

Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci

Pedagogická fakulta

Ústav cizích jazyků

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III. ročník – prezenční studium

Obor: Anglický jazyk se zaměřením na vzdělávání – Matematika se zaměřením
na vzdělávání

Was the American Civil War Inevitable?

Bakalářská práce

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Olomouc 2016

Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

V Olomouci

Acknowledgement:

I would like to thank PhDr. Světlana Obenausová, MLitt., PhD. for her support and valuable comments on the content and style of my Bachelor's project.

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Abstract

The work is focused on the events of the 19th century that led to the American Civil War. The project itself is divided into three parts, beginning with a general description of the history of slavery in the United States of America. Here, the influence of the abolitionist movement and literature is dealt together with the description of the situation of women in American society. The aim of the second part is to understand the political development that preceded the war, beginning with the Missouri Compromise and ending with the secession of Southern states. In the third part, economic differences between the North and South are described along with their consequences on the pre-war situation.

Introduction

The aim of this work is to study the events that directly or indirectly led to the American Civil War and then, if possible, to decide whether it was inevitable. The reason I chose this historical topic was that history of the United States of America has always fascinated me, especially the topic of the Civil War. The most interesting point of this issue is that many historians consider it as an event that helped to define modern America. As we shall see, the question “What caused the Civil War?” can be viewed from several angles. Consequently there is still no unified answer to this particular question.

While studying causes of the Civil War, I found it necessary to describe the history of slavery, because it is considered the most significant difference between the North and South that lay at the roots of many conflicts. When slavery has become a peculiar institution of the South, many antislavery organizations, including the abolitionist movement, were established. As one of the goals of abolitionists was to influence the public opinion, I found it essential to mention the importance of literature through which authors like Harriet B. Stowe and Frederick Douglass changed minds of many people. Besides slaves, there was another group of citizens that was fighting for their rights. Members of this group were women who tried to change public opinion as well as did abolitionists.

The second more extensive chapter focuses on the political development of the 19th century, beginning with the compromises of 1820 and 1850. As the Kansas–Nebraska Act had crucial consequences, I found it important to study its development. Thereafter the Lincoln–Douglass debates are described which helped Abraham Lincoln to reach his success in the most important event of the pre-war period – the 1860 presidential election. However, before the 1860 elections, several extreme abolitionists believed that there is a need to make some radical action. One of those extremists was John Brown who actually tried, unsuccessfully, to provoke a slave rebellion. The concluding part is focused on the culmination of tensions between the North and South that caused the secession of Southern states from the Union.

The last part deals with the economic differences between the North and South which were the key reasons for the division of the two sections. These differences became more evident due to transportation revolution, and especially due to the invention of cotton gin which made the plantation system highly profitable. Additionally, different approaches to the tariffs caused conflicts that deeply divided the nation.

1. Historical Background

While studying causes of the American Civil War, many historians frequently mention slavery as the reason of many North-South conflicts. As a consequence to the northern disapproval of slavery, many antislavery organizations appeared in the North. The most famous and influential one was the abolitionist movement, which kept slavery in the forefront of public attention. In order to understand the societal climate of the nineteenth century and struggles for equality of women as well as slaves, it is necessary to study the development of slavery in the history of the United States.

As mentioned before, many historians believe that slavery lay at the roots of forthcoming Civil War. James Rhodes (1917) identifies the moral differences over slavery as the central cause of the struggle and adds that if Africans had not been brought to the North America, Civil War would not have occurred. In order to support this statement, Rhodes (1917) mentions that the Republican Senator William H. Seward claimed there was an irrepressible conflict over the issue of slavery which meant that the United States of America must have become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free – laboured nation. Furthermore, Morrison (2005) mentions that in the second inauguration speech in 1865, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed that all he knew was that slavery was the cause of the war.

From the very beginning of the American nation, slavery was a part of life in both parts of the United States. Although slavery existed in the North, its roots were never deep. There were only about forty thousand slaves, the majority of which were domestic servants being too luxurious for those who could not afford them. In contrast, there were nearly seven hundred thousand slaves in the South (Beard, 1921). In the North, moral sentiment against the slavery system was growing due to the revolutionary spirit after the War of Independence, and especially due to the proclamation in the Declaration of Independence that “all men are created equal” (Appendix 2). After the War of Independence, slaves became a declining portion of the northern population so these states began to liberate their slaves. This development caused the creation of the dividing line between essential slavery in the South and sparse, too luxurious in the North (Meyers, 2005). As Congress prohibited slavery in the North-West territories with 1787 Ordinance and banned slave trade with Africa in 1808, the tension between the two parts became evident. With the North purely free-laboured, slavery had become the peculiar institution of the South (Egerton, 2005).

Nevertheless, people in the North initially had no interest in interfering in the Southern system. Their attention to the immorality and unfairness of the slavery system was raised when slaves owners, feared of rebellions, began to tighten the restrictions on slaves. The first slave insurrection occurred in 1800, led by Gabriel Prosser who planned to capture Richmond and then to kill every slave owner of that area. Although the rebellion has never been actually realized, it resulted in the tightening of laws governing slaves and helped kill any antislavery sentiment that had ever existed in the South (Silverman, 1989). More successful rebellion was Nat Turner's revolt in 1831. After Nat Turner's rebellion, during which he and his fellow slaves killed their masters and liberated number of slaves, Southern states imposed even more restrictions on slaves. In the North, on the other hand, Turner's rebellion caused a wave of disapproval among abolitionists (Mountjoy, 2009). According to Nevins (1994), the main difference in attitudes to slavery was that Northerners condemned slavery for its hard work, whipping, breaking of families and for its impossibility of any education or development of black people. In the contrast, Southerners defended slavery because, in their opinion, slavery institution protected black people from unemployment, illness and oldness, and because it brought Christianity to pagan people, thus it gradually made generous masters and faithful servants. As Farmer (2008) mentions, these different feelings about slavery created a wider division between the two parts of the nation.

With the growing wealth of the plantation owners grew their influence in the politics, especially within the Democratic Party. In 1836, The House of Representatives fell to Southern pressure to no longer discuss slavery and adopted the so-called "gag rule". Under this rule, Congress could not discuss slavery during their meetings and all antislavery petitions¹, amendments or resolutions were postponed before any were even read on the House floor. The gag rule was repealed by president John Quincy Adams in 1844. However, by 1850s Southern peculiar institution was becoming increasingly hated (Mountjoy, 2009). Tensions between the North and South culminated when the Republican Party, with its antislavery policy, won the 1860 presidential election and Southern states refused to be in the Union with a president who was against the extension of slavery.

¹ The majority of antislavery petitions were sent by the National Antislavery Society established in 1833 (Farmer, 2008).

1.1. Abolitionist movement

Although many historians emphasize that the influence of abolitionist movement² should not be exaggerated as it had only a limited appeal in the North, they also admit that it had an indirect impact on the growth of tensions between the North and South as they maintained slavery in the forefront of public attention. Southerners, while exaggerating the extent of support for abolitionism, correctly sensed that more and more Northerners were opposed to slavery (Farmer, 2008). Ashworth (1995) claims the abolitionist movement gradually deepened alarm and anger among Southerners. Among slave owners, abolitionists were thus perceived as the greatest threat to the peace and safety of the South. While the antislavery literature was spreading through the nation, Southerners censored all mails and excluded abolitionist literature in order to prevent its distribution and reading. In some states, the penalty for circulating “incendiary” literature among blacks was death (Silverman, 1989). Abolitionists then reacted in a series of defensive moves which generated the stream of anti-southern sentiment that swept the North from the late 1840s.

At the beginning of the antislavery movements in the first decades after the Revolution, policy of abolitionism had a little success, especially due to their incapacity to agree about their strategies. Some abolitionists believed that liberated slaves should be return back to Africa, where new state Liberia was established. This policy, however, was not popular among free African-Americans because they considered the United States as their motherland and thus denied to be sent away (Tindall, 1996). By 1830, the antislavery movement was thus in decline. According to Ashworth (1995), a new era for the abolitionist movement opened with William Lloyd Garrison’s journal *The Liberator*. In his radical publications, Garrison, convinced that slavery was a sin, demanded immediate abolition of slavery. Garrison’s radical sentiment caused a number of exasperated reactions among slave owners which made, ironically, the journal even more famous and increased the opinion of abolitionism (Mountjoy, 2009). However, many Northerners, fearing that Southern states would secede if the influence of abolitionists became too extensive, actually hated those radicals. Finally, the hatred culminated when abolitionist Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed by a Northern mob in November 1837. After Lovejoy’s murder, many Northerners realised that the issue of slavery had begun to affect more than just Southerners and slaves. This murder of a white Northerner living in a free state for speaking out against slavery caused a wave of converts to abolitionism (Nevins, 1994).

