

## What caused the Civil War?

### From the 2015 Revised Framework

**Key Concept 5.2:** Intensified by expansion and deepening regional divisions, debates over slavery and other economic, cultural, and political issues *led the nation into civil war.*

- I. Ideological and economic differences over **slavery** produced an array of diverging responses from Americans in **the North** and **the South**.
  - A) The North's expanding **manufacturing economy** relied on **free labor** in contrast to the Southern economy's dependence on **slave labor**. Some Northerners did not object to slavery on principle but claimed that slavery would undermine the free labor market. As a result, a **free-soil movement** arose that portrayed the expansion of slavery as incompatible with free labor.
  - B) **African American** and **white abolitionists**, although a minority in the North, mounted a highly visible campaign against **slavery**, presenting moral arguments against the institution, assisting slaves' escapes, and sometimes expressing a willingness to use violence to achieve their goals.
  - C) **Defenders of slavery** based their arguments on **racial doctrines**, the view that slavery was a **positive social good**, and the belief that slavery and **states' rights** were protected by the Constitution.
  
- II. **Debates over slavery** came to dominate political discussion in the **1850s**, culminating in the bitter **election of 1860** and the **secession of Southern states**.
  - A) The **Mexican Cession** led to heated controversies over whether to allow slavery in the newly acquired territories.
  - B) The courts and national leaders made a variety of attempts to resolve the issue of slavery in the territories, including the **Compromise of 1850**, the **Kansas–Nebraska Act**, and the **Dred Scott decision**, but these ultimately failed to reduce conflict.
  - C) The **Second Party System** ended when the **issues of slavery and anti-immigrant nativism** weakened loyalties to the **two major parties** and fostered the emergence of **sectional parties**, most notably the **Republican Party** in the North.
  - D) **Abraham Lincoln's** victory on the **Republicans' free-soil platform in the presidential election of 1860** was accomplished without any Southern electoral votes. After a series of contested debates about secession, most **slave states** voted to **secede** from the Union, precipitating the **Civil War**.

### What are the MAIN causes of the CW?

1. Regional ideas and beliefs concerning slave labor... i.e. moral vs immoral, expansion vs free soil... *made worse by expansion*...
2. Regional economic differences and political priorities regarding economics... i.e. tariffs, internal improvements, free vs slave labor... *made worse by expansion and sectional differences*...
3. Regional political theories clashing on states' rights vs federal authority... *made worse by expansion*...
4. The failure of compromising (politics)... DOI, Constitution, Missouri Compromise, Nullification Crisis and Compromise Tariff of 1832, Compromise of 1850, Kansas-Nebraska Act...
5. Dred Scott case... (political)
6. A few hot, propelling events... Bleeding Kansas, Lincoln-Douglas Debates, John Brown's Raid, and the Election of 1860... (sectional differences... *made worse by expansion*... and by Dred Scott case)

*How many of these causes are isolated from the institution of Slavery?*

*Is it fair to say that slavery was the main cause?*

*To what extent were political beliefs regarding power of the federal government the main cause?*

**Directions:** After reading the chapters on Sectionalism and Causes for War (Union in Peril), review the notes provided, and then create your graphic organizer.

## ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

NORTHERN ECONOMY	SOUTHERN ECONOMY
<p><b>BANKING</b></p> <p><b>SHIPPING</b></p> <p><b>INSURANCE</b></p> <p><b>SMALL AND LARGE BUSINESS OWNERSHIP; CREATING A MIDDLE CLASS</b></p> <p><b>SOME AGRICULTURE, COMMERCIAL AND SUBSISTENCE</b></p> <p><b>WAGE LABORERS AVAILABLE</b></p>	<p><b>DEPENDENT ON PLANTATION SYSTEM FOR ECONOMY, CULTURE, SOCIAL SYSTEM</b></p> <p><b>SLAVE LABOR DOMINANT FORCE WITH GREAT ECONOMIC VALUE</b></p> <p><b>MOST WHITES SUBSISTENCE FARMERS</b></p> <p><b>YEOMAN FARMERS SMALL PORTION OF POPULATION</b></p> <p><b>SMALL URBAN MIDDLE CLASS</b></p>
POLITICAL OBJECTIVES OF NORTH	POLITICAL OBJECTIVES OF SOUTH
<p><b>PROTECTIVE TARIFFS</b></p> <p><b>FEDERAL AID FOR INFRASTRUCTURE</b></p> <p><b>LOOSE IMMIGRATION POLICY</b></p> <p><b>FREE OR CHEAP LAND IN WEST</b></p> <p><b>CONTAINMENT OF SLAVERY</b></p>	<p><b>LOW TARIFFS</b></p> <p><b>EXPANSION OF SLAVERY</b></p> <p><b>OPPOSITION TO CHEAP LAND POLICY, OPPORTUNITIES FOR POOR WHITES, AND CAPITALISM IN GENERAL</b></p>

## NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN TENSIONS OVER POLITICAL THEORY

THE NORTH	THE SOUTH
<p><b>CONTRACT THEORY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-the people, not the states, created the Union</li> <li>-the federal government is supreme</li> <li>-federal laws and actions take precedence over state laws and actions</li> <li>-secession is wrong</li> </ul>	<p><b>COMPACT THEORY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-states, not the people, created the Union</li> <li>-laws of states are supreme when in conflict with laws and actions of federal government</li> <li>-states can declare laws of the federal government null and void if they are inappropriate or unnecessary</li> <li>-secession is logical</li> </ul>

# THE FAILURE OF POLITICAL COMPROMISING...

## 1. DOI slavery clause, 1776, omitted

The original clause in Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence which was later removed. The southern delegates walked... refusing to sign with this clause included. Adams and Jefferson were angry... Franklin told them, "We must learn to live with them or pack up and go home." This was the first compromise for unity involving slavery.

*He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of our property.*

*He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people for whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.*

## 2. Constitutional Convention, 1787-1789, Compromises in new Constitution

### a. 3/5 Compromise

In order to appease the Southern states, which wanted to count their slaves as population as to gain more representatives, it was agreed that a slave would count as **3/5 of a person**. This was important because it helped **determine how many representatives in the House** a state could have. BTW... If the Compromise hadn't been enacted, John Adams would have won the election of 1800 instead of Thomas Jefferson.

The northerners were against this, because southern states could increase their representation simply by importing more slaves. They also feared a growing slave population. It threatened revolt and revenge on whites, it represented something morally wrong, and it represented a type of economy that conflicted with the ideals of liberty. In the end they allowed 3/5 even though they disliked it. They added that this method would also apply to taxes, but federal taxes never materialized.

This issue was also linked to the **Northwest Ordinance of 1787**, which carved up the Old Northwest and declared it free territory. Because of this, northern delegates were forced to include the fugitive slave clause in the Constitution as well. The south also agreed the **slave trade would only continue for 20 more years**.

### b. The Great Compromise

**Virginia Plan** wanted a bicameral legislature with both houses controlled by population.

**New Jersey Plan** wanted a unicameral legislature in which everyone had the same amount of representatives. The Connecticut delegates came up with **the Great Plan or Connecticut Plan** -- a bicameral legislature, with one house controlled by population; the other would have two representatives from each state.

### c. The Fugitive Slave Clause

**Article 4, Section 2, Clause 3:**

*No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.*

The word “slave” is never used in the Constitution, but this clause is there for the purpose of establishing a fugitive slave law... meaning runaways were to be returned. This clause was ineffective, however, because there was no enforcement.

This led to the **Fugitive Slave Law of 1793**. This law established the legal mechanism by which escaped slaves could be seized in any state, brought before a magistrate and returned to their masters, **giving states the right to demand a slave be returned**. The law made it a crime to assist a fugitive or a slave in escaping, with prison and a fine for helping a fugitive but only a fine for helping a slave. **The Act made every escaped slave a fugitive for life** (unless manumitted by the owner), **who could be recaptured at any time anywhere within the territory of the United States, along with any children subsequently born of enslaved mothers**.

