Drifting Toward Disunion – Chapter 19

1. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries
   1. **Harriet Beecher Stowe** published ***Uncle Tom's Cabin*** in 1852. It stirred the North's sense of morality against slavery and was a substantial catalyst toward war. When Lincoln met Stowe, he said, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war."
      1. In one line, the novel was about the splitting up of a slave family and the mistreatment of likable Uncle Tom by a cruel slave master.
      2. The book was wildly popular, eventually selling millions of copies and becoming a stage play.
      3. Perceptions on the book differed: the North considered it as shedding light on the slaves' situations; the South said it was unfair and purely fiction since Stowe had never been down South and therefore had no idea of Southern reality.
      4. As important as helping start the war, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* helped prevent Britain from *joining* the war on the South's side. This had been the Southern plan all along, but British workers sympathized with Uncle Tom's plight and held back their government from helping keep Uncle Tom and friends down.
   2. *The Impending Crisis of the South* by **Hinton Helper** was written at the same time and also criticized slavery.
      1. Its criticism was not on a moral basis, however, but in more of an economic sense.
      2. Helper disliked blacks and aristocratic whites. He argued that slavery hurt non-slave owning whites in the South.
      3. No Southern publisher would print the book. A Northern publisher did and slave-owning white down South were worried. The book was banned down South but became something of a hit among abolitionist up North.
   3. Together, these books drove the North—South wedge deeper into the nation.
2. The North-South Contest for Kansas
   1. Since it was opened to popular sovereignty and was perched to grow, Kansas became the new slavery battleground.
   2. The unspoken understanding during the Kansas-Nebraska Act was that Kansas would go slave and Nebraska free.
      1. But, Northerners were sending loads of settlers to Kansas. Organizations like the "New England Emigrant Aid Company" helped suit up the settlers, many carrying "Beecher's Bibles" (rifles) named after **Rev. Henry Ward Beecher** (Harriet's brother) who helped purchase them.
      2. To the South, it appeared the North was trying to "steal" the agreement through the popular sovereignty election.
   3. When the election rolled around, pro-Southern "border ruffians" jumped over from Missouri to Kansas to "vote early and vote often." The South "won" the election for Kansas to become a slave state and set up a government at Shawnee Mission.
      1. Free-soilers cried foul and set up their own government in Topeka.
      2. Thus, after the election, there were two governments: one slave and based on a bogus election, and one free and illegitimate.
   4. Things worsened when a roving gang of pro-slavery hoodlums, led by the outlaw William Clark Quantrill, shot up and burnt down free-soil Lawrence, Kansas. The slavery issue was certainly *not* solved.
3. Kansas in Convulsion
   1. The violence continued when **John Brown** and men set out for revenge for Lawrence. At Pottawatomie Creek he killed and chopped up 5 slavery supporters.
      1. With the chaos and violence, Kansas was being called "**Bleeding Kansas**."
   2. Kansas had a large enough population by 1856 to apply for statehood. The pro-slavery government wrote up the **Lecompton Constitution** which could be approved "with" or "without slavery." But, even if "without slavery" were chosen, slave-owners already present would still be protected. Thus, Kansas would have slaves either way.
      1. Abolitionist felt this vote was bogus, boycotted the election, and thus the Lecompton Constitution passed "with" slavery. It was sent to Washington D.C. for approval.
      2. **Pres. James Buchanan** gave his approval, but the Senate had to approve the Constitution.
      3. Ironically, it was **Stephen Douglas**, the author of Kansas/Nebraska popular sovereignty, who led the opposition. Douglas felt the election wasn't true popular sovereignty due to the irregularities of the voting. His leadership got the Constitution shot dead in the water.
   3. The end results were (a) the Democratic party was terribly divided, (b) Kansas was now left in limbo—somewhere in between a territory and a state, and (c) the slavery question was *still* not answered.
4. “Bully” Brooks and His Bludgeon
   1. Tension and passion from Bleeding Kansas worked into Congress. Sen. **Charles Sumner** (northern abolitionist) graphically criticized a South Carolina congressman.
   2. **Preston Brooks**, a fellow Congressman and relative the criticized, took offense to Sumner's comments. Brooks reasoned that he should challenge Sumner to a duel, but duels were only for gentlemen and Sumner's comments revealed that he was no gentleman. A beating was what Sumner deserved, at least as Brooks figured.
   3. So, "Bully" Preston Brooks whacked Charles Sumner over the head on the floor of Congress with a walking cane. Sumner was severely injured, and Brooks was expelled from Congress only to get re-elected in the next election.
   4. The results of this poor behavior were (a) Sumner's "Crime Against Kansas" speech became a rallying point for the North, (b) Brooks became something of a Southern cult hero, and (c) it became clear that compromise was now over (and replaced by Bleeding Kansas, name-calling, and cane-thwacking).
5. “Old Buck” versus “The Pathfinder”
   1. The election of 1856 had three main candidates…
      1. The Democrats chose **James Buchanan**. He had considerable experience but was not affiliated with the growingly unpopular Kansas-Nebraska Act.
      2. The Republicans chose **John C. Fremont**, the "Pathfinder" and hero of the Mexican War.
      3. The **American Party** was a newcomer. They were better known by their nickname, the **Know-Nothing Party**. It was an anti-immigrant party that got its nickname by their supposed response of, "I know nothing," when asked if they were in the party.