² Abolitionism demands immediate and unconditional end to slavery (Laichas, 2010)

After the Mexican-American War in 1848, as the annexation of states reopened the debate over the expansion of slavery, abolitionism grew even stronger (Laichas, 2010). In 1840s, when slavery began to occupy political stage, abolitionists gained a political success. After their joining the Free Soilers and later on the Republicans, abolitionists convinced many party leaders to support their policy of abolition. In the South, the conviction that the Union would not survive if abolitionists were not arrested grew stronger, and many Southerners were thus convinced that they need to protect their interests. This common fear of Southerners helped united the South more than anything else before (Ashworth, 1995).

1.2. Women and literature

Although in the early nineteenth century, societies in the United States were more equal and people were more likely to rise from “rags” to “riches” than people in Europe, many historians criticize concept of the American Dream. According to Farmer (2008), Black Slaves, Native Americans, women and immigrants were far from equal. The issue of freedom and equality has always been the cause of struggles in the United States. As many antislavery organizations supported also women rights, it is important to study the influence of those women who were heard in the public as well as those who changed the public opinion through literature.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as it was becoming more common for women to achieve higher levels of education, almost all white women in the North were literate. Other women, who were not educated, read popular novels, journals, biographies etc. Moreover, they chose readings that allowed them to engage important political questions related to slavery. During the antebellum period, many woman authors appeared writing many of the most popular books on the market (Morrison, 2005). The increasing number of antislavery organizations helped women to indirectly influence political issues. Even though many antislavery organizations forbade women to participate in any way in the organization, some radical groups, including the one of William Lloyd Garrison’s, affirmed their support for rights of women as well as slaves. Thus the rights of women had gone hand in hand with the rights of slaves. Many of these women spoke powerfully in public. One of the loudest speakers for antislavery women movement was Catherine Beecher who was an establisher of academies for young women in Hartford and Cincinnati (Silverman, 1989). She argued that women should focus their efforts to influence their husbands in the struggle against slavery. Catherine was also the one who prompted her sister,

Harriet Beecher Stowe, to write the future best-seller Uncle Tom's Cabin, as she told Harriet that she was the only one who could, with her writing skills, change public opinion (Gelletly, 2000).

1.2.1. Harriet Beecher Stowe

Many historians agree that Uncle Tom's Cabin, an antislavery novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe, helped increase the antislavery sentiment in the North. Even Abraham Lincoln lately declared that Harriet Beecher Stowe was a little lady who wrote the big book that had caused the big war (Silverman, 1989).

The story is based on slaves and slave owners Beecher had met, stories she had heard, and events she had seen. In order to support the facts of the book, Beecher also had studied books and autobiographies by former slaves, including one by the famous abolitionist Frederick Douglass. The novel was published two years after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law to immediate success. In one year, 300,000 copies of Beecher's book were sold (Mountjoy, 2009). In Uncle Tom's Cabin, the Shelbys, who are slave owning Southerners, are good people but they are forced to sell their slaves causing the destruction of their families. Beecher believed that one of the greatest evils of slavery was the separation of families. The book aroused wide Northern sympathy for slaves and pushed many Northerners to a more aggressive antislavery stance. Even those who had not read the book were familiar with its theme as it was turned into many songs and plays leading to the bigger popularity of the novel (Farmer, 2008).

In the South, the novel made people furious because it attacked Southerner's way of life. It was an indictment of slavery though not of slave owners as the villain Simon Legree was from New England. Many slave states passed laws that outlawed buying or selling of the book which made it, naturally, even more popular (Galletly, 2000).

1.2.2. Frederick Douglass

Another important person of the antislavery movement was undoubtedly an ex - slave Frederick Douglass who became the most famous and influential African American of the nineteenth century. According to Silverman (1989), in the fighting against slavery Douglass accomplished more than any otherliberated slave.

Born a slave in Maryland named Frederick Bailey, he was fortunated to be taught how to read and write. Douglass later declared the fact that he learned how to read was a crucial on his way to freedom as he would be never able to escape to the North and get a job. It was also due to

his ability to read that he had discovered that slavery was wrong and that people in the North were fighting for abolishing it (Lutz, 2001). When Douglass actually escaped, posing as a sailor, he had settled in New Bedford with his wife Anna Murray and chose name Douglass for his new life as a free man. After moving to Boston, he became an agent of Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and a speaker at its public meetings. Douglass told Northern audiences that he appeared that evening as a thief and robber and that he had stolen that head, that limbs and that body from his master and had ran off with them (Farmer, 2008). With his powerful voice, emotive style, and command of the language, Douglass riveted the audience (Carnes, 2012). Before hearing Douglass, many people had never understood the unfairness of slavery. After they heard Douglass' stories about his life as a slave, people began to change their minds and many of them joined the fight against slavery (Lutz, 2001). According to Douglass, slavery was unfair to black slaves as well as to poor white workers who were forced to compete with slaves for work. Besides lecturing, Douglass also cultivated his writing skills for W. L. Garrison's *Liberator*. Due to his advanced language, people had doubted whether he was actually a former slave. In 1845, he therefore published *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American slave*, in which he described his life under slavery in gruesome and bitter detail with a remarkable sense of honesty and candour (Smith, 2010).

With earnings from the *Narrative* and lecture tours, Douglass bought the most respected black newspaper of the antebellum era - the *North Star*, in New York in 1847. He insisted that freedom for blacks, and also for women, required full equality, social and economical as well as political (Silverman, 1989). Many historians believe that Frederick Douglass was one of the most important people who influenced a considerable number of Americans on the way to abolishing slavery.

2. Political development

Historians agree that the establishment of new states and the exploration of new territories during the nineteenth century belong to the main events that directly led to the Civil War. Every time the question of a new state arose it caused a number of conflicts in Congress. The most discussed issue during the Congress meetings was whether the institution of slavery would be permitted in the new territories or not. First sectional agreement was arranged in 1820 when the Missouri Compromise was accepted. According to Stamp (1991), the final crisis began when Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 that opened slavery to territories in which it was previously prohibited by the Missouri Compromise. This act had several consequences. One of them was the formation of the Republican Party which stood against the extension of slavery to the new territories, causing an intensification of tensions between the North and South (Morrison, 2005).

2.1. The Missouri Compromise

As new territories joined the Union, the question of slavery became more crucial. Until 1819, new territories were joining the nation always in pairs – one territory slave and one free, which maintained the balance between slave and free-laboured states. Nevertheless, in 1819, only a slave holding Missouri applied to join the Union causing a series of debates in Congress whose members were keenly aware of the potential controversy surrounding the number of free and slave states (Farmer, 2008). The annexation of Missouri would tilt the balance of power in favour of the South, which would cause serious concerns among Northerners (Mountjoy, 2009).

One year later, a compromise was worked out when James Tallmadge, in order to balance the admittance of Missouri, proposed an amendment which would create a new free state of Maine. Furthermore, the amendment would prohibit further introduction of slaves into Missouri and liberate children born to slave parents when they reached the age of 25. However, this amendment brought another dispute as Southerners argued that Congress did not have power to deprive people of their property (Risjord, 1985).

In order to avoid additional problems, it was decided that slavery would be prohibited in the Louisiana Purchase Territory north of the parallel 36°30' by so-called Mason – Dixon Line (Farmer, 2008).

Although the agreement satisfied both sides of the controversy, this issue alarmed older statesmen who believed that the compromise would cause additional conflict that would not be possible to resolve peacefully since the nation was likely to continue expanding westward. Even though the compromise was successful and many states were devoted to act in accordance with the amendment, it revealed the deep division separating the North and the South (Mountjoy, 2009). With the open condemnation of slavery in the North, Southerners realized that they had become a minority in the Union and that the northern majority was a potential enemy. They retreated into a defensive sectionalism and self-consciously emphasized the regional traits that bound them together. The Missouri Compromise was the reason for Southerners realizing that their position in the Union was threatened as Northerners' public opinion had begun to shift against slavery (Risjord, 1985).

2.2. Compromise of 1850

By 1845, the problem of slavery had been almost forgotten. According to Silverman (1989), most people believed that if not allowed to spread, slavery would be eventually abandoned and would die. Unfortunately the result of the Mexican-American war brought this question back to life.

