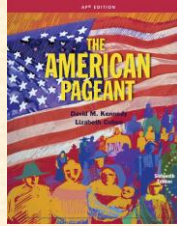


Chapter 18

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

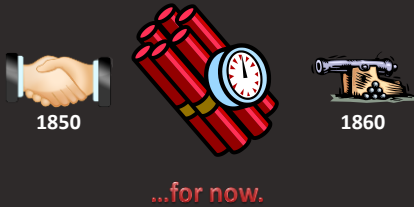
4. Texas sells land / Federal Gov. assumes debt

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: Mrs. Susan M. Poyer
Horse Greeley HS Chappaqua, NY
Additions by M. Lynde
Carrick County High School Barco, NC
More additions by Darrell Duncan
Marshall Hyde Magnet School Hendersonville, TN

U.S. History Quotes

27-Immediate Causes of the Civil War

- "If the people of Kansas want a slaveholding state, let them have it, and if they want a free state they have a right to it, and it is not for the people of Illinois, or Missouri, or New York, or Kentucky, to complain, whatever the decision of the people of Kansas may be." 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 drenched in blood. The people of the North are not going to let the country be destroyed without a mighty effort to save it. Only in spirit and determination are you prepared for war. Go on else you are totally unprepared." William Tecumseh Sherman
- "Gentlemen of the slave states, We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is 'right.'" Jay Senator Sumner
- "This atrocious decision furnishes final 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, disenfranchised, and degraded class." Robert Purvis
- "It matters not what way the Supreme Court may decide: the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please. If the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives who will by unfriendly legislation preclude the introduction of it into their midst." Stephen Douglas
- "The history of the Republican party of the North is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of absolute tyranny over the slaveholding states. The South has compromised until she can compromise no further." *Free Citizens Newspaper* Editorial
- "I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, of a design on my part to free slaves." 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 pathos
 - Deeper sources of her anti-slavery sentiments lay in evangelical crusades of Second Great Awakening

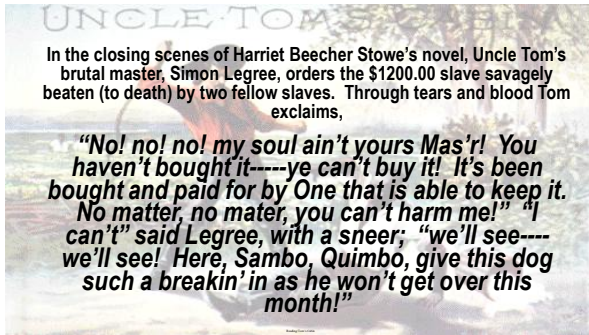
I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries (cont.)

- 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!

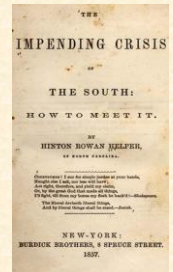


I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries (cont.)

– *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857) by Hinton R. Helper:

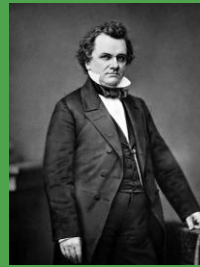
- Hating slavery and blacks, he attempted to prove with statistics that, indirectly, non-slaveholding whites were ones who suffered most from millstone of slavery
- He finally found a publisher in North



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

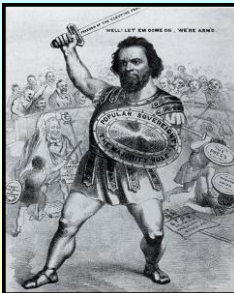
- Helped fuel fears of planters that non-slaveholding majority might abandon them
- Book banned in South
- In North, thousands distributed as campaign literature by Republicans
 - Southerners embittered when learned northern brethren spreading wicked “lies”

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

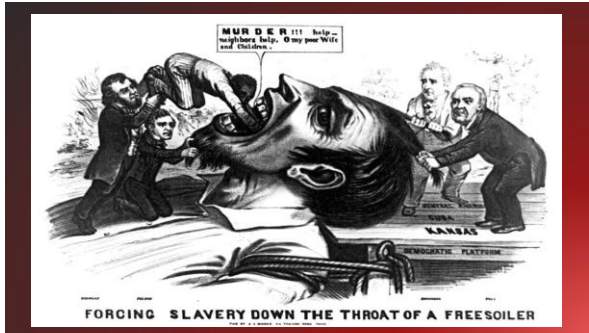
POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

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

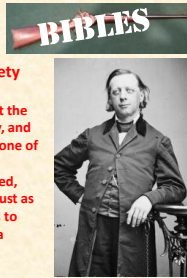
- Popular sovereignty:
 - **New England Emigrant Aid Company:**
 - Antislavery organization sent 2,000 people to Kansas to forestall South and to make profit
 - Many carried new breech-loading Sharps rifles, nicknamed "Beecher's Bibles" after Rev. Henry Ward Beecher (Harriet Beecher Stowe's brother) 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

