Civil War Era Review Notes

Civil War Era Themes and Questions

[From the History Guide First Examinations 2010]

3. United States Civil War: causes, course and effects 1840 77

This section focuses on the United States Civil War between the North and the South (1861-5), which is often perceived as the great watershed in the history of the United States. It transformed the country forever: slavery disappeared following Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation and the Northern success marked a victory for the proponents of strong central power over the supporters of states’ rights. It marked the beginnings of further westward expansion and transformed United States’ society by accelerating industrialization and modernization in the North and largely destroying the plantation system in the South. The war left the country with a new set of problems: how would the South rebuild its society and economy and what would be the place in that society of 4 million freed African Americans? These changes were fundamental, leading some historians to see the war (and its results) as a “second American Revolution”.

- Cotton economy and slavery; conditions of enslavement; adaptation and resistance such as the Underground Railroad
- Origins of the Civil War: political issues, states’ rights, modernization, sectionalism, the nullification crisis, economic differences between North and South
- Abolitionist debate: ideologies and arguments for and against slavery and their impact
- Reasons for, and effects of, westward expansion and the sectional debates; the crisis of the 1850s; the Kansas–Nebraska problem; the Ostend Manifesto; the Lincoln–Douglas debates; the impact of the election of Abraham Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation; Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy
- Union versus Confederate: strengths and weaknesses; economic resources; significance of leaders during the US Civil War (suitable examples could be Grant and Lee, Sherman and Thomas Jonathan “Stonewall” Jackson)
- Major battles of the Civil War and their impact on the conflict: Antietam and Gettysburg; the role of foreign powers
- Reconstruction: economic, social and political successes and failures; economic expansion
- African Americans in the Civil War and in the New South: legal issues; the Black Codes; Jim Crow Laws

Questions on the Cotton Economy

1. What social and economic roles did slavery serve in EITHER the United States OR Brazil in the nineteenth century? (HL) (1990)
2. Analyze the conditions that produced slave insurrections either in the United States or Brazil. To what extent were these insurrections successful? (HL) (2002)

Questions on the Abolitionist debate

3. How important were the abolitionists in the coming of the Civil War? (HL) (1992)

4. What were the major arguments for and against slavery in the period before 1860? (HL) (1994)

5. How and why did the antislavery movement in the United States change during the course of the nineteenth century. (HL) (November 1999)

6. Analyse the main arguments of
   (a) those who supported slavery;
   (b) those who opposed slavery. (HL) (2005)


8. Evaluate the economic and social conditions of free African Americans in one country of the region during the nineteenth century. (2007)


Questions on Origins of the Civil War

10. Why was it possible for the North and the South in the United States to reach a compromise on the issue of slavery expansion in 1820 and 1850 but not in 1860? (1985)

11. Assess the importance of slavery as a cause of the American Civil War. (1987)

12. Discuss the significance of the following relationship between North and South in the period 1820-1860:
   (A) the Missouri Compromise
   (B) the Compromise of 1850
   (C) the Kansas-Nebraska Act. (HL) (1988)
13. Were the causes of the American Civil War primarily political, social, or economic? (1989)

14. What were the political issues underlying the American Civil War? (1991)

15. "The United States Civil was entirely an economic struggle" To what extent do you agree with this assessment? (1995)

16. To what extent was the expansion of slavery into the territories the primary cause of the United States Civil War? (1996)

17. “It was the result of tensions between two ways of life.” “The war was caused by unnecessary fanatical agitations.” Which of these explanations for the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States do you consider to be the most appropriate and why? (November 1999)


20. Why was compromise no longer possible between the North and the South in the United States by 1860? (2008)

21. “The Civil War in the United States was caused by political disagreements” To what extent do you agree with this statement? (2009)


Questions on The Course of the Civil War

23. "The surprising fact is not that the Confederacy lost the American Civil War but that it survived as long as it did." Discuss. (1990)


25. Compare the political, economic, and military strengths and weaknesses of the North and South United States at the beginning of the United States Civil War in 1863? (2000)

26. “Abraham Lincoln has been given greater credit than he deserves for the emancipation of slaves in the US.” How far do you agree with this statement? (2001)
27. "Abraham Lincoln's leadership was the main reason why the Union won the Civil War." To what extent do you agree with this claim? (HL) (2005)

28. Assess the relative strengths of the North and the South at the beginning of the United States Civil War in 1861. (HL) (2006)

29. Why, in spite of the advantages of the North over the South, did the civil War in the United States last so long? (HL) (2007)

30. To what extent was the victory of the North in the United States Civil War due to its superior industrial resources and manpower? (2010)

31. Compare and contrast Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis as wartime leaders during the United States Civil War. (2011)

32. “The Battle of Gettysburg was the turning point of the United States Civil War.” To what extent do you agree with this statement? (2011)

Questions on Reconstruction

33. What were the main political results of the Civil War in the United States? (HL) (Nov 1991)

34. In what ways and to what extent were race relations in the South changed by the Civil War in the United States? (HL) (1993)

35. How successful was Reconstruction following the American Civil War? (HL) (1994)

36. What were the political causes and results of the US Civil War? (HL) (1997)

37. Assess the successes and failures of Reconstruction in granting civil and political equality for former slaves in the southern states of the United States. (HL) (1999)


40. In what ways did the Civil War change the economy and racial relations in the South? (2009)
I. The Abolitionist Debate
   A. Antislavery Crusade
      
      A Early opposition to slavery
      1 Quakers prominent in opposition
         a Ralph Sandiford's pamphlet printed 1729 by Ben Franklin
      2 Anthony Benezet demanded positive anti-slavery action
         a Tract in 1772 strongly influenced John Wesley, and Methodists, who were prominent in ending slavery in England
         b Desired prohibition of further importation, freeing of all slaves at a certain age, and transport of freedmen

      B Doctrine of Natural Rights and Slavery
      1 James Otis asserted fundamental equality of all persons, black or white, in 1764
      2 Arthur Lee of Virginia in 1764 regarded slavery as depraving to white and black
      3 Benezet attacks exclusion of slavery issue in Declaration of Independence
      4 Jefferson drew up an ordinance for the governing of territories in 1785 that barred slaves after 1800
      5 Seven of 13 states provided for emancipation between 1776-1804
         a post nati laws: freedom at 25 or 28 years
      6 Men like George Mason of Virginia believed that slavery undermined morals and provided lessons in political tyranny incompatible with the republic
      7 Conservative elements in Upper South block emancipation efforts
      8 Little opposition to slavery in Lower South

   C Slavery and the Constitution
      
      1 Most Americans accepted the contention that slavery was the jurisdiction of the states
         a Northerners opposed slavery but saw no reason to fight it where it already existed
         b Attempt to expand slavery into Louisiana Territory and Mexican Cession generates crucial opposition to slavery!!
      2 Quaker anti-slavery groups petitioned Congress against slavery in 1782
         a Southerners made it clear that the subject was exclusively a state concern
         b "Do these men expect a general emancipation of slaves by law? This would never be submitted to by the South without a civil war." South Carolina Senator, 1790

   D Growth of Abolitionism
      
      1 Charles Osborn, self-exiled Southern Quaker, Philanthropist newspaper
1817-1819 in Ohio


3  *Benjamin Lundy*, Quaker, *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, in Ohio 1821-1836 (note co-incidence with the Missouri Compromise!!!)

   a. Forced to move often
   b. courageous, but not fanatical, but unwilling to compromise
   c. indifferent to method of emancipation
      i. immediate or gradual
      ii. absorption of freedmen or voluntary colonization
   d. Argued national government should abolish slavery wherever it had sole authority
   e. No new slave states
   f. repeal 3/5 compromise
   g. *Free blacks to be accorded equal status with whites*

4  *David Walker*

   a. Free black in Boston
   b. *Walkers Appeal* 1829
   c. Called for insurrection and violence
   d. Southerners demanded he be arrested
      i. Demand refused: no law violated
   e. Georgia orders a quarantine of black sailors
   f. Becomes illegal to teach slaves to read
   g. Slaves forbidden to assemble, or travel without white escort

E  *William Lloyd Garrison*

1. Former associate of Lundy's; jailed repeatedly
2. 1831--publication of *Liberator*
   "Unreasoning and unreasonable in its demands, unguarded an unequivocal in its accusations, the *Liberator* broke up the 'conspiracy of silence' with which the institution of slavery had been protected." (Tyler, p. 485)
3. Demanded immediate and unconditional abolition
   a. "I *shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population*. . . . On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation . . . . I am in earnest--I *will not equivocate*--I *will not excuse*--I *will not retreat a single inch*--AND I *WILL BE HEARD.*"
4. Garrison rejected the political process in general and the Constitution in particular: he burned it publicly and called it "an agreement with hell."
5. *Liberator* not read very widely in North
6 Supported by free blacks
7 Made famous by Southern editors who reprinted his arguments to vilify him
8 **Southerners attempt to suppress him and in so doing stir up the North**

"Northern editors, who had refused to be moved by Garrison's pleas, began to take notice of the Southern agitation and slowly swung to the defense of the abolitionists' right to be heard." (Tyler, p. 486)

"To the Southerner, every anti-slavery man was a Garrisonian abolitionist. Oversimplification of the nature of the opposition led to a complete and categorical denial of the right to question the Southern position." (Tyler, p. 486)

F **Nat Turner's Revolt**
1 Coincident with Garrison
2 Slave revolt the nightmare of the South
3 Revolt in 1831, killing 60 white persons before being crushed
4 South believed Walker and Garrison had incited Turner
5 Review of slavery in Virginia legislature 1831-32 dies with Turner's Revolt
6 **South eventually demanded Northern states cooperate actively to protect slavery**

G **Frederick Douglass**
1 Escaped from slavery 1838

2 Eloquent speaker against slavery: "Slavery brands your republicanism a sham, your humanity a base pretense, your Christianity a lie."

