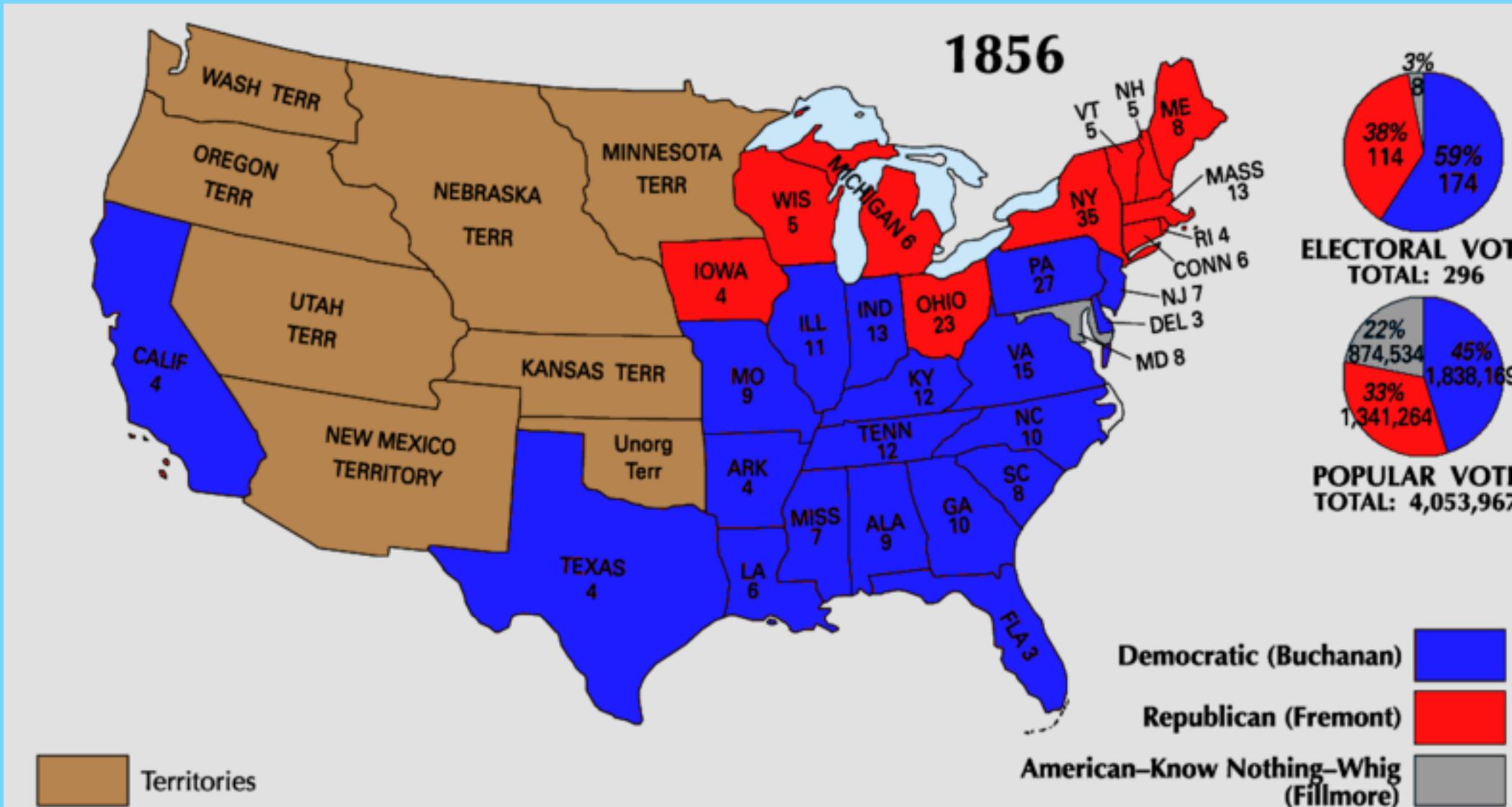


4. Buchanan wins

a. But Republicans were close in IL, PA, IN, NJ

b. “Find a more conservative Rep”



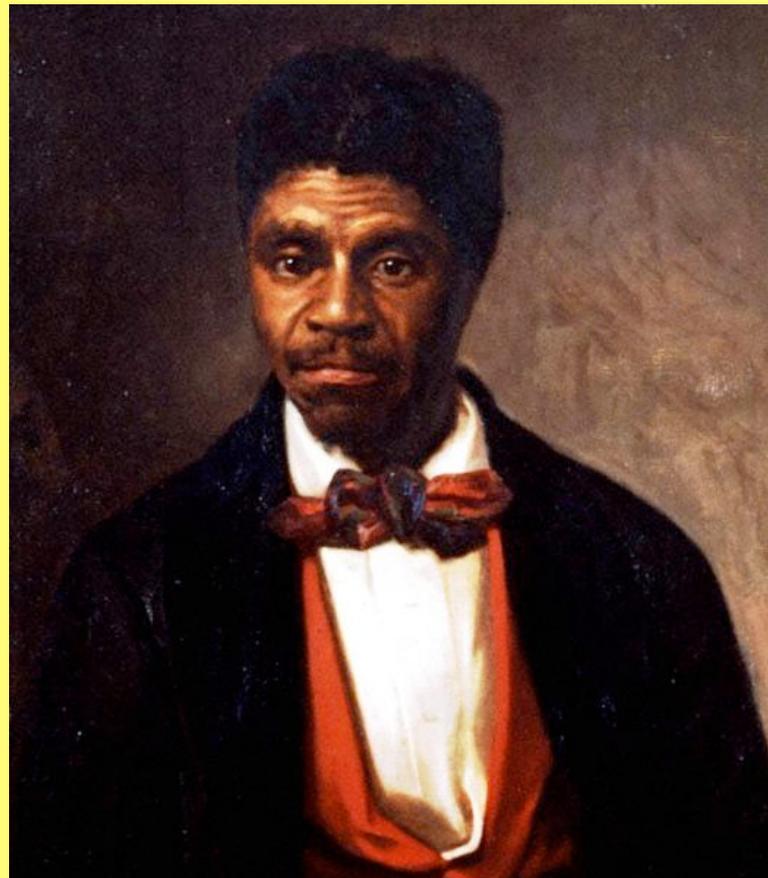
**At this point in the discussion of the 1850s, was war inevitable?
And what was the cause of the War?**

What was Northern attitude toward slavery?

- 1. Abolitionism - “Free now as equals”**
- 2. Anti-slavery in the territories for white men**
 - a. M. Duberman—“Northern desired to compromise.”**
 - b. SA Douglas—“I don’t Care” 30% in 1860**
 - c. No Nothing 15%**
 - d. J.C. Breckenridge 10%**
- 3. In 1856-60 —extremes hold the attention—who are the moderates?**
Abolitionists had little political power
Pro-slavery Southerners dominated in Congress and Court

Buchanan: “Let court decide”

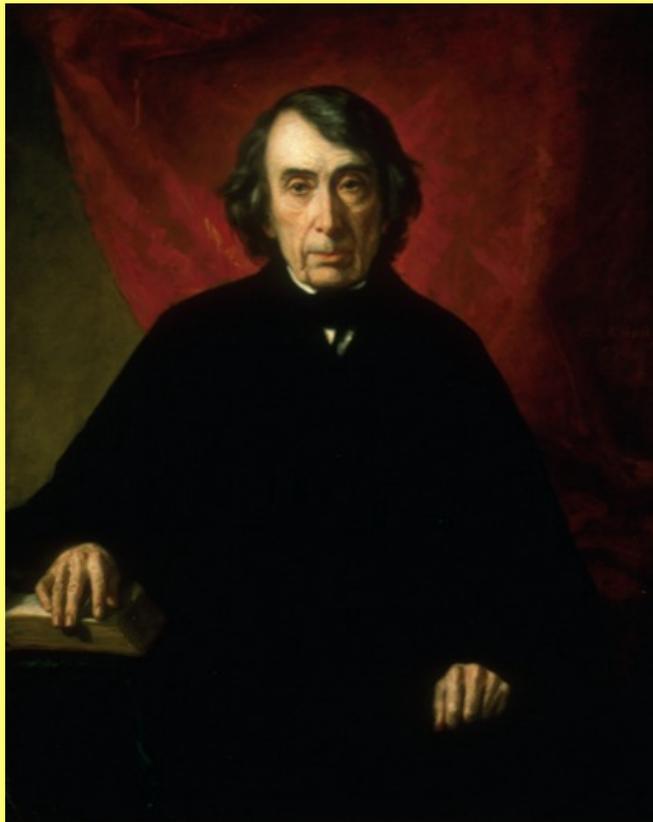
Dred Scott v. Sanford-1857



a. Roger Taney: Slaves Can't sue

b. 5th Amendment; 36'30" void

- 1. "Congress had no power to limit slavery.**
- 2. Africans are inferior-unfit to associate with the white race**
- 3. No African can claim the rights of citizenship in the United States.**
- 4. Slavery is the natural condition for Africans."**



Ken Burnes—Stampp-Irreconcilable view

c. Dred Scott made Popular Sovereignty and Wilmot “unconstitutional”

d. Republican Response was outrage:

- 1. “Slavery isn’t shrinking.”**
- 2. “We are becoming a slave nation.”**
- 3. “We must contain the spread of slavery!!”**



Revisionist Historical Response: Not true

J.G. Randall "The Blundering Generation"

It was a needless war-- "A repressible conflict"

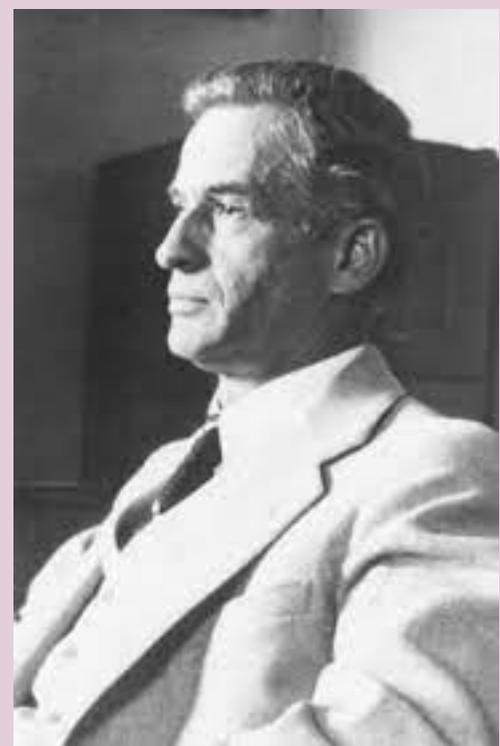
South not a threat to spread slavery (Ramsdell)

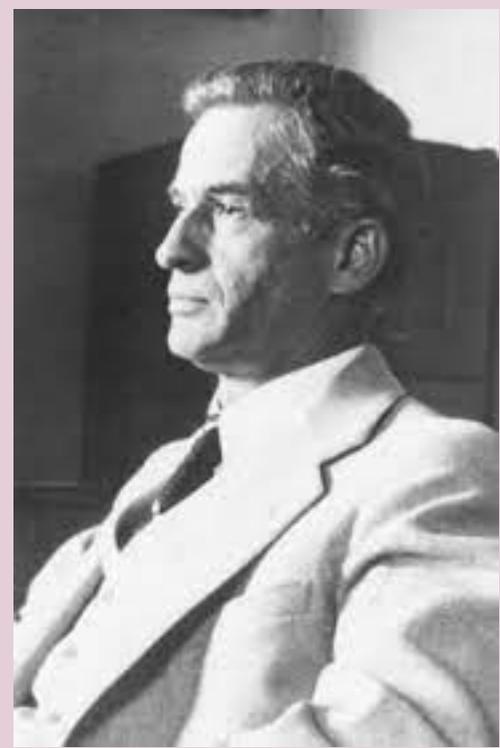
Dred Scott was irrelevant and Wilmot was wrong

A. Conditions during the War were very poor.

1. Medicine was bad.

2. Only 170,000 dead identified. 1000s of graves unmarked





Hard to realize how America stumbled into this slaughter.

