

Drifting Toward Disunion

1854 - 1861

Drift to Civil War

- Series of events through 1850s lead to Civil War
 - Violence in Kansas over slavery
 - Dred Scott decision
 - Lincoln's nomination for Republican president

Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries

- 1852 – Harriet Beecher Stowe published Uncle Tom's Cabin
 - Wanted to show North the wickedness of slavery, especially splitting of families
 - Hundreds of thousands of copies sold; translated into more than 20 languages

“The Separation of Mother and Child” – A Major Theme in Uncle Tom’s Cabin



THE SEPARATION OF THE MOTHER AND CHILD.

“The old men of the company, partly by persuasion and partly by force, loosed the poor creature’s last despairing hold, and, as they led her off to her new master’s waggon, strove to comfort her.”—Page 103.

Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries

- Reaction to Uncle Tom's Cabin
 - South condemned it as unfair and untrue
 - Stowe had only briefly seen slavery firsthand; most information came from ex-slaves
 - North profoundly influenced
 - Many refused to enforce Fugitive Slave Act at all
 - Gave North ideological justification for war
 - Very popular in Europe (Britain and France)
 - Elites in Britain and France supported South, but commoners supported North during Civil War to end slavery (brought to life by the book)

Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries

- 1857 – Hinton Helper published *The Impending Crisis of the South*
 - Non-aristocratic white from North Carolina
 - Hated blacks and slavery; tried to prove that non-slaveholding whites were most hurt by slavery

Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries

- Reaction to The Impending Crisis of the South
 - Not much influence among poor whites (the ones that he wrote the book to)
 - Made elite Southern whites fear (without justification) that non-slaveholding white majority in South might abandon them
 - Banned and burned in South
 - Widely read and distributed in North

The North-South Contest for Kansas

- Under Kansas-Nebraska Act, slavery was to be decided in both territories by voting (popular sovereignty)

The Legal Status of Slavery, from the Revolution to the Civil War



The North-South Contest for Kansas

- Northern immigrants into Kansas
 - Most northerners went there to settle and would have gone there no matter what
 - Smaller part were abolitionist or free soil northerners who were there to vote against slavery
 - New England Emigrant Aid Company sent 2,000
 - Many carried “Beecher’s Bibles” – rifles named after abolitionist Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, who helped pay for them

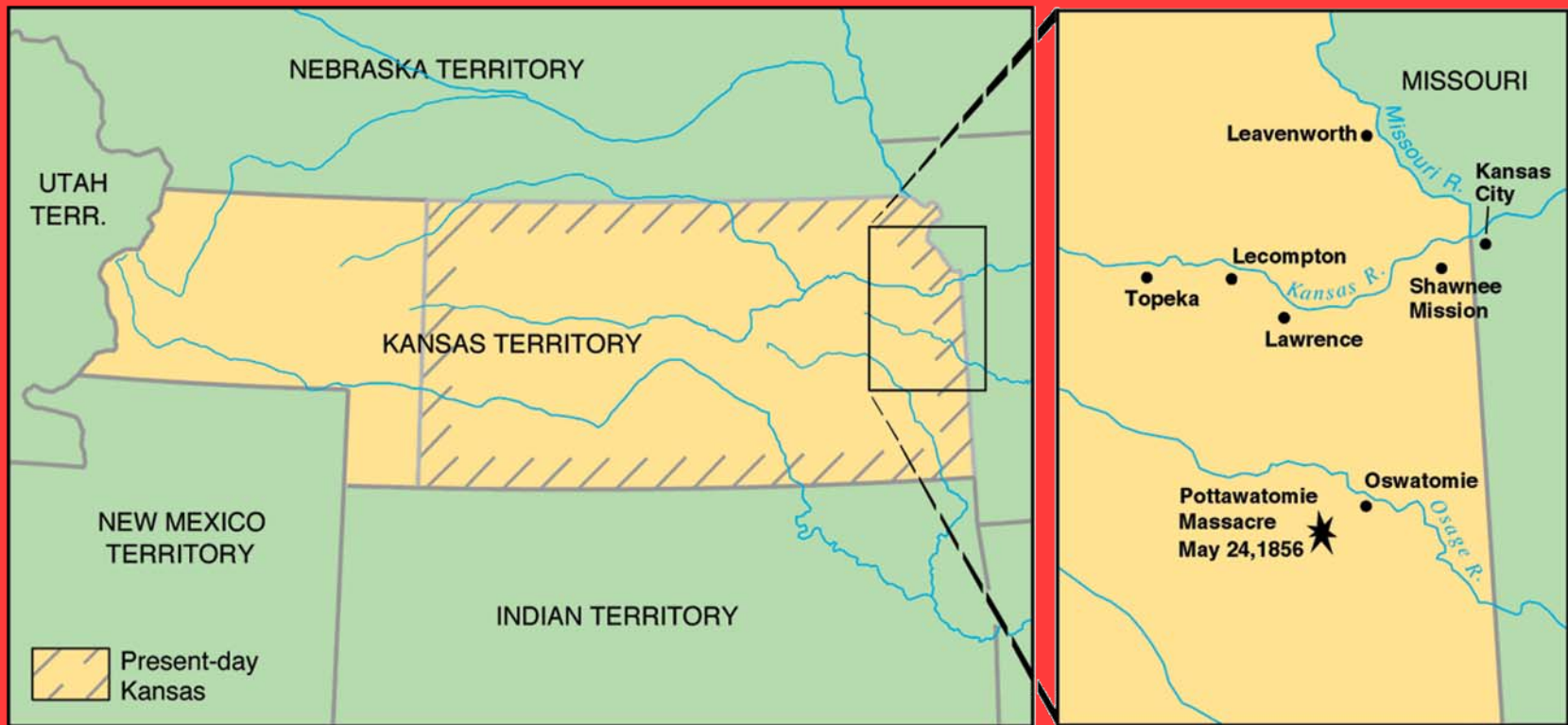
The North-South Contest for Kansas

- Southern reaction
 - Believed the “deal” of the Kansas-Nebraska Act meant that Kansas would be slave and Nebraska free
 - Some sent slaves and owners there
 - Reality was that both territories were unsuitable to slavery; few slaves were brought into Kansas (or Nebraska)

The North-South Contest for Kansas

- 1855 – vote on territorial legislature
 - “border ruffians” moved across Missouri to vote for proslavery government
 - Proslavery groups won; established government at Shawnee Mission
 - Antislavery groups then established their own (illegal) government formed at Topeka, Kansas
- 1856 – proslavery group shot up and burned part of Lawrence, Kansas, where many antislavery settlers lived

