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MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF ORAN 2 MOHAMED BEN AHMED
FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
DOCTORAL SCHOOL

MAGISTER DISSERTATION

A Dissertation submitted to the Department of English in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the Degree of Magister (M.A.)
in American Civilisation

SLAVERY AND THE AMERICAN REUNIFICATION (1854 – 1865)

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Academic Year: 2015-2016

DEDICATION

I lovingly dedicate this dissertation to my children and all my family members who have been delighted to see me resume my studies after so long a gap away from spaces of knowledge.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe this work to Allah, the Almighty and the Merciful first, and to all my teachers from whom I learnt a great deal from the very beginning of my early studies until this moment. I will always remember them. God bless them.

I am honoured to have Pr. Rachida YACINE as a supervisor whom I will never be able to thank enough for granting me the chance to be a member of her doctoral school, for devoting her valuable time to me and for providing me with assistance, advice, kindness, patience and guidance, without which I would not be able to achieve this dissertation.

I would also thank the jury members, Pr. Zoulikha BOUHADIBA and Dr. Neema GHENIM, whose valuable comments will certainly offer me the opportunity to better this humble dissertation.

I also wish to express my deepest gratitude to ALL MY UNIVERSITY TEACHERS, who have enlightened me during the last years. I warmly thank them for their kindness, support, patience, encouragements and their readiness to bring me precious help whenever needed.

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ABSTRACT

The present dissertation covers the period of the nineteenth century, especially the hot period from 1854 to 1865, the time when the American nation was preoccupied with the divisive issue of Slavery. In fact, the mid nineteenth century found the U.S. trapped in a fierce debate over the thorny issue that had direct implications for the fate of the American nation when abolitionist movements supported by a political presence led the charge against the institution of Slavery. As matter of fact, throughout continual agitations, meetings, and writings abolitionists conducted a relentless war against Slavery, which was firmly set up in the South for economic reasons. Nevertheless, Slavery was overthrown after a bloody civil war that resulted in the death of over 600,000 Americans. The awful price paid to crush Slavery shows how deep rooted was the disease of Slavery within the American society. However, as abolishing Slavery had been the cause of the North South conflict, it had also been the means that prevented the American territorial division.

The dissertation is constituted of three chapters. The first one brings out an overview of the historical background of the USA in the nineteenth century. It introduces the reader to the US political situation before the coming of Abraham Lincoln into the political scene. The second highlights the overthrow of Slavery through activists' and President Lincoln's struggle in abolishing Slavery in the above-mentioned period. It also points out the obstacles he had to cope with and the circumstances in which the abolition of Slavery could be achieved. In regard to the third chapter, it deals with the issue of secession and the strategies President Lincoln had undertaken to break the confederate states' secessionist activities.

ملخص

تغطي هذه الأطروحة الفترة الزمنية من القرن التاسع عشر، وخاصة الفترة الساخنة 1854-1865 عندما انشغل الشعب الأمريكي بمسألة الرق. في الواقع، وجدت الولايات المتحدة نفسها محاصرة في مناظرة شرسة حول هذه القضية الشائكة التي كانت لها آثار مباشرة على مصير أمريكا. في الشمال ظهرت حركات ضد العبودية التي كانت منتشرة بقوة في الجنوب لأسباب اقتصادية. ومع ذلك، أطيح الرق بعد حرب أهلية دامية أسفرت عن مقتل أكثر من600 000 أمريكي. السعر الفظيع الذي دفعه الأميركيين لسحق الرق يظهر مدى عمق جذور مرض الرق بداخل المجتمع الأمريكي. لكن، باعتبار إلغاء الرق سبب الصراع بين الشمال والجنوب، فقد كان أيضا الوسيلة التي منعت التقسيم الإقليمي الأمريكي.

