

The Road to Civil War: 1848-1860

I. The Mexican Cession

A. Intense debate occurred over whether slavery should be allowed in the Mexican Cession

1. **Wilmot Proviso**, 1848: Proposed law passed by the House (but defeated in the Senate) to forbid slavery in the Mexican Cession

a. Supported by northern free-soilers and abolitionists

b. Blocked in Congress by Southern senators

- Southerners were infuriated that southern soldiers had helped win the Mexican War but that northerners would try to exclude slavery from hard-won territory

2. Significance: Wilmot Proviso brought slavery into the forefront of American politics until the Civil War.

3. The issue threatened to split both Whigs and Democrats along sectional lines

B. "**Popular Sovereignty**" emerged as a way to avoid the issue of slavery in the Mexican Cession and other western territories

1. Definition: Sovereign people of a territory should decide for themselves the status of slavery.

2. **Lewis Cass**, the Democratic candidate for president in 1848, introduced the idea of popular sovereignty

- Polk was in poor health and decided not to run for reelection

3. Supported by many because it appealed to democratic tradition of local rights.

- Politicians saw it as a viable compromise between extending slavery (Southern view) and banning it (northern Whig view).

4. Popular Sovereignty proved inadequate in averting a civil war.

C. Election of 1848

1. Whigs nominated **Zachary Taylor**, "Hero of Buena Vista"

- He appeared highly electable as he was neutral on the slave issue, yet owned slaves on his Louisiana sugar plantation

2. Democrats nominated Lewis Cass (see above)

3. **Free-Soil party** nominated former president Martin Van Buren

a. Coalition of northern antislavery Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty Party members

b. Supported the Wilmot Proviso; against slavery in the territories

- "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men."

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- c. Sought federal aid for internal improvements and free gov't homesteads for settlers in the West
 - d. Party foreshadowed emergence of Republican party 6 years later.
4. Result: Taylor 163, Cass 127, Van Buren 0
- Free-Soilers won no states and did not impact the outcome of the election.

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II. Sectional issues by 1850 deeply divided the nation

A. California statehood threatened the sectional balance

1. **Gold Rush:** Gold was discovered in 1848 at Sutter's Mill (Sacramento)
 - a. Prospectors became known as "forty-eighters"
 - Numbers were relatively small compared to mass migration the following year
 - b. 1849, masses of "49ers" came to northern California
 - c. Gold essentially paved the way for rapid economic growth in California
 - i. San Francisco sprouted up in just months.
 - ii. Northern California became the state's main population center.
 - By 1850, California's population had grown from 14,000 to over 100,000.
2. California drafted a Constitution in 1849 that excluded slavery and asked Congress for admission as a state.
 - a. CA would bypass territorial phase, blocking southern hopes to spread slavery there
 - b. Southerners opposed CA statehood; saw another free state as a threat.
3. When CA applied for statehood, southern "fire-eaters" threatened secession

B. New Mexico and Utah territories seemed to lean toward free state status

- Along with California, the number of free states would tip decisively in favor of the North.

C. The **Underground Railroad** and the fugitive slave issue infuriated Southerners

1. The issue seemed to be further proof for southerners that the North did not respect Constitutional protections for slavery
2. Significance: by 1850 southerners demanded a new, stronger fugitive-slave law; the existing law dating back to the 1790s was weak.
 - a. About 1,000 runaways successfully escaped per year.

- Small in number; more slaves bought their freedom than ran away
- b. Some northern states (e.g., Pennsylvania) failed to provide cooperation.
- c. Southerners blamed abolitionists; claimed they operated outside the law

D. Texas claimed a vast disputed area east of the Rio Grande

1. Included part of eastern New Mexico, Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma
2. Also threatened to seize Santa Fe, New Mexico's largest city
3. The federal government did not accept Texas' land claims
4. President Taylor threatened to send troops to Texas if it moved on any of the territories in question.

