

The Sectional Struggle and the Road to Secession

The Election of 1848

1. General Lewis Cass
 - a. Democrat
 - b. Veteran of the war of 1812
 - c. Supported popular sovereignty
 - i. Idea that the people of a territory should determine their territory's status of slavery
 - ii. Popular with politicians
 - iii. Seen as a compromise between the abolitionists and the slaveholders.
2. Zachary Taylor
 - a. Whig
 - b. Taylor did not have an official stance on slavery
 - c. But he did own many slaves
 - d. Henry Clay not chosen because he had too many enemies
3. Free Soil Party
 - a. Created by antislavery men of the North
 - b. Didn't trust Cass or Taylor
 - c. Supported federal aid for internal improvements
 - d. Argued that slavery would wither away
 - i. Wage labor
 - ii. Chance for the American worker to own property

The Underground Railroad

1. Harriet Tubman
 - a. Illiterate runaway slave
 - b. Helped rescue hundreds of slaves
 - c. Through the Underground Railroad
 - i. Network of anti-slavery homes
 - ii. Passed slaves from the slave states to Canada
2. Southerners demanded stricter fugitive-slave laws by 1850
3. The old fugitive-slave of 1793 was very weak

The California Gold Rush

1. Gold was discovered in California in 1848
2. Huge influx of people
 - a. Brought violence and disease
 - b. Overwhelmed the small Californian government
3. Californians bypassed the territorial stage of a state
4. Drafted their own Constitution in 1849
5. Prohibited slavery

6. Applied to Congress for admission into the Union
7. Southerners objected to California's admission as a free state
8. It would be upset the balance of free and slave states in the Senate

The Immortal Trio & the Debate Over California

1. Congressional Debate of 1850 was called to address
 - a. The admission of California to the Union
 - b. Threats of secession by southerners
2. Henry Clay
 - a. The "Great Compromiser"
 - b. Proposed a series of compromises
 - c. He suggested that the North enact a stricter fugitive-slave law
3. John Calhoun
 - a. The "Great Nullifier"
 - b. Proposed to return runaway slaves
 - c. Give the South its rights as a minority
 - d. Restore the political balance
 - e. His ultimate plan
 - i. America to have two presidents
 - ii. One from the South and one from the North
 - iii. Each yielding one veto
4. Daniel Webster
 - a. Seventh of March Speech
 - i. Called for people to make concessions
 - ii. Called for support of Clay's proposals
 - iii. For the sake of maintaining the Union
 - b. He was against slavery
 - c. But he viewed the collapse of the Union as worse
5. William H. Seward
 - a. Senator of New York
 - b. Opposed slavery
 - c. Opposed Clay's proposals
 - d. Argued that God's moral law was higher than the Constitution
6. President Zachary Taylor
 - a. Opposed slavery
 - b. Ready to veto any compromise between the North & South that went through Congress
 - c. Taylor dies in 1850

The Compromise of 1850

1. Compromise of 1850
 - a. A package of 5 separate bills passes Congress in Sept 1850
 - b. Diffused a 4 year political fight over MX Cession
 - c. Drafted by Clay (W-KY)

- d. Compromise brokered by Stephen Douglas (D-IL)
- 2. President Millard Fillmore signed compromises into law
- 3. For the North:
 - a. CA is admitted as a free state
 - i. Senate imbalance in favor of the North
 - b. Territory b/t TX & NM goes to NM
 - c. NM & UT Territories decided by Popular Sovereignty
 - d. Slave Trade ended in Washington DC
- 4. For the South:
 - a. Tougher Fugitive Slave Law
 - i. Bloodhound Bill
 - ii. Fleeing slaves:
 - 1. Could not testify on their own behalf
 - 2. Denied a jury trial
 - iii. Northerners who aided slaves trying to escape were subject to fines and jail time
 - iv. This law was the South's only real gain from the compromise
 - v. Personal Liberty Laws
 - b. Federal Gov't pays TX's \$10 million debt
 - c. Congress has no jurisdiction over interstate slave trade
 - d. Congress cannot abolish slavery in Washington DC
- 5. A Second Era of Good Feelings
 - a. Talk of secession subsided
 - b. Northerners and Southerners were determined that the compromises would end the issue of slavery
 - c. Another misnomer

The Election of 1852

- 1. Franklin Pierce
 - a. Democrat
 - b. He supported
 - i. Compromise of 1850
 - ii. Fugitive Slave Law
- 2. Winfield Scott
 - a. Whig
 - b. He also supported
 - i. Compromise of 1850
 - ii. Fugitive Slave Law
 - c. Whigs Split
 - i. Northern Whigs
 - 1. Hated the party's platform (support of Fugitive Slave Law)
 - 2. But accepted the candidate
 - ii. Southern Whigs
 - 1. Supported the platform