"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/interactive/sectionalism/season3/>

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



"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

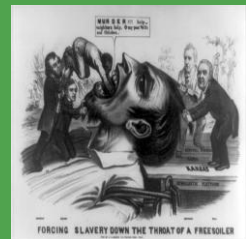
– Kansas applied for statehood on popular sovereignty basis

Conflicting Constitutions



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 boycott the polls.
 - Proslaveryites approved constitution with slavery 1857



http://www.kent.org/history/images/online/forcing-slavery_13.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

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

Document 6.5

CHIVALRY

DON QUIXOTE

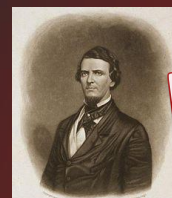
“The Crime Against Kansas”

Charles Sumner
US Senator (Mass.)

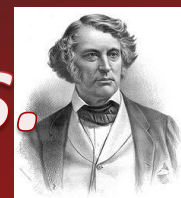
IV. “Bully” Brooks and His Bludgeon (cont.)

- 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)



Sen. Charles Sumner (MA)

VS.



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.



The birthplace of the Republican Party in Ripon, Wisconsin March 20, 1854

1856 Presidential Election



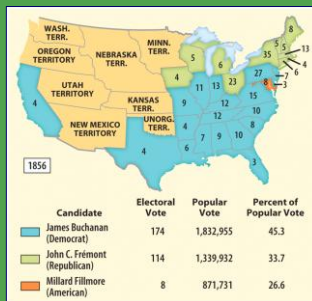
James Buchanan
Democrat



John C. Frémont
Republican



Millard Fillmore
Whig & Know-Nothing Party



1856 Election Results

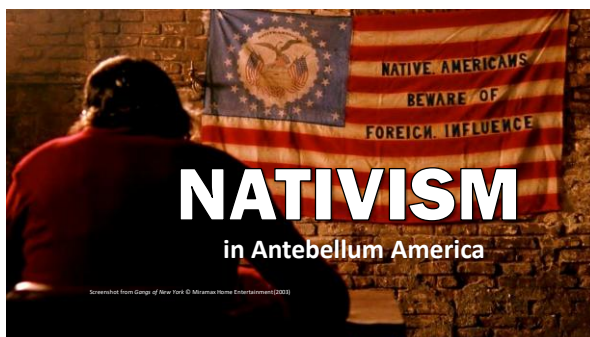
Note: 2 year old Republicans received a large chunk of the votes even if they did lose.

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 18th 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**



Religious Group	Percentage
Evangelical Protestant	23%
Catholic	19%
Mainline Protestant	11%
Black Protestant	5%
Other Christian	3%
Latter-day Saints	2%
Jewish	2%
Muslim	1%
Buddhist	1%
Hindu	1%
Other World Religions	2%
Atheist	5%
Agnostic	6%
Nothing in Particular	19%

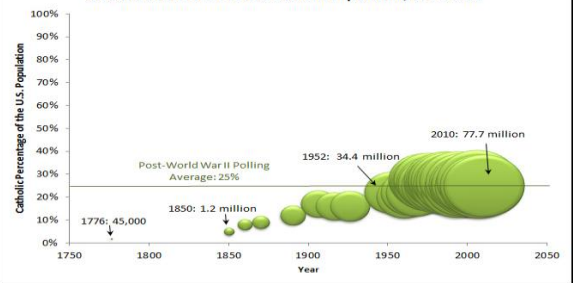
The largest Christian subgroups in the United States are Protestants, who now make up 40% of U.S. adults, and Catholics at 19%. An additional 3% identify with other Christian groups, including the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Jehovah's Witnesses, and others.

Source: Pew Forum

CATHOLICS
are the 2nd
largest
RELIGIOUS
GROUP



Size and Growth of the U.S. Catholic Population, 1776-2010



1/3

of immigrants during the antebellum period were

Irish



1/2

of immigrants during the

1840s



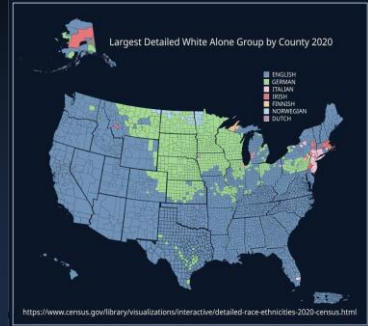


FAMINE

Over a million people left Ireland during the Irish Potato Famine (1845-1852).

