

Chapter 19

Drifting Toward Disunion

1854–1861

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1858

The slavery question continued to churn the cauldron of controversy throughout the 1850s. As moral temperatures rose, prospects for a peaceful political solution to the slavery issue simply evaporated. Kansas Territory erupted in violence between proslavery and antislavery factions in 1855. Two years later the Supreme Court's incendiary *Dred Scott* decision extended formal protection to slavery in all the territories of the West. Attitudes on both sides progressively hardened. When in 1860 the newly formed Republican party nominated for president Abraham Lincoln, an outspoken opponent of the further expansion of slavery, the stage was set for all-out civil war.

★ **Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries**

Sectional tensions were further strained in 1852, and later, by an inky phenomenon. Harriet Beecher Stowe, a wife of a woman and the mother of a half-dozen children, published her heartrending novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Dismayed by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, she was determined to awaken the North to the wickedness of slavery by laying bare its terrible inhumanity, especially the cruel splitting of families. Her wildly popular book relied on powerful imagery and touching pathos. "God wrote it," she explained in later years—a reminder that the deeper sources of her anti-slavery sentiments lay in the evangelical religious crusades of the Second Great Awakening.

The success of the novel at home and abroad was sensational. Several hundred thousand copies were published in the first year, and the totals soon ran into the millions as the tale was translated into more than a score of languages. It was also put on the stage in "Tom shows" for lengthy runs. No other novel in American history—perhaps in all history—can be compared with it as a political force. To millions of people, it made slavery appear almost as evil as it really was.

When Mrs. Stowe was introduced to President Lincoln in 1862, he reportedly remarked with twinkling eyes, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war." The truth is that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did help start the Civil War—and win it. The South condemned that "vile wretch in petticoats" when it learned that hundreds of thousands of fellow Americans were reading and believing her "unfair" indictment. Mrs. Stowe had never witnessed slavery at first hand in the Deep South, but she had seen it briefly during a visit to Kentucky, and she had lived for many years in Ohio, a center of Underground Railroad activity.

Uncle Tom, endearing and enduring, left a profound impression on the North. Uncounted thousands of readers swore that henceforth they would have nothing to do with the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. The tale was devoured by millions of impressionable youths in the 1850s—some of whom later became the Boys in Blue who volunteered to fight the Civil War through to its grim finale. The memory of a beaten and dying Uncle Tom helped sustain them in their determination to wipe out the plague of slavery.



Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), 1853 This oil portrait of Stowe was painted a year after she published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Her pen helped to change the course of history. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, NY



“The Book That Made This Great War” Lincoln’s celebrated remark to author Harriet Beecher Stowe reflected the enormous emotional impact of her impassioned novel.

The novel was immensely popular abroad, especially in Britain and France. Countless readers wept over the kindly Tom and the angelic Eva, while deploring the brutal Simon Legree. When the guns in America finally began to boom, the common people of England sensed that the triumph of the North would

In the closing scenes of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel, Uncle Tom’s brutal master, Simon Legree, orders the \$1,200 slave savagely beaten (to death) by two fellow slaves. Through tears and blood, Tom exclaims,

“No! no! no! my soul an’t yours, Mas’r! You haven’t bought it,—ye can’t buy it! It’s been bought and paid for, by one that is able to keep it,—no matter, no matter, you can’t harm me!’ ‘I can’t,’ said Legree, with a sneer; ‘we’ll see,—we’ll see! Here, Sambo, Quimbo, give this dog such a breakin’ in as he won’t get over, this month!’”

spell the end of the black curse. The governments in London and Paris seriously considered intervening in behalf of the South, but they were sobered by the realization that many of their own people, aroused by the “Tommania,” might not support them.

Another trouble-brewing book appeared in 1857, five years after the debut of Uncle Tom. Titled *The Impending Crisis of the South*, it was written by Hinton R. Helper, a nonaristocratic white from North Carolina. Hating both slavery and blacks, he attempted to prove by an array of statistics that indirectly the nonslaveholding whites were the ones who suffered most from the millstone of slavery. Unable to secure a publisher in the South, he finally managed to find one in the North.

Helper’s influence was negligible among the poorer whites to whom he addressed his message. Yet the South’s planter elite certainly took note of Helper’s audacity, which fueled their fears that the nonslaveholding majority might abandon them. *The Impending Crisis of the South*, with its “dirty allusions,” was banned in the South and fed to the flames at book-burning parties. In the North untold thousands of copies, many



Examining the Evidence

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

As works of fiction, novels pose tricky problems to historians, whose principal objective is to get the factual record straight. Works of the imagination are notoriously unreliable as descriptions of reality, and only rarely is it known with any degree of certainty what a reader might have felt when confronting a particular fictional passage or theme. Yet a novel like Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had such an unarguably large impact on the American (and worldwide) debate over slavery that historians have inevitably looked to it for evidence of the mid-nineteenth-century ideas and attitudes to which Stowe appealed. The passage quoted here is especially rich in such evidence—and even offers an explanation for the logic of the novel's title. Stowe cleverly aimed to mobilize not simply her readers'

sense of injustice but also their sentiments on behalf of the antislavery cause. Why is the *cabin* described here so central to Stowe's novel? What sentimental values does the cabin represent? What is the nature of the threat to those values? What

does it say about nineteenth-century American culture that Stowe's appeal to sentiment succeeded so much more dramatically in exciting antislavery passions than did the factual and moral arguments of many other (mostly male) abolitionists?

THE February morning looked gray and drizzling through the window of Uncle Tom's cabin. It looked on downcast faces, the images of mournful hearts. The little table stood out before the fire, covered with an ironing-cloth; a coarse but clean shirt or two, fresh from the iron, hung on the back of a chair by the fire, and Aunt Chloe had another spread out before her on the table. Carefully she rubbed and ironed every fold and every hem, with the most scrupulous exactness, every now and then raising her hand to her face to wipe off the tears that were coursing down her cheeks.

Tom sat by, with his Testament open on his knee, and his head leaning upon his hand; — but neither spoke. It was yet early, and the children lay all asleep together in their little rude trundle-bed.

Tom, who had, to the full, the gentle, domestic heart, which, woe for them! has been a peculiar characteristic of his unhappy race, got up and walked silently to look at his children.

“It's the last time,” he said.

Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia Library

in condensed form, were distributed as campaign literature by the Republicans. Southerners were further embittered when they learned that their northern brethren were spreading these wicked “lies.” Thus did southerners, reacting much as they did to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, become increasingly unwilling to sleep under the same federal roof with their hostile Yankee bedfellows.

★ The North-South Contest for Kansas

The rolling plains of Kansas had meanwhile been providing an example of the worst possible workings of

popular sovereignty, although admittedly under abnormal conditions.

Newcomers who ventured into Kansas were a motley lot. Most of the northerners were just ordinary westward-moving pioneers in search of richer lands beyond the sunset. But a small part of the inflow was financed by groups of northern abolitionists or free-soilers. The most famous of these antislavery organizations was the **New England Emigrant Aid Company**, which sent about two thousand people to the troubled area to forestall the South—and also to make a profit. Shouting “Ho for Kansas,” many of them carried the deadly new breech-loading Sharps rifles, nicknamed “Beecher's Bibles” after the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher (Harriet

Beecher Stowe's brother), who had helped raise money for their purchase. Many of the Kansas-bound pioneers sang John Greenleaf Whittier's marching song (1854):

*We cross the prairie as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free!*

Southern spokesmen, now more than ordinarily touchy, raised furious cries of betrayal. They had supported the Kansas-Nebraska scheme of Senator Douglas with the unspoken understanding that Kansas would become slave and Nebraska free. The northern "Nebrascals," allegedly by foul means, were now apparently out to "abolitionize" both Kansas and Nebraska.

A few southern hotheads, quick to respond in kind, attempted to "assist" small groups of well-armed slave-owners to Kansas. Some carried banners proclaiming,

*Let Yankees tremble, abolitionists fall,
Our motto is, "Give Southern Rights to All."*

But planting blacks on Kansas soil was a losing game. Slaves were valuable and volatile property, and foolish indeed were owners who would take them where bullets were flying and where the soil might be voted free under popular sovereignty. The census of 1860 found only 2 slaves among 107,000 souls in all Kansas Territory and only 15 in Nebraska. There was much truth in the charge that the whole quarrel over slavery in the territories revolved around "an imaginary Negro in an impossible place."

Crisis conditions in Kansas rapidly worsened (see Map 19.1). When the day came in 1855 to elect

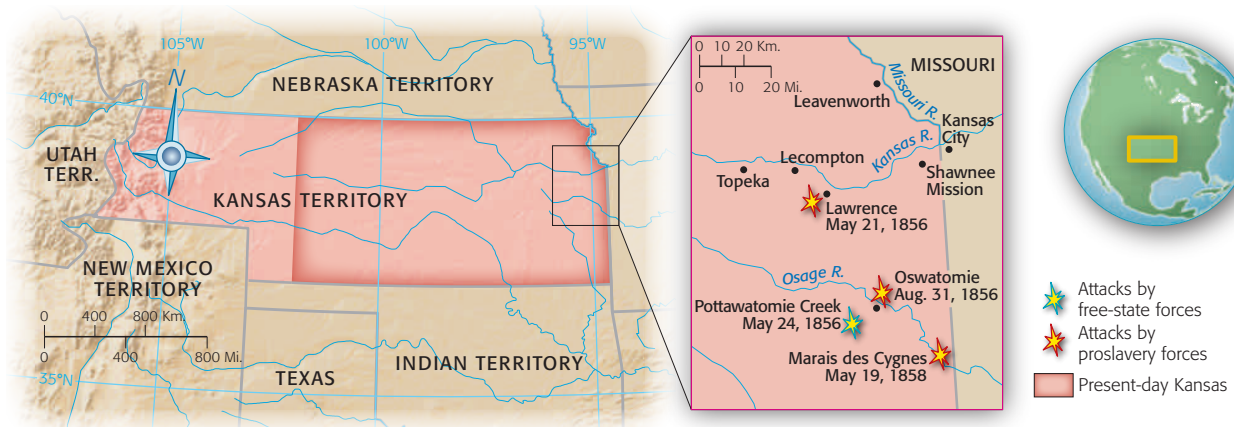
members of the first territorial legislature, proslavery "border ruffians" poured in from Missouri to vote early and often. The slavery supporters triumphed and then set up their own puppet government at Shawnee Mission. The free-soilers, unable to stomach this fraudulent conspiracy, established an extralegal regime of their own in Topeka. The confused Kansans thus had their choice between two governments—one based on fraud, the other on illegality.

