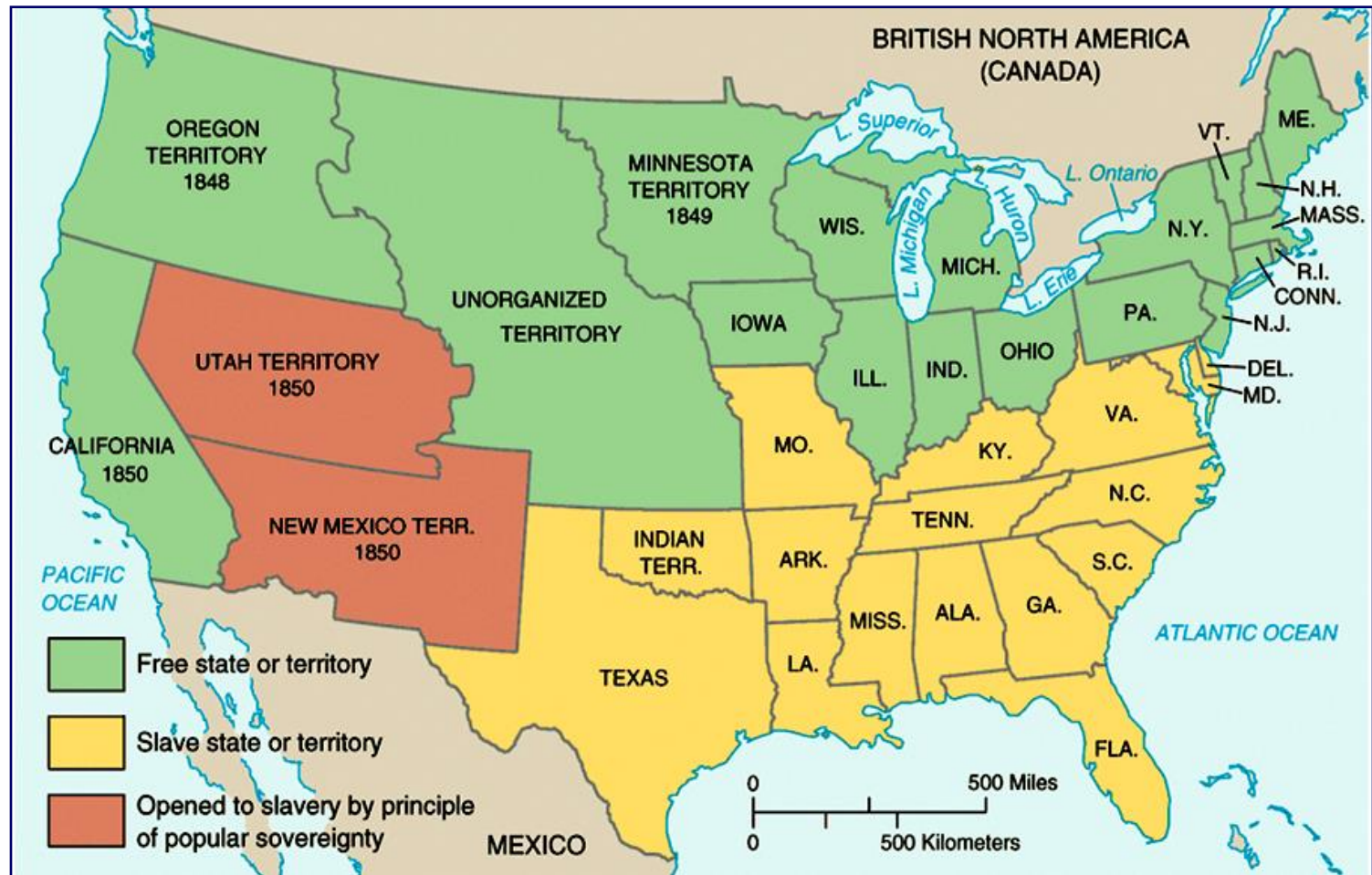


# **Chapter 10**

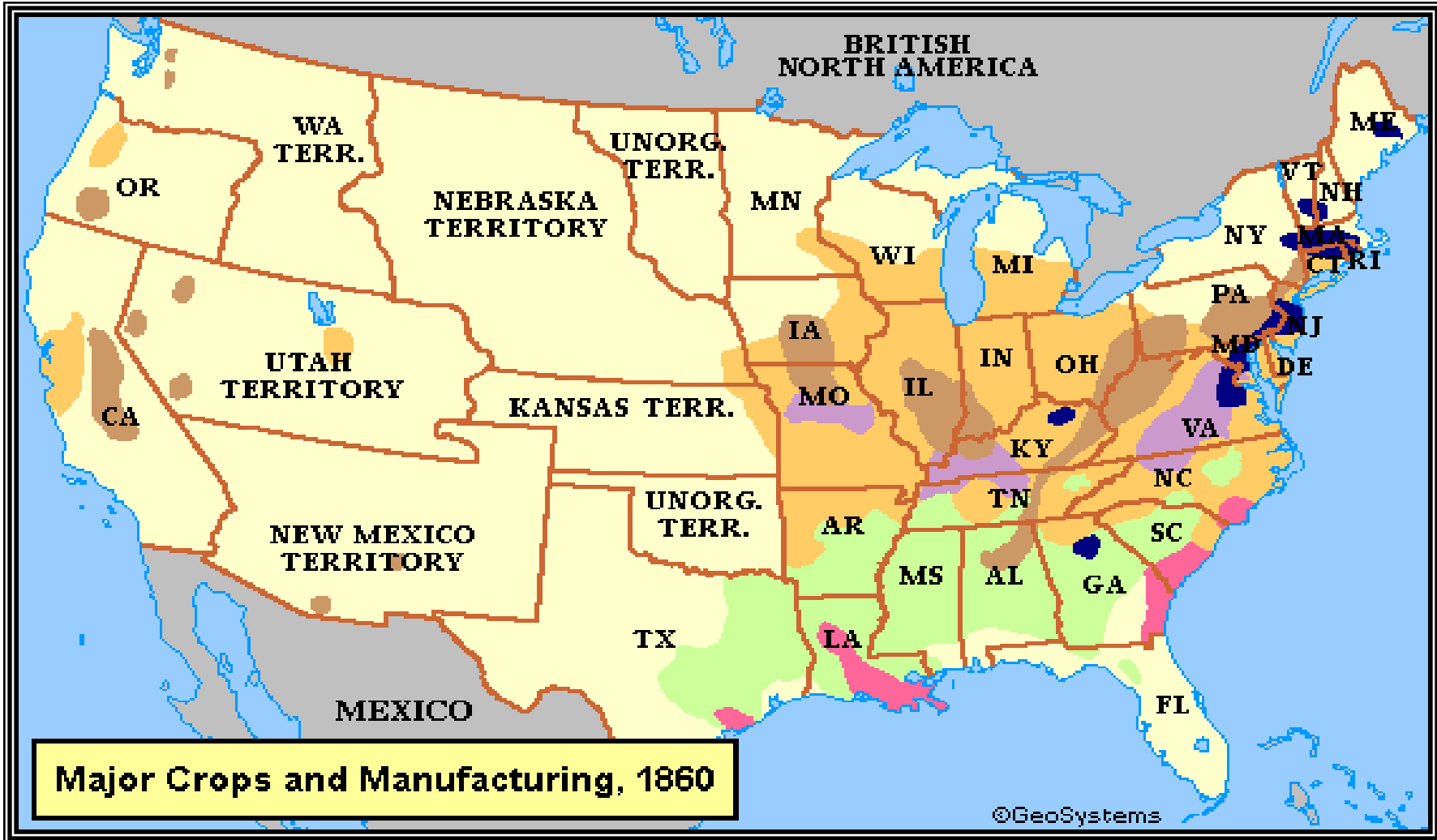
## **The Union Peril**







# Section 1: The Divisive Politics of Slavery



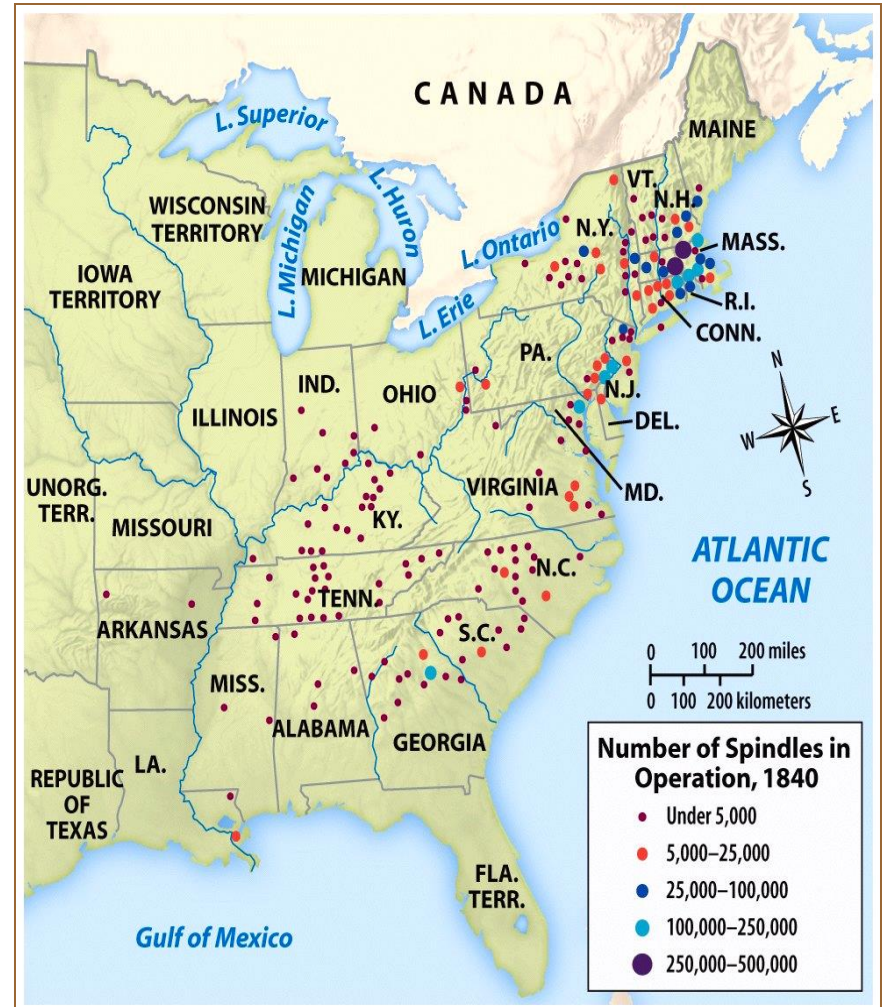
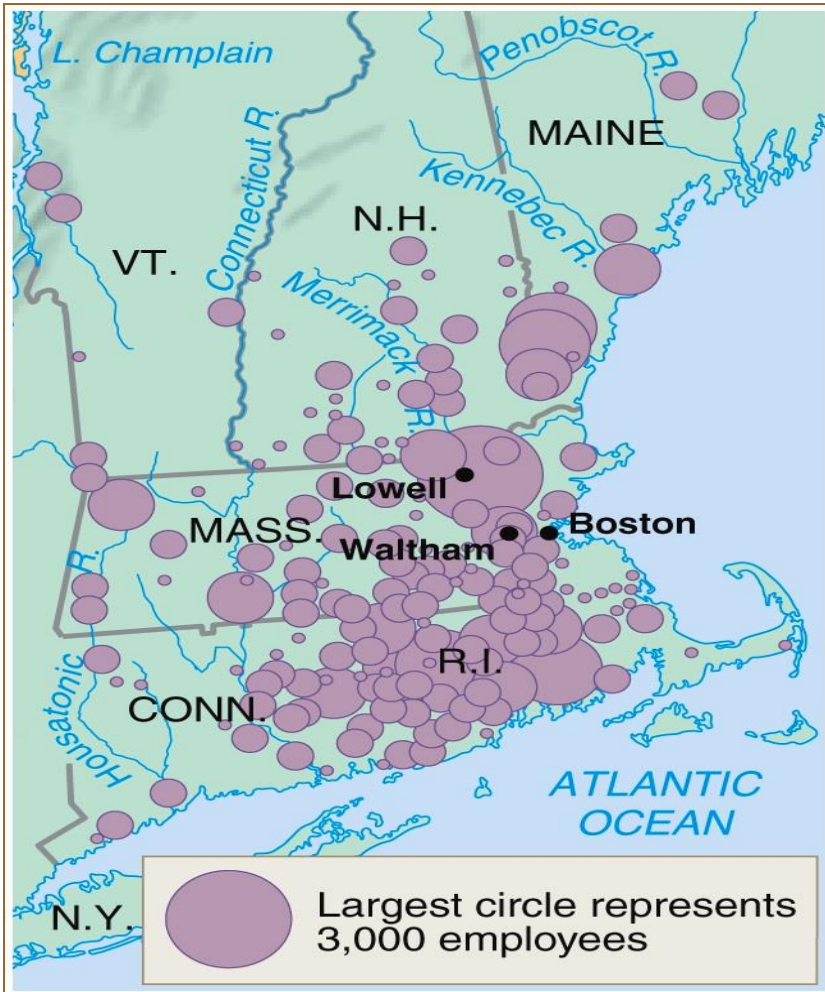
# The North

- Economic & Social Diversity
  - Cities, factories, immigrants
    - Prejudice against:
  - Slavery
    - Between 1800 and 1860:
- Mill owners, bankers, and merchants in the North depend (indirectly) on continuation of slavery in the South.

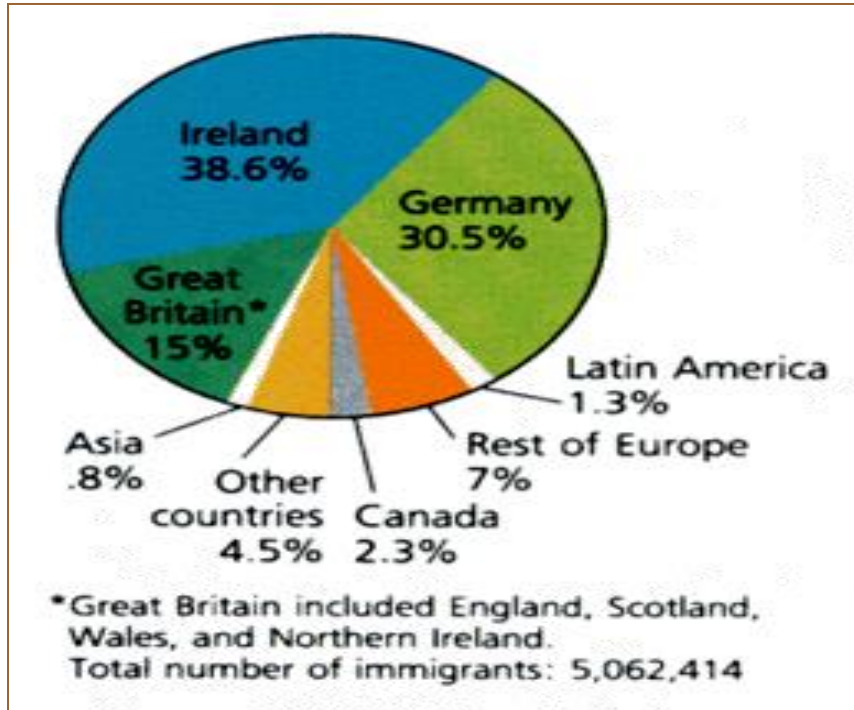


	Corn and wheat		Mining		Textiles
	Cotton		Rice and sugar cane		Tobacco

# Rise of Manufacturing



# Changing Demographics and Occupations



- Immigrants = opponents of slavery
  - Slave labor competes with free labor → opportunities & wages ↓

	1820	1840	1860
Agriculture	78.8%	63.1%	52.9%
Mining	0.4	0.6	1.6
Construction	—	5.1	4.7
Manufacturing	2.7	8.8	13.8
Trade	—	6.2	8.0
Transport	1.6	1.8	2.0
Service	4.1	5.0	6.4
Other	12.4	9.4	10.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

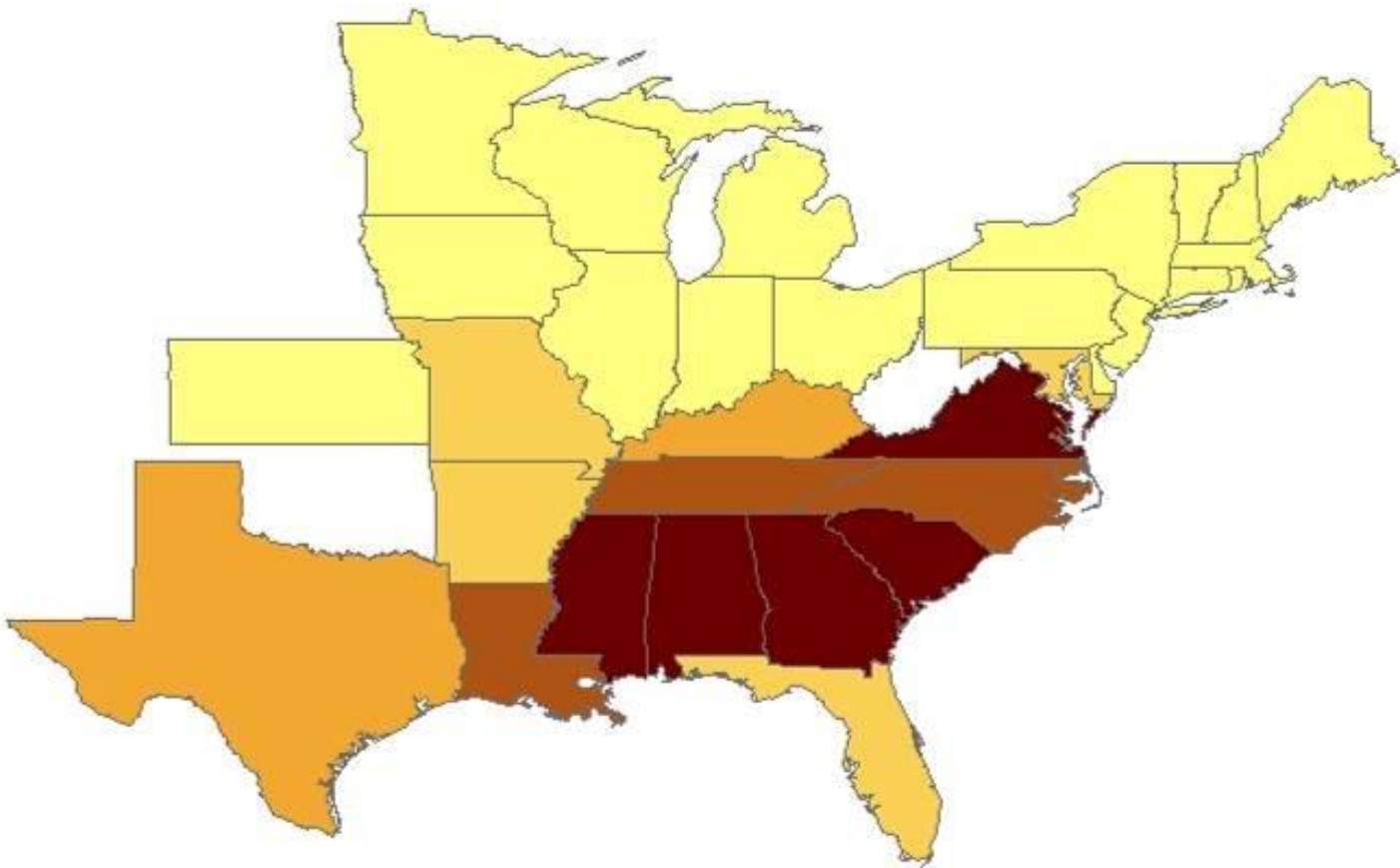
# Major Canals 1840



# The Railroad Revolution – 1850s



- Where do you see the majority of the Railroad lines?
  - Answer:
  - Who built the railroad lines?



**# slaves in each state:1860**



# The North

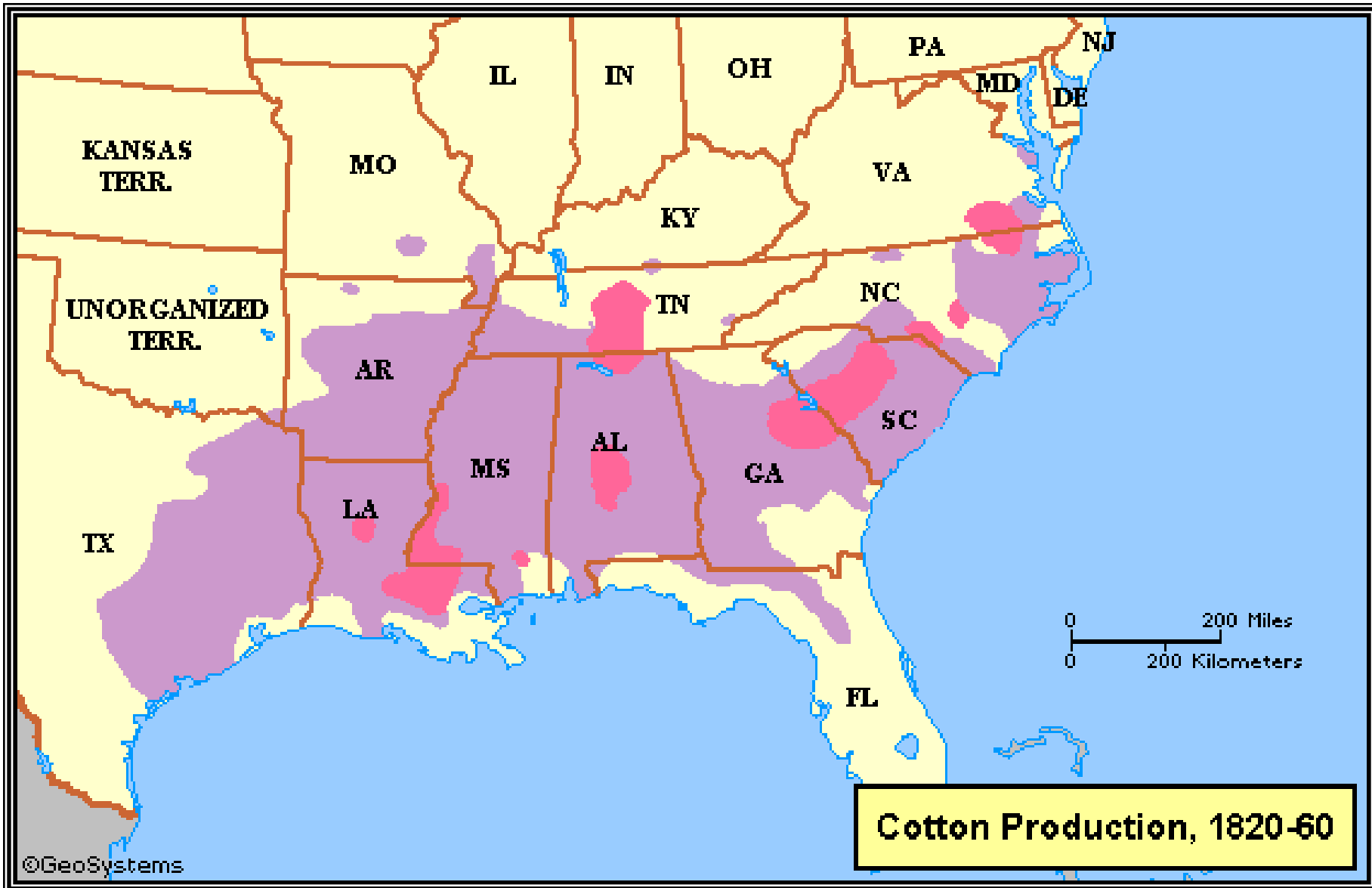
- Abolitionists
  - Small, but growing number in the North begin to call for:



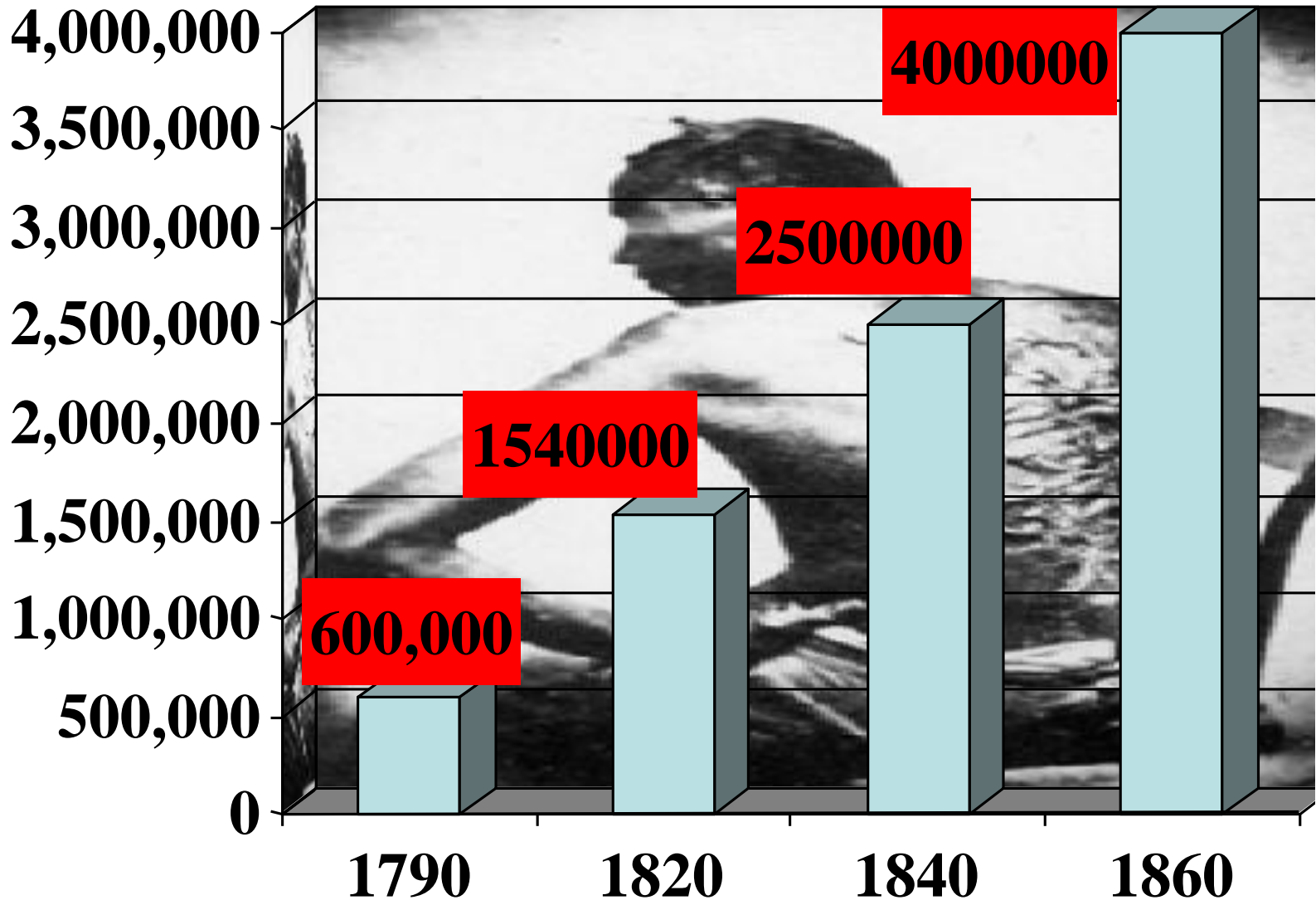
# The South

- Rural Society/Agricultural Economy
  - Most live in rural areas
  - Cotton = #1 cash crop for the South by the 1830s
  - Number one:
  - Profitable cotton production:



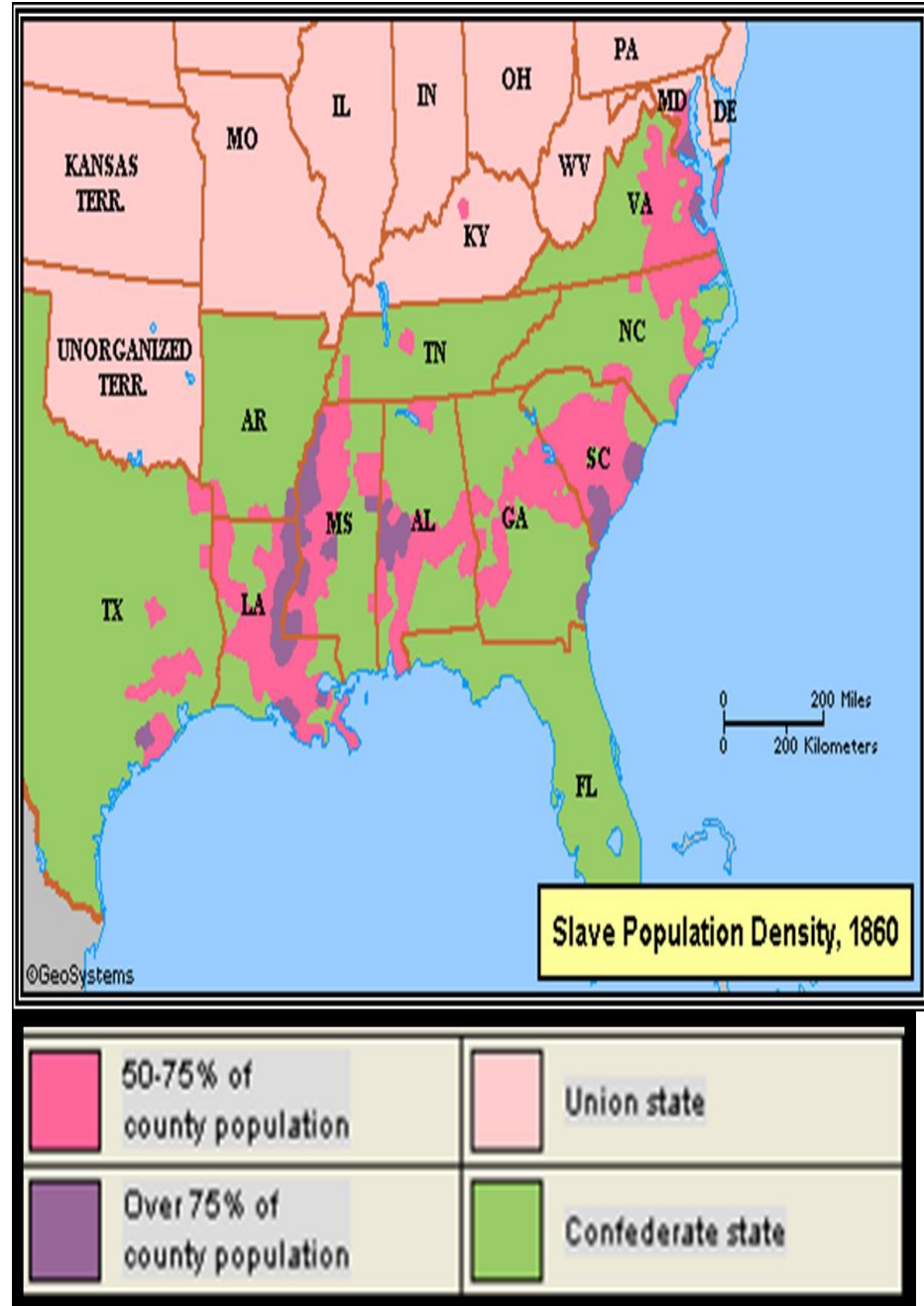


# GROWTH IN U.S. SLAVE POPULATION 1790-1860



# The South

- Industry
  - Less than 10% of nation's:
- Diversity
  - Few immigrants settled there
  - Africans Americans account for:



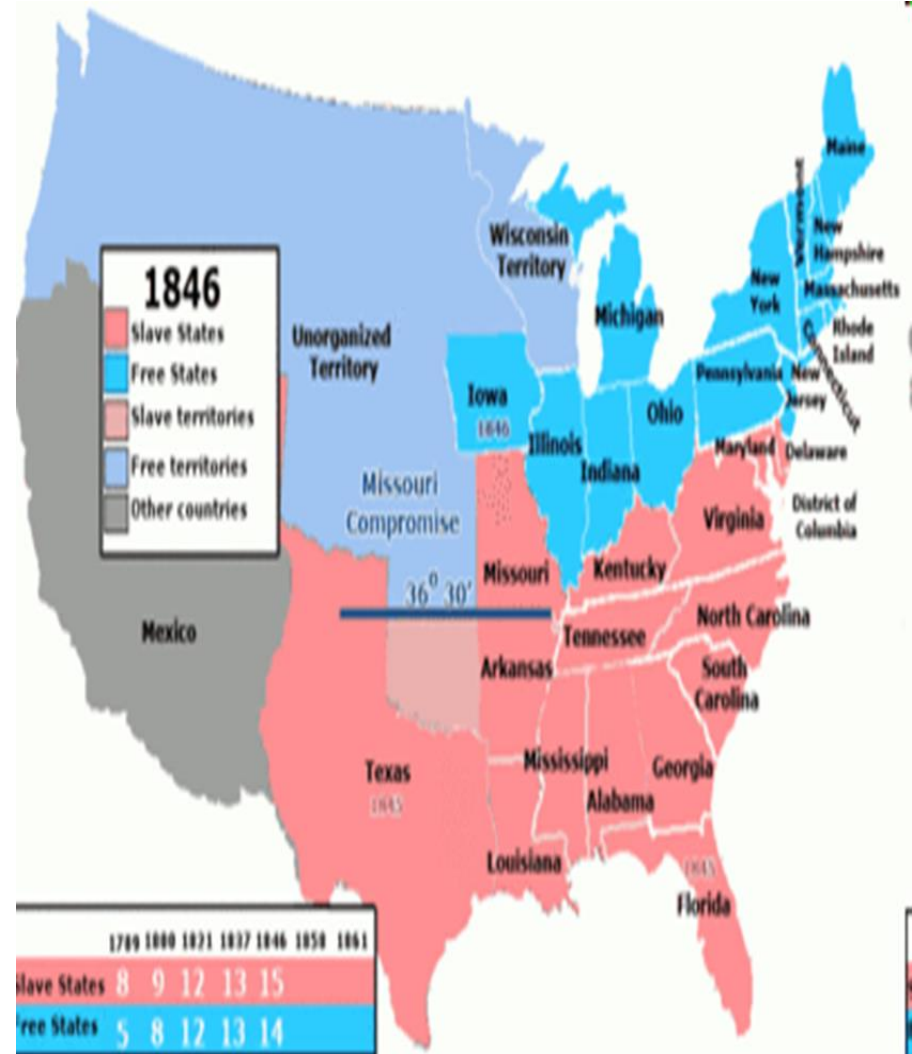
# The South

- Views on slavery
  - Defend it from a:
    - Transition of slavery from a “necessary evil to a positive good” in the minds of Southerners
    - Claim black bondage is superior to:

<b>Southern Society</b>	<b>% of Population</b>	<b>Attributes</b>
Large slave plantation owners	Less than 1% of white families	50 or more slaves, over 1,000 acres in property
Mid size slave plantation owners	3% of white families	20-49 slaves, over 100 acres, most powerful group in the South
Small slave holders	20% of white families	1-19 slaves, mostly farmers and a smaller urban middle class
Non slave owing whites	75% of white families	Yeomen farmers and tenant farmers. Some urban workers
Free Blacks	6% of Blacks	Legal and social restrictions limited their opportunities
Slaves	By 1860 1/3 <sup>rd</sup> of South's population	Majority worked on plantations

# Wilmot Proviso 1846

- Whig politician proposed law that would ban slavery in territory acquired from Mexico
- Divides political parties along sectional lines
- Passes House, but was defeated in the Senate



# The Compromise of 1850

- California's application for admission to the Union as a free state sets off a firestorm
  - Taylor supports:
  - Southern anger:
    - Admission would :
    - First state carved from the territory won in the Mexican War if admitted as a free state would set a bad precedent
    - Upset over lax enforcement of:
    - Southerners bring grievances before Congress

**FREE STATE OR SLAVE STATE: THE NUMBERS GAME FOR SENATORS. THE NORTH HAD A LARGER POPULATION WHICH MEANT THEY WOULD HAVE MORE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THE SOUTH NEEDED SLAVE STATES TO KEEP THE NUMBER OF SENATORS (EACH STATE RECEIVED TWO) EVEN.**

State	year admitted	total slave states	total free states
Ohio	1803		9
Louisiana	1812	9	
Indiana	1816		10
Mississippi	1817	10	
Illinois	1818		11
Alabama	1819	11	
Maine	1820		12
Missouri	1821	12	
Arkansas	1836	13	
Michigan	1837		13
Florida	1845	14	
Texas	1845	15	
Iowa	1846		14
Wisconsin	1848		15
California	1850		16
Minnesota	1858		17
Oregon	1859		18
Kansas	1861		19

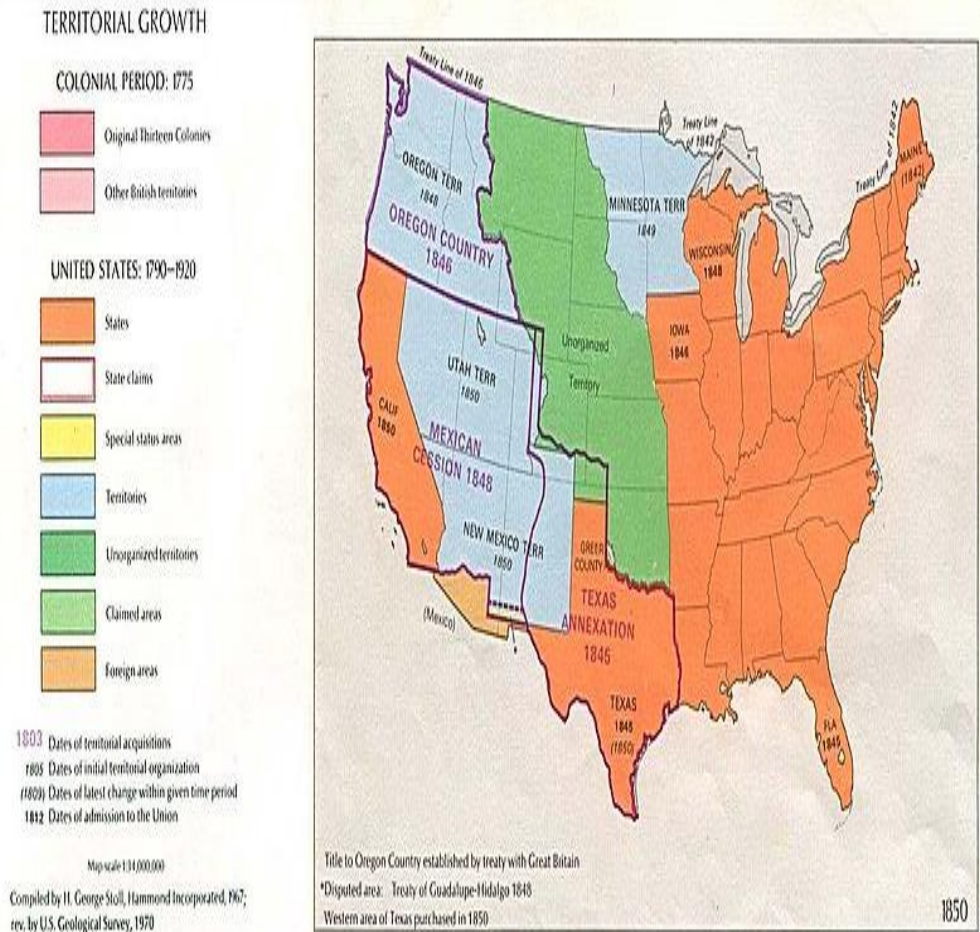
# The Compromise of 1850

- Clay offers a compromise
  - For the North:
    - California will enter the Union as a :
    - Slave trade :
  - For the South:
    - Fugitive Slave Law :
    - Slavery will :




# The Compromise of 1850

- Clay offers a compromise
  - For both:
    - Question of slavery in the territories will be decided by:
  - Texas gives up claims to:



**The  
Compromise  
of 1850  
made this  
site  
disappear.  
A group of  
chained  
slaves  
driven past  
the nation's  
Capitol on  
their way to  
be sold at a  
slave  
auction.**



A Slave-Coffle passing the Capitol.

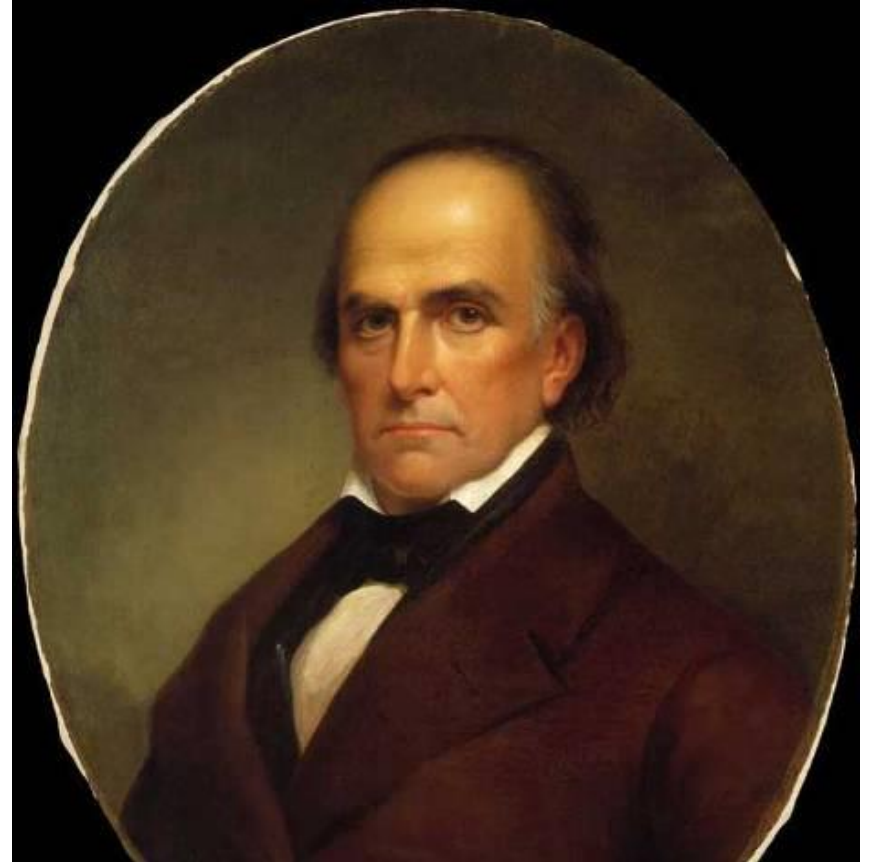
# The Compromise of 1850

- Reaction from South:
  - Calhoun argues that Compromise of 1850 does not afford the South enough protection
  - Threatens:



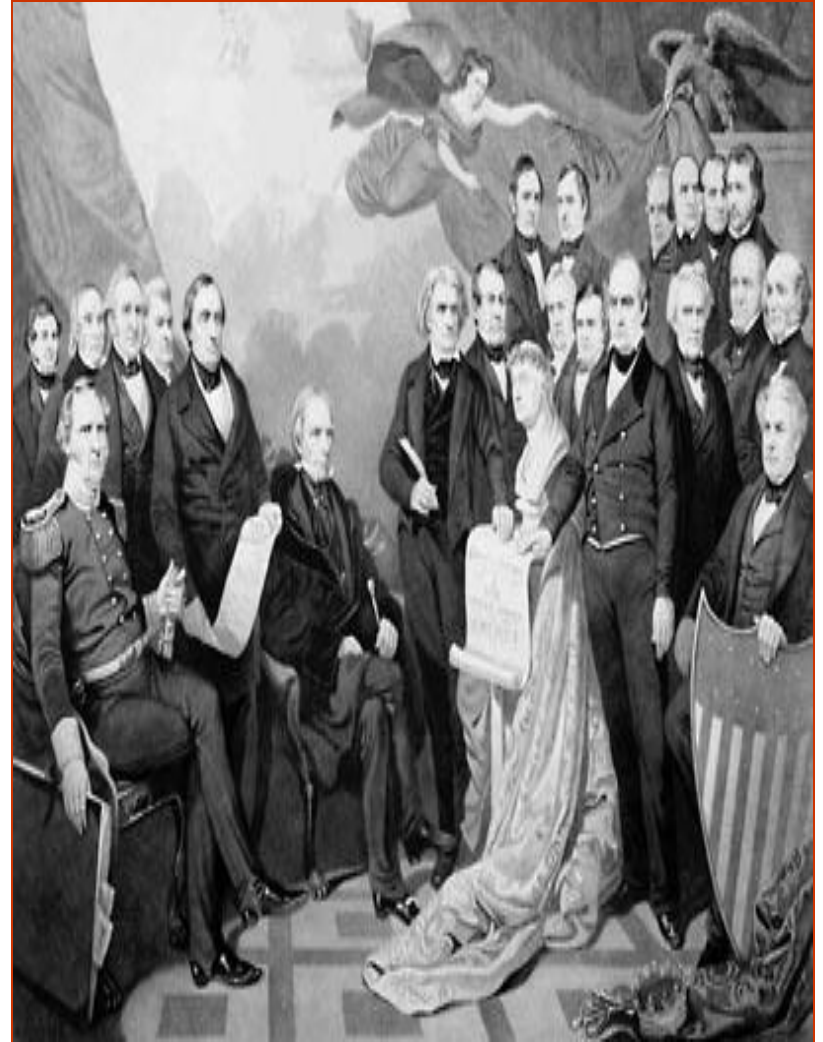
# The Compromise of 1850

- Reaction from North:
  - Webster – Urges senate to:
    - “Seventh of March” speech
    - Succeeds in persuading many Northerners
    - Abolitionists feel betrayed by Webster