GERMAN AMERICANS

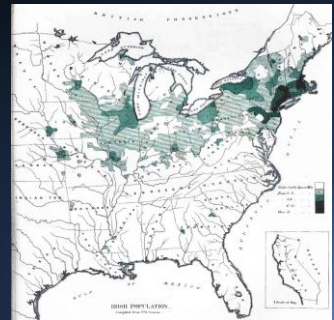
"German" is the most common nation of origin identified by Americans today after English



German-American POPULATION DENSITY (1872)



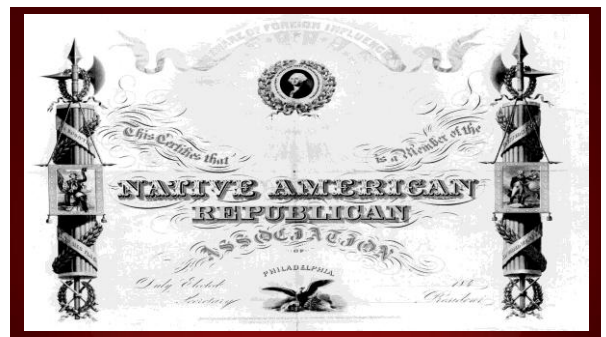
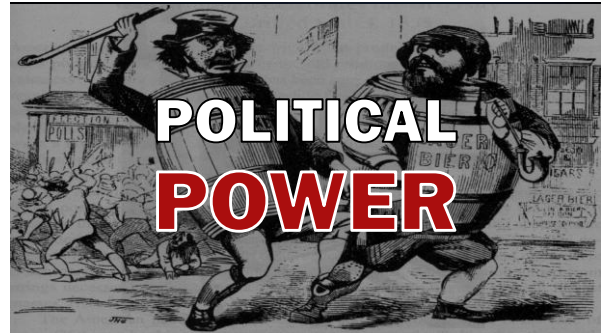
Irish-American POPULATION DENSITY (1872)

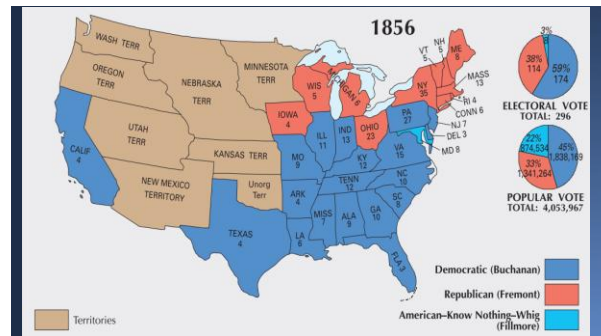
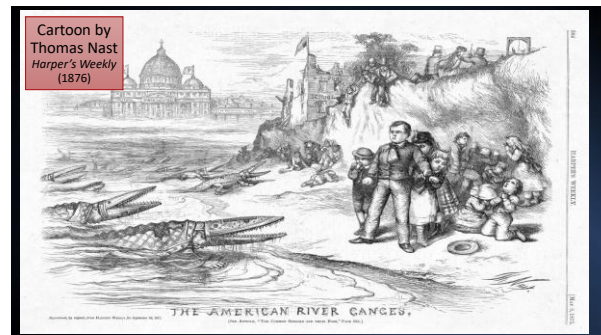


NATIVISM

Established Citizens
vs. Recent Immigrants

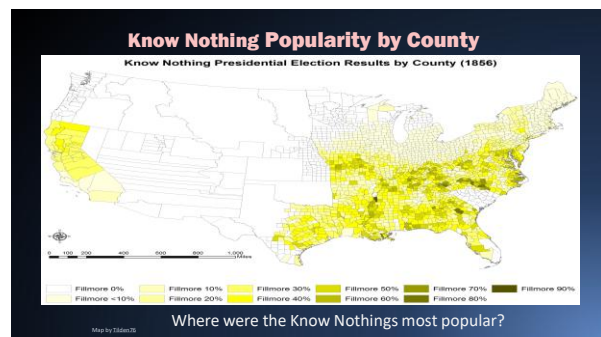


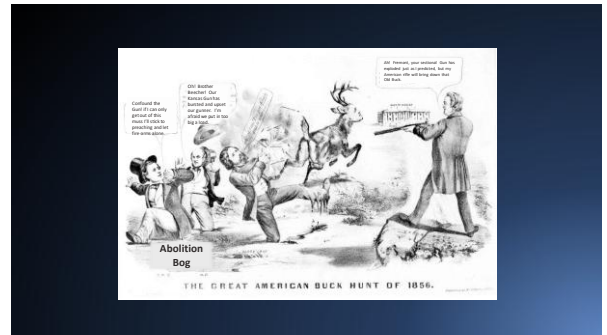
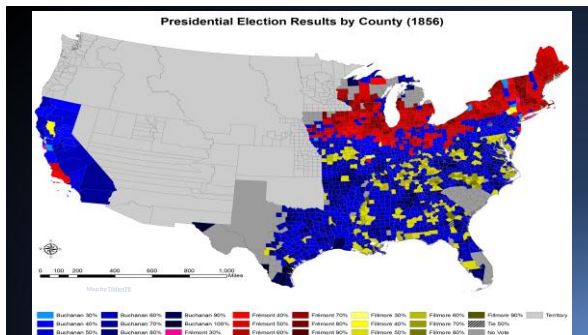