1. It was an era of error and intolerance.

2. It was an era of “blundering”.

3. The Tariff was an annoyance, not a cause--Tariffs existed before without war

Instead, a small minority in the North and South caused the war.

Fanatics increased tension, rhetoric, and fear

- 1. Southern Fire eaters wrong: Lincoln not an abolitionist**
 - a. Abe did not wish to smash slavery in the S.**
 - b. Slavery would have ended by 1900.**
- 2. The Civil War was caused not by slavery but a blundering generation.**
- 3. In the end, it was fanaticism.**





Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.
“Morality, War, and Slavery.”



The Civil War was a moral war

Revisionists Like Randall said: War as needless. Cause was not slavery—that was a fabricated cause.

Randal argues:

- 1. War was caused by irresponsible emotions of politicians**
- 2. Sectional friction occurred by failure of political leadership**
- 3. Non-violent abolition was possible. Slavery would die by 1900**
 - a. By economic exhaustion of declining cotton prices.**
 - b. World opinion.**
- 4. But abolitionist botched it by terrifying the South.**
- 5. Government might also have paid for emancipation**

What about these arguments?

- 1. Abolitionists caused it?—Abol had no power.**
- 2. Economic exhaustion--South would need to see slavery as unprofitable**
- 3. And Southerners would have to give up believing in slavery as necessary for race control.**

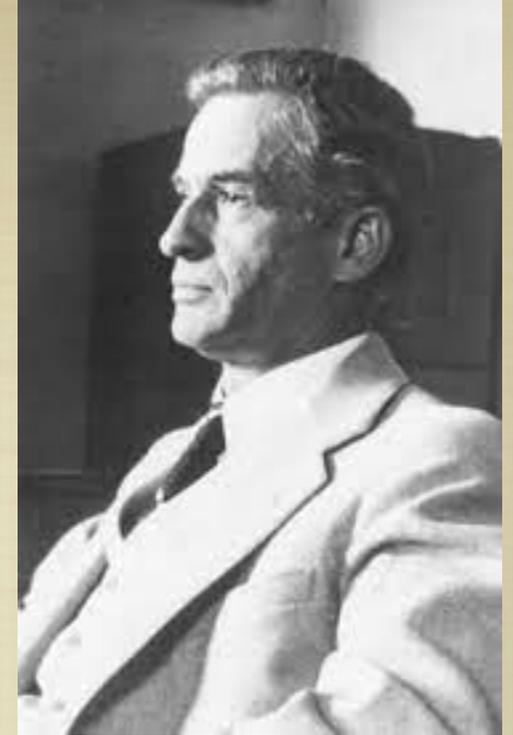
Revisionists said: Just keep the war away long enough—slavery will end.

- 1. The revisionists ignore the moral issue here**
- 2. Slavery was evil and its defenders hurt democracy.**
 - a. The revisionists saw no moral urgency**
 - b. They deplored the abolitionists as “fanatics”**
 - c. Revisionists ignored N. desire to end slavery.**

- 3. North opposed expansion on moral grounds like we opposed Nazi**
- 4. “The Cause was slavery.”**
- 5. Southerners used the word “slavery” 83 times in their secessionist docs.**
- 6. Thus, this was a moral war that abolished slavery.**



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What would Randall argue in rebuttal to Schlesinger?

What would Schlesinger respond to Randall?

Review:

Election of 1856

Dred Scott 1857

Historians

Gilbert and Duberman

Randall and Schlesinger

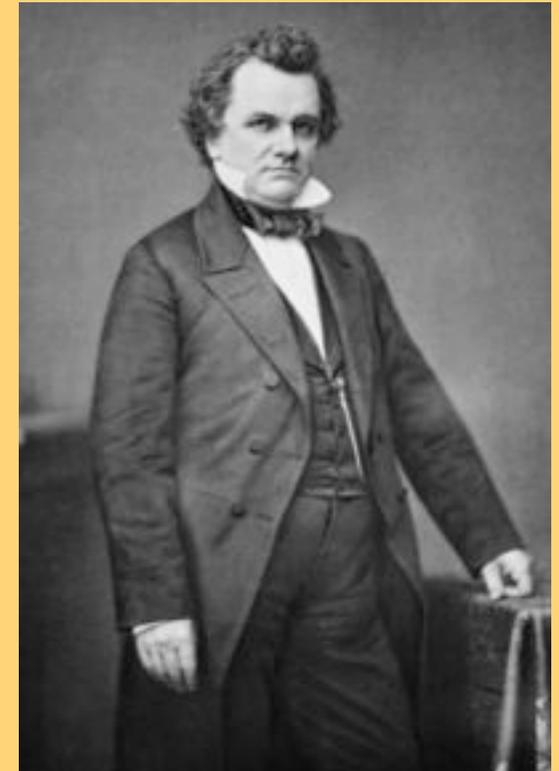
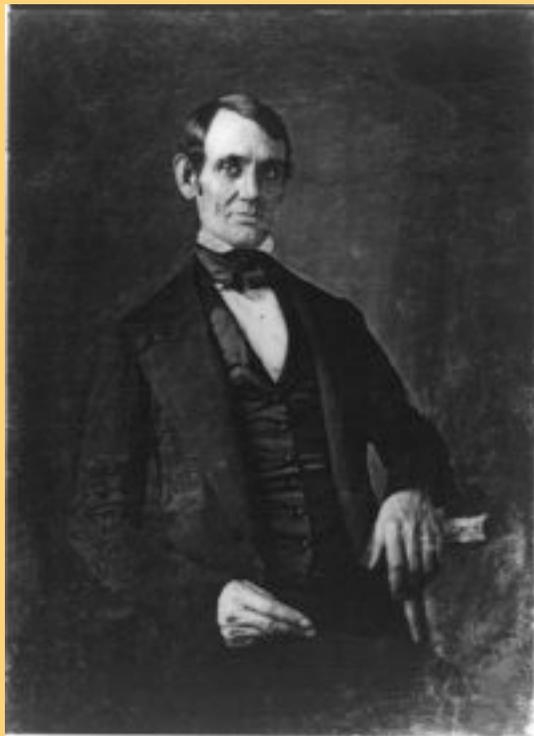
Rise of Lincoln

1. The Election of 1858



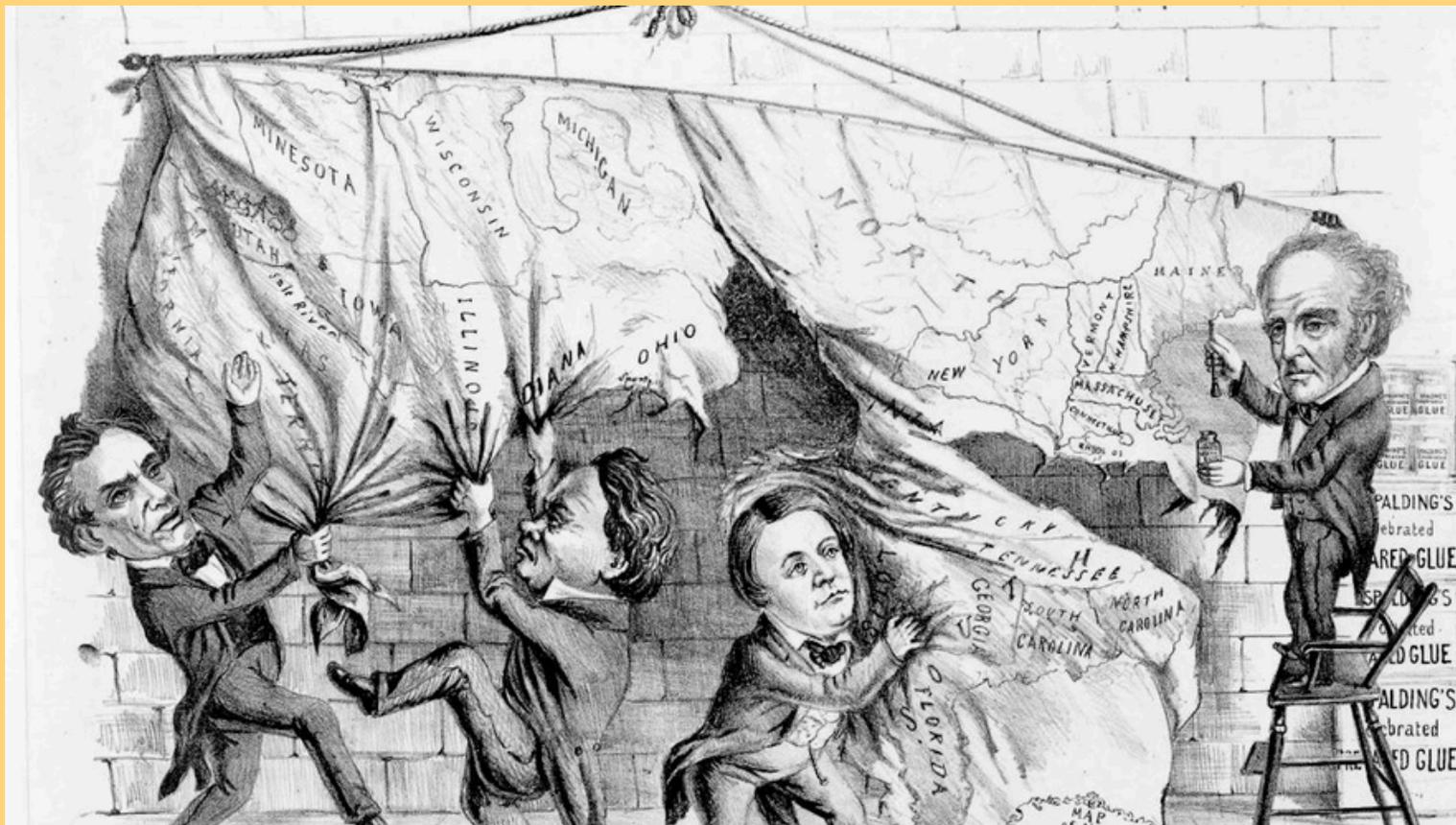
1858 Lincoln-Douglas Debates-- High level made AL well known

1. In Freeport: Lincoln begins and uses the new Republican cry:
“Douglas is part of a Democratic plot to expand slavery”



- a. “Douglas has done nothing to stop the spread of slavery”**
- b. “Kansas is a crisis point between slavery and freedom”**
- c. It will dominate the Nation**

d. Kansas and Dred Scott are part of a plot to nationalize slavery
This is a crucial point: True? Or Scare Tactic?



