

1 2 **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

3 4 5 6 **I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries (cont.)**

- Success of novel at home and abroad was sensational
- Also lengthy runs on stage in “Tom shows”
- No other novel in American history can be compared with it as a political force
- When introduced to President in 1862; Lincoln remarked, “So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war”

7 **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

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

- Devoured by millions of impressionable youth
- Immensely popular abroad, esp. Britain and France
- 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

9 **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”
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10 **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
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11 **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

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

- Crisis conditions in Kansas rapidly worsened (see Map 19.1):
 - 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

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14 **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

15 **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
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17 **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

18 **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

19 **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

20 **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

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21 **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

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23 **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

24 **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

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25 **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
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26 **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

27 **V. “Old Buck” versus “The Pathfinder” (cont.)**

- Ugly antforeignism 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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29 **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

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31 **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
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32 **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

33 **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

34 **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

35 **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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37 **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?

38 **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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40 **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

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41 **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

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42 **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

43 **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

44 **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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46 **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

47 **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
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48 **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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50 **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

51 **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
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52 **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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54 **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

55 **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
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56 **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
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57 **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

58 **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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59 60 61 **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
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62 63 **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

64 65 **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

66 **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

67 **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

68 **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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70 **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

71 **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

72 **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

73 **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

74 **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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