VI. The Electoral Fruits of 1856

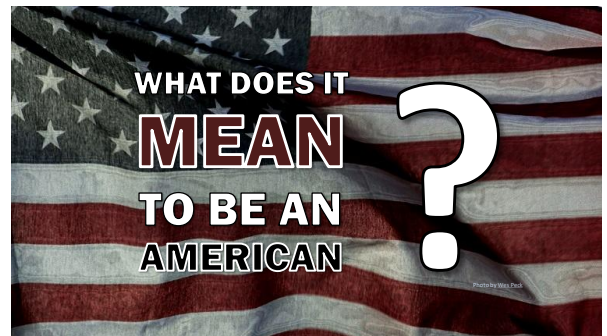
- The election returns:
 - Buchanan
 - Polled less than a majority of popular vote
 - Won handily (see Map 19.2)
 - Electoral College count was 174 to 114 (for Frémont) and 8 (for Fillmore)
 - Popular vote:
 - 1,832,955 for Buchanan
 - 1,339,932 for Frémont
 - 871,731 for Fillmore





“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



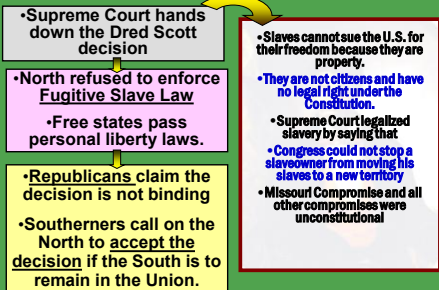
EXECUTIVE BRANCH	LEGISLATIVE BRANCH	JUDICIAL BRANCH
President	Congress	Supreme Court
_____ Laws	_____ Laws	_____ Laws

DRED SCOTT DECISION



- Slave from Missouri travelled 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?

DRED SCOTT DECISION



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 Debates, 1858

(Illinois Senate)

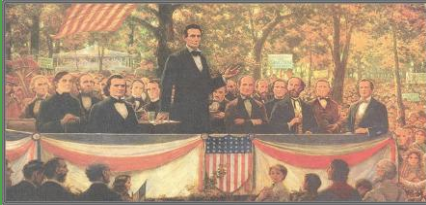


A House divided against itself, cannot stand.

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**

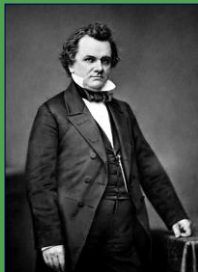
LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES



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

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."



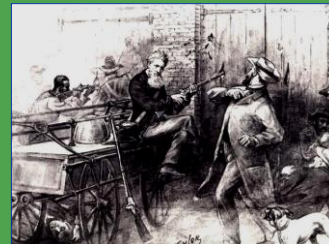
Stephen Douglas
Freeport Doctrine

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



SLAVE REVOLTS

- Slaves resorted to revolts in the 13 colonies and later in the southern U.S.
- **250 insurrections** have been documented; between **1780 and 1864**.
- **91 African-Americans** were convicted of insurrection in Virginia alone.
- First revolt in what became the United States took place in 1526 at a Spanish settlement near the mouth of the Pee Dee River in South Carolina.

Slave Revolts

SLAVE REVOLTS

Stono County Rebellion

• **September 9, 1739**, twenty black Carolinians met near the Stono River, approximately twenty miles southwest of Charleston. They took guns and powder from a store and killed the two storekeepers they found there.

• "With cries of 'Liberty' and beating of drums," the rebels raised a standard and headed south toward Spanish St. Augustine. Burned houses, and killed white opponents.

• Largest slave uprising in the 13 colonies prior to the American Revolution.