تتشكل الأطروحة الحالية من ثلاثة فصول . الفصل الأول يقدم لمحة عامة عن الخلفية التاريخية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في القرن التاسع عشر لأنه يقدم للقارئ الوضع السياسي في الولايات المتحدة قبل مجيء *أبراهام لنكولن* في المشهد السياسي. أما الفصل الثاني يبرز إطاحة الرق ,دور نشطاء و الرئيس *لينكولن* في إلغاء الرق في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في الفترة المذكورة أعلاه. ويشير أيضا إلى العقبات التي اضطرت الرئيس *لينكولن* إلى التعامل مع الظروف التي يمكن أن يتحقق فيها إلغاء الرق. في ما يخص الفصل الثالث، فانه يتعلق بقضية انفصال الجنوب والاستراتيجيات المبذولة من طرف الرئيس *لينكولن* لكسر قرار انفصال الولايات الكون فدرالية الأمريكية، وتجنب تقسيم الولايات المتحدة.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette dissertation couvre la période du XIXe siècle, en particulier la période chaude comprise entre 1854 et 1865, où la nation américaine était préoccupée par la question controversée de l'esclavage. En fait, le milieu du XIXe siècle a trouvé les États-Unis pris au piège dans un vif débat sur la question épineuse qui a eu des incidences directes sur le sort de la nation américaine lorsque des mouvements abolitionnistes soutenus par une présence politique ont mené la charge contre l'institution de l'esclavage. En effet, tout au long de cette période, des agitations continuelles, des réunions et des écrits abolitionnistes ont mené une guerre implacable contre l'esclavage, qui a été fermement mis en place dans le Sud pour des raisons économiques. Néanmoins, l'esclavage a été renversé après une guerre civile sanglante, qui a entraîné la mort de plus de 600 000 américains. Le prix terrible payé pour abolir l'esclavage montre combien cette maladie était profondément enracinée au sein de la société américaine. Cependant, comme l'abolition de l'esclavage a été la cause du conflit Nord-Sud, elle a aussi été le moyen qui a empêché la division territoriale américaine.

Ce travail est constitué de trois chapitres. Le premier fait ressortir un aperçu de l'historique des Etats-Unis au XIXe siècle. Il introduit le lecteur à la situation politique des États-Unis avant l'arrivée d'Abraham Lincoln sur la scène politique. Le deuxième chapitre aborde le renversement de l'institution de l'esclavage à travers la lutte des militants et du président Lincoln dans l'abolition de l'esclavage dans la période mentionnée ci-dessus. Il souligne également les circonstances dans lesquelles l'abolition de l'esclavage a pu être réalisée. En ce qui concerne le troisième chapitre, il traite de la question de la sécession et les stratégies que le président Lincoln avait entreprises pour annuler la décision de la sécession des États Confédérés d'Amérique et éviter la division.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The first and most obvious change involves Slavery throughout the 19thC. The Old Institution revealed to be crucial in the development of today's USA since at a very precise point in time, notably the mid 19th C, slavery and its implications had been a turning point of the US history. As a matter of fact, Slavery had a great impact on the United States of America given that the North and the South knew a serious conflict and risked a territorial division caused by the slavery issue.

On the eve of the 19th C, the Constitution of 1787 protected Slavery already at every turn because the Southerners' lifestyle, unlike the Northerners', relied completely on Slavery. Thus, abolitionism was considered as a threat for the Southern American people. Moreover, the US constitution of 1793 blessed Slavery and insisted on the return of fugitives, which encompassed slaves, continuing to protect the spread of Slavery.

Initially, slavery was spread all over the country, North and South, but it was not perceived everywhere in the same way. In the South, the institution of slavery constituted the cornerstone of a prosperous economy, representing for the planters their tool for living. In the North, however, these cultures were practised very little if not practised at all, and slave labour was not a necessity. Thus, the North became the cradle of abolitionist movements. After electing Abraham Lincoln President, the South decided to secede from the Union, which was rejected by the President hence the outbreak of the Civil War. At the third year of suffering from the bloody war, Lincoln proclaimed the Emancipation of Slavery, enabling the Blacks of the entire territory to join the Union Army for the reinforcement of its ranks. Irony of fate lastly: having been the by-product of the Civil War, the proclamation of

Emancipation was in fact at the same time that precious means for the accomplishment of two historic events: the preservation of the American Union and the feat of abolishing slavery.