3 Argued not only for freedom but for full economic, social, and political equality

4 Eventually broke with Garrison because Garrison was willing to tear up the Constitution; Douglass was willing to work within the political system

X Anti-Slavery Doctrine as Revivalism

A Revivalist influence: "Slavery was sin; from that original premise, progress to the doctrine that this sin must rest upon the conscience of all true Christians.” (Tyler, p. 489)

"At the same time these religious humanitarians were democrats with a deep conviction of the worth of the individual and of the equality of all men." (Tyler, p. 489)

B Effect of Abolitionist Activity: "Freedom of discussion was the life-blood of democracy, and the denial of that freedom in respect to slavery was regarded as an attack upon liberties too vital to be surrendered without a struggle." (Tyler, p. 489)
"For much of the period before the Civil War, however, Northern laborers resented black competition, and Western farmers were determined that the territories should be closed to slavery. 'Free Soil' meant to them absence of the Negro farmer and farm laborer." (Tyler, p. 490)

C Organization of the Anti-Slavery Movement
1 Middle West most active area due to influence of Great Revival
2 Influence of Charles Grandison Finney
   a Founds Oneida Institute and Knox College, hotbeds of anti-slavery
3 Theodore Dwight Weld, converted by Finney, attends Lane Seminary in Cincinnati
   a Lyman Beecher just installed as President
   b Lane Seminary closed as a result of anti-slavery activities
   c Finney asks Tappan brothers to fund a seminary for Oberlin
   d Oberlin already co-educational
   e Oberlin now admits Negroes and becomes a center for Western abolition
4 New England Anti-Slavery Society 1831
   a Founded by Garrison
   b Radical and vociferous
   c Led to American Anti-Slavery Society 1833
   d Weld-Finney group very active in West
      i Weld's *Slavery As It Is* 1839, a devastating propaganda pamphlet
      ii *Lydia Maria Child*'s appeal against race prejudice
      iii Revivalists far more successful since slavery was presented as a moral issue without any particular political action advocated
5 Split in the American Anti-Slavery Society
   a Garrison attempted to seize control
      i bitterly opposed participation in politics
      ii anyone who opposed him was his enemy
      iii chose to provoke fight over right of women to share administration
      iv Weld, *James G. Birney* refused to let the anti-slavery movement become confused with other reforms
   v neither man opposed women's rights
   vi Garrison wins, group splits
   vii Birney later runs for President for *Liberty Party* 1840 and 1844

XI Opposition in the North
A Opponents of slavery resented years of work destroyed by demand for immediate abolition
B Workingmen's fear of competition from free blacks made them susceptible to mob action
C Anti-slavery men recognized that denial of free speech could be turned to their advantage

1 *Elijah Lovejoy* in Alton, Ohio
   a Advocated gradual emancipation
   b Press destroyed twice
   c "Is not this a free state . . . Have I not a right to claim the protection of the laws?"
   d A third press destroyed by mob, and Lovejoy murdered

2 *The cause of civil liberty and slavery were joined for many Northerners*

D *Prudence Crandall*, Quaker

1 Girls' school at Canterbury, Connecticut
2 Admitted a black student
3 Connecticut passed a law 1833 providing fines and imprisonment for teaching black students not residents of the state
4 Arrested in 1833 and fought case over constitutional grounds
   a state argued "A Negro is not a citizen"
   b second trial convicted her
   c reversed ultimately on a technicality
5 School forced to close due to incidents threatening safety

E The Right of Petition

1 South challenged the right of petition
   a numerous petitions each year in Congress to emancipate slaves in DC and in territories
   b South could table them in the Senate
   c Some procedure necessary due to sheer volume
   d *"Gag rule"* of 1836: petitions automatically tabled without being read or printed

2 *John Quincy Adams* fought the "Gag Rule" furiously
   a forgives link between anti-slavery and democracy
   b Jackson comments Adams was *"fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell"
   c made a folk hero of Adams
   d House actually attempted to censure Adams in 1842
   e Gag Rule finally broken in 1845
   f *"The humanitarians had joined the revivalist in calling the democrats of the North to aid preserving the liberties of white men as well as in securing freedom for the slaves"* (Tyler, p. 511)

XII The Southern Defense of Slavery

A Paranoia: Georgia editor 1833: *"We firmly believe that if the Southern states do not quickly unite and declare to the North, if the question of*
slavery be longer discussed, in any shape, they will instantly secede from the Union, that the question must be settled, and very soon, by the Sword, as the only possible means of self-preservation." (Tyler, p. 514)

B New political doctrine
1 If slavery is a positive good, then old theories of natural rights and of equality of men must be sacrificed; Jefferson is repudiated

C George Fitzhugh
1 Asserted slavery was the norm and freedom the exception
2 Slavery is only practical and ethical social basis
3 Discarded freedom of trade or industry, laissez-faire, and free competition for controls from above
4 Contended that "exploitation, the evils of child labor, and the neglect of the unfortunate were the ills of a free society"
5 Argued that slave owners are responsible for their slaves in illness or old age
6 Condemned liberty, democracy, and free will
7 Claimed the superiority of a feudal society with an aristocracy
8 Convinced himself that slaves were happy in their servitude
9 Convinced himself that slaves were happy in their servitude
10 If war comes--"war elevates the sentiments and aims of men"

D Hinton Rowan Helper
1 The Impending Crisis
2 A statistical study, using Southern data. From a purely scholarly point of view, this work is an important advance in the field of economics.
3 Hated blacks, and documented the economic backwardness of the South, linking it to slavery
4 Represents an attack by a poor white (the class from which Helper came) on the political grip of the planters
5 Poor whites, who had the most to lose from competition for jobs from blacks, become the worst enemies of blacks following the Civil War. Helper is unusual in that he recognized the destructive effects on the poor white planter of having to compete against slave labor

E Underground Railroad
1 Flight of slaves disproved the myth that slaves were happy
2 Quakers first organized to assist runaways
   a Levi Coffin, a North Carolina Quaker living in Indiana prominent
3 Colleges such as Oberlin and Western Reserve provided a lot of help
4 Routes in South run mostly by blacks
   a Harriet Tubman ("Moses")--brave, resourceful, determined
   b used gospel song "Go Down Moses" to send messages--consider significance of that choice
5 Exact extent of losses not known but certainly very substantial: tens of thousands; the South's insistence on a national Fugitive Slave law is evidence of the effectiveness of the Underground Railroad

F  **Fugitive Slave Law**
1 Demanded by South
2 Unenforceable in climate of growing hostility

G  Trend Toward Secession
1 "...by 1850 there was widespread approval of the idea of secession, and Southern leaders were only awaiting a sufficiently dramatic crisis to win Southern consent to the creation of a new confederacy." (Tyler, p. 543)

2  **Beverly George Tucker**, 1840 of the University of Virginia: "The question of separation will always be a question of war. The constitutional question will be drowned in the din and tumult of war."

II. The Path to Secession
A. States’ Rights Doctrine
1. Context
   a. XYZ Affair
   b. Alien and Sedition Acts
2. Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions
   a. The Virginia Resolutions were written by James Madison
   b. The Kentucky Resolutions were written by Thomas Jefferson
   c. The Kentucky Resolutions state "the several states composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general [federal] government, but that, by compact, under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States . . . they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each state to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government. And that whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each state acceded as a state and is an integral party; that this government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress." [emphasis added]
   d. Jefferson is here enunciating the doctrines of the compact theory of the Constitution, and the Doctrine of nullification. Latent in both of those concepts is the Doctrine of secession.

B.  **Missouri Compromise**
In 1817, the territory of Missouri petitioned for admission to the Union.

2. **Talmadge Amendment**, to the **Missouri Enabling Act** which prohibited the further introduction of slaves into Missouri

   a. Provided that all slaves born in Missouri after 1820 would be freed at age 25 (this is an example of a post nati law)

4. The amendment applied the principle of the Northwest Ordinance--that Congress has the right to regulate slavery in the territories--but with this difference: Congress was banning slavery from a territory in which it already existed.

5. The **Talmadge Amendment** passed the House of Representatives, which was already controlled by North, but is rejected by the Senate

C. The debate on the issue was fierce

1. The South believed that it was critical for them to have a balance in the Senate since they had lost the House, and would never catch up to the population growth in the North.

2. Henry Clay's compromise, the first of his attempts to compromise the issue of slavery.

3. His compromise tied the admission Missouri to the admission of Maine, which would maintain the balance.

   a. **Jesse B. Thomas** of Illinois (who himself held 5 "apprentices," which was a euphemism for slaves in the Northwest Territory) proposed the **Thomas Amendment** which would "forever prohibit" slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30' north latitude, and would permit slavery south of that line. 36° 30' runs along the southern border of Missouri.

   b. 36° 30' meant that the great bulk of the territory obtained in the Louisiana purchase would be closed to slavery--only Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma and Arkansas would come from that territory. Why then did the South accept the line. The answer is climate and geography: cotton could not be grown north of 36° 30' and therefore Southerners believed that slavery could not extend north of that line anyway.

4. The **Missouri Constitution**

   a. Clay wrote a new constitution for Missouri

   b. This document explicitly authorized slavery; it also prohibited emancipation of slaves already in Missouri; it required a law barring free blacks and mulattoes from entering the state

(1) free blacks were viewed as a standing incitement to servile rebellion.

(2) these clauses are in violation of Article 4 Section 2 of the United States Constitution *"All Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several states."

(3) John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary: "I take it for granted that the present question is a mere preamble--a title page to a great, tragic volume." (1821)

(4) Thomas Jefferson wrote to a Northern friend: (on slavery) *"We have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go"* (on Missouri) "... this momentous
question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union.

... this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence ... " 1820

D. Nullification Crisis
1. John C. Calhoun: "... the powers of Congress were delegated to it in trust for the accomplishment of certain specified objects which limit and control them, and that every exercise of them for any other purposes is a violation of the Constitution ..." 1828

2. "... We hold it as ... unquestionable that the Constitution of the United States is a compact between the people of the several states, constituting free, independent, and sovereign communities, that the government it created was formed and appointed to execute, ... the powers therein granted as the joint agent of the several states; that all its acts, transcending these powers, are simply and of themselves null and void, and that in case of such infractions, it is the right of the states, in their sovereign capacity, each acting for itself and its citizens, in like manner as they adopted the Constitution to judge thereof in the last resort and to adopt such measures ... as may be deemed fit to arrest the execution of the act within their respective limits."  "Address to the People of the United States," 1832

3. Andrew Jackson’s response: "The ordinance is founded ... on the strange position that any one State may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution; that the true construction of that instrument permits a State to retain its place in the Union and yet be bound by no other of its laws than those it may choose to consider as constitutional. ... But reasoning on this subject is superfluous when our social compact, in express terms, declares that the laws of the United States, its Constitution, and treaties made under it are the supreme law of the land, and, for greater caution, adds 'that the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.'  And it may be asserted without fear of refutation that no federative government could exist without a similar provision. ..."