2. “In Ottawa, he said:

“There will be another Supreme Court decision declaring that the Constitution does not permit a state to exclude slavery. . . So, either we will stop the spread of it and place it on the course of ultimate extinction; or slave advocates will push it forward till it shall become lawful in all the states.”

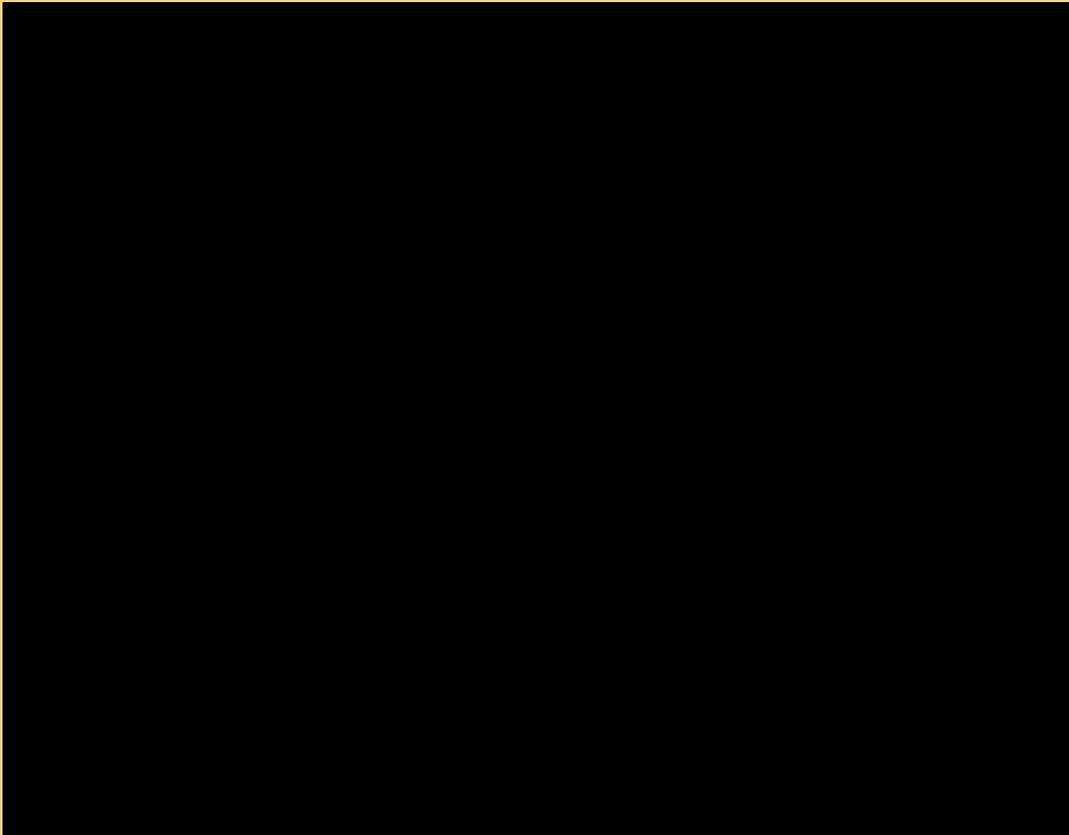


- 3. Douglas response: “You see! I told you. Lincoln is an abolitionist.”**
- a. Republicans will destroy slavery and “unleash the negro upon us”**
 - b. “Lincoln is not only pro abolition; but worse—he is a negrophile.”**



Lincoln Response;

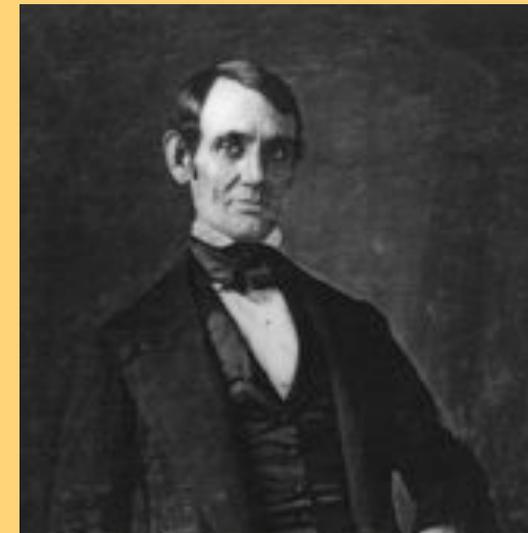
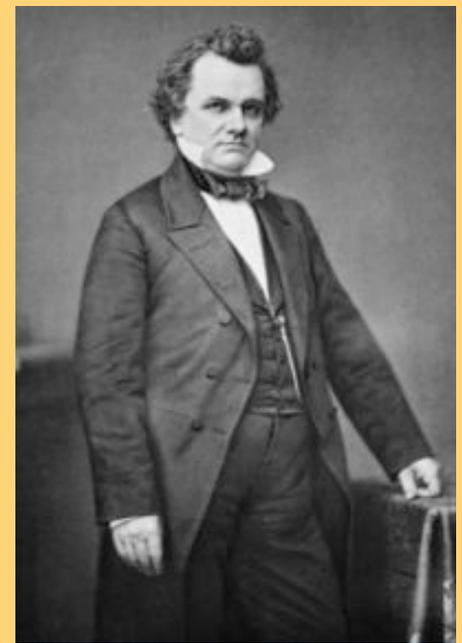
“ I am not, nor ever have been in favor of brining about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races (applause); that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office nor to intermarry with white people. There is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And as much as they cannot live together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.”



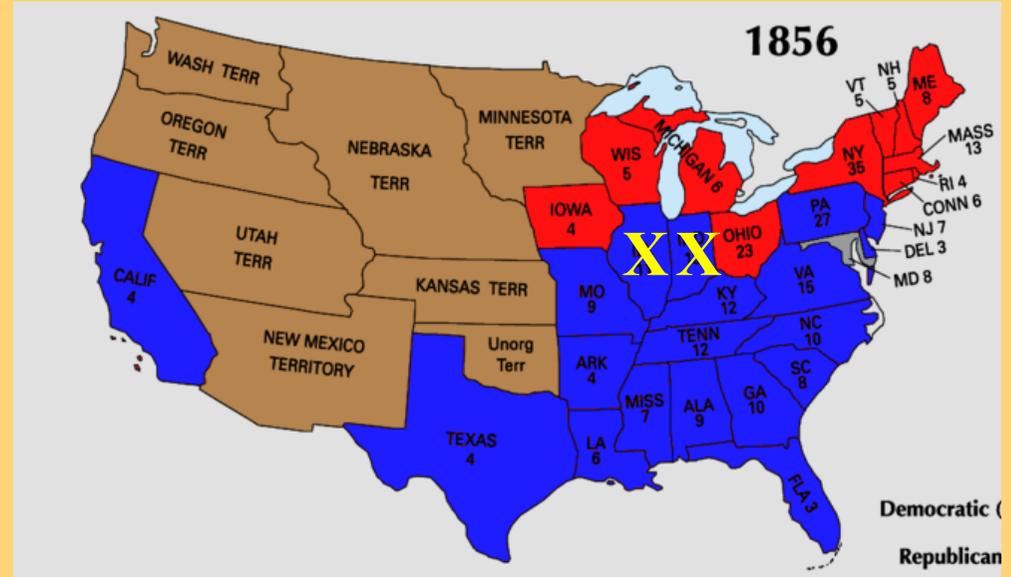
Then in Southern Illinois:

SAD: “I tell you now, Lincoln supports racial equality and like all Republicans he favors negro/white miscegenation”.

AL: “Don’t misunderstand. When I say that blacks have natural rights, it does not mean that they have equal standing in society. Judge Douglas is horrified at the thought of mixing blood by the white and black races. Agreed for once-a thousand times agreed.”



The further South he went the more he repeated the phrase “I do not hate slaveowners . . .”



Back in Freeport-Lincoln springs the trap

a. Do you believe in the Constitution?

b. If so, after Dred Scott. How can you still believe Pop Sov?



Then Feb 1860

Cooper Union Speech

Founders opposed the expansion of slavery.

No Slavery in territories

But I will not hurt slavery where it exists

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States?

After 1856 Election, Republicans were very concerned about their candidate in 1860.