The nature of the topic dictates a qualitative and chronological analysis of relevant accomplishments that marked the American history, and their surrounding substantial elements occurring throughout the 19th Slavery period.

The research is both exploratory and explanatory since it highlights factual events, the description of a prominent political actor and the relationship existing between those historical elements.

The Research Question and Hypotheses

Slavery is a huge issue that has marked Humanity all over centuries. As mentioned above, the old institution inherited through decades has had a particular impact on the American United States, precisely in the mid 19th C and had serious effects on the new nation that had known several changes and evolution at multiple levels. As a matter of fact, the United States' fate had depended on the heritage of Slavery at a particular point in time. Hence, the research question that may be raised and seems worth asking is: "What are the implications of the Issue of Slavery for the American United States' fate in the mid 19th C?" Thus, this humble dissertation attempts to provide answers, highlighting the most significant points.

Dealing with historical events of the mid 19th C, this research aims to unveil the direct implications of Slavery for the USA, which consisted of the appearance of abolitionist groups from both races, including male and female strugglers. The president's policy of that time consolidated those efforts, which resulted in the realisation of a political act: the Emancipation of Slavery, a landmark event, which played an significant role in fostering the American Reunification.

The issue of Slavery had definitely a great impact on the development of the United States of America throughout the 19th C, considered as the turning point of the American history. Thus, when dealing with hot issues, this dissertation attempts to explore the prominent elements of that period to highlight the consequences of Slavery on the US.

The upcoming dissertation is structured as follows: a general introduction, three chapters and a general conclusion. Each chapter is provided with an introduction and a conclusion.

The first chapter provides an insight into the historical background of the USA from the early to the mid- 19th C, dealing with the constitution and the issue of Slavery, the importance of the old institution in the South, slavery-related issues and events as well as the construction of the determining personality of Lincoln.

With regard to the second chapter, it develops the abolitionist movement and its leaders that resisted the old institution as well as Lincoln's role in the abolition of Slavery. The American nation went through several political changes that resulted in the achievement of an outstanding feat, which is to impose the Proclamation of Emancipation throughout both the Northern and the Southern territories.

The third chapter is devoted to the thorny path and the political strategies that President Lincoln relied on to avoid the US territorial division. It underlines the events that helped achieve the intended aim, which is: saving the American union, focusing on the importance of the Emancipation of Slavery, which marked a turning point in the American history. It actually highlights the unavoidable dissociation between the abolition of Slavery and the American reunification.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE U.S.A FROM THE EARLY TO THE MID-19TH C

CHAPTER ONE

The Historical Background of the U.S.A from the Early to the Mid-19th C

1.1. Introduction

In the 17th and 18th centuries, black slaves worked mainly on the tobacco, rice and indigo plantations of the Southern coast of the American colonies. After the end of the American Revolution[1] against the British colonists, the new independent U.S. Constitution tacitly acknowledged the institution of slavery, counting each slave as three- fifths of a person for the purposes of taxation and representation in Congress, and guaranteeing the right to repossess any "person" held to service or labour. Effectively, the Constitution of 1787 protected Slavery at every turn because the Southerners' lifestyle, unlike the Northerners', relied completely on slavery.

Thus, abolitionism was perceived as a serious threat for the South American people and their financial affairs. They consequently harshly refused to yield to any kind of pressure, clinging strongly to their old institution. Hence, the dawn of the 19th C was carrying new omens, good as well as evil, given that slavery remained the central issue of the American

[1]The American Revolution (1775 -1783) reduced the British Empire and set the birth of the political independence of the United States of America. (Martson 2002: 99)

affairs for over decades. As a matter of fact, the first and most obvious and factual change that history has recorded involves Slavery throughout the 19th C and its direct implications for the American nation.