Bleeding Kansas, 1854–1860



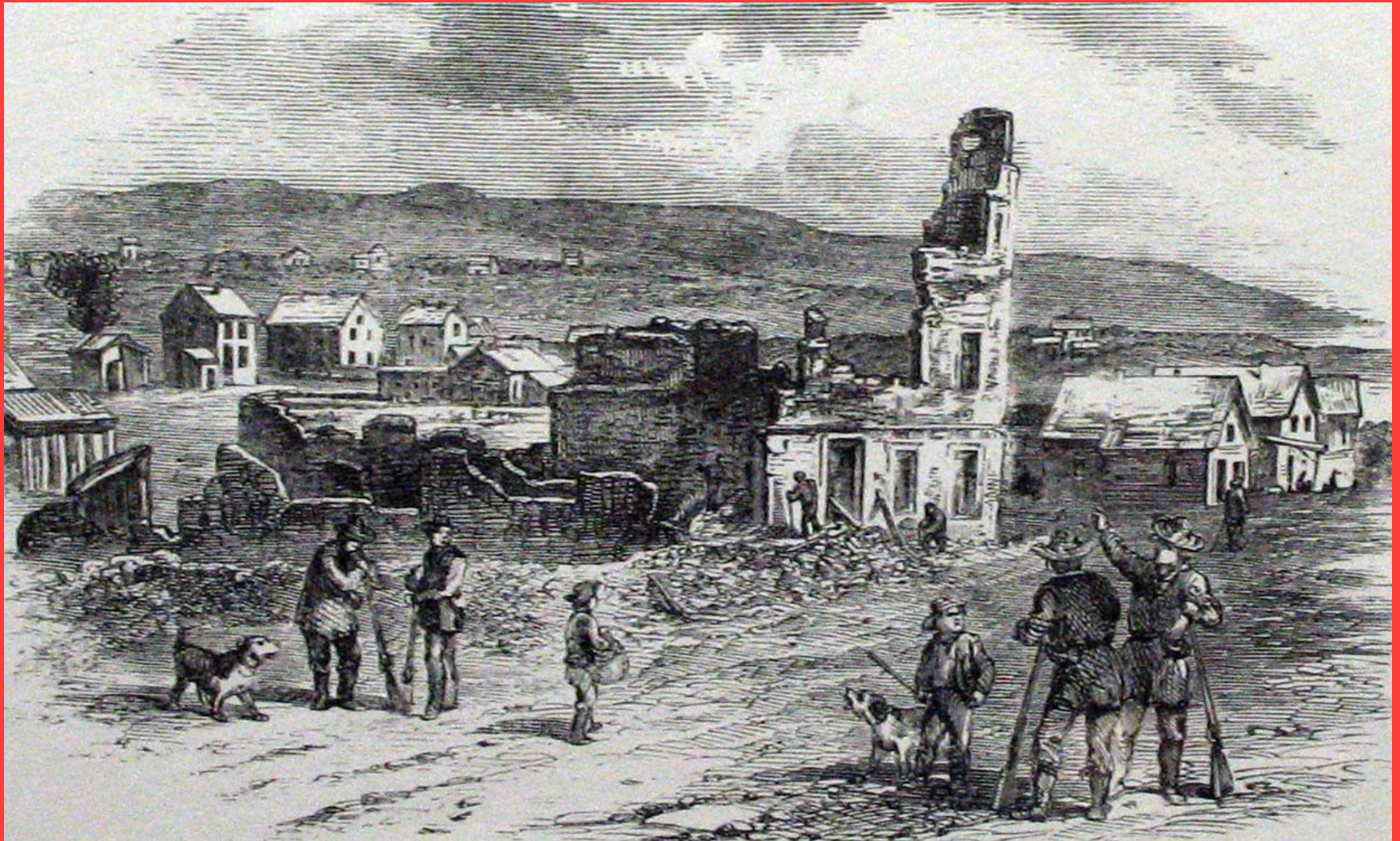


Border Ruffians Invading Kansas

Border Ruffians Attack a Group of Abolitionists



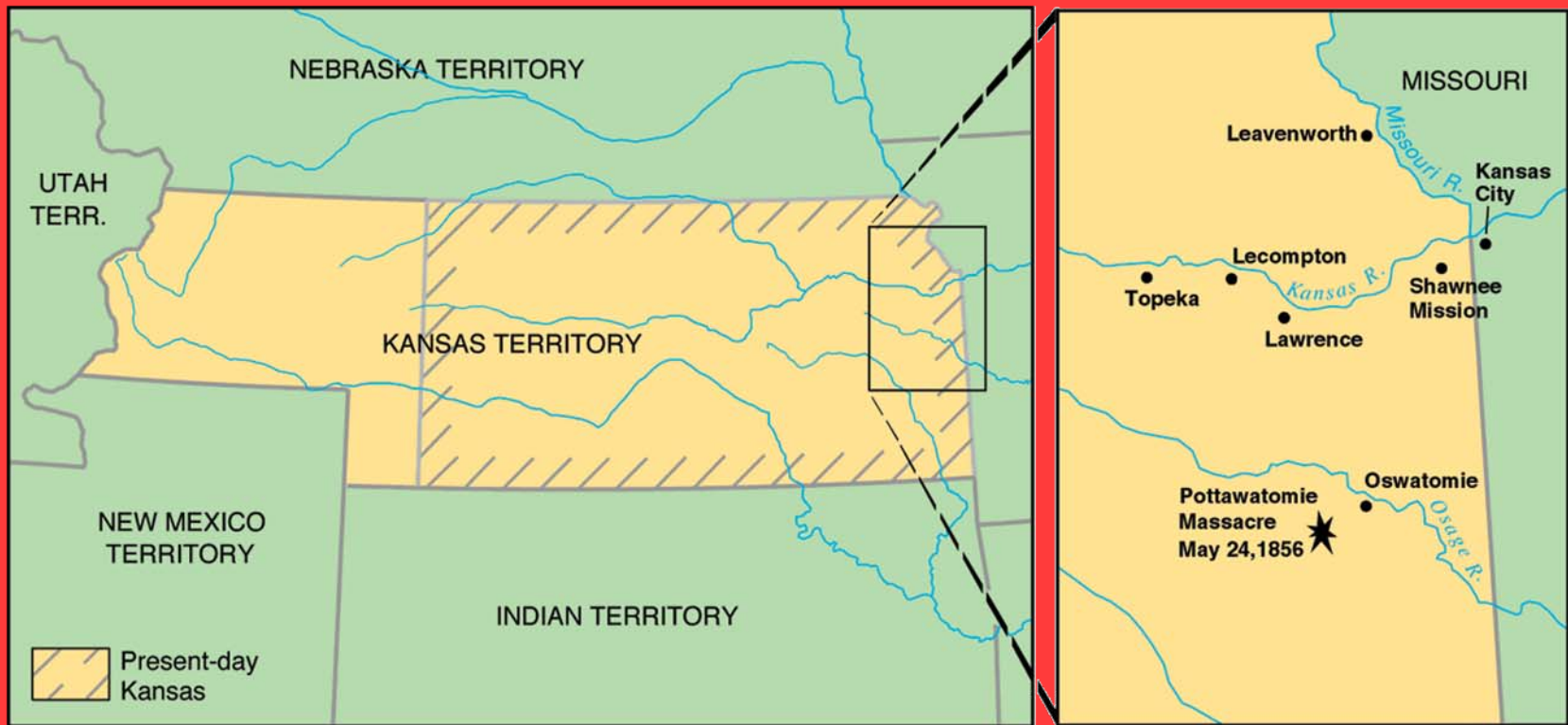
Destruction in Lawrence, Kansas After the Sacking

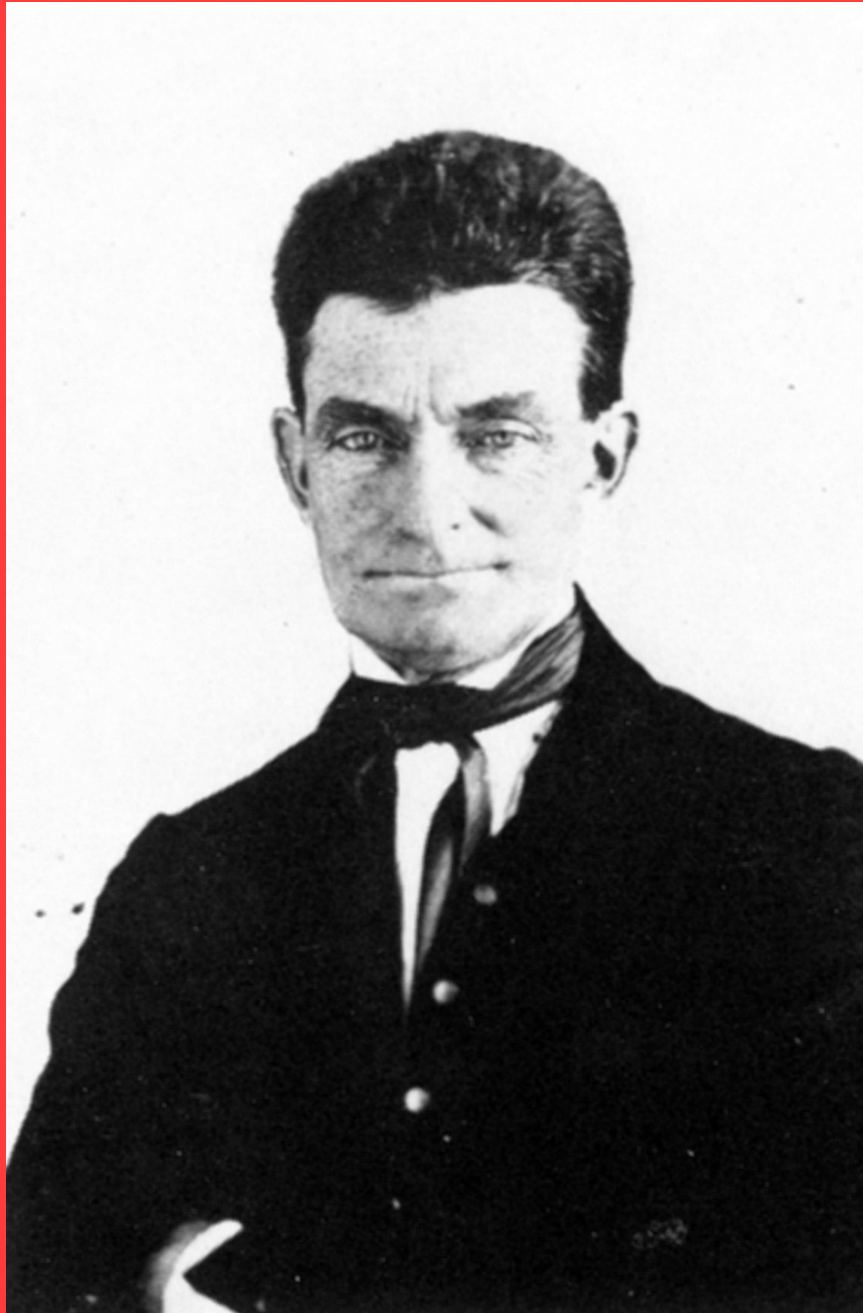


Kansas in Convulsion

- Pottawatomie Creek
 - May 1856 – fanatical abolitionist John Brown moves into Kansas (from Ohio)
 - Angry over Lawrence attack, Brown had some followers hack to death 5 proslavery men at Pottawatomie Creek
 - Proslavery men counterattack
 - Civil war erupts in Kansas and continues off and on until US Civil War begins in 1861

Bleeding Kansas, 1854–1860





**John
Brown**

Kansas in Convulsion

- 1857 – Kansas has enough people to apply for statehood
 - Slavery issue would be decided by popular sovereignty; free-soilers outnumbered proslavery people

Kansas in Convulsion

- Lecompton Constitution
 - Proslavery forces control legitimate government (at Shawnee Mission)
 - People only allowed to vote for the constitution “with slavery” or “with no slavery” – not on constitution itself
 - Even if “with no slavery” chosen, part of the constitution protected slave owners already in Kansas
 - Since no matter what, slavery would continue in Kansas, free-soilers boycotted the election
 - 1857 – constitution with slavery approved, angering free-soilers and abolitionists across the nation, not just in Kansas

Kansas in Convulsion

- Democrat President James Buchanan (strongly influenced by South) supported Lecompton Constitution
- Stephen Douglas fought against Lecompton Constitution, and for fair popular sovereignty
 - Lost his support in the South and hopes for the presidency

Kansas in Convulsion

- Compromise between pro and antislavery forces in Kansas
 - Entire constitution would be put to vote; people could either vote it up or down
 - If constitution rejected, Kansas would remain a territory
 - Antislavery voters reject constitution
 - Kansas was a territory until 1861 (when southern congressmen were out of the Congress because of secession)

Kansas in Convulsion

- The breakup of the Democratic Party
 - Buchanan's proslavery actions, including support for Lecompton Constitution, opposed by northern Democrats
 - Democratic had been only national party
 - Whigs were dead; Republican was sectional (northern) party
 - One of the last things that had been keeping US together was a national party