   2. The election was ugly, complete with mudslinging and charges of conspiracy and scandal. Fremont was accused of being Catholic which hurt his votes.
6. The Electoral Fruits of 1856
   1. James Buchanan won the election.
   2. Perhaps it was all for the better since Fremont's judgment and ability had come into question and since his loss opened the door for a much more capable Abe Lincoln four years later.
7. The Dred Scott Bombshell This content copyright © 2010 by WikiNotes.wikidot.com
   1. In March of 1857, the Supreme Court, led by **Chief Justice Roger Taney**, handed down the **Dred Scott decision**.
   2. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave whose owner moved (with Scott) to Illinois and Wisconsin, then back to Missouri. Dred Scott sued for his freedom arguing that since he'd lived in free states, he was free.
   3. The Dred Scott decision said…
      1. Dred Scott (and all slaves) was not a citizen and therefore not entitled to sue. In other words, he lost.
      2. The Court went further and said that a legislature/Congress cannot outlaw slavery. This was the bombshell statement.
      3. The Court then concluded the Missouri Compromise had been unconstitutional all along (because it’d banned slavery north of the 36° 30’ line and doing so was against the point #2 listed above).
   4. This was a huge victory for the South and it infuriated the North. The North-South wedge was driven deeper.
   5. The North—South scoreboard now favored the South, undeniably. The South had (1) the Supreme Court, (2) the president, and (3) the Constitution on its side. The North only had Congress (which was now banned from outlawing slavery).
   6. Evidence the Constitution favored the South…
      1. It's the Supreme Court that officially interprets the Constitution and they'd just said it favored the South in the Dred Scott decision.
      2. The 5th Amendment said Congress could not take away property, in this case, slaves.
      3. The South and slavery had the North in a "Catch-22" situation…
         1. It could be argued that slavery *was* in the Constitution by way of the Three-Fifths Compromise.
         2. It could be argued slavery *was not* in the Constitution since the word “slavery” indeed never was present, but using this argument, the 10th Amendment said anything *not* in the Constitution is left up to the states, and the Southern states would vote for slavery. Either way, if slavery was in or out, the North lost.
8. The Financial Crash of 1857
   1. Adding to the chaos of the times was the **Panic of 1857**—yet another in the string of financial crunches that took place every 20 years in the 1800's.
   2. The economics of the situation weren't particularly bad, but the psychological fallout for a troubled time was very strong.
      1. Causes for this panic were: (a) inflation caused by California gold, (b) over-production of grain, and (c) over-speculation (the perennial cause), this time in land and railroads.
      2. The North was hit hardest. The South was largely unaffected, supposedly proving that cotton was indeed king.
   3. At the same time, a Homestead Act was passed by Congress but vetoed by Pres. Buchanan. It's goal was to provide 160 western acres for a nominal price.
      1. The fear was that it would drain Northern workers to the cheap land and Southerners feared the west would fill up with free-soilers.
   4. The tariff rate also went up due to the panic. The prior rates had recently been reduced to only 20%, due to Southern complaints, but the new law sent them right back up.
9. An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges
   1. The Illinois Senate race of 1858 took the national spotlight. The Democrats put up **Sen. Stephen Douglas** and the Republicans put up **Abraham Lincoln**.
   2. Douglas was likely the "biggest name" Senator of the day and expected to easily be re-elected over backwoodsy Lincoln.
   3. Douglas was also considered the best debater of the time. Lincoln, however, had a homespun, down-home wit and logic about himself and was also a fine debater.
10. The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas
    1. Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates and Douglas accepted. The "**Lincoln-Douglas debates**" were a series of seven debates spread across Illinois.
       1. Lincoln was the underdog in but proved that he could stand and argue toe-to-toe with Douglas.
    2. The most noteworthy debate took place at Freeport, IL.
       1. In Freeport, Lincoln essentially asked, “Mr. Douglas, if the people of a territory voted slavery down, despite the Supreme Court saying that they could not do so (point #2 of the Dred Scott decision), which side would you support, the people or the Supreme Court?” This put Douglas in a lose-lose situation—either way he decided, someone would be upset.
       2. Douglas (“Mr. Popular Sovereignty”) replied with his “**Freeport Doctrine**.” It said that, since ultimate power was held by the people, slavery should be banned if the people indeed voted it down, regardless of how the Supreme Court ruled.
    3. The Freeport Doctrine answer was solid, in Illinois (to answer otherwise would have cost Douglas votes). Douglas won the Illinois Senate race over Lincoln.
       1. But, the South turned against Douglas.
          1. Initially, the South had loved Douglas because he'd opened up so much land to popular sovereignty.
          2. Then, Douglas shot down Kansas' bid for statehood as a slave state—upsetting the South.
          3. Finally, the Freeport Doctrine infuriated the South when he turned his back on the Supreme Court’s pro-South, Dred Scott decision.
       2. The Freeport Doctrine ruined Douglas hopes to win the 1860 election for presidency, which had been his goal all along. Douglas had "won the battle but lost the war"—in winning the 1858 Illinois Senate election, it cost him the 1860 *presidential* election.
11. John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?
    1. **John Brown** re-emerged in Harper's Ferry, Virginia with a wild plan to abolish slavery.