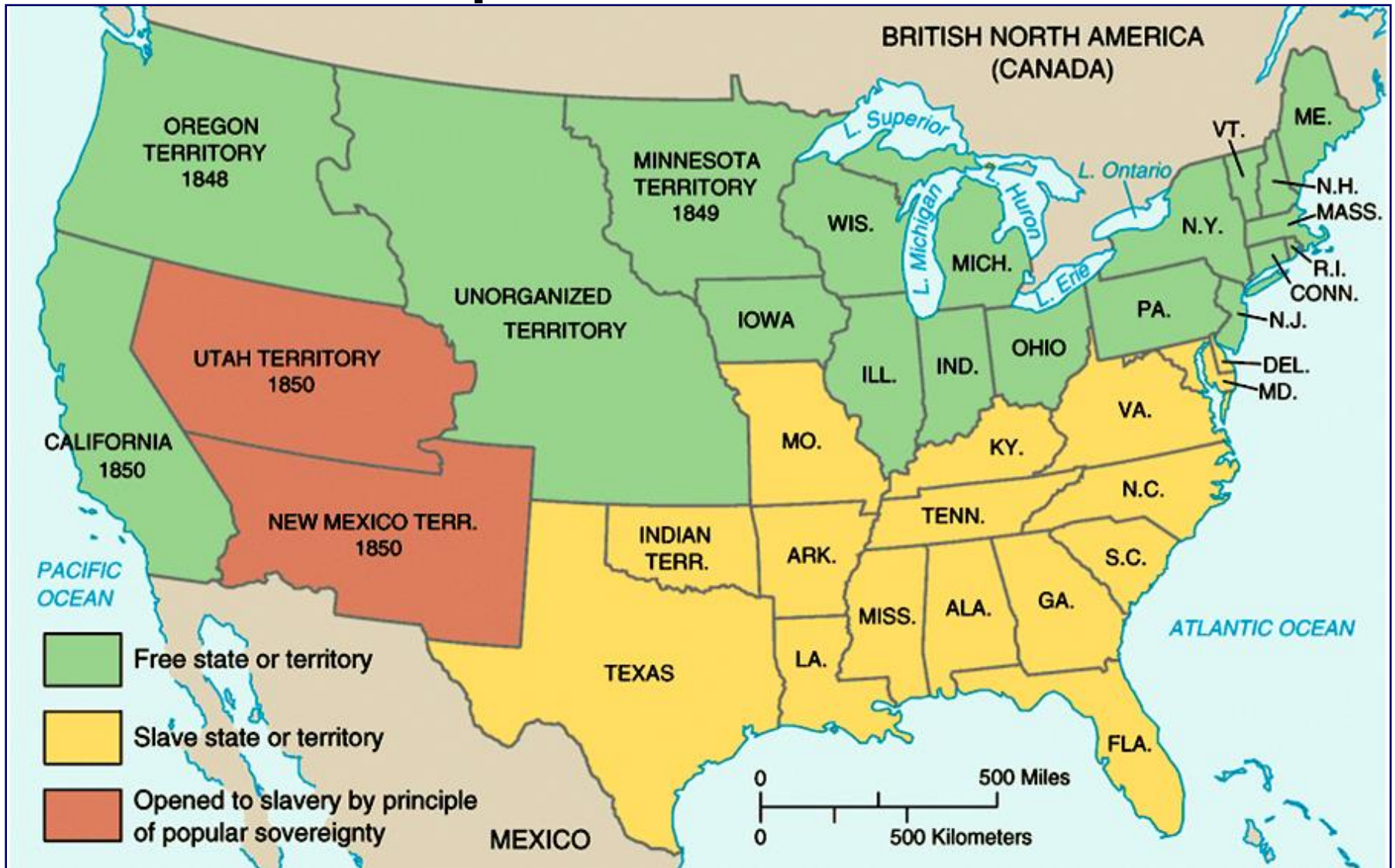


# The Compromise of 1850

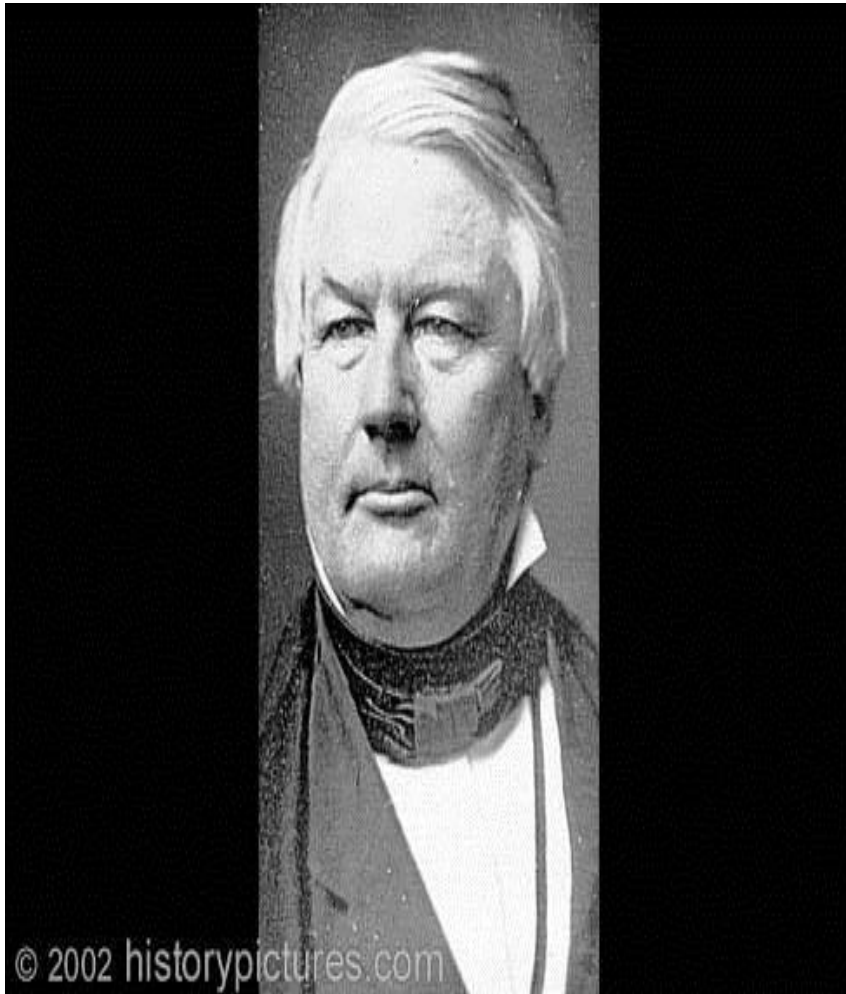
- Ratification
  - Stephen Douglas (senator from Illinois) instrumental in convincing Senate to approve each part of the Compromise separately
  - President Taylor threatens to:
  - President Fillmore signs bills into law



# Compromise of 1850



# Millard Fillmore (1800-1874)



- Millard Fillmore (1800-1874) became president when Zachary Taylor died of cholera in July of 1850.
- Taylor had opposed the Compromise of 1850, but Fillmore supported it; his elevation to the presidency helped to assure its passage.

# Taylor's Death – Untimely or Timely?

- On July 4th 1850, President Taylor attended a number of independence day celebrations.
- That evening he began having abdominal cramps, possibly the result of something he ate ( reportedly cherries).
- He steadily worsened: diarrhea and fever developed, and the diarrhea turned bloody. His doctors tried what they could. He died on July 9
- Typhoid fever has been proposed as a likely cause of death.
- Because of theories that Taylor might have been poisoned (most notably by strychnine), his body was exhumed on June 17, 1991
- Some arsenic was found, but in quantities said to be too small to cause harm

# Section 2: Protest, Resistance, and Violence



**KANSAS.**

*To those who desire that Kansas should be free.—*  
Mr. Hoskings, the accredited agent of the Kansas Herald of Freedom, is here for the purpose of procuring subscribers.  
That paper is the organ of the Emigrant Aid Company, and if well sustained will be one of the mightiest agencies, in making Kansas a Free State. I am personally acquainted with the editor, G. W. Brown, Esq., and know him to be worthy of his responsible position. **ELI THAYER.**  
Worcester, Nov. 22, 1854.

**Shall Kansas be Free ?**  
Let Subscribers Answer.

I am employed to call on such as will subscribe to the Herald, and circulate the first number; all correspondence by mail or otherwise promptly attended to, and such information as I possess cheerfully given.

"I love thee, New England my own native land,  
And my spirit exults—I thank God  
That the turf where I played in my childhood's glad morn  
By the tyrant may never be trod."

**T. H. HOSKINGS,**  
Caucusing Agent.

10



# Roots of the Underground Railroad

- Impact of the Fugitive Slave Act
  - Personal Liberty Laws
    - 9 northern states pass laws:
  - Free Blacks
    - Face threat of being:
      - Resist efforts of slave catchers to kidnap and send them back
      - Begin working with white abolitionists to:

# What the Fugitive Slave Law ordered

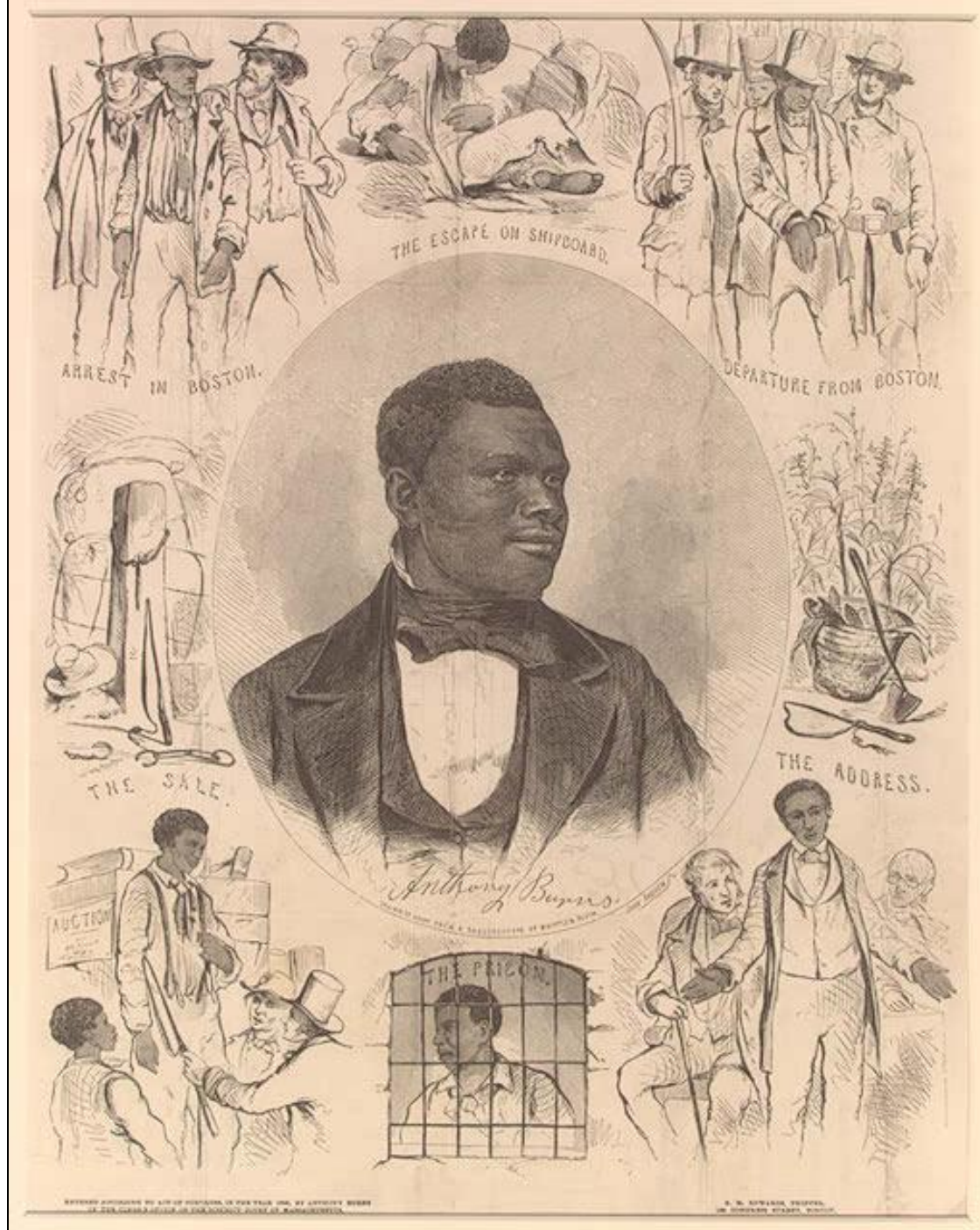
**Accused runaways were denied both a jury trial and the right to testify in their own behalf. They could be sent to the South on the basis of a supposed owner's affidavit.**

**Also working against the accused's ( runaway or free) chances for freedom was the fee to be paid to the commissioners to decide each case: they received ten dollars for returning the fugitive to the claimant, five dollars if they freed the person.**

**The law, made all personal liberty laws null and void. A slave owner or slave catcher could claim fugitives simply by seizing a Black person who fit the description of the runaway and bringing him/her before a federal judge. The judge decided the identity of the fugitive, based entirely on the testimony of the slave owner or slave catcher.**

**Any US marshal who refused to act under the law was fined \$1000, and any person "obstructing arrest of [said] fugitive, harboring fugitives, or concealing them" was fined up to \$1000 and could serve up to six months in prison.**

**Federal commissioners were appointed and given authority to issue warrants, gather posses, and *force citizens* to help them catch runaway slaves under penalty of a fine or imprisonment.**



Fugitive slave Anthony Burns, whose arrest and trial in Boston under the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 incited riots and protests by white and black abolitionists and citizens of Boston in the spring of 1854. The reaction to his arrest showed the depth of feeling against the law and slavery itself.

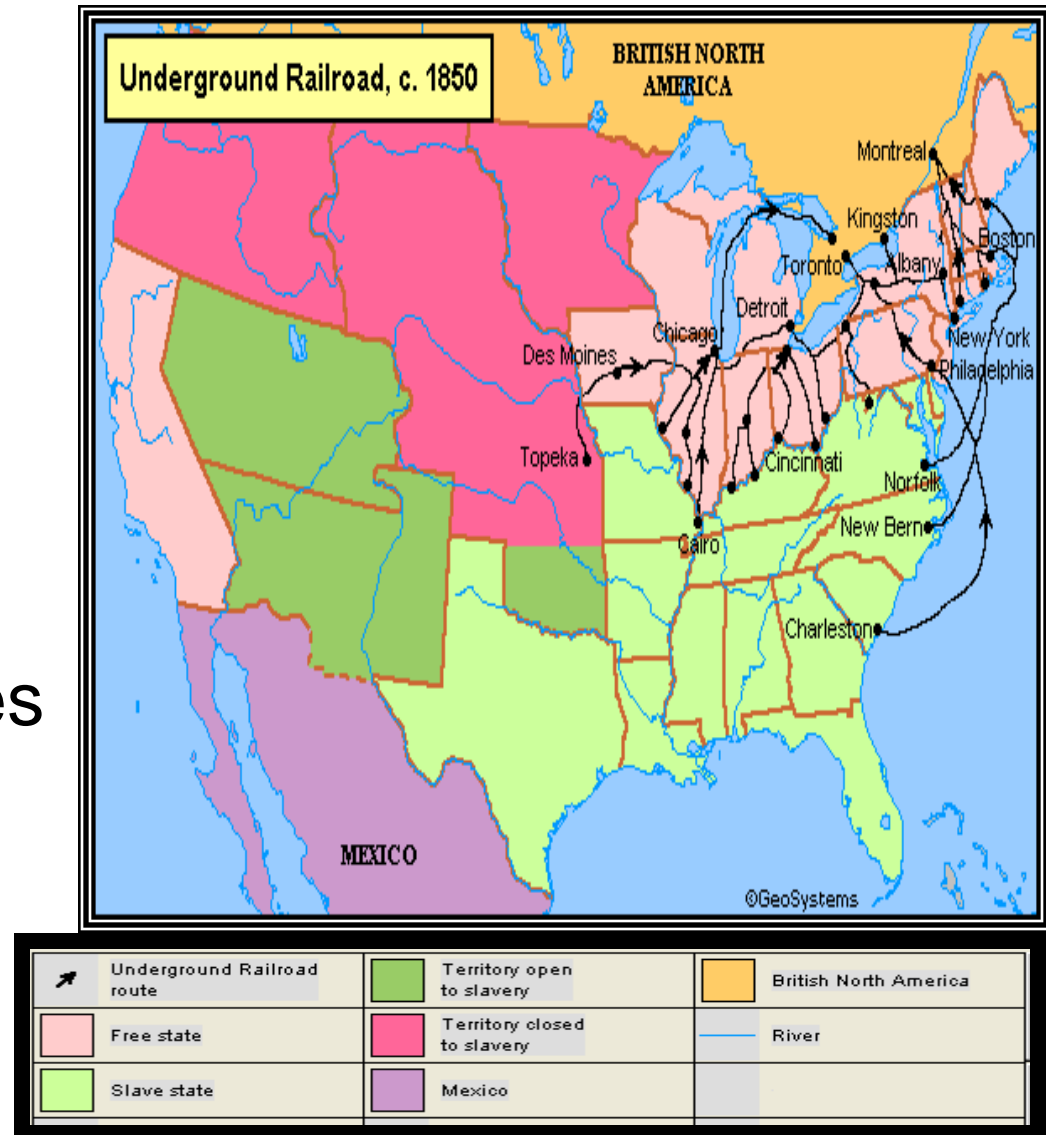
**A MAN  
KIDNAPPED!**

A PUBLIC MEETING AT  
**FANEUIL HALL!**  
WILL BE HELD  
**THIS FRIDAY EVEN'G,**  
May 26th, at 7 o'clock,  
To secure Justice for A MAN CLAIMED AS A SLAVE by a  
**VIRGINIA  
KIDNAPPER!**

And NOW IMPRISONED IN BOSTON COURT HOUSE, in  
obedience of the Laws of Massachusetts. Shall he be plunged into the Hall of  
Virginia Slavery by a Massachusetts Judge of Probate?  
**BOSTON, May 26th, 1854.**

# The Underground Railroad

- UGR = network of people stretching from South to North who:
- Early “passengers” fled to northern states
- Post Compromise of 1850:



# Conductors

- Harriet Tubman - the “Black Moses”
  - Made:
    - Was never caught, nor did she ever lose a single passenger en route to freedom



# *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

- Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* published in 1852 :



# Uncle Tom's Cabin

The pen is mightier than the sword.



**"The object of these sketches is to awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race, as they exist among us; to show their wrongs and sorrows, under a system so necessarily cruel and unjust as to defeat and do away the good effects of all that can be attempted for them, by their best friends, under it." *Harriet Beecher Stowe, from the preface of the first edition***

Stowe's newspaper serial was published in book form as Uncle Tom's Cabin on March 20, 1852. It was by far the most successful anti-slavery book ever written. Within two years Uncle Tom's Cabin had sold 2,000,000 copies worldwide. Performances of a play based on the novel drew audiences numbering in the hundreds of thousands. For many Northerners who had no personal experience with slavery, the novel personalized the evils of slavery. Most white Southerners denounced the book as an inaccurate and unfair portrayal of their "peculiar institution." Northern and Southern authors wrote at least 25 proslavery and "Anti-Tom" novels between 1852 and the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. The book had a tremendous impact on how Northerners viewed slavery.

**ROYAL LYCEUM**  
 TORONTO.  
 INDUSTRY. INTEGRITY. INTELLIGENCE.  
 JOHN NICKINSON - LESSEE AND MANAGER

**NOTICE.**  
 BE THE DRAMA OF "DELL" - having been received with great gratification by a Full and Praiseworthy Audience, induces the Managers to announce for repetition the same. Mark Lemon and Tom Taylor's celebrated London Version of Mrs. Barber's own's work.

**UNCLE TOM'S CABIN,  
 OR SLAVE LIFE.**  
 Produced with due regard to efficiency, Proprietors, Directors, Managers, &c.

Miss C. NICKINSON as "ELIZA,"

**IRISH ASSURANCE; OR, YANKEE MODESTY.**  
 THIS EVENING, FRIDAY, FEB. 9th, 1857.

**DANCE BY MARY ANN BELSHY**

**UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; or, Slave Life.**

**WHEN MR. THOMPSON PLAYED UNCLE TOM'S**

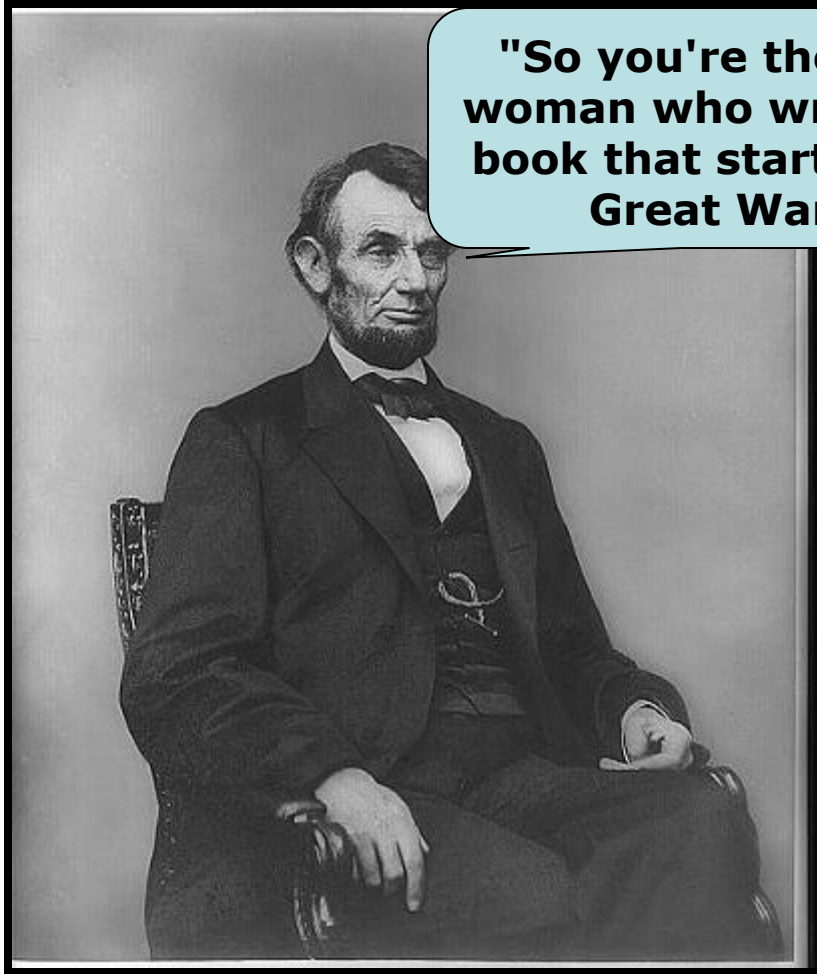


**UNCLE TOM'S CABIN;**  
 OR,  
**LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.**  
 BY  
 HARRIET BEESCHER STOWE.

**VOL. I.**  
 ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH THOUSAND.

**BOSTON:**  
 JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY  
 CLEVELAND, OHIO:  
 JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON  
 1852.