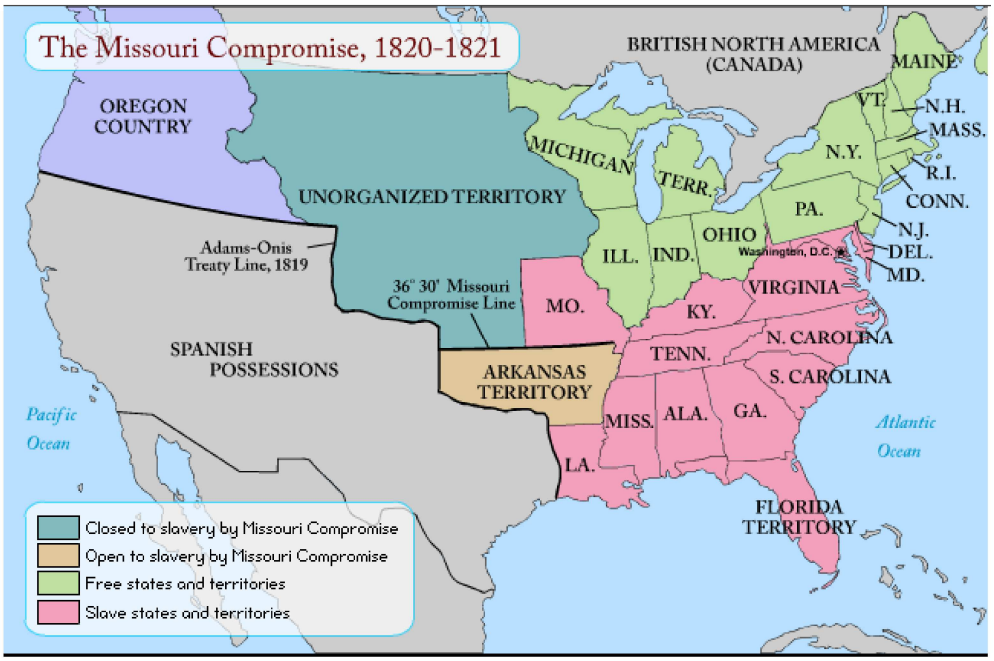
The gradual expansion of the new nation westward in the first half of the 19th C would provide a large part of responsibility for the growing conflict over slavery in America and its future progressive expansion. In 1820, a difficult debate concerning the federal government's right to put limits to the increasing spread of slavery towards Missouri's application for statehood resulted in a compromise: the Union accepted the state of Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free one, but all western territories including Missouri's Southern border was to be free soil. In fact, the Missouri Compromise [2] was established to maintain a certain balance between slave and Free states, which revealed to be temporary.

In 1850, another weak compromise[3] was negotiated to provide solutions to the issue

[2] The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was a United States regulate statute agreed by the pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions. It regulated Slavery throughout the country's Western territories through prohibiting the practice in the unorganised territory, i.e. the former Louisiana territory. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was an effort by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives to maintain a balance of power between the slaveholding states and free states. The slaveholding states feared that if they became outnumbered in Congressional representation they would lack the power to protect their interests in property and trade. (Forbes, 2009: 276)

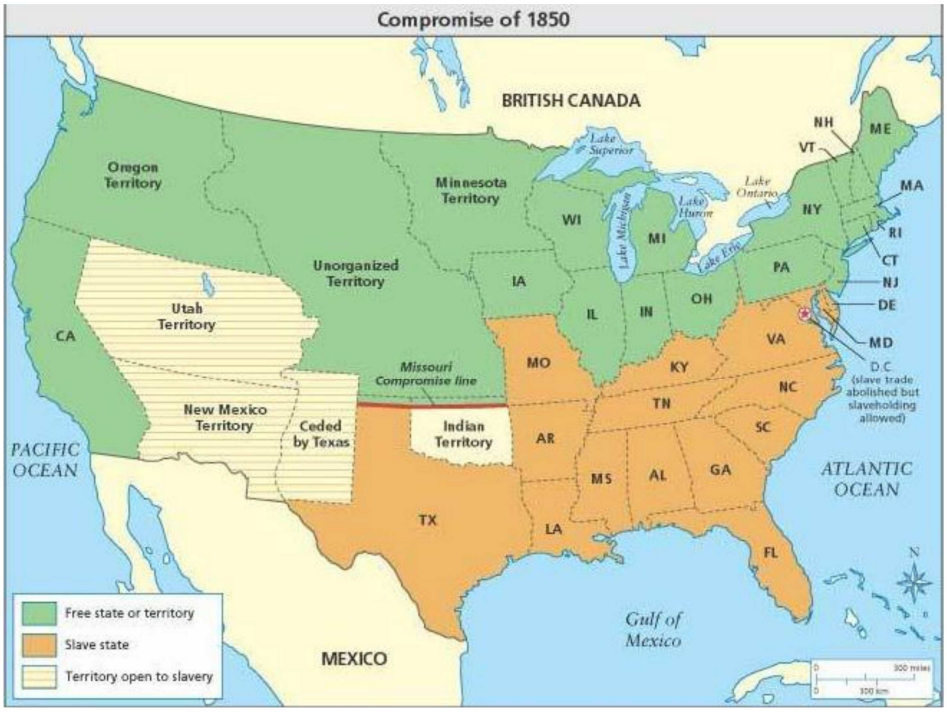
[3]The Missouri Compromise of 1850 was a set of laws passed dealing with the controversial issue of slavery. As part of the compromise California entered the Union as a free state, the trading of slaves was abolished in Washington, DC, an amendment was made to the fugitive slave act, a territorial government was established in Utah, and the boundary between Texas and New Mexico was established. (Forbes, 2009:287)