       1. His plan: to take over the federal arsenal in Harper's Ferry, pass out weapons to local slaves, initiate a huge revolt, and thus free the slaves.
       2. What happened: he and his men took over a building but were quickly holed up by Marines led by **Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee**. He was quickly captured, tried, convicted, sentenced to death, and hanged.
    2. Brown's death had a strong impact on the North and South.
       1. To the South, justice had been served to a man guilty of murder and treason. Southerners also felt his actions were typical of the radical North.
       2. Northern reactions varied from viewing Brown as having good intentions but terribly wrong actions, to seeing Brown as a martyr. Brown himself realized he could do more for abolition as a martyr than alive.
       3. Brown's martyr image was perpetuated by journalists, artists, and song-writers. They portrayed Brown as a man who died fighting against the injustice of slavery. True or not, the martyr image gave strength to the moral cause of abolition.
12. The Disruption of the Democrats
    1. In the 1860 election, Democrats tried, and failed, to nominate a candidate at their convention in Charleston, SC. The party was squarely split over the slavery issue.
       1. Northern Democrats had a convention in Baltimore and nominated Stephen Douglas with a popular sovereignty position.
       2. Southern Democrats had their own Baltimore convention and nominated **John C. Breckinridge** with a pro-slavery position.
    2. The Know-Nothings nominated **John Bell** of Tennessee. They called themselves the **Constitutional Union Party**, and tried to mend fences by offering as their platform, simply, the Constitution.
13. A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union
    1. The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln, passing up on William "Higher Law" Seward who had too many enemies.
       1. The Republican strategy was to win the election without getting a single Southern vote—a bold plan.
       2. They were successful in bringing together a broad group including free-soilers (stopping slavery's expansion), manufacturers (a higher tariff), immigrants (rights), westerners (a Northwestern railroad), and farmers (cheap homesteading land).
    2. It's noteworthy that at this time, Lincoln was *not* an abolitionist, just a free-soiler. That is to say he wanted to stop the *spread* of slavery, but allow it where it currently existed.
14. The Electoral Upheaval of 1860
    1. Lincoln got only 40% of the popular vote, yet he won the presidency.
    2. It was a very sectional race: the North went to Lincoln, the South to Breckinridge, the “middle-ground” to the middle-of-the-road candidate in Bell, and Missouri, neighbor of popular sovereignty Kansas, went to Douglas.
    3. Despite the presidency, the South was still standing strong.
       1. The South had a 5-to-4 majority in the Supreme Court.
       2. The Republicans didn't control either the House or Senate.
15. The Secessionist Exodus
    1. During the campaign, South Carolina had pledged to secede from the union if Lincoln won. After Lincoln's victory, the question was whether S.C. would follow through or it they'd been just bluffing. They followed through and seceded in December of 1860.
       1. The "Deep South" (Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas) followed over the next six weeks prior to Lincoln's inauguration. Four other Southern states would leave the U.S. later.
       2. These states met in Montgomery, AL in February, 1861, and formed the "**Confederate States of America**".
       3. **Jefferson Davis** was elected as the president of the C.S.A.
    2. President Buchanan's actions (or inactions) during the secession were weak. He did little or nothing to stop the states from leaving the U.S.
       1. His rationale for inaction included (a) the need for troops out west to fight the Indians, (b) Northerners lack of will in using force, (c) holding onto the hope of a peaceful settlement, and (d) the idea that Lincoln would soon be the new president and this problem was essentially his to fix as he saw fit.
16. The Collapse of Compromise
    1. A final attempt at compromise was made by James Henry Crittendon of Kentucky. His **Crittendon Compromise** proposed to extend the old Missouri Compromise line of 36°30’; north of the line would be free, south of it would be slave.
    2. "Honest" Abe Lincoln, however, had run on a free-soil pledge and was not going to back down on his pledge. The compromise fizzled without Lincoln's support.
    3. It certainly appeared by this time that compromise was dead and bloodshed was imminent.
17. Farewell to Union
    1. The Southern states seceded because they felt their slave-based way-of-life was being threatened by the North's dominant numbers.
    2. Southerners also wrongly thought that the North would *not* take any action to stop the South from leaving.
    3. Southerners felt starting a new nation would enable them to mature economically—to grow their own industry, banking, shipping, etc.
    4. The South likened their situation to the American colonies of 1776 who'd broken away from England.

Renewing the Sectional Struggle – Chapter 18

1. The Popular Sovereignty Panacea
   1. The Mexican Cession lands opened a "can of worms" with the question, "What should be done about slavery in these lands?"
   2. Further, with this question, the political parties (Whig and Democrat) were put into a tricky position. No matter which way they answered, half of the nation would be offended.
      1. Largely, the parties simply chose to side-step the slavery-expansion question (give no clear answer) so as to offend no one, hopefully.
   3. In the election of 1848, Polk was ailing and would not run again.
      1. The Democrats nominated **Gen. Lewis Cass** who'd spoken previously for **popular sovereignty** (the people of a territory should decide and issue for themselves).
      2. The popular sovereignty position was well-liked by politicians since it enabled them to take a neutral stance and rather say, "Let the people decide." During the campaign, however, he kept rather silent on slavery.