The annexation of California and New Mexico raised many questions concerning slavery in these regions. Cincotta (1994) claims that Southerners believed all the lands gained from Mexico should be given to slave owners. The antislavery North, on the other hand, urged that all new regions should be closed to slavery. The third side of this problem was represented by moderate parties that wanted to spread the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific coast with free-laboured states north and slavery states south of it. However, the most popular opinion was that the decision should be left to popular sovereignty which was the right of people living in a newly organized territory to decide by vote whether or not slavery would be permitted there (Gove, 1986).

The tension between the South and North had developed to a point where Southerners started to talk more frequently about secession from the Union (Silverman, 1989). In order to avoid the dissolution of the Union, it was therefore vital to find a compromise. After several months of bitter discussions, Senator Douglass' proposal had passed Congress and the Compromise of 1850 came into force. The result was that California joined as a free state and, in exchange, there were no slavery restrictions in New Mexico and Utah. Regarding capital, slave

trade was abolished, but slavery as itself existed as before. However, the most controversial decision was the new Fugitive Slave Act requiring Northerners to return fugitive slaves to their masters in the South (Farmer, 2008).

Although both sides were partially successful in their demands, many historians are still debating whether this compromise was a a compromise at all. According to Mountjoy (2009), it was a compromise in name only as there was no party that supported all of the five parts of the bill. It seemed that the North gained the most with the annexation of California; however, they also made a major concession to pass the Fugitive Slave Law. In the end, it caused great concerns among the population. Silverman (1989) claims the Fugitive Slave Law inflamed the sectional animosity even further. While slave holders resented the end of slave trade in Washington D. C, Northern abolitionists opposed the Fugitive Slave Law. Moreover, according to the law, federal officers had the authority to capture refugees without any trial. In order to make the law more affective, severe penalties were issued to all who assisted in violation of the law (Beard, 1921). The reluctance to obey the law maintained sectional tension alive and supported the arguments of southern extremists that the North was an enemy. Mountjoy (2009) adds that the compromise only temporarily suppressed the division stemming from slavery.

2.3. Kansas-Nebraska Act

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, according to Stamp (1991), the Kansas-Nebraska Act was the final crisis that led directly to the Civil War.

In this struggle, Senator Stephen A. Douglass played once again an important role. As Douglass knew that entrepreneurs could not complete the transcontinental railroad without the western territories being a part of the Union, he thus proposed a bill calling for the admission of Nebraska. However, to gain approval for the bill, he needed the support of Southerners. He therefore made a concession and proposed the right of popular sovereignty (Tindall, 1996). Although many Southerners disliked popular sovereignty and would have preferred a constitutional amendment guaranteeing that slavery could exist in the territories, they supported Douglass. He then also wrote an amendment that divided the Nebraska territory into two states: Nebraska and Kansas. When the bill passed Congress and, with the help of President Pierce, became a law in May 1854, many people in the North thought that if the Missouri Compromise was not operative any more, the Fugitive Slave Law should be inoperative as well.

Therefore they began helping fugitive slaves more openly (Farmer, 2008). This open violation of the Fugitive Slave Law forced Southerners to counter-attack.

The passage of the bill caused an avalanche of conflicts and disagreements. This Act superseded the Missouri Compromise and annulled a big part of the Compromise of 1850 (Silverman, 1989). It also had an effect on the reconfiguration of the American political system, and on the foundation of a new exclusively Northern antislavery party - The Republican Party. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act also triggered a guerrilla war in Kansas known as Bleeding Kansas (Vanderford, 2010). These consequences are described in the following subchapters.

2.3.1. The Rise of the Republican Party

According to historians Charles and Mary Beard (1921), the rise of the Republican Party was one of the main events that led to the Civil War as the Republicans succeeded more than any other party in unifying the North against slavery in the South.

After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, many Northern Whigs left the party along with ex-Democrats and ex-Free Soilers, because they had come to the conclusion that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise must be followed by the emergence of a new party dedicated to freedom in the territories (Beard, 1921). In 1854 the Republican Party, which was exclusively Northern and antislavery, was established. When Northern Whigs left, Southern Whigs joined other parties causing the complete disintegration of the Whigs, enabling the Republicans to become a second major political party in the U.S.

The policy of the Republicans focused on preserving and extending rights and opportunities for white Americans became very popular among Northerners, thus the party polled a large number of votes there. Republicans claimed that the great enemy of economic, moral and political progress was the backward system of slavery. They also emphasized that the freedom and liberties of white Americans were being seriously threatened by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as well as by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act (Vanderford, 2010). Using these statements, Republicans cleverly prepared the platform to unite the North in the opposition to slavery and plantation system of the South.

Later on, in preparation for the 1860 presidential election, the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln, a young lawyer from Illinois. Lincoln was of Southern descent, and despite his well-known dislike for slavery, he did not belong to the abolitionists who were rather

unpopular in the North. He tolerated slavery in the South but opposed extension of slavery to the new territories. Furthermore, with his advanced speaking and writing skills, Lincoln made an impression on voters in every free-laboured state in the North (Beard, 1921). With Lincoln's victory, the Republicans, whose political platform was based on sectional interests, had captured the White House.

2.3.2. Bleeding Kansas

In order to influence the events in Kansas, many Northerners as well as Southerners were arriving there. As the Northerners came first, the distorted stories in Southern press made it seem as if they were populating Kansas as part of a Yankee conspiracy which subsequently caused a huge influx of settlers from the South (Mountjoy, 2009).

In preparation for the election to decide official stand of Kansas on slavery, both sides were making an effort to win thus have a representative in Congress. The first elections were won by the pro-slavery settlers. However, anti-slavery settlers knew that a considerable number of votes were not cast by local settlers. Therefore they formed their own government in Topeka. Kansas thus appeared to have two governments: one based on a fraud and one extralegal (Farmer, 2008). To resolve this situation, pro-slavery settlers tried to drive out free-state leaders from Kansas causing the destruction the local Free Soil press and burning buildings. As a counterattack, abolitionist John Brown killed five pro-slavery men which made him a Northern hero (Tindall, 1996). Brown's action intensified the tension between the two parties and caused a severe violence. According to Behling (2010a), these attacks proved that the North and the South were on radically different paths and that this small-scale civil war was only the tip of the iceberg in the forthcoming conflict.

After Brown's action, the passage of Kansas-Nebraska Act suddenly became a symbol of Southern honour. As different leaders recognized different legislation, situation in Kansas caused conflicts in Congress that finally culminated in the cruel beating of Senator Charles Sumner by Southern Congressman Preston Brooks. The Republicans responded to the attack by rising to defy Southern bravado. As a result, the Republicans became the alternative to the Democrats, who increasingly found it more difficult to win elections in the North. After the cunning of Sumner, the Republicans became a key force in U.S: politics. Silverman (1989) adds that the violence in Congress, like that in Kansas, demonstrated that Americans were no longer capable of settling their sectional differences with the political processes of debate and the ballot.

2.4. Dred Scott's case

In a time of Bleeding Kansas, new President James Buchanan had to face one more crisis – the case of Dred Scott. This 1857 Supreme Court decision undoubtedly belongs to the most important ones in the history of the United States. With this decision, the Supreme Court denied the citizenship of African Americans, declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional and denied Congress the right to make any laws on the issue of slavery (Beard, 1921). According to Silverman (1989), Dred Scott decision was one of the milestones on the road to the upcoming Civil War.

Dred Scott was a slave born in Virginia around 1800. He was sold to Dr. John Emerson, an army surgeon who took Scott to accompany him on his journey across the country. When Dr. Emerson was assigned for duty in Illinois, which was a free state, he took Scott with him as his manservant. This repeated during Dr. Emerson's next posting in the Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was banned by the Missouri Compromise, before returning back to Virginia. When Dr. Emerson died, Dred Scott and his family were left to Dr. Emerson's wife Irene Sanford Emerson (Behling, 2010c). Three years later, Scott filed a law suit in Missouri against the Sanford family for his freedom. He claimed that the time when he was living in Illinois and Wisconsin gave him freedom. The State Court rejected Dred Scott's case and he thus filed another lawsuit with the New York State Court which declined his claim as well. After many years of litigation, the case came before the Supreme Court (Farmer, 2008).