E. Northerners demanded the abolition of slavery in Washington, D.C.

- Many were embarrassed that the nation's capital contained thousands of slaves while slave auctions occurred within sight of the Capitol Building.

F. **Nashville Convention** of southern fire-eaters was due to convene in June 1850 for purpose of discussing southern rights and secession should California be admitted into the Union.

- Many saw this as an ominous sign of disunion if no compromise were reached.

IV. **Compromise of 1850**

A. **Henry Clay** initiated his third and final great compromise

1. Proposed that the North should pass a more effective fugitive slave law.
 - a. Supported by Stephen Douglas, one of the most powerful northern senators
2. John C. Calhoun (dying of TB) rejected Clay's position as inadequate.
 - a. He demanded that abolitionists leave slavery alone, that the North return runaway slaves, and that the federal gov't give South rights as a minority (Concurrent Majority), and restore political balance
 - b. His scheme included having two presidents, one from the North and one from the South.
3. Daniel Webster supported Clay (famous "7th of March speech")
 - a. Urged reasonable concessions to the South, including tough fugitive law.
 - b. Opposed Congress legislating in the territories since the

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climate was not conducive for growing cotton.

- Ironically, CA became a leading cotton producer.
- c. Significance: Turned the North toward compromise
- d. Abolitionists branded Webster as a traitor; meanwhile, Webster detested abolitionists as a threat to national unity.
- e. **William H. Seward** ("Higher Law" Seward) a younger northern radical was opposed to granting concessions to the South.
 - Stated Christian legislators must obey God's moral law as well as man's law
 - Claimed slavery shouldn't be allowed in western territories due to a "higher law" than the Constitution

B. Threat of war persisted

1. President Taylor, swayed by Seward, seemed against concessions to the South.
2. Taylor was determined to send troops to Texas if Texans attacked New Mexico.
 - This would have started a civil war in 1850 as southern states would have enthusiastically defended Texas against federal aggression
3. President Taylor died of gastroenteritis on July 9, 1850 and was succeeded by Vice President **Millard Fillmore** who supported the compromise.
4. Senator **Stephen Douglas** was the most important in getting the bill passed through Congress.

C. "**Compromise of 1850**" (omnibus legislation: passed in separate parts)

1. California admitted as a free state
2. Abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia
3. Popular sovereignty in the Mexican Cession: New Mexico and Utah territories.
4. More stringent Fugitive Slave Law than the 1793 law
5. Texas received \$10 million from the federal gov't for surrendering its claim to the disputed territory in New Mexico.

Memory Aid for Compromise of 1850: "PopFACT"

Popular Sovereignty in Mexican Cession

Fugitive Slave Law

Abolition of slave trade in Washington, D.C.

California admitted as a state

Texas given \$10 million for disputed Mexican territory.

D. Result

1. Fugitive Slave Law became the single most important frictional issue between North and South in the early 1850s.
 - a. The Fugitive slave law may have been a major blunder by the South as northerners saw it as appalling.
 - Abolitionist movement was given a big boost.
 - Slaves could not testify on own behalf and were denied a jury trial.
 - Heavy fines & jail sentences for those who aided and abetted runaways
 - b. Some states refused to accept the Fugitive Slave Law
 - Massachusetts made it illegal to enforce it (seen by the South as a move toward nullification)
 - Other states passed "**personal liberty laws**" denying local jails to federal officials.
 - c. *Ableman v. Booth, 1859*: Supreme Court upheld the Fugitive Slave Law.
2. North got the better deal
 - a. California tipped Senate in favor of the North
 - b. Popular sovereignty in the New Mexico & Utah desert probably favored the North
 - c. The \$10 million given to Texas was a modest sum while the new area it had claimed was almost certain to be free.
 - d. Halt of the slave trade in Washington, D.C. was a step toward emancipating it.
3. Some historians argue that the Compromise of 1850 won the Civil War for the North
 - a. The North gained ten years to expand economically and gain sentiment for the Union cause.
 - b. Many northerners were unwilling to go to war in 1850 for the Union cause.
 - c. Controversy in the 1850s (especially the Kansas Nebraska Act and its aftermath) galvanized northerners to resist secession