1. They needed a candidate who was safe on the race issue.

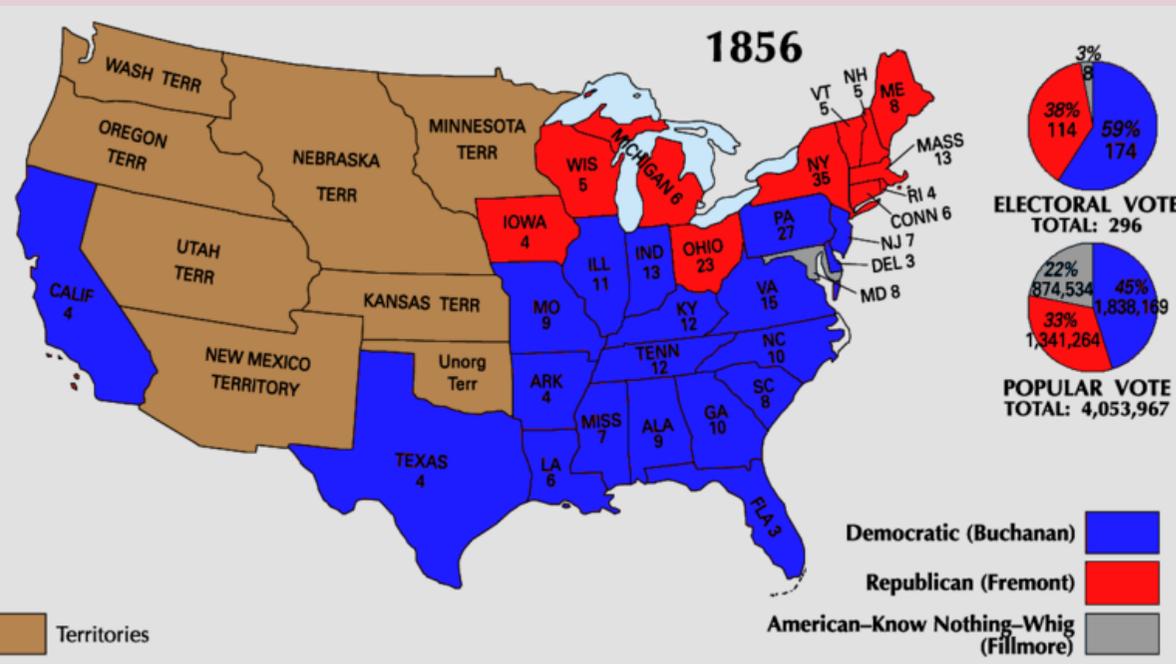
a. Lincoln was their man

1. He said: “Physical difference between white and black prevented equality”

2. Charleston: “I am not for amalgamation”

3. “I do not favor allowing them to intermarry.”

b. So, Abolition and Anti-slavery were very different ideas.



Election of 1860

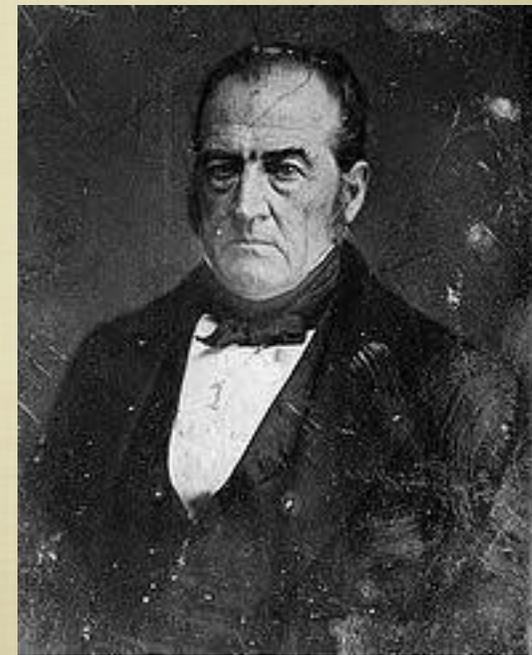
Republicans pick Lincoln—“Wilmot”

Democrats split

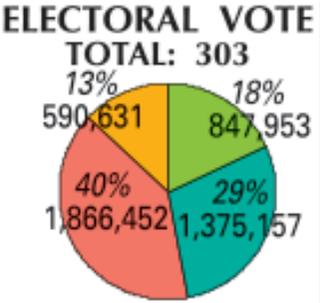
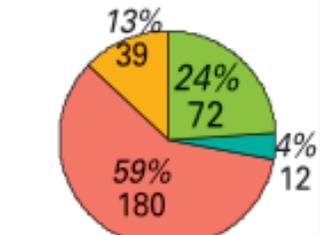
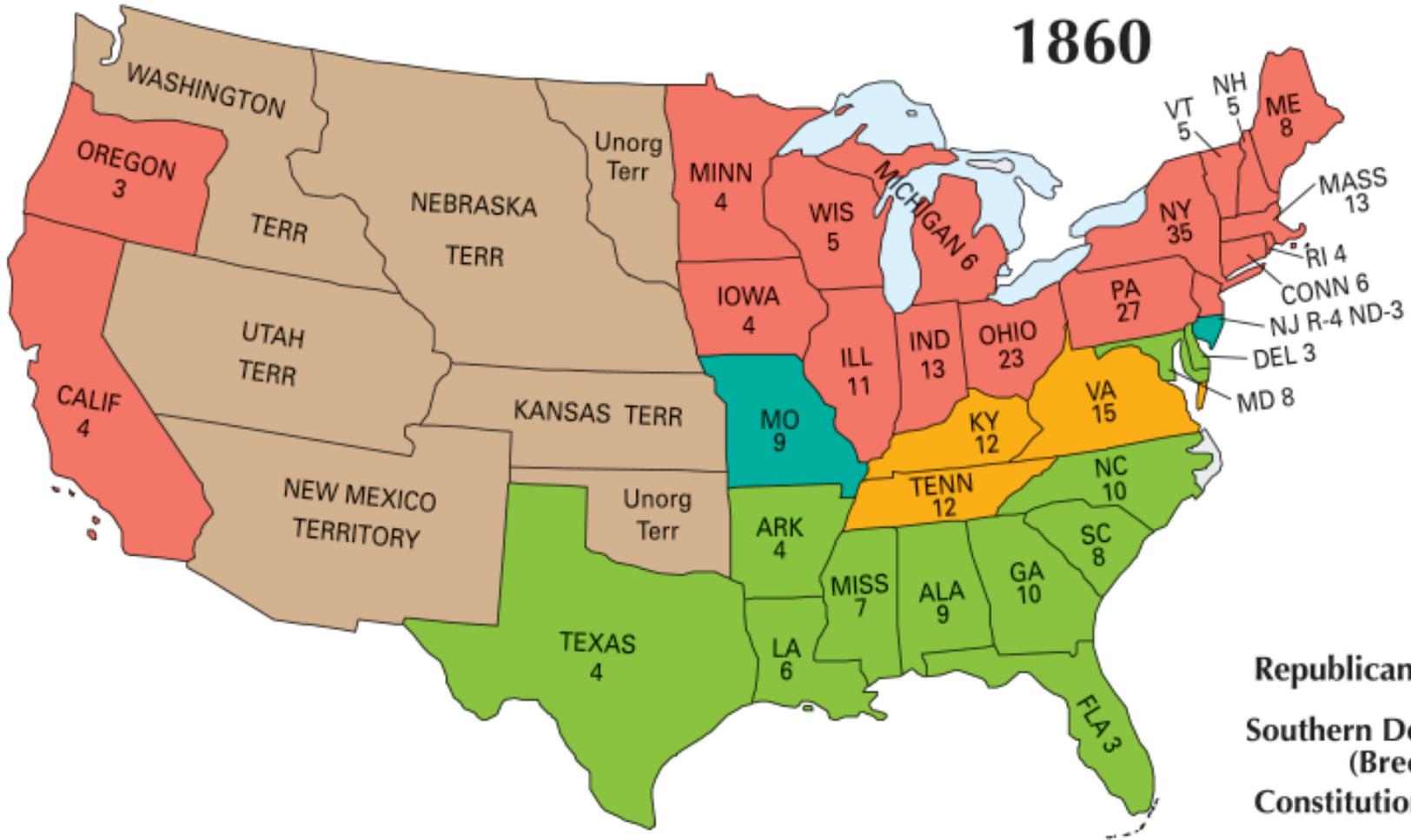
Northern Dems pick Douglas—“Popular Sovereignty”

Southern Dems pick J. C. Breckenridge—“Dred Scott”

Union Party picks John Bell (JJ Crittenden)—“Union”



1860



Territories

- Republican (Lincoln)
- Southern Democratic (Breckinridge)
- Constitutional Union (Bell)
- Northern Democratic (Douglas)

Lincoln 1861 Inaugural

1. “There is no difference between us except South wants to expand slavery”
2. “The North wants to prevent that expansion.”

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

ON

The Fourth of March, 1861.

MARCH 8, 1861.—Ordered to be printed.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES: In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President “before he enters on the execution of his office.”

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.” Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I



At this point in the discussion of the 1860, would you make the case that the war was inevitable? If not, then Why and When?

And if so what is the cause?



Eric Foner
“Slavery and the Republican Ideology”

I. Slavery was the Cause of the Civil War.

A. Republicans had anti-slavery ideology-world view.

- 1. Abolitionists had close ties to Republican leaders (UB)**
 - a. Senator Sumner liked abolitionists-Birds of a feather.**
 - b. Abol contributed to Republican campaigns**
- 2. Northern Dem supported anti-slavery crusade (Wilmot)**
 - a. So, most Northerners agreed slavery was wrong**
 - b. Even Douglas said "No one in the N. advocates for slavery"**
- 3. There was a unanimity (world view) against slavery**

B. So, Rep created an anti slavery ideology

1. Slavery threatened a man's free labor

a. A person must be free to work and make the most for themselves

b. Lincoln — House Divided Speech:

“We will wake up and find we are all slave or all free”

2. If unionism was only issue, Lincoln would have compromised

a. So, Slavery was a key to the Northern ideology.

b. This Northern anti-slavery ideology rested on:

1. Moral revulsion of slavery

2. Devotion to the Union

3. Free labor.

“A person has the right to rise as far as their talent can take them.”

C. Foner's Cause for the War:

- 1. North & South had two different world views whose futures were in contrast with each other, and slavery was the key.**
- 2. Both ideologies believed that their social system had to expand for their own survival and they had to stop the evils of the other.**
 - a. Rep: Free society with social mobility required territorial expansion.**
 - b. But Southerners needed to expand as well.**
 - c. So, West was the prize for both—Only one could prevail.**
 - d. Republicans knew containing slavery would kill it.**

- 3. By attacking slavery in the territories, the Rep attacked slavery itself**
 - a. In short, Non extension was abolition**
 - b. Non-extension was first step in a strategy to attack slavery in the S.**
- 4. Southerners recognized that slavery would never be permanently safe.**
 - a. South Carolina said:—Protecting slavery was the reason for secession**

Eugene Berwanger **Frontier Against Slavery**



- A. Northern Republicans reflected race prejudice of their voters**
 - 1. Anti-slavery rhetoric did not mean opposition to slavery, but opposition to blacks in the territories.**
 - 2. Republicans worked hard to dodge the charge of abolitionism**
 - a. Abolitionists knew Republicans were only for non-extension**
 - b. When charged with being “negrophiles,” Rep shouted “White Supremacy.”**
 - 3. Indeed, Republicans never advocated abolition of Slavery in the S. Republican Leaders opposed black equality — favored colonization**

B. But in 1860 Election, led by Douglas, the Democrats went on the attack

1. Republicans are “amalgamationists,”

2. They want to intermarry. Look at Thaddeus Stevens

C. Republican responded: “We do not favor abolition. We do not love negroes.”

1. “We are the white man’s party”

2. We favor colonization to save the territories for White men.

3. You Democrats are the Mulatto Party

David Brooks 3/6/25 NYTimes

Abraham Lincoln hated slavery and wanted to get rid of it, but he knew he could only move at the speed of the country. And that speed was not fast enough for Frederick Douglass. But moving at the speed of the country was the only way to do it. You couldn't say we're fighting this war to end slavery in 1861. You could say it by 1865, but you had to be patient in order to bring people along.

