

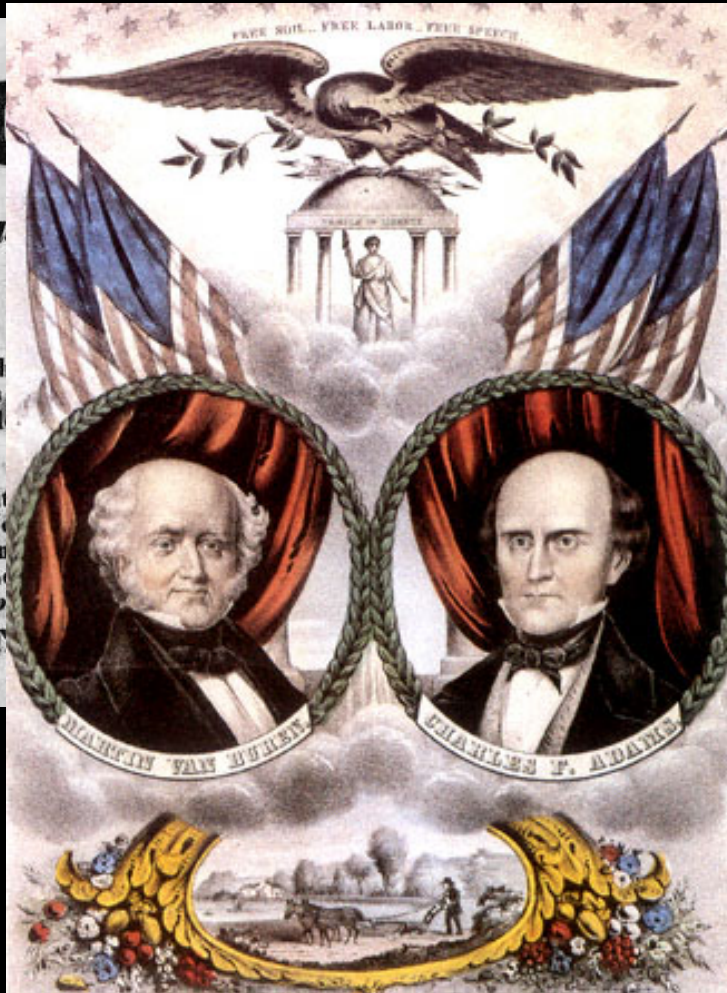
# SLAVE DRIVERS VS. FANATICS: NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN IMAGES OF EACH OTHER



**THE HOUSE DIVIDED:  
THE POLITICAL AND  
CULTURAL CRISIS OF  
ANTEBELLUM AMERICA**

HISTORY 1100.3, DEC. 7, 2006

# I. WESTWARD EXPANSION & THE RISE OF THE SECTIONAL CONFLICT



- ◆ A. Sectional conflict & the Civil War were ultimately caused by slavery, but sadly it was not morality that drove slavery issue.
  - -- “Immediatism” as represented by Garrison &c. was extremely unpopular in the North.
- ◆ B. Anti-slavery only became a major political issue in Congress because of massive territorial expansion during 1840s, including vast new lands for slavery.
  - 1. Northern Democrats felt party was too dominated by South, brought in **Wilmot Proviso**, 1846: ban on slavery in the territory conquered from Mexico.
  - 2. Proviso failed but crystallized what became main issue: extension of slavery into new territories, and brought up related issues.
    - a) Power of Congress over slavery.
    - b) Whether slavery was going to continue to grow or be put back on road to eventual extinction.
  - 3. Staked out a form of anti-slavery politics that could be widely accepted in North: **“Free Soil.”**
    - West was the future of the country & future had to be free (and white).
  - 4. Ex-pres. Van Buren ran as candidate of the Free Soil Party, 1848: lost but showed potential popularity of Free Soil position.