4. "If the doctrine of a State veto upon the laws of the Union carries with it internal evidence of its impractical absurdity, our constitutional history will also afford abundant proof that it would have been repudiated with indignation had it been proposed to form a feature in our Government ..."

5. "I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one State, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed."  "Proclamation to the People of South Carolina" 1832

E. Manifest Destiny
1. Texas declared its independence on March 3, 1836.
2. Sam Houston surprised and routed Santa Anna's army at San Jacinto on April 21, 1836. Santa Anna was captured, and forced to acknowledge Texas' independence.
   a. Mexico repudiated this acknowledgement, and continued to regard Texas as Mexican soil. They did not, however, attempt to reconquer Texas. The
next ten years were marked by sporadic bloodshed and atrocities.

3. Houston was elected the first President of the *Lone Star Republic*.
   a. A plebescite overwhelmingly requested annexation by the United States.

4. Andrew Jackson (to whom Sam Houston was as close as a natural son) very much desired the annexation on strategic grounds, but he was cautious on the issue (unlike his basic personality).
   a. He foresaw that annexation would mean war with Mexico.
   b. He foresaw that annexation would stir up the slavery controversy, which he regarded as a red herring used by his political enemies to break the Union.
   c. Jackson recommended that annexation be put off.

5. **Texas therefore had no choice but to seek assistance elsewhere. The logical choices were France, and especially, Great Britain.**
   a. The British were attracted by Texas cotton.
   b. Texas offered no tariff barriers, in contrast with the US.
   c. Texas offered favorable terms for investment.
   d. Texas also entered into serious negotiations for the emancipation of their slaves.
      (1) The British government were determinedly anti-slave, and were seriously pursuing schemes for compensated emancipation, paid for by the British taxpayer (the number of slaves was small enough to make this feasible.)
   e. **Albert K. Weinberg** provided an interesting discussion of the ideology of expansion in a book published in 1935, at a time when ideology was relatively more important but racism relatively less important. Partly because he takes a different approach from the current fad, I include a discussion of his analysis. (Another reason is that, in reviewing the debates, I think he is quite sound.)

6. Causation in history is usually multiplex. Weinberg's vision does not necessarily negate the vision of revisionists. I believe that there is a high degree of compatibility. Here, the difference between one school and another is more one of emphasis.

7. Weinberg believed that the "Roaring Forties" saw the welding of two ideals together, which gave a new integration of the national consciousness. (507)

8. One ideal was **Territorial Expansion**

9. The second ideal was **Democracy**, thought of as a complex of individualistic values.

10. The slogan for the era became the "extension of the area of freedom" (508)
    a. This phrase was coined by Andrew Jackson in a letter written in 1843 to Rep. Aaron V. Brown and which was published without his permission in 1844. I will get back to it later.
    b. It is also worth noting that the phrase was used primarily with respect to the annexation of Texas. (508)

11. Originally, the idea of "extending the area of freedom" was not perceived
as being logically related to the extension of territorial extent. The idea was that we would spread democracy by example. (509)

12. There was also the belief among many of the early national leaders that democracy and expansion were incompatible: expansion would threaten to disrupt the balance of the sections and thus subvert the Union. (510-1)

13. In addition, there was fear that expansion threatened states' rights by creating a new section with conflicting interests with the original sections that could shift the balance of power according to its own interests. To paraphrase John Randolph of Roanoke, why should Americans acquiesce in adding territories that would eventually rule them? (511)

14. The common thread of these objections were an egoistic fear that expansion threatened the liberties of the nation, state, and individual. (511)

15. The acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase and the War of 1812 helped to allay these fears. Westerners proved to be loyal democrats, and the federal principle proved to be flexible and successful. (512-3)

16. The fear of European encroachment, especially British encroachment, is the catalyst for change.

17. The assumptions of the earlier era were therefore inverted during the Roaring Forties: expansion came to be viewed as essential to our democracy and Union, and failure to expand came to be viewed as a threat. (518)

18. There are different strands to this inversion.
   a. Southern paranoia (a problem which will grown steadily from this point on) (518)
      (1) Threats by Northern abolitionists to dissolve the Union should Texas be annexed give substance to the fire-eaters' fears. (518-9)
      (2) Fireeaters like Robert Barnwell Rhett candidly admitted that they desired Texas to extend slavery in the US. They reconciled this with States' Rights by arguing that it would preserve the power of the South, taken as a section, to protect their "peculiar institution."
   b. Ideological: expansion increased the opportunities for self-development. The pioneers forging their way West were seen now as the carriers of that ideal of Jefferson's: "That government is best which governs the least." (521)
   c. Economic: the continued existence of democracy required continuous economic expansion (521) [This is really an important strand; do not forget it!]
      (1) Rep. Duncan stated, in defense of the Oregon Bill, "I have before remarked that personal liberty is incompatible with a crowded population. . . . The inability of the weak, the humble and the non-assuming to contend with the over-bearing, the cunning, and the grasping monopolist makes it necessary, to the equality of circumstances and personal liberty, that the advantages of territory should constantly be kept open to all who wish to
embrace it." (521)

d. "Enshrined in expansionism, then, was this dogma of the special mission. . . . The expansionist dogma of destiny was essentially ethical in its assumption that 'Providence had given to the American people a great and important mission . . . to spread the blessings of Christian liberty.' It was ambitiously ethical in its further assumption that 'Providence' had a 'design in extending our free institutions as far and wide as the American continent.' But the primary providential end was no more the elevation of the Latin-American heathen than was the elevation of the adjacent Philistines the end of the Israelite's journey to the Promised Land. The end in view was, as stated by John L. O'Sullivan in his first passage on manifest destiny, 'the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.' But in a second reference to manifest destiny he implied the moral significance of this free development of Americans. Americans were destined to develop themselves as subjects in 'the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us.'" (531)

e. Editorial, United States Magazine and Democratic Review [a Democratic magazine] April 1844: [the editorial quotes extensively a letter written by Sen. Robert J. Walker of Miss. advocating annexation; Walker was from Pennsylvania, immigrated to Mississippi, became a wealthy planter and slaveholder, later served in the Cabinet and as governor of Kansas, where he incurred the hatred to his fellow planters; he was loyal to the Union in 1861, and served as an envoy for the US in Europe] "Che sarà, sarà--what must be, must bee--and, in general, the sooner therefore it is, the better. . . . That Texas is to be . . . included in the Union . . . we have long . . . regarded as an event already indelibly inscribed in the book of future fate and necessity. . . . We are neither Southerners, to desire the annexation for the purpose of propping up that side of the fast failing equilibrium in the federal government between the free and the slave states; nor Abolitionists, who, erroneously making the question of slavery a political and a federal question, with equal vehemence, for the same reason, deprecate that event. . . . The Valley of the West, or of the Mississippi--the magnificent region allotted already by the unequivocal finger of Providence, for the main center and home of the great republican, confederated empire of the West. . . . That the whole of this valley region . . . must . . . come together into one homogeneous unity of political system, is a simple geographical fact. . . . [quoting Walker] 'The Creator . . . has planned down the whole valley, including Texas, and united every atom of the soil and every drop of the water s of the mighty whole. . . . it is impious in man to attempt to dissolve this great and glorious Union. . . . To refuse to accept the reannexation is to lower the flag of the Union before the red-cross of St. George and to surrender the Florida pass, the mouth of the Mississippi, the command of the Mexican Gulf, and finally, Texas itself, into the hands of England . . . [The article urges annexation because off the danger of
England's acquiring the possession of, or a dominant control over, the young state. . . And as for what may be termed the anti-slavery objection, this has no greater force than the other. The question of slavery is not a federal or national but a local question. . . . This balance of political power between the sections we regard as of little consequence. . . . Free states will be made faster than slave ones, to say nothing of probable decay of that institution in some of the more northern of the Southern states." ("Texas Without War," 192-200)

F. Rep. Joshua Giddings, Whig and Abolitionist, in opposition to annexation, May 21, 1844: "The North and West now hold the balance of political power; and at the present session we have asked for a bill for the protection of our lake and river commerce. . . . But let us admit Texas and we shall place the balance of power in the hands of the Texans themselves. They, with the Southern states, will control the policy and the destiny of this nation. . . . Are the liberty-loving Democrats of Pennsylvania ready to give up our tariff?" (Giddings 201)

G. James K. Polk from his Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1846: "I regard the question of annexation as belonging exclusively to the United States and Texas. . . . None can fail to see the danger to our safety and future peace if Texas remains an independent state or becomes an ally or dependency of some foreign nation more powerful than herself. . . . Our title to the country of the Oregon is 'clear and unquestionable,' and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children. . . . The world beholds the peaceful triumphs of the industry of our emigrants. To us belong the duty of protecting them adequately." (Polk 286-8)

H. John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation" from the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, July 1845: "Texas is now ours. . . . the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions. . . . The independence of Texas was complete. . . . It was not revolution, it was resistance to revolution. . . . Nor is there any just foundation for the charge that annexation is a great pro-slavery measure—calculated to increase and perpetuate that institution. Slavery has nothing to do with it. . . . That it will tend to facilitate and hasten the disappearance of slavery from all the northern tier of the present slave states, cannot surely admit of serious question. . . . Every new slave state in Texas will make at least one free state from among those in which that institution now exists. . . . to say nothing of the far more rapid growth of new states in the free West and Northwest. . . . It is undeniably much gained for the cause of the eventual voluntary abolition of slavery, that it should have been thus drained off toward the only outlet which appeared to furnish much probability of the ultimate disappearance of the Negro race from our borders. The Spanish-Indian-American populations of Mexico, Central America, and South America, afford the only receptacle capable of absorbing that race whenever we shall be prepared to slough it off—to emancipate it from slavery, and (simultaneously necessary) to remove it from the midst of our own. . . . California will . . . next fall away. . . . Imbecile and distracted, Mexico never can exert any real government over such a country. . . . The Anglo-Saxon
foot is already on its borders. A population will soon be actual occupation of California, over which it will be idle for Mexico to dream of dominion. . . . Their right to independence will be the natural right of self-government belonging to any community strong enough to maintain it." (O'Sullivan 288-92)