2. But not the candidate
3. They doubted his support of the Fugitive Slave Law
- d. Election of 1852 marked the end of the Whig party
- e. It died on the issue of the Fugitive Slave Law

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854

1. Proposed by Stephen A. Douglas
 - a. Democratic Senator – IL
 - b. Tried to break the North-South deadlock over westward expansion
2. Territory of Nebraska
 - a. To be sliced into two territories
 - b. Kansas and Nebraska
3. Slavery would be decided by Popular Sovereignty
4. Kansas would be presumed to be a slave state
5. Nebraska would be a free state
6. Conflicted with the Missouri Compromise of 1820
7. Douglas was forced to propose the repealing of the Missouri Compromise
8. President Pierce fully supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act
9. The Kansas-Nebraska Act wrecked two compromises:
 - a. Compromise of 1820 was repealed by the act
 - b. Compromise of 1850 was henceforth rejected by Northerners
10. Kansas-Nebraska Act hurt the Democratic Party
11. Birth of the Republican Party
 - a. Conference called
 - i. Jackson. Michigan
 - ii. Regarding Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - b. Was formed in the Mid-West
 - c. Economic Policy:
 - i. Higher wages
 - ii. High Tariffs
 - iii. Transcontinental railroad
 - d. Slavery:
 - i. It was morally against slavery
 - ii. Ban on slavery in all territories
 - e. GOP included
 - i. Whigs
 - ii. Northern Democrats
 - iii. Free-Soilers
 - iv. Know-Nothings
 - v. Other foes of the Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - f. Southerners hated the Republican Party

Burning Books

1. Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852)

- a. Harriet Beecher Stowe
 - b. Reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law
 - c. Attempted to show the North the horrors of slavery
 - d. Incredibly controversial due to
 - i. Its abolitionist message
 - ii. Its portrayal of slaves as noble savages
 - e. Northern best seller, banned in the South
 - f. Novel also was published abroad, including France and Britain
 - g. It helped to start the Civil War and for the North to win it
2. The Impending Crisis of the South (1857)
- a. Hinton R. Helper
 - b. Non-aristocrat from North Carolina
 - c. He hated both blacks and slavery
 - d. Showed negative effect of slavery on non-slave holding whites
 - e. Slavery was a barrier to the economy and financial success of the South
 - f. Banned in the South, published in the North

Bleeding Kansas – The Beginning of the Civil War?

1. Nebraska so far north that its future as a free state was never in question
2. Kansas slavery is viable and decided by popular sovereignty
3. In 1855
 - a. Kansas was having its legislature elections
 - b. Result of elections would determine slavery question
4. Rush to populate KS begins
5. Most of the people were just westward-moving pioneers
6. New England Emigrant Aid Company
 - a. Group of abolitionists
 - b. Paid some people to move to Kansas to make it a free state
7. Border Ruffians
 - a. Many pro-slavery people came from Missouri to vote
 - b. They sought to elect pro-slavery officials
8. The Election Results
 - a. The slavery supporters
 - i. Won the elections
 - ii. Set up their own government at Shawnee Mission
 - b. The abolitionists
 - i. Claimed voter fraud
 - ii. Then set up their own government in Topeka
 - c. Kansas territory now had two governments
9. Civil War in Kansas (1856)
 - a. Guerilla War began
 - b. Group of pro-slavery riders burned down part of the abolitionist's town of Lawrence

- c. Two citizens are killed
 - d. John Brown
 - i. Fanatical abolitionist
 - ii. Pottawatomie Creek
 - 1. May of 1856
 - 2. Hacked to death 5 presumed pro-slavery men
 - 3. In response to the pro-slavery events in Lawrence
 - e. 200 died in months of fighting
 - f. Civil war continued until it merged with the nation's Civil War
10. Kansas applied for statehood (1857)
- a. Had enough people to apply for statehood
 - b. Its citizens were going to vote again
 - c. Whether or not to have slavery in the state of Kansas
 - d. Lecompton Constitution
 - i. Pro-slavery politicians created this document
 - ii. To keep the abolitionists from creating a free state
 - iii. Document stated that the people were not allowed to vote for or against the constitution as a whole
 - iv. People could vote on whether the constitution would be “with slavery” or “without slavery”
 - v. If slavery was voted against, then one of the provisions in the constitution would protect those who already owned slaves in Kansas
 - vi. Many abolitionists boycotted voting
 - vii. So the constitution was approved to include slavery
11. Kansas remained a territory until 1861
- a. Admitted as a Free State 1861
 - b. Southern states had seceded from the Union

The "Bully" Brooks Incident (1856)