V. Election of 1852

- A. Democrats nominated **Franklin Pierce** (from New Hampshire)
 1. Sympathetic to Southern views; acceptable to the slavery wing of the party.
 2. Campaign came out in favor of the Compromise of 1850.
- B. Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott but the party was fatally split
 1. Antislaveryites supported Scott but hated his support of Fugitive Slave Law

2. Southern Whigs supported the Fugitive Slave Law but questioned Scott's willingness to enforce the Compromise of 1850.

C. Pierce defeated Scott 254 - 42

D. Significance: Marked the effective end of Whig party

- With the Whig party shattered by sectionalism, only the Democratic party remained as a truly national party. When it cracked in 1860, the country plunged toward civil war.

VI. Expansionism under President Pierce

A. **“Young America”**: Pierce sought to extend "Manifest Destiny" overseas.

1. Some leaders, especially Southerners, sought to gain land overseas for the expansion of slavery (especially in Cuba)
2. American expansion overseas would be realized as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898 but NOT in the 1850s.

B. Nicaragua

1. In the late 1840s the U.S. & Britain sought control of the Central American isthmus (especially Nicaragua) for a possible canal that would connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.
2. War in Nicaragua seemed inevitable as Britain challenged the Monroe Doctrine
3. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850): U.S. & Britain agreed that neither side would build and monopolize a new canal without the other's consent.
4. Walker Expedition (1855-57)
 - a. Journalist and physician James Walker sailed with 60 men to Nicaragua in 1855 and, with local support (and some Americans) took control of the country.
 - b. President Pierce briefly recognized Walker's regime, which reinstated slavery to the delight of U.S. southern businessmen
 - c. A coalition of Central American armies defeated Walker's regime in late 1856 and Walker was forced to return to the U.S.

C. Asia

1. The acquisition of California and Oregon in the 1840s gave U.S. access to the Pacific.
2. The U.S. signed trade agreements with China
3. 1853, Pierce sent **Commodore Matthew Perry** on a second expedition to force Japan to open trade with U.S.
 - a. Fillmore had originally ordered the expedition in 1852 to free U.S. whaling ships that were not allowed to leave Japan.
 - b. Although Japan opened trade and began to industrialize, the event signaled the beginning of poor U.S.-Japan relations that would lead to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

D. Cuba

1. Polk had earlier offered Spain \$100 million for Cuba but Spain refused.
 - a. Southerners were eager to create new states out of Cuba to restore the political balance.
 - b. Some southerners had invested in sugar plantations in Cuba
2. 1850-51: two expeditions by private southern troops into Cuba failed.
3. 1854, Spain seized U.S. steamer *Black Warrior* on a technicality.
 - Southerners demanded a war with Spain to seize Cuba
4. **Ostend Manifesto**, 1854
 - a. U.S. secretly demanded Cuba for \$130 million.
 - b. If Spain refused, the U.S. would take it by force.
 - c. Plan backfired: angry northern free-soilers blocked it; claimed it was a “slaveholder’s plot”

E. Gadsden Purchase (1853)

1. U.S. sought a transcontinental railroad to connect California and Oregon to the rest of the country
 - Sea routes from the east coast were impractical and left the west coast militarily vulnerable
2. Issue in Congress: should the future transcontinental railroad route run through the North or South?
 - a. Too costly to build two railroads simultaneously
 - b. Railroad would provide enormous benefits to the region receiving it.
 - c. Best route seemed to be a southern route partly below the Mexican border so as to circumvent the Rocky mountains.
3. 1853, U.S. purchased Mesilla Valley (in Southern New Mexico and Arizona) from Santa Anna for \$10 million.
 - After the Gadsden Purchase (1854) the U.S. border below Canada and above Mexico was complete.
4. Result:
 - a. South now had the advantage regarding the railroad.
 - Proposed route ran through states or organized territory unlike Nebraska in the North; Rocky Mountains were far lower on the southern route.
 - b. North rushed to organize Nebraska territory but Southerners blocked it.