The decision of the Supreme Court was that blacks had always been inferior to whites and were permanently barred from citizenship. Scott thus had no right to bring suit to any court. More significantly, the Missouri Compromise ban on slavery was ruled unconstitutional, because all U.S. citizens had the right to take their property, meaning slaves, into territories (Bedford, 1985).

When the decision was made, Northerners were in shock. According to Behling (2010c), they viewed the decision as the evidence of a widespread slave owner conspiracy, and as an attempt to outlaw the Republican Party. Mountjoy (2009) adds that the decision supported the Republicans' accusations that Southerners were plotting to legalize slavery throughout the entire nation. This decision once again highlighted the differences between the North and the South and made more Northerners believe that the South had corrupted the Court. On the other side of the fence, more Southerners now believed that the North intended to destroy their property (Farmer, 2008). The assent to this decision of President Buchanan elated Southerners, while outraging

Northerners. According to Southerners, legal sanction was finally given the expansion of slavery. On the other hand, Republicans feared that their attempts to restrict slavery and forbid it in the territories had been dealt a death blow (Silverman, 1989).

According to Mountjoy (2009), the Dred Scott decision had three main consequences. Firstly, it created a strong and competitive Republican Party. It also hurt the integrity of the Democrats and lastly, it hurt the image of the Supreme Court, which lost some of its standing over its interference in political issues.

2.5. Lincoln – Douglass debates

In 1857, when President Buchanan accepted proslavery constitution adopted in Kansas (so-called Lecompton Constitution) and endorsed Dred Scott decision, he alienated Northerners even more. Moreover, Buchanan's indecisiveness encouraged the Democrats to look forward to replacing him in the 1860 presidential ticket. Stephen Douglass was the obvious frontrunner for that spot, however, he first had to be reelected to his Senate seat in 1858 (Silverman, 1989). His opponent in the election was an exceptionally capable campaigner Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer from Illinois. After the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln returned to the political hustings because, as he lately acknowledged, his profession had almost superseded the thought of politics in his mind, then the repeal of the Missouri compromise aroused him as he had never been before (Gienapp, 2002). The passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act then encouraged Lincoln to leave the Whigs and join the Republicans instead.

As the first Southern states seceded from the Union one month after the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln, it is important to study the story of Lincoln's run for Senator and later on for President (Mountjoy, 2009).

The 1858 Senate election attracted national attention as two candidates from Illinois – Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglass – agreed to a series of seven debates that ran from August to October 1858 throughout the state. The debates helped both candidates define themselves. More importantly, the debates helped the Republicans define themselves as a national party and demonstrated Lincoln's moderation on the slavery issue, although many Southerners still believed him along with other Republicans to be abolitionists (Mountjoy, 2009). Historian William E. Gienapp (2002) suggests that these debates were confined almost exclusively to three topics – race, slavery as itself, slavery expansion, and whether it was right or wrong.

2.5.1. House Divided

The debates began in June 16, 1858, when newly nominated senatorial candidate Abraham Lincoln delivered an address to the Illinois Republican convention in Springfield. Speaking to more than 1,000 delegates in an ominous tone, Lincoln paraphrased a passage from the New Testament “a house divided against itself cannot stand”, from which the title is derived (Gienapp, 2002). His advisers considered it too radical but Lincoln, who always relied on his own political judgement, decided not to change it. In the House Divided speech, Lincoln proclaimed that the government could not remain half slave and half free permanently, although he did not expect the Union to be dissolved or to fall. Nevertheless he expected the Union would cease to be divided (Appendix 1). These sentiments captured the essence of the difference between the North and South.

Lincoln believed that a conspiracy existed among Democratic leaders. He thus accused Douglass, former President Franklin Pierce, current President Buchanan, and Chief Justice Roger Taney who wrote the Dred Scott decision, of acting in concert to make slavery national institution, and then denounced slavery as a moral, social and political evil (Beard, 1921). Lincoln warned that another Dred Scott decision was coming and it would decree no state could prohibit slavery thus it would become a national institution (Appendix 1).

During the following debates, Douglass responded that Lincoln’s House Divided speech was a radical document that advocated a war of the North against the South. He disagreed with Lincoln and claimed that the United States of America were always going to have free and slave states. Then he accused Lincoln of being an abolitionist who believed in racial equality. Lincoln responded that he was not, and never ever had been, in favour of political and social equality of the white and black races. Nevertheless, he insisted that there was no reason for black people not being entitled to all the natural rights listed in the Declaration of Independence (Gienapp, 2002).

After Lincoln’s speech, Leonard Swett, a lawyer and friend of Lincoln’s, admitted that in retrospect Lincoln was correct, although his talk of using the federal power to end slavery was unfortunate and inappropriate. Lincoln’s speech earned him national attention and encouraged the people to support his successful effort for the presidency in 1860 (history.com, 2009).

According to Farmer (2008), the difference between Lincoln and Douglass was limited: neither man doubted that popular sovereignty would keep slavery out of the territories. However, they did differ in one key aspect: Douglass, in contrast to Lincoln, never once said in public that slavery was a moral evil. Nevertheless, the debates were not finished.

2.5.2. Freeport Debate

After the hesitating performance in Ottawa, Lincoln hit his stride during the second debate in Freeport in which he was much more aggressive and confident. The debate in Freeport is therefore considered to be the most significant one. At the beginning of the debate, Lincoln cleverly asked Douglass to explain his support for popular sovereignty in the territories since the Dred Scott decision had declared that only the people of a state, not a territory, could exclude slavery. Lincoln also wanted to know if Douglass believed local citizens could still restrict slavery by exercising their popular sovereignty (Mountjoy, 2009). This loaded question posed Douglass to a difficult position because for no matter how he answered it he would lose something. If Douglass disavowed popular sovereignty, he would be probably defeated for reelection and ruin his political career. On the other hand, if he reaffirmed his theory, Southern Democrats would be offended and Douglass' chances to obtain the Democratic presidential nomination in 1860 damaged. Nevertheless, Douglass remained consistent to his convictions answering that no matter what the Supreme Court said, a territorial government could still exclude slavery. His reply, known as the Freeport Doctrine or, in the South, as the Freeport Heresy, caused a serious offence to Southerners who thought that it diminished their gains from the Dred Scott decision (Silverman, 1989).

As Senators were chosen by their state legislatures, not by popular election, Lincoln and Douglass actually campaigned for members of their parties for seats in the Illinois legislature. Although the Republicans received more votes than the Democrats, the Democrat-controlled legislature had manipulated the district to favour their party. Consequently, Douglass won the Senate seat, even though Lincoln gained more votes (Mountjoy, 2009).

The result of the series of debates was momentous. Lincoln defined his position claiming that the South was entitled to the Fugitive Slave Law and hoping that there would be no new slave states. According to Charles and Marry Beard (1921), he favoured the total exclusion of slavery from the territories of the United States by act of Congress. In one of his speeches, Lincoln portrayed the Republicans as a conservative party aiming to restore the policy of the Founding Fathers by restricting the spread of slavery. He stressed the moral issue of slavery and declared opposing opinions about it as the precise reason of the whole controversy (Gineapp, 2002).

However, the most significant result of the debates was that Lincoln's run for Senate propelled him to the national stage. Instead of unknown lawyer from Illinois, Lincoln became

a well-known spokesman for the Republican Party and a leading candidate for the Republican nomination for president in 1860 (Mountjoy, 2009). In short, the 1858 senatorial contest was a turning point in Abraham Lincoln's political career and therefore also a turning point in the events that led to the Civil War.

2.6. John Brown's raid

One year after the senatorial election, another result of Lincoln-Douglass debates appeared. John Brown was a Northern abolitionist who was unsatisfied with Lincoln's statement that slavery should be protected in states where it already existed (Beard, 1921). After escaping the 1856 Pottawomie massacre in Kansas, John Brown travelled across the country to gain financial support for a planned slave rebellion. He gained the confidence of six wealthy abolitionist advocates, lately known as the "Secret Six", and selected Harper's Ferry, Virginia, for his 1859 attack (Wells, 2012). His plan was to seize the armoury, which he did with remarkable ease, and distribute the weapons to local slaves. The plan went wrong when a black baggage master wanted to attract the attention of a passing train in order to send a message about the violence and one of Brown's men killed him. The first victim of a raid, that was intended to inspire slave rebellion, was ironically a free black man (Mountjoy, 2009). After that, they waited for the slave revolution to begin. But instead of starting a rebellion, Brown actually had provoked the locals to fight against him. After three days of negotiation, Brown was captured, tried for treason, murder and inciting a slave insurrection, and then sentenced to death by hanging. In short, Brown failed to liberate any slaves and to start any revolution (Behling, 2010b).