Tension mounted as settlers also feuded over conflicting land claims. The breaking point came in 1856 when a gang of proslavery raiders, alleging provocation, shot up and burned part of the free-soil town of Lawrence. This outrage was but the prelude to a bloodier tragedy.

★ Kansas in Convulsion

The fanatical figure of John Brown now stalked upon the Kansas battlefield. Spare, gray-bearded, and iron-willed, he was obsessively dedicated to the abolitionist cause. The power of his glittering gray eyes was such, so he claimed, that his stare could force a dog or cat to slink out of a room. Becoming involved in dubious dealings, including horse stealing, he moved to Kansas from Ohio with part of his large family. Brooding over the recent attack on Lawrence, "Old Brown" of Osawatomie led a band of his followers to Pottawatomie Creek in May 1856. There they literally hacked to pieces five surprised men, presumed to be proslaveryites. This terrorist butchery besmirched the free-soil cause and brought vicious retaliation from the proslavery forces.

MAP 19.1 Bleeding Kansas, 1854–1860 "Enter every election district in Kansas . . . and vote at the point of a bowie knife or revolver," one proslavery agitator exhorted a Missouri crowd. Proslavery Missouri senator David Atchison declared that "there are 1,100 men coming over from Platte County to vote, and if that ain't enough we can send 5,000—enough to kill every Goddamned abolitionist in the Territory." © Cengage Learning





National Portrait Gallery/Art Resource, NY

John Brown (1800–1859) This daguerreotype of the militant abolitionist Brown tells a tale of two men, the sitter and the photographer. It was taken in 1847 when Brown was running a wool-brokerage house in Springfield, Massachusetts, and working closely with other New England abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass. Brown made his way to the Hartford studio of free black photographer Augustus Washington, who was the son of an Asian woman and a former black slave and well known in abolitionist circles. Six years later, Washington would close his successful studio and take his family to Liberia, convinced that American blacks would do better in their own country in Africa than as free men in the United States (see pp. 349–350).

Civil war in Kansas thus erupted in 1856 and continued intermittently until it merged with the large-scale Civil War of 1861–1865. Altogether, the Kansas conflict destroyed millions of dollars' worth of property, paralyzed agriculture in certain areas, and cost scores of lives.

Yet by 1857 Kansas had enough people, chiefly free-soilers, to apply for statehood on a popular-sovereignty basis. The proslavery forces, then in the saddle, devised a tricky document known as the **Lecompton Constitution**. The people were not allowed to vote for or against the constitution as a

whole, but for the constitution either “with slavery” or “with no slavery.” If they voted against slavery, one of the remaining provisions of the constitution would protect the owners of slaves already in Kansas. So whatever the outcome, there would still be black bondage in Kansas. Many free-soilers, infuriated by this ploy, boycotted the polls. Left to themselves, the proslaveryites approved the constitution with slavery late in 1857.

The scene next shifted to Washington. President Pierce had been succeeded by the no-less-pliable James Buchanan, who was also strongly under southern influence. Blind to sharp divisions within his own Democratic party, Buchanan threw the weight of his administration behind the notorious Lecompton Constitution. But Senator Douglas, who had championed true popular sovereignty, would have none of this semipopular fraudulency. Deliberately tossing away his strong support in the South for the presidency, he fought courageously for fair play and democratic principles. The outcome was a compromise that, in effect, submitted the entire Lecompton Constitution to a popular vote. The free-soil voters thereupon thronged to the polls and snowed it under. Kansas remained a territory until 1861, when the southern secessionists left Congress.

President Buchanan, by antagonizing the numerous Douglas Democrats in the North, hopelessly divided the once-powerful Democratic party. Until then, it had been the only remaining *national* party, for the Whigs were dead and the Republicans were sectional. With the disruption of the Democrats came the snapping of one of the last important strands in the rope that was barely binding the Union together.

★ “Bully” Brooks and His Bludgeon

Bleeding Kansas also spattered blood on the floor of the Senate in 1856. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, a tall and imposing figure, was a leading abolitionist—one of the few prominent in political life. Highly educated but cold, humorless, intolerant, and egotistical, he had made himself one of the most disliked men in the Senate. Brooding over the turbulent miscarriage of popular sovereignty, he delivered a blistering speech titled “The Crime Against Kansas.” Sparingly few epithets, he condemned the proslavery men as “hirelings picked from the drunken spew and vomit of an uneasy civilization.” He also referred insultingly to South Carolina and to its white-haired senator Andrew Butler, one of the best-liked members of the Senate.

Hot-tempered Congressman Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina now took vengeance into his own hands. Ordinarily gracious and gallant, he resented the insults to his state and to its senator, a distant cousin. His code of honor called for a duel, but in the South one fought

only with one's social equals. And had not the coarse language of the Yankee, who probably would reject a challenge, dropped him to a lower order? To Brooks, the only alternative was to chastise the senator as one would beat an unruly dog. On May 22, 1856, he approached Sumner, then sitting at his Senate desk, and pounded the orator with an eleven-ounce cane until it broke. The victim fell bleeding and unconscious to the floor, while several nearby senators refrained from interfering.

Sumner had been provocatively insulting, but this counteroutrage put Brooks in the wrong. The House of Representatives could not muster enough votes to expel the South Carolinian, but he resigned and was triumphantly reelected. Southern admirers deluged Brooks with canes, some of them gold-headed, to replace the one that had been broken. The injuries to Sumner's head and nervous system were serious. He was forced to leave his seat for three and a half years and go to Europe for treatment that was both painful and costly. Meanwhile, Massachusetts defiantly reelected him, leaving his seat eloquently empty. Bleeding Sumner was thus joined with bleeding Kansas as a political issue.

The free-soil North was mightily aroused against the "uncouth" and "cowardly" "Bully" Brooks. Copies of Sumner's abusive speech, otherwise doomed to obscurity, were sold by the tens of thousands. Every blow that struck the senator doubtless made thousands of Republican votes. The South, although not unanimous in approving Brooks, was angered not only because Sumner had made such an intemperate speech but because it had been so extravagantly applauded in the North.

The Sumner-Brooks clash and the ensuing reactions revealed how dangerously inflamed passions were becoming, North and South. It was ominous that the cultured Sumner should have used the language of a

Regarding the Brooks assault on Sumner, the Illinois State Journal, one of the more moderate antislavery journals, declared,

“Brooks and his Southern allies have deliberately adopted the monstrous creed that any man who dares to utter sentiments which they deem wrong or unjust, shall be brutally assailed.”

One of the milder southern responses came from the Petersburg (Virginia) Intelligencer:

“Although Mr. Brooks ought to have selected some other spot for the altercation than the Senate chamber, if he had broken every bone in Sumner's carcass it would have been a just retribution upon this slanderer of the South and her individual citizens.”

barroom bully and that the gentlemanly Brooks should have employed the tactics and tools of a thug. Emotion was displacing thought. The blows rained on Sumner's head were, broadly speaking, among the first blows of the Civil War.

★ “Old Buck” Versus “The Pathfinder”

With bullets whining in Kansas, the Democrats met in Cincinnati to nominate their presidential standard-bearer of 1856. They shied away from both the weak-kneed President Pierce and the dynamic Douglas. Each was too indelibly tainted by the Kansas-Nebraska Act.



Preston Brooks Caning Charles Sumner, 1856

Cartoonist John Magee of Philadelphia depicted Brooks's beating of Sumner in the Senate as a display of southern ruthlessness in defending slavery, ironically captioned "southern chivalry."

Know-Nothing Banner, 1856

The Know-Nothing Party feared that slavery and other sectional issues were blinding Americans to the real danger in their midst—uncontrolled immigration and foreign influence. The Party ran ex-President Millard Fillmore for president in 1856, using banners like this one to alert voters to the threat presented by recent Irish and German immigrants, many of them Catholic.



Milwaukee County Historical Society

The delegates finally chose James Buchanan (pronounced by many Buck-anan), who was muscular, white-haired, and tall (six feet), with a short neck and a protruding chin. Because of an eye defect, he carried his head cocked to one side. A well-to-do Pennsylvania lawyer, he had been serving as minister to London during the recent Kansas-Nebraska uproar. He was therefore “Kansas-less,” and hence relatively enemyless. But in a crisis that called for giants, “Old Buck” Buchanan was mediocre, irresolute, and confused.

Delegates of the fast-growing Republican party met in Philadelphia with bubbling enthusiasm. “Higher Law” Seward was their most conspicuous leader, and he probably would have arranged to win the nomination had he been confident that this was a “Republican year.” The final choice was Captain John C. Frémont, the so-called Pathfinder of the West—a dashing but erratic explorer-soldier-surveyor who was supposed to find the path to the White House. The black-bearded and flashy young adventurer was virtually without political experience, but like Buchanan he was not tarred with the Kansas brush. The Republican platform came out vigorously against the extension of slavery into the territories, while the Democrats declared no less emphatically for popular sovereignty.

An ugly dose of antireligionism was injected into the campaign, even though slavery extension loomed largest. The recent influx of immigrants from Ireland and Germany had alarmed “nativists,” as many old-stock Protestants were called. They organized the American party, also known as the Know-Nothing party because of its secretiveness, and in 1856 nominated the lackluster ex-president Millard Fillmore. Antiforeign and anti-Catholic, these superpatriots adopted the slogan “Americans Must Rule America.” Remnants of the dying Whig party likewise endorsed Fillmore,

and they and the Know-Nothings threatened to cut into Republican strength.