2. Political Triumphs for General Taylor
   1. The Whigs nominated **Gen. Zachary Taylor** in 1848. He had no political experience but was the "hero of Buena Vista" which went a long way—he won the election.
      1. Taylor put the question of slavery expansion on the back burner and essentially had no official position on it.
   2. Notable in 1848 was the **Free Soil Party** that emerged when many Northerners were upset that neither party took a position on the expansion of slavery. They nominated Martin Van Buren and their position was clearly *against* the expansion of slavery.
      1. The Free Soilers also favored federal money for internal improvements and free land for settlers out west.
      2. The party attracted a wide mix of people: (a) folks upset over getting only 1/2 of Oregon, (b) people who didn't want blacks in the new lands, and (c) northern abolitionists who didn't like slavery.
3. “Californy Gold”
   1. At Sutter's Mill in 1848, gold was discovered. The secret was quickly out and California gold rush was on.
   2. The next year, 1849, "Forty-Niners" flooded to California. Dreams of getting rich quick nearly always turned into either going bust or the constant hard work of moving dirt involved in mining.
      1. Perhaps more people made their fortunes out of the myriad of things needed to *accompany* the miners: general stores, lumberyards, bars, barbershops, bakeries, opera-houses for entertainment, etc.
   3. The overall result of the gold rush was that California had enough people to become a state, almost overnight. It applied to be a free state and thus threatened the 15-to-15 slave-to-free balance.
4. Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad
   1. By 1850, the South and slavery was on solid ground because (a) the president (Zachary Taylor) was a Virginia slave owner born/raised in Louisiana, (b) though outnumbered in the House, the South had equality in the Senate and could therefore block any unwanted laws, and (c) the Constitution favored the South (this would later be upheld in the *Dred Scott* case).
   2. Even though on solid ground, the South felt they were under attack or upset over the following issues…
      1. The proposition of California as a free state threatened the free/slave state balance.
      2. Texas had a disputed region, again, this time into the New Mexico/Colorado/Wyoming area.
      3. Northerners were pushing hard to abolish slavery in Washington D.C.
      4. And most bothersome to the South was the issue of runaway slaves. The **Fugitive Slave Law** was supposed to "round up" runaways up North and ship them back South. This was largely *not* being done and the South took it as a personal offense.
         * 1. The **Underground Railroad** was a secret route from "station to station" that led many slaves to the North and eventually to Canada. **Harriet Tubman** was the most well-known "conductor" of the "railroad." She snuck back into the South 19 times and led some 300+ slaves to freedom.
   3. With these hot issues heating up, political compromise was needed to avoid violent conflict.
5. Twilight of the Senatorial Giants
   1. California's request to be a free state forced all of these issues onto the Congressional floor.
   2. The 3 leading senators of the past decades had one more round of greatness in them…
      1. **Henry Clay** was known as the "Great Compromiser" and offered a compromise here. He was notably seconded by a young Senator **Stephen Douglas** who will take a larger role in events later. Clay urged both sides to make concessions and to compromise.
      2. For the South, **John C. Calhoun** argued for states' rights (the same argument as in the tariff crisis of the 1830's). He wanted slavery to be left alone, the runaway slaves to be returned to the South, and state balance kept intact.
      3. For the North, **Daniel Webster** had been opposed to slavery's expansion. But, in his famous "**Seventh of March**" speech he urged the North to compromise on the issue. He felt that the lands of the Mexican Cession were too dry to grow cotton and therefore wouldn't need slavery anyway.
         * 1. Abolitionists, like poet **Whittier**, sharply criticized Webster as a traitor to the cause.
6. Deadlock and Danger on Capitol Hill
   1. A "Young Guard" of politicians were emerging in Congress. They were more interested in purifying the nation than in preserving it.
   2. Chief among the Young Guard was **William H. Seward** of NY. He was staunchly against slavery and argued that, when it came to slavery, Americans must follow a "**higher law**" (God's law), above the Constitution.
      1. This moral high road may have cost Seward the presidency in 1860.
   3. Pres. Zachary Taylor came under Seward influence. He appeared ready to veto any concessions on the matter. The chance for compromise seemed bleak.
7. Breaking the Congressional Logjam
   1. Suddenly, Pres. Taylor died. Vice-President **Millard Fillmore** took over and was more open to compromise.
   2. The **Compromise of 1850** emerged.
      1. Senate leaders Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Stephen Douglas all urged the North to compromise.
      2. Southern "fire-eaters" were still very much a against concession/compromise. Yet, calmer minds prevailed, the South went along, and the Compromise of 1850 passed.
8. Balancing the Compromise Scales This content copyright © 2010 by WikiNotes.wikidot.com
   1. What the North got…
      1. California admitted as a free state. This tipped the balance to the free side, permanently.
      2. Texas gave up its claims to lands disputed with New Mexico.
      3. The slave *trade* in District of Columbia was banned, but *slavery* was still legal. This was symbolic only. It was symbolic in that the nation’s capital “took a stance” against the trade. However, it was impractical because the trade only was illegal, not slavery, and since a person could easily buy a slave in next-door Virginia.
   2. What the South got…
      1. Popular sovereignty in the Mexican Cession lands. This was good for the South because prior to this, there was to be no new slave lands (the 36°30’ Missouri Compromise line had drawn that). On paper, this opened a lot of land to slavery, possibly. This was bad for the South because those lands were too dry to raise cotton anyway and therefore would never see slaves.