However, Farmer (2008) claims that Brown's raid was a crucial event. The result was that the North and the South became divided more than ever before. For the South it proved that abolitionists were willing to use violence and force to destroy the Southern way of life. Furthermore, due to the financial support Brown had, many Southerners, convinced that if Southern interests were to be protected, it would have to be under separate government, believed that the Republicans entered into a conspiracy with abolitionists (Wells, 2012). In other words, Southerners were no longer capable of distinguishing abolitionists like Brown from the Republicans who provided the antislavery rhetoric (Morrison, 2005). In the North, however, there were mixed feelings about the raid. While some Northerners viewed Brown as a hero and as a martyr, for the Republican Party the actions Brown took were embarrassing. Stephen Douglass declared that the raid was the natural, logical and inevitable result of the Republicans

doctrine, forcing Lincoln to denounce Brown's raid as among the gravest of crimes during the 1860 election (Beard, 1921). According to Frederick Douglass (1881), John Brown's action began the war that ended slavery.

2.7. The election of 1860

After John Brown's raid in 1859, many Southerners began to fear the North was filled with abolitionists who wanted to destroy the basic elements of the Southern life. More fundamentally, Southerners believed that the North was treating the South as an inferior part of the nation (Farmer, 2008). On the other side of the fence, Northerners believed Southerners were determined to spread slavery even to the free states of the North, which would destroy their free-labour system (Mountjoy, 2009). With this atmosphere in the Union, Americans were deeply divided than ever before. Furthermore, Southerners declared that if a Republican did become president, they were prepared to secede. Therefore, the result of the 1860 election had the decisive impact on the political situation before the Civil War (Silverman, 1989).

While nominating their candidate, Democrats found it impossible to choose one. Even though Stephen Douglass was seen as the South's best hope as he was the only candidate who was able to gain support from free-laboured states, his stand against the Lecompton constitution³ alienated him from the majority of Southerners (Farmer, 2008). Consequently the Democrats divided into two irreconcilable fractions with their own candidates - Stephen Douglass as the Northern Democrats candidate and John C. Breckenridge, Buchanan's vice president, as the Southern Democrats candidate. Silverman (1989) claims the Democrats with two sectional candidates reflected the mood of the whole nation.

With the Democrats divided, the Republicans were on the high road to success (Beard, 1921). In contrast to the Democrats, the Republicans emerged from the convention united behind a single candidate and an attractive political platform. They found the ideal candidate in Abraham Lincoln. He was radical enough to please the antislavery fraction of the party and conservative enough to satisfy former Whigs and Free Soilers (Silverman, 1989). Like their candidate, the Republicans platform was moderate and emphasized opposition to the expansion of slavery rather than its existence in the South. To gain the support of states in the North as well as in the South, the platform contained provisions guaranteeing states the power to decide the

³ According to Farmer (2008), it was the pro-slavery constitution proposed in Kansas as the official state of slavery.

legality of slavery within their own borders, otherwise known as popular sovereignty. However, Southerners were feared that if Lincoln was elected, it would mean the end of slavery in the Union. Thus as the election approached, the South vowed to secede if Lincoln won the election. His name did not even appear on the ballots in the Southern states (Mountjoy, 2009).

According to Farmer (2008), Northerners voted for Lincoln because he represented their section. Even though most Northerners did not wish to eliminate slavery, they did not want to see it expand either. Furthermore, due to the outcome of investigation of the White House that had found fraud and corruption in Buchanan's government, "Old Abe" became a symbol of honesty and integrity.

2.8. The secession

Lincoln's election, an event that united the Southern states against antislavery forces, was the pretext for the secession of the South from the Union and the establishment of the Confederate States of America Southern states had long been waiting for. As Southerners feared it would mean immediate hostility and danger to the South, they did not want to be in the Union whose president did not support slavery (Olson, 1991).

According to Farmer (2008), the secession was, however, unnecessary. He mentions reasons the South should not have seceded from the Union, and thus prevent the Civil War from happening. First of all, the election of Lincoln posed no immediate threat to the South because he had declared no intervention in slavery where it already existed. Additionally, secession would have meant abandoning an enforceable Fugitive Slave Act which would have enabled slaves to flee to the North without being captured and send back south. Finally, secession could have led to civil war that would have threatened slavery far more than Lincoln's election. On the other hand, historian Eric Foner (1970) assumes that the effort to secede from the Union and to establish an independent nation was only a logical response to Lincoln's election.

As Wells (2012) mentions, many historians have concluded that even though the Republicans had succeeded, the majority of Southerners opposed the secession, especially states in the Upper South that were more dependent on the North. Nevertheless, one month after the election, the "Fire eaters" – those favouring secession- called a special convention in South Carolina to decide whether the state would secede. The remaining states of the Deep South – Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and Texas - followed suit and the Confederate States of America were established in 1861, months before Lincoln's inauguration (Silverman,

1989). The new government established Congress and then they elected Jefferson Davis as a president. Soon, four more remaining Southern states joined the Confederate States – Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee (Gelletly, 2000).

In the United States, President Buchanan blamed the Republicans for the crisis. Some Republicans even wanted Lincoln to make a conciliatory gesture to bring the South back. Nevertheless, Lincoln believed that the secession of the South was only a continuation of the Slave Power conspiracy and refused take any action. In his inauguration speech, Lincoln declared that he would protect slavery where it was but he would not allow it to be spread to the other territories and thus violate his platform of his own party. He also promised to hold onto federal property, including Fort Sumter, which remained in the seceding states (Wells, 2012). Unfortunately, in April 1861, the seceded states decided to seize the fort, firing the first shots of the Civil War.

3. Economic differences

Although the United States of America represents one single nation, Farmer (2008) claims that the United States had never been particularly united due to diversity of their economic strategies. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were deep rivalries between the original Eastern states and newer established Western states. The economic differences divided the United States into four well-defined sections: the Northeast and the Southeast, the Northwest and the Southwest (Mountjoy, 2009). As the nation grew, however, the four regions increasingly began to consider themselves as two sections: the North and South. Indeed, the differences between these two sections were the most important ones. Many historians agree that there were a number of deep divisions between the two regions in the economic areas that gradually helped to bring about war.

3.1. Industrialization vs. agriculture

Historian Alan Farmer (2008) believes the opinion that the Civil War was a conflict between backward, agrarian South and modern, industrialised North is far too complex. He claims that this particular difference was actually not so significant. First of all, the North was industrializing, not industrialised. Silverman (1989) agrees and adds that, even though the South was developing its manufacturing potential at a slower pace than the Northeast, it was by no means devoid of industry. There were the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, Virginia, that ranked fourth among the nation's producers of iron products in 1840, and cotton mills in South Carolina, Florida, and Alabama whose sales made up at last half of the USA's total cotton export. On the other side of the fence, neither the North was more egalitarian than the South. In 1860 the wealthiest 10 per cent of Northerners owned 68 per cent of the wealth, which was almost as identical as in the South (Farmer, 2008).

Nevertheless, there were economic differences between the North and South caused mainly by the climate conditions. While Southern climate was suitable for agriculture, the Northern soil and climate favoured smaller farmsteads. To analyse the economy of the United States in more detail, the economy of the Northeast (New England) was built upon industrial manufacturing, commercial trade and large cities. The original Southern states (the Southeast), on the other hand, relied upon the plantation system. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Southern economy prosperity was declining. The agriculture region of the Northwest (Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan) was growing at a fast pace as settlers were pushed into fertile

and unploughed lands to establish farms. Finally, the growth of the Southwest (Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas) was fuelled by the cash crop of cotton (Mountjoy, 2009).

Between 1815 and 1861, the economy of the North was rapidly modernizing and diversifying, even though agriculture, made of smaller farms relied on free labour, remained the dominant sector. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the percentage of labourers working in agricultural pursuits dropped from 70 per cent to only 40 per cent. By contrast, the economy of the South was still based principally on plantations that produced commercial crops such as cotton. Since agriculture investments started to bring high returns in the Old South, and as many Southerners disliked what they saw in the North, there was no demand for massive industrializing or urbanising (historycentral.com, 2015). In the South, there was a general belief that old agrarian ways and values were far better than the Yankee materialism. Regarding the differences in nature of people, Southerners saw themselves as gracious and hospitable whereas Yankees were seen as ill-mannered, hypocritical and aggressive (Farmer, 2008).