(Is Brooks saying that Lincoln always wanted to end slavery but was shrewd and recognized he needed to wait for the country to catch up with him. So, what is the cause then? Lincoln?)

**So, in 1860 where does Lincoln seem to be on the slavery issue?
Where then did this Lincoln come from?**



Erik Larson-The Demon of Unrest: (Lets have it both ways)—2024

To Lincoln all this rancor was a mystery. He could not fathom South Carolina's reaction. An election had taken place; he had won. America's greatest democratic tradition had been upheld. At no time had he threatened to abolish slavery or emancipate the millions of enslaved men and women who populated the plantations of the South. But fire eaters and secessionist editors had portrayed him as seeking exactly that.

“What is it I could say which would quiet the alarm,” he wrote to a friend shortly before the election. “Is it that no interference by the government, with slaves or slavery within the states, is intended? I have said this so often already that a repetition of it is but mockery bearing an appearance of weakness and cowardice which perhaps should be avoided. Why do not uneasy men read what I have already said?”

But here Lincoln revealed his own myopia. What would soon become apparent was how little he understood the South, in particular the existential fear that the planter aristocracy harbored about his becoming president. This was especially the case in South Carolina, a state made desperate by an accumulation of forces within and beyond its control.

Professor George Fredrickson

“We are lucky in the historical world now that Eric Foner and Eugene Berwanger have finally given us the definitive answer to the nagging question about Civil War Causation.”

Georgia talks of secession

- a. “Its is too small to be a republic, and too large to be an insane asylum.”**
- b. No talk of slavery**