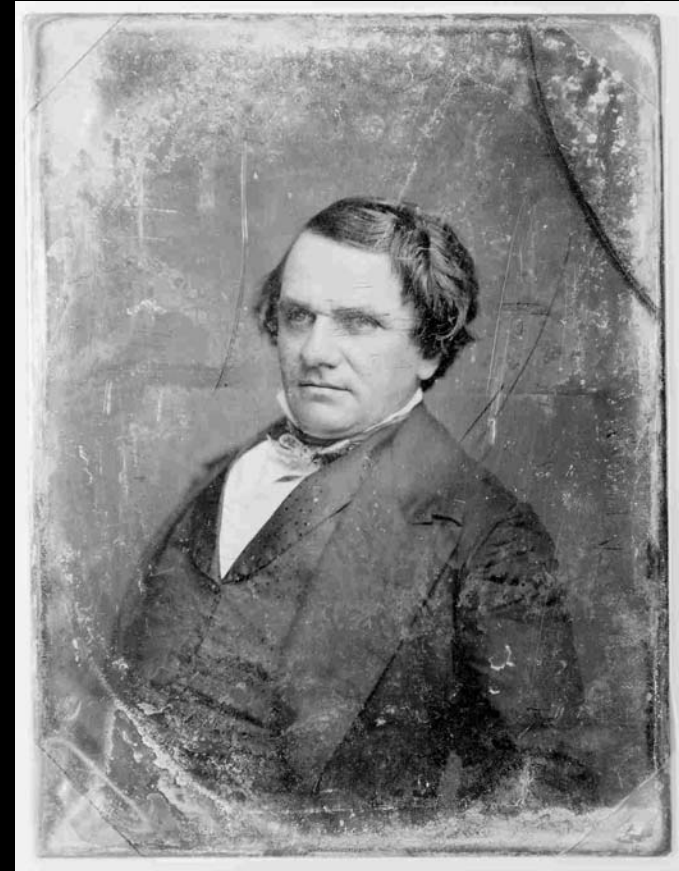


## **II. AN EMPIRE FOR SLAVERY: SOUTHERN EXPANSIONISM**

- ◆ **A. Longstanding pattern of aggressive southern expansion got much worse**
  - 1. Intrusion by settlers, planters, fortune seekers into Indian or foreign lands, sometimes by invitation, often unauthorized & violent.
  - 2. Dispersed, constantly expanding patterns of settlement.
  - 3. Unauthorized settlement at first, but legitimated by U.S. later through wars and/or treaties.
- ◆ **B. Examples during 1830s & after: Indian lands in AL, MS, & GA, then Texas, Florida, Arkansas, western MO (Platte Purchase), Calif., NM.**
- ◆ **C. The Mexican-American War: manufactured by a southern president (Polk) on slim pretext, acquired vast new lands for slavery, nearly all of Mexico.**
- ◆ **D. During 1850s, proslavery radicals and "filibusters" turned their attention to Latin America & the Caribbean.**
  - 1. Calls for the annexation of Cuba.
  - 2. William Walker's conquest of Nicaragua.
- ◆ **E. Aggressive expansion also enjoyed some popularity among northern men (especially working class) who saw it as an escape from the new restrained, "feminized" manhood.**

### III. CULTURE WAR IN KANSAS, 1854-56

- ◆ A . Competition over slavery, & sectional mistrust, crystallized over Kansas issue
- ◆ B. Political Miscalculation of the Century: The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854.
  - 1. Stephen Douglas, Chicago real estate, and the competition for the transcontinental railroad.
  - 2. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise as the price for southern support of Douglas's bill to organize the territory along the Chicago railroad route.
  - 3. The Kansas-Nebraska Act: Two new territories organized under Douglas's pet solution: **popular sovereignty**
    - P.s. meant as Jeffersonian, non-coercive, democratic. Also open to slavery.



Stephen A. Douglas

# III. CULTURE WAR IN KANSAS, 1854-56

- ◆ **C. Sectional Imperialists Battle for Control of Kansas**
  - 1. Popular sovereignty invited competition for the new lands, creating rare instance of sectional imperialists competing for the same land.
  - 2. Yankee colonization organizations: The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company and others.
    - Founded town of Lawrence
  - 3. The problem of Missouri: Sen. David Atchison and the "Border Ruffians" made Kansas repressively pro-slavery against will of most settlers, July 1855.
    - Mounting northern shame & anger at being forced to submit to South & slavery
  - 4. Pierce administration recognized the illegal proslavery government.
- ◆ **D. Bleeding Kansas & Bleeding Sumner brought the two competing section versions of manhood into focus.**
  - 1. Sen. Charles Sumner of Mass. gave "Crime Against Kansas" speech insulting the South and an SC senator, so Rep. Preston Brooks beat him, 19-20 & 22 May 1856.
    - Sumner got brain damaged, Brooks became a hero. Many northerners felt southerners regarded them as no more than slaves.
  - 2. The Missouri "Pukes" and the "Sack of Lawrence," 21 May 1856.
  - 3. Some northern men began to conclude that South would only understand force.
    - Captain John Brown's execution of proslavery settlers on Pottawatomie Creek, 24 May 1856, launching a summer of civil war in Kansas.
- ◆ **E. New national political party emerges during Kansas crisis: the Republicans (GOP), 1<sup>st</sup> major party with no following in South.**

## IV. LAST YEARS OF THE UNION, 1857-60



### ◆ A. Father Abraham: Lincoln and Sovereignty

- 1. Lincoln as a lifelong, true-believing Whig & inheritor of many Federalist ideas
  - Lincoln was a Whig on economic issues, but also on the need for a strong, energetic government that would actively use its powers.
  - Like most northern Whigs, Lincoln believed in the new patriotic nationalism championed by Daniel Webster: "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"
    - U.S. viewed as a fatherland, a unitary nation created by the whole people as expressed in the Preamble, not just a "firm league of friendship"
- 2. Lincoln's unique position, outlined in 1858 Senate campaign: slavery was "a moral, social & political wrong"; races should not be socially equal; but also believed that nation would be all slave or all free soon.
  - **"House Divided" speech (clip)**: charged that South & Democrats were conspiring to make slavery legal everywhere, and also followed old Hamiltonian tradition in doubting that "imperium in imperio" could be maintained forever.
- 3. Lincoln-Douglas debates bring Lincoln to national prominence, even though he lost.

