

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 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
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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 bullying

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
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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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76 ☐