I. Anonymous Editorial, American Review, a Whig journal, Jan. 1846: "Regarding the accession of California as an event which present tendencies, if not checked or counteracted, must render inevitable. . . . No one who cherishes a faith in the wisdom of an overruling Providence, and who sees, in the national movements which convulse the world, the silent operation of an invisible but omnipotent hand, can believe it to be for the interest of humanity, for the well-being of the world, that this vast and magnificent region should continue forever in its present state. . . . the manifest designs of Providence are unfulfilled, and the paramount interests of the world lack due advancement. While California remains in possession of its present inhabitants and under control of its present government, there is no hope of its regeneration. This will demand a life, an impulse of energy, a fiery ambition of which no spark can ever be struck from the soft sluggishness of the American Spaniard. . . . The affairs of the whole world are, in many very important respects, linked and even fused together. Commerce, which has come to be the ruling power upon the globe, makes its home upon the broad sea that knows no bounds--its familiar paths are upon the world's great highways. . . . [Mexico] cannot lack the sagacity to perceive that, with Great Britain firmly fixed in California, she could not engage in war with the United States without a certainty, or, at the least, a very strong probability of having Great Britain for an active ally. . . We deem it impossible that Great Britain should expect to occupy California, either as a colony or 'somewhat in the manner of the East India Company,' with the acquiescence or indifference of the United States. In no spot upon the continent could she establish her power where it could be so effectually wielded to our lasting injury. It can scarcely be doubted that the Pacific Ocean is hereafter to bear upon its bosom a far greater commerce than now floats upon the Atlantic. Whatever may be its relation to Europe, to the United States, it is destined to be the highway to Asia." ("California and the National Interest," 323-328)

J. Thomas Hart Benton, Senate speech, May 28, 1846 "It would seem that the White race alone received the divine command, to subdue and replenish the earth,' for it is the only race that has obeyed it--the only one that hunts out new and distant lands, and even a New World, to subdue and replenish. . . . The van of the Caucasian race now tops the Rocky Mountains . . . Commerce is a great civilizer . . . the White race will take the ascendant . . . The Red race has disappeared from the Atlantic coast: the tribes that resisted civilization met extinction. Civilization, or extinction, has been the fate of all people who have found themselves in the track of the advancing Whites." (Benton 204-206)

K. James Russell Lowell, excerpts from the Bigelow Papers, 1848:

"T would n't suit them Southern fellers,  
They 're a dreffle graspin' set.
We must ollers blow the bellers
Wen they want their irons het;
May be it's all right es preachin',
But my narves it kind o' grates,
Wen I see the overreachin'
O' them nigger-drivin' States.

Them thot rule us, them slave-traders,
Hain't they cut a thunderin' swarth
(Helped by Yankee renegades.)
Through the vartu o' the North!
We begin to think it's nater
To take sarse an' not be riled;
Who 'd expect to see a tater
All on eend t being' biled?

Ex fer wat, I call it murder--
There you he' it plain an' flat;
I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testyment fer that;
God hez sed so plump an' fairly,
It's ez long ez it is broad,
An' you've got to git up airly
Ef you want to take in God.

They may talk o' Freedom's airy
Tell they're pupple inn the face--
It's a grand gret cemetary
Fer the barthrights of our race;
They jest want this Californy
So's to lug new slave-states in
To abuse ye, an' to scorn ye,
An' to plunder ye like sin.

Tell ye jest the eend I've come to
Arter cipherin' plaguy smart,
An' it makes a handy sum, tu,
Any gump could larn by heart,
Laborin' man and laborin' woman
Hee one glory an' one shame.
Ev'ry thin' that's done inhuman
Injers all on 'em the same.

L. Charles Sumner, Whig and Abolitionist, "Report on the War with Mexico" adopted by the Massachusetts legislature 1847: "A war of conquest is bad; but the present
war has darker shadows. It is a war for the extension of slavery over a territory which has already been purged by Mexican authority from this stain and curse. Fresh markets of human beings are to be established. . . . But it is not merely proposed to open new markets for slavery: it is also designed to confirm and fortify the 'Slave Power.' Here is a distinction which should not fail to be borne in mind. Slavery is odious as an institution . . . But it has been made the basis of a political combination, to which has not inaptly been applied the designation of the 'Slave Power.' . . . The object of the bold measure of annexation was not only to extend slavery, but to strengthen the 'Slave Power.' The same object is now proposed by the Mexican War. . . . It is virtually . . . a war against the free states of the Union." (Sumner 361-365)

M. Albert Gallatin, "Peace with Mexico," a pamphlet published in 1847: "It is said that the people of the United States have a hereditary superiority of race over the Mexicans, which gives them the right to subjugate and keep in bondage the inferior nation. This, it is also alleged, will be the means of enlightening the degraded Mexicans, of improving their social state, and of ultimately increasing the happiness of the masses. [Is it] compatible with the principle of democracy, which rejects every hereditary claim of individuals, to admit a hereditary superiority of races? . . . In the progressive improvement of mankind, much more has been due to religious and political institutions than to races. . . . At this time the claim is but a pretext for covering the justifying unjust usurpation and unbounded ambition. But [even] admitting with respect to Mexico, the superiority of race, this confers no superiority of rights . . . no man is born with the right of governing another man. He may, indeed, acquire a moral influence over others, and no other is legitimate. The same principle will apply to nations. However superior the Anglo-American race may be to that of Mexico, this gives the Americans no right to infringe upon the rights of the inferior race." (Gallatin 369-372)

N. Abraham Lincoln, speech to Congress, from the Spot Resolutions, "A true issue made by the President would be about as follows: 'I say the soil was ours, on which the first blood was shed; there are those who say it was not.' . . . As a nation should not, and the Almighty will not, be evaded, so let him [Polk] attempt no evasion . . . if . . . he can show that the soil was ours where the first blood of the war was shed, . . . then I am with him . . . . But if he cannot or will not do this . . . then I shall be fully convinced of what I more than suspect already—that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong." (Lincoln 212-217)

O. Henry David Thoreau, from Civil Disobedience, 1849: "That government is best which governs not at all. . . . Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience, in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen ever for a moment . . . resign his conscience to the legislator? . . . if it [an injustice perpetrated by government] is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counterfriction to stop the machine." (Thoreau 540-548)
P. Compromise of 1850

1. Reasons for Southern demand for expansion of slavery
   a. Slavery is either right or it is wrong; there is therefore little room for compromise.
   b. Congress had complete control over territories, therefore it could kill slavery there.
   c. Wilmot Proviso 8/8/46
      (1) David Wilmot of Pennsylvania: "as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist."
      (2) Wilmot's motivations: "I would preserve for free white labor a fair country, a rich inheritance, where the sons of toil, of my own race and color, can live without the disgrace which association with negro slavery brings upon free labor."
      (3) All but one Northern state support Wilmot Proviso
      (4) Passes House, controlled by more populous North
      (5) Defeated in Senate
   d. Calhoun's proposals
      (1) Congress has no right to bar slavery from any territory. Since territories belong to all states, all states should have equal rights in them.
   e. Polk's compromise proposal
      (1) Extend 36 30' line to Pacific.
   f. Lewis Cass' compromise proposal
      (1) Squatter Sovereignty or Popular Sovereignty
      (2) Organize territories without mention of slavery, and then let local legislatures determine their own institutions.
      (3) Proposal abdicates federal responsibility over the territories and abandons the system of expansion set out in the Northwest Ordinances.

2. Election of 1848
   a. Whigs nominate Zachary Taylor
   b. Democrats nominate Lewis Cass
   c. The Barnburners
      (1) Martin Van Buren chooses to take a clear moral stand and joins with the Liberty Party to form the new Free Soil Party.
   d. Free Soilers tip the campaign to Taylor by bleeding votes from Cass.

3. Compromise of 1850
   a. Petition of California to enter the Union
   b. Taylor's proposal
      (1) Admit California as a state
      (2) Form territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah.
(3) Apply popular sovereignty to the new state/territories
c. Southern reaction
(1) For the first time, *South abandons position that slavery was a state matter, and they begin to demand protection of slavery everywhere*" 
d. Clay's **Omnibus Bill** 1/29/50
(1) *California enters as a free state*
(2) *New Mexico and Utah organized without restrictions on slavery*
(3) *Texas yields in a border dispute with New Mexico and is compensated by assumption of Texan debt*
(4) *Slave trade (not slavery itself) abolished in Washington, DC*
(5) *New and stringent Fugitive Slave Law*
e. Clay's last great speech [Secession would lead to Civil War], "furious, bloody, implacable, exterminating."
f. Calhoun's Reply 3/4/50
(1) He is 68, dying, and unable to speak. Speech is read by Sen. Mason of Virginia while Calhoun glared grim defiance
(2) "The cords that binds the State together are snapping one by one.
(3) Calhoun dies 20 days later
g. **William H. Seward** of New York 3/11/50 "**Higher Law**" speech
"But there is a higher law than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the domain and devotes it to the same noble purpose.
h. Horace Mann, House of Representatives, 2/15/50 "**Threats of dissolution, if executed, become rebellion and treason . . . I deliberately say, better disunion--better a civil or a servile war--better anything that God in His providence shall send, than an extension of the bounds of slavery."
i. **Stephen A. Douglas** emerges
(1) Split up the Omnibus Bill to separate the measures
(2) Pushes bills through individually, but there is no consensus for the whole package

4. **Fugitive Slave Bill**
a. Federal commissioners to issue warrants and compel citizens to assist
b. Blacks accused of being a run-away denied jury trial (remember the anger over Admiralty Courts?) or even an opportunity to testify
c. Blacks accused of being a run-away could be remanded into slavery simply on presentation of an affidavit by the alleged owner
d. Judges paid $10 for a guilty verdict, and $5.00 for an innocent verdict (remember the anger over Admiralty Courts, part II?)
e. 332 blacks returned to slavery, 11 freed in 10 years
5. Enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law
   a. Attempts to enforce the law created serious friction
   b. Some blacks move to Canada
   c. **Personal Liberty Laws**

6. **Harriet Beecher Stowe** and **Uncle Tom's Cabin**, 1852
   a. Stirred by the Fugitive Slave Act.