**According to legend, when Abraham Lincoln met Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1862 he said:**



**"So you're the little woman who wrote the book that started this Great War!"**



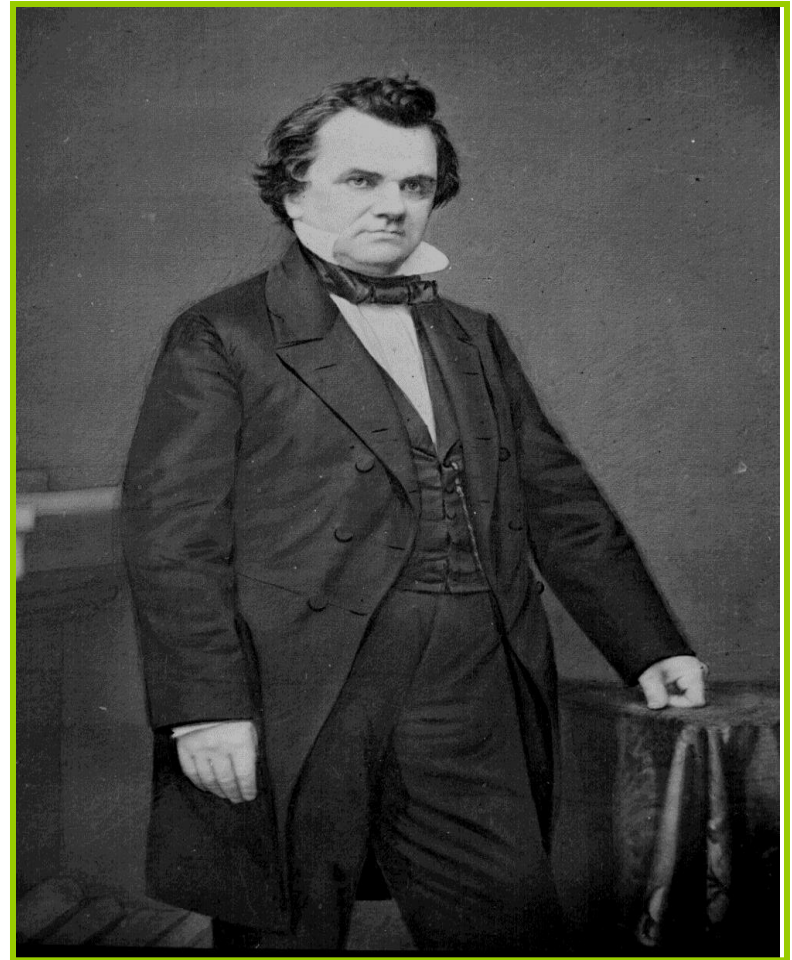
# The Kansas-Nebraska Act

- Issue of constructing a **transcontinental railroad** is before Congress in 1854
- Stephen Douglas of Illinois lobbies for:



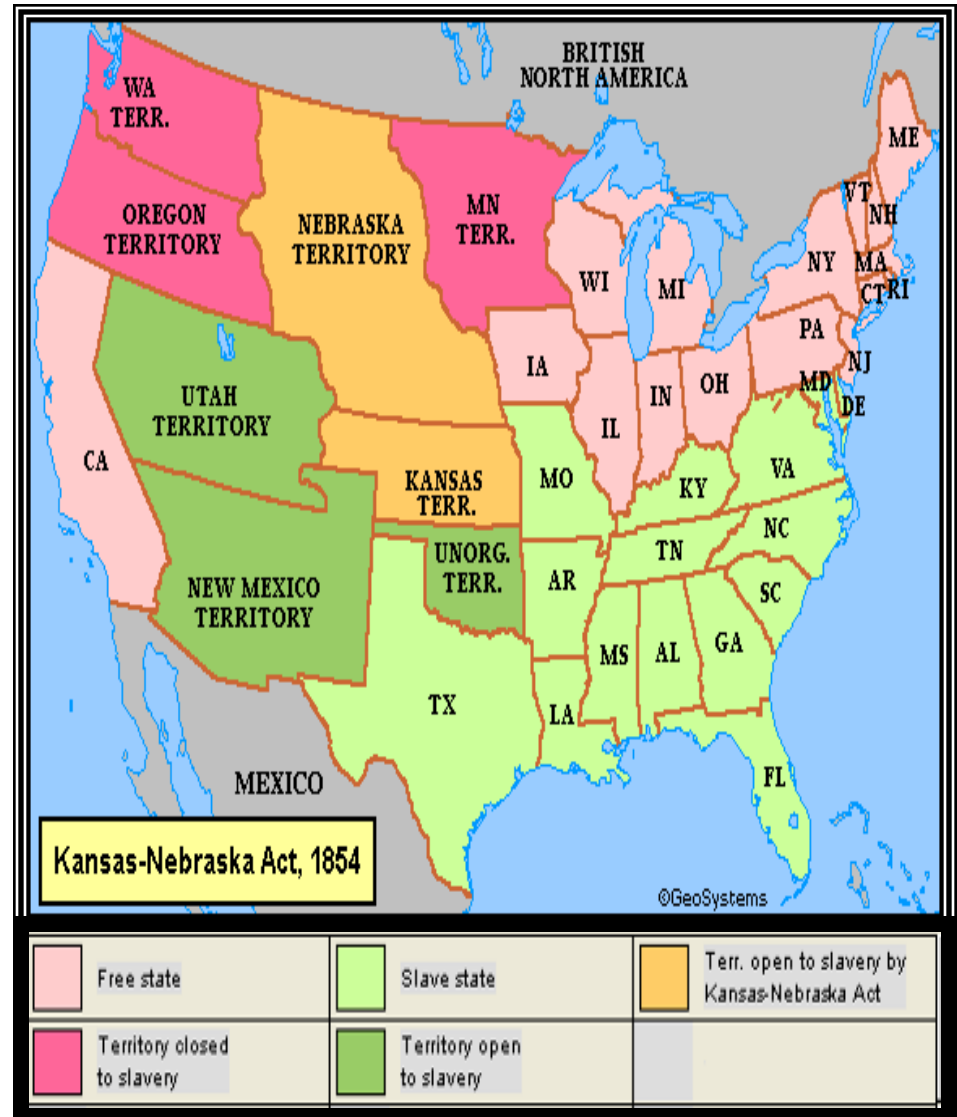
# The Kansas-Nebraska Act

- In order for Chicago to be chosen, Douglas needed to devise a plan for organizing the:
- Therefore in 1854 he brought the slavery issue before Congress again in his plan for organizing Nebraska.



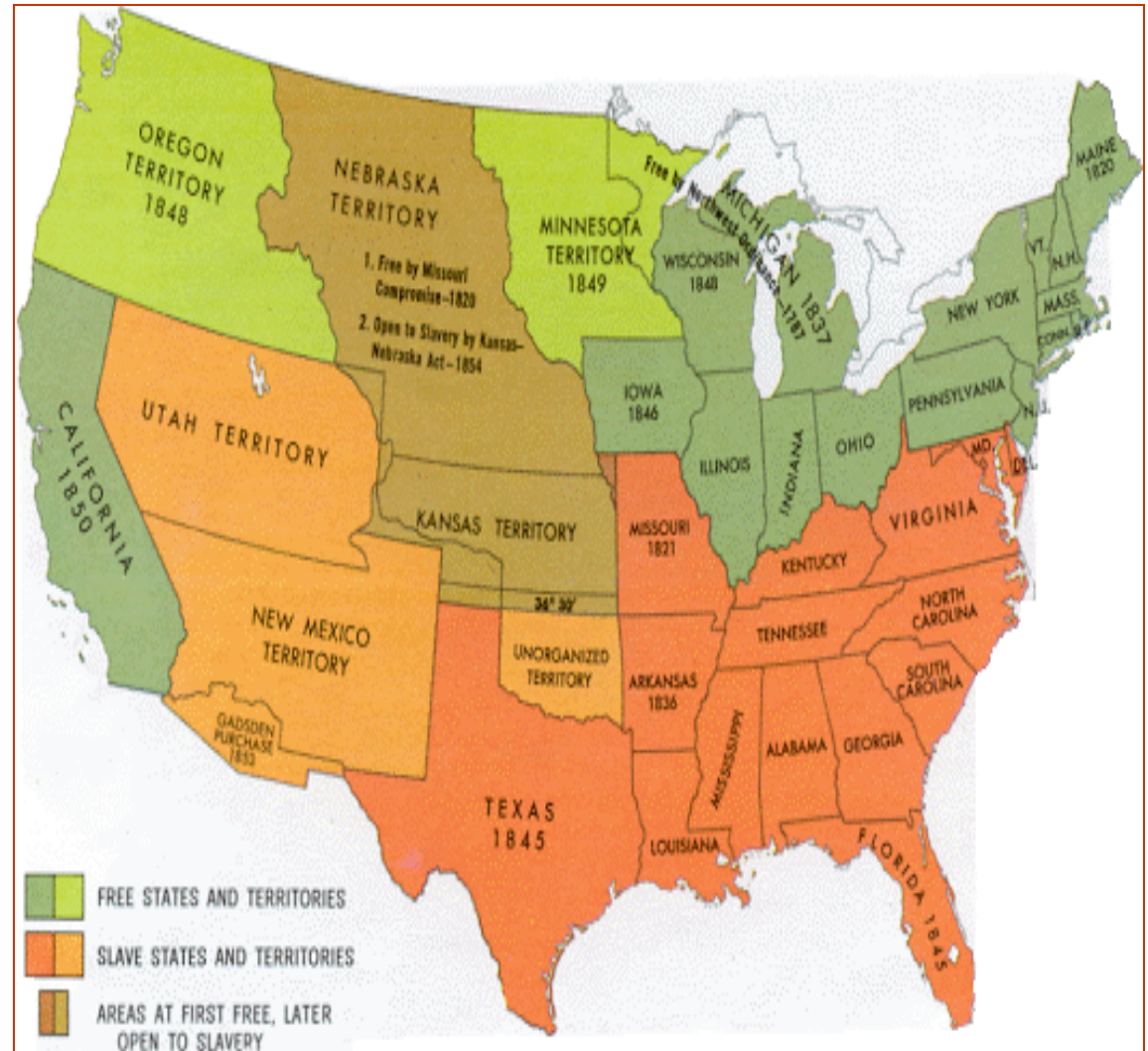
# The Kansas-Nebraska Act

- Under Douglas's plan Nebraska Territory would be split in two
  - Northern half would be:
  - Southern half would be:
  - Fate of slavery in both halves would be determined by:



# The Kansas-Nebraska Act

- Controversy over the plan
  - Douglas's proposal required the:
  - Despite controversy, Congress:



# Bleeding Kansas

- Passage of Kansas-Nebraska Act sets off race to populate Kansas in order to determine its status (slave or free)
- A Tale of Two Kansases
  - 1855 Elections for Territorial Legislature results in two legislatures being elected:
    - **Lecompton** legislature
    - Anti-slavery forces establish:

The storm began. The Kansas Nebraska Act set off a firestorm where both sides rushed settlers into Kansas. This caused open warfare between the pro and anti slavery settlers. The resulting violence was known as "Bloody Kansas".



## KANSAS.

To those who desire that Kansas should be free.—

Mr. Hoskings, the accredited agent of the Kansas Herald of Freedom, is here for the purpose of procuring subscribers.

That paper is the organ of the Emigrant Aid Company, and if well sustained will be one of the mightiest agencies, in making Kansas a Free State. I am personally acquainted with the editor, G. W. Brown, Esq., and know him to be worthy of his responsible position.

ELI THAYER.

Worcester, Nov. 22, 1854.

## Shall Kansas be Free ?

### Let Subscribers Answer.

I am employed to call on such as will subscribe to the Herald, and circulate the first number; all correspondence by mail or otherwise promptly attended to, and such information as I possess cheerfully given.

"I love thee, New England my own native land,  
And my spirit exults—I thank God  
That the turf where I played in my childhood's glad morn  
By the tyrant may never be trod."

**T. H. HOSKINGS,**  
Canvassing Agent.

**"UNION IS STRENGTH."**

## FREE STATE CONVENTION!

**All who are favorable to union** of effort, and a permanent organization of all those who desire to make Kansas a Free State, and who wish to secure, upon the broadest platform, the co-operation of all who agree upon this point, are requested to meet in their respective districts, and appoint Delegates who shall meet in general Convention at

**BIG SPRING, THIRD DISTRICT,  
On Wednesday, September 5th,**

For the purpose of adopting a Platform upon which all may act harmoniously who prefer Freedom to Slavery.

The nomination of a Delegate to Congress, will also come up before the General Convention.

Every District will be entitled to five Delegates for each Representative apportioned by the Governor previously to the last election.

Let no sectional or party issues distract or prevent the perfect co-operation of Free State men. Union and harmony are absolutely necessary to success. The pro-slavery party are fully and effectually organized. No jars nor minor issues divide them. And to contend against them successfully, we also must be united. Without prudence and harmony of action we are certain to fail.

Let every man then do his duty and we are certain of victory.

All Free State men, without distinction, are earnestly requested to take immediate and effective steps to insure a full and correct representation for every District in the Territory.

The Delegates to represent the First and Second Districts in the Convention, will be chosen on the occasion of the

## Mass Meeting

To be held at Lawrence on August 14th. The residents of these Districts are requested to attend this meeting.

**"United we stand; divided we fall."**

By order of the meeting held at Lawrence, July 17, 1855.

[Kansas Free State\* Print.]



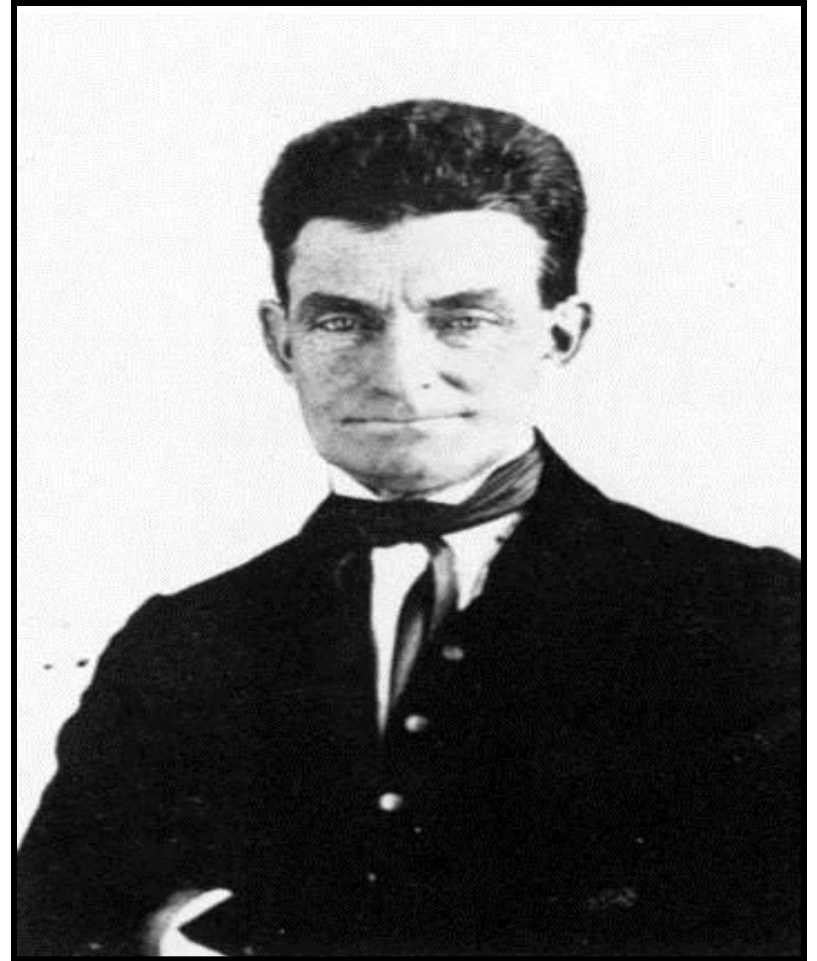
**Sharp's Model 1853 "John Brown" slant breech percussion carbine, a "Beecher Bible"**



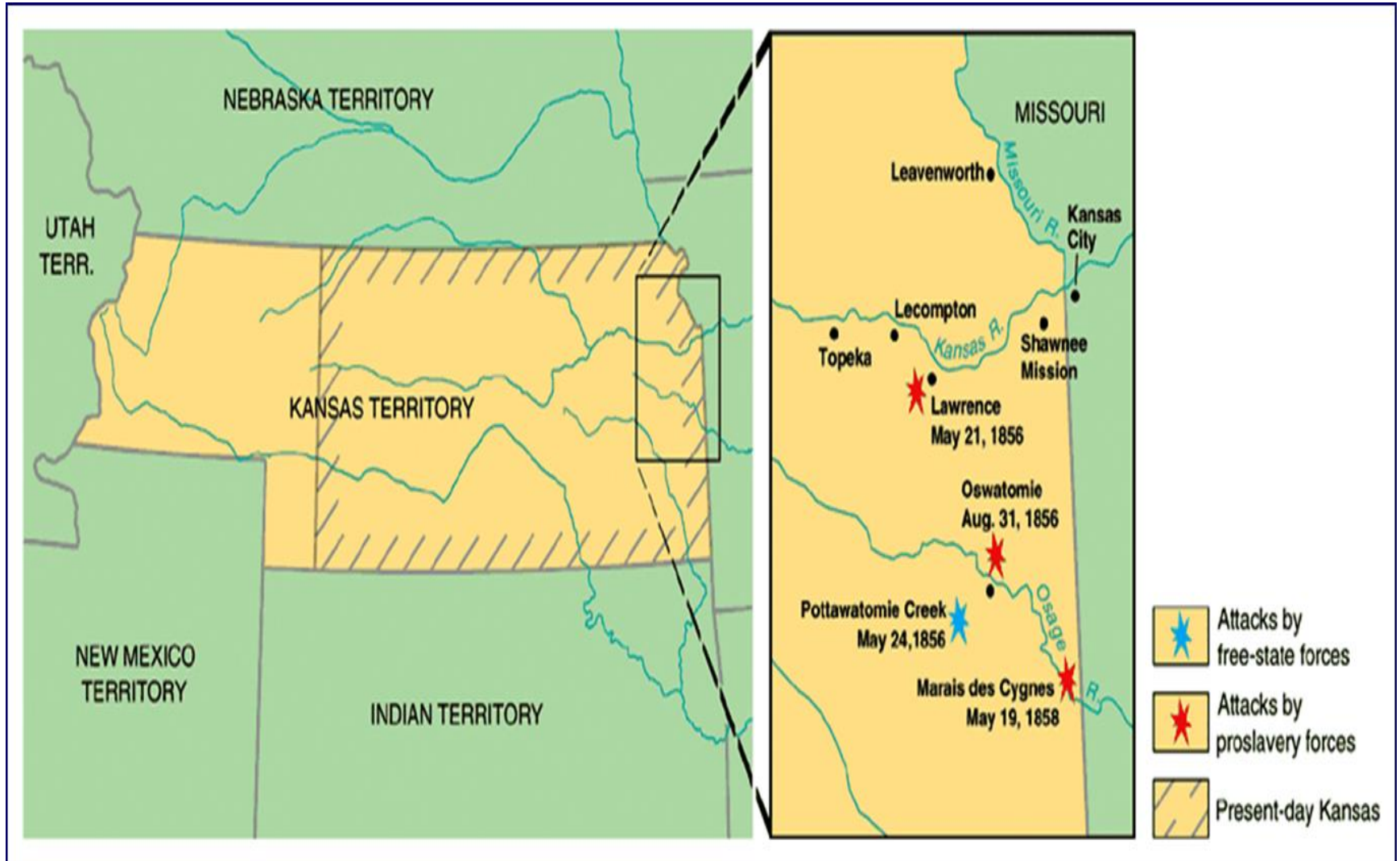
**Henry Ward Beecher was involved with the New England Emigrant Aid Society. The Society furnished antislavery emigrants with rifles ("Beecher's bibles") to use in the struggle between proslavery and antislavery settlers in Kansas.**

# Bleeding Kansas

- “Sack of Lawrence”
  - May 1856:
  
- Pottawatomie Massacre
  - Abolitionist John Brown and followers exact revenge for Lawrence
  - 200 killed in incidents that followed
  - Kansas:



# Bleeding Kansas

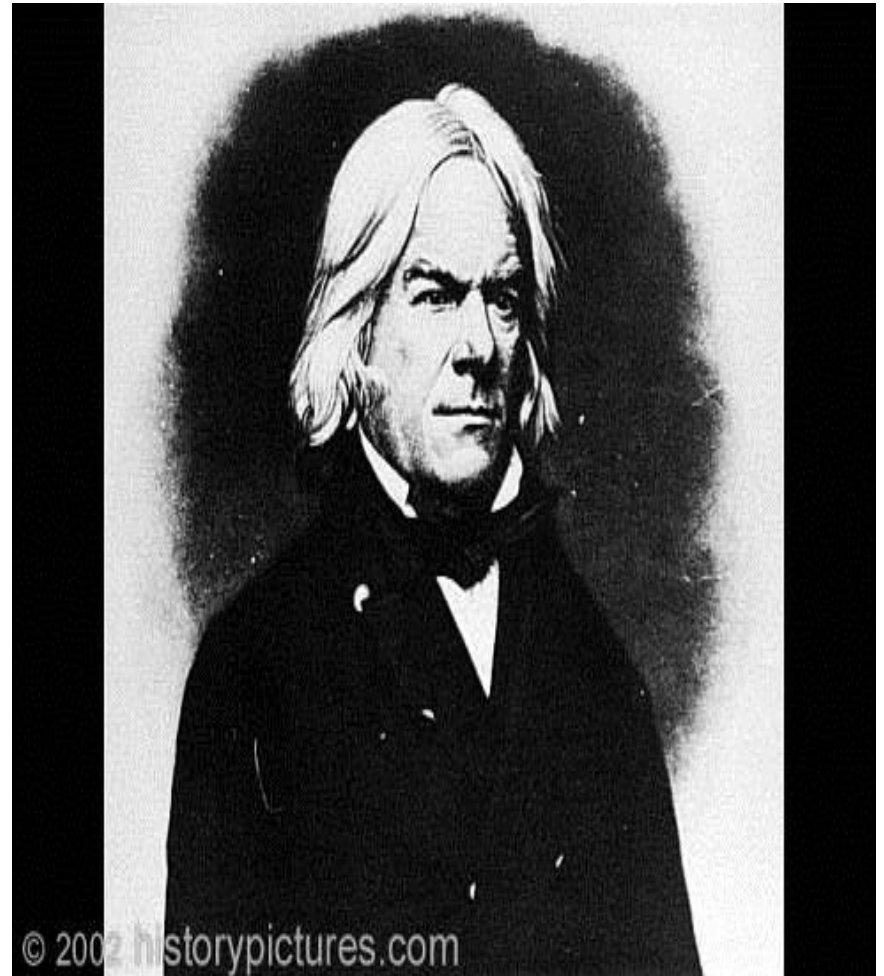


# Bleeding Kansas

- Kansas denied admission to the Union
  - 1858 – Kansas applies for admission to the Union under the:
    - Because Lecompton constitution protected slavery no matter which way the people of the territory voted, many residents of the territory had refused to vote on it.
    - As a result, Congress deemed:
      - Kansas would not be admitted to the Union until:

# Brooks vs. Sumner

- Massachusetts Senator **Charles Sumner** delivers an inflammatory speech entitled :
- In it he insulted popular South Carolina Senator **Andrew Butler** accusing him of leading a conspiracy of slaveholders against Kansas



## THE LANDMARK OF FREEDOM.

### SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

Against the Repeal of the Missouri Prohibition of Slavery North of 36° 30'.

IN THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 21, 1854.

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark. And all the people shall say, AMEN."—DEUT., ch. xxvii., v. 17.

The Senate having under consideration the bill to establish Territorial Governments in Nebraska and Kansas—

Mr. SUMNER said:

Mr. PIERCE: I approach this discussion with awe. The mighty question, with untold issues, which it involves, oppresses me. Like a portentous cloud, surcharged with irresistible storm and ruin, it seems to fill the whole heavens, making me painfully conscious how unequal I am to the occasion—how unequal, also, is all that I can say, to all that I feel.

In delivering my sentiments here to-day, I shall speak frankly—according to my convictions, without concealment or reserve. But if anything fell from the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. DOUGLASS,] in opening this discussion, which might seem to challenge a personal contest, I desire to say that I shall not enter upon it. Let not a word or a tone pass my lips to direct attention, for a moment, from the transcendent theme, by the side of which Senators and Presidents are but dwarfs. I would not forget those amenities which belong to this place, and are so well calculated to temper the antagonism of debate; nor can I cease to remember and to feel, that, amidst all diversities of opinion, we are the representatives of thirty-one sister republics, knit together by indissoluble tie, and constituting that Plural Unit, which we all embrace by the coloring name of country.