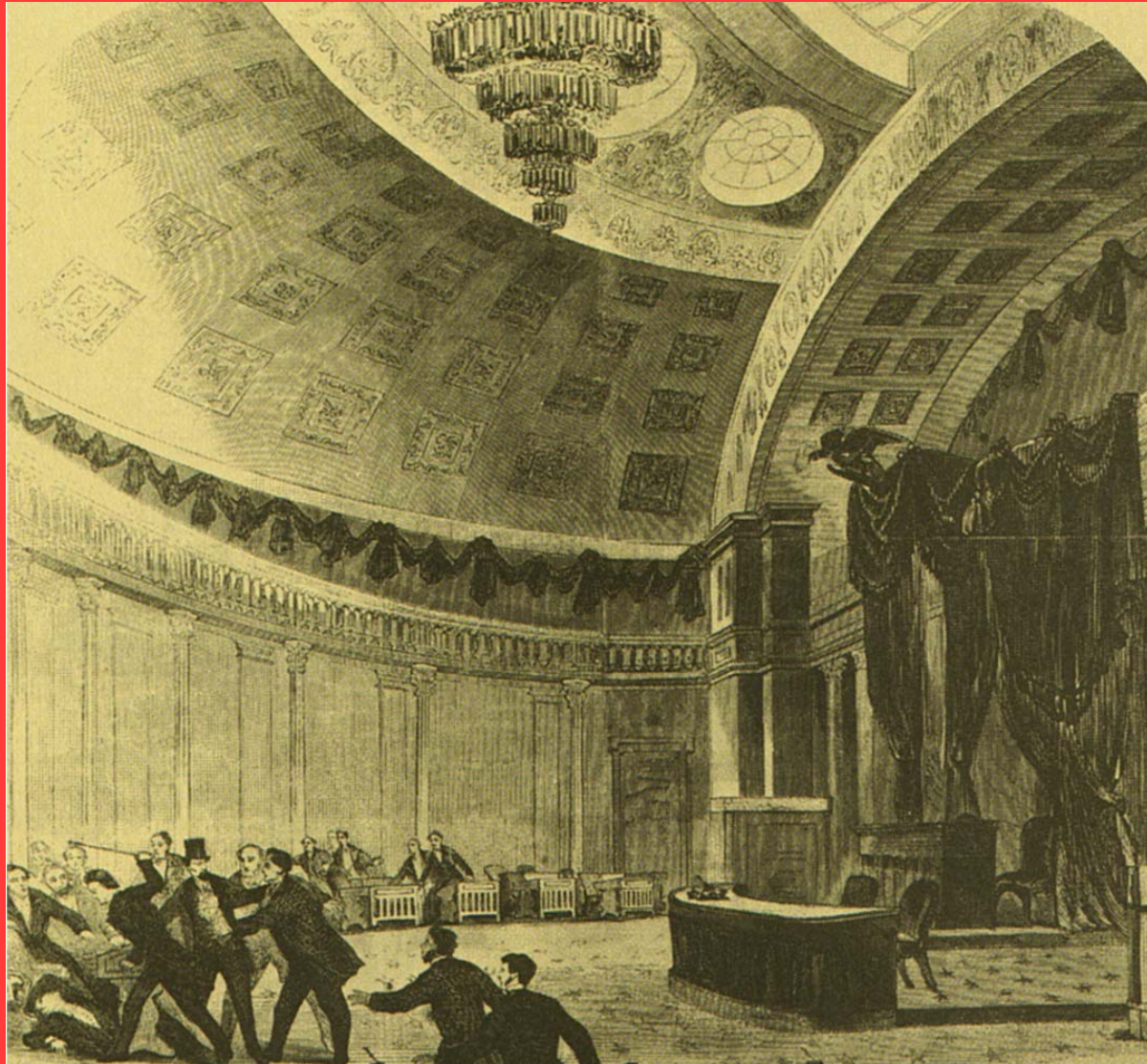
“Bully” Brooks and His Bludgeon

- 1856 – “The Crime Against Kansas” speech
 - Abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner (Massachusetts) made a speech attacking proslavery men in Kansas
 - Also insulted Senator Andrew Butler (South Carolina)

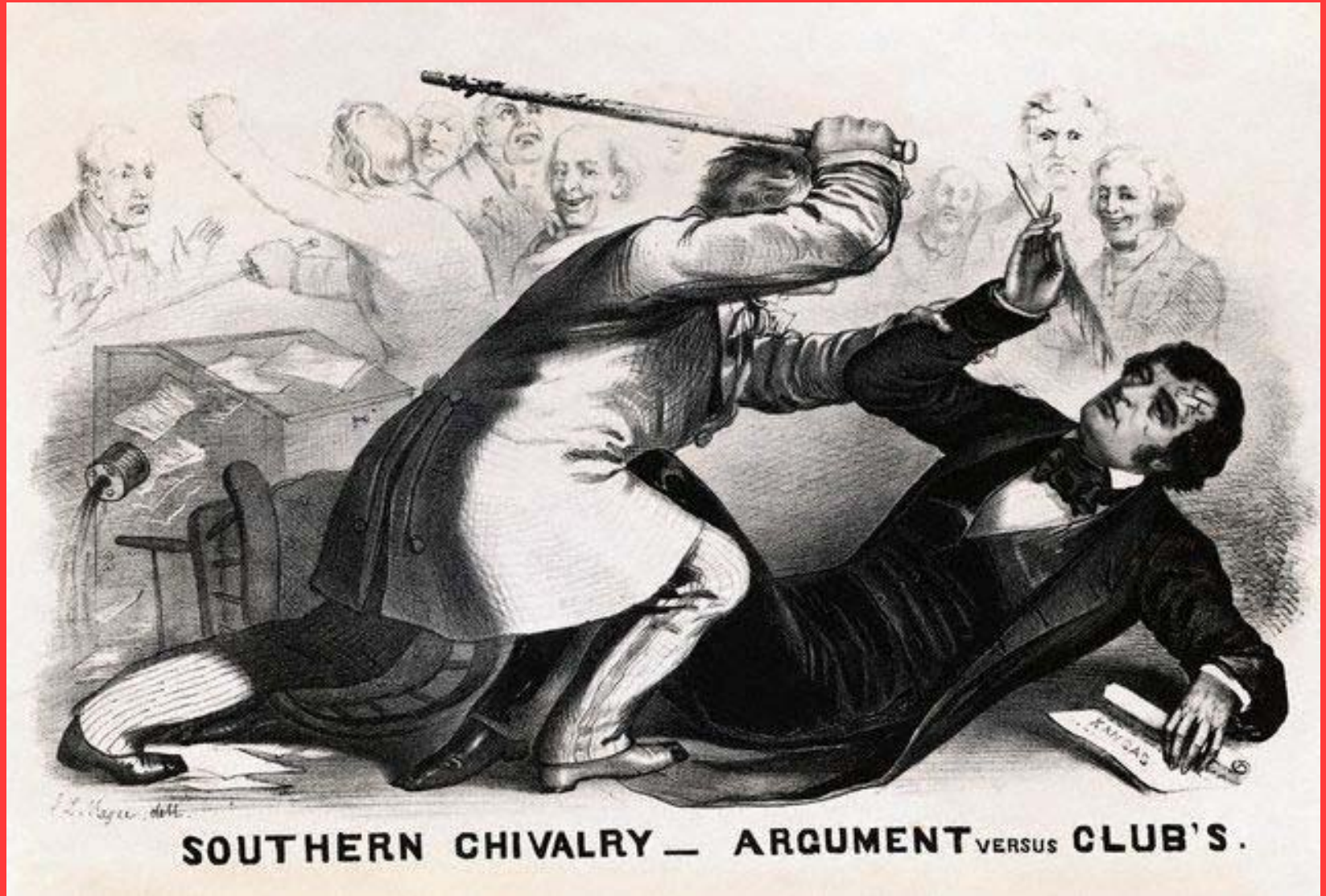
“Bully” Brooks and His Bludgeon

- Congressman Preston S. Brooks (South Carolina), cousin of Butler, attacks Sumner
 - Angry at insults to Butler and his state
 - May 22, 1856 – Brooks beat Sumner with a heavy cane until the cane broke
 - Sumner knocked unconscious; had to leave Senate for 3 1/2 years and travel to Europe for treatment

The Assault on Senator Sumner



Southern Chivalry



“Bully” Brooks and His Bludgeon

- South (although not unanimous) reacted with enthusiastic support of Brooks
 - Southerners sent canes to Brooks
 - He resigned, but was reelected
- North reacted by passing around copies of Sumner’s speech and attacking bullying of South

“Bully” Brooks and His Bludgeon

- Importance of the caning
 - Showed that reason and discussion (on both sides) were being replaced by radical speeches and physical violence

“Old Buck” Versus “The Pathfinder”

- Election of 1856: the Democrats
 - Avoided weak President Pierce and Douglas; both too tainted by Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - James Buchanan nominated
 - Pennsylvania lawyer
 - Served as ambassador to London while Kansas-Nebraska Act passed

“Old Buck” Versus “The Pathfinder”

- Election of 1856: the Republicans
 - Seward was most prominent leader; did not want to be nominated because he wasn't sure Republicans would win
 - Captain John C. Frémont nominated
 - Western explorer and hero of Mexican War
 - Had no political experience, but wasn't involved in Kansas-Nebraska Act

“Old Buck” Versus “The Pathfinder”

- Election of 1856: the American (Know-Nothing) party
 - Anti-foreignism against German and Irish immigrants
 - “Nativist” party that said “Americans must rule America”
 - Nominated Millard Fillmore (ex-president)
 - Former Whigs supported American Party
 - Threatened to take votes away from Republicans