      2. Texas was paid $10 million for the land lost to New Mexico.
      3. A new, tougher Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 had read teeth in it. Details held that (a) runaway slaves weren't given "due process" rights if caught, (b) the official that handled the case received $5 for a slave's freedom but $10 for a slave's return, and (c) officials were demanded to catch runaway slaves despite their personal convictions on the matter.
         * 1. This Fugitive Slave Law proved to the be most controversial of the measures.
           2. Northerners hated being forced to catch slaves. In places, they passed "**Personal Liberty Laws**" which stated local officials *didn't* have to chase and return fugitive slaves.
           3. Southerners were outraged that the law was *not* enforced or was ignored. It was supposed to be one of their major concessions in the Compromise, and it appeared to have been thrown out the window.
           4. **Anthony Burns** personified the law. He was a runaway slave, captured and tried. But, violent protests eventually saw him bought out of slavery. He then went on to college and became a preacher.
   3. All told, the North got the better of the Compromise of 1850. This is true because (a) the balance tipped their way, (b) the Fugitive Slave Law was largely not enforced, and (c) it bought time before war while the North could build up their resources.
9. Defeat and Doom for the Whigs
   1. In the election of 1852, the Democrats nominated unknown **Franklin Pierce**. Pierce was not a great leader, but had no enemies.
   2. The Whigs put **Gen. Winfield Scott** ("Old Fuss and Feathers"), the hero of the Mexican War, on the ballot.
   3. The largest issue of the day, slavery, was soft-pedaled so as to *not* offend anyone. As a result, the campaign was full of silliness and personal attacks.
      1. Slavery did split the Whigs, however. Northern and Southern Whigs disagreed on the party platform and the party candidate.
      2. Additionally, the new **Free Soil Party** garnered 5% of the Northern vote (hurting Scott).
   4. As a result, Pierce won in a landslide, 254 to 42 in the electoral vote.
10. President Pierce the Expansionist
    1. The California Gold Rush had instilled interest in Central America (since many 49'ers had crossed there). And, the British influence in Central America was strong, and perhaps growing, despite the Monroe Doctrine.
       1. There were some U.S.-British tensions, but the **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** eased them. It said neither the U.S. or Britain would take over the area without the other's agreement. This would later prove to be a roadblock to Teddy Roosevelt's construction of the Panama Canal.
    2. Activities in Latin America succeeded in throwing fuel on the “**slavocracy**” theory (a conspiracy theory where the South was supposedly always seeking to add new slave lands).
       1. In the summer of 1856, Southerner **William Walker** tried to take over Nicaragua. He did so, sort of, named himself president, legalized slavery, and wished for Pres. Pierce to annexed the region. Meanwhile, Nicaraguans reclaimed their land and executed him.
11. Coveted Cuba: Pearl of the Antilles
    1. Americans offered to buy Cuba from Spain but were turned down. So, in 1850-51, two groups of *filibusteros* ("freebooters" or pirates including some leading Southerners) invaded Cuba. Their half-baked plan was to somehow take over and claim Cuba for the U.S. They failed miserably.
    2. In 1854, Cubans seized the American ship *Black Warrior* on a technical issue. Pierce then had a reason to go to war, if he wished, and win Cuba.
    3. Meanwhile though, Pierce sent delegates to speak with Spain, England, and France in Ostend, Belgium to make a deal. The **Ostend Manifesto** said the U.S. would offer $120 million for Cuba, and if Spain rejected it, the U.S. would be justified in taking Cuba by force.
    4. When the Ostend Manifesto details leaked out, Northern free-soilers were up-in-warms. The slavocracy theory seemed more real than ever with these secret dealings. As a result, Pierce backed away from the deal embarrassed.
12. The Allure of Asia
    1. Following the British example, America sought to expand her influence in Asia.
    2. Pres. Tyler sent **Caleb Cushing** to China to work a deal favorable to the U.S. An agreement was reached to start diplomatic relations and grant "most favored nation" status to the U.S. (opening up trade).
       1. The door also opened for thousands of American missionaries to spread the Gospel in China.
    3. Next, the U.S. wanted to link up with Japan.
       1. Since Japan was a traditional country that considered westerners to be heathens, they were reluctant to deal with the Americans.
       2. The U.S. sent **Commodore Matthew Perry** to Tokyo in 1852-54. Through a mix of diplomacy and threat, Perry got Japan to open itself to trade in the Treaty of Kanagawa.
       3. This broke Japan’s centuries-old traditional of isolation, and started them down a road of modernization and then imperialism and militarism.
13. Pacific Railroad Promoters and the Gadsden Purchase
    1. After gaining California and Oregon, Americans wanted a transcontinental railroad to link the east and west coasts.
    2. Both the North and South clamored to have the line built in their region (for prestige and financial success). The Southern route was eventually chosen as best.
       1. There were two reasons the Southern route was considered better: (1) the land was organized meaning any Indian attacks could be repelled by the U.S. Army and (2) geography—the plan was to skirt south of the Rocky Mountains.
       2. There was one problem: a portion of the land ran through Mexico.
    3. **James Gadsden** was sent to Mexico to work a deal for the land. The **Gadsden Purchase** bought the southern chunk of present Arizona and New Mexico for $10 million, a hefty price tag in comparison to other "purchases."