Republicans fell in behind Frémont with the zeal of crusaders. Shouting “We Follow the Pathfinder” and “We Are Buck Hunting,” they organized glee clubs, which sang (to the tune of “The Marseillaise”),

*Arise, arise ye brave!
And let our war-cry be,
Free speech, free press, free soil, free men,
Fré-mont and victory!*

“And free love,” sneered the Buchanan supporters (“Buchaneers”).

Mudslinging bespattered both candidates. “Old Foggy” Buchanan was assailed because he was a bachelor: the fiancée of his youth had died after a lovers’ quarrel. Frémont was reviled because of his illegitimate birth, for his young mother had left her elderly husband, a Virginia planter, to run away with a French adventurer. In due season she gave birth to John in Savannah, Georgia—further to shame the South. More harmful to Frémont was the allegation, which alienated many bigoted Know-Nothings and other “nativists,” that he was a Roman Catholic.

Spiritual overtones developed in the Frémont campaign, especially over slavery. The Independent, a prominent religious journal, saw in Frémont’s nomination “the good hand of God.” As election day neared, it declared,

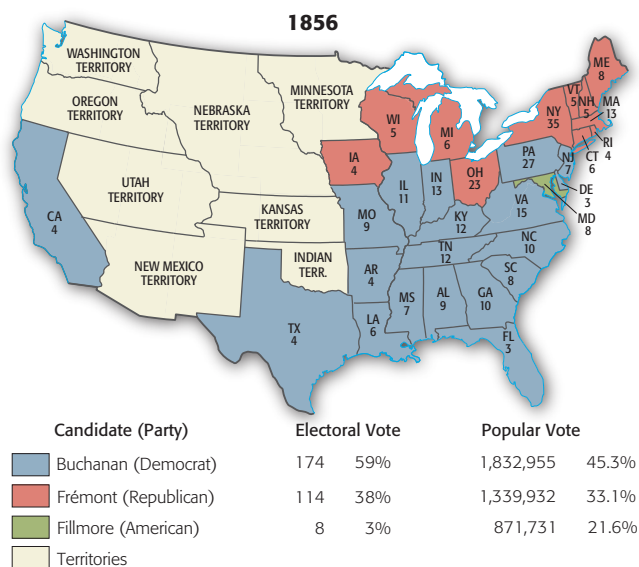
“Fellow-Christians! Remember it is for Christ, for the nation, and for the world that you vote at this election! Vote as you pray! Pray as you vote!”

★ The Electoral Fruits of 1856

A bland Buchanan, although polling less than a majority of the popular vote, won handily (see Map 19.2). His tally in the Electoral College was 174 to 114 for Frémont, with Fillmore garnering 8. The popular vote was 1,832,955 for Buchanan to 1,339,932 for Frémont, and 871,731 for Fillmore.

Why did the rousing Republicans go down to defeat? Frémont lost much ground because of grave doubts as to his honesty, capacity, and sound judgment. Perhaps more damaging were the violent threats of the southern “fire-eaters” that the election of a sectional “Black Republican” would be a declaration of war on them, forcing them to secede. Many northerners, anxious to save both the Union and their profitable business connections with the South, were thus intimidated into voting for Buchanan. Innate conservatism triumphed, assisted by so-called southern bullying.

It was probably fortunate for the Union that secession and civil war did not come in 1856, following a Republican victory. Frémont, an ill-balanced and second-rate figure, was no Abraham Lincoln. And in 1856 the North was more willing to let the South depart in peace than in 1860. Dramatic events from 1856 to 1860 were to arouse hundreds of thousands of still-apathetic northerners to a fighting pitch.



MAP 19.2 Presidential Election of 1856 (electoral vote by state) The fateful split of 1860 was foreshadowed. The regional polarization in 1856, shown here, was to be even sharper four years later, as illustrated by Maps 19.3 and 19.4 later in this chapter. © Cengage Learning

Yet the Republicans in 1856 could rightfully claim a “victorious defeat.” The new party—a mere two-year-old toddler—had made an astonishing showing against the well-oiled Democratic machine. Whittier exulted:

*Then sound again the bugles,
Call the muster-roll anew;
If months have well-nigh won the field,
What may not four years do?*

The election of 1856 cast a long shadow forward, and politicians, North and South, peered anxiously toward 1860.

★ The Dred Scott Bombshell

The *Dred Scott v. Stanford* decision, handed down by the Supreme Court on March 6, 1857, abruptly ended the two-day presidential honeymoon of the unlucky bachelor, James Buchanan. This pronouncement was one of the opening paper-gun blasts of the Civil War.

Basically, the case was simple. Dred Scott, a black slave, had lived with his master for five years in Illinois and Wisconsin Territory. Backed by interested abolitionists, he sued for freedom on the basis of his long residence on free soil.

The Supreme Court proceeded to twist a simple legal case into a complex political issue. It ruled, not surprisingly, that Dred Scott was a black slave and not a citizen, and hence could not sue in federal courts.* The tribunal could then have thrown out the case on these technical grounds alone. But a majority decided to go further, under the leadership of emaciated Chief Justice Roger B. Taney from the slave state of Maryland. A sweeping judgment on the larger issue of slavery in the territories seemed desirable, particularly to forestall arguments by two free-soil justices who were preparing dissenting opinions. The pro-southern majority evidently hoped in this way to lay the odious question to rest.

Taney’s thunderclap rocked the free-soilers back on their heels. A majority of the Court decreed that because a slave was private property, he or she could be taken into *any* territory and legally held there in slavery. The reasoning was that the Fifth Amendment clearly forbade Congress to deprive people of their property without due process of law. The Court, to be consistent, went further. The Missouri Compromise, banning slavery north of 36° 30’, had been repealed three years earlier by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. But its

*This part of the ruling, denying blacks their citizenship, seriously menaced the precarious position of the South’s quarter-million free blacks.



Library of Congress

Dred Scott with His Wife and Daughters, 1857 This slave’s long legal battle for his freedom, culminating in the Supreme Court’s *Dred Scott* decision in 1857, helped to ignite the Civil War. Widespread publicity about the fate of Scott and his family strengthened antislavery sentiment in the North. Articles like this one in *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* appealed to the same sentimental regard for the idealized family that Harriet Beecher Stowe so artfully mobilized in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (see “Examining the Evidence: Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*,” p. 398).

spirit was still venerated in the North. Now the Court ruled that the Compromise of 1820 had been unconstitutional all along; Congress had no power to ban slavery from the territories, regardless even of what the territorial legislatures themselves might want.

Southerners were delighted with this unexpected victory. Champions of popular sovereignty were aghast, including Senator Douglas and a host of northern Democrats. Another lethal wedge was thus driven between the northern and southern wings of the once-united Democratic party.

Foes of slavery extension, especially the Republicans, were infuriated by the *Dred Scott* setback. Their

The decision of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (1777–1864) in the case of Dred Scott referred to the status of slaves when the Constitution was adopted:

“They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order; and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. . . . This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race.”

Taney’s statement accurately described historical attitudes, but it deeply offended antislaveryites when applied to conditions in 1857.

chief rallying cry had been the banishing of bondage from the territories. They now insisted that the ruling of the Court was merely an opinion, not a decision, and no more binding than the views of a “southern debating society.” Republican defiance of the exalted tribunal was intensified by an awareness that a majority of its members were southerners and by the conviction that it had debased itself—“sullied the ermine”—by wallowing in the gutter of politics.

Southerners in turn were inflamed by all this defiance. They began to wonder anew how much longer they could remain joined to a section that refused to honor the Supreme Court, to say nothing of the constitutional compact that had established it.

★ The Financial Crash of 1857

Bitterness caused by the *Dred Scott* decision was deepened by hard times, which dampened a period of feverish prosperity. Then the **panic of 1857** burst about Buchanan’s harassed head. The storm was not so bad economically as the panic of 1837, but psychologically it was probably the worst of the nineteenth century.

What caused the crash? Inpouring California gold played its part by helping to inflate the currency. The demands of the Crimean War in Russia (1853–1856) had overstimulated the growing of grain, while frenzied speculation in land and railroads had further ripped the economic fabric. When the collapse came, over five thousand businesses failed within a year. Unemployment, accompanied by hunger meetings in urban areas, was widespread. “Bread or Death” stated one desperate slogan.

The North, including its grain growers, was hardest hit. The South, enjoying favorable cotton prices abroad, rode out the storm with flying colors. Panic conditions

seemed further proof that cotton was king and that its economic kingdom was stronger than that of the North. This fatal delusion helped drive the overconfident southerners closer to a shooting showdown.

Financial distress in the North, especially in agriculture, gave a new vigor to the demand for free farms of 160 acres from the public domain. For several decades interested groups had been urging the federal government to abandon its ancient policy of selling the land for revenue. Instead, the argument ran, acreage should be given outright to the sturdy pioneers as a reward for risking health and life to develop it.

A scheme to make outright gifts of homesteads encountered two-pronged opposition. Eastern industrialists had long been unfriendly to free land; some of them feared that their underpaid workers would be drained off to the West. The South was even more bitterly opposed, partly because gang-labor slavery could not flourish on a mere 160 acres. Free farms would merely fill up the territories more rapidly with free-soilers and further tip the political balance against the South. In 1860, after years of debate, Congress finally passed a homestead act—one that made public lands available at a nominal sum of twenty-five cents an acre. But the homestead act was stabbed to death by the veto

pen of President Buchanan, near whose elbow sat leading southern sympathizers.

The panic of 1857 also created a clamor for higher tariff rates. Several months before the crash, Congress, embarrassed by a large Treasury surplus, had enacted the **Tariff of 1857**. The new law, responding to pressures from the South, reduced duties to about 20 percent on dutiable goods—the lowest point since the War of 1812. Hardly had the revised rates been placed on the books when financial misery descended like a black pall. Northern manufacturers, many of them Republicans, noisily blamed their misfortunes on the low tariff. As the surplus melted away in the Treasury, industrialists in the North pointed to the need for higher duties. But what really concerned them was their desire for increased protection. Thus the panic of 1857 gave the Republicans two surefire economic issues for the election of 1860: protection for the unprotected and farms for the farmless.