• Slaveowners caught up with the band of 60 to 100 slaves. **20 white Carolinians and 40 black Carolinians were killed before the rebellion was suppressed.**

Slave Revolts/Rebels

SLAVE REVOLTS

- Slaves resorted to revolts in the 13 colonies and later in the southern U.S.
- **Gabriel Prosser**
- **Denmark Vessey**
- **Nat Turner**

Slave Revolts

SLAVE REVOLTS

Gabriel Prosser, (1776-1800), American leader of an aborted slave uprising, whose intention was to create a free black state in Virginia. Born near Richmond, he was the son of an African mother who instilled in him the love of freedom. Inspired perhaps by the success of the black revolutionaries of Haiti, he plotted with other slaves, notably Jack Bowler, in the spring of 1800 to seize the arsenal at Richmond and kill whites. On **August 30, 1800**, as many as 1000 armed slaves gathered outside Richmond ready for action. A torrential downpour and thunderstorm, however, washed away a bridge vital to the insurrectionists' march; at the same time **Governor James Monroe**, the future president, was informed of the plot and dispatched the state militia against them. **Prosser and some 35 of his young comrades were captured and hanged.**

Slave Revolts

SLAVE REVOLTS

The leader of an American slave revolt in Charleston, S.C., **Denmark Vesey**, b. Africa, 1767, d. July 2, 1822, had been owned by a slave-ship captain before he purchased his freedom (1800) with \$600 won in a street lottery. As a freedman in Charleston, he worked at carpentry, became a leader of his church, and read antislavery literature. Determined to strike a blow against the institution that had victimized him, **he devised an intricate conspiracy for an uprising in Charleston and vicinity during the summer of 1822.** Informers divulged the plot, however, and 35 blacks, including Vesey, were executed.

Slave Revolts/Vesey

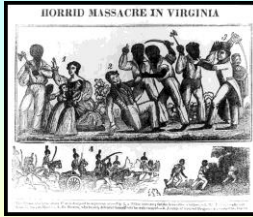
SLAVE REVOLTS

Nat Turner Rebellion

Nat Turner, a slave owned by Joseph Travis of Southampton, Virginia, believed that he had been chosen by God to lead a slave rebellion. On **21st August, 1831**, Turner and seven fellow slaves, murdered Travis and his family. Over the next two days and nights, Turner's band killed around 60 white people in Virginia. Turner had hoped that this action would cause a massive slave uprising but only 75 joined his rebellion. Over 3,000 members of the state militia were sent to deal with Turner's gang, and they were soon defeated. In retaliation, more than a hundred innocent slaves were killed. Turner went into hiding but was captured six weeks later. **Nat Turner was executed on 11th November, 1831.**

Slave Revolts/Turner

SLAVE REVOLTS



Nat Turner Rebellion

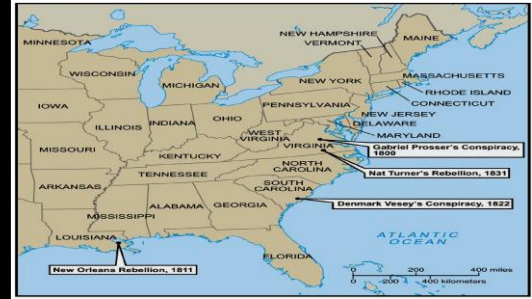


Arrest of Nat Turner



Tree Nat Turner was hung on

SLAVE REVOLTS



SLAVE REVOLTS

Besides slave revolts, slaves resorted to other ways to revolt.....

- Wouldn't work hard.
- Would sabotage equipment or break tools.
- Sometimes poisoned their master's food.
- Tried to escape

SLAVE CODES AND LAWS

*Slave Revolts would lead plantation owners to develop a series of **slave laws/codes** which restricted the movement of the slaves.*

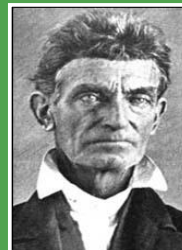
- Slaves were not taught to read or write
- Restricted to the plantation
- Slaves could not congregate after dark
- Slaves could not possess any type of firearm
- A larger slave plantation than white in some states

Slave owners wanted to keep their slaves ignorant of the outside world because learning about life beyond the plantation could lead to more slave revolts and wanting to escape.

Images of John Brown



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 Per-
 sons Killed---Telegraph Wires Cut---
 Contributions Levied on the Citizens.
 Troops Despatched Against the Insurgents
 from Washington and Baltimore.
 &c. &c. &c.

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

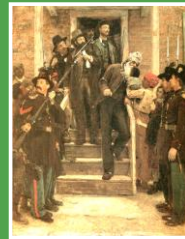


JOHN BROWN



•Unsuccessful and captured by USMC under
 the leadership of Robert E. Lee
 •Put on trial for treason.

JOHN BROWN



Picture of 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.

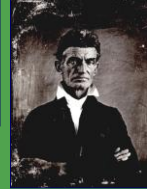
John Brown: Martyr or Madman?



John Brown: Madman, Hero or Martyr?



Mural in the Kansas Capitol building
by John Steuart Curry (20th)



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.