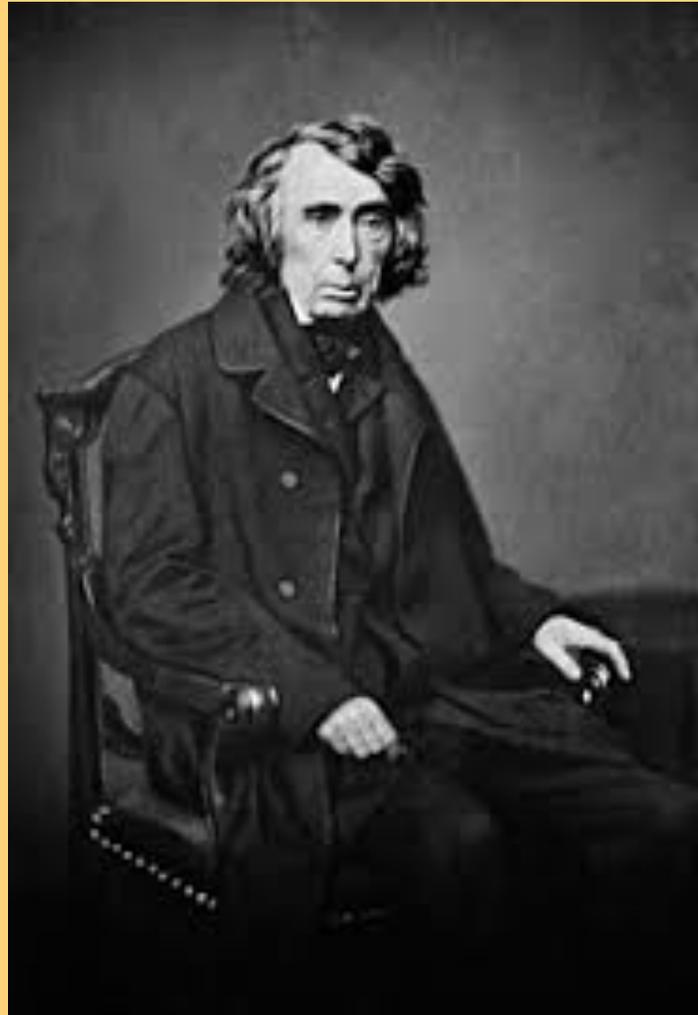


1. Secession and its effects

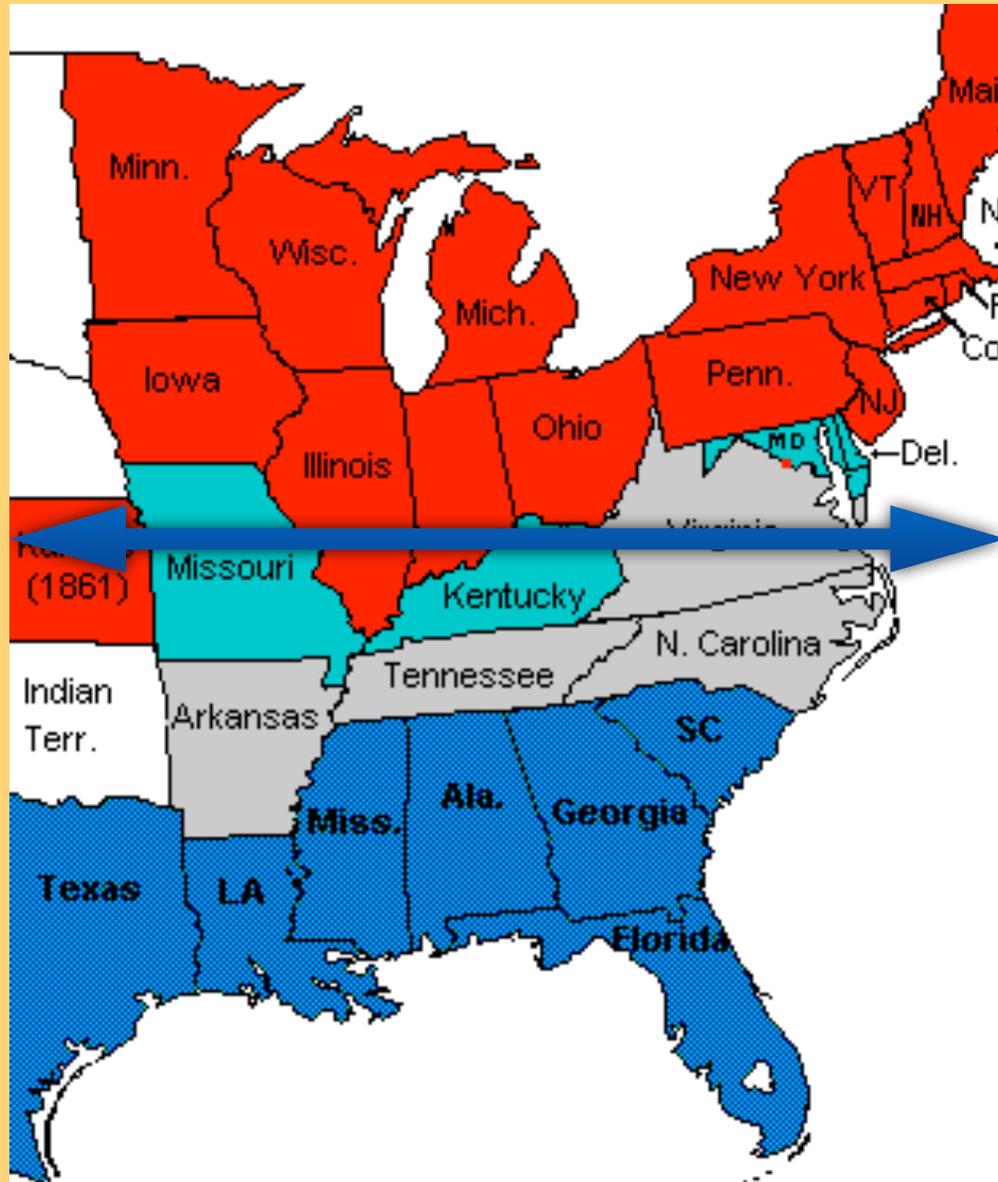
a. South not in trouble

b. Supreme Court in Southern hands

c. Republicans not control Congress

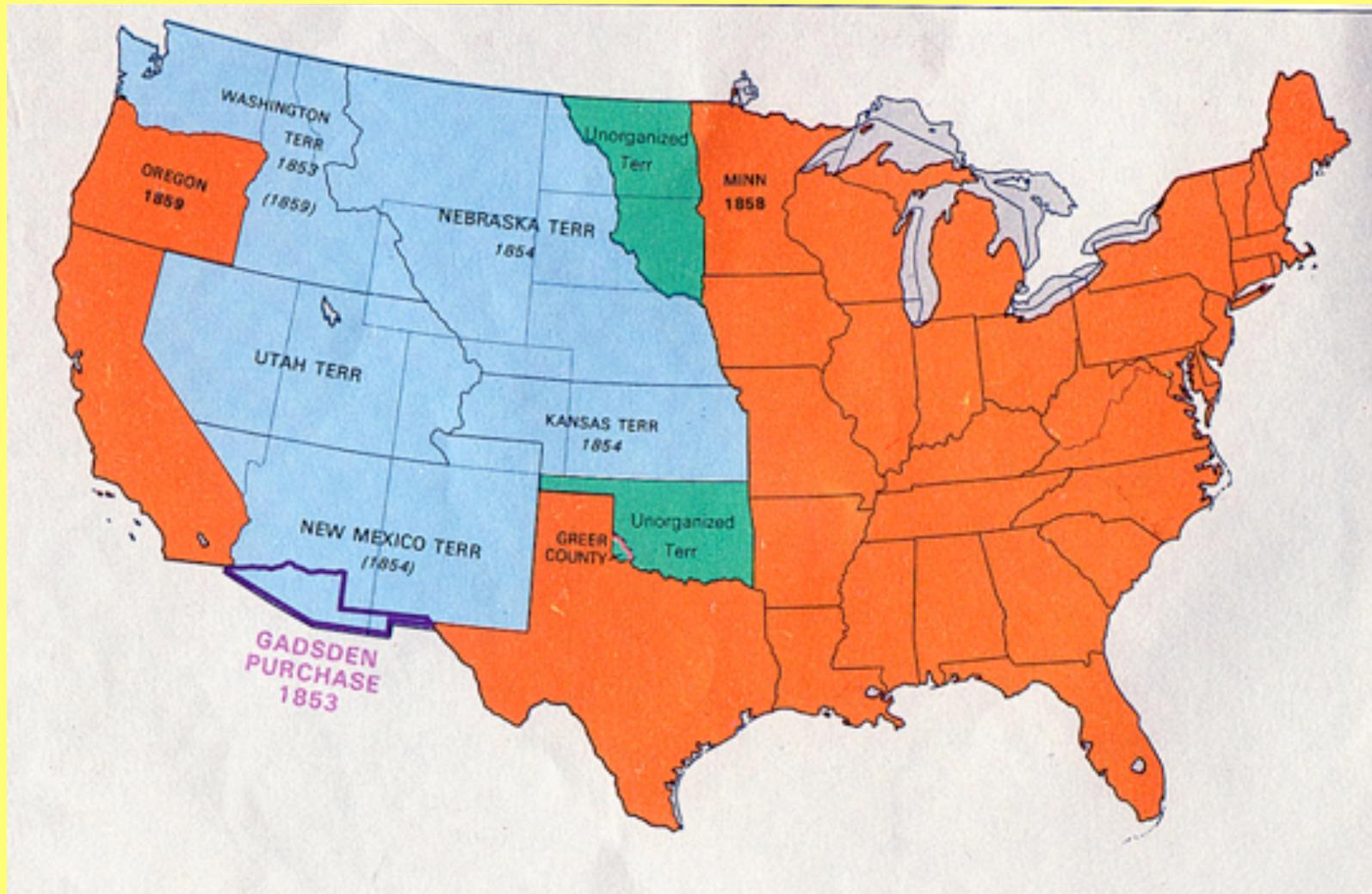


- d. As Robinson said: Constitution can't touch slavery
- e. Why? Canadian border drop to Ohio River



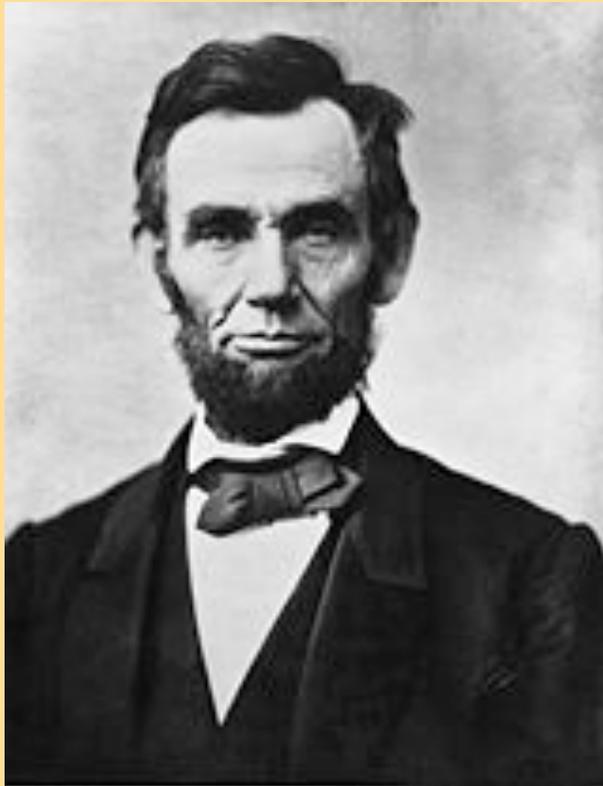
But Southern fear—North will dominate

1. New states
2. Immigrant population
3. Eventually Supreme Court too



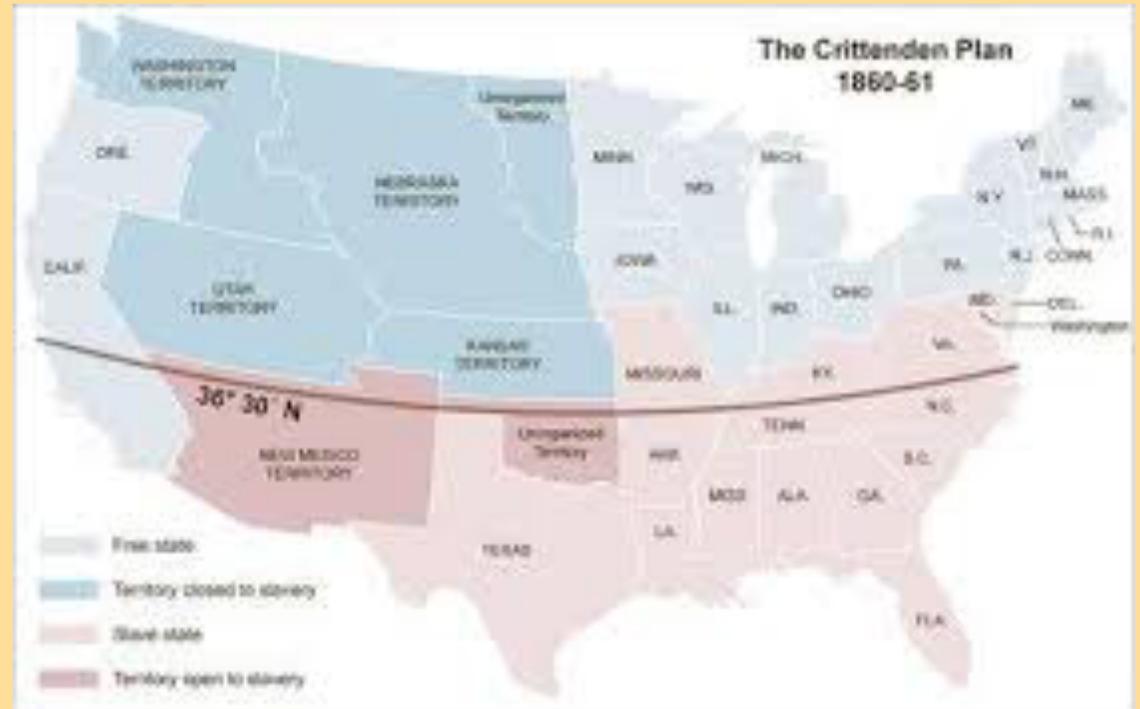
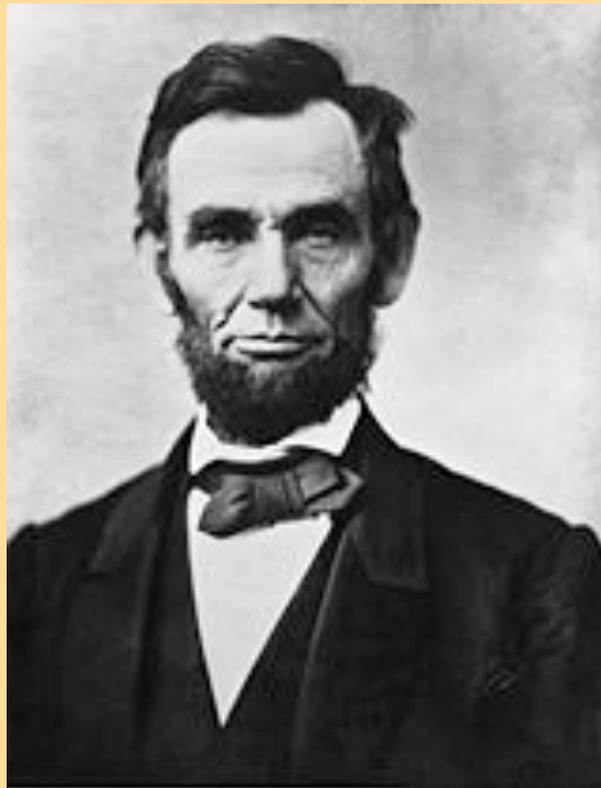
Crittenden Compromise

1. “Never abolish slavery”
2. AL: “Ok by me”



3. 36-30-“No!”