Q. **Kansas-Nebraska Act**
   1. Shatters the Compromise of 1850
      a. Territory divided in half
      b. Nebraska presumably would be free
      c. Kansas expected by Southerners to be slave
      d. The 36° 30' line of the Missouri Compromise repealed
      e. Decision as to slave or free left to Popular Sovereignty
      f. Applied Popular Sovereignty to soil that had been free for 30 years
   2. Bill radicalizes moderate opponents of slavery
      a. End of enforcement of Fugitive Slave Law
      b. Anthony Burns returned at a cost of $100,000 from Boston, while church bells tolled as for a funeral, and Marines guarded the streets
   3. Growth of the *American* or "**Know Nothing**" Party
      a. Lincoln on the Know-Nothings: "Of their principles, I think little better than I do of the slavery extensionists . . . . Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We now practically read it 'all men are created equal except negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except negroes, and foreigners, and catholics.'"
   4. Formation of the **Republican Party**
      a. Free Soilers, Conscience Whigs, Anti _Nebraska Democrats_
      b. **NOT Abolitionist!**
      c. Opposed to the extension of slavery
      d. high tariffs
      e. homestead act
      f. internal improvements (railroads)
   5. **Dred Scott Decision**
      a. Argument is that Scott became free when he moved from slave territory to free territory, residing 2 years each in Illinois and Wisconsin Territory
      b. At question: does Congress or state legislatures have the power to outlaw slavery in the territories
      c. The Decision
         (1) Negroes are not citizens, therefore they cannot sue
         (2) As a resident of Missouri, the laws of Illinois no longer had any effect on his status
         (3) Residence in Wisconsin Territory did not free Scott since the **Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional** since
under the Fifth Amendment due process clause since slaves were property and Congress could not deprive a person of his slaves or property.

d. The Reaction:
   (1) Southerners elated__Freedom is Sectional, Slavery is National
   (2) Popular Sovereignty is seriously undermined
   (3) Many Northerners convinced the South was aggressively trying to extend their "peculiar institution"

6. The Lecompton Constitution
   a. On a referendum sponsored by Lecompton, Free Soilers refuse to vote, and the constitution is ratified 6,226 to 569
   b. On a Free Soil referendum on the constitution, the pro-slavery forces refuse to vote, and the constitution is crushed, 10,226 to 138.

R. The Emergence of Lincoln
1. Republicans nominate Lincoln to oppose Douglas for Senate
2. Lincoln's views
3. Opposed slavery without rancor toward slaveowners: "When it is said that the institution exists and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution [slavery]. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia. . . . But a moment's reflection would convince me that . . . its sudden execution is impossible. . . . What then? Free them all and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? . . . What next? Free them and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this, and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white peoples will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgement is not the sole question, if indeed, it has any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well- or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot then make them equals. . . .
4. When they [Southern slaveholders] remind us of their constitutional rights [to be secure in their property], I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives which should not, in its stringency, be mor likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one . . .
5. "But all of this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery into our own free territory, than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law.
6. "The doctrine of self-government is right--absolutely and eternally right--but it has no just application as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather
say that whether it has such application depends upon whether a Negro is not or is a man. If he is not a man, in that case he who is a man may, as a matter of self-government, do just what he pleases with him. But if the Negro is a man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself, that is self government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. If the Negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that 'all men are created equal'; and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another. . . .

7. "But Nebraska is urged as a great Union-saving measure. Well, I, too, go for saving the Union. Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any great evil to avoid a greater one. . . ."

8. "Slavery is founded on the selfishness of man's nature__opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are in eternal antagonism."Peoria Speech, 1850"

9. We are now in the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation [the Kansas_Nebraska Act]

10. "Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed.

11. 

12. "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half_slave and half_free.

13. "I do not expect the Union to be dissolved__I do not expect the house to fall__but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

14. "Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is on the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South." "House Divided Speech", Springfield, Illinois, 6/16/58

15. Lincoln_Douglas Debates

a. "This government of ours is founded on a white basis. It was made by the white man, in such manner as they should determine. It is also true that a Negro, an Indian, or any other man of inferior race to a white man should be permitted to enjoy, and humanity requires that he should have, all the rights, privileges, and immunities which he is capable of exercising consistent with the safety of society."Douglas, "Reply to Lincoln" Chicago, 6/9/58

b. "I do not question Mr. Lincoln's conscientious belief that the Negro was made his equal and hence his brother. But for my own part, I
do not regard the Negro as my brother or any kin to me whatever."
Douglas, Lincoln_Douglas Debates  Ottawa, Illinois, 8/21/58

c. "I will say here . . . that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to
interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it
exists. I believe that I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no
inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and
social equality between the white and black races. There is a
physical difference between the two . . . I . . . am in favor of the
race to which I belong having the superior position. . . .
d. "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 these as
the white man. . . . But in the right to eat the bread, without the
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." Lincoln, Lincoln_Douglas Debate  Ottawa, Illinois,
8/21/58

e. "I have stated upon former occasions what I understand to be
the real issue in this controversy between Judge Douglas and
myself. On the point of my wanting to make war between the
Free and Slave States, there has been no issue between us. So
too, when he assumes that I am in favor of introducing a perfect
social and political equality between the white and black
races. These are false issues . . . .
f. "The real issue in this controversy . . . is the sentiment on the
part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a
wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a
wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of
slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the
Republican Party. They look upon it as being a moral, social,
and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such they
nevertheless have a due regard for . . . the difficulties of getting
rid of it in any satisfactory way and to all the constitutional
obligations thrown about it.
g. "Yet . . . they insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated
as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is
to make provision that it shall grow no larger." Lincoln,
Lincoln_Douglas Debate  Alton, Illinois, 10/15/58

h. The Freeport Doctrine
(1) Lincoln challenges Douglas to reconcile Popular
Sovereignty with the Dred Scott decision
(2) Douglas tries to wriggle off the hook by arguing that
slavery was by its nature an institution that could not exist a
day or an hour without a slave code and without local
police enforcement. The people could block slavery by denying these protections, regardless of Dred Scott

(3) William H. Seward, "Irrepressible Conflict" speech 10/25/58 "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will sooner or later, become either a slaveholding nation or entirely a free labor nation."

S. Bleeding Kansas
1. Emigrant Aid Society
2. Missourians stirred to move in and protect Kansas for slavery
3. Election November 1854
4. "Border Ruffians" crossed to voteLegislature is pro-slave and passes a very severe slave code
5. Free Soil forces denounce the government and form their own government at Topeka
6. TWO governments in Kansas, with two governors, two capitals, and two legislatures
7. Guerrilla War
   a. Pro_slavery federal marshall assemble a posse to arrest Free Soil leaders in Lawrence, and then they sack the town
   b. John Brown murders 5 settlers at Pottawatomie Creek (by splitting their heads open with a broadsword) in retaliatio
   c. 200 killed by end of 1856
   d. By late November, Border Ruffians terrorize Free Soilers, who respond with "Beecher's Bibles": Free Soilers will also respond with Jayhawkers under the leadership of Jim Lane.
   e. The most notable Confederate guerrillas are William Clark Quantrill and "Bloody Bill" Anderson.
8. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and "Crime Against Kansas" Speech, May 185
   a. Singled out the elderly Sen. Andrew Butler of South Carolina
   b. Developed a series of pointed sexual references: "rape of virgin territory" "taken slavery as his mistress
9. Preston Brooks, Butler's nephew, determines to cane Sumner, (regarding him as not worthy of a duel), which he does while Sumner was writing at his desk in the Senate chambers.

T. Election of 1856
1. John C. Frémont is Republican candidate: "Free Soil, Free Speech, and Frémont"
2. Democrats nominate James Buchanan of Pennsylvania
3. Know_Nothing Party nominated Millard Fillmore
4. Buchanan wins
   a. Would not have won without the South
   b. Southern influence in his administration is very strong
U. John Brown’s Raid at Harper’s Ferry

1. **John Brown's Raid** on Harper’s Ferry 10/59
   a. object to seize the federal arsenal, arm slaves, establish a black republic in mountains of Virginia, and lead a private war
   b. no slaves joined him
   c. position stormed by U.S. Marines

2. Tried for treason
   a. tried, convicted, and hanged
   b. Brown behaved calmly throughout, using his death to make himself a martyr.
   c. Ralph Waldo Emerson glorified him: "That new saint, than whom nothing purer or more brave was ever led by love of men into conflict and death . . . will make the gallows glorious like the cross"
   d. South sees raid as the fulfillment of their worst nightmares, proof positive of Northern aggression

V. Election of 1860

1. Impasse at the Democratic Convention
2. South refused to accept Douglas at Democratic convention in Charleston without a guarantee of slavery in the territories
3. **William Lowndes Yancey** demands a platform that argued that slavery was right, as opposed to Lincoln's a wrong
4. Northern Democrats refused to go along, the Southerners withdrew, and the convention ends without a candidate
5. Four Candidates
   b. **John C. Breckinridge**: Southern Democrats: slavery in the territories
   c. **John Bell**: Know Nothing Party and the old Whigs: stood on the Constitution, whatever that meant
   d. Abraham Lincoln: Republicans
      (1) Platform
         (a) high tariff: appeal to manufacturers
         (b) homestead law: appeal to small Western farmers
         (c) internal improvements: RR to the Pacific: appeal to farmers and manufacturers
         (d) no restrictions on immigration: appeal to manufacturers
         (e) no extension of slavery into the territories
         (f) did not advocate abolition of slavery
      (2) Lincoln's Victory
         (a) 180 electoral votes

W. Secession Crisis

1. South Carolina secedes 12/20/60
2. Lower South follows: Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Texas,
Louisiana; the reason given is, unequivocally, the issue of slavery

3. Upper South does not secede but would if the federal government attempts to use force to restore the Union
   a. Lincoln on the cause: (to a southern leader) "You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us."

4. Buchanan regards secession as illegal but also believed that the federal government could not use force to coerce a state

5. Crittenden Amendment proposed by Sen. John J. Crittenden of Kentucky
   a. Recognize slavery south of 36 30' in the territories; no further tampering with slavery in the states or territories
   b. Lincoln refuses to compromise:

6. Lincoln's First Inaugural Address: "In your hands [the South's] and not in mine, is the momentous issue of the civil war. The Government will not assail you. [But] I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. . . . No state upon its own mere action can lawfully get out of the Union. . . . I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. . . . The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts."