★ An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges

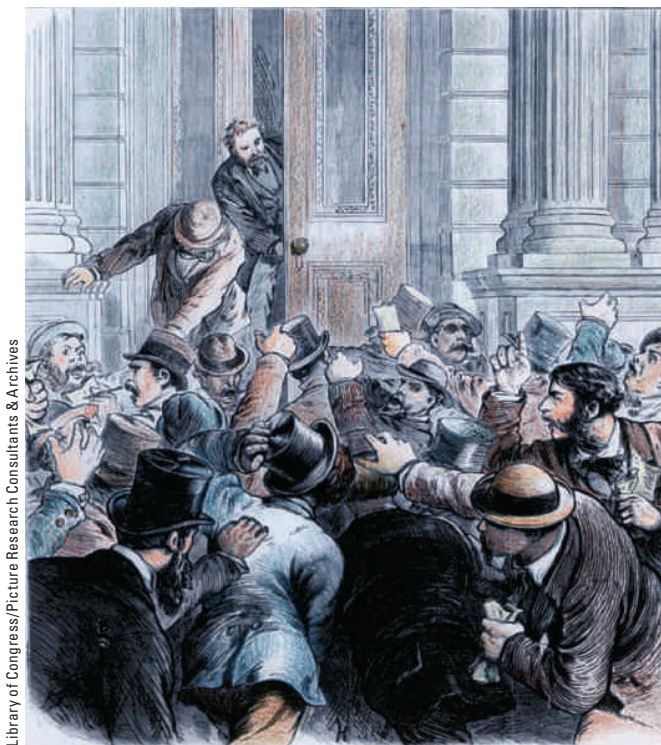
The Illinois senatorial election of 1858 now claimed the national spotlight. Senator Stephen A. Douglas's term was about to expire, and the Republicans decided to run against him a rustic Springfield lawyer, one Abraham Lincoln. The Republican candidate—6 feet 4 inches in height and 180 pounds in weight—presented an awkward but arresting figure. Lincoln's legs, arms, and neck were abnormally long; his head was crowned by coarse, black, and unruly hair; and his face was sad, sunken, and weather-beaten.

Lincoln was no silver-spoon child of the elite. Born in 1809 in a Kentucky log cabin to impoverished parents, he attended a frontier school for not more than a year; being an avid reader, he was mainly self-educated.

In 1832, when Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) became a candidate for the Illinois legislature, he delivered a speech at a political gathering:

“I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My [Whiggish] politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal-improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected, I shall be thankful; if not, it will be all the same.”

He was elected two years later.



Panic on Wall Street, 1857 The panic of 1857 further burdened President Buchanan, already reeling from the armed clashes in Kansas and the controversy over the *Dred Scott* decision.

All his life he said, “git,” “thar,” and “heered.” Although narrow-chested and somewhat stoop-shouldered, he shone in his frontier community as a wrestler and weight lifter, and spent some time, among other pioneering pursuits, as a splitter of logs for fence rails. A superb teller of earthy and amusing stories, he would oddly enough plunge into protracted periods of melancholy.

Lincoln’s private and professional lives were not especially noteworthy. He married “above himself” socially, into the influential Todd family of Kentucky, and the temperamental outbursts of his high-strung wife, known by her enemies as the “she wolf,” helped to school him in patience and forbearance. After reading a little law, he gradually emerged as one of the dozen or so better-known trial lawyers in Illinois, although still accustomed to carrying important papers in his stove-pipe hat. He was widely referred to as “Honest Abe,” partly because he would refuse cases that he had to suspend his conscience to defend.

The rise of Lincoln as a political figure was less than rocketlike. After making his mark in the Illinois legislature as a Whig politician of the logrolling variety,

he served one undistinguished term in Congress, 1847–1849. Until 1854, when he was forty-five years of age, he had done nothing to establish a claim to statesmanship. But the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in that year lighted within him unexpected fires. After mounting the Republican bandwagon, he emerged as one of the foremost politicians and orators of the Northwest. At the Philadelphia convention of 1856, where John C. Frémont was nominated, Lincoln actually received 110 votes for the vice-presidential nomination.

★ The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas

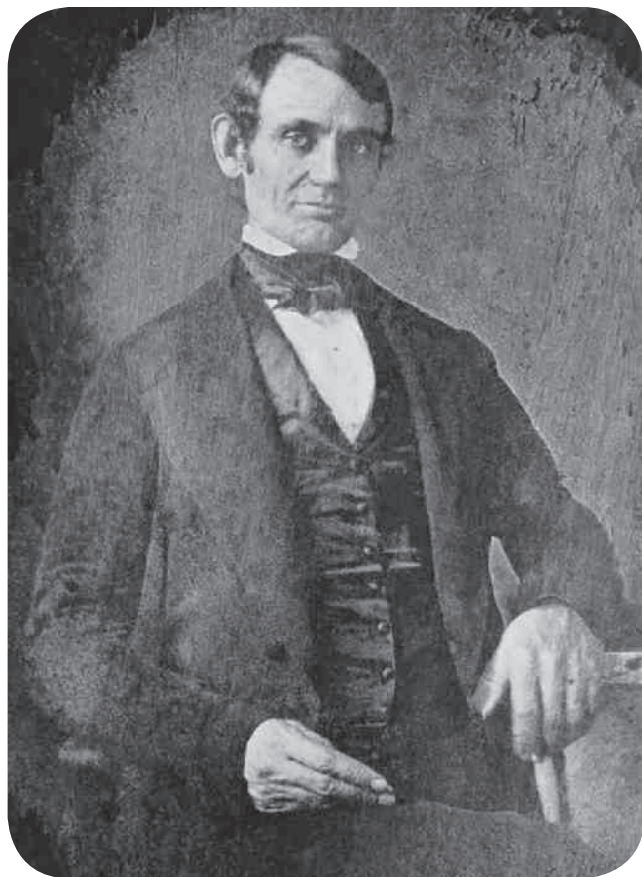
Lincoln, as Republican nominee for the Senate seat, boldly challenged Douglas to a series of joint debates. This was a rash act, because the stumpy senator was probably the nation’s most devastating debater. Douglas promptly accepted Lincoln’s challenge, and seven meetings—the famed **Lincoln-Douglas debates**—were arranged from August to October 1858.

At first glance the two contestants seemed ill-matched. The well-groomed and polished Douglas, with his bearlike figure and bullhorn voice, presented a striking contrast to the lanky Lincoln, with his baggy clothes and unshined shoes. Moreover, “Old Abe,” as he was called in both affection and derision, had a piercing, high-pitched voice and was often ill at ease when he began to speak. But as he threw himself into an argument, he seemed to grow in height, while his glowing eyes lighted up a rugged face. He relied on logic rather than on table-thumping.

The most famous debate came at Freeport, Illinois, where Lincoln nearly impaled his opponent on the horns of a dilemma. Suppose, he queried, the people of a territory should vote slavery down. The Supreme Court in the *Dred Scott* decision had decreed that they could not. Who would prevail, the Court or the people?

Legend to the contrary, Douglas and some southerners had already publicly answered the **Freeport question**. The “Little Giant” therefore did not hesitate to meet the issue head-on, honestly and consistently. His reply to Lincoln became known as the **Freeport Doctrine**. No matter how the Supreme Court ruled, Douglas argued, slavery would stay down if the people voted it down. Laws to protect slavery would have to be passed by the territorial legislatures. These would not be forthcoming in the absence of popular approval, and black bondage would soon disappear. Douglas, in truth, had American history on his side. Where public opinion does not support the federal government, as in the case of Jefferson’s embargo (see pp. 216–218), the law is almost impossible to enforce.

The upshot was that Douglas defeated Lincoln for the Senate seat. The “Little Giant’s” loyalty to popular



Granger Collection

Abraham Lincoln, a Most Uncommon Common Man

This daguerreotype of Lincoln was done by Mathew B. Brady, a distinguished photographer of the era.



Art Resource, NY

Lincoln and Douglas Debate, 1858 Thousands attended each of the seven Lincoln-Douglas debates. Douglas is shown here sitting to Lincoln's right in the debate at Charleston, Illinois, in September. On one occasion Lincoln quipped that Douglas's logic would prove that a horse chestnut was a chestnut horse.

sovereignty, which still had a powerful appeal in Illinois, probably was decisive. Senators were then chosen by state legislatures; and in the general election that followed the debates, more pro-Douglas members were

Lincoln expressed his views on the relation of the black and white races in 1858, in his first debate with Stephen A. Douglas:

“I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to those rights as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.”

elected than pro-Lincoln members. Yet thanks to inequitable apportionment, the districts carried by Douglas supporters represented a smaller population than those carried by Lincoln supporters. “Honest Abe” thus won a clear moral victory.

Lincoln possibly was playing for larger stakes than just the senatorship. Although defeated, he had shambled into the national limelight in company with the most prominent northern politicians. Newspapers in the East published detailed accounts of the debates, and Lincoln began to emerge as a potential Republican nominee for president. But Douglas, in winning Illinois, hurt his own chances of winning the presidency, while further splitting his splintering party. After his opposition to the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas and his further defiance of the Supreme Court at Freeport, southern Democrats were determined to break up the party (and the Union) rather than accept him. The Lincoln-Douglas debate platform thus proved to be one of the preliminary battlefields of the Civil War.

★ **John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?**

The gaunt, grim figure of John Brown of bleeding Kansas infamy now once again took the stage. After studying the tactics of the black rebels Toussaint L'Ouverture (see p. 211) and Nat Turner (see p. 348), he hatched a

Upon hearing of John Brown's execution, escaped slave and abolitionist Harriet Tubman (ca. 1820–1913) paid him the highest tribute for his self-sacrifice:

“I’ve been studying, and studying upon it, and its clar to me, it wasn’t John Brown that died on that gallows. When I think how he gave up his life for our people, and how he never flinched, but was so brave to the end; its clar to me it wasn’t mortal man, it was God in him.”