    4. Regardless of the price, the transcontinental railroad seemed ready to be built with Southerners happy.
14. Douglas’s Kansas-Nebraska Scheme
    1. **Stephen Douglas** threw a wrench in the railroad plans. Being an Illinois senator, he wanted the railroad up north with Chicago as a major terminus.
    2. He proposed to organize Kansas and Nebraska through the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** and move the transcontinental railroad up north.
    3. Southerners certainly wouldn't do this, unless they got something substantial in return. The stage was set for a deal to be made…
       1. The North got the transcontinental railroad moved up North. Also, Kansas and Nebraska were officially organized as territories.
       2. The South was awarded popular sovereignty in Kansas and Nebraska. To do this, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was repealed (because it forbade slavery above the 36°30’ line).
          * 1. Southerners were very happy with the possibility of slavery open to so many lands (the Mexican Cession excepting California, and now Kansas and Nebraska which had been *closed* to slavery).
            2. Slavocracy theorists said, "There goes the South again, always trying to get more slave land."
    4. Despite disagreement, the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed in 1856, repealed the Missouri Compromise, and opened Kansas and Nebraska to popular sovereignty.
15. Congress Legislates a Civil War
    1. The Kansas-Nebraska Act may have had the railroad and compromise as its motivation, but it split the nation.
    2. It erased the Missouri Compromise and undercut the Compromise of 1850 because it re-opened the slavery issue.
    3. The Fugitive Slave Law was simply left to die by Northerners. This infuriated Southerners.
    4. The Democrats were split down the middle over the slavery issue.
    5. Another political party, the Republicans, were born. Republicans drew a wide group of people, but they essentially stole the Free Soil position against the expansion of slavery.

The South and the Slavery Controversy –Chapter 16

1. "Cotton Is King!"
   1. Eli Whitney's 1793 cotton gin invention revolutionized the Southern economy. Added to mechanical jennies to spin yarn, power looms to weave, and sewing machines to sew, the demand (and profits) for cotton fiber skyrocketed.
   2. Southerners scrambled to plant more cotton.
      1. The land was usually worn out then discarded ("land butchery"). The result was a Southern thirst for still more land.
      2. The demand for slaves to work the land also increased.
   3. The "Cotton Kingdom" benefited the North as well since most of the South's cotton was woven on Northern looms.
   4. In 1845, cotton made up 1/2 of all American exports. Also, 1/2 of the *world's* cotton was grown in the American South. (These numbers would each swell to 2/3 in 1861, the year the Civil War began).
      1. Notably, Britain relied heavily on Southern cotton. About 1/5 of the British population made their living in the cotton textile industry. 3/4 of the British cotton came from the American South.
   5. Southerners believed their importance in the world's economy was set in stone. If war were to break out over slavery, the logic went, Southerners were sure that Britain would have no choice but to come to their aid. This logic, though sensible based on the numbers, never panned out.
2. The Planter “Aristocracy”
   1. The antebellum (pre-Civil War) South was an **oligarchy** (government by a few elite).
   2. Only 1,733 families owned 100+ slaves in 1850. They ruled the South in a "cottonocracy."
      1. Southern society is shrouded in myths. The scene, often shown in movies, of huge plantations with the Greek-columned "big house" overseeing hundreds of slaves was true, but only for those 1,733 families.
   3. These elite families sent their sons off to Ivy League schools or to military schools like West Point, the Citadel, or VMI. The Southern belles were expected to marry and eventually run the plantation household.
      1. Education in the South was lacking. This was because the rich elite simply hired private tutors and were thus unmotivated to establish free public schools.
   4. **Sir Walter Scott** was the author of *Ivanhoe* and was very popular to Southerners. They liked the medieval world described in the novel and especially its code of chivalry with knights and damsels. In the Southern-elite mind, Southern society was rekindling medieval society with military-trained, bright, and dashing young Southern gentlemen and the gentile Southern belles. Though real in the elite Southern mind, this society was also myth. And even if it came close to being real, it was still built on the backs of slaves.
   5. Southern women had unique roles.
      1. The mistress of the plantation managed the household. It was a large job where she gave daily orders to cooks, maids, seamstresses, laundresses, etc. as well as handling any personal issues that inevitably arise with a large "staff."
         1. Though clearly to "take a backseat to the men" in terms of politics or officially running a business, these Southern women had real authority in running these areas as they saw fit. Few Northern women had such positions or authority.
      2. The mistresses were sometimes very kind to their subjects and at other times very cruel.
3. Slaves of the Slave System
   1. High cotton profits encouraged "land-butchery." New cotton land was always needed.
   2. With the desire for more land, the small farmer began to get squeezed out. The small farm was often sold to the large plantation owner. Thus, the elite-run oligarchy society was perpetuated and reinforced.
   3. The King Cotton economy had faults…
      1. Debts began to run high since many people over-speculated in land or in slaves. Slaves were profitable (due to their value), but were also risky since they might run away or die.
      2. The Southern economy was based on one crop only—cotton. This was profitable, but also risky by "putting all their eggs in one basket."
      3. Similarly, Southerners relied on the North for nearly everything, from manufactured goods to food.
      4. Also, immigrants did not go to the South. The reasons were (a) labor competition from slaves, (b) the high price of land, and (c) ignorance of cotton cultivation. These hard-working immigrants wound up helping the North solely, at the South's expense.