Even though factories were built all over the nation, the majority of industrial manufacturing was taking place in the North. This resulted in the South producing only 10 per cent of the nation's manufactured output. In numbers, the North had five times the number of factories as the South and over ten times the number of factory workers. Moreover, 90 per cent of the nation's skilled workers were also in the North. Rather than invest in factories as the North had done, Southerners invested their money in slaves. This resulted in Southern whites being twice more wealthy than the Northerners (Britannica.com, 2016a). Nevertheless, as slavery trade was banned, Southern plantation owners lost a fortune.

Regarding urbanization, the North was far more urban than the South. In comparison with one quarter of all Northerners, only one Southerner in fourteen lived in urban areas. In 1860, the South had almost 25 per cent of the country's free population, but only 10 per cent of the country's capitals. In the South, even the biggest cities had population of under 40 000. Aside from New Orleans there were no large cities, and most of the ones that did exist there, coasted as shipping ports to send agricultural products to northern destinations (Farmer, 2008).

Unlike the South, the North had a growing number of immigrants. Between 1830 and 1860 most of the five million immigrants to the US settled in the North as they were attracted by the rise of manufacturing there. Thus, one in six Northerners was foreign-born. These immigrants created more than the half of workforce in northern factories in comparison with only about 30

per cent of them in the South (Mountjoy, 2009). As the North continued to grow in population, the differences in the labor forces were becoming more evident. In the North, labor was expensive and workers were mobile and active, however, the Southern economy was built on the labor of African American slaves who were oppressed into providing a very cheap labor (historycentral, 2015).

Besides the economic differences, Northerners and Southerners differed in other social aspects such as education and openness to new ideas. While Northerners were generally better educated, more responsive to new ideas, and espoused movements for reform, Southerners remained proudly and defiantly rooted in the past. They tended to condemn all modern “isms”, associating them with detested abolitionists and viewing them as a threat to old institutions and values. Consequently Northerners saw Southerners as backward and out of touch with modern ideas and ideals (Farmer, 2008).

3.1.1. Transportation revolution

In the nineteenth century, massive changes in transport help to explain the agricultural and industrial changes that were underway. In the 1830s, the Northwest and Northeast were linked economically due to man-made canals that helped encourage economic activity and transport. The development of steamboats revolutionised travel on the great rivers and by 1850 there were over 700 steamships operating on Mississippi river and its tributaries. However, by 1850 canals were facing competition from railways because many companies began turning to railroads to transport raw materials, manufactured goods, and passengers (Farmer, 2008). Western farmers shipped their agricultural goods back east and the same trains carried products made in eastern factories to customers in the West. With the East and West of the North connected economically, it was not long before both grew closer socially and politically as well. Additionally, transportation between southern cities was difficult, except water, as most of the growth of railroads occurred in the North. In 1860, only 35 per cent of the nation's train tracks were located in the South, in contrast to almost 50,000 kilometres of tracks in the North where passengers could travel by rails from east coast as far west as St. Joseph, Missouri, and from Portland, Maine, to New Orleans (Mountjoy, 2009).

Accompanying the spread of the railroads was the appearance of one more technological marvel - the electromagnetic telegraph system. In concert with the railroads, the telegraph dramatically expedited the speed with information travel. In 1860, the United States had strung

more than 80,500 kilometres of telegraph wire (Silverman, 1989). One year later, the Pacific telegraph, with more than 6,000 kilometres of wire, was open between New York and San Francisco becoming the world's first transcontinental telegraph. Although both sections of the nations had access to telegraph services, the North enjoyed more kilometres of telegraph line than did the South (Mountjoy, 2009).

3.2. Cotton Gin

At the end of the eighteenth century, the economic prosperity of plantation system was declining. The Southerners attitude toward slavery often mirrored that of Northerners, viewing slavery as a necessary evil. Many Southerners were convinced that it would have eventually disappeared. Slavery indeed faced the inevitable fate of extinction. Then, however, in 1793 a new source of economical potential for slavery had showed – cotton (Mountjoy, 2009).

Eli Whitney, a Connecticut Yankee, invented a saw-tooth gin (in other words cotton gin) that separated seeds from the fibre of short - staple cotton. Before the invention of cotton gin, the separation of seeds from the fibre required a lot of labour causing slaves to be capable of separating only one pound of cotton per day. With Eli Whitney's invention, separation increased to fifty pounds per day (Meyers, 2005). Suddenly, it became highly profitable to grow cotton. All small farmers were driven from the seaboard into the uplands or to the Northwest, providing acres available for cotton culture (Beard, 1921). According to Farmer (2008), as the cotton production required a large number of unskilled labours – a slave labour, the invention of cotton gin ensured that slavery in the South survived and thrived. By 1840, Southern plantations produced 75 per cent of the world's cotton which made it the largest U.S. export. Thus, the Southern economy became a one crop economy depending on, surprisingly, cotton. On the other hand, the Northern industries were purchasing the raw cotton and turning it into finished goods. This disparity between the two sections set up a major difference in economic attitudes (americanhistory.about.com, 2015).

According to Chesterton (1919), the invention of cotton gin not only strengthened slavery, but it also worsened its character. As the plantation system expanded, apologies for slavery became more frequent and urgent as Southerners stated their arguments to justify their peculiar institution. Shane Mountjoy (2009) notes two statements on slavery of South Carolinian John C. Calhoun who changed his view on slavery over the course of his political career. When he was young, Calhoun described slavery as a dark cloud that obscured their free nation. After the

invention of cotton gin, he claimed that slavery was the safest and the most stable basis of free institution in the world, and that this was the only right view on slavery. Calhoun's attitudes reflected changing attitudes of many Southerners who wanted others to see slavery as a benefit for the nation. Slavery had thus become a necessary good in the South (Beard, 1921). White Southerners claimed that slaves in plantations were treated in a better fashion than industrial workers in the North. Furthermore, they also proclaimed that as the Southern economy depended on it, slavery was valuable for the whole nation, adding that the prosperity of the nation naturally depended on the prosperity of the South. More fundamentally, many Southerners claimed the Northern freedom as a failure. These anti-northern attitudes were hardly tolerated by Northerners (Silverman, 1989).

3.3. States' Rights and Tariffs

According to Mountjoy (2009), another one of the underlying causes of the Civil War involves state's rights and tariffs⁴. The debate over state's right centres on who has sovereignty and power: each individual state or the national government. The Democrats, opposing government intervention in economic matters, believed that the best form of government was the least form of government. They also claimed that most issues should be decided at state, not federal, level. On the other hand, Northern Whigs were more likely to favour government intervention in economic and social matters (Farmer, 2008). President Andrew Jackson, to the contrary, tended to favour the rights of the individual states over that of the national government (Mountjoy, 2009). As president, Jackson faced an opponent from within his own party serving in his administration: Vice President John C. Calhoun. Calhoun was a devoted public servant and seemed to be the perfect man to partner with Jackson. However, Calhoun's views had changed over the years and the two men soon found themselves on a collision course over the crucial issue of tariffs (Silverman, 1989).

3.3.1. The Tariff of Abominations

Historian Tim Stanley (historytoday.com, 2011) claims that the Civil War was actually a tariff war, and that the onslaught upon slavery was only a piece of illusion disguised to conceal the desire for economic control of the United States of America.

⁴ A tariff is a tax levied on goods brought into or taken out of a country being the primary way in which the U. S. government raised money in the nineteenth century. The purpose of the taxes is to raise the price of foreign goods in order to help domestic industries (Bates, 2010).

Back in 1816, John C. Calhoun supported national tariffs which added a 25 per cent tax to various manufactured products. However, his opinion shifted as he observed the results of these policies on his native state South Carolina as Congress, over the next several years, gradually raised the tariff rates. The dispute laid in the different feelings to the height of tariffs. While Northerners favoured higher tariffs to protect them from foreign competition, Southerners, whose products such as tobacco and cotton were not protected, saw tariffs as an instrument for increasing Northern profits at their own expense (Mountjoy, 2009). In 1828, new tariffs, with their high duties on woollens, hemp, iron, flax, molasses, lead, and raw wool, set rates on these imports as high as 50 per cent. For a variety of reasons, the South believed there was no direct benefit from the tariffs. One of the reasons was that as tariffs allowed domestic producers to charge more for their own products, Southerners understandably felt cheated. More over, Calhoun believed that the North was using the tariff to become the dominant player in national politics to the exclusion of the South. Calhoun and many other Southerners were outraged and called it the “Tariff of Abominations” (Silverman, 1989).