Not all opponents of slavery, however, shared Tubman’s reverence for Brown. Republican presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln dismissed Brown as deluded:

“[The Brown] affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution.”

daring scheme to invade the South secretly with a handful of followers, call upon the slaves to rise, furnish them with arms, and establish a kind of black free state as a sanctuary. Brown secured several thousand dollars for firearms from northern abolitionists and finally arrived in hilly western Virginia with some twenty men, including several blacks. At scenic **Harpers Ferry**, he seized the federal arsenal in October 1859, incidentally killing seven innocent people, including a free black, and injuring ten or so more. But the slaves, largely ignorant of Brown’s strike, failed to rise, and the wounded Brown and the remnants of his tiny band were quickly captured by U.S. Marines under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee. Ironically, within two years Lee would become the preeminent general in the Confederate army.

“Old Brown” was convicted of murder and treason after a hasty but legal trial. His presumed insanity was supported by affidavits from seventeen friends and relatives, who were trying to save his neck. Actually thirteen of his near relations were regarded as insane, including his mother and grandmother. Governor Wise of Virginia would have been wiser, so his critics say, if he had only clapped the culprit into a lunatic asylum.

But Brown—“God’s angry man”—was given every opportunity to pose and to enjoy martyrdom. Though perhaps of unsound mind, he was clever enough to see that he was worth much more to the abolitionist

cause dangling from a rope than in any other way. His demeanor during the trial was dignified and courageous, his last words (“this is a beautiful country”) were to become legendary, and he marched up the scaffold steps without flinching. His conduct was so exemplary, his devotion to freedom so inflexible, that he took on an exalted character, however deplorable his previous record may have been. So the hangman’s trap was sprung, and Brown plunged not into oblivion but into world fame. A memorable marching song of the impending Civil War ran,

*John Brown’s body lies a-mould’ring in the grave,
His soul is marching on.*

The effects of Harpers Ferry were inflammatory. In the eyes of the South, already embittered, “Osawatomie Brown” was a wholesale murderer and an apostle of treason. Many southerners asked how they could possibly remain in the Union while a “murderous gang of abolitionists” was financing armed bands to “Brown” them. Moderate northerners, including Republican leaders, openly deplored this mad exploit. But the South naturally concluded that the violent abolitionist view was shared by the entire North, dominated by “Brown-loving” Republicans.

Abolitionists and other ardent free-soilers were infuriated by Brown’s execution. Many of them were ignorant of his bloody past and his even more bloody purposes, and they were outraged because the Virginians had hanged so earnest a reformer who was working for so righteous a cause. On the day of his execution, free-soil centers in the North tolled bells, fired guns, lowered flags, and held rallies. Some spoke of “Saint John” Brown, and the serene Ralph Waldo Emerson compared the new martyr-hero with Jesus. The gallows became a cross. E. C. Stedman wrote,

*And Old Brown,
Osawatomie Brown,
May trouble you more than ever, when you’ve nailed his
coffin down!*

The ghost of the martyred Brown would not be laid to rest.

✦ The Disruption of the Democrats

Beyond question the presidential election of 1860 was the most fateful in American history. On it hung the issue of peace or civil war.

Deeply divided, the Democrats met in Charleston, South Carolina, with Douglas the leading candidate of the northern wing of the party. But the southern “fire-eaters” regarded him as a traitor, as a result of his unpopular stand on the Lecompton Constitution and

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Carl Stoeckel, 1897 (97.5) Photograph © 1982 The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY



Last Moments of John Brown, by Thomas Hovenden

Sentenced to be hanged, John Brown wrote to his brother, "I am quite cheerful in view of my approaching end, being fully persuaded that I am worth inconceivably more to hang than for any other purpose. . . . I count it all joy. 'I have fought the good fight,' and have, as I trust, 'finished my course.'" This painting of Brown going to his execution may have been inspired by the journalist Horace Greeley, who was not present but wrote that "a black woman with a little child stood by the door. He stopped for a moment, and stooping, kissed the child." That scene never took place, as Brown was escorted from the jail only by a detachment of soldiers. But this painting has become famous as a kind of allegorical expression of the pathos of Brown's martyrdom for the abolitionist cause.

the Freeport Doctrine. After a bitter wrangle over the platform, the delegates from most of the cotton states walked out. When the remainder could not scrape together the necessary two-thirds vote for Douglas, the entire body dissolved. The first tragic secession was the secession of southerners from the Democratic National Convention. Departure became habit-forming.

The Democrats tried again in Baltimore. This time the Douglas Democrats, chiefly from the North, were firmly in the saddle. Many of the cotton-state delegates again took a walk, and the rest of the convention enthusiastically nominated their hero. The platform came out squarely for popular sovereignty and, as a sop to the South, against obstruction of the Fugitive Slave Law by the states.

Angered southern Democrats promptly organized a rival convention in Baltimore, in which many of the northern states were unrepresented. They selected as their leader the stern-jawed vice president, John C. Breckinridge, a man of moderate views from the border state of Kentucky. The platform favored the extension of slavery into the territories and the annexation of slave-populated Cuba.

A middle-of-the-road group, fearing for the Union, hastily organized the **Constitutional Union party**, sneered at as the "Do Nothing" or "Old Gentleman's" party. It consisted mainly of former Whigs and Know-Nothings, a veritable "gathering of graybeards." Desperately anxious to elect a compromise candidate, they met in Baltimore and nominated for the presidency John

Bell of Tennessee. They went into battle ringing hand bells for Bell and waving handbills for "The Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws."

✦ A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union

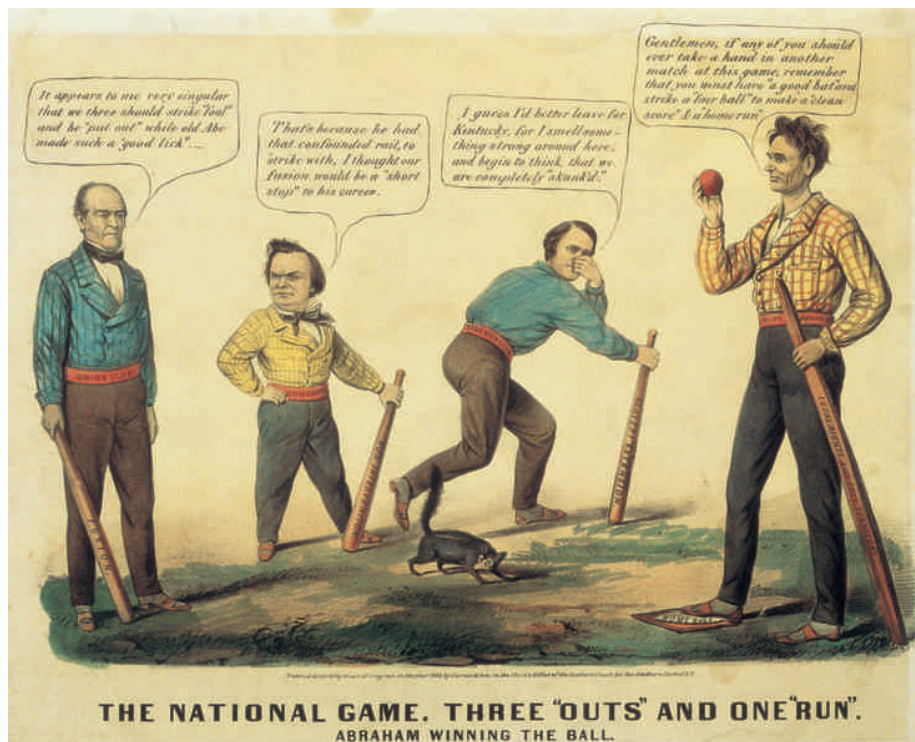
Elated Republicans, scenting victory in the breeze as their opponents split hopelessly, gathered in Chicago in a huge, boxlike wooden structure called the Wigwam. William H. Seward was by far the best known of the contenders. But his radical utterances, including his "irrepressible conflict" speech at Rochester in 1858, had ruined his prospects.* His numerous enemies coined the slogan "Success Rather Than Seward." Lincoln, the favorite son of Illinois, was definitely a "Mr. Second Best," but he was a stronger candidate because he had made fewer enemies. Overtaking Seward on the third ballot, he was nominated amid scenes of the wildest excitement.

The Republican platform had a seductive appeal for just about every important nonsouthern group: for the free-soilers, nonextension of slavery; for the northern manufacturers, a protective tariff; for the immigrants, no abridgment of rights; for the Northwest, a Pacific railroad; for the West, internal improvements at federal

*Seward had referred to an "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom, though not necessarily a bloody one.

Lincoln Hits a Home Run in 1860

Currier & Ives, the producer of popular, inexpensive colored prints, portrayed Lincoln's victory over (from left to right) John Bell, Stephen Douglas, and John C. Breckinridge as a baseball game. Baseball developed in New York in the 1840s, and by 1860 the National Association of Baseball Players boasted fifty clubs, several playing regular schedules and charging admission. This cartoon is thought to be the first time baseball was used as a metaphor for politics. Note that Lincoln is beardless. By February 1861, when he left Springfield, Illinois, by train for the White House, he was fully bearded, having followed the advice of an eleven-year-old girl from Westfield, New York, who urged him to grow whiskers because "you would look a great deal better for your face is so thin."



Museum of American Political Life

expense; and for the farmers, free homesteads from the public domain. Alluring slogans included "Vote Yourself a Farm" and "Land for the Landless."

Southern secessionists promptly served notice that the election of the "baboon" Lincoln—the "abolitionist" rail-splitter—would split the Union. In fact, "Honest Abe," though hating slavery, was no outright abolitionist. As late as February 1865, he was inclined to favor cash compensation to the owners of freed slaves. But for the time being, he saw fit, perhaps mistakenly, to issue no statements to quiet southern fears. He had already put himself on record, and fresh statements might stir up fresh antagonisms.