The question presented for your consideration is not surpassed in grandeur by any which has occurred in our national history since the Declaration of Independence. In every aspect it assumes gigantic proportions, whether we simply consider the extent of territory which it assails, or that faith, and national policy which it assails, or that higher question—that Question of Questions, as far above others as Liberty is above the common things of life—which it opens anew for judgment.

It concerns an immense region, larger than the original thirteen States, vying in extent with all the existing free States, stretching over prairie, field, and forest—interceded by silver streams, skirted by protecting mountains, and constitu-

ting the heart of the North American continent—only a little smaller, let me add, than three great European countries combined—Italy, Spain, and France, each of which, in succession, has dominated over the globe. This territory has already been likened, on this floor, to the Garden of God. The similitude is found, not merely in its present pure and virgin character, but in its actual geographical situation, occupying central spaces on this hemisphere, which, in their general relations, may well compare with that early Asiatic home. We are told that,

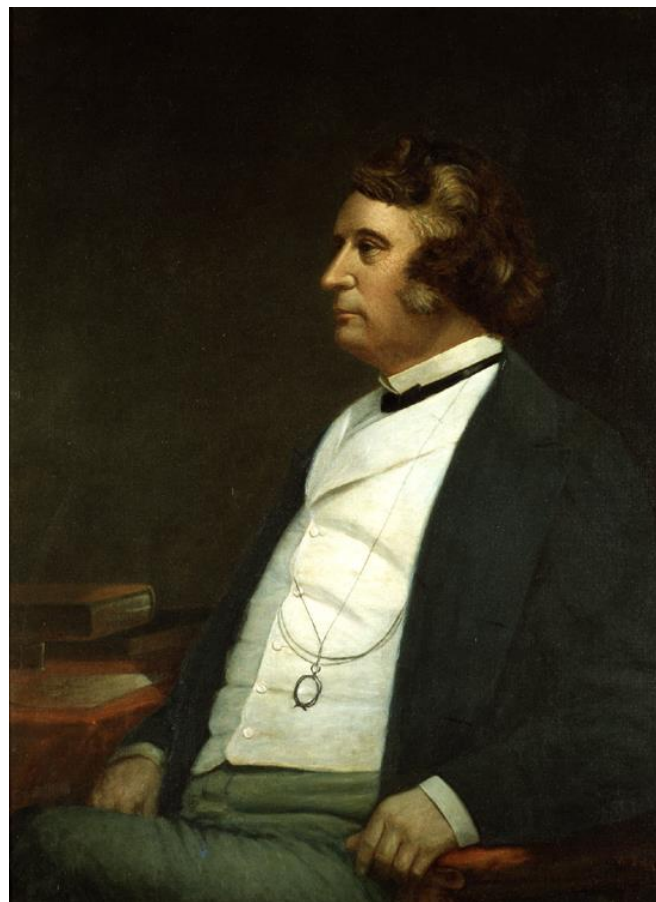
Southward through Eden went a river large; so here a stream flows southward which is larger than the Euphrates. And here, too, amidst all the smiling products of nature, lavished by the hand of God, is the lofty tree of Liberty, planted by our fathers, which, without exaggeration, or even imagination, may be likened to

the tree of life,  
High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit  
Of vegetable gold.

It is with regard to this territory, that you are now called to exercise the grandest function of the lawgiver, by establishing those rules of policy which will determine its future character. As the twig is bent the tree inclines; and the influences impressed upon the early days of an empire—like those upon a child—are of inconceivable importance to its future weal or woe. The bill now before us, proposes to organize and equip two new territorial establishments, with governors, secretaries, legislative councils, legislators, judges, marshals, and the whole machinery of civil society. Such a measure, at any time, would deserve the most careful attention. But, at the present moment, it justly excites a peculiar interest, from the effort made—on pretenses unsubstantiated by facts—in violation of solemn covenant, and of the early principles of our fathers—to open this immense region to slavery.

According to existing law, this territory is now guarded against slavery by a positive prohibition, embodied in the act of Congress, approved March 6th, 1820, preparatory to the admission of Mis-

**“Not in any common lust for power did this uncommon tragedy have its origin. It is the rape of a virgin Territory, compelling it to the hateful embrace of Slavery; and it may be clearly traced to a depraved desire for a new Slave State, hideous offspring of such a crime, in the hope of adding to the power of Slavery in the National Government.”** *The Crime Against Kansas: The Apologies for the Crime; The True Remedy, Hon Charles Sumner*



**Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts**

# Brooks vs. Sumner

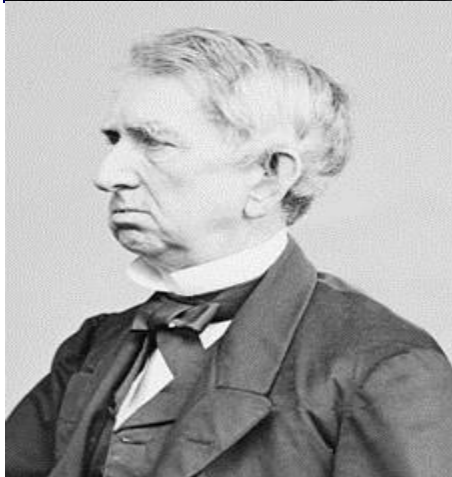
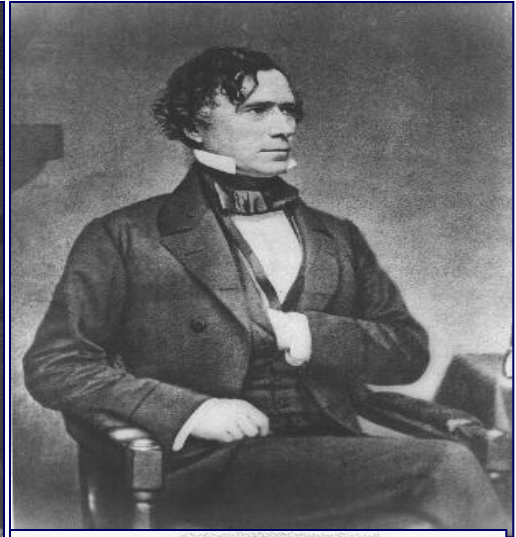
- Congressman **Preston Brooks** seeking to defend his uncle's honor:
- Reaction
  - Northerners re-elect Sumner despite his inability to serve in the Senate for the next three years
  - South Carolinians reelect Brook as a representative from their state
  - The attacks hardened:



**In 1856, Preston Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina attacked the outspoken anti-slavery Senator Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber. He beat him severely and Sumner's injuries prevented him from attending the Senate for the next three years.**

**Brooks resigned from Congress but was re-elected later that year and remained in office until his death in Washington on 27th January, 1857.**

# Section 3: The Birth of the Republican Party



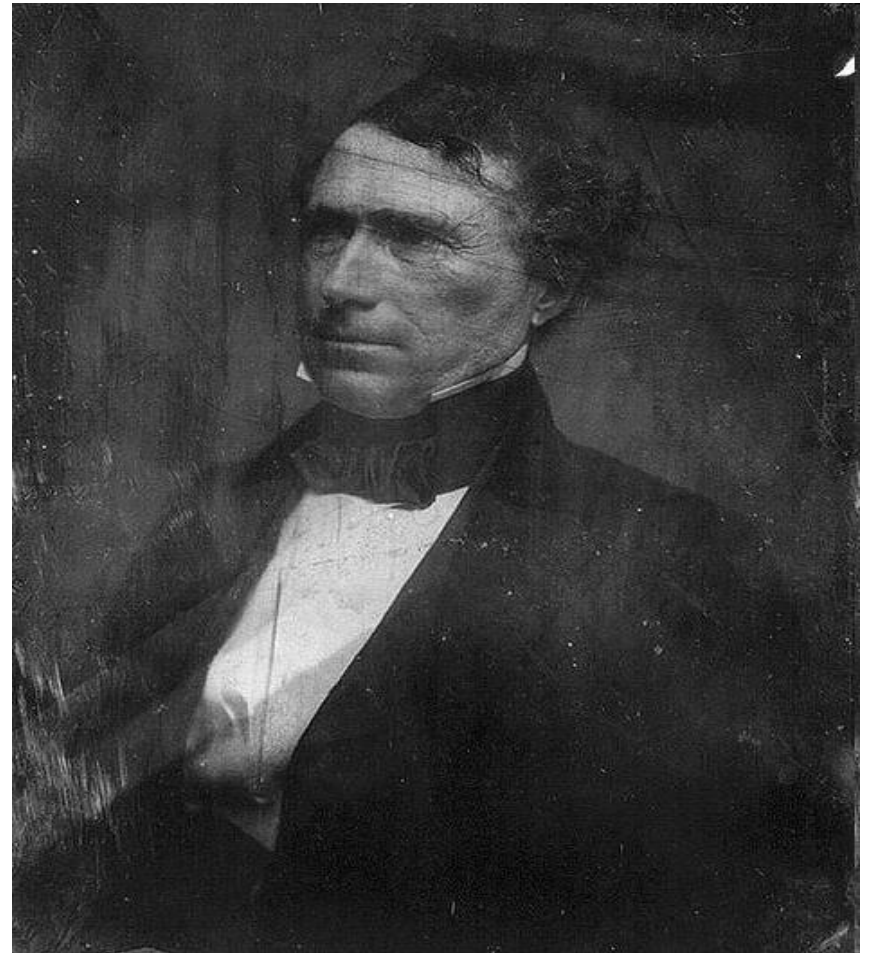
# Election of 1852

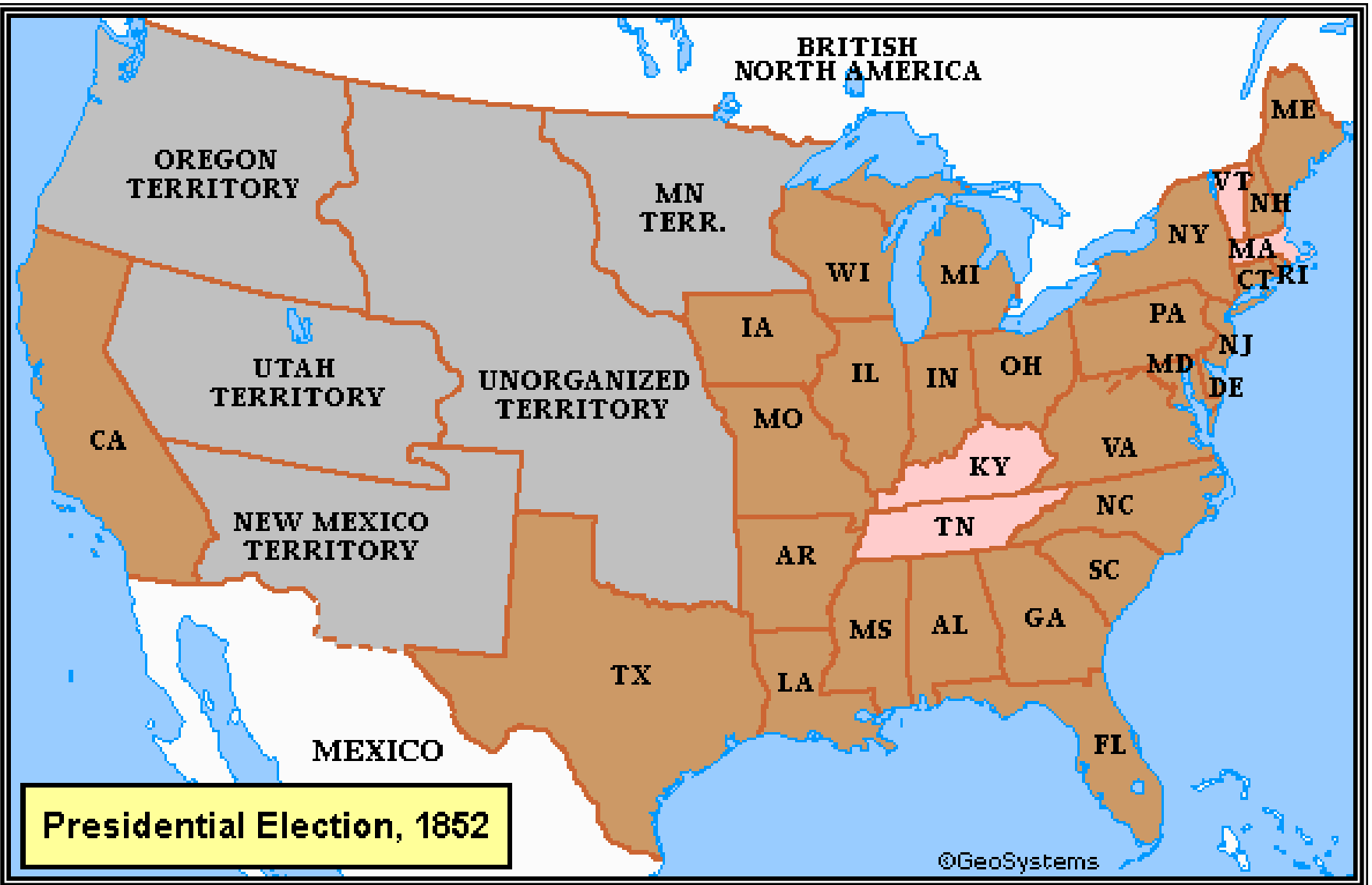
- Millard Fillmore denied nomination by Whigs.
- Whigs instead select war hero:
- Neither northern or southern Whigs fully:
  - Southern Whigs desert Scott



# Election of 1852

- Little-known Democratic candidate **Franklin Pierce** (a pro-slavery northerner from New Hampshire):
- Election marks the end:





**Presidential Election, 1852**

	<p>Pierce (Democratic) 254 Electoral Votes</p>		<p>Scott (Whig) 42 Electoral Votes</p>		<p>Non-voting Territories</p>
--	--	---	--	---	-------------------------------

# Nativism


- Order of the Star-Spangled Banner



- Know-Nothing Party
  - Concerned about the:
  - Party:



# Nativism



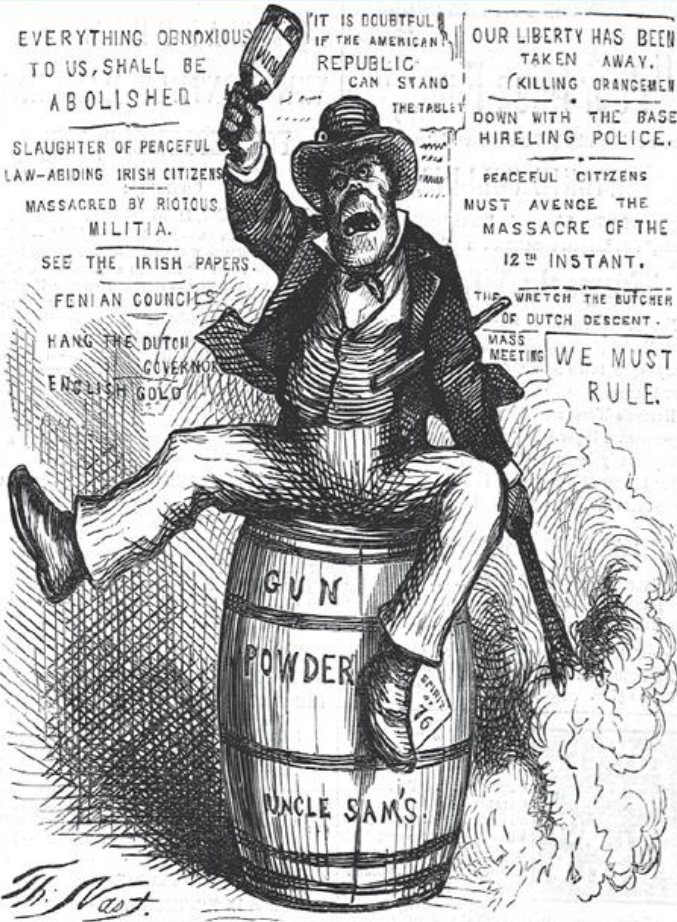
**NATIVES OF THE SOIL!  
AROUSE!**

Shall American Labor be Protected  
Against Foreign Competition in the Home Labor Market?

**THE WATCH-WORD OF NATIVE AMERICANS:**  
Repel the Influx of "FOREIGN INFLUENCE," by repelling the Influx of Foreign Immigrants;  
Protection against foreign Competition in the Home Labor Market; and a Limitation of the Area  
of Slavery, and of Fugitive Slave Laws.

**FOSTER BRYANT, ESQ.**  
Of Massachusetts, an original Member of the "OLD AMERICAN GUARD"  
of 1845, will address the citizens of \_\_\_\_\_ on \_\_\_\_\_  
Evening, at \_\_\_\_\_ o'clock, in the \_\_\_\_\_ on the  
**RUINOUS INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN IMMIGRATION ON AMERICAN LABOR!**  
The dangers to which our Institutions are exposed from the ALARMIN'G INCREASE OF POPERY; and  
**AGAINST THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.**

Members of all parties in politics, and all persons who love our common  
country, and desire that our Free Institutions may be permanent and lasting, are invited to attend. After the Lecture  
an opportunity will be afforded to those who may desire to controvert any of the Lecturer's positions. The LADIES  
are especially invited to attend.



EVERYTHING OBNOXIOUS  
TO US, SHALL BE  
ABOLISHED.

SLAUGHTER OF PEACEFUL  
LAW-ABIDING IRISH CITIZENS  
MASSACRED BY RIGIDIOUS  
MILITIA.  
SEE THE IRISH PAPERS.  
FENIAN COUNCILS  
HANG THE DUTCH  
GOVERNOR  
ENGLISH GOLD

IT IS DOUBTFUL  
IF THE AMERICAN  
REPUBLIC  
CAN STAND  
THE TABLE

OUR LIBERTY HAS BEEN  
TAKEN AWAY.  
(KILLING ORANGEMEN  
DOWN WITH THE BAGE  
HIRELING POLICE.  
PEACEFUL CITIZENS  
MUST AVENGE THE  
MASSACRE OF THE  
12<sup>TH</sup> INSTANT.  
THE WRETCH THE BUTCHER  
OF DUTCH DESCENT.  
MASS MEETING WE MUST  
RULE.

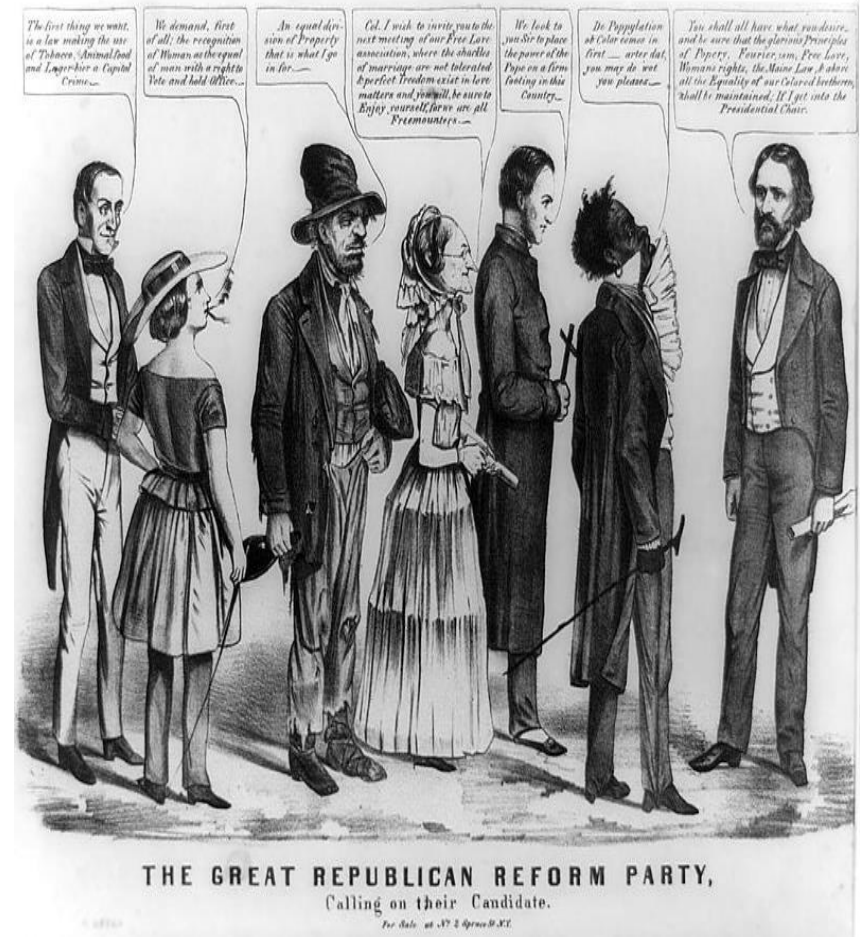
GUN  
POWDER  
UNCLE SAM'S.

Th. Nast.

THE USUAL IRISH WAY OF DOING THINGS.