Consequently to the tariff, Southerners feared that everything they bought would cost more. The economy of South Carolina was agriculturally based producing things such as cotton, rice, and indigo, but not manufactured items. A state like South Carolina carried most of the weight of the high tariff as it had to import virtually all of the goods it needed from the North or from the other countries. Moreover, with the increase of taxes on textiles, foreign buyers purchased less raw cotton from the South because they knew they would sell less of their products within the United States (Mountjoy, 2009).

As he was an avid supporter of state’s rights and opposed the tariff, Calhoun was found as a willing and capable ally for the opponent of the tariff. He then put together a constitutional theory whereby states could exercise their rights over the power and authority of the federal government (Mountjoy, 2009). The vice president denied that Congress had the right to levy a tariff so high that it would exclude certain imports. He also claimed that the 1828 law was discriminatory, for it favoured the manufacturing states of the North and hurt sections like the South that were relied on imported items and had little industry to protect. Taking the argument even further, Calhoun insisted that if Congress continued on an unconstitutional course, any state had the right to call a convention and declare measures as the 1828 tariff null and void, or even to secede from the Union (Bates, 2010).

Even though Calhoun's ideas appealed to many Southerners, he did not desire South Carolina to nullify a federal law. Mountjoy (2009) claims that Calhoun hoped his theory would convince President Jackson to pressure Congress to reduce tariffs. However, Jackson interpreted Calhoun's ideas as disloyal, leading to a division of the two men.

3.3.2. The Nullification crisis

Five years later, the issue over tariffs was still in the forefront of Congress debates. Even though Southern states wanted Congress to throw out the Tariff of 1828 and President Jackson called on Congress to provide tariff relief, the tariff remained until 1832 when Congress took up the issue and passed a new tariff bill. The new tariff law lowered taxes on many products, but at the same time, it increased the rates on manufactured cloth and iron - things that Southerners had to buy whether they were domestic or imported - and it also lowered the prices Southerners received for their exported cotton (Mountjoy, 2009).

As tariff in 1833 provided no real relief to Southerners, for some South Carolinians it was the final straw that made them ready for revolt. In their opposition to the tariff, they once again looked to John C. Calhoun for leadership. The vice president now courageously embraced nullification as an alternative to secession (Silverman, 1989). In 1832, the South Carolina legislature thus called for a special state convention where they adopted the Ordinance of Nullification that declared null and void the tariffs of 1828 and 1832, and forbade the collection of duties within the state. Prepared for a military defence, the convention also threatened secession if federal government tried to collect tariff duties by force. Needing a strong voice in Congress, Calhoun had resigned the vice presidency and returned to Congress as a Senator from South Carolina. However, in his attempts to have other Southern states joined in nullification, Calhoun met with total failure (Britannica, 2016b).

President Jackson was furious with Calhoun's disloyalty and proclaimed that the nullification was treason and the nullifiers were traitors to the Union. As soon as Congress assembled in 1833, Jackson asked for authority to deal with the crisis. He then made military preparations to ensure the law would be obeyed. Congress thus passed the Force Bill, authorizing Jackson to use the Army and Navy if necessary to collect tariff duties (Mountjoy, 2009). The crisis was overcome when Henry Clay proposed a compromise tariff that gradually reduced, each year from 1833 until 1842, the tariff duties. In another state convention, South Carolina

rescinded its Ordinance of Nullification, but in order to reinforce the impression that Calhoun's program was a success, the convention nullified the Force Bill as well (Silverman, 1989).

The nullification crisis made President Jackson a hero to nationalists. In the South, as soon as the tariff was lowered, Calhoun and his forces claimed victory for nullification. However, this situation taught Calhoun that no state can stand alone against the federal government. For the remainder of his life, Calhoun thus championed state's rights and worked to build a strong union of the Southern states. Mountjoy (2009) claims that due to Calhoun's effort, the 1860 South responded very differently to the question of state's rights and secession than it had in 1833.

3.4. The Panic of 1857

During the presidency of James Buchanan, the United States of America faced one of the worst business panics that ever afflicted the nation. It was brought on especially by the European reduction in demand for American grain, and the continued weakness and confusion of the state banknote system. The failure of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company in August 1857 precipitated the panic, which was followed by a depression from which the country did not emerge until 1859. The crisis caused closure of some of the largest and strongest institutions in the North leading to a mass Northern unemployment (Tindall, 1996). Northern businessmen tended to blame the depression on the Democratic Tariff of 1857 which had set rates on imports at their lowest level since 1816. For this drastic reduction in the rates of duty, the panic was called "Democratic assault on business" in the North (Beard, 1921).

In agricultural South, the crisis was handled more easily than in the North. Even though cotton price fell, the world market for cotton quickly recovered. This resulted in exalted notion of the "King Cotton" importance to the world, and in an apparent confirmation of Southern belief that their plantation system was superior to the free-labour of the North (Tindall, 1996).

By 1859, the panic begun to level off and the economy had begun to stabilize. Many Republicans criticised President Buchanan, whose conviction was that the federal government should not interfere in economic matters, for his lack of contribution during the panic. Although the economic proposal of the Republicans for higher protective tariffs was blocked by the Democrats in Congress, the depression helped the Republicans in the 1858 mid-term elections and later on in the crucial 1860 presidential election (Farmer, 2008).

Conclusion

As it was stated in the introduction, the aim of this thesis is to study the events that preceded the American Civil War and possibly decide whether the conflict was inevitable. What surprised me most while studying this topic, was its vast complexity. Consequently it is no wonder that more than 150 years after the war, historians are still not unified about the question of inevitability. Nevertheless, based on the political and economic development focus of many historians, I have decided to study the topic from this perspective as well.

As slavery is still considered to be the key factor of all disputes between the two parts of the nation, I found it necessary to study the development of this institution. While studying, I was amazed by the fact that slavery initially existed even in the North, which leads me to think that if slavery has not disappeared from the North, the war would not have happened. Nevertheless, slavery did decline, thus the differences between the two parts became not insignificant. Even though Northerners were initially not very interested in slavery in the South, they found it as a problematic issue when few slaves had tried to rebel against their masters leading to the tightening of the rights and privileges of slaves. This unfairness of slavery inspired the establishment of antislavery groups, including the most influential one – abolitionist movement that found it essential to change the public opinion about the wrongness of slavery. Beside slaves, there was another class that experienced the lack of rights. As women faced discrimination as well as slaves, they tried to fight for social equality together with abolitionists. The most successful strategy of changing the public opinion was through the literature, which made authors like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Douglass very popular enabling them to influence a great number of people.

The differences between the North and South were more visible while I was studying the political development. Even there we can see that slavery was the basic issue that lay at the roots of many conflicts. The most controversial issue, that prevented the Union to be truly unified, was the question whether new territories should be slave or free-laboured. This dispute culminated in 1820 when the first dividing line, between the free and slave states, was formed. After the Mexican–American War, when new territories once again joined the Union, this question aroused again. This time, the crisis was resolved by the Compromise of 1850. An interesting point is that it still has not been decided whether it was a compromise at all.

In my view, the first sign that the dispute over slavery could not have been resolved democratically was the result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. As the situation in Kansas

demonstrated, when inhabitants of the territory gained the right to decide whether their territory would be free-laboured or not, they did not accepted the result of the elections and rather voted again. This resulted in Kansas having two incompatible governments, which led to a severe violence within the territory. We can thus assume that the situation in Kansas represented the forthcoming situation in the Union, as Northerners thereafter decided that they need an exclusively–northern party.

Beside Kansas–Nebraska Act, another important decision was made at that time. The Dred Scott decision caused not only public outrage, but also a great indignation among politicians as Supreme Court proclaimed that the Missouri Compromise was illegal as well as the Kansas–Nebraska Act because only people of a state had the power of popular sovereignty. The Dred Scott decision was also one of the main topics during Lincoln–Douglass debates in 1858. Even though it was Douglass who won the senatorial election, these debates made Lincoln very popular. One year after Lincoln–Douglass debates, abolitionist John Brown decided that it was time for a slave revolution. Even though his raid on Harper´s Ferry was not successful, Brown´s actions affirmed the conviction of many Southerners that all Northerners were abolitionists and were ready to destroy the Southern way of life.