As the election campaign ground noisily forward, Lincoln enthusiasts staged roaring rallies and parades, complete with pitch-dripping torches and oilskin capes. They extolled "High Old Abe," the "Woodchopper of the West," and the "Little Giant Killer," while groaning dismally for "Poor Little Doug." Enthusiastic "Little

Giants" and "Little Dougs" retorted with "We want a statesman, not a rail-splitter, as President." Douglas himself waged a vigorous speaking campaign, even in the South, and threatened to put the noose with his own hands around the neck of the first secessionist.

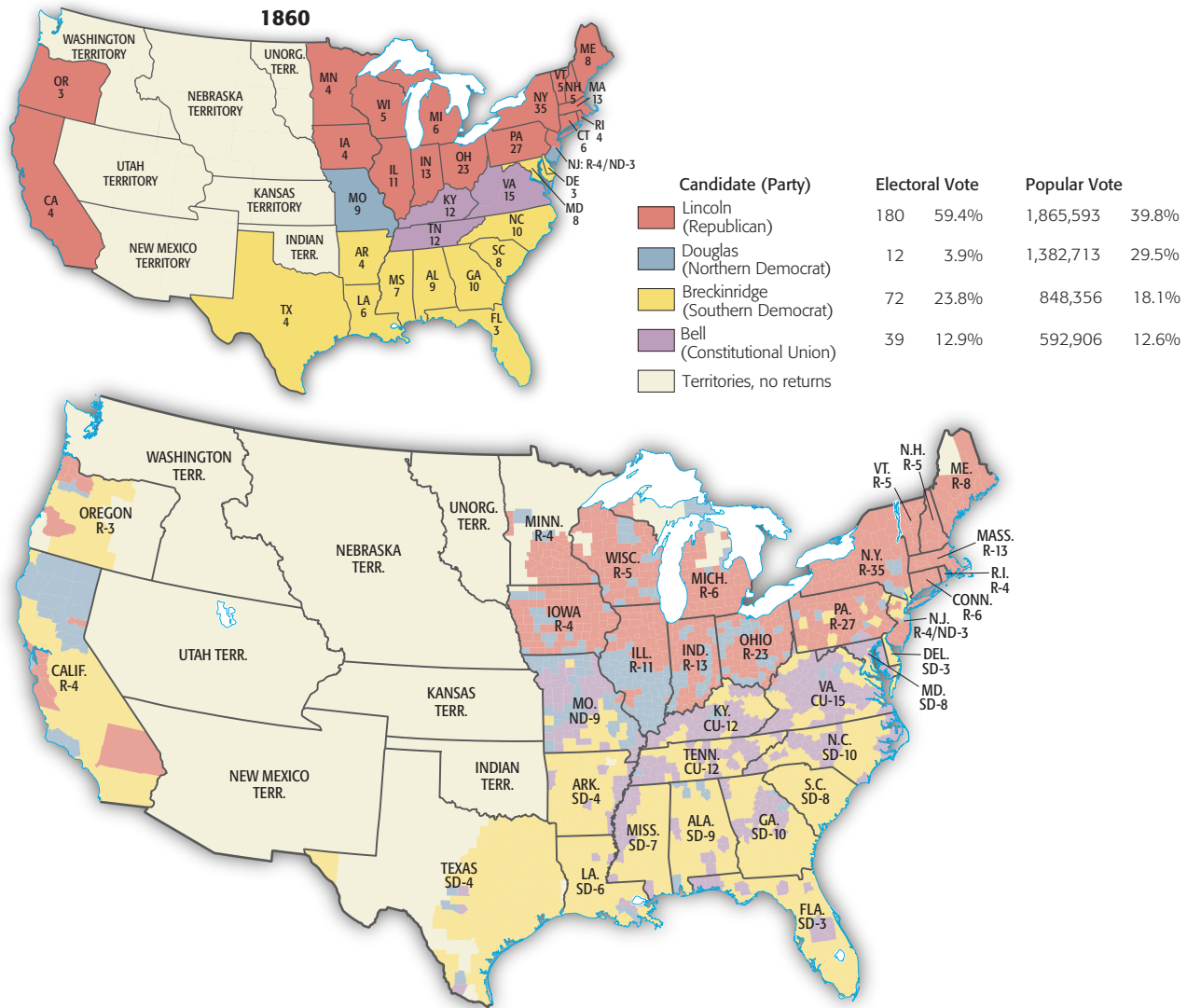
The returns, breathlessly awaited, proclaimed a sweeping victory for Lincoln (see Table 19.1).

★ The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

Awkward "Abe" Lincoln had run a curious race. To a greater degree than any other holder of the nation's highest office (except John Quincy Adams), he was a minority president. Sixty percent of the voters preferred some other candidate. He was also a sectional president, for in ten southern states, where he was not allowed on the ballot, he polled no popular votes. The election of 1860 was virtually two elections: one in the

TABLE 19.1 Election of 1860

Candidate	Popular Vote	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
Lincoln	1,865,593	39.79%	180 (every vote of the free states except for 3 of New Jersey's 7 votes)
Douglas	1,382,713	29.40	12 (only Missouri and 3 of New Jersey's 7 votes)
Breckinridge	848,356	18.20	72 (all the cotton states)
Bell	592,906	12.61	39 (Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee)



MAP 19.3 Presidential Election of 1860: Electoral Vote by State (top) and Popular Vote by County (bottom) It is a surprising fact that Lincoln, often rated among the greatest presidents, ranks near the bottom in percentage of popular votes. In all the eleven states that seceded, he received only a scattering of one state’s votes—about 1.5 percent in Virginia. The vote by county for Lincoln was virtually all cast in the North. The northern Democrat, Douglas, was also nearly shut out in the South, which divided its votes between Breckinridge and Bell. (Note that only citizens of states could vote; inhabitants of territories could not.) © Cengage Learning

North, the other in the South (see Map 19.3). South Carolinians rejoiced over Lincoln’s victory; they now had their excuse to secede. In winning the North, the “rail-splitter” had split off the South.

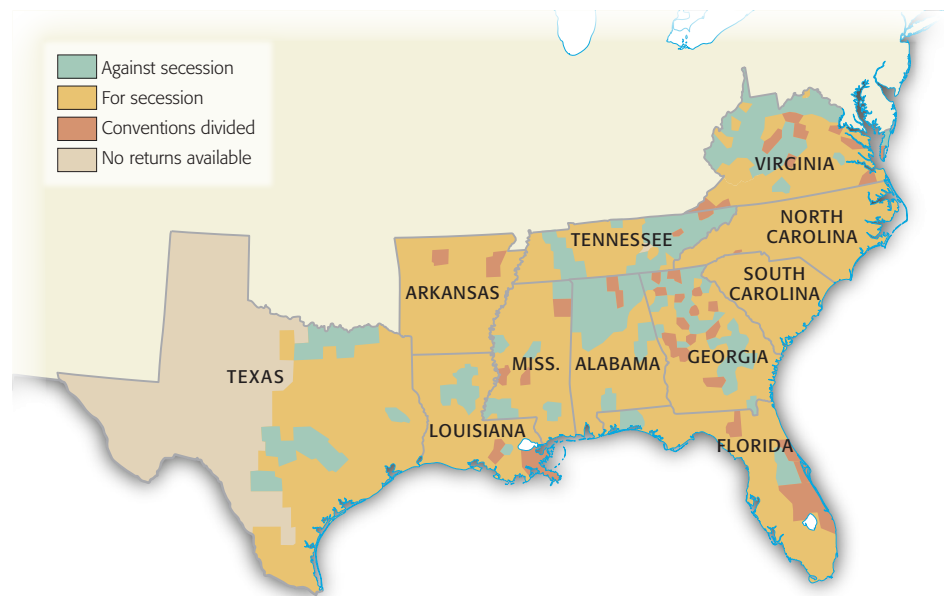
Douglas, though scraping together only twelve electoral votes, made an impressive showing. Boldly breaking with tradition, he campaigned energetically for himself. (Presidential candidates customarily maintained a dignified silence.) He drew important strength from all sections and ranked a fairly close second in

the popular-vote column. In fact, the Douglas Democrats and the Breckinridge Democrats together amassed 365,476 more votes than did Lincoln.

A myth persists that if the Democrats had only united behind Douglas, they would have triumphed. Yet the cold figures tell a different story. Even if the “Little Giant” had received all the electoral votes cast for all three of Lincoln’s opponents, the “rail-splitter” would have won, 169 to 134 instead of 180 to 123. Lincoln still would have carried the populous states of the

MAP 19.4 Southern Opposition to Secession, 1860–1861 (showing vote by county) This county vote shows the opposition of the anti-planter, antislavery mountain whites in the Appalachian region. There was also considerable resistance to secession in Texas, where Governor Sam Houston, who led the Unionists, was deposed by secessionists.

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North and the Northwest. On the other hand, if the Democrats had not broken up, they could have entered the campaign with higher enthusiasm and better organization and might have won.

Significantly, the verdict of the ballot box did not indicate a strong sentiment for secession (see Map 19.4). Breckinridge, while favoring the extension of slavery, was no disunionist. Although the candidate of the “fire-eaters,” he polled fewer votes in the slave states than the combined strength of his opponents, Douglas and Bell. He even failed to carry his own Kentucky.

Yet the South, despite its electoral defeat, was not bad off. It still had a five-to-four majority on the Supreme Court. Although the Republicans had elected Lincoln, they controlled neither the Senate nor the House of Representatives. The federal government could not touch slavery in those states where it existed except by a constitutional amendment, and such an amendment could be defeated by one-fourth of the states. The fifteen slave states numbered nearly one-half of the total—a fact not fully appreciated by southern firebrands.

✦ The Secessionist Exodus

But a tragic chain reaction of secession now began to erupt. South Carolina, which had threatened to go out if the “sectional” Lincoln came in, was as good as its word. Four days after the election of the “Illinois baboon” by “insulting” majorities, its legislature voted unanimously to call a special convention. Meeting at Charleston in December 1860, the convention unanimously voted to secede. During the next six weeks, six

other states of the lower South, though somewhat less united, followed the leader over the precipice: Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. Four more were to join them later, bringing the total to eleven.