This clause and FSL was used in the defense of Prigg in **Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, 1842**. Prigg had *kidnapped* an escaped slave and her children and returned them to the children of her former/late owner. Prigg was imprisoned for **breaking the Pennsylvania law** (part of **An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery**, originally enacted 1780) which stated that, *No negro or mulatto slave ...shall be removed out of this state, with the design and intention that the place of abode or residence of such slave or servant shall be thereby altered or changed*. The Supreme Court reversed the Pennsylvania ruling and let Prigg go.

BTW: Morgan (slave woman) and her children were sold back into slavery. Even though they were virtually free by the lifestyle of her owner, the late man’s children hired the slave catcher, Prigg, in order to make some money by selling Morgan. The Prigg case, along with other cases, became part of the **Compromise of 1850** with the new, stronger **Fugitive Slave Law of 1850**.

### d. The Bill of Rights

After the Constitution was written, it was sent around to the states for ratification. A great debate arose around whether or not a **Bill of Rights** should be added. **Federalists** were against this, as they felt enumerated rights would lead to the violation of those unwritten. **Anti-Federalists** demanded rights be enumerated in order to protect citizens from government abuse. The compromise was that the Bill of Rights were added and they included the **9<sup>th</sup> amendment** which stated that all other rights not enumerated were included.

*The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.*

### 3. Missouri Compromise, 1820

This was an attempt to maintain the political balance of power between slave and free states. Henry Clay worked out this compromise, which would add **Maine** as a free state in 1820 then **Missouri** as a slave state in 1821. It also set a line at **36°30'**, above which no more slave states would be added. This Compromise stalled the threat of war and also ended the so-called **Era of Good Feelings**.

### 4. The Nullification Crisis and Compromise Tariff of 1833

In **1828**, a protective tariff passed by Congress drove up domestic prices. Southerners were angered at the apparent priority the north had over the south. They referred to it as the **Tariff of Abominations**. South Carolina led the rebellion. This issue/complaint was addressed in the **Webster-Hayne Debates** in Congress between **Daniel Webster** of Massachusetts and **Robert Y. Hayne** of South Carolina..

BTW: Webster's description in his speech in this debate described the US government as "made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people," was later paraphrased by Abraham Lincoln in the Gettysburg Address in the words "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

In 1832, a new protective tariff was added, and the vice president, **John C. Calhoun** (from S.C.) voted to **nullify** the new tariff. This is known as the **Nullification Crisis**. **President Andrew Jackson**, although himself an advocate of states' rights, threatened to invade South Carolina (**Force Bill**) if its leaders refused to participate in the collection of tariff duties. He even threatened to "hang the first man of them I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find!" After Calhoun resigned, the crisis ended when a **reduced tariff of 1833**. South Carolina was appeased... but continued to lead the south in its dissent toward *northern* policy.

### 5. Compromise of 1850

Major issues that threatened unity in 1850 included:

- a. California – Gold Rush led 100,000 settlers to CA and they applied for statehood as free state. This would offset balance of free vs slave states.
- b. Fugitive Slave Law was being ignored by northern states and the south demanded stronger legislation. Not only were they losing "property" because of northern refusal to return slaves, the Underground Railroad was also helping slaves escape to Canada.
- c. Abolitionists were pressuring Washington D.C. to abolish slavery in the nation's capital... which angered southern states because D.C. was in the middle of two slave states.
- d. Texas, a huge, new slave state, was threatening to use force to defend its land claims.
- e. New lands gained by the Mexican cession of 1848 (Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo) were desired by southerners as slave territory.

### The Compromise of 1850 established:

- a. CA as free state
- b. More strict Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 guaranteeing the enforcement of the law
- c. Slave trade, but not ownership of slaves, abolished in D.C.
- d. Texas lost land claims, but earned \$10 in government bonds
- e. Land gained from Mexican War would be left to popular sovereignty

**Henry Clay** organized this compromise along with other leaders. It was signed by **President Millard Fillmore**. Both sides were slightly appeased... but then angered by concessions the other side earned. The north continued to refuse to enforce the FSL, and the south became increasingly paranoid of northern dominance.