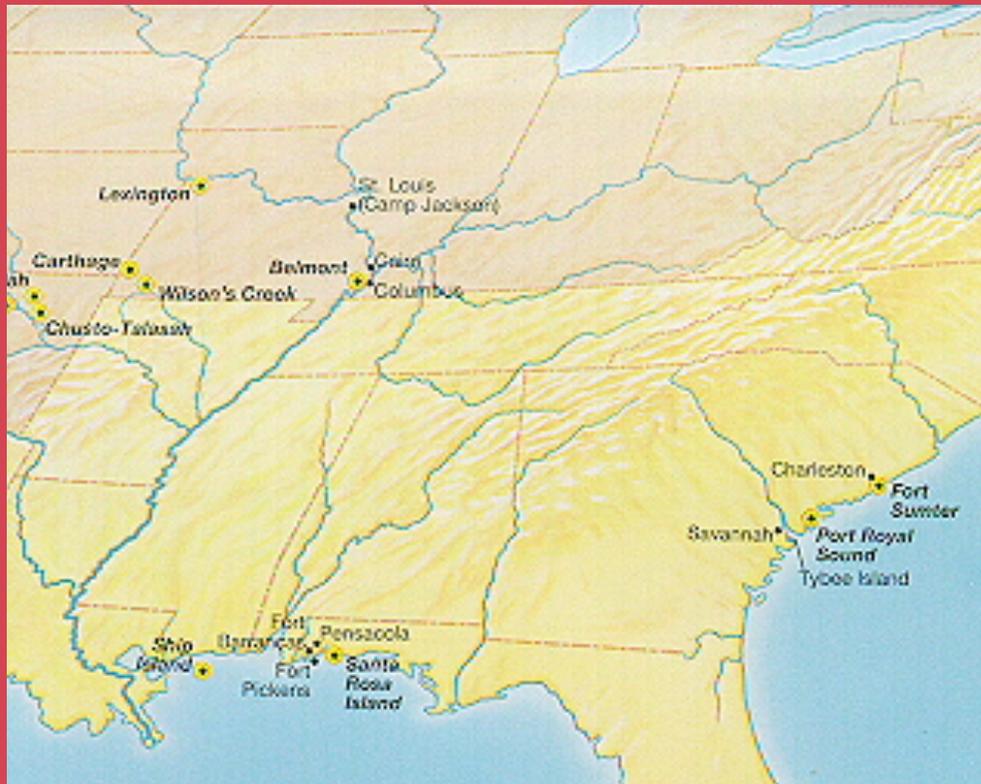
4. Kenneth Stampp



Early Problems

Fort Sumter

1. Resupply?
2. Star of the West
3. SC fired



4. AL: 75,000 troops

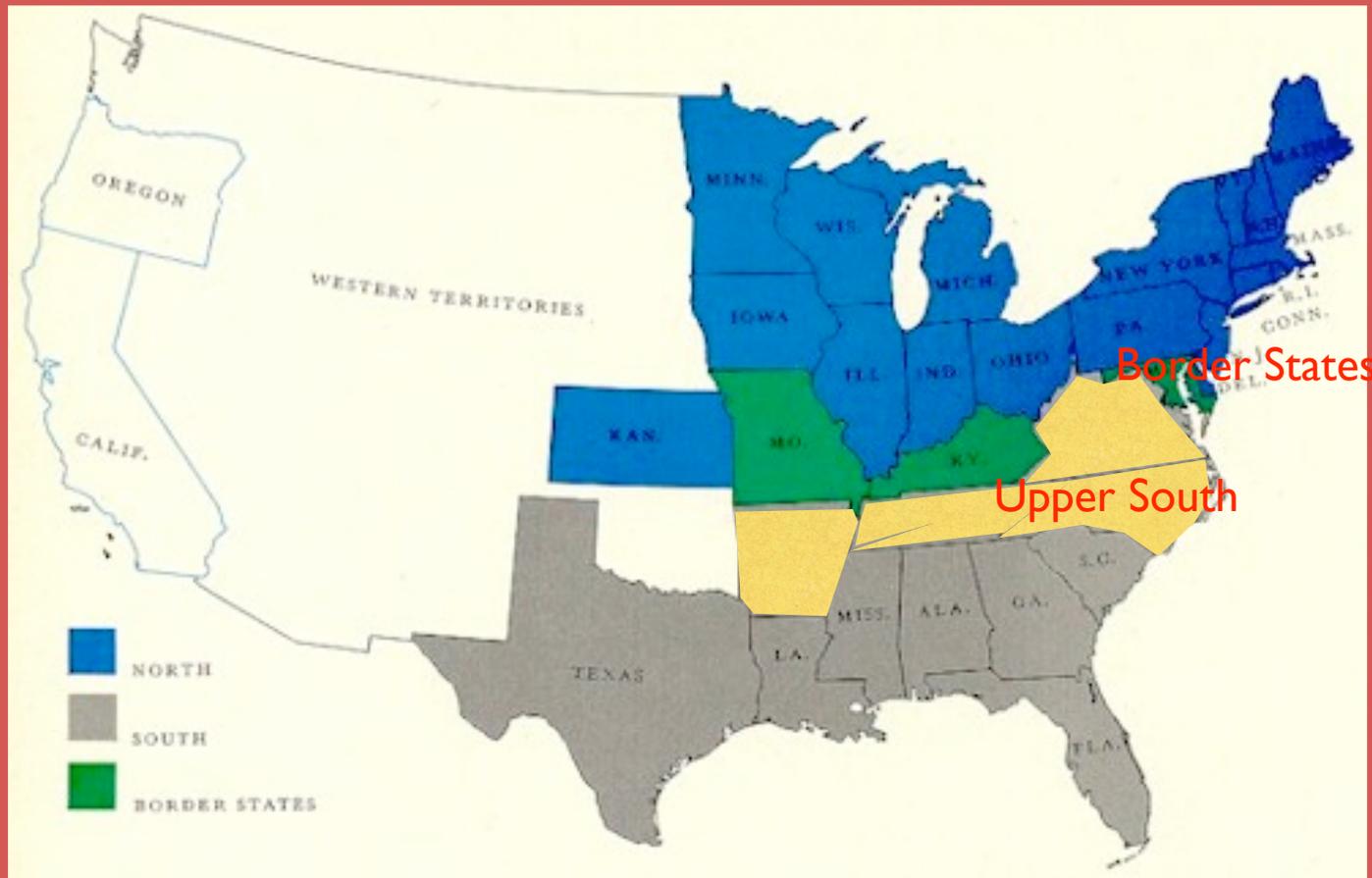
5. Upper South leaves

Blunder?

1. Why Ft Sumter? Was it a strategy to start the war?

2. All other Federal Inst were gone.

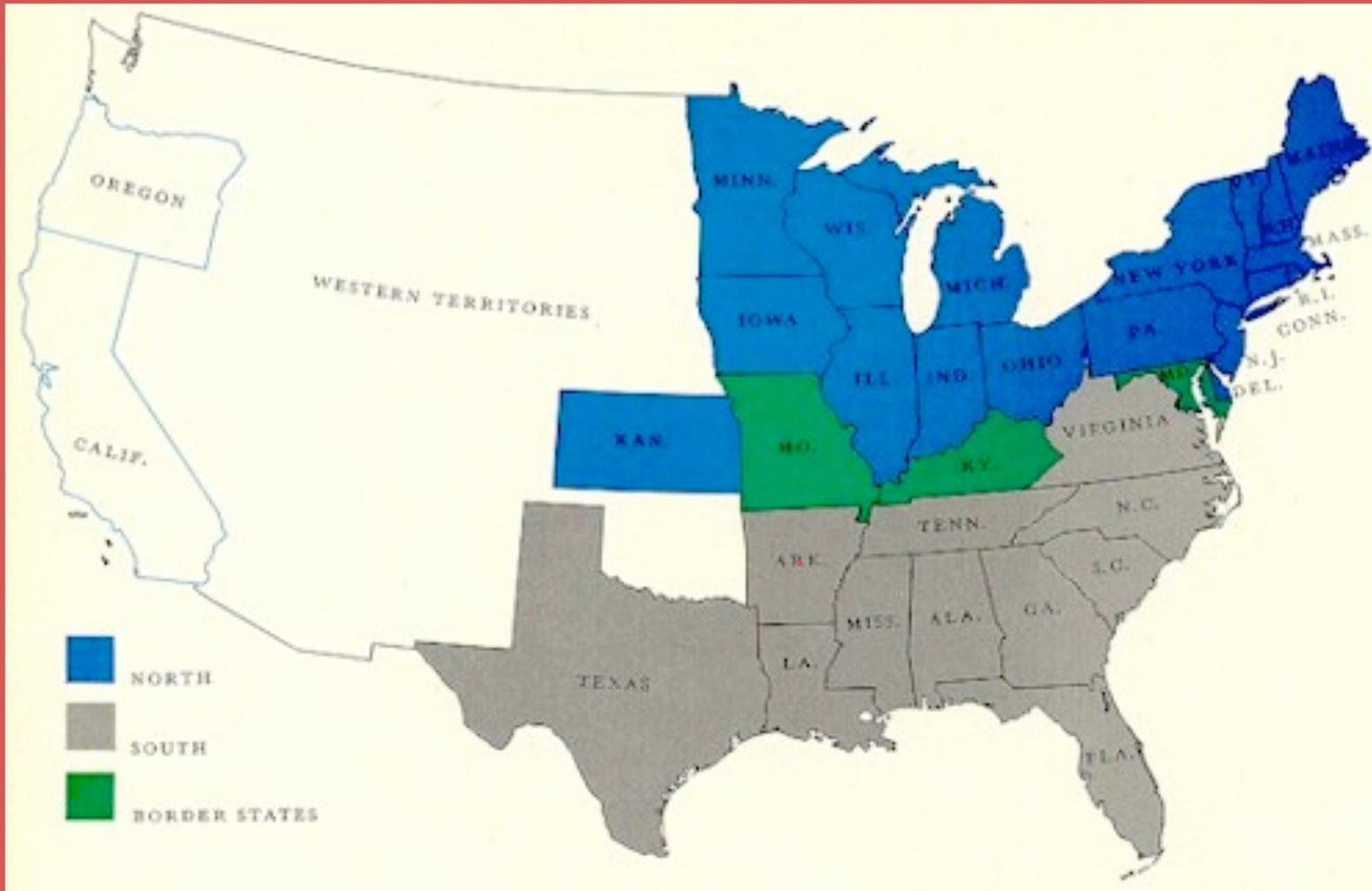
3. Charles Ramsdell vs. Richard Current



5. Did it help the Union? Unlikely, since upper South was gone

6. “Now the Confederacy has a heart beat.”

7. Given Lincoln’s belief on slavery—isn’t Sumter the cause of war?

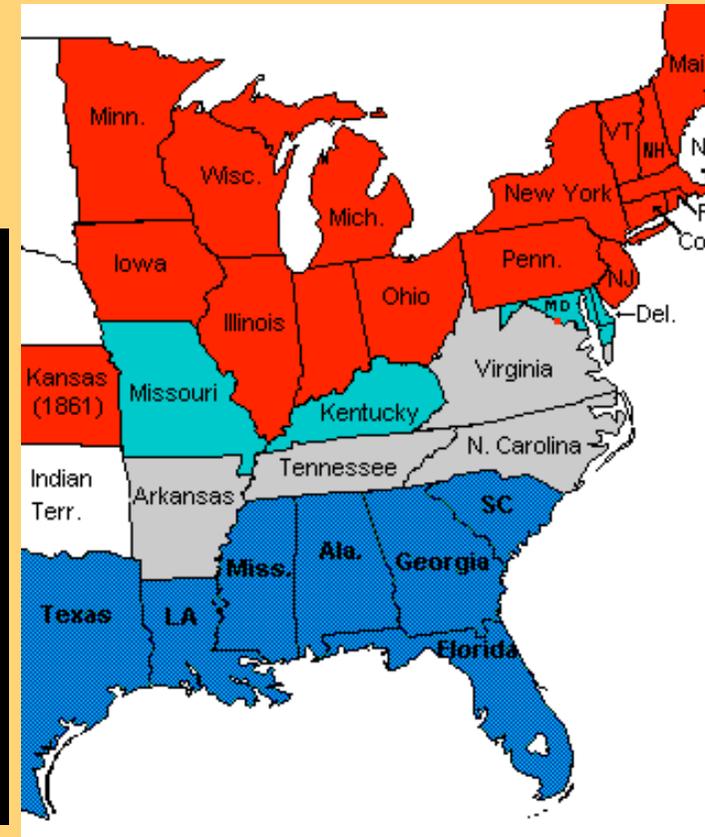


C. Now the importance of the border states

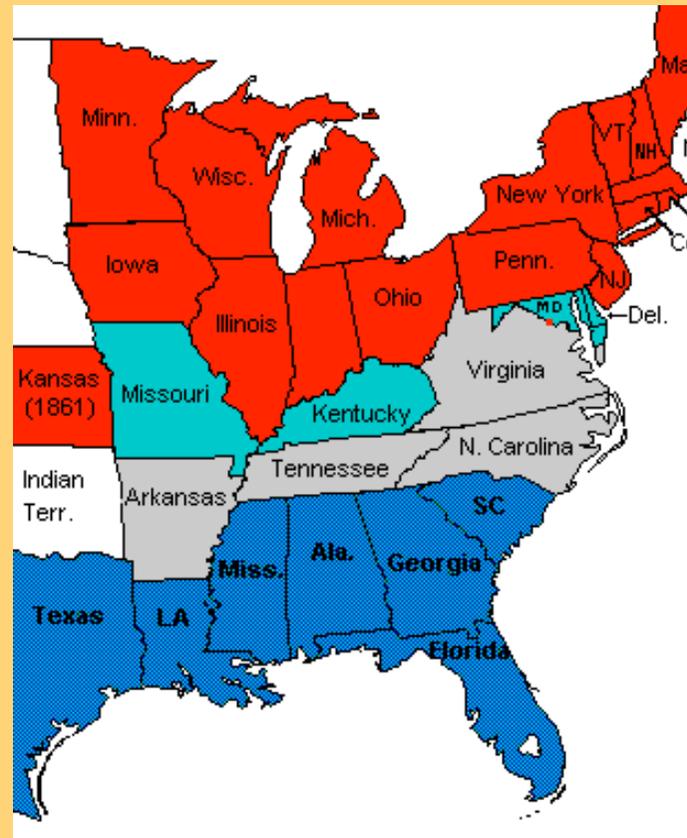
1. AL recognized he had to shift right to hold KY