With the eyes of destiny upon them, the seven seceders, formally meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, in February 1861, created a government known as the **Confederate States of America**. As their president they chose Jefferson Davis, a dignified and austere recent member of the U.S. Senate from Mississippi. He was a West Pointer and a former cabinet member with wide military and administrative experience; but

The state of South Carolina, leader of the secessionist movement, justified its retreat from the Union in its declaration of independence of December 1860:

“We affirm that the ends for which this [Federal] government was instituted have been defeated, and the government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding states. . . . For twenty five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common government. Observing the forms of the constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the executive department the means of subverting the constitution itself.”

Three days after Lincoln's election, Horace Greeley's influential New York Tribune (November 9, 1860) declared,

“If the cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless. . . . Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic, whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets.”

After the secession movement got well under way, Greeley's Tribune changed its tune.

he suffered from chronic ill health, as well as from a frustrated ambition to be a Napoleonic strategist.

The crisis, already critical enough, was deepened by the “lame duck”* interlude. Lincoln, although elected president in November 1860, could not take office until four months later, on March 4, 1861. During this period of protracted uncertainty, when he was still a private citizen in Illinois, seven of the eleven deserting states pulled out of the Union.

President Buchanan, the aging incumbent, has been blamed for not holding the seceders in the Union by sheer force—for wringing his hands instead of secessionist necks. Never a vigorous man and habitually conservative, he was now nearly seventy, and although devoted to the Union, he was surrounded by prosouthern advisers. As an able lawyer wedded to the Constitution, he did not believe that the southern states could legally secede. Yet he could find no authority in the Constitution for stopping them with guns.

“Oh for one hour of Jackson!” cried the advocates of strong-arm tactics. But “Old Buck” Buchanan was not “Old Hickory,” and he was faced with a far more complex and serious problem. One important reason why he did not resort to force was that the tiny standing army of some fifteen thousand men, then widely scattered, was urgently needed to control the Indians in the West. Public opinion in the North, at that time, was far from willing to unsheathe the sword. Fighting would merely shatter all prospects of adjustment, and until the guns began to boom, there was still a flickering hope of reconciliation rather than a contested divorce. The weakness lay not so much in Buchanan as in the Constitution and in the Union itself. Ironically,

*The “lame duck” period was shortened to ten weeks in 1933 by the Twentieth Amendment (see the Appendix).



Jefferson Davis (1808–1889), President of the Confederacy Faced with grave difficulties, he was probably as able a man for the position as the Confederacy could have chosen. Ironically, Davis and Lincoln had both sprung from the same Kentucky soil. The Davis family had moved south from Kentucky, the Lincoln family north. Chicago History Museum

when Lincoln became president in March, he essentially continued Buchanan's wait-and-see policy.

★ The Collapse of Compromise

Impending bloodshed spurred final and frantic attempts at compromise—in the American tradition. The most promising of these efforts was sponsored by Senator John Jordan Crittenden of Kentucky, on whose shoulders had fallen the mantle of a fellow Kentuckian, Henry Clay.

The proposed **Crittenden amendments** to the Constitution were designed to appease the South. Slavery in the territories was to be prohibited north of 36° 30', but south of that line it was to be given federal protection in all territories existing or “hereafter to be acquired” (such as Cuba). Future states, north or south of 36° 30', could come into the Union with or without slavery, as they should choose. In short, the slavery supporters were to be guaranteed full rights in the southern territories, as long as they were territories,

One reason why the Crittenden Compromise failed in December 1860 was the prevalence of an attitude reflected in a private letter of Senator James Henry Hammond (1807–1864) of South Carolina on April 19:

“I firmly believe that the slave-holding South is now the controlling power of the world—that no other power would face us in hostility. Cotton, rice, tobacco, and naval stores command the world; and we have sense to know it, and are sufficiently Teutonic to carry it out successfully. The North without us would be a motherless calf, bleating about, and die of mange and starvation.”

regardless of the wishes of the majority under popular sovereignty. Federal protection in a territory south of 36° 30' might conceivably, though improbably, turn the entire area permanently to slavery.

Lincoln flatly rejected the Crittenden scheme, which offered some slight prospect of success, and all hope of compromise evaporated. For this refusal he must bear a heavy responsibility. Yet he had been elected on a platform that opposed the extension of slavery, and he felt that as a matter of principle, he could not afford to yield, even though gains for slavery in the territories might be only temporary. Larger gains might come later in Cuba and Mexico. Crittenden's proposal, said Lincoln, “would amount to a perpetual covenant

of war against every people, tribe, and state owning a foot of land between here and Tierra del Fuego.”

As for the supposedly spineless “Old Foggy” Buchanan, how could he have prevented the Civil War by starting a civil war? No one has yet come up with a satisfactory answer. If he had used force on South Carolina in December 1860, the fighting almost certainly would have erupted three months sooner than it did, and under less favorable circumstances for the Union. The North would have appeared as the heavy-handed aggressor. And the crucial Border States, so vital to the Union, probably would have been driven into the arms of their “wayward sisters.”

★ Farewell to Union

Secessionists who parted company with their sister states left for a number of avowed reasons, mostly relating in some way to slavery. They were alarmed by the inexorable tipping of the political balance against them—“the despotic majority of numbers.” The “crime” of the North, observed James Russell Lowell, was the census returns. Southerners were also dismayed by the triumph of the new sectional Republican party, which seemed to threaten their rights as a slaveholding minority. They were weary of free-soil criticism, abolitionist nagging, and northern interference, ranging from the Underground Railroad to John Brown's raid. “All we ask is to be let alone,” declared Confederate president Jefferson Davis in an early message to his congress.



The Eagle's Nest, 1861 The American eagle jealously guards her nest of states and bids defiance to the rebels.

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James Russell Lowell (1819–1891), the northern poet and essayist, wrote in the Atlantic Monthly shortly after the secessionist movement began,

“The fault of the free States in the eyes of the South is not one that can be atoned for by any yielding of special points here and there. Their offense is that they are free, and that their habits and prepossessions are those of freedom. Their crime is the census of 1860. Their increase in numbers, wealth, and power is a standing aggression. It would not be enough to please the Southern States that we should stop asking them to abolish slavery: what they demand of us is nothing less than that we should abolish the spirit of the age. Our very thoughts are a menace.”

Many southerners supported secession because they felt sure that their departure would be unopposed, despite “Yankee yawp” to the contrary. They were confident that the clodhopping and codfishing Yankee would not or could not fight. They believed that northern manufacturers and bankers, so heavily dependent on southern cotton and markets, would not dare to cut their own economic throats with their own unionist swords. But should war come, the immense debt owed to northern creditors by the South—happy thought—could be promptly repudiated, as it later was.

Southern leaders regarded secession as a golden opportunity to cast aside their generations of “vassalage” to the North. An independent Dixieland could develop its own banking and shipping and trade directly with Europe. The low Tariff of 1857, passed largely by southern votes, was not in itself menacing. But who could tell when the “greedy” Republicans would win control of Congress and drive through their own oppressive

Regarding the Civil War, the London Times (November 7, 1861) editorialized,

“The contest is really for empire on the side of the North, and for independence on that of the South, and in this respect we recognize an exact analogy between the North and the Government of George III, and the South and the Thirteen Revolted Provinces.”

protective tariff? For decades this fundamental friction had pitted the North, with its manufacturing plants, against the South, with its agricultural exports.

Worldwide impulses of nationalism—then stirring in Italy, Germany, Poland, and elsewhere—were fermenting in the South. This huge area, with its distinctive culture, was not so much a section as a subnation. It could not view with complacency the possibility of being lorded over, then or later, by what it regarded as a hostile nation of northerners.

The principles of self-determination—of the Declaration of Independence—seemed to many southerners to apply perfectly to them. Few, if any, of the seceders felt that they were doing anything wrong or immoral. The thirteen original states had voluntarily entered the Union, and now seven—ultimately eleven—southern states were voluntarily withdrawing from it.

Historical parallels ran even deeper. In 1776 thirteen American colonies, led by the rebel George Washington, had seceded from the British Empire by throwing off the yoke of King George III. In 1860–1861, eleven American states, led by the rebel Jefferson Davis, were seceding from the Union by throwing off the yoke of “King” Abraham Lincoln. With that burden gone, the South was confident that it could work out its own peculiar destiny more quietly, happily, and prosperously.

Varying Viewpoints

The Civil War: Repressible or Irrepressible?

Few topics have generated as much controversy among American historians as the causes of the Civil War. Looming over the entire debate is the stark fact the United States was the only slaveowning society that had to fight a war to rid itself of slavery. The very names employed to describe the conflict—notably “Civil War” or “War Between the States” or even “War for Southern Independence”—reveal much about the various authors’ points of view. Interpretations of the great conflict have naturally differed according to

section and have been charged with both emotional and moral fervor. Yet despite long and keen interest in the origins of the conflict, the causes of the Civil War remain as passionately debated today as they were a century ago.

The so-called Nationalist School of the late nineteenth century claimed that slavery caused the Civil War. Defending the necessity and inevitability of the war, these northern-oriented historians credited the conflict with ending slavery and preserving the Union. But in the early twentieth century,

progressive historians, led by Charles and Mary Beard, presented a more skeptical interpretation. The Beards argued that the war was not fought over slavery per se, but rather was a deeply rooted economic struggle between an industrial North and an agricultural South. Anointing the Civil War the “Second American Revolution,” the Beards claimed that the war precipitated vast changes in American class relations and shifted the political balance of power by magnifying the influence of business magnates and industrialists while destroying the plantation aristocracy of the South.

Shaken by the disappointing results of World War I, a new wave of historians argued that the Civil War, too, had actually been a big mistake. Rejecting the nationalist interpretation that the clash was inevitable, James G. Randall and Avery Craven asserted that the war had been a “repressible conflict.” Neither slavery nor the economic differences between North and South were sufficient causes for war. Instead Craven and others attributed the bloody confrontation to the breakdown of political institutions, the passion of overzealous reformers, and the ineptitude of a blundering generation of political leaders.