## IV. LAST YEARS OF THE UNION, 1857-60

### ◆ B. 1859: The Year of Extremism

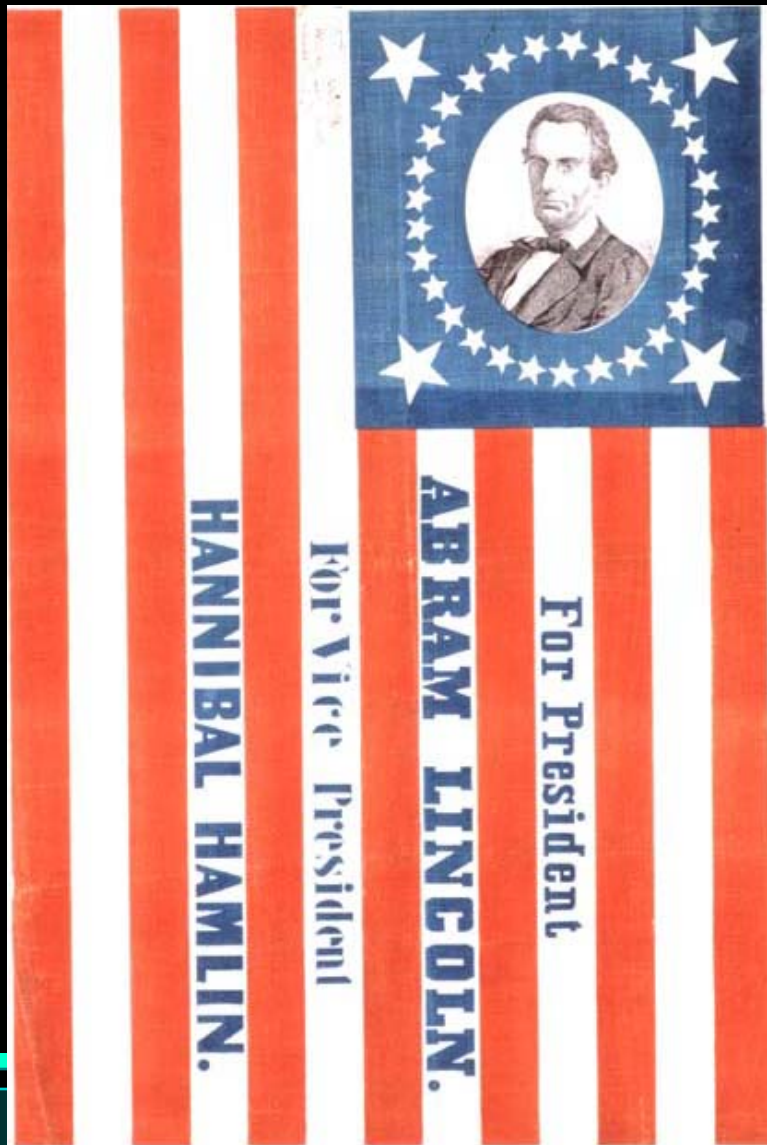
- 1. Northern extremism: John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, VA (trying to start a slave rebellion), and positive public reaction to it. Panic in South.
- 2. Southern extremism: demands for a federal slave code, Southern Commercial Convention's call for reopening of international slave trade.

### ◆ C. The Election of 1860 and the Death of the Party System

- 1. After Southern walkout, Democrats nominate Douglas. Then Southern Democrats nominate their own candidate, John C. Breckenridge.
- 2. Republicans pick the upstart Lincoln as less antislavery, less controversial candidate.
- 3. In 4-way race, Lincoln wins electoral college majority with minority of popular vote & without even appearing on the ballot in most of South.



# V. SECESSION WINTER, 1860-61: THE END OF THE JEFFERSONIAN EXPERIMENT



- ◆ A. The secession of the lower South, Nov.-Dec. 1860.
- ◆ B. Impasse: Upper South refused to secede, national majority seemed to oppose both secession & use of force to prevent it.
- ◆ C. Defeat of Crittenden Compromise (Dec. 1860) and the proposals of the Peace Convention (Feb. 1861), offering permanent guarantees for slavery.
- ◆ D. Outbreak of the Civil War
  - 1. Lincoln's inauguration, Mar. 1861:
    - Slavery would be protected, but the Union was perpetual, Lincoln said; states could not lawfully leave, and those that tried are in rebellion; laws will be enforced.
  - 2. In crisis over federal property, SC besieged & shelled Ft. Sumter.
  - 3. Lincoln called for 75,000 troops to stop the rebellion.
  - 4. Believing that this use of force to coerce obedience violated basic American (& Jeffersonian) values, the Upper South seceded and the war began.