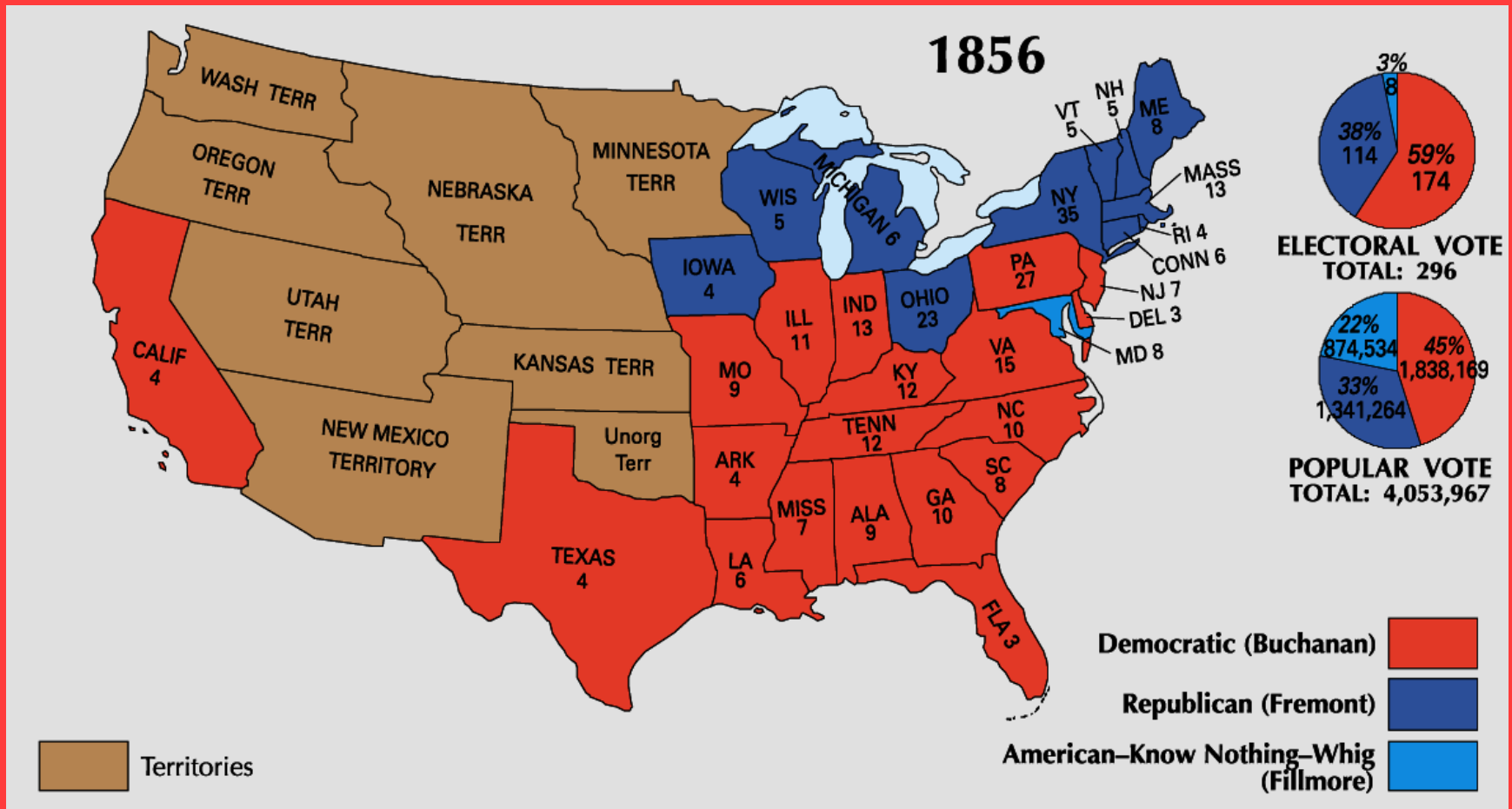
“Old Buck” Versus “The Pathfinder”

- Election of 1856: the campaign
 - Democrats supported popular sovereignty in territories; Republicans opposed extension of slavery into territories
 - Election turned into character attacks
 - Buchanan was a bachelor; Frémont was born illegitimate

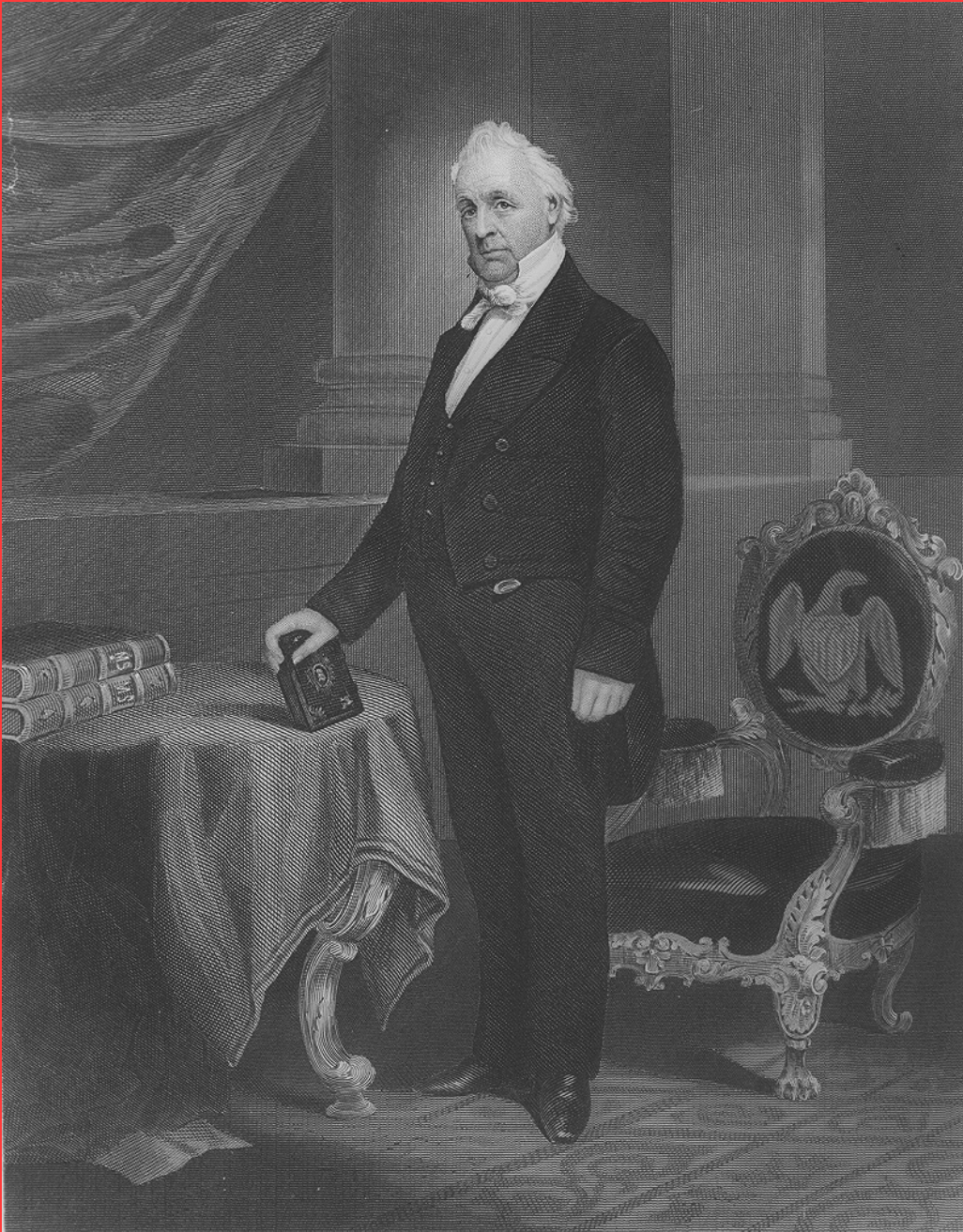
The Electoral Fruits of 1856

- Buchanan won the election, but with less than majority of popular votes
 - Electoral college: 174 (Buchanan), 114 (Frémont), 8 (Fillmore)
 - Popular vote: 1.8 million (Buchanan), 1.3 million (Frémont), 870,000 (Fillmore)

The Election of 1856



James Buchanan



The Electoral Fruits of 1856

- Why did the Republicans lose?
 - Questions about Frémont's honesty, capacity, judgment
 - Threats of Southern "fire-eaters" to secede if Republican was elected
 - Some in North voted for Buchanan to stop secession

The Electoral Fruits of 1856

- Fortunate that secession did not come in 1856 (if Frémont had won)
 - Frémont was not the leader that Abraham Lincoln was
 - North was more willing to let South go in 1856 than in 1860
 - Events to come would arouse Northerners against South

The Dred Scott Bombshell

- March 6, 1857 – Dred Scott decision handed down 2 days after Buchanan took office
- Scott (a black slave) had lived with his master for 5 years in Illinois and Wisconsin
 - Sued for freedom based on his residence on free soil



**Dred
Scott**

The Dred Scott Bombshell

- The Dred Scott decision on Scott's condition
 - Led by Chief Justice Taney (from slave-state of Maryland)
 - Ruled Dred Scott was a black slave (and not a citizen); therefore, he could not sue in federal courts
 - Raised huge question about whether free blacks could be citizens
 - Court could have thrown case out on this, but went further (wanting to nullify arguments of 2 free-soil justices' dissenting opinions and end questions on issue of slavery in territories)

The Dred Scott Bombshell

- The Dred Scott decision on slavery
 - Since a slave was private property, he could be taken into any territory and be held there in slavery
 - 5th amendment barred Congress from depriving anyone of property without due process of law
 - Ruled Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional (even though it had already been repealed by Kansas-Nebraska Act)
 - Congress had no power to ban slavery in territories, even if territorial legislatures were opposed to slavery

The Dred Scott Bombshell

- Reaction to the Dred Scott decision
 - South extremely happy with decision that opened up huge land area to slavery
 - Northern Democrats (who favored popular sovereignty) were opposed to thwarting of popular will
 - Another wedge driven between northern and southern Democrats
 - Republicans opposed; decide that the decision is not a decision, just an opinion
 - Majority of Southerners on court and its injection of itself into politics angered Republicans
 - South (in response to Republicans) saw Union as questionable if 1 section would not obey Supreme Court decision

The Legal Status of Slavery, from the Revolution to the Civil War



The Financial Crash of 1857

- Panic and depression hit in 1857
 - Not as bad as 1837, but psychologically it was worst of 1800s
- Caused by:
 - Inflation (from California gold)
 - Overproduction of grain (exported to Europe during Crimean War)
 - Overspeculation in land and railroads

The Financial Crash of 1857

- Effects of the depression
 - 5,000 businesses failed; widespread unemployment and hunger
 - North hardest hit (especially agriculture)
 - South not badly hurt because cotton prices in foreign markets remained high
 - Made South think they were stronger economically than they really were, leading to greater likelihood South would be willing to fight North

The Financial Crash of 1857

- Depression led to 2 Republican issues in election of 1860
 - Call for free farms (of 160 acres) in West
 - Call for higher tariff rates (to help US businesses)

The Financial Crash of 1857

- Call for free farms (of 160 acres) in West
 - US government had been selling land for revenue (money)
 - Free farms opposed by:
 - Eastern industrialists who feared loss of workers to western land
 - Southern plantation owners because plantation slavery could not work on only 160 acres and free farms would lead to West being settled by free-soilers who would (with the North) outvote the South
 - 1860 – a homestead act passed to sell public land at cheap 25 cents per acre
 - Vetoed by Buchanan (because of Southern influence)