7. South Carolina opens fire on Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, on April 12, 1861.

X. Evaluation of some historians
   1. first historians saw Civil War as an irrepressible moral conflict
   2. Charles and Mary Beard saw Civil War as an irrepressible economic conflict
   3. Allan Nevins saw Civil War as an irrepressible social and cultural conflict
   4. Eric Foner stresses free labor ideology and the North's conviction of moral superiority
   5. Eugene Genovese stresses cultural divergence and Southern belief in cultural superiority
   6. dominant interpretation is that the Civil War was irrepressible

III. The War Between the States
   A. Balance of Power
      1. Population
         a. 19 free states  18,936,579
         b. 11 seceded states (white)  5,449,467
         c. 4 border states (white)  2,589,533
         d. 11 seceded states (slave)  3,521,111
         e. 4 border states (slave)  429,401
      2. Forces
         a. Union Forces  2,500,000-2,750,000
            (1) Battle Deaths  110,070
b. Confederate Forces

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<td>(1) Battle Deaths</td>
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<td>(2) Disease, Wounds, etc</td>
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<td>164,000</td>
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<td>(3) Total</td>
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<td>(13-14.4%)</td>
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3. Manufacturing, Finances

a. Confederacy possessed 30% of national wealth but only 12% of circulating currency and 21% of banking assets
b. South had 26% of railroad mileage in 1850; North 74%
c. South had 42% of the population but only 18% of the manufacturing capacity
d. Half of that manufacturing capacity was in the Border States
e. New York state had manufactures worth 4 times the total of the South
f. The North manufactured 97% of the nation's firearms

4. Numbers and Losses

a. Cost

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<td>(1) War cost $2 million / day to the US government</td>
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<td>(2) Budget ballooned from $66.5 million in 1861 to $474.8 million in 1862 to $1.297 billion in 1865</td>
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<td>(3) South lost $2 billion in slave property confiscated</td>
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<td>(4) South lost an additional $2 billion in real property destroyed</td>
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<td>(5) Entire infrastructure (roads, railroads, bridges, warehouses, schools, farms, etc) of the South is destroyed</td>
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b. Lives

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<td>(1) The Civil War cost more lives than all American wars up to and including Korea combined</td>
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<td>(2) <strong>Shiloh</strong> saw more Americans hit (24,272) than in all previous wars in our history combined</td>
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<td>(3) <strong>Antietam</strong> cost 4 times as many casualties (26,134) as on D-Day and twice as many dead as the War of 1812, Mexican War, and Spanish-American War combined</td>
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B. Why did the North win?

1. A better question is “How could the North have lost?”

2. Overwhelming superiority of material resources
   a. Manpower
   b. Population
   c. Finances
   d. Manufacturing capacity
   e. Rail capacity

3. A stronger central government capable of waging war efficiently
   a. The Confederacy deliberately structured its central government to be weak. The result was a very inefficient use of those resources
the South possessed.

b. In other words, States’ Rights brought its own reward—defeat

4. Abraham Lincoln’s masterful leadership

5. Northern task
   a. Conquer an area the size of Western Europe
   b. Prevent European intervention

6. Southern advantages
   a. Fighting on own soil
   b. Does not need to conquer the North, only convince the North that continued fighting would not be worth it (a draw is a Southern victory)
   c. Superior military leadership
      (1) A disproportionate number of professional soldiers in the US Army were Southern born
      (2) This advantage diminishes as the war goes on
         (a) Outstanding Southern generals are killed or wounded (Stonewall Jackson, JEB Stuart)
         (b) Outstanding Northern generals are identified and promoted (US Grant, William Tecumseh Sherman)

7. Northern strategy
   a. The Anaconda Plan—proposed by Gen. Winfield Scott in 1861
      (1) Blockade Southern ports to deny the South necessary war supplies
      (2) Seize control of the Mississippi River and cut the South in two
      (3) Apply pressure everywhere possible until the South collapses
   b. George McClellan was contemptuous of the aged Scott, thinking he could win far more quickly (and earn glory for himself.)
      (1) Most Northerners agreed in so far as they believed they could win the war quickly.
      (2) The Anaconda Plan was slow but sure
      (3) Southerners shared the delusion that the war would be short
      (4) Unfortunately for McClellan, he could not fight his way out of a paper bag. His ego was in inverse proportion to his fighting spirit.
      (5) In the end, the Anaconda Plan is exactly what the North did to win, with Sherman cutting the South into quarters after the fall of Vicksburg when he captured Atlanta and Marched to the Sea

C. Could the South have won?
   1. The short version is: Yes.
   2. European intervention, especially from Great Britain, would have resulted in a Southern victory.
      a. The South would have to win major victories in order to induce the
British to enter in.
(1) The British would want to be sure that they were joining the winning side.

b. The Confederacy, as a low-tariff market for British manufactured goods and a supplier of cotton, was attractive to the British government
(1) The British public was quite anti-slave, but so long as the war was about restoring the Union, and not about the abolition of slavery, their attitude could be overlooked.

c. In the summer of 1862, Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia, despite being outnumbered 2:1, provided the kind of victories that came very close to bringing the British in on the Southern side
(1) The Seven Days’ Campaign drove McClellan and the Army of the Potomac from the gates of Richmond
(2) Second Bull Run (to you Yankees, Second Manassas to us) shattered John Pope’s Army of Virginia

d. Lee invaded Maryland in the fall of 1862 expressly to force the issue and win foreign recognition.
(1) The Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest day in US history, ended in a tactical victory for the Confederates, but a strategic defeat.
(2) Lincoln used the occasion to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, which changed the nature of the war completely.
   (a) In my opinion, Great Britain would never have recognized the Confederacy after this point—the British public would not have accepted it.

e. In 1863, following victories at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, Lee once again invaded the North, once again aiming at a major victory that would bring the British in.
(1) Lee is defeated at the three day Battle of Gettysburg, the bloodiest battle of the war, and is forced to retreat.
(2) This was the high tide of the Confederacy
(3) The city of Vicksburg surrendered to US Grant virtually the same day, thereby cutting the Confederacy in two. Together, Vicksburg and Gettysburg are generally regarded as the decisive battles of the war.

3. Attrition—cause the North to give up
a. The summer campaign of 1864 came very close to achieving that goal.
(1) In the West, Sherman was engaged in a lengthy siege for Atlanta
(2) In the East, US Grant launched a campaign that resulted in the most ferocious fighting of the war:
(a) The Wilderness (5/5-7/64)
(b) Spotsylvania Courthouse (5/8-12)
(c) North Anna River (5/22-26/64)
(d) Bethesda Church (5/28-31/64)
(e) Cold Harbor 6/1-2/64

(3) Losses for one month: US losses 53,865 (1,800 men / day); CS losses 30,149 (1,004 men / day)

(4) Grant's strategy: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." "I determined to hammer continually against the armed forces of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but submission."

(5) This is a winning strategy, despite casualties on a scale such as no US President or general before or since has tolerated. Grant could replace his losses. Lee could not.

b. The key campaign issue in the election of 1864 was whether to make peace with the South or not.

(1) Democratic candidate George B. McClellan did not believe the South could be beaten
(2) Abraham Lincoln would never, ever give up the fight.
(3) Lincoln’s re-election seals the doom of the Confederacy

D. Lincoln’s leadership

1. A great President.
   a. a master politician
   b. adroit at the use of patronage
   c. patient
   d. able to think out his problems, accept their implications, and act unflinchingly
   e. a supreme nationalist whose prime goal is "to save the Union"

2. The Greeley Letter: On August 22, 1862, Lincoln replied to an editorial from Horace Greeley criticizing him for not freeing the slaves in an open letter: "As to the policy I 'seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave anyone in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be 'the Union as it was.' If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I
forebear I forebear because I do not believe it will help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views sob fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men, everywhere, could be free.
a. a fine strategist who formulated policy and urged his generals on aggressively
   (1) Once he found aggressive generals--Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan-- he stuck by them no matter what pressure was brought to bear
   (2) both ruthless and compassionate in prosecuting the war
      (a) In 1862, following the defeat at the Seven Days', and under increasing pressure abroad, he writes to the governors: "I expect to maintain this contest until successful, or till I die, or am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forsake me."
      (b) During the same time period, in a speech, he declares,"I shall do no more than I can, and I shall do all I can, to save the government, which is my sworn duty as well as my personal inclination. I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."
      (c) When slave owners in Louisiana in 1862 complained that "Beast" Butler was interfering with master/slave relationships by enlisting Negroes in labor battalions, he replies, "[I]t may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed."
      (d) The "available card" of course is emancipation, which Lincoln is considering in late summer/early fall of 1862
3. Assembled a very able but difficult cabinet
   a. William Seward, Sec'y of State thought himself abler and expected to dominate Lincoln
   b. Salmon P. Chase, Sec'y of Treasury, a Radical Republican, who never accepted Lincoln as his equal; later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
   c. Gideon Welles, Sec'y of Navy, exceptionally capable
   d. Edwin M. Stanton, Sec'y of War, brilliant, hard driving, hated by everyone, who hated and despised Lincoln
4. The Border States
a. Saved Missouri and Maryland for the Union by a use of force
b. Saved Kentucky for the Union by a use of tact and force
   (1) "Lincoln would like God on his side but he must have Kentucky."

5. Exceeded his powers
   a. Ordered an expansion of army and navy without an Enabling Act
   b. Spent money without Congressional approval
   c. Suspended habeas corpus where civil courts were open
      (1) Suppressed freedom of speech and freedom of the press
      (2) Subjected 16,000 citizens to military arrest
      (3) *ex parte Merryman* (1861) President has no authority to suspend habeas corpus, only Congress does; Lincoln ignores the ruling
      (4) *ex parte Milligan* (1866) Civilians cannot be tried in a military court where civil courts are open
   d. Declared a blockade without a declaration of war
   e. Invaded the rights of the states by confiscating $2 billion worth of property in slaves

6. The Emancipation Proclamation
   a. Lincoln opposed emancipation at first on grounds that it would further divide the country
   b. Racial prejudice among Northerners so strong as to make legal and political equality--a demand of the Radicals--a practical impossibility
   c. Unwilling to make enemies of the Union cause among those who condemn slavery but shared the Southern view of race
   d. Forces *John C. Fremont* to rescind an order confiscating the slaves of rebels in Missouri
   e. Preferred to see emancipation by state law with compensation
   f. His efforts to convince Border State slaveholders to emancipate their slaves are rebuffed, and this contributes to Lincoln's decision to emancipate the slaves in 1862
   g. Congressional steps
      (1) *Confiscation Act 1861* freed slaves used for insurrectionary purposes
      (2) Abolished slavery with compensation in DC 1862
      (3) Abolished slavery in the territories 1862
         (a) This is unconstitutional due to Dred Scott
   h. *Confiscation Act 1862*--Property of persons supporting the rebellion is subject to forfeiture