- 1. Charles Sumner
 - a. Senator (MA)
 - b. Abolitionist
 - c. Free Soil Democrat, later Republican
 - d. “The Crime Against Kansas”
 - i. Provoking speech condemning pro-slavery men
 - ii. Personally insulted Senator Andrew Butler (D-SC)
 - iii. Applauded in the North
 - iv. Angered the South
- 2. Preston Brooks
 - a. Butler's nephew
 - b. Representative (D-SC)
 - c. Beat Sumner with a cane to unconsciousness
 - d. Two days after speech on May 22, 1856
- 3. Kansas bled over onto the Senate floor

The Election of 1856

1. James Buchanan
 - a. Democrat
 - b. Chosen because he wasn't involved with the divisive Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - c. Democratic platform campaigned for popular sovereignty
2. John C. Fremont, Captain
 - a. Republican
 - b. Chosen because he was also not influenced by the Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - c. Republican platform campaigned against the extension of slavery
3. Millard Fillmore
 - a. The American Party, also called the Know-Nothing Party
 - b. Formed by Protestants
 - c. Alarmed by the increasing number of Irish & German immigrants
4. Some southerners threatened secession if a Republican had won
5. President Buchanan
 - a. Divided the powerful Democratic Party
 - b. Enraged some Democrats of the North
 - c. He divided the only remaining national party and with it, the Union

The Dred Scott Decision (1857)

1. Dred Scott
 - a. Slave who had lived with his master for 5 years in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory
 - b. Sued for his freedom on the basis of his long residence on free soil
 - c. *Dred Scott vs. Sanford* (1843)
2. Questions facing the Court:
 - a. Was Scott a citizen of the US?
 - b. If not, could he sue in Federal Court?
 - c. Did residency in free territory make him free, even though he returned to a slave state?
3. Decision (1857):
 - a. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney's opinion carried the most weight
 - b. Scott was a black slave and not a citizen
 - i. National citizenship is for whites only
 - ii. Blacks never regarded as citizens
 - iii. Blacks treated as:
 1. "beings of inferior order"
 2. "with no rights which any white man was bound to respect"
 - c. Therefore Scott lacked legal standing to sue in federal court
 - d. A slave was private property
 - e. He could be taken into any territory and legally held there in slavery

- f. To free Scott would be to take away property “without due process of law” violating slave owner’s 5th Amendment rights
 - g. The Court went further
 - i. Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional
 - ii. Congress had no power to limit slavery in any territory
 - h. Two justices strongly disagreed, noting several states allowed blacks to vote
 - i. First time since *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) Court struck down an act of Congress
4. Ramifications:
- a. All blacks declared non-citizens of the US
 - b. Slavery could exist in any state or territory of the US
 - c. Delighted Southerners
 - d. Infuriated Northerners and supporters of popular sovereignty
 - e. Court viewed as southern dominated, unfair, & pro-slavery

The Panic of 1857

- 1. Causes:
 - a. Over-speculation in the West
 - b. Currency inflation due to the inrush of Californian gold
 - c. Tariff of 1857
 - i. Lowered import taxes to about 20%
 - ii. North blamed it for causing the panic
 - iii. Felt they need higher duties for more protection
- 2. North was the hardest hit
- 3. South continued to flourish with its cotton.
- 4. Northern Solution
 - a. Government giving 160-acre plots of farming land free to pioneers
 - b. East & South opposed
 - c. Eastern industrialists feared that the free land would drain its supply of workers
 - d. South feared that the West would fill up with free-soilers who would form anti-slavery states
- 5. Homestead Act in 1860
 - a. Making public lands available at \$0.25/acre
 - b. Congress passed the bill
 - c. President Buchanan vetoed it

The Lincoln – Douglas Debates

- 1. Illinois's senatorial election of 1858
- 2. Republican: Abraham Lincoln
 - a. Served in the Illinois legislature as a Whig politician
 - b. Served one term in Congress
- 3. Democrat: Stephen Douglas

4. Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of seven debates
 - a. Were arranged from August to October 1858
 - b. The most famous debate happened in Freeport, Illinois
 - c. Lincoln asked Douglas, "What if the people of a territory should vote down slavery?"
 - d. The Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision had said that the people could not do this
 - e. Douglas's reply to him became known as the "Freeport Doctrine"
 - f. Douglas argued that no matter how the Supreme Court ruled, slavery would stay down if the people voted it down
 - g. Laws to protect slavery would have to be voted on by the territorial legislatures
5. Douglas won the senatorial election, but Lincoln won the people