The Financial Crash of 1857

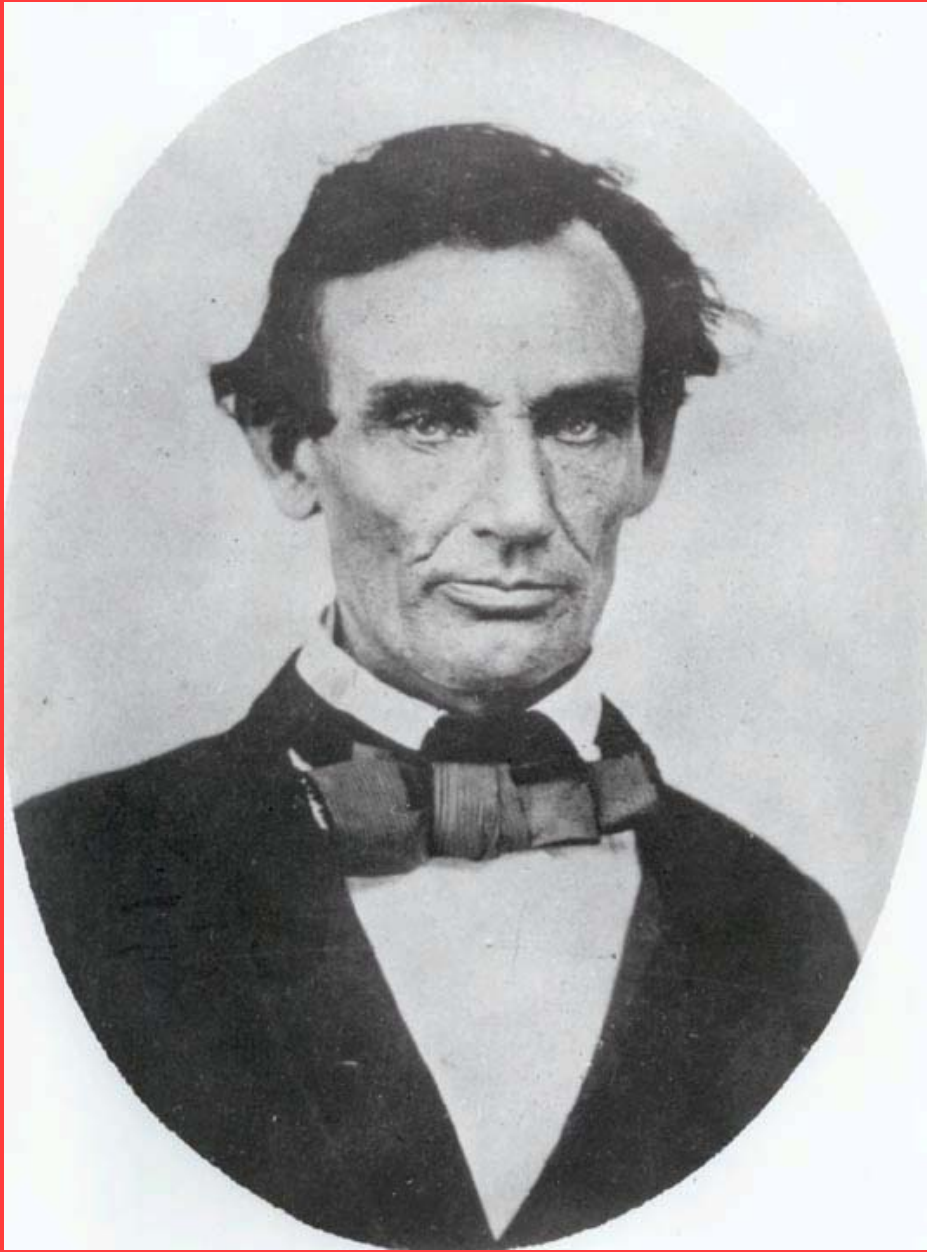
- Call for higher tariff rates (to help US businesses)
 - Early 1857 – US treasury had large surplus; Tariff of 1857 enacted, lowering rates to 20% (lowest since War of 1812)
 - Depression hit, surplus disappeared
 - Northern manufacturers blamed depression on lowered tariff
 - Really wanted more protection from competition from foreign goods

An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges

- 1858 – Abraham Lincoln (Republican) challenges Senator Douglas (Democrat)

An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges

- Lincoln's background
 - Tall (6'4"), skinny (180 pounds)
 - Born to poor parents in Kentucky
 - Only attended school for a year; was self-educated by reading much
 - Was a frontier man: wrestled, split logs for fences
 - Good story teller, but had times of deep melancholy
 - Married Mary Todd (above him socially)



**Abraham
Lincoln**

An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges

- Lincoln's professional and political life
 - Became a well-known trial lawyer in Illinois
 - Known as "Honest Abe" because he refused cases that he knew were wrong
 - Served 1 term in Congress (1847-1849)
 - Controversy over Kansas-Nebraska Act brought out Lincoln's leadership abilities

The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

- Lincoln became Republican nominee for senate seat from Illinois
- Lincoln challenged Douglas to 7 debates (August – October 1858)
 - Douglas was a polished speaker with a powerful voice
 - Lincoln was a high voice and was uncomfortable speaking when he started; he was a good arguer who relied on logic instead of speaking technique

The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

- The main (and almost the only) issue discussed was slavery
 - Douglas adopted the position that only popular sovereignty (letting the people in each state decide the question of slavery) would work
 - Lincoln argued for the position of free soil (that slavery should be blocked in the territories)
 - He did not argue for abolition

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates



The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

- Freeport, Illinois was site of most famous debate
 - Lincoln asked Douglas what would happen if people voted down slavery in a territory? The Supreme Court (in Dred Scott) had said that slavery could not be restricted in the territories – who would win, the people or the Supreme Court?

The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

- Douglas' Freeport Doctrine
 - Even though Supreme Court said that slavery was open in the territories, slavery would not move to territories if people didn't want it there
 - Laws protecting slavery would have to be passed, which would not happen if people didn't approve
 - History supported this idea; when people didn't support federal government, the unpopular law became almost impossible to enforce

The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

- Result of the election
 - Douglas won, because of the popularity of popular sovereignty
 - Lincoln won the moral victory
 - Senators were elected by state legislatures
 - The number of pro-Douglas legislators voted in were greater than number of pro-Lincoln legislators
 - But because of unequal apportionment (number of people per legislator), more people actually voted for Lincoln than for Douglas

The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

- Lincoln gained national attention for himself as a good spokesman for Republican party
- Douglas hurt his chances of winning president in 1860
 - Splintered Democrats (even more than already) by opposing Lecompton Constitution and defying Dred Scott decision

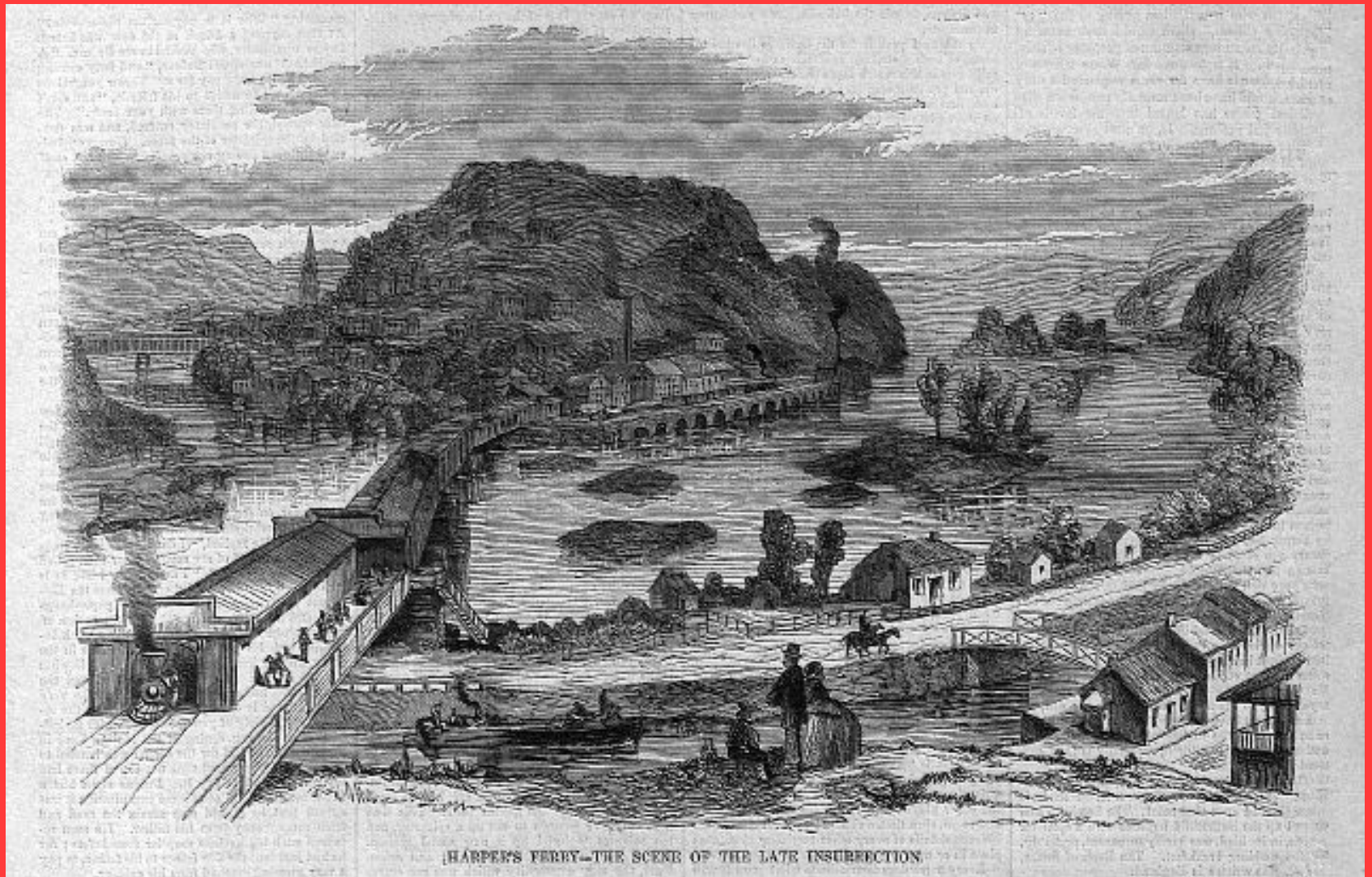
John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