Considering the result of 1860 presidential election, there is no doubt that the election of President Lincoln is the most important cause of the Civil War. For Southerners it was a sign that Northerners were prepared to abolish slavery. Before Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated, South Carolina, followed by other states of the Deep South, seceded from the Union establishing the Confederate States of America. This development led directly to the first shots of the Civil War in April 1861.

Beside political situations, slavery also caused significant differences between the economic systems of the North and South. As the North was industrialising and the South was still clinging to the plantation system, it was nearly impossible to unify the nation. The differences became even more visible due to transportation revolution that took place mainly in the North. In the South, the cotton gin was invented which made slavery highly profitable thus Southerners refused to abandon their system.

However, the crucial crises in the Union were based on the different economic approaches to tariffs. The first crisis appeared in 1828, when tariffs were increased in order to protect the national trade. As the South was highly depended on the imported goods, they felt that the North was using tariffs to become a dominant player in national politics on the expence of the South.

The disagreements about tariffs continued for five years until another crisis appeared. This time, South Carolina was ready to secede if the federal government began to collect tariff duties by force. Even though any side of the conflict was not deeply harmed, for John C. Calhoun it was an inspiration to create the more united South. The final crisis appeared in 1857, when the reduction in demand for US products caused a great unemployment in the North. As cotton trade was quickly recovered, the crisis had not such a devastating effect on the South. This supported Southerners in their belief that their agricultural system was necessary for the nation's wealth.

To summarize my findings, slavery stood at the background of mentioned political and economic disputes based on the different approaches to it. From the political point of view, the crucial questions causing conflicts were whether new territories should be slave and thereafter whether it was possible to maintain this diverse nation. Regarding economic conflicts, they were also based on the different attitudes to slavery. While the North focused on industrialization, the South invested in slaves. Therefore Southerners lost fortune when slave trade was banned and would lose even more if slavery itself was prohibited.

Even though this historical topic was influenced by a number of events, considering my study, I came to the conclusion that the American Civil War was the inevitable result of several decades of tension between the two parts of the nation.

Résumé

Tato bakalářská práce je zaměřena na události devatenáctého století, které vedly k Americké občanské válce. Ačkoliv si historikové často pokládají otázku, zdali byla válka nevyhnutelná, stále nenachází jednoznačnou odpověď. Práce se věnuje vlivu otroctví na rozpory mezi severem a jihem Spojených Států Amerických. Především je ale práce zaměřena na politický vývoj v Americe během první poloviny devatenáctého století od přijetí Missourského kompromisu, přes události v Kansasu, senátorské a prezidentské volby, až po odtržení jižních států od únie, které bylo následováno vypuknutím občanské války. Ve svém závěru práce zmiňuje ekonomické rozdíly mezi severem a jihem a ekonomické krize v letech 1828, 1833 a 1857 vyvolané zvýšením či snížením cel.

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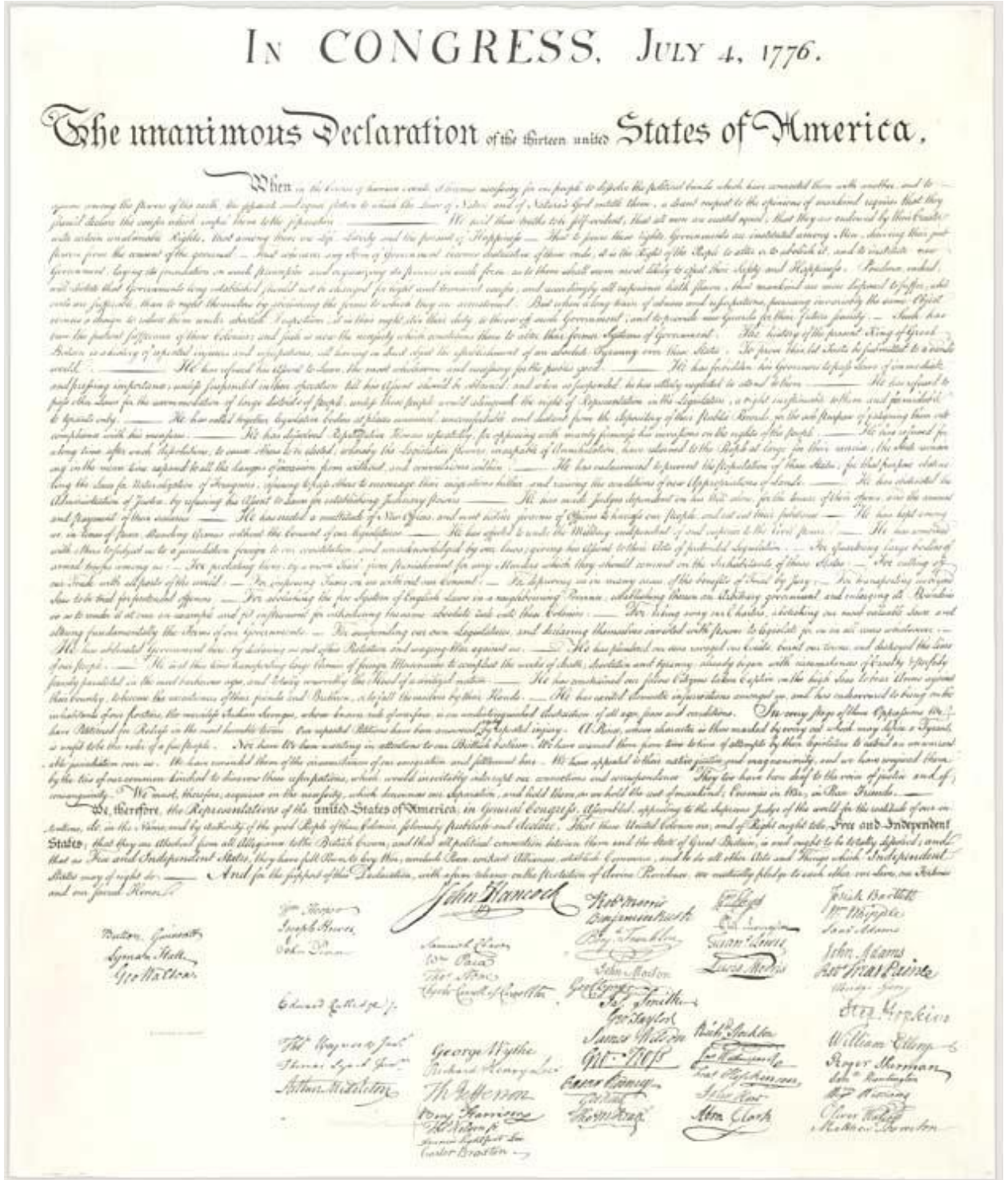
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Appendix 2

The Declaration of Independence

Washington D.C., July 4th, 1776



Annotation

Jméno a příjmení	Michaela Chudějová
Katedra	Ústav cizích jazyků
Vedoucí práce	PhDr. Světlana Obenausová, MLitt, Ph.D.
Rok obhajoby	2016
Název práce	Byla Americká občanská válka nevyhnutelná?
Název v angličtině	Was the American Civil War inevitable?
Anotace práce	Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá událostmi 19. století, které vedli k Americké občanské válce. V první části se zabývá otroctvím, které hrálo důležitou roli na pozadí všech zmíněných událostí. Dále je zaměřena na události v politické sféře, jenž prohlubovaly nesvár mezi dvěma částmi země – Severu a Jihu. V poslední části jsou rozebrány ekonomické rozdíly mezi těmito dvěma stranami a ekonomické krize, které zdůraznily, jak jsou tyto části neslučitelné.
Klíčová slova	Otroctví, vzpoury, abolicionisté, Chaloupka strýčka Toma, kompromis, Republikáni, Demokraté, Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Douglass, John Brown, volby, odtržení, cla, nulifikace, John C. Calhoun
Anotace v angličtině	This thesis is focused on the events in the 19th century that led to the American Civil War. Firstly, slavery as an institution on the background of the mentioned events is studied. It also describes the political development itself and how the dispute between the two parts of the nation – the North and South – had been deepened. Last part focuses on economic differences between the two sections, and economic crises which emphasized the division between them.

Klíčová slova v angličtině	Slavery, rebellions, abolitionists, Uncle Tom's Cabin, compromises , Kansas, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Douglass, John Brown, elections, secession, tariffs, nullification, John C. Calhoun
Přílohy vázané v práci	Appendix 1: The House Divided Speech Appendix 2: The Declaration of Independence
Rozsah práce	45
Jazyk práce	Anglický