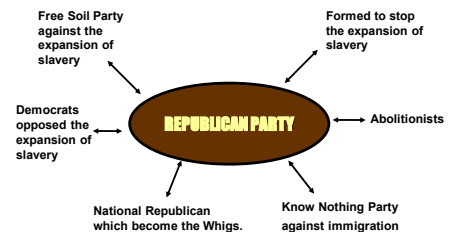


"I've been studying, and studying upon it, and its clar to me, it wasn't John Brown that died on that gallows. When I think how he gave up his life for our people, and how he never flinched, but was so brave to the end; its clar to me it wasn't mortal man, it was God in him."

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

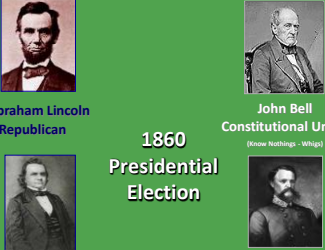


"[The Brown] affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little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



Chart/Map: Party





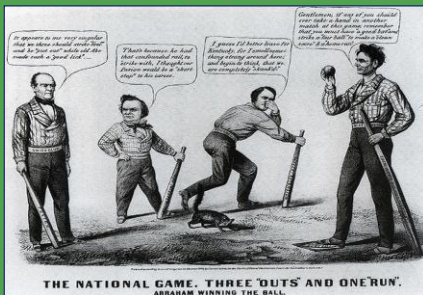
1860 Presidential Election

- Abraham Lincoln**
Republican
- John Bell**
Constitutional Union
(Know Nothings - Whigs)
- Stephen A. Douglas**
Northern Democrat
- John C. Breckinridge**
Southern Democrat

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 RR [for the Northwest].
- Internal improvements [for the West] at federal expense.
- Free homesteads for the public domain [for farmers].

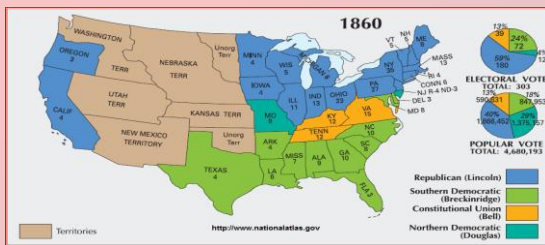
1860 Election: 3 "Outs" & 1 "Run!"



1860 Election: A Nation Coming Apart?!



1860 Presidential Election

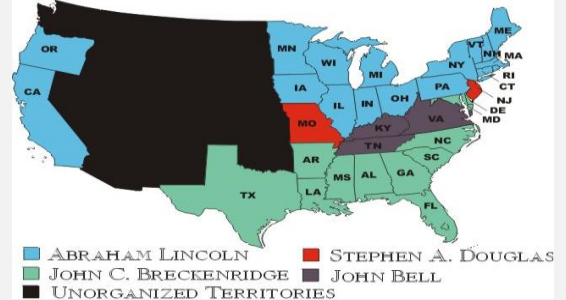


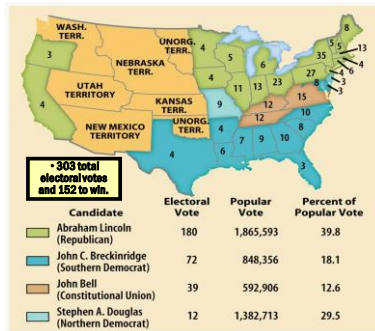
1852

1856

1860

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

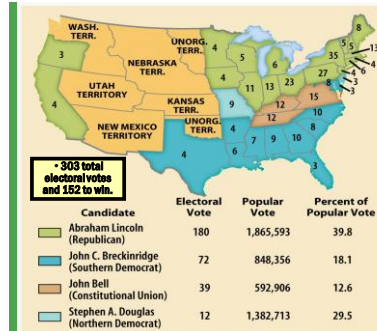




1860 Election Results

Lincoln as a "rail splitter" of electoral votes

South still owns the Supreme Court, House, and Senate.



ELECTION OF 1860

- Country is polarized (divided) over the issue of slavery.
- Once Lincoln is elected as president, South Carolina will secede from the U.S. along with several other Southern States.
- They will form the Confederate States of America—CSA

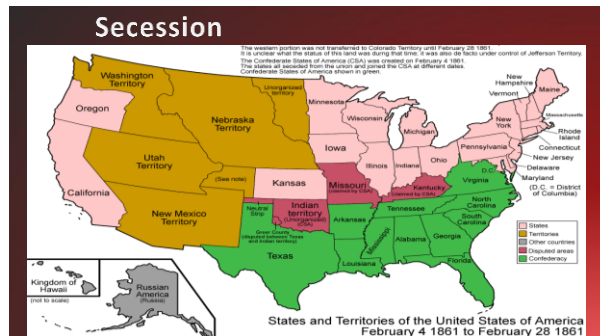
Abraham Lincoln
(R-IL)
Sixteenth President of the U.S.
1861-1865