- John Brown
 - Already famous as violent abolitionist for attacks at Pottawatomie Creek
 - New plan was to invade South with a few followers, arms slaves, and establish a black state for ex-slaves

John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

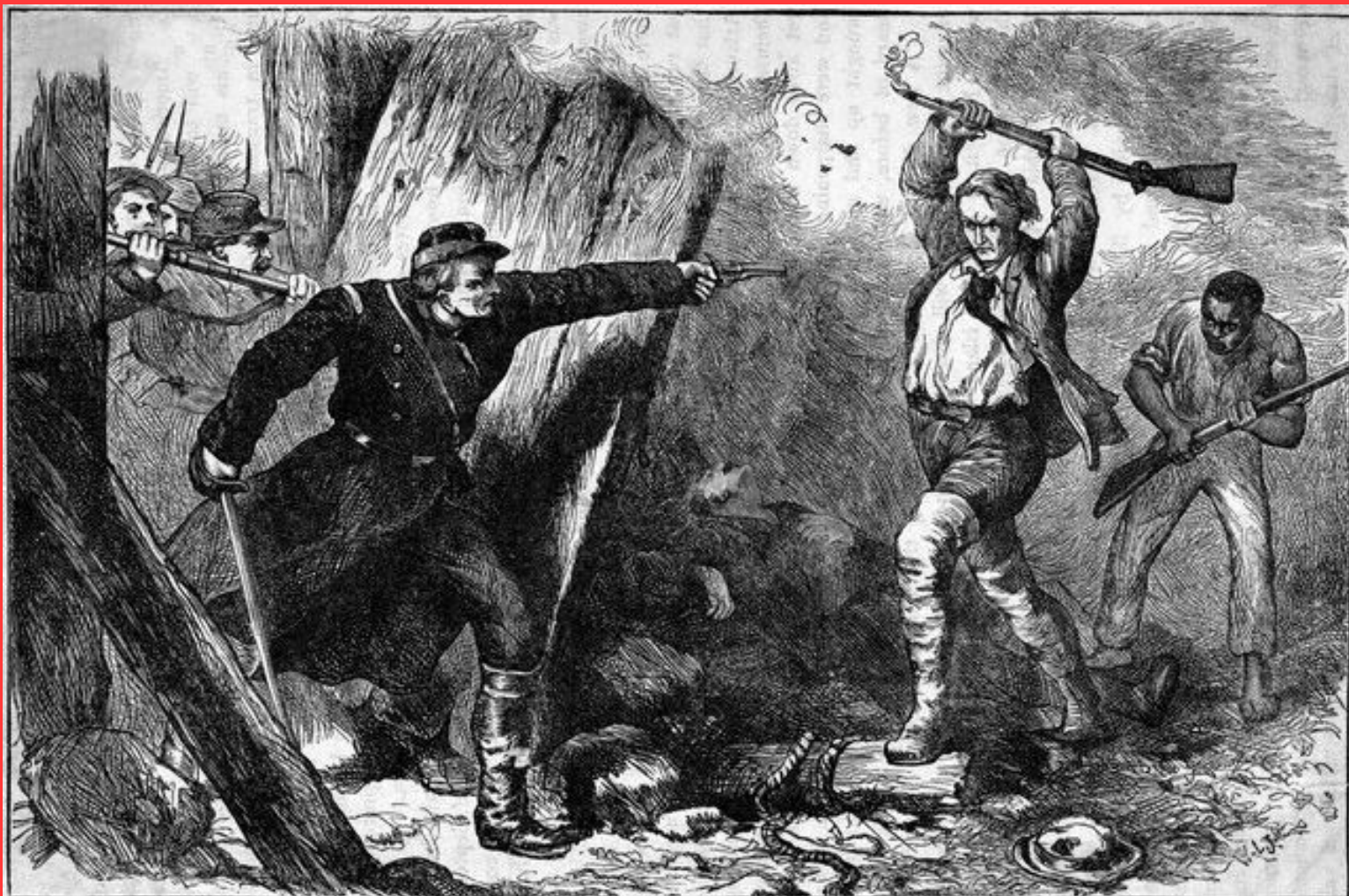
- The failure of Brown's plan
 - Got several thousand dollars for guns from abolitionists
 - October 1859 – Brown and 20 men marched to Harper's Ferry, Virginia
 - Seized a federal arsenal (warehouse for weapons); killed 7 people (including a free black)
 - Slaves failed to rise (in part because they didn't even know about his plan)
 - Brown's band was quickly captured by US Marines (under command of Robert E. Lee)

Harper's Ferry



HARPER'S FERRY—THE SCENE OF THE LATE INSURRECTION.

The Capture of John Brown

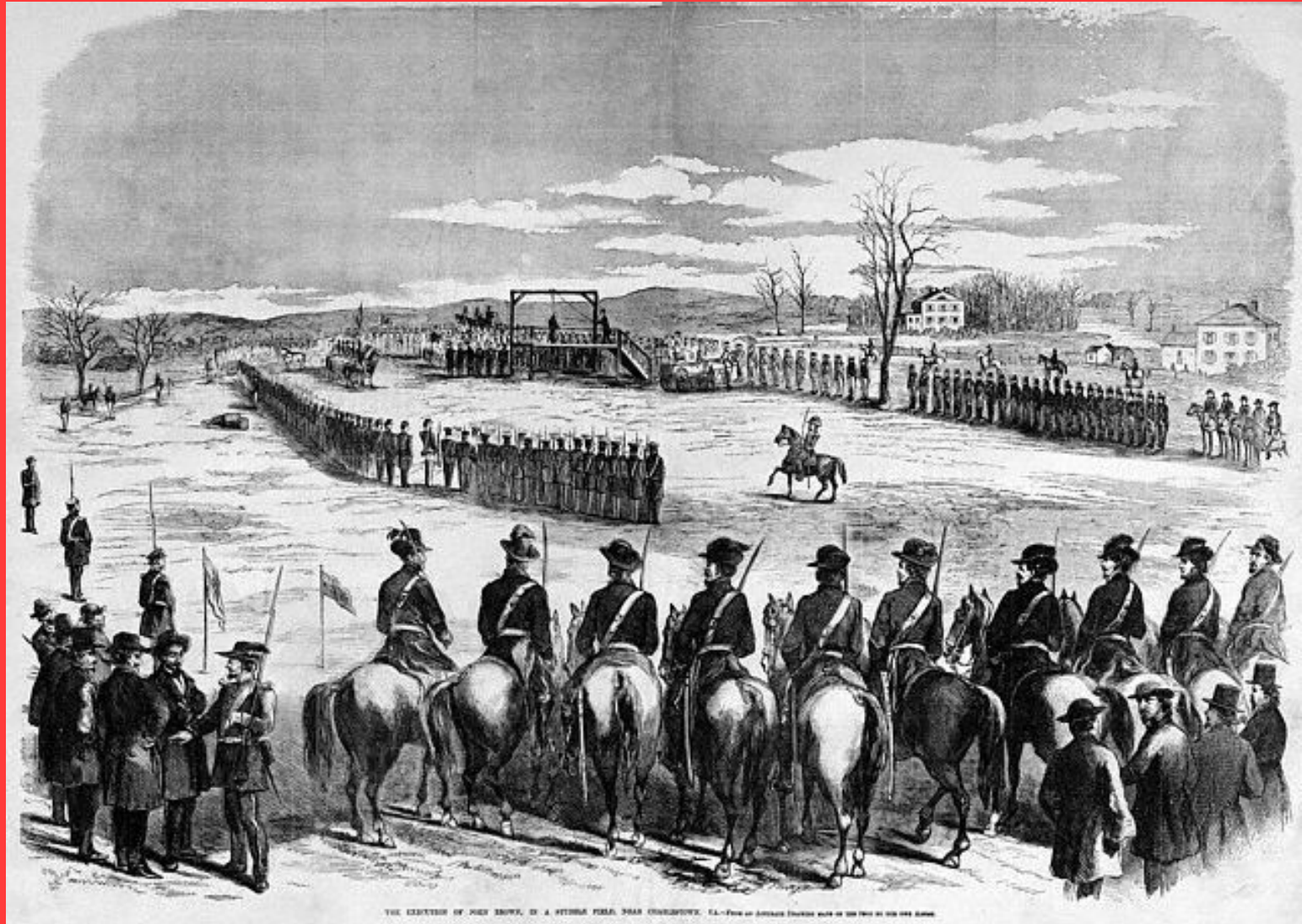


CAPTURE OF JOHN BROWN IN THE ENGINE-HOUSE.

John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

- Brown convicted of murder and treason
 - 17 friends tried to claim he was insane to get him off, but judge disagreed
 - Spent months before death becoming martyr for abolitionist cause
 - Hanged, but legend and fame lived on

The Execution of John Brown



THE EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN, IN A FORTIFIED PRISON, 30th SEPTEMBER, 1859. From an engraving published in the Illustrated London News, 1859.

John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

- Southern view of Brown
 - Saw Brown as murderer and treasonous
 - Blamed radical abolitionists (and they believed all northerners were abolitionists) for incitement to violence
 - How could South stay in Union with murdering abolitionists?

John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

- Northern view of Brown
 - Many free-soilers and abolitionists angry Brown was executed
 - Did not necessarily know about his violent past, or his plan when he invaded South
 - Many believed that even if ends (some violence) didn't justify means (end of slavery), Brown should not be killed for a righteous cause
 - On day of Brown's execution, bells tolled, guns fired, rallies held
 - Ralph Waldo Emerson even compared Brown to Jesus

What is the Meaning of John Brown?