# The Republican Party is Formed

- Preceded by Free Soil and Whig parties
- Anti-slavery party formed in 1854
- Attracts support from the North and West exclusively = sectional rather than national party
- Platform:
- Members oppose:



# The Republican Party is formed

**Ripon  
Wisconsin**



**The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 led to the creation of the Republican Party. It split the Democrats and the Whig party and unfired abolitionist factions. Two "Anti-Nebraska" meetings were held in Ripon, Wis., on Feb. 28 and Mar. 20, 1854. Groups of abolitionists, Free Soilers, Democrats, and Whigs formed the Republican party at these meetings. The new party was an immediate success. In the 1854 congressional elections, 44 Republicans were elected and several other Republicans were elected to the Senate and to various state houses.**

# Election of 1856

- Republicans nominate:
- Urge Americans to reject popular sovereignty and support:



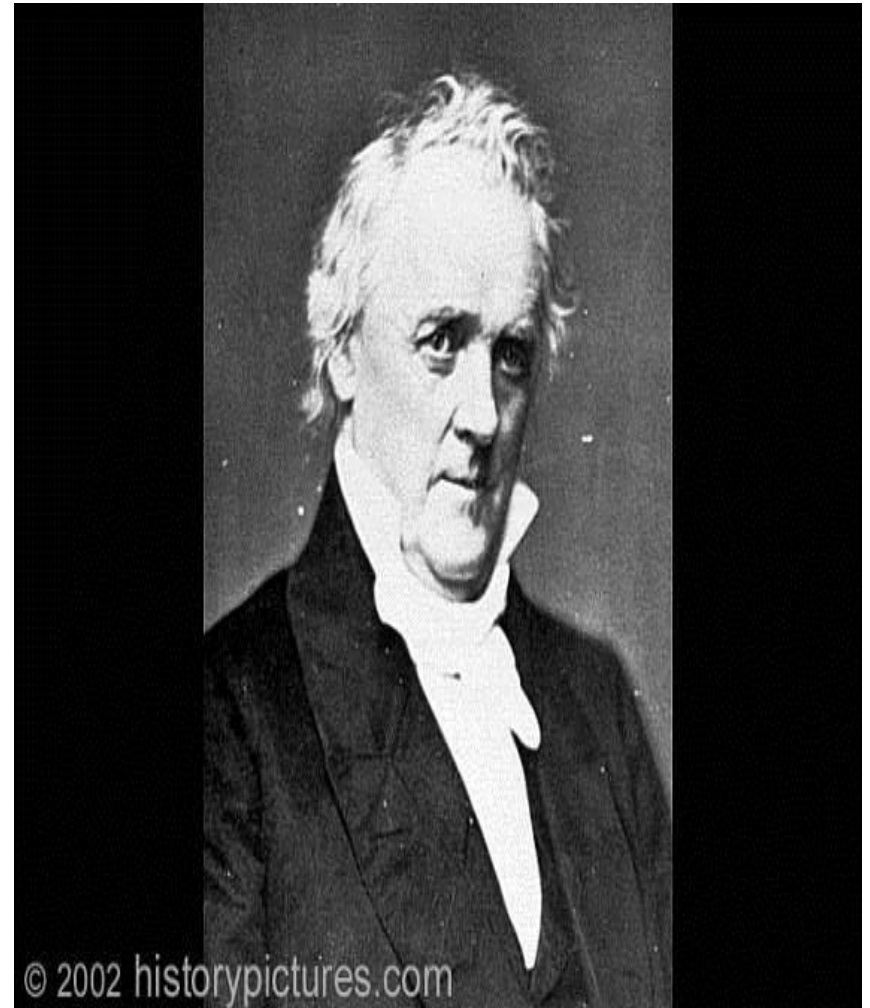
# Election of 1856

- Know-Nothings  
(Nativist Party)  
nominate former  
president Millard  
Fillmore
- Adopt:

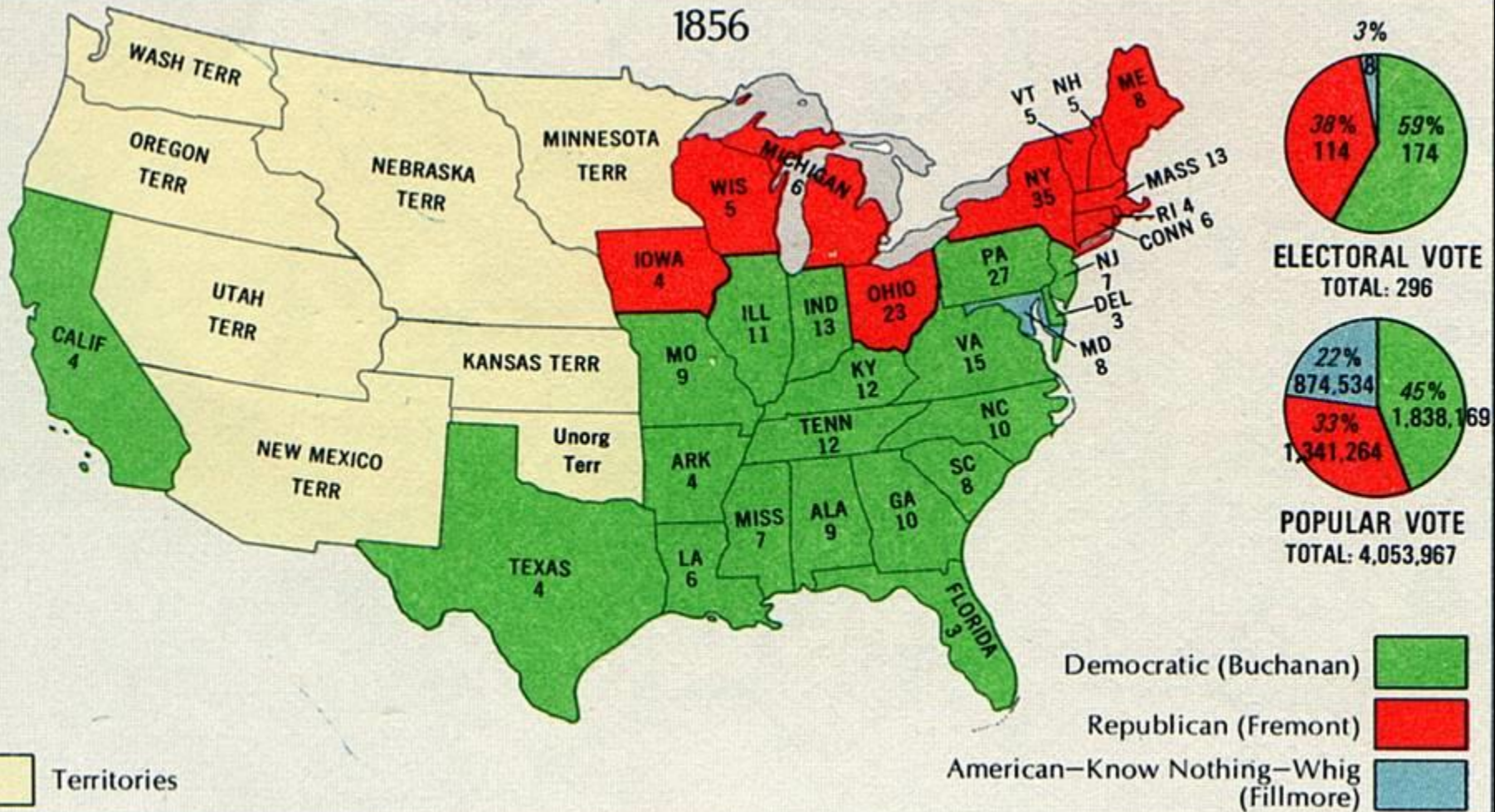


# Election of 1856

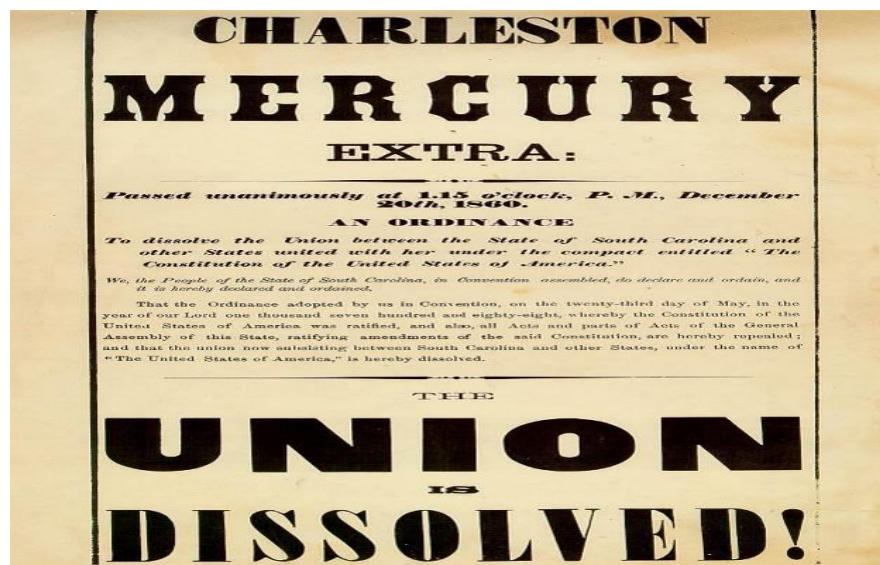
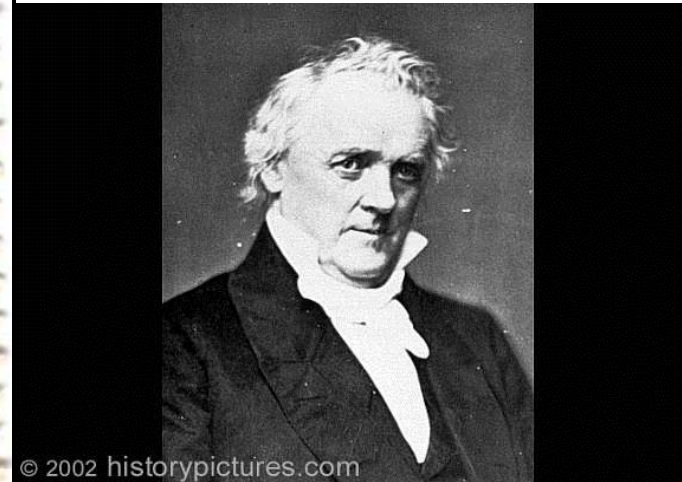
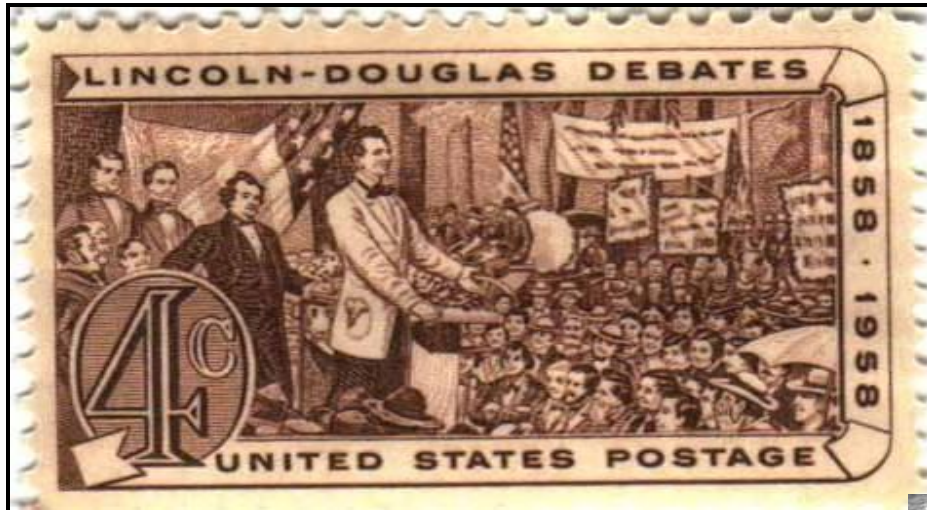
- Democrats nominate **James Buchanan**
  - South-friendly Northerner
  - “Kansasless”
- Promises to end arguments on slavery issue
- Wins on:



# 1856 Election results. Notice which states voted for the anti-slavery Republican Party.



# Section 4: Slavery and Secession



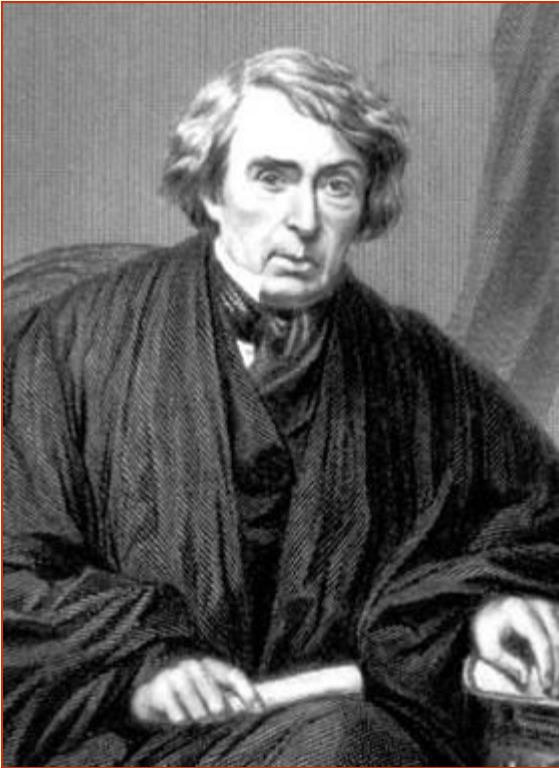
# The *Dred Scott* Decision 1857

- Missouri slave:
- Argued that he had illegally lived as a slave in the free territories of Wisconsin and Illinois between 1834 and 1838
- Case reaches the:



# ***DRED SCOTT v. SANFORD 1857***

**THIS SUPREME COURT DECISION STATED THAT BLACK PEOPLE, FREE OR SLAVE, COULD NOT BE CITIZENS OF THE U.S. THIS ANGERED ABOLITIONISTS, THOSE WORKING TO ABOLISH SLAVERY.**



**JUSTICE TANEY**

**DRED SCOTT, A SLAVE, HAD BEEN TAKEN BY HIS MASTER DR. EMERSON, AN ARMY SURGEON, TO A FREE STATE AND A FREE TERRITORY AND BACK TO MISSOURI, A SLAVE STATE. SCOTT AND HIS WIFE HARRIET SUED SANFORD, THE EXECUTOR OF EMERSON'S ESTATE, FOR THEIR FREEDOM ON THE BASIS OF THEIR RESIDENCE ON FREE SOIL.**



**DRED SCOTT**

# The Dred Scott Decision 1857

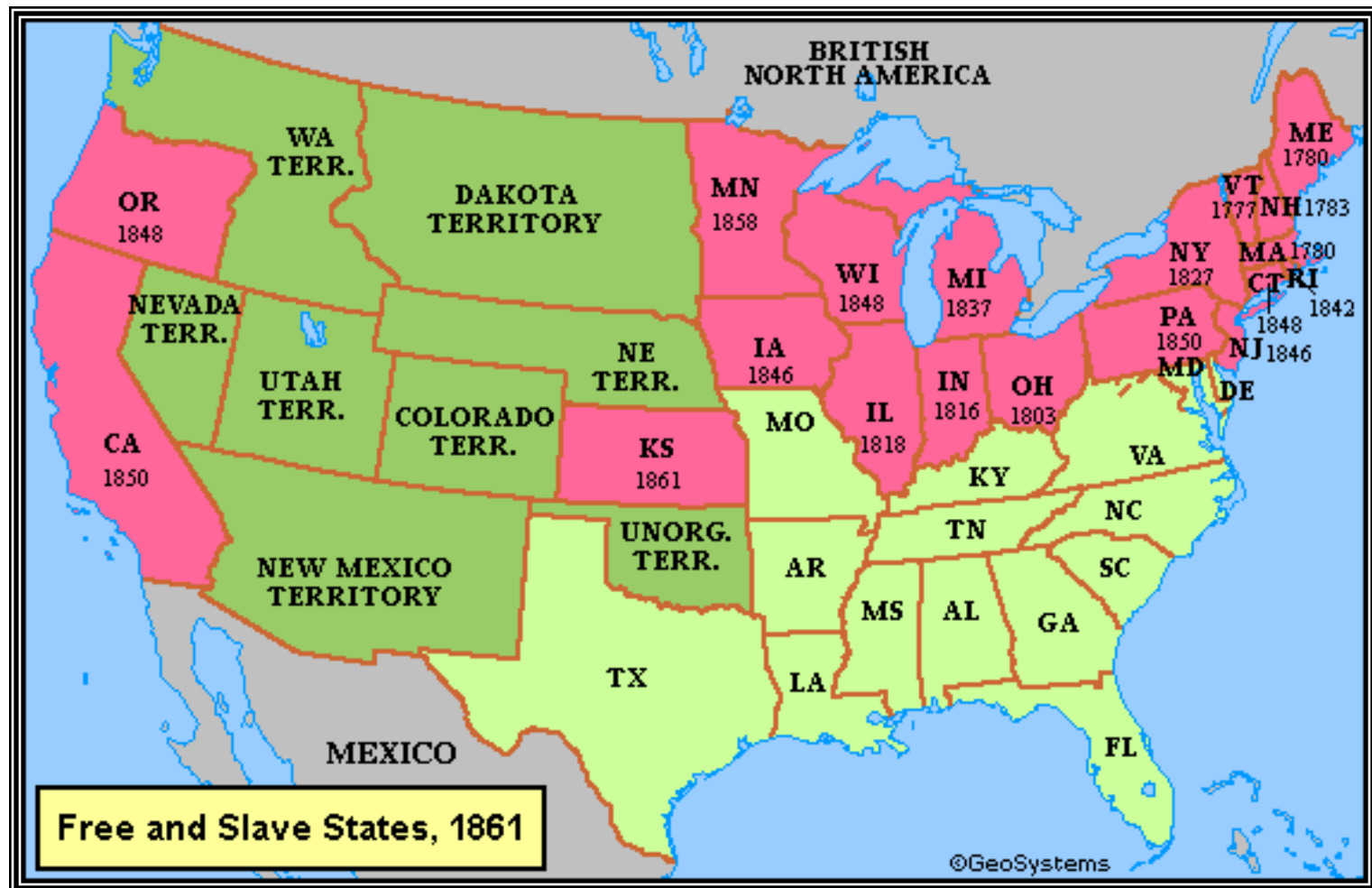
- Chief Justice Taney hands down ruling against Scott stating that Scott was not entitled to his freedom on basis that:
  - slaves are :
  - slaves (as a result) are:
  - Because slaves are property, Congress has no right to interfere with the practice of:
  - Southerners celebrate and Northerners decry the decision


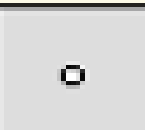
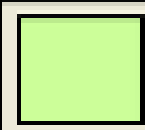

# The Lecompton Constitution

- Kansas Applies for Statehood - 1857
- Lecompton Constitution
- Both the “with slavery” and “without slavery” versions of the Constitution protected slaveholders already in Kansas.
- Application for Statehood
- Despite Buchanan’s support:

**FREE STATE OR SLAVE STATE: THE NUMBERS GAME FOR SENATORS. THE NORTH HAD A LARGER POPULATION WHICH MEANT THEY WOULD HAVE MORE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THE SOUTH NEEDED SLAVE STATES TO KEEP THE NUMBER OF SENATORS (EACH STATE RECEIVED TWO) EVEN.**

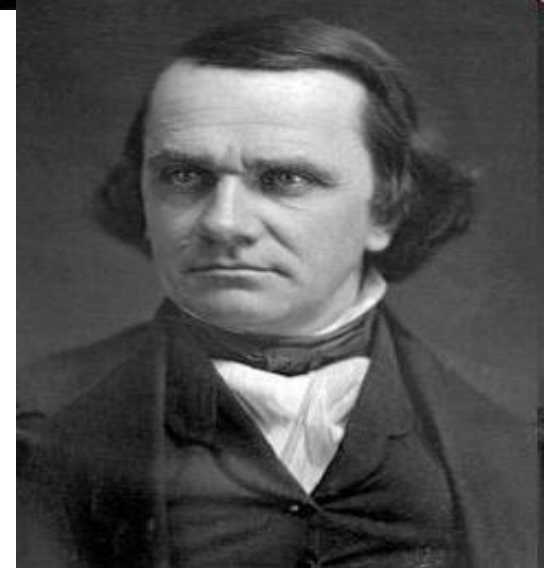
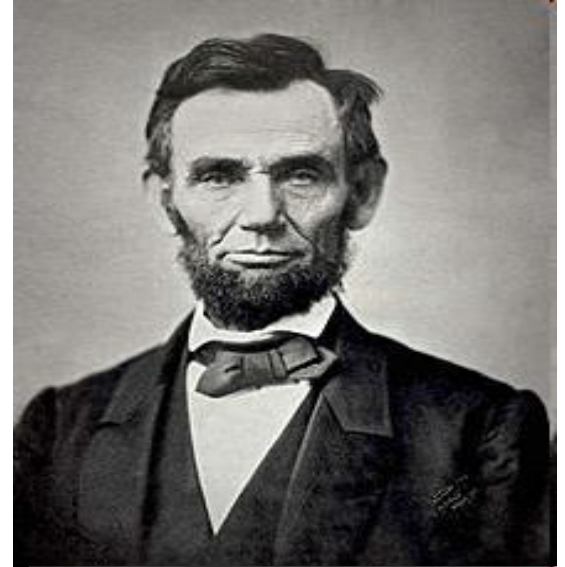
State	year admitted	total slave states	total free states
Ohio	1803		9
Louisiana	1812	9	
Indiana	1816		10
Mississippi	1817	10	
Illinois	1818		11
Alabama	1819	11	
Maine	1820		12
Missouri	1821	12	
Arkansas	1836	13	
Michigan	1837		13
Florida	1845	14	
Texas	1845	15	
Iowa	1846		14
Wisconsin	1848		15
California	1850		16
Minnesota	1858		17
Oregon	1859		18
Kansas	1861		19



	Free state by 1861		1816 = year of abolition of slavery
	Slave state in 1861		Terr. open to slavery by Dred Scott Decision, 1857

# The Lincoln-Douglas debates 1858

- Former Congressman **Abraham Lincoln** (Republican) challenges the incumbent candidate:
- Douglas on slavery:
  - Would eventually be phased out in the West under popular sovereignty
- Lincoln on slavery:
  - Immoral
  - Nation could not “exist half slave and half free”
  - Popular sovereignty would NOT be enough to rid the territories of slavery



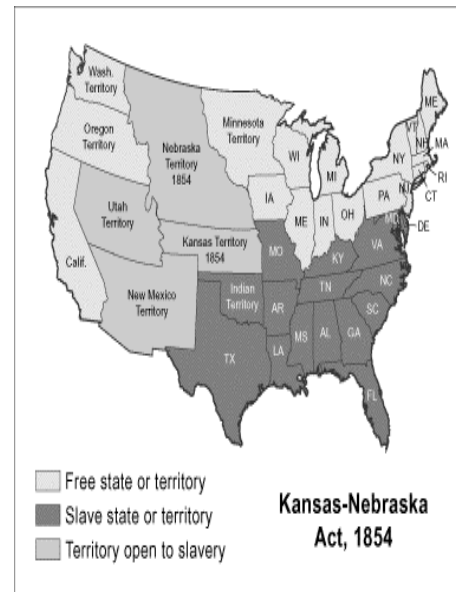
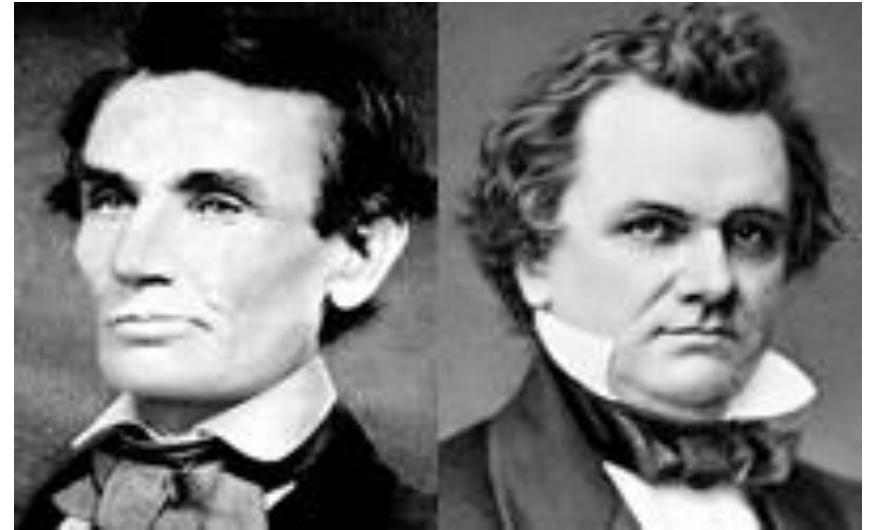
# The Lincoln-Douglas debates 1858

- Douglas accepts Lincoln's invitation
- The two engaged in:
- Though Lincoln lost the race for the Senate seat, his debate performances gained him:



