional amendment, which slave states could easily block



Map 19-4 p415

## XIV. The Electoral Upheaval of 1860 (cont.)

- Hot passions, not cool reason, began to drive events
- South Carolina had threatened to secede if "sectional" Lincoln won:
  - Four days after election, S.C. called a special convention
  - Meeting in Charleston, December 1860, convention voted unanimously to secede
- Action set off chain reaction of secession

## XV. The Collapse of Compromise

- **Crittenden amendments** to Constitution:
  - Sponsored by Senator John Jordan Crittenden (Kentucky) to appease South
  - Slavery in territories north of 36° 30' line banned, but south of line, it would be federally protected in all territories existing or "hereafter to be acquired"
  - Future states could come into Union with or without slavery as they choose
  - Slavery supporters guaranteed full rights in southern territories regardless of popular sovereignty during territorial period

## XV. The Collapse of Compromise (cont.)

- Lincoln flatly rejected Crittenden scheme
- Elected on platform that opposed extension of slavery, Lincoln felt he could not yield, even if slavery gains might only to be temporary

## XVI. The Secessionist Exodus

- As Crittenden Compromise failed in early 1861, six more southern states voted to secede:
  - Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas
- Four more would join later, bringing total to eleven
- **Confederate States of America:**
  - Formed by seven seceding states in Montgomery, Alabama in February 1861:
  - Chose Jefferson Davis as their president



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## XVI. The Secessionist Exodus (cont.)

- Crisis deepened by "lame duck" interlude:
  - Lincoln could not take office until March 4, 1861
  - During this time, secessionist move gained momentum
  - Buchanan blamed for not holding nation together
  - He did not believe southern states could legally secede
  - He could find no authority in Constitution for stopping secession by force

## XVI. The Secessionist Exodus (cont.)

- Another reason he did not resort to force:
  - » Tiny standing army of 15,000 needed to control Indians in West
- North also not interested in fighting at this time
- Weakness not so much in Buchanan, but in Constitution and in Union itself
- Ironically, when Lincoln became president, he continued Buchanan's wait-and-see policy

## XVII. Farewell to Union

- Secessionists left for a number of reasons, most related to slavery:
  - Threatened by North's "despotic majority of numbers"
  - Dismayed by triumph of Republican party
  - Weary of free-soil criticism, abolitionist nagging, and Northern interference ranging from Underground Railroad to John Brown's raid
  - Supported secession because sure departure would be unopposed
  - Saw secession as golden opportunity to cast aside generations of "vassalage" to North

## XVII. Farewell to Union (cont.)

- An independent Dixieland could develop its own banking and shipping and trade directly with Europe
- Who could tell when "greedy" Republicans would pass oppressive protective tariff?
- Tensions for decades between:
  - North with its manufacturing plants
  - South with its agricultural exports
- Worldwide impulses of nationalism fermenting in South
- Principles of self-determination from Declaration of Independence—seemed to many southerners to apply

## XVII. Farewell to Union (cont.)

- Few southern states felt they were doing anything wrong or immoral
- Historical parallel ran even deeper:
  - 1776: thirteen American colonies, led by rebel George Washington, seceded from British empire by throwing off yoke of King George III
  - 1860-1861: eleven American states, led by rebel Jefferson Davis, were seceding from Union by throwing off yoke of "King" Abraham Lincoln
  - With Union burden gone, South confident that it could work out its own peculiar destiny more quietly, happily, and prosperously



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### CHRONOLOGY

|           |   |      |  |
|-----------|---|------|--|
| 1852      | Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes Uncle Tom's Cabin | 1861 | Lincoln is elected President             |
| 1853-1856 | Civil War in Russia                               | 1862 | Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation |
| 1854      | Kansas-Nebraska Act                               | 1863 | Lincoln-Douglas debates                  |
| 1856      | Republican party forms                            | 1864 | Lincoln re-elected President             |
| 1856      | Republican party forms                            | 1865 | Lincoln is assassinated                  |
| 1856      | Republican party forms                            | 1865 | Lincoln is assassinated                  |
| 1856      | Republican party forms                            | 1865 | Lincoln is assassinated                  |
| 1856-1861 | Civil War in "bleeding Kansas"                    | 1865 | Lincoln is assassinated                  |
| 1861      | Lincoln is elected President                      | 1865 | Lincoln is assassinated                  |
| 1861      | Lincoln is elected President                      | 1865 | Lincoln is assassinated                  |

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