The Disruption of the Democrats

- For election of 1860, divided Democrats met in Charleston, South Carolina
 - Douglas was leading candidate
 - Douglas hated by “fire-eaters” because of the Freeport doctrine and his opposition to Lecompton Constitution
 - Convention broke up when southerners walked out

The Disruption of the Democrats

- Democrats meet again in Baltimore
 - Douglas supporters controlled convention this time
 - Some southerners again walk out
 - Douglas nominated
 - Platform of popular sovereignty; called on North to enforce Fugitive Slave Law

The Disruption of the Democrats

- Rival Democratic group (mainly southerners) meet in Baltimore
 - John C. Breckinridge nominated, moderate from Kentucky
 - Platform for extension of slavery into territories (following Dred Scott) and annexation of Cuba as slave state

The Disruption of the Democrats

- A compromise group organized under the Constitutional Union Party
 - Mainly southern Whigs and Know-Nothings
 - Nominated John Bell of Tennessee
 - Called for preservation of the Union and enforcement of the law

A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union

- Republicans meet in Chicago
 - William H. Seward best known contender, but he had too many enemies as abolitionist
 - 1858 – had spoken of “irrepressible conflict” between slavery and freedom
 - Abraham Lincoln nominated
 - Stronger candidate because he had fewer enemies

A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union

- Republican platform offered something for every non-southern group
 - For free-soilers, non-extension of slavery
 - For northern manufacturers, a protective tariff
 - For immigrants, protection of rights
 - For Northwest, a Pacific railroad
 - For West, internal improvements paid for by federal government
 - For farmers, free homesteads

A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union

- Secessionists southerners warned that election of Lincoln would split the Union
- In reality, Lincoln was not an abolitionist
 - He hated slavery, but as late as February 1865, he was willing to pay cash as compensation to slave owners
 - Decided to not issue a public statement to calm southerners; his views were already known

A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union

- Fierce campaign between Douglas and Lincoln (and supporters)
 - Douglas campaigned, even in South, where 2 other candidates had been chosen instead of him

The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

- Lincoln elected as a minority and sectional president
 - Opposed by over 60% of the electorate
 - Only got electoral votes in northern states; in 10 southern states, he didn't receive 1 popular vote

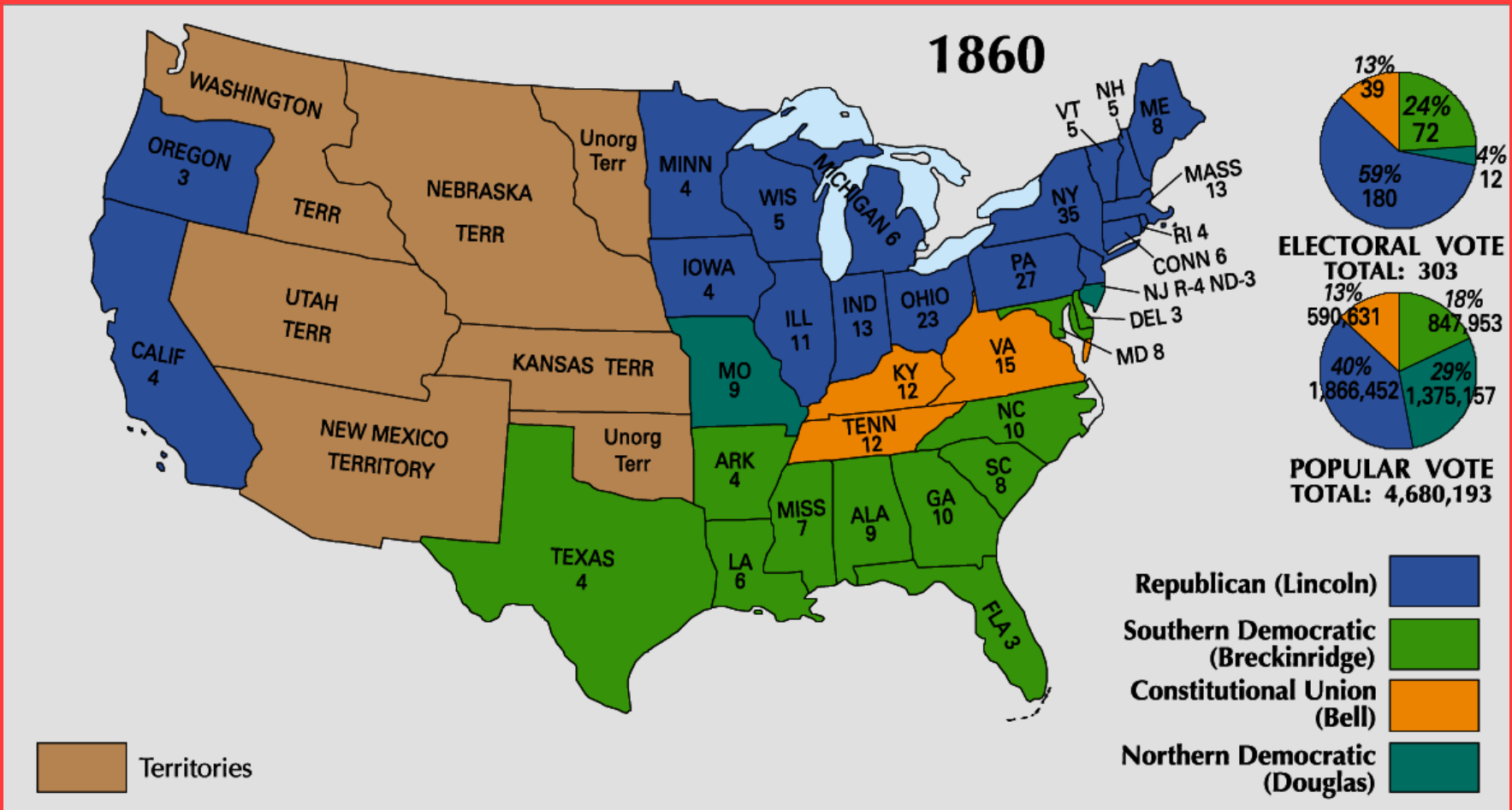
The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

- Douglas did better than expected, even though he only won 12 electoral votes
 - Ran close 2nd in popular votes
 - Campaigned personally and fiercely (which was not done at the time; usually candidates let supporters campaign for them)

The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

- Myth that if Democrats had united, they would have beat Lincoln
 - Douglas' and Breckinridge's popular votes (together) were 365,000 more than Lincoln's
 - But Lincoln still would have won the electoral vote (169 to 134, instead of actual 180 to 123), even if all 3 Democrats' numbers were combined
 - Lincoln had votes from populous Northern and Northwestern states

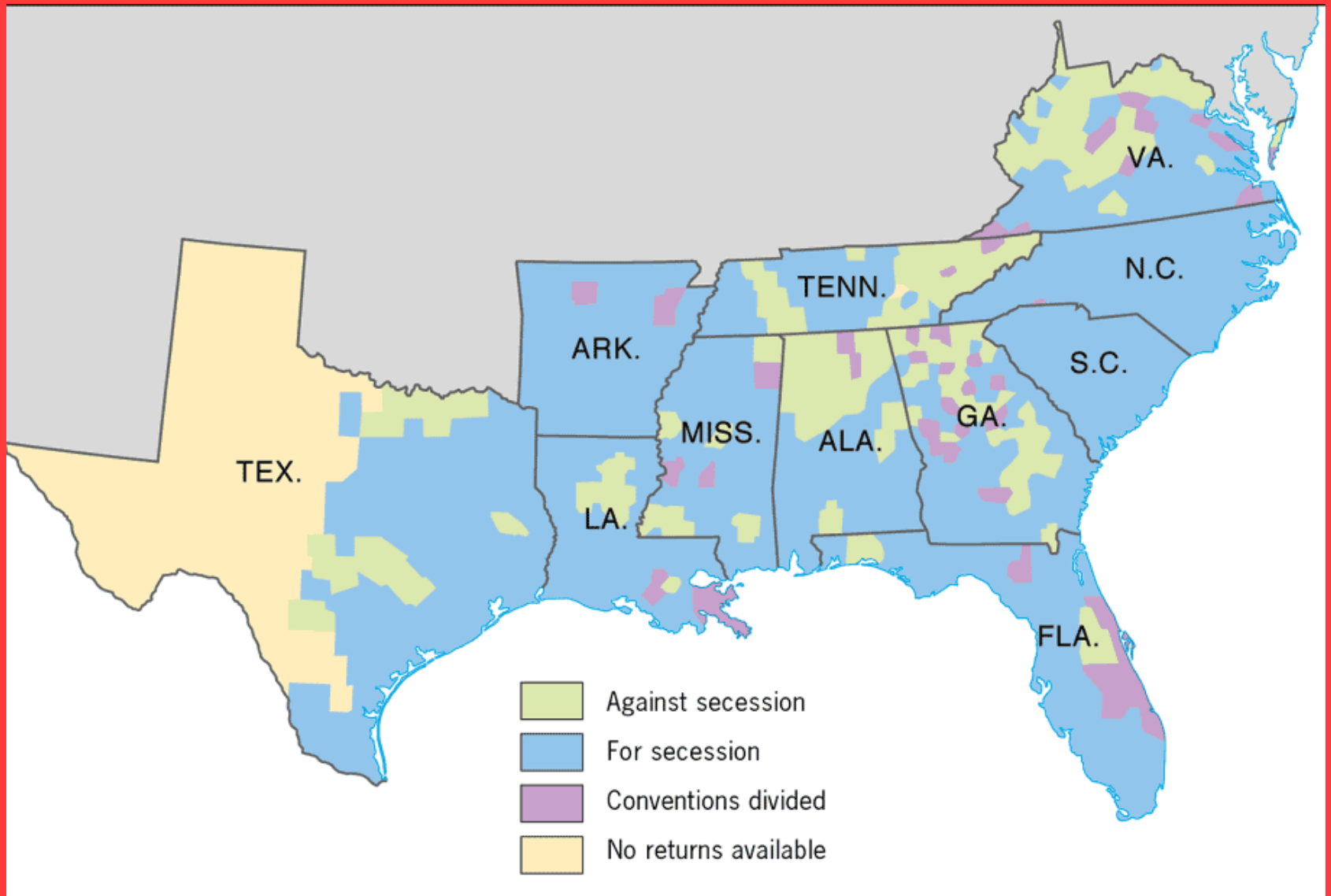
The Election of 1860



The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

- Vote did not support secession
 - Breckinridge was the candidate of the “fire-eaters”, but he did not support disunion
 - Breckinridge did worse in South than combined Douglas and Bell numbers

Southern Opposition to Secession, 1860-1861



The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

- Situation of the South after Lincoln's election
 - 5-4 majority on Supreme Court
 - Republicans did not control House or Senate
 - Slavery could not be overturned in 15 slave states except by constitutional amendment
 - Unlikely to happen since only 1/4 of states could block an amendment; slave states numbered almost 1/2 at the time