7. *Emancipation Proclamation*
   a. Lincoln told his cabinet 7/22/62 that he would emancipate the slaves--one month before the Greeley letter
   b. Cabinet recommended that he hold the Proclamation until there was a Union victory
c. Issued following the desperate battle of Antietam 9/17/62

d. Aimed at gaining a military advantage and at gaining liberal support in England and France

e. English workers supported the North against their own economic self-interest
   (1) No chance of British intervention after the Emancipation Proclamation

f. Issued 9/22/62
   (1) Did not actually free any slaves
   (2) Affected only the Confederacy
   (3) Aimed at the institution itself, not at the property of rebels

g. Shifted the meaning of the war
   (1) If the South were defeated, emancipation meant a social and economic revolution in the South
   (2) Adds a moral dimension to the Northern cause
   (3) War becomes a revolutionary struggle

h. Lincoln's issues it under his authority to make war: it is a war measure
   (1) Immediate domestic effects
      (a) Fear in the North of an inundation by blacks
      (b) Draft riots in 1863
         i) In New York City simultaneously with the battle of Gettysburg
         ii) Irish workers, furious at having to fight for blacks who would then take their jobs, turn on blacks
         iii) 128 blacks are killed in the riots
         iv) The Emancipation Proclamation is the most unpopular thing Lincoln did

E. Role of African Americans
1. The movie *Glory* has led to a major exaggeration of the importance of African-Americans in the war, in my estimation.
2. African-Americans, willingly or not, were used by both sides for menial tasks, such as constructing defenses
3. Frederick Douglass was eager for African-Americans to fight, and lobbied extensively for that privilege
   a. He believed that men who would fight and die for their country would be able to demand equality of rights after the war.
4. African-American regiments were in fact formed.
5. White officers did not hold them in high esteem (without cause, I might add), and so they were often not used in combat, or in theaters of lesser importance, or, in one notable case, as cannon fodder.
   a. The battle depicted in *Glory*, while historical, was a minor engagement.
   b. African-American soldiers were massacred at *Fort Pillow* by
Nathan Bedford Forrest’s men.
(1) Forrest’s actual role is controversial. He later became Imperial Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, so the worst is alleged.
c. The **Battle of the Crater** in 1865 before Petersburg is a case where African-American troops were thrown in without any preparation simply because the white officers (in this case Ambrose E. Burnside) preferred to have black soldiers slaughtered than white. The defeat could then be used to justify the poor reputation of African-American troops.
(1) It is worth recalling Lincoln’s comment, “Only Burnside could have snatched defeat from the jaws of victory.”

6. Nevertheless, approximately 180,000 African-Americans bore arms in the War, almost all from the North (as opposed to freedmen) and represented a very high percentage of able bodied free black men.
   a. That represents 10% of Union forces in 1864-5
   b. Their units suffered casualties in proportion to their numbers
   c. While I do not believe that African-American soldiers were decisive in winning the war, they certainly made a substantial contribution.
   d. Unfortunately, Douglass’ hopes for post war equality were in vain.

IV. Reconstruction

A. **Presidential Reconstruction**
   1. **Lincoln’s 10% Plan 1863**
      a. State reinstated if 10% of 1860 voters took a loyalty oath and accepted emancipation
      b. Also required states to provide education for African-Americans and to grant the vote to African-Americans who were already literate, owned property, or had served in the Union forces
   2. **Wade-Davis Bill 1864**
      a. **Iron-clad oath:** 50% of 1860 voters must take a harsher loyalty oath and only non-Confederates could vote
      b. Lincoln pocket vetoed the bill

B. **Southern White Resistance**
   1. **Freedman’s Bureau**
      a. **Oliver O. Howard**
      b. Originally set up to try to take care of refugees and the homeless
         (1) included free blacks, but also homeless whites
         (2) Set up schools to teach African-Americans to read
   2. **Black codes**
      a. Simply took old slave codes and rewrote them to deny freedmen the right to bear arms, testify against a white person, the right to travel, the right to be unemployed
      b. . . . Every negro who shall be found absent from the residence of his employer after ten o'clock at night, without a written permit
from his employer, shall pay a fine of five dollars, or in default thereof, shall be compelled to work five days on the public road. . . No negro shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within said parish. . . Every negro is required to be in the regular service of some white person. . . No negro who is not in the military service shall be allowed to carry firearms or any kind of weapon. . . No negro shall sell, barter, or exchange any articles of merchandise . . . without the special written permission of his employer. “ Louisiana Black Code

c. **Contract-labor system** imposed, which provided for freedmen to work as “apprentices” under conditions little different from slavery
d. Clear attempt to legislate inferior status

3. Election of former Confederate leaders to Congress
   a. Alexander Stephens, former Vice President of the Confederacy, elected to the Senate

C. Impeachment of Andrew Johnson
   1. Andrew Johnson’s Reconstruction Plan
      a. Largely the same as Lincoln’s, except all former Confederate officers— that is, the planter class— were disenfranchised.
      b. Provided for personal pardons for disenfranchised leaders, which Johnson used very liberally
      c. Johnson’s vetoes
         (1) **Freedman’s Bureau Bill**: intended to increase power of the Freedman’s Bureau to protect freedmen, especially from contract labor laws
         (2) **Civil Rights Bill of 1866**: nullified the Black Codes and guarantied voting rights
         (3) Johnson regarded both as unconstitutional (which, prior to the XIV Amendment, they were)
         (4) Bills are eventually passed over his veto
         (5) Election of 1866
            (a) Johnson campaigned strenuously against the ratification of the XIV Amendment
            (b) “waving the bloody shirt” branded the Democratic Party as the party of treason
            (c) Election leaves the Republicans with a 2/3s majority in both houses of Congress

d. Johnson’s Impeachment
   (1) **Tenure of Office Act**: designed to protect Radical Republican Henry M. Stanton from being fired
      (a) As the Secretary of War, he was in charge of the Freedman’s Bureau.
      (b) Bill is badly written and is also unconstitutional
   (2) Johnson vetoes the bill (in order to allow the courts to rule
(3) House charges him with 11 “high crimes and misdemeanors”, all of which were political in nature.
   (a) The impeachment trial in the Senate was conducted entirely as a political struggle
   (b) Johnson’s crime was his opposition to Congress
(4) Johnson’s impeachment represents an attempt by Congress to alter the system of checks and balances
   (a) Johnson is acquitted by one vote

D. **Congressional Reconstruction**

1. **Radical Republicans**
   a. Charles Sumner: "state suicide"
   b. Thaddeus Stevens: “conquered provinces”
      (1) “Forty Acres and a Mule” proposal–provide land, seed to freedman
      (2) That all the public lands belonging to the ten States that formed the government of the so-called "confederate States of America" shall be forfeited by said States and become forthwith vested in the United States. Out of the lands thus seized and confiscated the slaves who have been liberated . . . shall have distributed to them as follows, namely: to each male person who is the head of a family, forty acres.” Stevens’ Bill.
   c. Ben Wade

2. **Joint Committee on Reconstruction**
   a. **Reconstruction Acts of 1867**
      (1) Five military districts
      (2) Martial law until new states admitted
      (3) Required new state governments to ratify the XIV Amendment
      (4) Required new state governments to enfranchise African-Americans

3. **XIII Amendment**: abolishes slavery
4. **XIV Amendment**: applies “equal protection of the laws” clause to states—the most important shift in power from state to federal government since the Constitution itself, plus provisions that were punitive in nature towards the former Confederacy
5. **XV Amendment**: guarantied the right to vote regardless of race (but not of gender)

E. **Black Reconstruction governments**

1. **Scalawags**: Southerners who cooperated with the Yankees
2. **Carpetbaggers**: Yankees who allegedly came South to plunder
   a. Most of them were actually idealistic school teachers and the like

While there were some opportunists, the legend has greatly exaggerated their number
3. African-American office holders
   a. Two black senators (Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce) and a
ten dozen Congressmen elected
   b. However, most black office holders were in low level jobs
   c. In actuality, the Black Reconstruction governments were firmly
controlled by whites–carpetbaggers or scalawags
4. Policies
   a. Public education: create a system where none had existed before;
most Southern whites were illiterate
   b. Railroads: investment in railroads would help restore the economy,
but this was very expensive in terms of infrastructure
   c. Higher taxes: Southern states before the war had very low rates of
taxation. Now, rates increase 100% or more to pay for needed
projects in a South that is now destitute
5. Corruption
   a. Corruption in these governments was a reality. Since the crooks
tended to be carpetbaggers, and since they were in power only due
to black votes, and since they were raising taxes as well, the
corruption drew intense hatred
   b. Corruption was a national problem–not a Southern one
      (1) Boss Tweed’s Democratic Tammany Hall machine stole far
more than any Black Republican government
      (2) The South is now poor; there is therefore a lot less to steal
in the South than in the North
      (3) The successor Bourbon Democrat governments appear to
me to have been about equally corrupt, but at least they
were Southerners
6. Economy
   a. The South is prostrate, and will not begin to recover until after
World War II
   b. Share croppers: provided only labor; landowner provided cabin,
mule, tools, and seed. Paid for this with a share of the crop,
usually at least 50%
   c. Tenant farmers: provided all but the land and the cabin; paid for
with a smaller share of the crop than a sharecropper
   d. Drop in production
      (1) Neither sharecropping nor tenant farming are economically
efficient.
      (2) Freedmen also did not choose to work like slaves
      (3) The result in a drop in cotton production in a market where
cotton prices had declined due to more international
competition
      (4) Landowners however, stressed cash crops over food crops,
with the result that constant planting of cotton depleted the
soil
F. The **Mississippi Plan**: essentially, the use of violence—organized or spontaneous—to prevent freedmen from voting

1. **Ku Klux Klan**: the most famous terror organization, founded in 1866 in Tennessee, and, by 1867, led by former Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest
   a. The Klan dressed in white sheets both to fuel superstitious terror and to disguise themselves
   b. Called the “**Invisible Empire**”

2. **Knights of the White Camellia**: not as well known as the Klan, but no different
   a. "**QUESTIONS**" 1. Do you belong to the white race? **Answer**--i do. 2. Did you ever marry any woman who did not, or does not, belong to he white race?--**Ans.** No. 3. Do you promise never to marry any woman but one who belongs to the white race. --**Ans.** I do. 4. Do you believe in the superiority of your race?--**Ans.** I do. 5. Will you promise never to vote for anyone for any office . . . who does not belong to your race? --**Ans.** I do. 7. Are you opposed to allowing the control of the political affairs of this country to go in whole or in part into the hands of the African race, and will you do everything in your power to prevent it? --**Ans.** Yes. 9. Will you, under all circumstances, defend and protect persons of the white race in their lives, rights, and property against all encroachments or invasions from any inferior race, and especially the African? --**Ans.** Yes." From the "**Constitution and Ritual of the Knights of the White Camellia**", adopted in New Orleans, 1868.