VII. The **Kansas-Nebraska Act** (1854): most important short-term cause of the Civil War

- A. **Stephen Douglas** proposed splitting the Nebraska Territory in two: Nebraska and Kansas
1. In effect, this was a northern response to the Gadsden Purchase

2. Motive: Douglas sought to make his home state of Illinois the eastern terminus for the transcontinental railroad.
3. Kansas would presumably become a slave state; Nebraska would be free
4. The slavery issue would be based on popular sovereignty
5. However, Kansas was above the 36°30' line which prohibited slavery north of it.
 - Solution: Repeal the Missouri Compromise of 1820
6. Southerners fully supported it and pushed Pierce to support it.

B. The bill passed in 1854 as Douglas guided it through Congress

1. Northerners shocked: saw Compromise of 1820 as a sacred pact
 - a. Many northerners refused to honor Fugitive Slave Law
 - b. The antislavery movement grew significantly
 - c. The North became unwilling to compromise on future issues
2. Effectively wrecked the Compromises of 1820 & 1850
 - Douglas miscalculated the adverse impact of the law on the North

C. Birth of the **Republican party**

1. Republican party formed in response to the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
 - a. Included Whigs, northern Democrats, Free-Soilers, and Know-Nothings
 - b. Abraham Lincoln came out of political retirement and ran for the Illinois Senate as a direct response to Kansas-Nebraska
2. Emerged as nation's second major political party quickly and overcame strong competition from the Know-Nothings
3. Republican party was not allowed in the South

VIII. "**Bleeding Kansas**"

A. **New England Emigrant Aid Company**

1. Sent 2,000 men into Kansas to stop slavery from spreading there.
2. Many came armed with breach loading rifles ("**Beecher's Bibles**")

B. Southerners were furious that the North betrayed the spirit of the Kansas-Nebraska Act

1. The law implied that Kansas would become slave & Nebraska free.
2. Armed Southerners came into Kansas to resist Northerners
3. Ironically, only 2 slaves lived in Kansas in 1860

C. 1855, election was held in Kansas for its first territorial legislature

1. Proslavery "border ruffians" from Missouri poured into Kansas: "vote early and vote often!"

2. Southerners won the election and created a puppet government
 3. Free-soilers ignored the bogus election and created its own gov't in Topeka.
- D. 1856, a proslavery gang attacked and burned part of the free-soil town of Lawrence, Kansas.
- E. The caning of Charles Sumner (May 22, 1856)
1. Sumner, an abolitionist Senator from Massachusetts, gave an inflammatory speech— "Crime Against Kansas"—where he condemned pro-slave southerners and insulted one of its senators
 2. South Carolina Congressman **Preston Brooks** retaliated by savagely beating Sumner with an 11-oz gold-headed cane.
 3. House of Representatives didn't have the votes to expel Brooks but he resigned anyway and was unanimously reelected by South Carolina to the Senate.
 4. Significance: The beating demonstrated the hatred brewing in Congress between the North & South
- F. Pottawatomie Massacre , May 24-25, 1856
1. John Brown & sons slaughtered 5 men in revenge for the attack on Lawrence (and the caning of Sumner)
 2. Brown an extreme abolitionist; saw himself as doing God's work.
 3. Brown escaped justice
 4. A mini-civil war began in Kansas 1856 that continued through the U.S. Civil War.
- G. Lecompton Constitution (1857)
1. Kansas applied for statehood based on popular sovereignty.
 2. Southerners in control drafted a pro-slavery constitution
 - a. People voted for the constitution with or with or without slavery.
 - b. If people voted "no" on slavery, rights of slaveholders currently in Kansas would be protected nonetheless
 3. Free-soilers again refused to vote for a southern-dominated constitution
 4. Slave supporters approved the constitution *with* slavery late in 1857.
 5. President Buchanan supported the Lecompton Constitution
 6. Senator Douglas led the opposition to Kansas' constitution
 7. Compromise: Lecompton Constitution sent back to Kansas for another vote but pro-slavery Kansas rejected the proposal
 8. Result: Free-soilers were victorious; Kansas denied statehood until 1861 (after the South seceded) when it entered as a free state