### 6. Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854

Senator **Stephen Douglas** (the “Little Giant” from Illinois) favored the passage of a bill that would provide a route for a northern railroad from Chicago to California. This would compete with southern RR plans (**Gadsden Purchase**) and would increase land value in the unorganized Nebraska territory. Even though this would stimulate settlement and further upset the already off-balance of power between north and south, he pushed it. In order to gain support from those who feared the danger of it, he gained supporters from the south. This led to the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**. It provided for the division of the Nebraska Territory into **Kansas and Nebraska**. Each would determine their own fate via **popular sovereignty**. The north was outraged because both territories were above **36°30'** established in the **Missouri Compromise**. It passed anyway and was signed by **President Franklin Pierce**. Northerners began forming the **Republican party** and abolitionists began pouring into Kansas (assumed to become slave state) in order to prevent it from doing so. This became **Bleeding Kansas**, as the fight between pro-slavery settlers and abolitionists was bloody.

### 7. *Dredd Scott vs Sanford*, 1857

**Roger Taney** was the Chief Justice, a pro-southern democrat. This case was a development over several years, so the response was developing before the final ruling. The Supreme Court ruled that **Dredd Scott**, a slave who had travelled with his owner into free territory (Missouri to Wisconsin) and lived for 2 years until returning to Missouri, where he sued for his freedom... was still a slave. **The ruling stated that Scott was property, not a citizen, so he couldn't sue in the first place.** The ruling also stated that the **Missouri Compromise was invalid because slave owners were free to travel above 36°30' and take their property with them. Crossing the line didn't cause them to lose their rights of property ownership. This meant that there was no limit to the spread of slavery. It also stated that the U.S. Constitution did not provide rights for any black.**

The response was to the Dredd Scott case and ruling was passionate. It led to a coalition of the following groups into a new political party... the **Republicans**.

- a. **Free-soilers**, a political party since 1848, fought for **Homestead Law** which would provide cheap or free land for western settlement. This would lead to western development within capitalism and not plantation “slavocracy.” They increased their fight. **The Homestead Law** was passed in 1862 and provided land for 25 cents an acre. The also supported American System.
- b. **Northern capitalists**, who favored protective tariffs, internal improvements with federal funding, liberal immigration laws, and national bank.
- c. **Social reformers; abolitionists mainly**
- d. **Northern Democrats** (Democrat party split after **Kansas-Nebraska Act**)
- e. **Labor groups**

BTW: in the election of 1856, Democrat James Buchanan defeated the Republican John C. Fremont. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected as a Republican. It is remarkable the speed this party organized and ascended to the presidency, although the split Democrats made it easy.

## PROPELLING ISSUES...

### 1. **Bleeding Kansas, 1856**

Hostility in arising from whether or not Kansas would be a slave state. In the Kansas-Nebraska Act... it was assumed Kansas would be slave and Nebraska would be free, but it was left to the voters in each territory to decide via **popular sovereignty**. The majority of Kansas farmers were **free-soilers**. In order to secure Kansas as a slave state in spite of the fact that most were free-soilers, pro-slavery advocates from Missouri came into Kansas (they were called “**border ruffians**”) in order to vote for slavery. In response, northern abolitionists sent people to Kansas (Major funding by the **New England Emigrant Society**). Fighting erupted and the pro-slavery group, although still a minority, created a government in **Lecompton**. Free group formed government in **Topeka**.

- a. **Attack on Lawrence** – pro-slavery group killed anti-slavery group members
- b. **Lecompton Constitution** – pro-slavery group organized constitution but the federal government opposed it since it did not represent the true nature and intent of popular sovereignty

### 2. **Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858**

**Abraham Lincoln** challenged **Stephen Douglas** to a series of debates, which were held across **Illinois**. Douglas was nationally known. Lincoln was unknown. Lincoln was challenging his senate seat. The debates included topics on slavery and popular sovereignty. **Douglas won the election, but Lincoln became nationally known**. Lincoln was not an abolitionist, but his political beliefs were aligned with those who opposed the expansion of slavery and those who condemned it. As he gained support, the south feared him and the Republican Party.