Following the Second World War, however, a neonationalist view regained authority, echoing earlier views in depicting the Civil War as an unavoidable conflict between two societies, one slave and one free. For Allan Nevins and David M. Potter, irreconcilable differences in morality, politics, culture, social values, and economies increasingly eroded the ties between the sections and inexorably set the United States on the road to Civil War.

Eric Foner and Eugene Genovese emphasized each section’s nearly paranoid fear that the survival of its distinctive way of life was threatened by the expansion of the other section. In *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (1970), Foner emphasized that most northerners detested slavery not because it enslaved blacks, but because its existence—and particularly its rapid extension—threatened the position of free white

laborers. This “free labor ideology” increasingly became the foundation stone upon which the North claimed its superiority over the South. Eugene Genovese has argued that the South felt similarly endangered. Convinced that the southern labor system was more humane than the northern factory system, southerners saw northern designs to destroy their way of life lurking at every turn—and every territorial battle. The focus on the irreconcilable interests of the free and slave sections as the central cause of the war has been carried into more recent scholarship by historians such as John Ashworth and David L. Lightner.

Some historians have placed party politics at the center of their explanations for the war. For them, no event was more consequential than the breakdown of the Jacksonian party system. When the slavery issue tore apart both the Democratic and the Whig parties, the last ligaments binding the nation together were snapped, and the war inevitably came.

More recently, historians of the “Ethnocultural School,” especially Michael Holt, have acknowledged the significance of the collapse of the established parties, but have offered a different analysis of how that breakdown led to war. They have noted that the two great national parties before the 1850s focused attention on issues such as the tariff, banking, and internal improvements, thereby muting sectional differences over slavery. According to this argument, the erosion of the traditional party system was due not to growing differences over slavery, but to a temporary *consensus* between the two parties in the 1850s on almost all national issues *other than* slavery. In this peculiar political atmosphere, the slavery issue rose to the fore, encouraging the emergence of Republicans in the North and secessionists in the South. In the absence of regular, national, two-party conflict over economic issues, purely regional parties (like the Republicans) coalesced. They identified their opponents not simply as competitors for power but as threats to their way of life, even to the life of the Republic itself.

Chapter Review

KEY TERMS

<i>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</i> (396)	Lincoln-Douglas debates (406)
<i>The Impending Crisis of the South</i> (397)	Freeport question (406)
New England Emigrant Aid Company (398)	Freeport Doctrine (406)
Lecompton Constitution (400)	Harpers Ferry (408)
Bleeding Kansas (400)	Constitutional Union party (409)
<i>Dred Scott v. Stanford</i> (403)	Confederate States of America (412)
panic of 1857 (404)	Crittenden amendments (413)
Tariff of 1857 (405)	

PEOPLE TO KNOW

Harriet Beecher Stowe	Roger B. Taney
Henry Ward Beecher	Stephen A. Douglas
James Buchanan	Abraham Lincoln
Charles Sumner	John Brown
Preston S. Brooks	John C. Breckinridge
Dred Scott	John Jordan Crittenden

CHRONOLOGY

1852	Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i>	1857	Panic of 1857 Tariff of 1857 Hinton R. Helper publishes <i>The Impending Crisis of the South</i>
1853–1856	Crimean War in Russia	1858	Lincoln-Douglas debates
1854	Kansas-Nebraska Act Republican party forms	1859	Brown raids Harpers Ferry
1856	Buchanan defeats Frémont and Fillmore for presidency Sumner beaten by Brooks in Senate chamber Brown's Pottawatomie Massacre	1860	Lincoln wins four-way race for presidency South Carolina secedes from Union Crittenden Compromise fails
1856–1861	Civil war in "bleeding Kansas"	1861	Seven seceding states form Confederate States of America
1857	<i>Dred Scott</i> decision Lecompton Constitution rejected		

TO LEARN MORE

Frederick J. Blue, *Charles Sumner and the Conscience of the North* (1994)

Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (2004)

Paul Finkelman, ed., *And His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid* (1995)

Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (1995)

Joan Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life* (1994)

Ward M. McAfee, ed., *The Slaveholding Republic* (2001)

Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood* (1970)

Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink* (1990)

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852)

A complete, annotated bibliography for this chapter—along with brief descriptions of the People to Know—may be found on the American Pageant website. The Key Terms are defined in a Glossary at the end of the text.



Go to the CourseMate website at www.cengagebrain.com for additional study tools and review materials—including audio and video clips—for this chapter.

AP* Review Questions for Chapter 19

- All of the following are true statements about Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel EXCEPT that
 - it helped spark the Civil War.
 - it was inspired by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act.
 - Stowe claimed that God wrote the book.
 - it sold hundreds of thousands of copies in the United States and beyond.
 - it relied on Stowe's many personal experiences and firsthand knowledge of slavery.
- Why was the Lecompton Constitution considered a sly maneuver?
 - It included provisions for allowing slavery in Kansas even if the people voted against slavery.
 - It was an attempt to make Kansas a free state, despite earlier agreements that Kansas would be admitted as a slave state.
 - It resolved competing land claims in favor of slaveholders.
 - It sought to bypass normal preconditions for moving from territory status to statehood.
 - It led to the establishment of two different governments in Kansas—one supporting slavery and the other supporting the abolitionist cause.
- What was Preston Brooks's claim to fame?
 - He was a proslavery congressman who staunchly defended his home state of South Carolina's position on including slavery in the new territories.
 - He badly beat Senator Charles Sumner over a provocative speech against popular sovereignty and slavery.
 - He challenged Sumner to a duel for having insulted his countrymen and a distant cousin.
 - He was expelled from the House of Representatives for his violent outbursts.
 - He staged an attack on Kansas that came to be known as Bleeding Kansas.
- The Know-Nothing party, which first appeared on the political scene during the 1856 election, was so named because
 - of its hard-line stand supporting new immigrants.
 - of the secretive nature of the party.
 - it chose as its presidential candidate a man who many joked did not know much about politics.
 - it was a band of armed ruffians who secretly staged violent attacks on groups it disliked.
 - it was known for planting negative stories about opposing candidates in newspapers and slinging mud behind the scenes.
- Which of the following was NOT part of the Supreme Court's ruling in the landmark Dred Scott case of 1857?
 - A slave could be taken into any state—and remain a slave—regardless of whether the state itself was slave or free.
 - The Compromise of 1820 was never constitutional.
 - Northern states could be held legally accountable and be required to offer compensation to slaveholders for not returning runaway slaves.
 - Dred Scott and his wife were to retain their slave status for life, unless their owner determined to set them free.
 - As a slave, Dred Scott could not sue in federal courts.
- The economic crash of 1857 was caused by all of the following EXCEPT
 - inflated currency values.
 - feverish land speculation.
 - overproduction of grain.
 - rapid decline in cotton prices overseas.
 - the collapse of hundreds of businesses.
- Why was Abraham Lincoln nicknamed "Honest Abe"?
 - Because he emerged from humble circumstances to champion the cause of the common man
 - Because he worked hard, earned an education, and achieved everything on his own merits
 - Because, as a lawyer, he would decline cases that went against his conscience
 - Because of his impassioned and eloquent response to the Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - Because he offered simple, humble statements of his political principles when running for office
- The major significance of the famed Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858 was that they
 - led to Lincoln's victory against Douglas in the Illinois senate race.
 - helped Lincoln's star to rise in the political arena, while Douglas's began to fall.
 - led to passage of the Fremont Doctrine.
 - were the first time two presidential candidates held a public debate.
 - inspired Lincoln's nomination for vice president on the ticket with John Fremont.

9. How did John Brown best serve the antislavery cause?
- (A) Through his execution
 - (B) Through his violent raid at Harpers Ferry
 - (C) Through his support of Kansas as a free state
 - (D) Through his efforts to arm slaves and lead them in a rebellion
 - (E) Through his antislavery writings and financial support of northern abolitionists
10. Which of the following is NOT a true statement about the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860?
- (A) He was not the abolitionist the South thought him to be.
 - (B) He was a majority president.
 - (C) His election gave South Carolina the excuse it needed to secede.
 - (D) His election was due to northern voters.
 - (E) He was not the first choice for Republican party candidate.
11. Lincoln's victory should not have caused fear in the South over slavery because
- (A) the Supreme Court was evenly split in terms of North-South political views.
 - (B) the nation remained so politically divided that no majority will could have prevailed.
 - (C) there were more slave states than free states.
 - (D) southern Democrats' control of the House would offset northern Republican control of the Senate.
 - (E) it would require a constitutional amendment to end slavery in slave states and there were enough votes to quash such an effort.
12. Which of these states was NOT among the half dozen that joined South Carolina in seceding within just six weeks?
- (A) Alabama
 - (B) Mississippi
 - (C) Florida
 - (D) Missouri
 - (E) Texas
13. Lame duck President Buchanan did not move to block southern states from seceding mainly because he
- (A) considered the move a bluff.
 - (B) hoped to negotiate a peace with the South.
 - (C) did not believe states could secede.
 - (D) was a pacifist and did not want to use force.
 - (E) did not want the North calling the shots.
14. Which of the following was NOT among southerners' justifications for secession?
- (A) They were exerting their majority political status and clout.
 - (B) They were inspired by nationalist movements around the globe.
 - (C) They thought they had voluntarily entered the Union and could voluntarily withdraw.
 - (D) They saw parallels in their own experience and that of the colonists and King George.
 - (E) They feared that the rise of the Republican party signaled their eventual domination by the North.
15. Which of the following events caused the other four?
- (A) Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - (B) Formation of the Republican party
 - (C) Northern and southern migration to Kansas
 - (D) Bleeding Kansas
 - (E) Sacking of Lawrence
16. How did sectionalism trump party politics in the years leading up to the Civil War?
- (A) Northerners voted for the Democratic candidate, and southerners voted for the Whig candidate.
 - (B) Third parties, like the Know-Nothings, had great success in national elections.
 - (C) Presidents took action to delay the war so it wouldn't start during their administrations.
 - (D) New parties, including the Republican party, were created.
 - (E) Parties split along North-South lines, with two candidates often running for the same office.