Map1.1: The Missouri Compromise of 1820



Source: http://users.humboldt.edu

Map1.2: The Compromise of 1850



Source: http://users.humboldt.edu

issue of territory acquired during the *Mexican War*[4]. Nevertheless, four years later, the *Kansas-Nebraska Act* [5] enabled all new territories to adopt slavery by affirming the decision of popular sovereignty over Congress's edicts, leading to the beginning of deadly clashes between pro- and anti-slavery groups in the new state of Kansas. Anger in the North over the Kansas-Nebraska Act caused the loss of power of an old party, the *Whig Party* [6], and the birth of a new Republican Party.

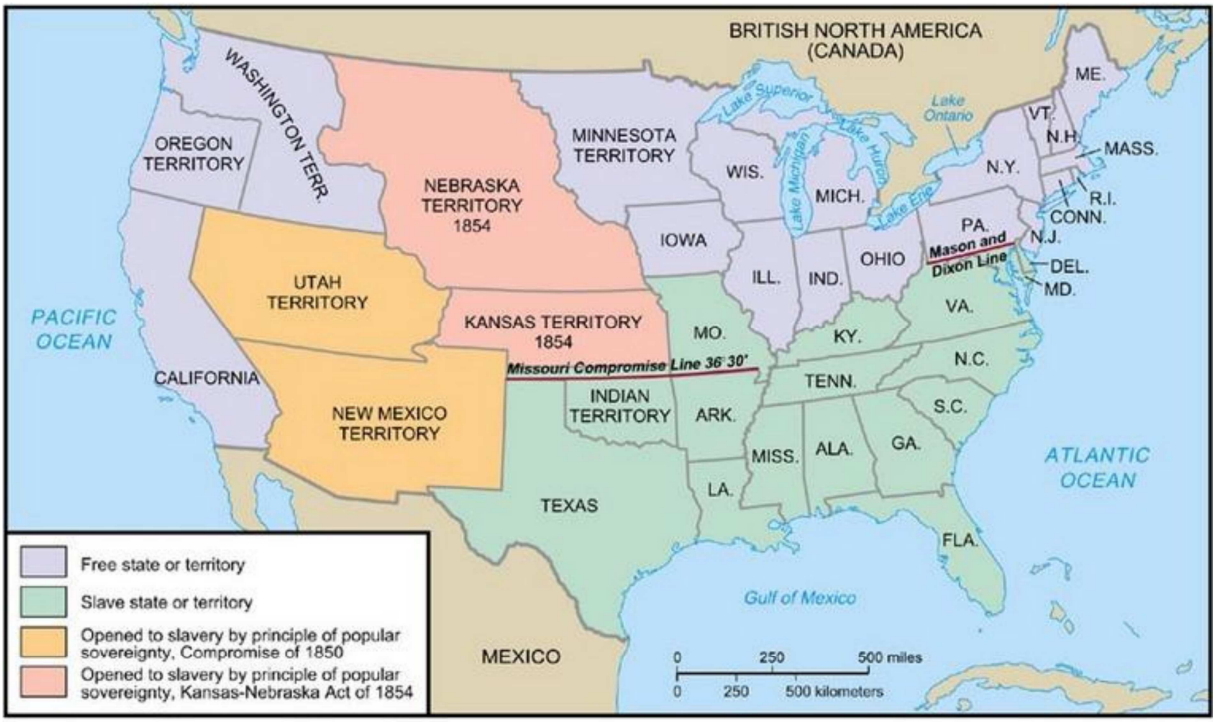
In that period, the rise of the idea of abolitionism spread into the new country followed eventually by the appearance of a solid political figure and the 16th American president, Abraham Lincoln, got a great impact on the unfolding of the events. The election of the Republican Abraham Lincoln well known for his clear antislavery position was the strongest factor that led to the breakdown of the relationships between the North and the South, hence the installation of a huge American internal conflict, thereby triggering the outbreak of the Four-Year War called also the Civil War (1861/65).