The Secessionist Exodus

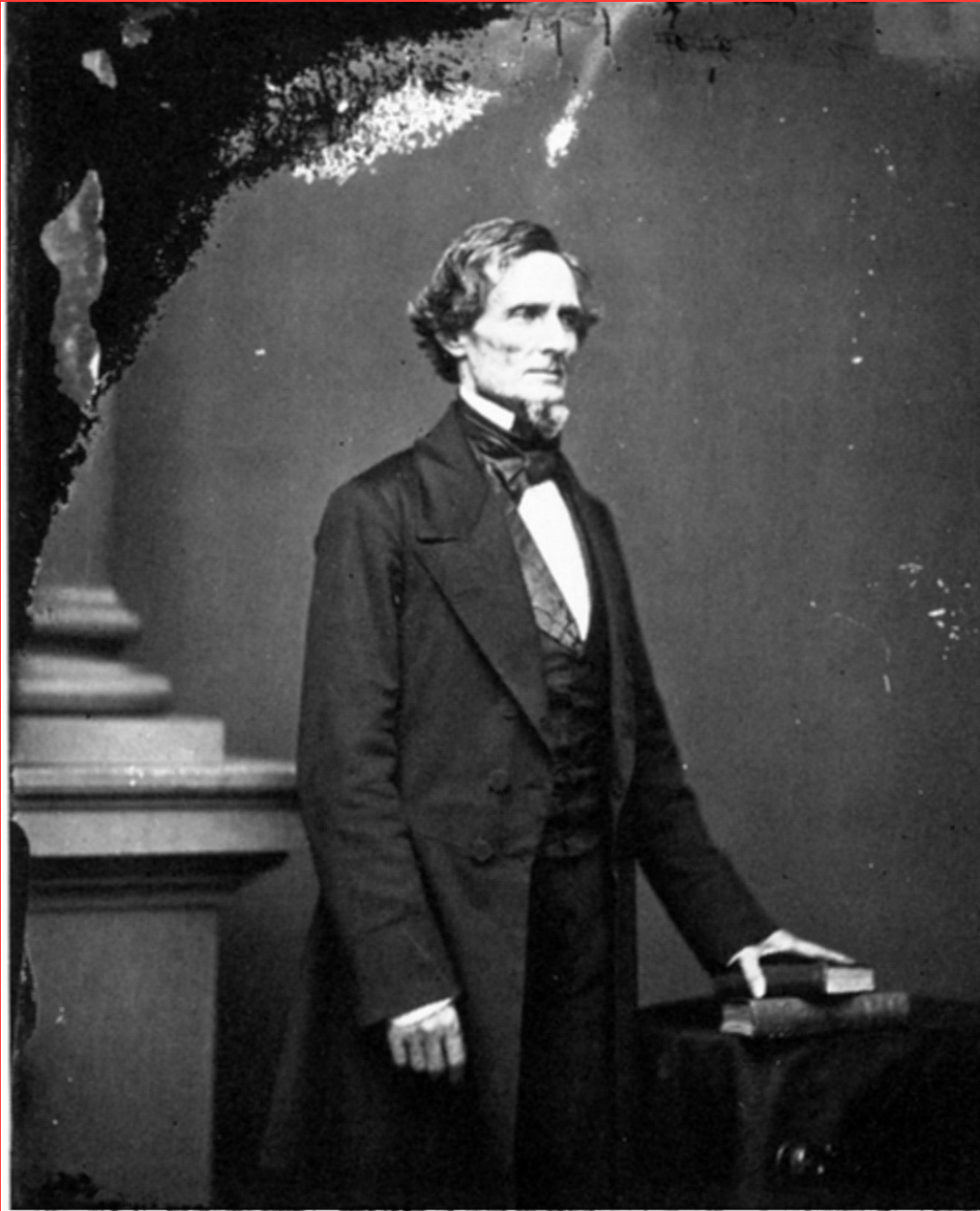
- South Carolina went first
 - 4 days after Lincoln's election, special convention called
 - December 1860 – convention voted unanimously to secede
- Six more states followed over next 6 weeks
 - Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas

The Course of Secession



The Secessionist Exodus

- February 1861 – 7 states meet and form Confederate States of America
 - Jefferson Davis chosen as president
 - Senator from Mississippi (until secession) and former cabinet member



**Jefferson
Davis**

The Secessionist Exodus

- Lame duck period during which Lincoln could do did nothing
 - Lincoln elected in November, but did not take office until March 4, 1861

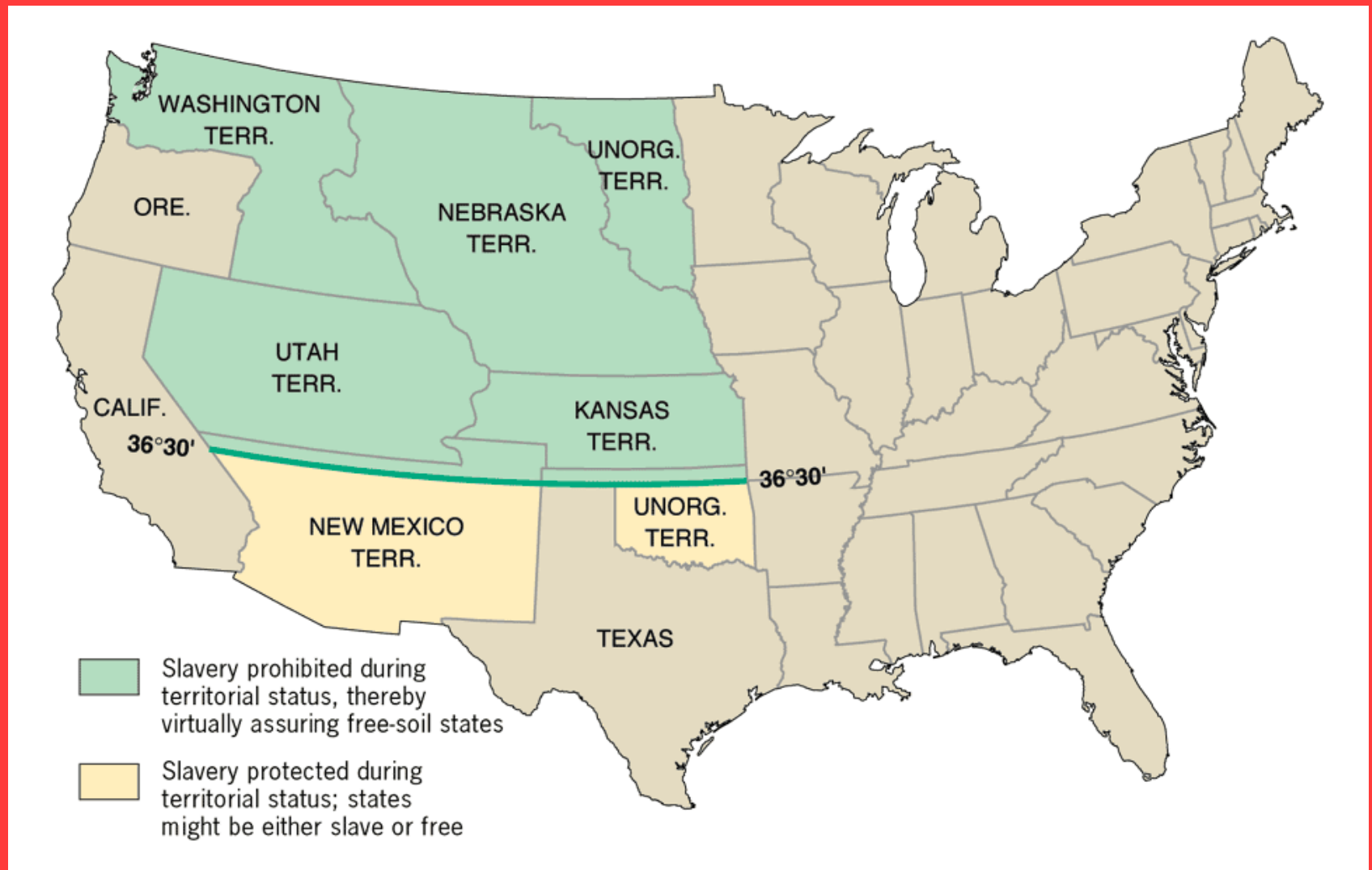
The Secessionist Exodus

- Buchanan opposed secession but was conservative by nature and found no legal justification for forcing Southern states to stay in Union
 - Tiny standing army (15,000 men) needed to control Indians in West
 - Public opinion in North did not support force; hoped that negotiation would bring South back

The Collapse of Compromise

- Crittenden amendments
 - Proposed by Senator James Henry Crittenden (Kentucky)
 - Would allow (with federal protection) slavery in territories south of $36^{\circ} 30'$ line; prohibit it north of that line
 - Territories north or south of the $36^{\circ} 30'$ line could come into union, with or without slavery, as they voted
 - South might hope that time with slavery might turn area permanently to slavery

Proposed Crittenden Compromise, 1860



The Collapse of Compromise

- Lincoln rejected the Crittenden compromise
 - Had offered some hope of success; all hope of compromise ended
 - Had been elected on platform of not extending slavery
 - Feared that the compromise would mean that South would push for war against every country south of 36° 30' line to gain more possible territory for slavery

The Collapse of Compromise

- Justifications for Buchanan
 - If Buchanan would have used force against South Carolina, war would have been worse for North
 - North would have appeared as aggressor
 - North would have lost 3 Border States (that stayed with Union throughout Civil War)

Farewell to Union

- Reasons South gave for secession and slavery
 - Tipping of political balance against slave states
 - Triumph of Republican party
 - Tired of criticism from abolitionists and free-soilers and interference (Underground Railroad, John Brown) with slavery

Farewell to Union

- South did not believe North would fight
 - Northern shippers and manufacturers too dependent on southern cotton and markets
 - South could repudiate large debts that southerners owed northern creditors (as they did)

Farewell to Union

- South could end their inferior status compared to North
 - Could develop its own banking and industry
 - Could trade directly with Europe
 - Could trade independent of pro-North protective tariffs

Farewell to Union

- Nationalism and self-determination
 - Nationalism spread around world at same time; these feelings spread to South
 - South was more a separate nation than part of 1 nation at the time
 - South believed they had right to determine their future; did not see secession as wrong
 - 13 states had entered Union voluntarily; now 7 voluntarily leaving
 - 13 colonies had thrown off oppression of King George; South now throwing off oppression of King Abraham