H. Kansas issue shattered the Democratic Party

1. Buchanan's support for Kansas split the Democratic party along sectional lines.
2. Stephen Douglas' opposition for Kansas alienated him from southerners
3. Republicans would win in 1860 at the expense of split Democrats who could not agree on Stephen Douglas' nomination
4. With the Whig and Democratic parties shattered in the 1850s, no national party existed that could hold the Union together.

IX. Antislavery literature

A. **Harriet Beecher Stowe: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852)**

1. Portrayed to the North the evils of slavery by focusing on the splitting of slave families and the physical abuse of slaves.
 - a. The novel was inspired by the Fugitive Slave Law
 - b. Stowe was influenced by the evangelism of the 2nd Great Awakening
2. Novel became the best seller of all time in proportion to the U.S. population
 - Also extremely popular in Britain & France
3. Had more social impact than any other novel in U.S. History
 - a. Lincoln, when introduced to her in 1862: "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war."
 - b. The abolitionist movement grew in response
4. The South condemned it

B. **Hinton R. Helper: *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857)**

1. White writer from North Carolina who hated slavery and blacks.
2. Argued that nonslaveholding whites indirectly suffered most from slavery.
3. Published in the North but could not be published in the South
4. Impact
 - a. Negligible among its targeted audience: poor southern whites
 - b. Used by Republicans as propaganda in 1859 campaign.
 - c. Southerners infuriated that Northerners would use the book against them.
 - Provoked secessionist sentiment in South
 - Within two years, 15 novels were written in response by proslavery writers

X. Election of 1856

A. **James Buchanan** nominated by Democrats

1. Pierce was seen as ineffective and Douglas alienated the southern wing of the party after blocking the Lecompton Constitution.
2. Party platform: popular sovereignty in the territories.

- B. Republicans nominated Captain John C. Fremont "Pathfinder of the West"
1. Represented the first presidential election for the new Republican party
 2. Party platform: no extension of slavery in the territories
- C. **American Party ("know-nothings")** nativist in orientation
1. White Anglo-Saxon Protestants were opposed to Irish, German, Mexican and Chinese immigration
 2. Anti-Catholic; accused Fremont of being Catholic
 3. Ex-president Millard Fillmore was nominated as its candidate
 4. Received support from many members of the defunct Whig party
- D. Buchanan defeated Fremont 174 to 114; Fillmore 8.
1. Southern "fire-eaters" threatened to secede if Fremont elected.
-- Called Fremont a "Black Republican"
 2. Fear of disunion caused many northerners to elect Buchanan.
 3. In retrospect, Fremont most likely would have made a very poor president

XI. **The Dred Scott case** (March 6, 1857)

- A. Dred Scott had lived with his master for 5 years in Illinois and Wisconsin Territory.
- Backed by abolitionists, he sued for freedom on the basis that he lived on free-soil.
- B. Chief Justice **Roger B. Taney** wrote the opinion.
1. Taney had been a Jacksonian who helped destroy the BUS with the "pet bank" scheme
 2. As Chief Justice, he vigorously defended slavery.
- C. Decision:
1. Dred Scott was a black slave and not a citizen and could not sue in federal courts.
-- As a result, all blacks, north & south, were no longer citizens.
 2. Slaves could not be taken away from owners without due process of law.
-- As private property (5th Amendment) slaves could be moved into any territory.
 3. The Missouri Compromise was ruled unconstitutional
 - The Court ruled that Congress could not forbid slavery in the federal territories (e.g. 36°30' line) even if the territories wished it. (To a large extent, the Kansas-Nebraska Act had already done this.)