[4] The *Mexican War* (1846-1848) also called *Mexican-American War* or *Spanish Guerra* de 1847 resulted in the acquisition of a huge part of the Mexican territory extending westward from the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean. (Carliste 2007: 103)

[5] The *Kansas-Nebraska Act* was passed by Congress on May 30, 1854 that divided the territory west of the states of Missouri and Iowa and the territory of Minnesota into two new territories that were named Kansas and Nebraska. The Kansas-Nebraska Act allowed people in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska to decide for themselves whether or not to allow slavery within their borders. The Act served to cancel the *Missouri Compromise of* 1820 (See note p.6). The new Act henceforth allowed settlers to decide whether or not to have slavery in the new territories. (Boyer, Clarck and Hawley 2009: 309)

[6] The *Whig Party* was a political party, organised in 1834, by some of the Republican Party's previous members and opponents of President Andrew Jackson to contest the Democrats. Abraham Lincoln had been one of its adherents. They opposed strongly the war against Mexico. (Moseley and Clarck Jr. 2009: 305)

Map1.3. The Kansas-Nebraska Act



THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT OF 1854

Source : www.slideshare.com

Map1.4. The Original Map of the Kansas-Nebraska Act



Source: mrberlin.com

1.2. The Evolution of the Heritage of Slavery in the American Colonies

African slavery began in North America in 1619 at Jamestown, Virginia. The slave trade between Britain's American colonies and Africa began with the American ship conceived for slaves, Desire, launched from Massachusetts in 1636 although in the beginning some white colonists were not comfortable with the idea of enslaving the black people. The increasing number of impotent slaves in the North American colonies encouraged cruel white settlers to think about imposing a slave clause. As a matter of fact, as an example to follow, the settlers had turned to the West Indies from which they brought a model of how to create a permanent support of human labour that required institutionalising slavery by disallowing slaves to own guns, make contracts for their own labour, or travel without authorisation. Besides, the Chesapeake colonies added to these clauses that Christianity did not qualify a slave for manumission, and, most importantly, defining slaves as property. Yet, unlike slavery in Africa, Blacks in the Chesapeake were enslaved for life. (Boyer, Clarck and Halttunen 2011: 58)

Previously, the American Revolution in Delaware (1776) and Virginia (1778) announced the importation of African slaves illegal; moreover, Vermont was the first of the 13 colonies to abolish slavery (1777) and Rhode Island prohibited taking slaves from the colony (1778); and Pennsylvania began gradual emancipation in 1780. (Wood 2005: 124)

Additionally, in 1789, Maryland decided to promote the Abolition of Slavery for

the sake of saving the dignity of black people, and in the same year, the former colonies replaced their Articles of Confederation with the new Constitution, "in order to form a more perfect union." (Reiss 1997: 166)

1.3. Slavery and the US Constitution in the 19thC

The Constitution of 1787 protected the institution of Slavery and by the beginning of the 19th century, slavery in the U.S was firmly established with a series of laws and penal codes enacted in various states to regulate the activity of slaves, and all conduct involving slaves and free blacks. With the Louisiana Purchase, the question of slavery became both geographical and political, and pushed in a period of national debate between pro- and anti-slavery states to gain political and economic advantages. But by 1820, the Congress was embroiled in the debate over how to divide the newly acquired territories into slave and free states.