### 3. John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry, 1859

**John Brown** led a crusade to end slavery even if it involved violence. He rationalized this by pointing out the violence used against slaves. He tried to organize a slave rebellion by seizing weapons from a federal arsenal at **Harper's Ferry, Virginia**. Rather than being met by slaves, he was met by army troops under the command of **Robert E. Lee**. He was **captured, put on trial, and hanged**. He became a **martyr** to many northerners and increased suspicion among southerners that abolitionists were going to force them to stop slavery using violence.

### 4. Election of Abraham Lincoln, 1860

The election of 1860 included 4 candidates.

**Abraham Lincoln – Republican**, supported the containment of slavery

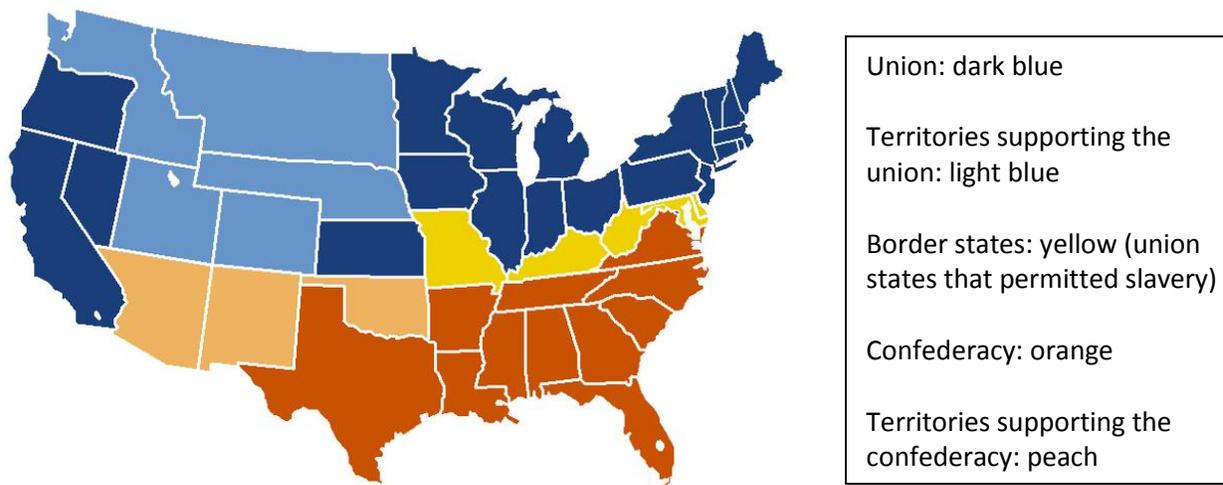
**Stephen Douglas – Northern Democrat**, supported popular sovereignty

**John C. Breckenridge – Southern Democrat**, opposed containment of slavery

**John Bell – Constitutional Unionist**, ambiguous on slavery issue but supported keeping the country together

**Lincoln only received 39% of the popular vote**. In southern states, his name didn't appear on most ballots. After winning, **South Carolina** believed they were threatened, because Lincoln supported containing slavery. They **seceded in February 1861... and were followed by 6 other states**.

**CSA:** South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. Within two months, four more joined the Confederacy: Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee. West Virginia ended up breaking off from Virginia and joining union. Kentucky and Missouri never joined because they were under the control of Union troops, although they had confederate governments in exile. Oklahoma (Indian territory, not a state yet, with several slave holding tribes) had a mini civil war of their own as some tribes supported the south. Other territories joined the union.



The Confederate States of America formed with **Jefferson Davis** as president. **President James Buchanan did nothing**.

In between the election and inauguration, Kentucky senator **John Crittenden** proposed a compromise (**Crittenden Compromise**) that would return the nation to the **Missouri Compromise** of 1820. **It failed**, because it would allow for further spread of slavery. Another FAILURE OF POLITICAL COMPROMISE.

#### War begins... **April 12, 1861 Fort Sumter**

Confederate troops fired on Fort Sumter off the coast of Charleston, S.C. forcing the fort's commander to surrender. The south fired the first shots, and the north returned by raising a volunteer force of 75,000 to suppress the southern "rebellion."