Democratic Party split

Election prompted secession of states in the Deep South

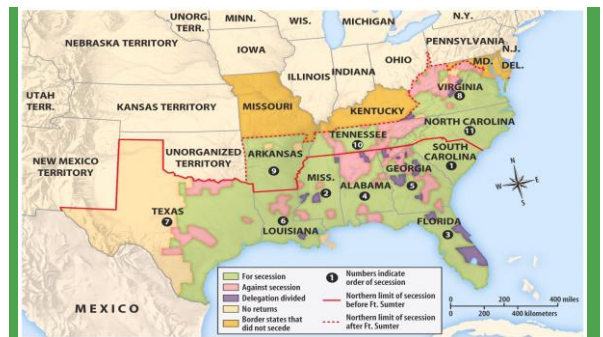
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/al16.html>



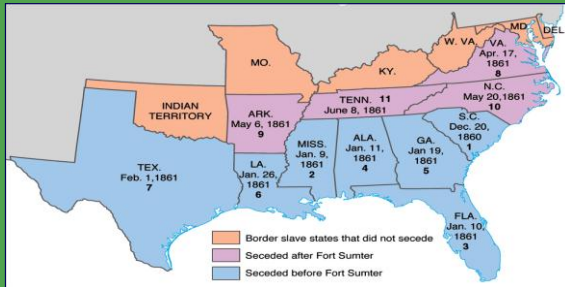


South Begins To Secede

- 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:

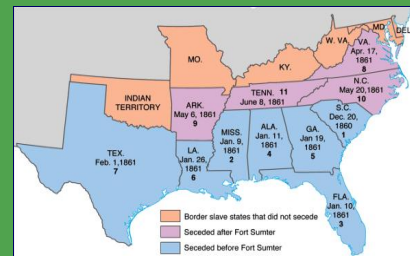
- no slavery in territories N of 36-30 line but S of that line - federal protection to all territories existing or acquired later (Cuba)
- future states could come in and choose their status
- Southerners guaranteed full rights in southern territories as long as they were territories, regardless of the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

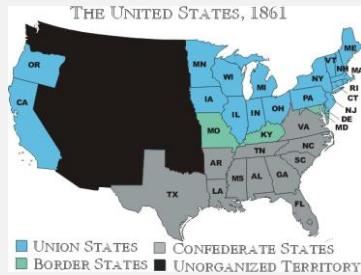
**Lincoln rejects the Crittenden Compromise*

Fort Sumter: April 12, 1861



Secession!: SC → Dec. 20, 1860





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 balance 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

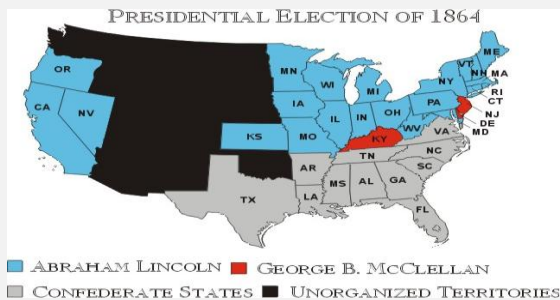
Historical Viewpoints pp. 432-433 *Could the Civil War have been avoided?*

1. 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)
2. 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
3. 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.

Does it matter when your relative or teacher went to school and how they think about the Civil War?

What is the view today?

How is that changing the way we Teach and "Honor" it?



V. "Old Buck" Versus "The Pathfinder"

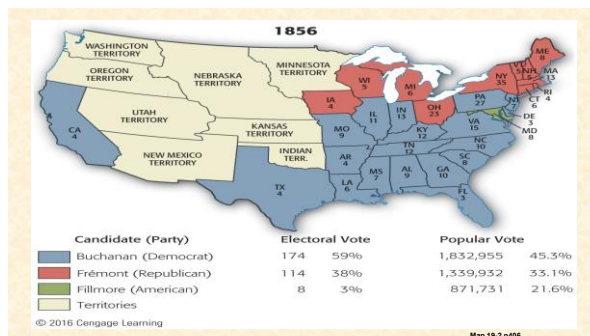
- Democrats met in Cincinnati to elect presidential standard-bearer of 1856
 - Delegates chose James Buchanan:
 - He was serving in London during Kansas-Nebraska uproar—therefore "Kansas-less"
 - In a crisis that called for giants, he was mediocre, irresolute, and confused
- Republicans met in Philadelphia: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



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 bullying

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-apatetic 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



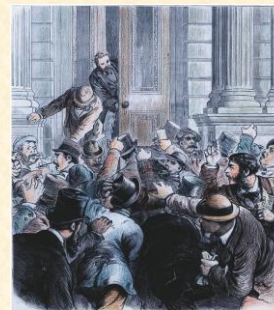
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VII. The Dred Scott Bombshell (cont.)