D. Impact

1. Contributed to the split in the Democratic party
 - a. Many northern supporters of popular sovereignty were horrified, including Stephen Douglas
 - b. Southerners were overjoyed as they saw the possibility for the creation of several new slave states in the territories
2. Republicans infuriated; many claimed the decision was merely an “opinion” and was thus nonbinding.
 - Southerners claimed that northern unwillingness to honor the Supreme Court’s decisions and the Constitution was further cause for disunion.

XII. Panic of 1857

A. Causes

1. Overspeculation on land and railroads
2. Influx of California gold into the economy caused inflation
3. Overproduction of grain to feed Europeans during Crimean War.

B. Results

1. Industrial North was hardest hit; widespread unemployment
 - a. Southerners boasted that “King Cotton” was superior to the flawed northern industrial economy
 - b. South’s cotton crop was not affected significantly
2. Westerners demanded free farms of 160 acres from public domain land.
 - a. Gov’t practice of selling land for revenue was not effective
 - b. Pioneers believed they were risking their lives to develop western land and therefore deserved free land.
 - c. Opposition
 - Some eastern industrialists feared a population drain to the west.
 - Southerners feared homesteads would fill up territories with free-soilers
 - d. In 1860, Congress passed a homestead act that made public lands available for 25 cents an acre.
 - Vetoed by Buchanan who sympathized with southern leaders
3. Demand for higher tariff rates
 - a. Tariff of 1857 had reduced rates to 20% because federal gov't took in large surpluses.
 - b. Eastern industrialists now wanted more protection.
4. Republicans had two major issues for 1860: higher tariffs and the proposed homestead act.

XIII. Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1858) – Senate seat in Illinois

- A. Republican Abraham Lincoln challenged Democratic Senator Stephen Douglas for the Illinois Senate seat in 1858
1. Douglas was one of the most high profile and influential senators of the 1850s and the leading Democratic personality for president
 - One of the great orators of his generation; being only 5'4" he was known as "the little giant"
 2. Lincoln's nomination speech: "A house divided cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*."
- B. Lincoln challenged Douglas to seven debates
1. Douglas supported the idea of popular sovereignty in the territories
 2. Lincoln advocated the non-extension of slavery in the territories
 3. The debates received national attention
- C. Freeport debate was the most famous due to Douglas' articulation of the "**Freeport Doctrine**"
1. Lincoln insisted Douglas answer whether or not a territory *could* vote down slavery despite the Dred Scott decision.
 2. Douglas answered that territories could refuse to pass laws protecting slavery thus effectively ending slavery in that territory.
 3. Although Douglas's position was not new or surprising, his public response led to a split in his party and an end to his chance of winning the presidency in 1860.
- D. Result
1. Douglas' popular sovereignty position prevailed in the election
 2. Despite his loss, Lincoln was in the national spotlight and became a leading Republican for the party's nomination in 1860.

XIV. John Brown attacks Harper's Ferry

- A. Brown's scheme: secretly invade the South and create a slave rebellion, give slaves arms, and establish a kind of black free state.
-- Gained financial assistance for weapons from certain northern abolitionists.
- B. October, 1859 -- Brown seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry
1. 7 innocent people killed including a free black; ten others wounded.
 2. Most slaves were unaware of Brown's strike; did not rise up in rebellion
 3. Brown and his followers were trapped in the armory and eventually surrendered to Capt. Robert E. Lee

4. Brown and his followers were hanged after their trial.

C. Brown became a martyr in the North

1. Abolitionists and free-soilers infuriated by Brown's execution.
-- Some attributed Christ-like characteristics to him (Ralph Waldo Emerson)
2. Moderate northerners, including Republican leaders, deplored Brown's attack.