1.3.1. The Three-Fifths Clause

When the U.S. Constitution was written, the issue of slavery was not mentioned, but it was for the return of fugitives (which encompassed criminals, indentured servants and slaves); it stated that each slave within a state had to be counted as three-fifths of a person for the sake of determining population and representation in the House of Representatives:

> "*As ratified in 1788, Article I, Section 2, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution began: (Representative and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bond to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. Without the so called Three Fifths Compromise, Georgia and South Carolina would not have joined the United States and the Union would have been stillborn.)*" (Rodriguez 1997:634)

The clause of the Three-Fifths Compromise[7] was misunderstood. Actually, the constitutional clause did not state that black people are not full persons; in fact, free blacks were counted with whites for purposes of apportionment. It explained how slaves should be counted for the purpose of determining the number of representatives in the Congress. Although Southern slave owners assured that slaves were considered as property, Southern delegates at the Constitutional convention wanted slaves to be counted as full persons for purposes of determining representation in Congress, seeking to become the majority of voices. Including slaves as part of the Southern population would give the South greater representation in Congress, and therefore more influence in forming the country's laws.

[7] The Three Fifths Compromise means that five slaves were counted as at least three free men. This constitutional Compromise introduced in 1783 proved beneficial; North Carolina imposed this way of representation and threatened to never join the Union on the contrary case. Since the South counted more slaves, the North wanted to reduce the South's representatives to be more at ease in Congress's affairs. The South, however, sought to impose the full representation of their black population. (Rodriguez 1997:633)

On the contrary, Northern delegates preferred omitting slaves when determining representation and therefore making Southern states lose the advantage in the national legislature. Thus, the compromise stated out that three-fifths of the slave population would be counted for determining representation, but the compromise of apportionment did not please the South.

In order to break the Convention, Governor Morris[8] proposed tying taxes to properties consisted of slaves. The Southerners found themselves trapped; it was not in the advantage of the South to count only some of the slave population towards apportionment of of representatives, but at the same time, it was in the region's best interest to count only a portion of the slave population towards a state's tax charge. Therefore, although slaves were property under the laws of the Southern states, the Constitution itself acknowledged that they were persons. Willing to protect themselves from the huge amount of taxes resulted proportionally to the number of their slaves, the Southerners saw themselves obliged to lose seats in Congress. By tying both representation and direct taxation to apportionment, the framers removed any benefit, and thus, any proslavery taint from the "special counting rule".

1.3.2. Slave Trade in the US Constitution

In 1807, the US Constitution prohibited importation of slaves, but still, it managed to do so without mentioning the words "slave" or "slavery", and in 1819 slave trade was

[8] Governor Morris , regarded as a hero, was one of the founding fathers of the United States of America as well as a Congress member. At the Philadelphia Convention, he spoke openly against slavery. (Lodge and Roosevelt 2009: 64).

perceived as a capital offense. With the improvements in technology, the cotton gin and the sewing machine increased the demand for slave labour in order to produce more cotton in Southern states. Thus, by the 1830s, many Southerners shifted from, "Slavery is a necessary evil "to "Slavery is a positive good". They argued that the institution existed because it was "God's will," a Christian duty to deliver the African from barbarism while still maintaining control over his "animal passions." (Boyer, Clarck and Hawley 2009: 265)

Representation was the first debate at the Constitutional Convention concerning slavery; the second debate focused on Congress's power to regulate or ban slave trade. Congress was permanently prohibited from taxing exports, outlawing or taxing the slave trade, and passing laws without a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress. The draft in Congress divided the Southern delegates: Governor Morris of Virginia denounced the slave trade as an insane institution; Georgia and South Carolina refused to support the Constitution without a safeguard for slavery. The issue was referred to the Committee of Eleven, which recognised a congressional power over the slave trade but asked about the restriction of this power during 12 years.