- 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.)

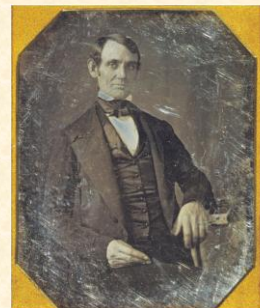
- **Tariff of 1857:**
 - Reduced duties to about 20 percent on dutiable goods—lowest point since 1812
 - As Treasury surplus melted away:
 - » Industrials in North pointed to need for higher duties
 - » Concerned mostly about need for increased protection
- Panic of 1857 gave Republicans two surefire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

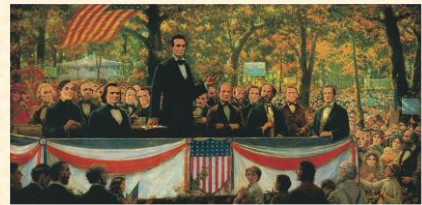
X. The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

– 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



XI. John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

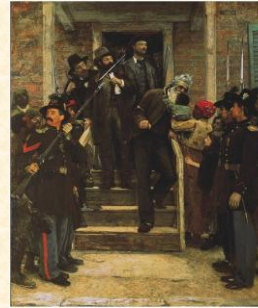
- Studied tactics of black rebels Toussaint L'Ouverture (Chap. 11) and Nat Turner (Chap. 16)
 - Hatched scheme to invade South secretly:
 - Then call upon slaves to rebel and furnish them with arms
 - Establish a black free state as a sanctuary
 - Harpers Ferry:
 - Brown seized federal arsenal in October 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 Leecompton 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)

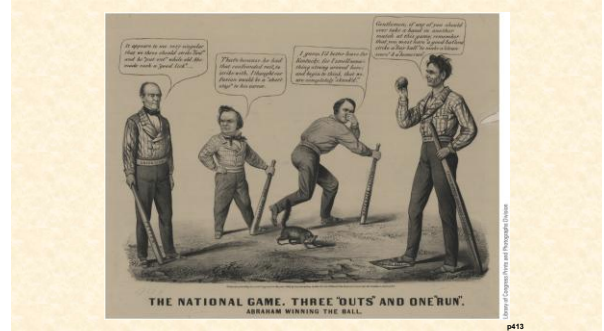


TABLE 19.1 Election of 1860

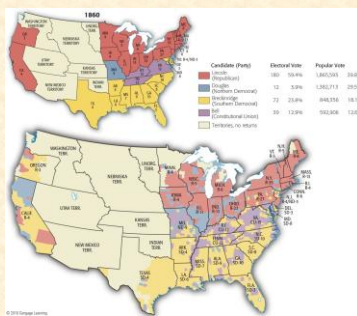
Candidate	Popular Vote	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
Lincoln	1,865,593	39.79%	180 (every vote of the free states except for 3 of New Jersey's 7 votes)
Douglas	1,382,713	29.40	12 (only Missouri and 3 of New Jersey's 7 votes)
Breckinridge	848,356	18.20	72 (all the cotton states)
Bell	592,406	12.61	39 (Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee)

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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



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



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

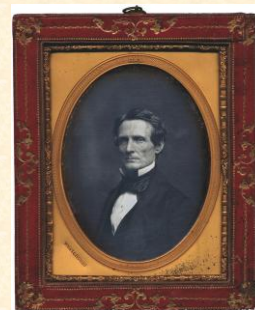
- **Crittenden amendments** to Constitution:
 - Sponsored by Senator John Jordan Crittenden (Kentucky) to appease South
 - Slavery in territories north of 36° 30' line banned, but south of line, it would be federally protected in all territories existing or "hereafter to be acquired"
 - Future states 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 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



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 <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i>	1857	Panic of 1857 Tariff of 1857 Hinton K. Helper publishes <i>The Impending Crisis of the South</i>
1853-1856	Crimson War in Russia	1858	Lincoln-Douglas debates
1854	Kansas-Nebraska Act Republican party forms	1859	Brown raids Harpers Ferry
1856	Buchanan defeats Fremont and Fillmore for presidency Sumner beaten by Brooks in Senate chamber Brown's Pottawatomie Massacre	1860	Lincoln wins four-way race for presidency South Carolina secedes from Union Crittenden Compromise fails
1856-1861	Civil war in "bleeding Kansas"	1861	Seven seceding states form Confederate States of America
1857	Dred Scott decision Lecompton Constitution rejected		

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