D. Effects of Harper's Ferry were ominous in southern eyes.

1. Brown seen as an agent of northern abolitionism and anti-slavery conspiracy.
2. Southern states began to organize militias for protection against future threats.
-- Essentially, this was the beginning of the Confederate army.
3. Perhaps the most immediate cause of disunion besides Lincoln's election.

XV. **Election of 1860**

A. Nominating conventions of 1860

1. Democratic party split in two

- a. Northern wing nominated Stephen Douglas after the Deep South states walked out.
 - Southern "fire-eaters" regarded him as a traitor for his position on Kansas' Lecompton Constitution and his advocacy of the Freeport Doctrine

b. Southern Democratic party nominated John C. Breckinridge:

- Kentucky moderate (not a disunionist)
- Platform: extension of slavery into the territories and annexation of Cuba.

2. **Constitutional Union Party** nominated John Bell of Tennessee

- a. Wanted to preserve the Union; saw Bell as a compromise candidate.
- b. Consisted of former Whigs from the upper South and Know-Nothings
- c. Feared that a Lincoln victory would cause the Deep South states to secede.

3. **Republicans** nominated **Abraham Lincoln**

- a. Seward was the front-runner but was seen as too radical for the general election.
- b. Republican platform: (very significant as virtually all of it became law in the 1860s)
 - Non-extension of slavery (for free-soilers)

- Protective tariff (for industrialists)
- No loss of rights for immigrants (disappointed the "Know Nothings")
- Pacific railroad (for the Northwest)
- Internal improvements for the West at federal expense
- Free homesteads from the public domain (for farmers)
- c. Southern secessionists warned that the election of Lincoln would split the Union.
 - Lincoln was not an abolitionist; yet issued no statement to quell southern fears.
 - Lincoln chose not to campaign; let his record stand on its own

B. Presidential election of 1860

1. Lincoln was elected with only 40% of the vote; most sectional election in U.S. history.
 - a. Lincoln won all Northern states except New Jersey and Missouri (180 electoral votes to 123)
 - Lincoln not allowed on the ballot in 10 southern states
 - South Carolina was satisfied that it could now secede
 - b. Breckinridge won all Deep South states plus Arkansas, Maryland, and Delaware
 - c. Bell won border states of Virginia and Kentucky and mid-slave state of Tennessee
 - d. Douglas won only MO and NJ but finished 2nd in popular votes
2. South still had both Houses of Congress and majority on the Supreme Court

XVI. Southern states secede from the Union

- A. December, 1860, South Carolina unanimously voted to **secede from the Union**
- B. Within six weeks, six other states seceded
 1. Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas
 2. In all, seven states seceded during Buchanan's "lame-duck" period.
- C. 4 other states would later secede in April, 1861, after beginning of Civil War: Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee
 - They refused to fight fellow southerners and to agree to Lincoln's call for volunteers.
- D. **Confederate States of America** formed in Montgomery Alabama
 1. **Jefferson Davis** chosen as president of provisional government to be located at Richmond, VA (after Fort Sumter in April, 1861).

- E. President Buchanan did little to prevent southern secession.
 - 1. Believed Constitution did not give him authority to stop secession with force.
 - 2. More significantly, northern army was not ready to fight a war.
 - 3. Many of his advisors were pro-southern
 - 4. Northern sentiment favored a peaceful settlement rather than war.
 - 5. Lincoln continued Buchanan's policy when he became president.
 - 6. Use of force would likely have driven border states of Maryland and Kentucky to secede (would probably have meant the end of the Union).
- F. Reasons for southern secession (mostly related to slavery)
 - 1. Political balance appeared to favor the North.
 - 2. Hated sectional Republican party which appeared to threaten Southern rights
 - 3. Hated free-soil criticism, abolitionism, and northern interference such as the Underground Railroad and John Brown's raid
 - 4. Many southerners felt secession would be unopposed
 - a. Northern industrialists dependent on southern repayment of loans and cotton could not afford to cut economic ties.
 - b. Southern debts could be repudiated in case of war, hurting northern banks
 - 5. Many hoped to end long-time dependence to the North.
 - a. South could now develop its own banking and shipping and trade directly with Europe.
 - b. Could escape high tariffs championed by northerners.
 - 6. Southerners believed they had the moral high ground
 - a. 13 original states had voluntarily entered the Union (compact theory); now southern states were voluntarily withdrawing from it.
 - b. Saw self-determination of the Declaration of Independence as applying to them. (Right to replace gov't with one that meets the needs of the people)