a. In 1862 he saw importance of Border States

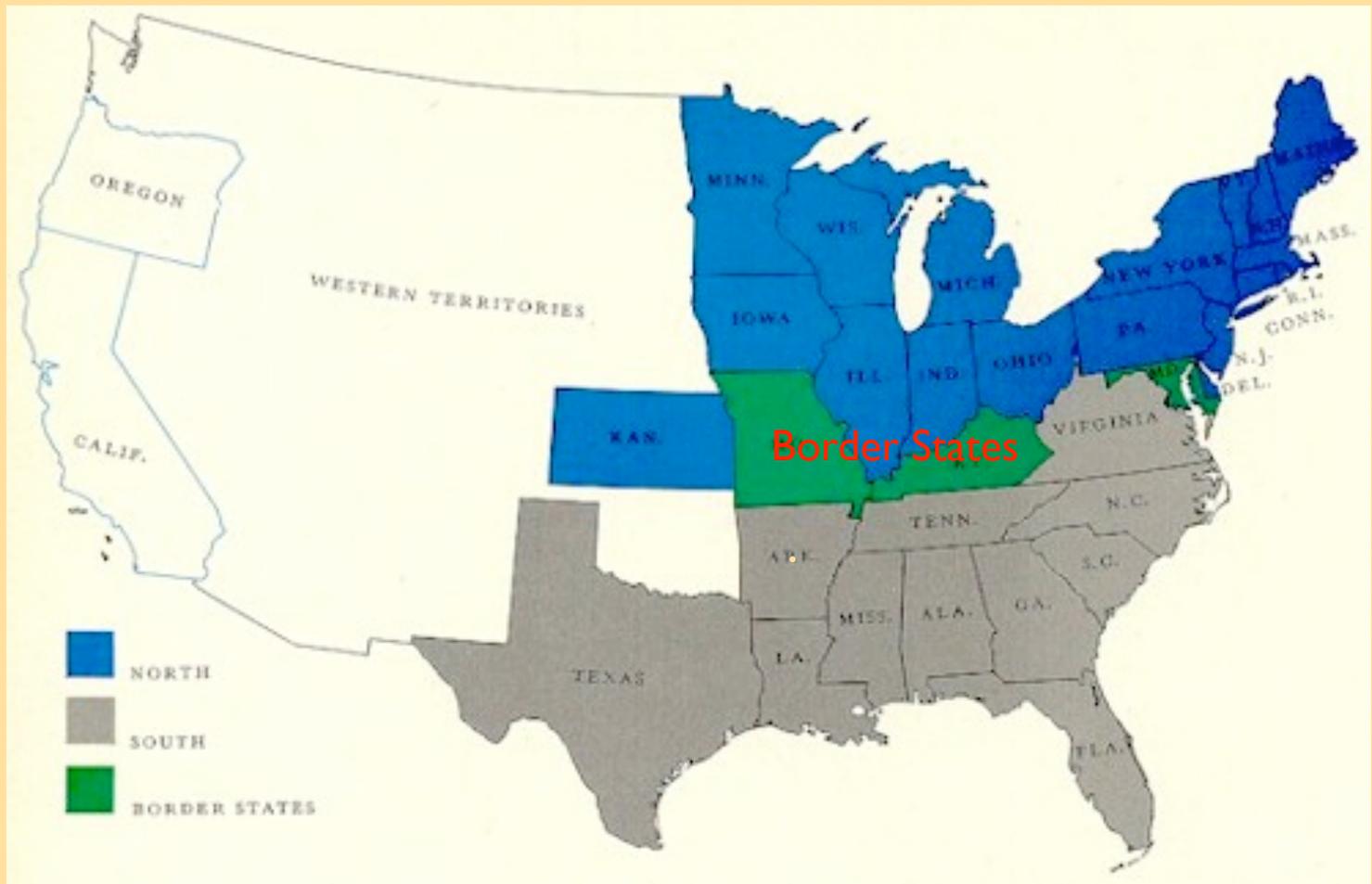
b. Without them the war was lost



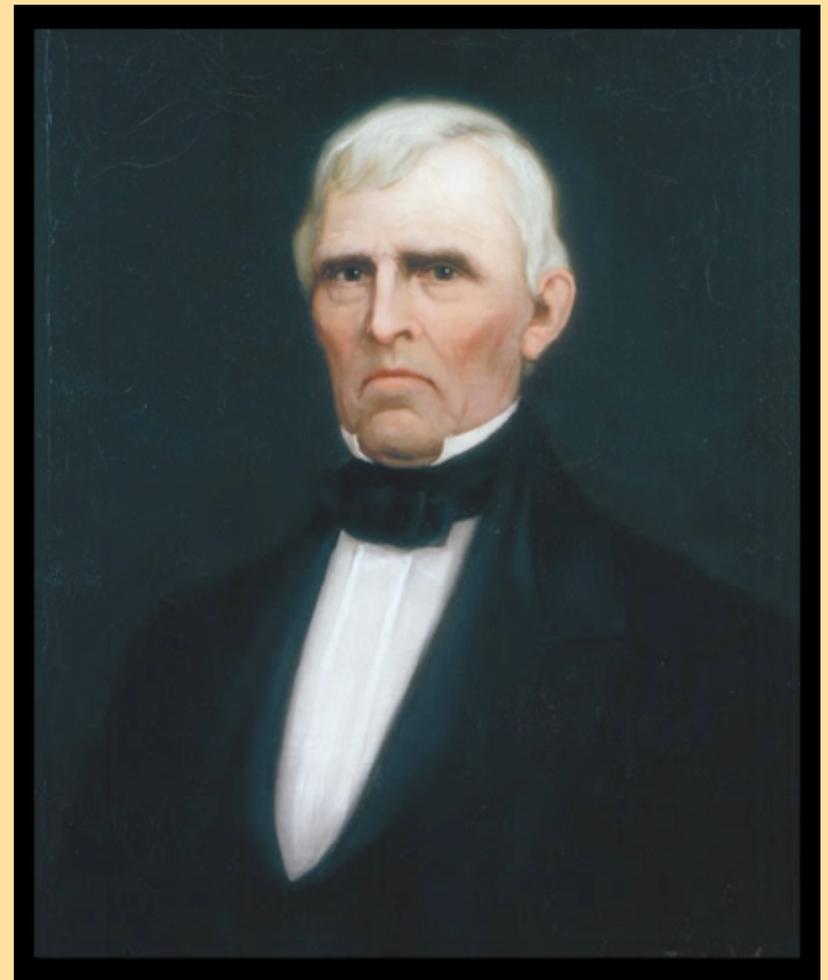
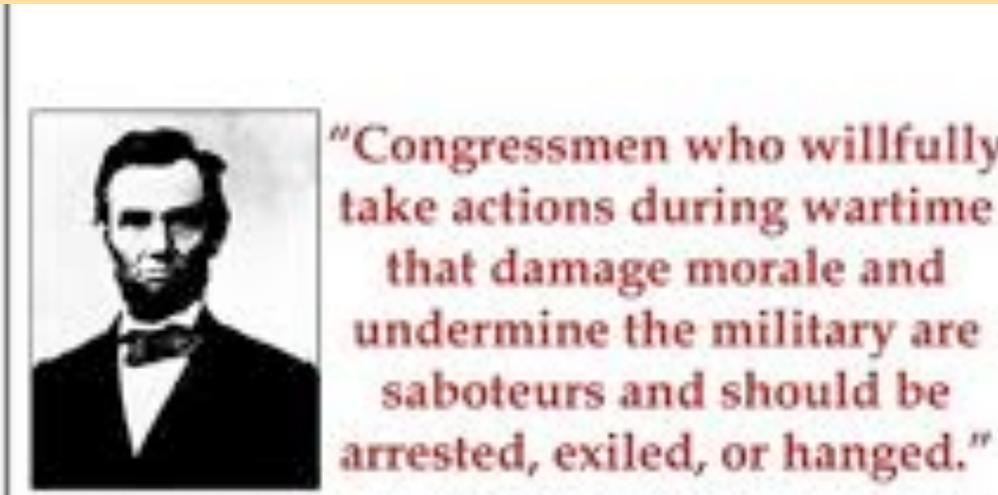
2. So, now he builds a union coalition



- a. To build coalition he needed to appease Crittenden--why not earlier?
- b. "I want God on my side, but must have Ky."



1. Abe hurried to Crittenden:
 - a. “You can have slavery & Union”
 - b. I won’t invade you--you are neutral
2. Then in 1861, Abe helped Crittenden win elections in Ky and Md
 - a. MD and KY had strong Secessionist movements
 - b. Lincoln jailed 23 Md legislators



d. Awkward: Fremont freed fugitive slaves, but Lincoln countermanded it.

e. AL was building a new Union coalition--and it wasn't anti-slave



f. The evolution of Lincoln on slavery

Military necessity?

Britain and France?

Fugitive slaves?

Frederick Douglass?

“Down with the traitors”



Question posed by Schlesinger to Randall

“If a Northerner in 1860 hated both war and slavery, what action should they take?”

#