4. The White Majority
   1. Southern society had a social ranking system. The elite, large slave-owners were at the top.
   2. On the rung just below the "cottonocracy," were small farmers who owned slaves. About 3/4 of Southern whites *did not* own slaves, and of the quarter that did, most owned only about 2 or 3 slaves, usually a family.
   3. Next came whites who did not own slaves (3/4 of whites). An irony exists in that (a) they had a deep resent of the wealthy slave owners (the "snobocracy") yet (b) still held the "Southern dream" of one day becoming a wealthy slave owner.
      1. Most of these whites were very poor. They were sneered as "poor white trash," "hillbillies," and "crackers."
      2. They were called "clay eaters" because they chewed clay to get minerals they lacked in their diet. They also got hookworm from the clay.
      3. Though slave-less, these whites were very racist. Their thinking was that no matter how poor or how bad off they had it in life, they still viewed themselves as being above the slaves.
      4. Whites that lived in the mountains (hillbillies) likely had the toughest life of all whites. They were incredibly isolated, living in coves and hollows separated from the rest of the nation. They were extremely poor and scratched a living out of the mountains.
         1. Mountains whites were *not* strong supporters of slavery, if even supporters at all. They (a) had no need for slavery in the mountains and (b) despised the wealthy white plantation owners who usually ran their state.
         2. The fact that mountain whites didn't support slavery can be seen when the Civil War broke out. West Virginia broke away from Virginia over this matter. And, many whites from the hills "volunteered" to fight for the North (as in Tennessee, the "Volunteer State").
5. Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters
   1. The next rung on the Southern social ladder belonged to free blacks. In 1860, there were 250,000 free blacks in the South.
   2. Slaves may have been freed by one of many methods…
      1. By a movement of emancipation after the American Revolution (usually the upper South).
      2. By the slave owner. These were usually mulattoes, often the child of a white owner and black mistress.
      3. By purchasing one's freedom. If a slave could save enough money, he could just buy himself, so to speak and thereby free himself.
   3. Many freed blacks owned property, as in New Orleans. A few blacks even owned slaves.
   4. Free blacks were 2nd, or 3rd, class citizens. The pro-slavery crowd didn't like them since they represented the possible end of slavery. Also, free blacks rights were certainly limited compared to whites.
   5. Northerners disliked free blacks as well. The Irish especially disliked blacks since both were in competition for the lower paying jobs.
      1. When the North stood up to stop the expansion of slavery into western lands, it was perhaps motivated more by economics of labor competition than by the desire to stop slavery.
      2. The idea that the South hated blacks and the North loved them is a myth. Anti-black sentiment in the North was often fiercer than the South. It was said thatthe South liked the black individual (with whom they lived daily), but hated the race; but the North claimed to like the race (with whom they'd never lived), but hated the individual.
      3. **Frederick Douglass**, the leading spokesperson for blacks and against slavery, was beaten several times in the North.
6. Plantation Slavery This content copyright © 2010 by WikiNotes.wikidot.com
   1. At the bottom of the Southern social ladder were slaves. Though slaves were at the bottom in status, slavery (AKA the "**peculiar institution**") made up the foundation of Southern economics and society.
   2. By 1860, there were 4 million slaves in America.
   3. Slave importation had been banned in 1808, but it was a moot point. Slaves were still smuggled into America and penalties for doing so were infrequent. Also, by this time, slavery was self-supporting through natural childbirth.
   4. Slaves were viewed as an investment—one to be guarded. The most dangerous jobs were saved for a hired Irishman so as to not injure a valuable slave.
      1. Strong, hard-working men, slaves with special skills, or women who gave birth to many children were especially prized.
   5. Slavery followed the "Cotton Belt"—an arc swooping from Virginia down through to Texas. The heart of the Cotton Belt was from South Carolina to Louisiana, the "Deep South."
      1. Slaves from the upper South were sometimes "sold down the river" to the Deep South.
      2. This theme (being sold down the river) became the storyline for **Harriet Beecher Stowe**'s novel ***Uncle Tom's Cabin*.**
         1. The book was fiction that played on readers' emotions to swell up the abolition movement.
         2. Its impact cannot be understated and was a considerable cause of the war.
7. Life Under the Lash
   1. Life as a slave is hard to pin down. Sometimes a slave had a kind master, sometimes the master was extremely cruel.
      1. In all situations, a slave was expected to work hard and abide by the rules.
   2. Whippings were not uncommon.
      1. On the one hand, whippings were a disincentive to getting "out of line."
      2. On the other hand, excessive whippings left scars which would hurt a slave's resale value.
   3. Generally, life in the Deep South was tougher than the upper South.
      1. The Deep South (the Cotton of Slave Belt) accounted for about 75% of the black population.
      2. On the good side, slave life and families tended to be more stable there.
   4. Despite huge obstacles, blacks showed great resilience.
      1. A distinctive African-American culture emerged. This was played out through a mixture of language, religion (mix of tribalism and Christianity, focus on Moses' story), and music (bongos, banjos, then jazz).