XVII. Crittenden amendments -- final attempt at compromise

- A. Proposed by Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky (heir to political throne of Henry Clay)
- B. These proposed laws were designed to appease the South
- C. Provisions
 - 1. Slavery in the territories would be prohibited north of 36-30 but given full federal protection south of that line, even if new territories were acquired (e.g. Cuba)
 - 2. Popular sovereignty for future states.
- D. Rejected by Lincoln; all hope of compromise was gone.
 - Lincoln saw himself elected on the principle of non-extension of slavery.

MEMORY AID: CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR

M rs.	<u>M</u> issouri Compromise of 1820
N ully	<u>N</u> ullification Controversy of 1832
A lmost	<u>A</u> bolitionism
G agged	<u>G</u> ag Rule, 1836
W hen	<u>W</u> ilmot Proviso, 1848
C lay's	<u>C</u> ompromise of 1850 (PopFACT)
K angaroo	<u>K</u> ansas-Nebraska Act, 1854
B it	<u>B</u> leeding Kansas
D ead	<u>D</u> red Scott Case, 1857
J ohn's	<u>J</u> ohn Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry, 1859
E ar	<u>E</u> lection of 1860

Terms to Know

Wilmot Proviso	"Bleeding Kansas"
popular sovereignty	New England Emigrant Aid Company
Lewis Cass	"Beecher's Bibles"
election of 1848	sack of Lawrence, Kansas
Free-Soil Party	caning of Charles Sumner
President Zachary Taylor	Preston Brooks
California Gold Rush	John Brown
Underground Railroad	Pottowatomie Massacre
Harriet Tubman	Lecompton Constitution
<i>Prigg v. Pennsylvania</i>	"vote early and vote often"
"personal liberty laws"	President James Buchanan
Compromise of 1850	"Know Nothings" (American Party)
Henry Clay	Dred Scott case
William H. Seward	Roger B. Taney
Fugitive Slave Law	Panic of 1857
<i>Ableman v. Booth</i>	Lincoln-Douglas debates
President Millard Fillmore	Freeport Doctrine
Stephen Douglas	Harper's Ferry
President Franklin Pierce	election of 1860
"Young America"	Constitutional Union Party
Commodore Matthew Perry	Abraham Lincoln
Ostend Manifesto	South Carolina, secession
Gadsden Purchase	Confederate States of America
Kansas-Nebraska Act	Jefferson Davis
Republican Party	Crittenden amendments
Harriet Beecher Stowe, <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i>	
Hinton Helper, <i>Impending Crisis of the South</i>	

Essay Questions

Note: This sub-unit is a very high probability area for the AP exam. In the past 10 years, 5 questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams.

1. Identify and analyze several important factors that led to the Civil War.
2. Compare and contrast Northern and Southern views regarding the Constitution and how it should be used to settle the issues dividing antebellum America. Which region's arguments were MOST persuasive from a Constitutional standpoint?
3. Why did the three major compromises—Missouri Compromise (1820), the Tariff of 1833 (that resolved the 1832 nullification crisis) and the Compromise of 1850—fail to prevent sectionalism and Civil War? (Review the 1820 and 1833 compromises to answer this question).
4. To what extent was the Civil War inevitable?

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