# Douglas's Freeport Doctrine

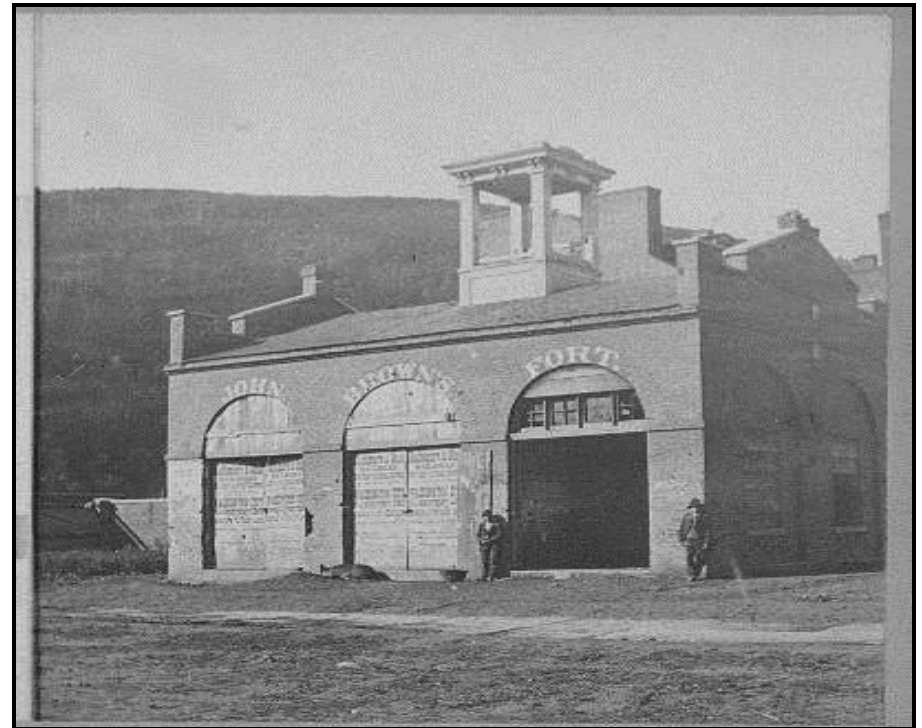
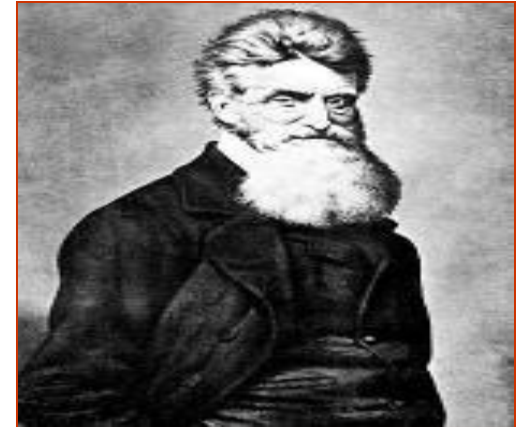
- Lincoln corners Douglas with question pitting popular sovereignty against Dred Scott
- Douglas responds that the:
- Response further inflames the slavery issue



# Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry

## 1859

- Abolitionist John Brown leads 21 men in an ill-fated attempt to seize a federal :
- Hoped to inspire a:



# JOHN BROWN'S RAID ON HARPERS FERRY

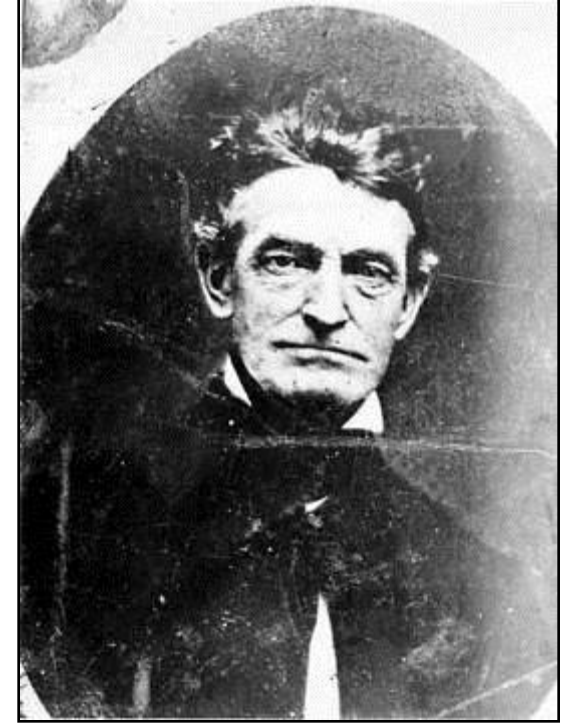
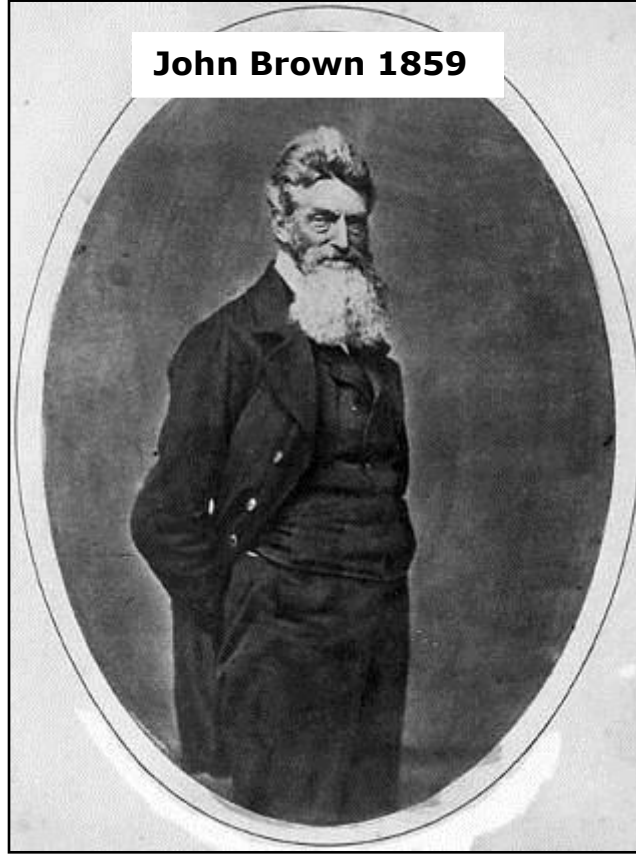
**JOHN BROWN ATTACKED THE FEDERAL ARSENAL AT HARPERS FERRY, VA WITH THE INTENT OF STARTING A SLAVE REVOLT. HE AND HIS FOLLOWERS WERE CAPTURED AND JOHN BROWN WAS HANGED. THIS ENFLAMED THE SOUTH AND WAS A DIRECT CAUSE OF THE CIVIL WAR.**



**"If it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and most unjust enactments, I submit: so let it be done!" (Last speech to the court at his trial, November 2, 1859)**



**John Brown 1859**



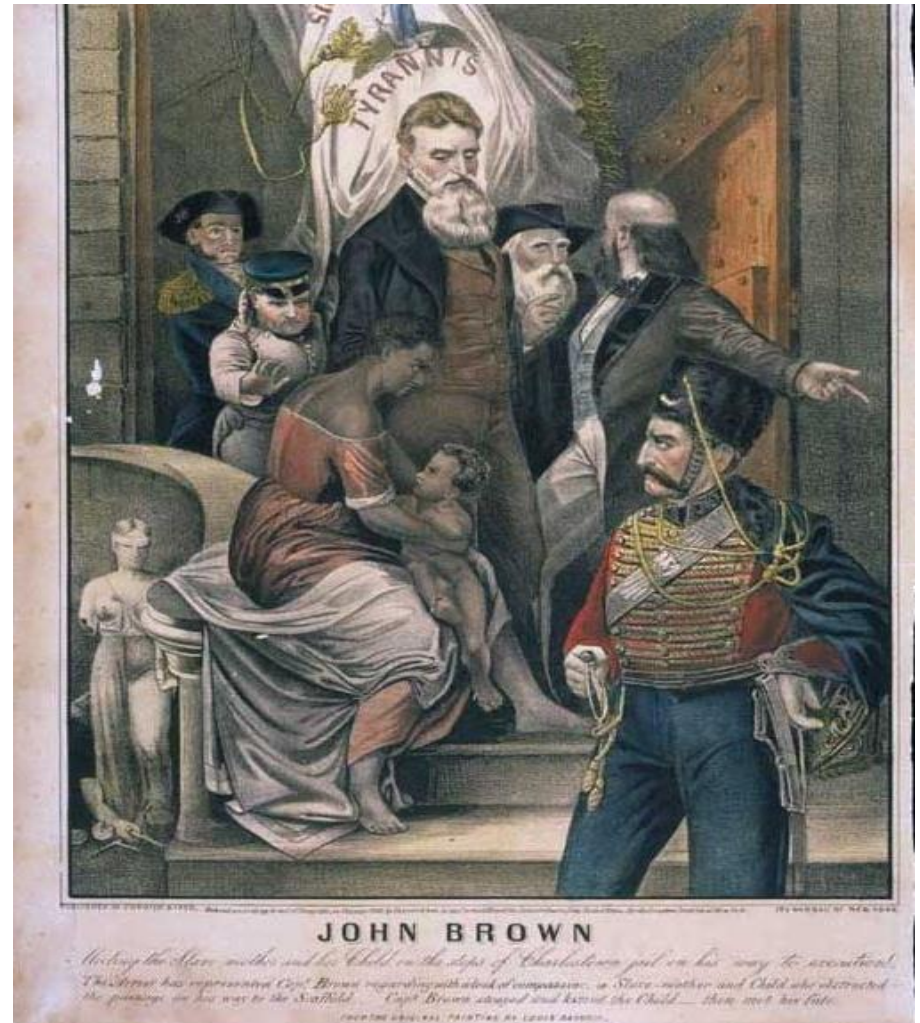
Courtesy National Portrait Gallery,  
Smithsonian Institution



**Photos and  
a painting  
of John  
Brown, his  
wife and  
daughters**

# Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry 1858

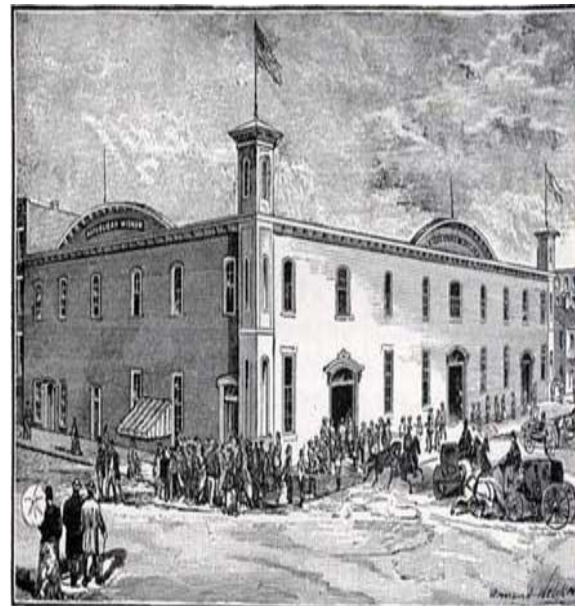
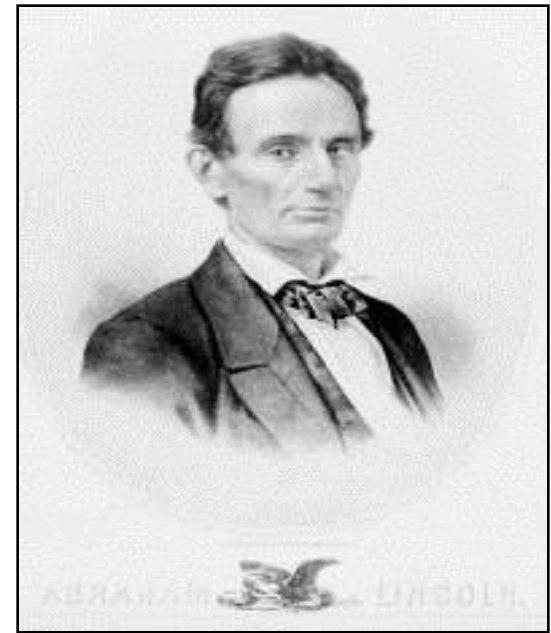
- Brown and his followers were stopped at Harper's Ferry by federal troops under **Robert E. Lee**
- Brown was executed for his crimes:



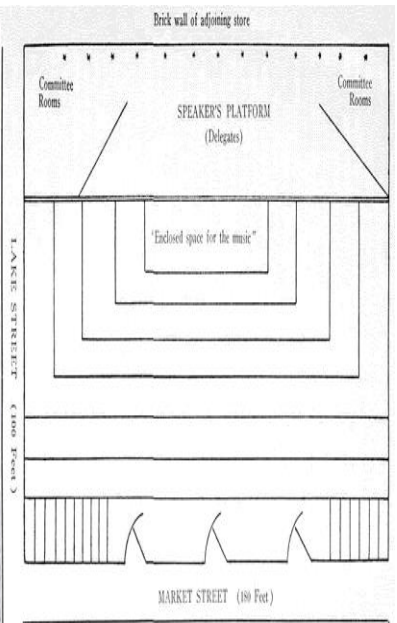
# The Election of 1860

- Convention held in Chicago
- Republicans nominate **Abraham Lincoln** in an political upset
- Platform stands:

- No:



THE OLD CHICAGO WIGWAM.—THE BUILDING IN WHICH LINCOLN WAS NOMINATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY, MAY 18TH, 1860.



INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE WIGWAM  
From a plan, with slight additions, appearing in the Press and Tribune,  
May 18, 1860

# Republican Party Conventions: 1860 vs. 2012

1860

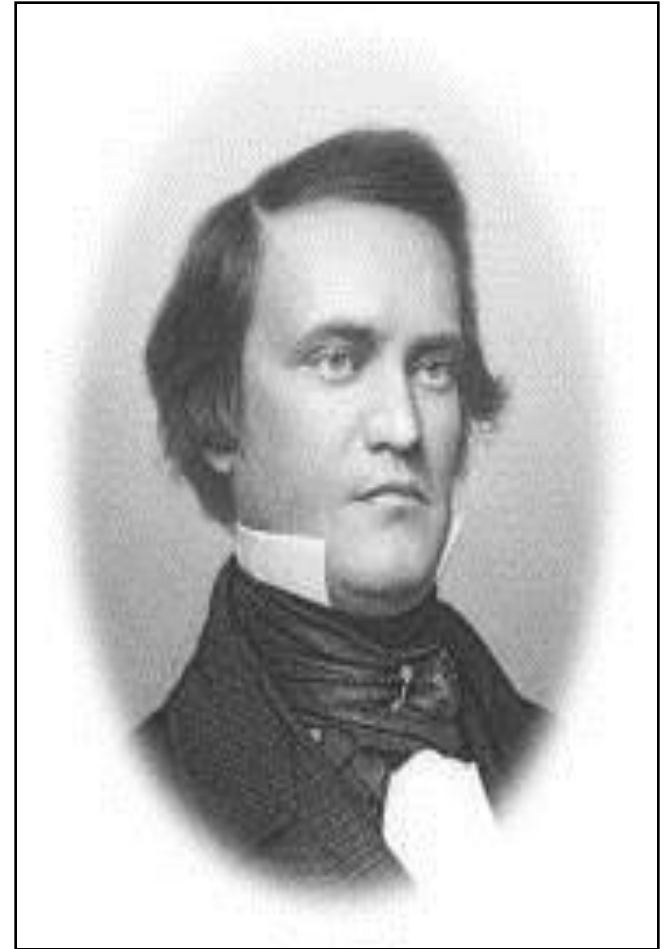
- Suspense surrounding nominee
- Lincoln was played down his humble upbringing
- Platform
  - No slavery in the territories
  - Tariff
  - Transcontinental RR
  - Equal rights for naturalized citizens
  - Homestead Act

2012

- Nominee decided
- Candidates try to play up or even invent more humble beginnings
- Platform
  - Opposed EPA restrictions on greenhouse gas
  - Extending tax cuts
  - Constitutional amendment defining marriage
  - No restrictions on 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment
  - No amnesty for immigrants
  - No Obamacare

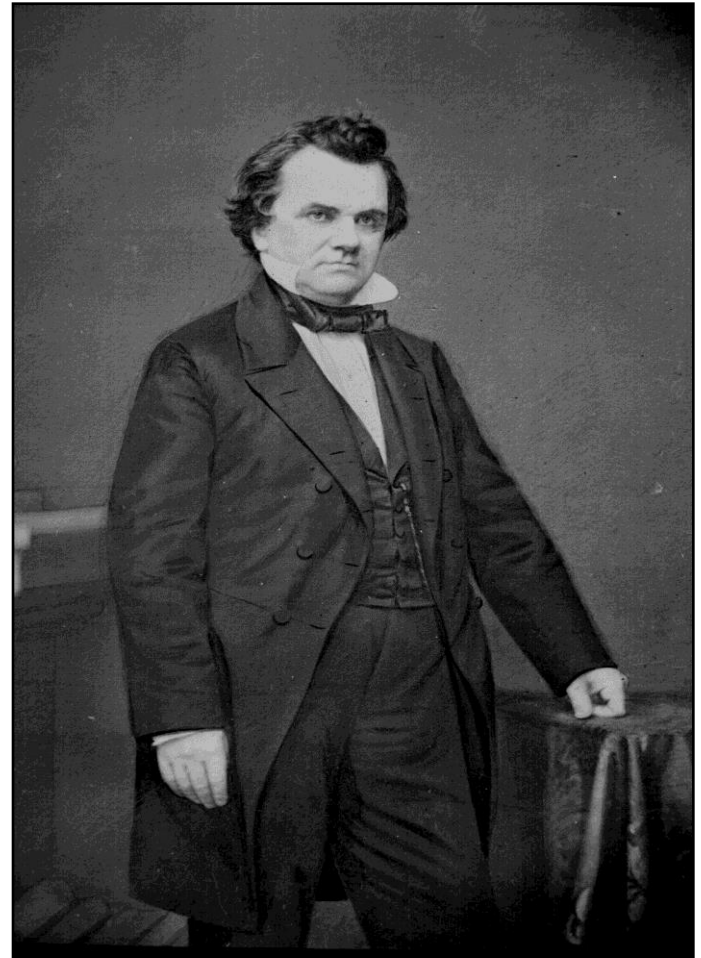
# The Election of 1860

- The Democrats split at their convention over the slavery issue
- Southerners call for federal protection of slavery in the territories
- Nominate:



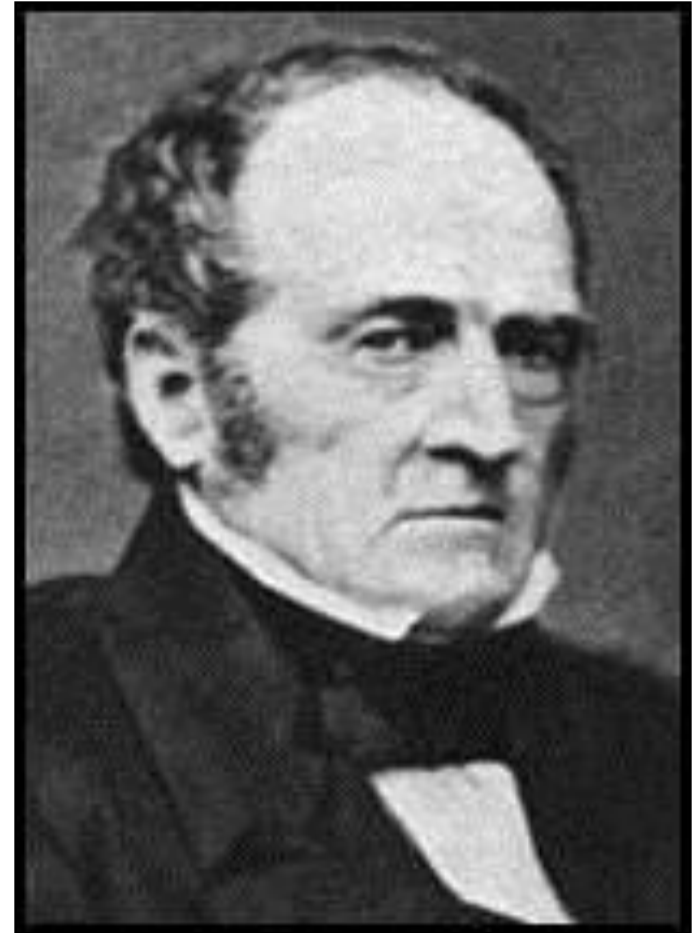
# The Election of 1860

- Northern Democrats support doctrine of popular sovereignty
- Nominate:



# The Election of 1860

- Know Nothings and former Whigs combine to form the :
- Nominate :
- Defend the Union by enforcing laws (including those protecting slavery)

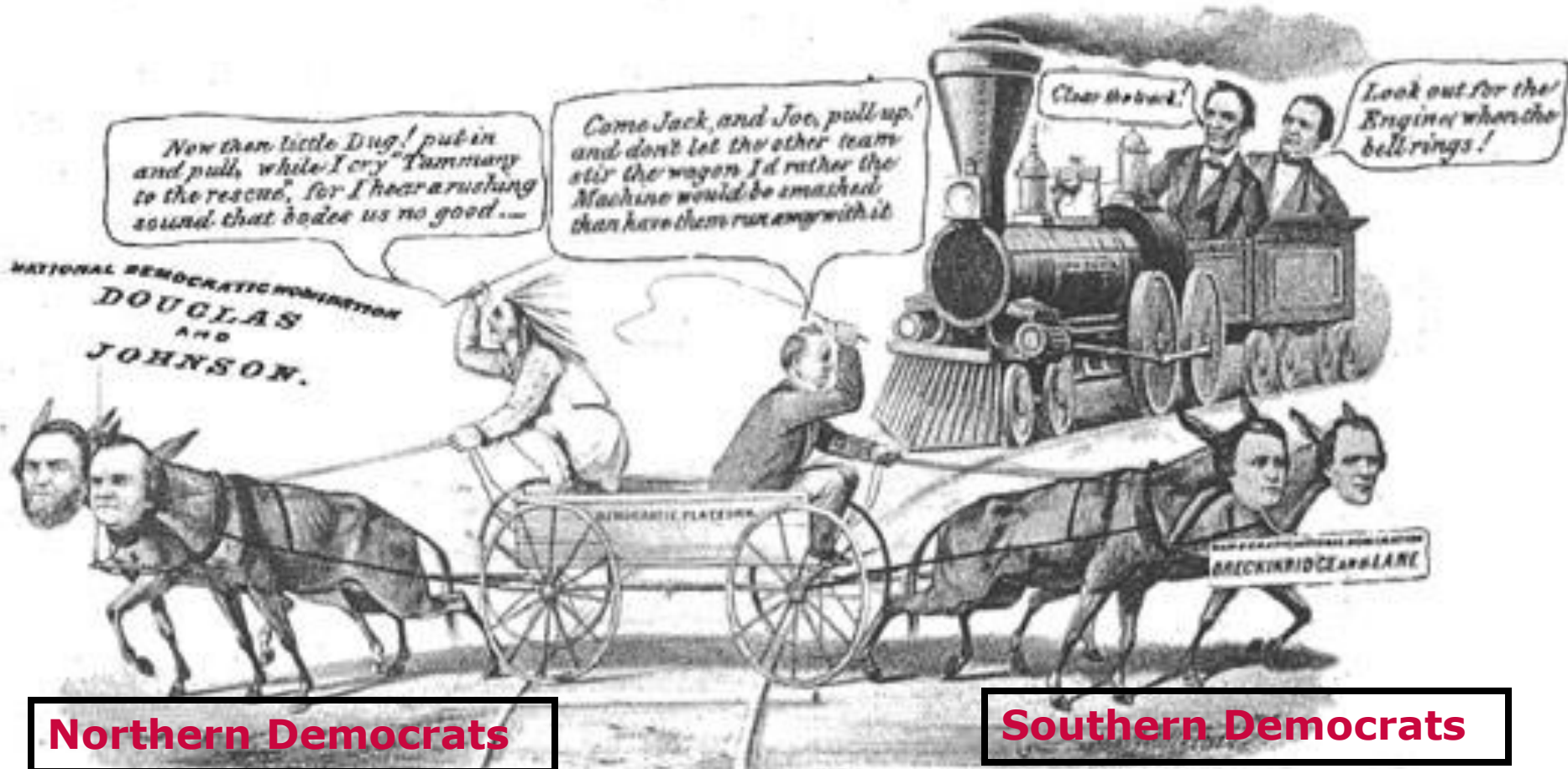


# THE POLITICAL QUADRILLE

Music by Dred Scott.