8. The Burdens of Bondage
   1. Slaves had no part in the "American dream" that nearly all other Americans enjoyed.
   2. To "fight back," slaves employed techniques such as simply working very slowly.
   3. The ultimate goal of slaves, unsurprisingly, was freedom.
      1. This is seen in slaves' preference in religion for Moses' story of delivering the Israelites from bondage and in hymns that emphasized "flying away" or the freedoms provided by Jesus and of Heaven.
      2. Also, slave revolts occurred.
         1. **Gabriel** led a revolt in Virginia.
         2. **Denmark Vesey** led a revolt in South Carolina.
         3. **Nat Turner** was considered something of a prophet and led a revolt in Virginia.
         4. All of these were unsuccessful and wound up terribly for the leaders. The overall result was to (a) scare the dickens out of the whites and (b) see the whites tighten security and black codes.
   4. **Booker T. Washington** later noted that whites, in keeping blacks down in the ditch, had to get down into the ditch with them.
9. Early Abolitionism
   1. The abolition of slavery began in America with the Quakers.
   2. The **American Colonization Society** started with the goal of moving blacks back to Africa.
      1. It succeeded in starting **Liberia** on the West Africa coast.
      2. It failed because (a) most blacks considered themselves African-Americans, not Africans and (b) finances for the entire venture were very short for the huge task.
   3. The 2nd Great Awakening of the 1830's fueled a surge in the abolition movement.
      1. **Theodore Dwight Weld** was inspired by Charles Grandison Finney's preaching and became a leading anti-slavery spokesman.
      2. Weld attended the **Lane Theological Seminary** which was headed by **Lyman Beecher**, the father of novelist **Harriet Beecher Stowe**, reformer **Catharine Beecher** and preacher-abolitionist **Henry Ward Beecher**.
      3. The "Lane Rebels" fought slavery with words. Weld wrote a propaganda pamphlet titled *American Slavery as It Is*.
10. Radical Abolitionism
    1. **William Lloyd Garrison** published a radical abolitionist newspaper titled *The Liberator*.
       1. It made its debut on New Year's Day, 1831, and forcefully shouted against slavery for the next 30 years. Garrison's famous battle cry was I WILL BE HEARD!
       2. Critics charged that Garrison fanned the flames of anti-slavery, but offered no real solution.
    2. **Wendell Phillips** helped start the **American Abolitionist Society** to further the cause.
    3. A black abolitionist, **David Walker**, wrote *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* urged military action to end slavery.
    4. Another black abolitionist, **Sojourner Truth**, was a tireless spokeswoman for abolition and women's rights.
    5. **Martin Delaney** seriously considered black colonization of Africa.
    6. The greatest abolitionist was **Frederick Douglass**.
       1. Douglass was a former slave who escaped to Massachusetts and became the cause's leading spokesman.
       2. His autobiography *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* became a classic and remains so to this day.
       3. Unlike Garrison, Douglass was more practical. He supported the Liberty Party, the Free-Soil Party, and then the Republican Party.
    7. Finally, nearly all of the abolitionists supported the Civil War as the final solution to end slavery.
11. The South Lashes Back
    1. 1831 was a turning point for slavery in the South because (a) emancipation proposals were defeated in Virginia and (b) Nat Turner's bloody rebellion scared whites into tightening black codes.
       1. Garrison's *The Liberator* popped on the scene at about the same time and was blamed for fanning the flames of rebellion. Rewards were offered for Garrison's arrest.
    2. Whereas Northerners decried the horrors of the "peculiar institution", white Southerners cultivated a happier scene of slavery. Southerners defended slavery by arguing…
       1. The Bible supported slavery. They referred to the several references of slaves in the Bible and more specifically the "curse of Ham", Noah's son and supposed patriarch of Africa, who was cursed to serve his brothers.
       2. Slave owners encouraged religion amongst their slaves.
       3. The idea of whites and happy "darkies" growing up and living together. This concept was best seen in the **Stephen Foster** folk songs such as "Old Folks at Home" and "My Old Kentucky Home" which sings that "the darkies are so gay."
       4. The slave-owner relationship was akin to family ties, like a father-son relationship.
       5. Perhaps the most forceful argument was economic in nature. It held that slaves had it better in comparison to Northern "wage slaves." Whereas the slaves were provided with food, clothing, shelter, and the owner had a vested interest in the slave, even when the slaves were old, Northern factory owners simply worked their employees for a tiny wage, then sent them on their way home to fend for themselves, or just fired them.
    3. Southern politicians took steps to silence anti-slavery statements or literature. Gag orders were given and abolitionist propaganda, including drawings that illiterate slaves could understand, was burnt.
12. The Abolitionist Impact in the North
    1. The extreme-abolitionists up North, like William Lloyd Garrison, were not popular amongst most Northerners.
       1. Garrison's views were seen as annoying, disruptive, and divisive to Daniel Webster's calls for union.
    2. Northerners also knew they had a very real stake in the South—Southern cotton helped fuel the Northern textile industry. For this reason, many Northerners sought to quiet the loud abolitionists.
       1. Garrison was roughed up several times up North.
       2. **Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy** offended Catholic women and saw his printing press destroyed four times then was murdered by a mob.
    3. Still, abolitionists had imprinted into Northerners' minds that the South was the land of the "unfree". And, there was a growing movement among politicians not to*abolish* slavery, but to prevent its spread. This "**free-soil**" position would soon be taken up by **Abraham Lincoln**.