3. **Force Acts 1871-1872**: Federal troops sent to suppress the KKK
   a. They succeed. The Klan is disbanded. The Klan that exists today is a new version.
   b. The chief difference is that the original Klan hated mostly blacks, the new one hates blacks, Jews, liberals, Catholics, Italians, Hispanics, etc.

4. **Amnesty Act of 1872**: restored voting rights to former Confederates, which helps pave the way for the replacement of the Black Republican governments with the successor Bourbon Democrats

5. Note that spontaneous, unorganized violence against African-Americans could not be stopped by the Force Acts, even if the Ku Klux Klan was.
   a. "If you shoot a Republican out of season, the fine will be ten dollars and costs." **Saying in Jackson, Mississippi**, 1870s
   b. "Let there be White Leagues formed in every town, village and hamlet of the South. . . . By brute force they are endeavoring to force us into acquiescence to their hideous programme. We have submitted long enough to indignities, and it is time to meet brute force with brute force . . . " **Editorial from a Georgia newspaper**, 1874
G. **Election of 1876**

1. Scandals of the Grant Administration
   a. Salary Grab
   b. Credit Mobilier
   c. Whiskey Ring

2. **Hayes vs. Tilden**
   a. Votes challenged in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana
   b. Hayes needed all of those electoral votes to win
   c. Electoral Commission votes along strict party lines 8-7 to give all of them to Hayes

3. **Compromise of 1877**
   a. Southerners accept Hayes as President provided
      (1) all troops are withdrawn from the South
      (2) Southerners are named to the cabinet
      (3) investment in the South
      (4) the fate of Southern blacks to be left in the hands of Southern whites
   b. **Reconstruction fails to provide permanent gains for African-Americans because the Northern whites grew tired of the effort required to protect them. Only the Radical Republicans (a small number), for all their faults, had a genuine commitment to civil rights. The overwhelming majority of whites, North and South, held attitudes similar to Andrew Johnson**
   c. Two comments, one by John C. Calhoun, and the other by Abraham Lincoln, are pertinent here.
   d. **John C. Calhoun:** "The difficulty is in the diversisty of the races. So strongly drawn is the line between the two in consequence . . . that it is impossible for them to exist together in the same community, where their numbers are so nearly equal as in the slaveholding states, under any other relation than that which now exists. Social and political equality between is impossible. . . . But without such equality, to change the present condition of the African race, were it possible, would be but to change the form of slavery. It would make them the slaves of the community instead of the slaves of individuals." "Report on the Circulation of Abolitionist Petitions" 1836
   e. **Abraham Lincoln:** "What then? Free them all and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this better their condition? . . . What next? Free them and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this, and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white peoples will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgement is not the sole question, if indeed, it has any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well- or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot then make them equals."
4. **Bourbon Democrats / Redeemers**
   a. Disenfranchisement of African-Americans
      (1) literacy tests
      (2) grandfather clauses
      (3) poll taxes
   b. **Jim Crow laws**: gradually separated the two races in every respect, schools, restaurants, entrances to businesses, water fountains, public pools, public libraries, theaters, train carriages, even the Bible used to swear an oath
      (1) Please do not confuse Jim Crow with the Black Codes
   c. Jim Crow laws were enforced with violence
      (1) There were 1,100 lynchings between 1900-1914

5. **Civil Rights cases of 1883**
   a. A very conservative Court gradually struck down laws designed to protect African-Americans

6. **Plessy v. Ferguson: 1895**
   a. The codification of Jim Crow
   b. "Separate but equal" facilities are constitutional
      (1) Those facilities were never, in fact, equal, or anything like it.
   c. The intent of the XIV Amendment has been gutted
      (1) It will be used, however, to break labor unions

7. **Booker T. Washington**
   a. His policy emphasized gradualism and of vocational training and economic progress.
      (1) Washington was born a slave, and educated with the assistance of white benefactors.
   b. Establishes the **Tuskegee Institute** in 1881. In order to build the school, he had to obtain money and good will from the surrounding white community.
   c. Washington on racial harmony: "Any movement for the elevation of the Southern Negro, in order to be successful, must have to a certain extent the cooperation of the Southern whites. They control government and own the property--whatever benefits the black man benefits the white man. . . . Brains, property, and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights. The best course to pursue in regard to the civil rights bill in the South is to let it alone; let it alone and it will settle itself." (Franklin 247)
   d. His **Atlanta Compromise Speech** in 1895 is a definitive statement, and is addressed explicitly to both races: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress . . . . The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment
of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. . . . The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house." (Washington 10-11)

(1) Washington is offering a tacit deal: Black Americans will accept second-class citizenship if whites will assist them in vocational training.

(2) Such an attitude, obviously, won him widespread support from Southern whites.

(3) Until his death in 1915, Washington was accepted by most Black Americans as their leader and spokesman, and whites turned to him for advice on race relations. (Franklin 250)

8. **W.E.B. DuBois** emerges to challenge **Booker T. Washington** as the leading spokesman for Black Americans.

a. DuBois was born into a comfortable mulatto family in Massachusetts and never saw the white man as a benefactor, as Washington had.

b. Graduated from Fisk University and then Harvard for his doctorate (the first Black American to receive a doctorate from Harvard) and the University of Berlin.

c. His **Souls of the Black Folk** in 1903, published while he was teaching at Atlanta University, begins his attack on Washington's approach.

(1) Rejected Washington's gradualist approach and limited goals.

(2) Accused Washington of advocating a program that provided a cheap, submissive labor force for the industrializing South.

(3) Enraged by white racism and he responds with **Black Nationalism**.

(4) Believes that Black Americans must organize and agitate for full civil rights immediately. Very confrontational in tactics.

(5) Believes that Black Americans must preserve their cultural identity.

(6) He is an elitist; thinks that the future is in the hands of the "Talented Tenth"

d. **Niagara Movement** 1905

(1) Organized by men of both races

(2) Demanded unrestricted right to vote

(3) Demanded an end to racial segregation

(4) Demanded equality of economic opportunity

(5) Demanded higher education for the talented

(6) Demanded equal justice in the courts
(7) Demanded end to trade union discrimination (both women as well as Black Americans were often excluded from unions because the unions feared they would work for lower wages.)

e. **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) 1909**
   (1) Dedicated to the eradication of racial discrimination
   (2) DuBois is a national officer and editor of its publications
   (3) Represents an increasing rejection of Washington's approach.

9. Some thoughts on Washington vs. DuBois
a. The contrast between the two men is so obvious that it has been the source of two essay questions and one DBQ on the AP examination. It may also be used as a starting point to discuss the internal debate among Black Americans on the best course to follow to obtain full equality.

   (1) Washington's strategy has a very important weakness in that he advocated a type of vocational training that fostered artisans: blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, etc.

   (2) Such occupations would be minimized with the Industrial Revolution. He counseled Black Americans to stay in the South on farms, without realizing that the use of farm machinery would make their plight even more hopeless than it was.

   (3) In short, while an argument can be made that Washington is correct that economic advancement will make possible all other forms of advancement (ie if one has economic power, all other types of power will eventually follow), the type of economic advancement Washington advocated was already outmoded.

   (4) DuBois' criticism that Washington was simply insuring an ignorant, submissive and cheap labor force, and therefore, perpetuating a master/slave relationship, looks pretty trenchant. (Franklin 249-50)

   (5) It is also difficult to quarrel with DuBois' contention "that it was not possible, under modern competitive methods, for Negro artisans, businessmen, and property owners to defend their rights and exist without the suffrage." (Franklin 249) DuBois passionately believes that progress is unitary, and that political and social progress must go hand in hand with economic progress.

   (6) DuBois' work with the NAACP, of which he is a founding member and most prominent spokesman, places him in a tradition that leads to *Martin Luther King, Jr.* However, as the first great advocate of Black Nationalism, he also
stands in a line that will run through Marcus Garvey to Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael. Intellectual antecedents are sometimes not clear-cut.

(7) Booker T. Washington is not however, as simple as he may appear at first glance.

(a) He is by no means blind to racial prejudice. Lynching remained a frequent throughout his life. Violence against Black Americans in the South and increasingly in the North as well intensified if anything. (Ida Wells Barnett reports 86, 123, 102, 90, and 103 lynchings of Black Americans from 1896-1900). (Barnett 423)

(b) He was, actually and very quietly, paying for some of the earliest civil rights cases. (Franklin 248)

(c) Goldman gives an important clue to a sophisticated evaluation of the man: "It is possible to exaggerate the amount of faith in the white man which this background gave Booker Washington. His was a practical, canny mind, operating in a situation that suggested bargaining Negro equality for some Negro advances. ('Actually,' W. E. B. Du Bois once remarked, 'Washington had no more faith in the white man than I do,' which was saying that he had little faith indeed.) But whatever was going on behind that calm, pleasant face of Booker Washington, he spoke no belligerence toward the white man and no call for immediate equality." (Goldman 63)

(d) I am struck by the similarity of Goldman's picture to images of how slaves coped with white society that has emerged from modern research. It appears quite clear that slaves carefully masked their real feelings from white society. It was dangerous to do otherwise, since the slaves were virtually powerless if whites were aroused against them. Slaves could and did negotiate benefits, but the area available for negotiation was circumscribed.

(8) If I were to develop a defence of Washington's policy, I would extend this idea. Washington was living during a time period when Jim Crow was being steadily and harshly imposed and when the determination to enforce white supremacy was backed by frequent violence. It could well be argued that as a purely practical matter, the only way to achieve any gains for Black Americans at all was by conciliation with whites, which necessitates a gradualist
approach and acceptance of a large degree of second class citizenship. Just because whites interpreted his policy as a final solution does not mean that Washington saw it as a final solution (Franklin seems to agree; cf 248). Confrontation would lead to violent suppression. Washington therefore wears a friendly mask toward whites and tries to achieve all that is possible to him under the circumstances