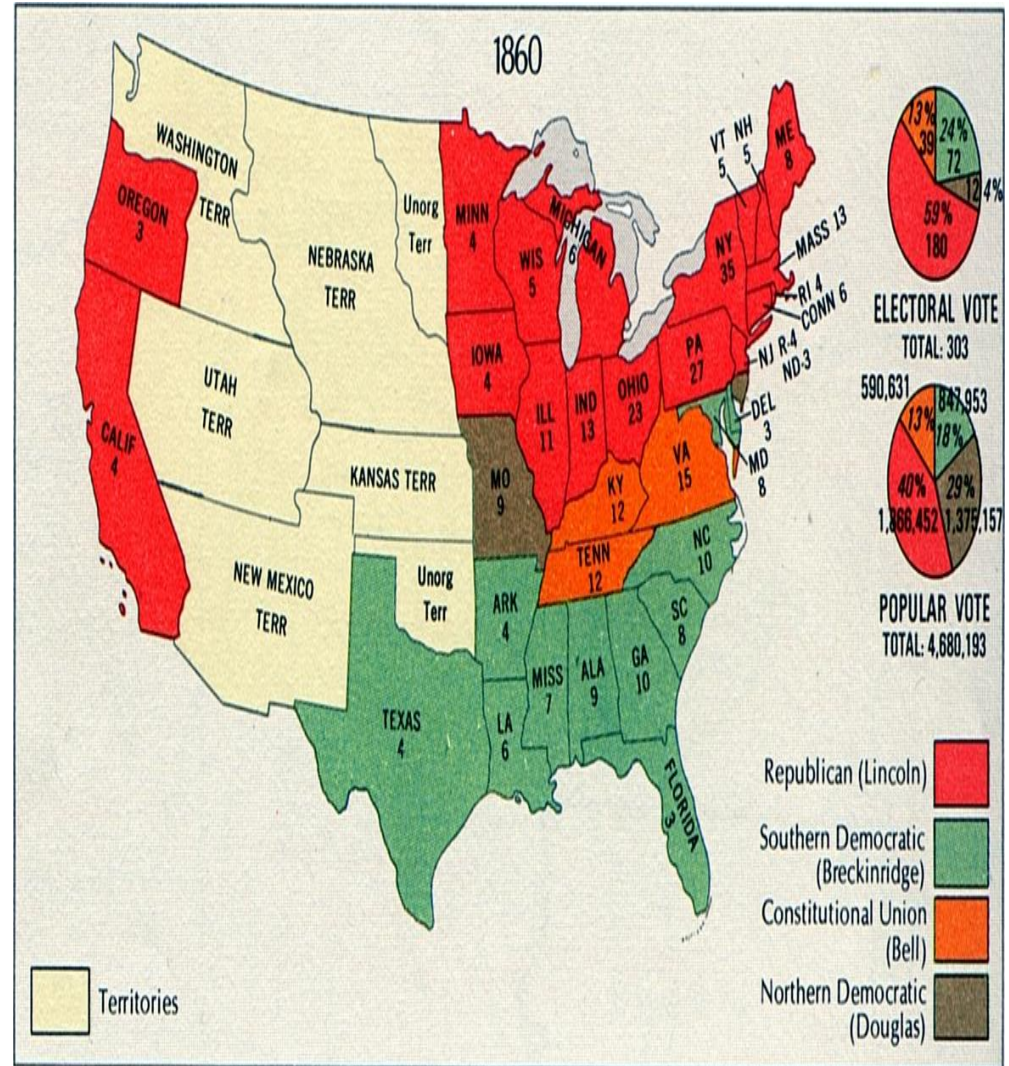
# The Republicans gained the electoral advantage when the Democratic vote split between the Northern and Southern candidates

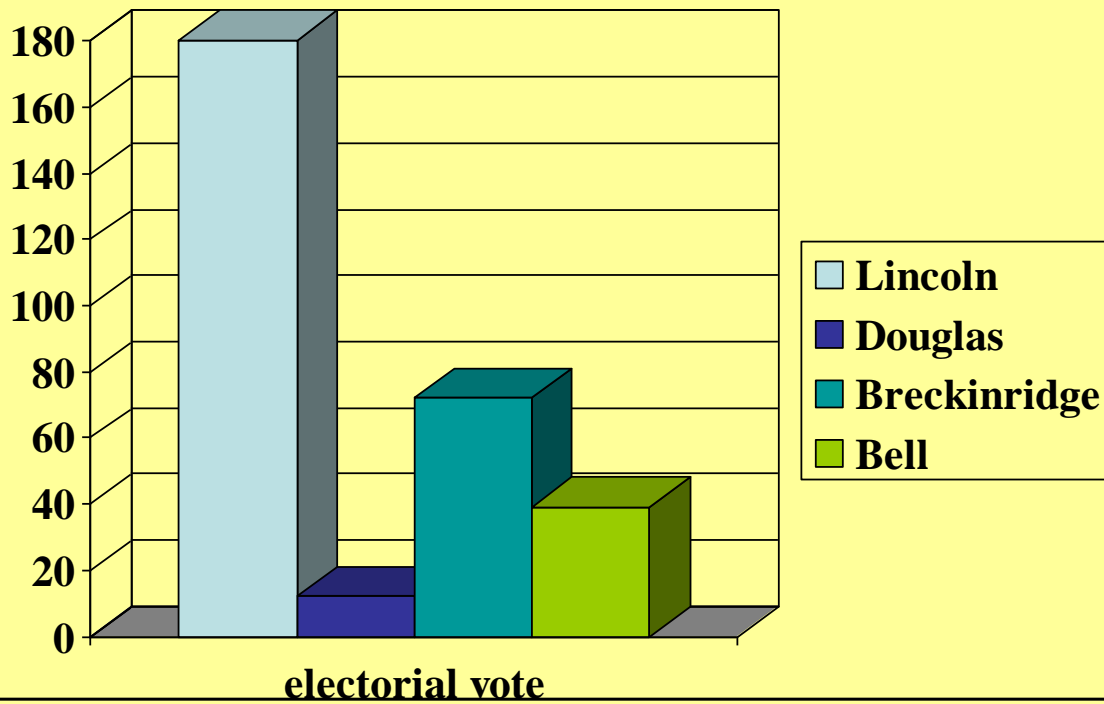


PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY. PROSPECT OF A SMASH UP.

# Election of 1860

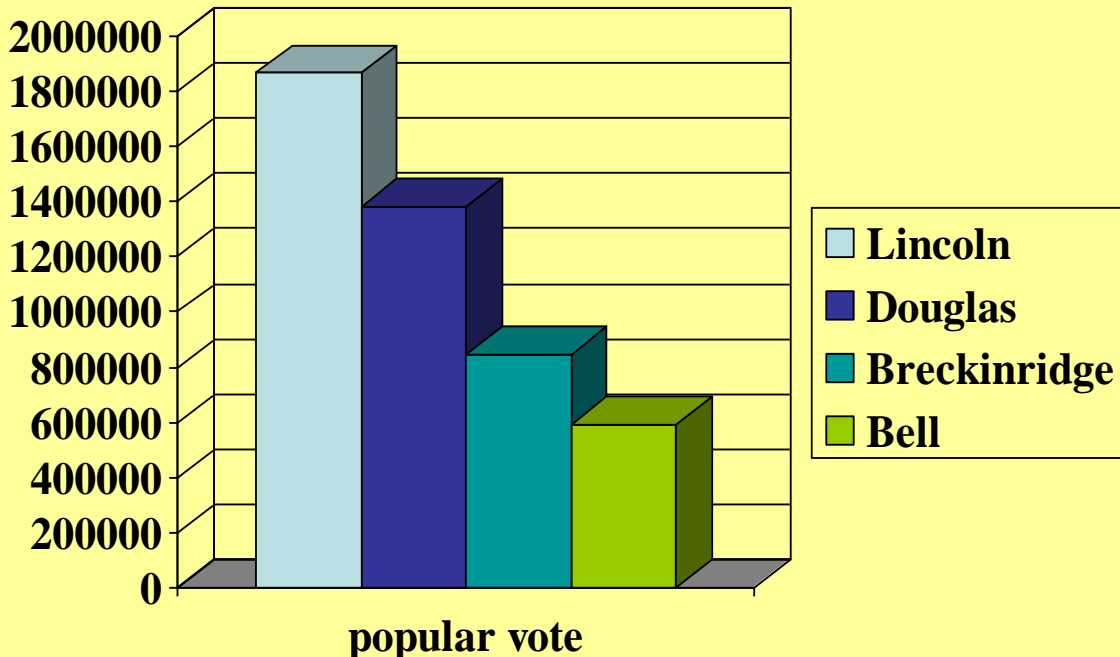
- Lincoln wins the Election
- Wins less than half of the popular vote (40%).
- Wins :
- Victory reflects complete:





**Lincoln  
scored a  
decisive  
victory in  
electoral  
votes**

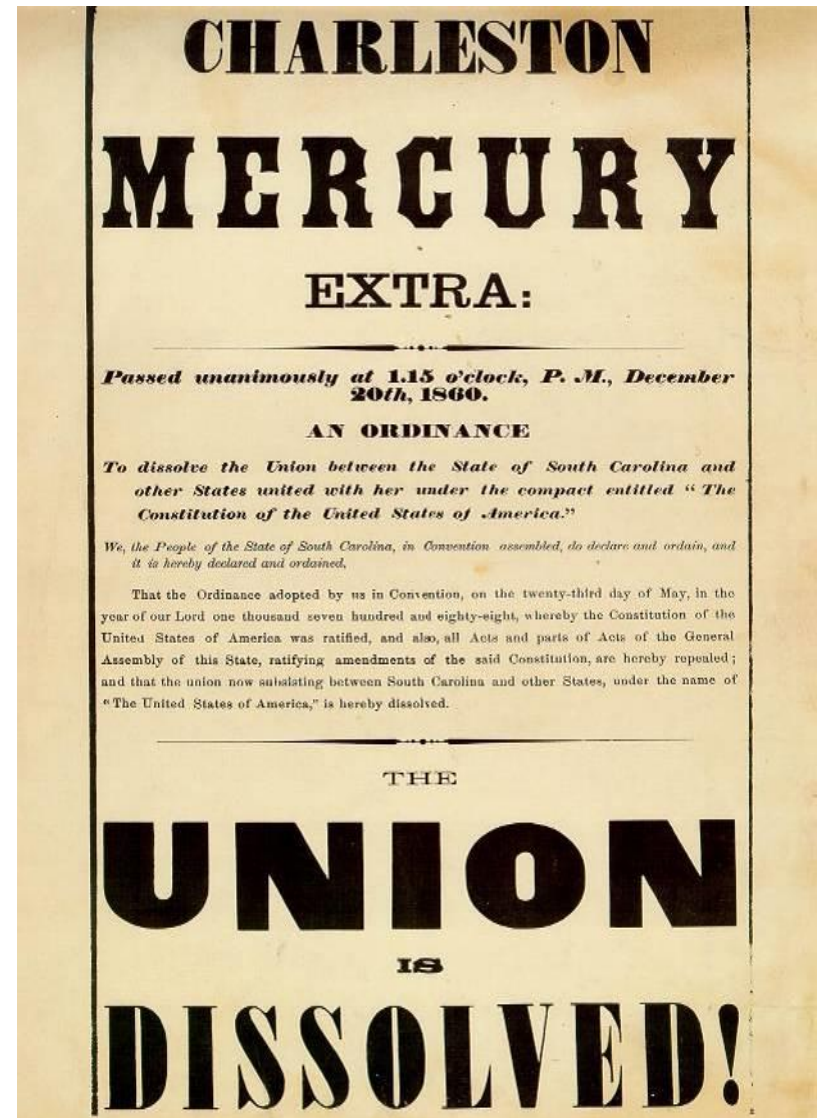
**but**



**he received  
less than  
40% of the  
popular vote**

# Secession

- South Carolina legislature votes to secede from the Union on :
- Ultimately :
- Believed the government under Lincoln could no longer protect their “property and way of life”
- Buchanan did not take action to stop the first seven states from seceding



*original*

## ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

DECEMBER 20, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE TO DISSOLVE THE UNION BETWEEN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE OTHER STATES UNITED WITH HER, UNDER THE COMPACT ENTITLED THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

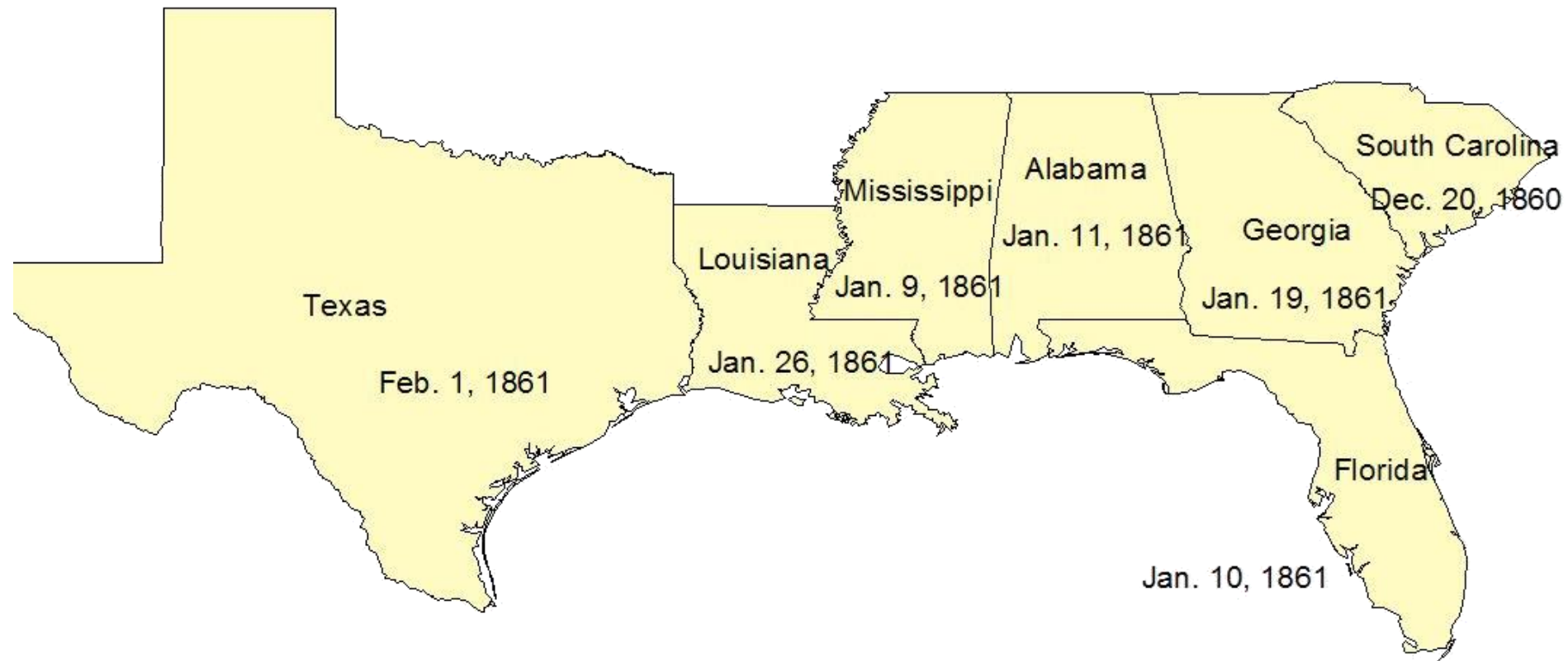
*We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified; and, also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repeated, and that the Union now existing between South Carolina and other States of America is hereby dissolved.*

**South Carolina was the first state to leave the Union. Immediately following Lincoln's election, the fire-eaters called a convention, and six weeks later the convention unanimously passed an ordinance of secession.**

***An ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."***

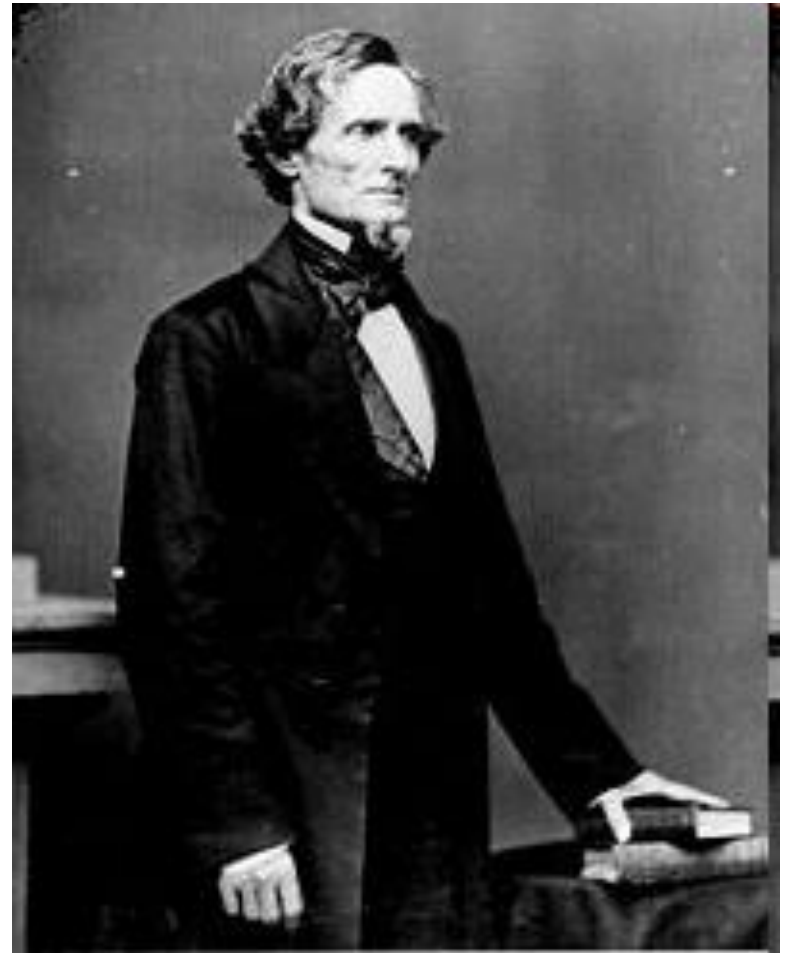
***We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain... that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the "United States of America," is hereby dissolved. Done at Charleston the twentieth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.***

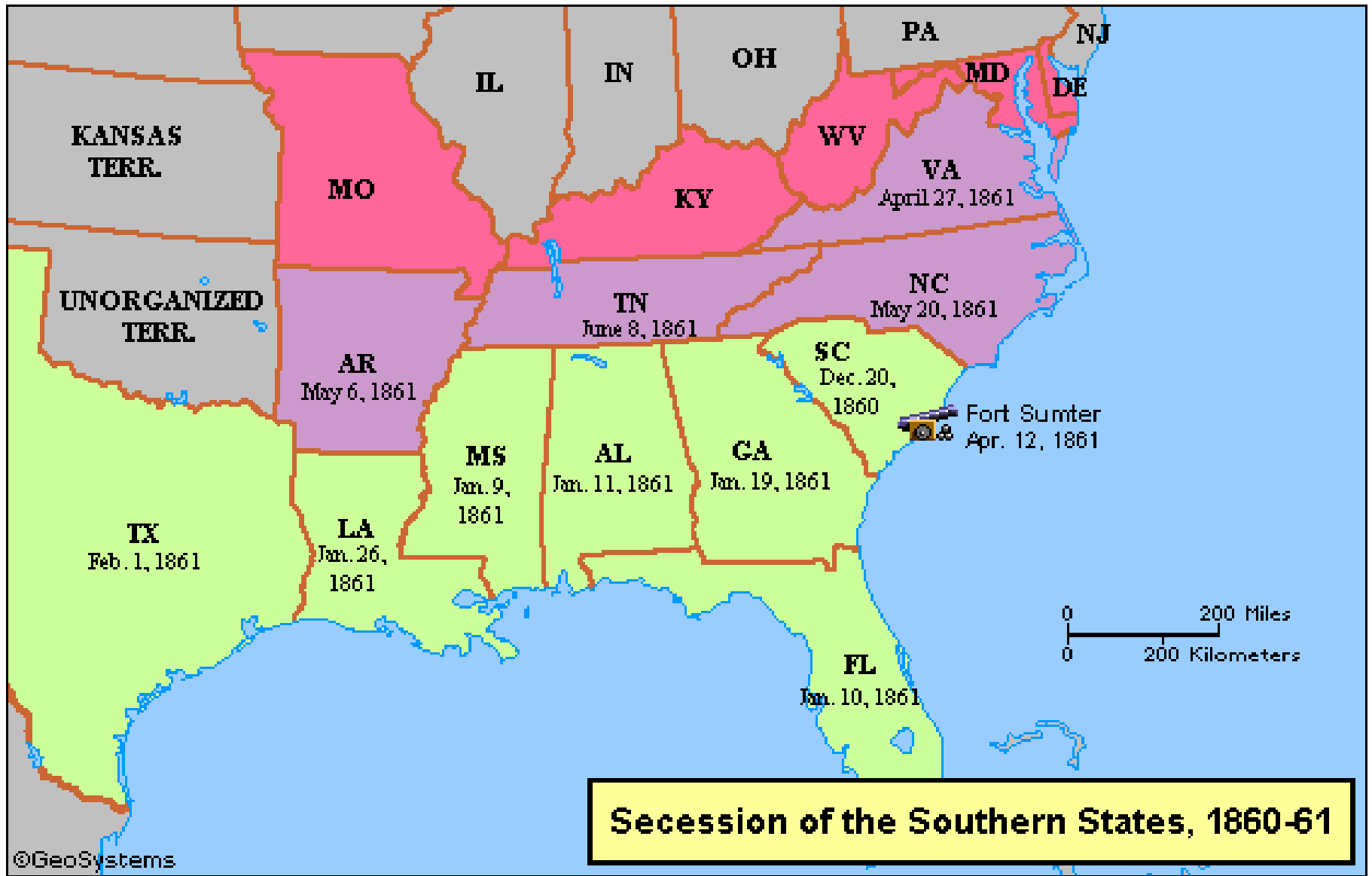
**The Election of Abraham Lincoln was the trigger that set off the first wave of secession in the southern slave states.**



# The Confederacy is Born

- February of 1861 – Seven southern states met in Montgomery, AL. and established the **Confederate States of America**
- Their constitution stresses:
- Elect Mississippi Senator :





# Buchanan Fails to Respond

- **Lame Duck Buchanan**
  - Did nothing to stop secession.
  - Did not believe southern states had the legal right to secede, but could find no authority granted to him in the Constitution to stop them by force.
  - Army was tied up controlling Indians in the West, and public opinion in the North was not strongly pro-war.
  - <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/29216774/#.UoE1byfAETA>

# Is secession bid more than a cry of rage?

- [http://www.cnn.com/2012/11/19/opinion/stanley-secession/index.html?iid=article\\_sidebar](http://www.cnn.com/2012/11/19/opinion/stanley-secession/index.html?iid=article_sidebar)
- [http://www.cnn.com/2012/11/19/opinion/stanley-secession/index.html?iid=article\\_sidebar](http://www.cnn.com/2012/11/19/opinion/stanley-secession/index.html?iid=article_sidebar)