John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

1. John Brown
 - a. Abolitionist from Kansas
 - b. Developed a plan
 - i. To secretly invade the South
 - ii. Call upon the slaves to rise
 - iii. Give the slaves weapons
 - iv. Establish a black free state
2. Raid on Harpers Ferry
 - a. Seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in October 1859
 - b. Many of his supporters failed to show up
 - c. US Army, led by Robert E. Lee, took the arsenal back two days later
 - d. Goal of sparking a national slave rebellion failed
 - e. Brown was caught and sentenced to death by hanging
3. Brown lived on as a martyr to the abolitionist cause

The Election of 1860: The Parties & Their Candidates

1. Democratic Party
 - a. First met in Charleston, SC to choose their candidate
 - i. The northern part of the party wanted to nominate Stephen Douglas
 - ii. Southern "fire-eaters" saw Douglas as a traitor for
 1. His unpopular opposition to the Lecompton Constitution
 2. His unpopular Freeport Doctrine reply
 - iii. Most of the cotton states delegates walked out
 - b. Democrats met again in Baltimore, MD to elect a candidate
 - i. This time, Douglas was elected
 - ii. Despite the fact that the southerners again walked out

- c. Southern Democrats met in Baltimore, MD
 - i. To choose their own Democratic presidential candidate
 - ii. They chose vice-president John C. Breckenridge
 - iii. Their platform favored:
 1. Extension of slavery into the territories
 2. Annexation of slave-populated Cuba
2. Constitutional Union Party
 - a. Was formed by former Whigs and Know-Nothings
 - b. Nominated John Bell as their presidential candidate
3. Republican Party
 - a. Met in Chicago
 - b. Nominated Abraham Lincoln
 - c. The Republican platform appealed to nearly every part of the nation
 - i. For the free-soilers, the Republicans supported the non-extension of slavery
 - ii. For northern manufacturers, they supported a tariff
 - iii. For the immigrants, they supported no abridgement of rights
 - iv. For the Northwest, they supported a Pacific railroad
 - v. For the West, they supported internal improvements at federal expense
 - vi. For the farmers, they supported free homesteads from the public domain
4. Southerners said that if Abraham Lincoln was elected as President, the Union would split

The Election of 1860: The Results

1. Abraham Lincoln
 - a. Won the election of 1860
 - b. Carried electoral votes in big states in N & W
 - c. He did not win with the popular vote
 - d. 60% of the nation voted for another candidate
 - e. 10 southern states didn't even allow Lincoln to appear on the ballot
2. South Carolina
 - a. Was happy at the outcome of the election
 - b. It now had a reason to secede
3. Republicans won the presidential election; but they did not control the House of Representatives, the Senate, or the Supreme Court

The Election of 1860: The Aftermath

1. Secession
 - a. SC legislature called for a convention four days after the election
 - b. December 1860, South Carolina's legislature met in Charleston
 - c. Unanimous voted to secede
2. During the next six weeks six Lower South states secede

- a. Alabama
 - b. Mississippi
 - c. Florida
 - d. Georgia
 - e. Louisiana
 - f. Texas
3. 11 federal arsenals & forts in the South were seized
 4. The Confederate States of America
 - a. February, 1861
 - b. The 7 seceders met at Montgomery, Alabama
 - c. Created a government
 - d. Jefferson Davis
 - i. Recent member of the U.S. Senate from Mississippi
 - ii. Elected President of the CSA
 5. Four other states seceded later
 6. How to secede without really trying
 - a. None of the six initial States chose secession by popular voting
 - b. Decided in state conventions by 854 men, selected by state legislatures
 - c. 157 voted against secession
 - d. TN secession failed by pop vote, so governor decided to secede
 - e. In essence, 700 mostly wealthy white men decided the destiny of 9 million people
 7. James Buchanan
 - a. "lame duck" president
 - b. Lincoln was not sworn in until March, 1861
 - c. President Buchanan did not hold the seceders in the Union by force
 - i. He was surrounded by pro-southern advisors
 - ii. He could find no authority in the Constitution to stop them with force
 - iii. Union's army was needed to control the Indians of the West
 8. Northerners were not eager to use force against the Southerners because that would have ended the possibility of peaceful negotiations

The Old College Try: The Collapse of Compromise

1. The Crittenden Compromise
 - a. Amendments to the Constitution
 - b. Were designed to appease the South
 - c. Amendments
 - i. Prohibited slavery in territories north of 36°30'
 - ii. Permitted slavery in the territories south of this line
 - iii. Future states (north and south of this line) would get to vote on the issue of slavery
2. President Lincoln rejected the amendments

Farewell to the Union

1. The southern states seceded, fearing that the Republican Party would threaten their rights to own slaves
2. Many southerners felt that secession would be unopposed by the North
3. They assumed that the northern manufacturers and bankers, dependent upon southern cotton and markets, wouldn't dare cut off the South
4. The US is two nations divided politically, economically, and culturally
5. War loomed large on the horizon