Additionally, it proposed a tax on slave importation. Southern delegates agreed to these recommendations, with the exception that the Congress's power over the slave trade would last 20 years; that is, until the establishment of the ban of Slave trade in 1807. Then, the final draft of the Slave Trade clause temporarily restricted Congress's commerce power. Eventually, the ban of Slave Trade became effective on January 1st, 1808. (Rodriguez 2007:104). Thus, although protecting the slave trade was a major concession done by proslavery delegates, the clause was not a durable element in the constitution. Rather, it was a temporary restriction of a delegated federal power. In fact, the restriction applied only to states existing at the time, not to new states or territories, and did not stop individual states

forbidding slavery on their territories.

1.3.3. Fugitive Slave Clause

The Fugitive Slave Clause served as a major constitutional approach to recognise slavery as a protected institution. The Fugitive Slave Clause was one of the most controversial clauses in the Constitution because it stated that escaped slaves had to be returned to their owners. The Framers cautiously drafted the clause to ensure that the Constitution did not give moral sanction to slavery. The final revision underlined the fact that slaves had to be treated according to the laws of individual states, abiding by them. The clause also explains that a slave owner's property could not extend to federal territories if Congress chose to prohibit slavery there. Indeed, according to the legal requirements of the clause, an escaped slave was no longer a slave after entering a state that did not recognise slavery under its law.

Unlike other clauses that vest power either in Congress directly or in the United States, this clause had been written in the passive voice to confer no power on the federal government, and had limited state authority. Yet, in 1793, Congress passed legislation to enforce the clause to set the Fugitive Slave Act. In Priggv, Pennsylvania (1842), the Supreme Court stated out that a state law that penalised the capture of fugitive slaves was rejected by the constitution. (Rodriguez, 2007:424)

On the other hand, Justice Story, a jurist at the Supreme Court, also understood that the federal government was not able to oblige state officials to enforce the act. Consequently, some states passed personal liberty laws forbidding state officials to enforce the act. The Compromise of 1850 caused the appearance of a new federal Fugitive Slave Act (1850). As a

result, the Supreme Court in Moore v. Illinois (1852) claimed that states could impose penalties on citizens for giving refuge to fugitive slaves. In Dred Scott v. Sanford[9] (1857), Chief Justice Taney pointed to this clause (and the Slave Trade clause) as evidence that slaves were property and not citizens. Actually, those clauses were nothing but accommodations to existing slavery interests in particular states.

1.4. The Value of Slavery in the South

Slavery in America's Southern states lasted because of economics mainly, rather than some intrinsic adoration of the practice itself. When the Mason-Dixon line, separating Delaware and Pennsylvania from Maryland, was created in the 1760s, Eli Whitney's revolutionary Cotton Gin[10], which would root slavery in the South, had not been built yet.

[9] The Supreme Court decision "Dred Scott v. Sandford" was issued on March 6, 1857. Delivered by Chief Justice Roger Taney, this opinion declared that slaves were not citizens of the United States and could not sue in Federal courts. In addition, this decision declared that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and that Congress did not have the authority to prohibit slavery in the territories. (Graber 2006:18)
(See also Chapter 3, Section3.2.).

[10] Cotton gin: a machine separating cotton fibers from cotton seeds. (See Section 1.6.1) "*In 1793, Eli Whitney invented a simple machine that influenced the history of the United States. He invented a cotton gin that was popular in the South.. The South became the cotton producing part of the country because Whitney's cotton gin was able to successfully pull out the seeds from the cotton bolls."*
(http://score.rims.k12.ca.us/score_lessons/cotton_gin/pages/reading.html)

It has been said that Eli Whitney both started and ended the Civil War. He started it by inventing the cotton gin, which made raising cotton more profitable and led to an increase in slavery. He ended it by developing a manufacturing process based on interchangeable parts that the North used in its factories, enabling the North to produce far more war goods than the South. (Pennington 2011:35).

Still, despite this fact, there were lines drawn between the more industrial-based economy of the North and the agricultural economy of the South. By the end of the 18th C the South started to benefit from the advantages of cotton gin; it helps them make great production and a lucrative market hence a thriving economy.

Without the great ability to get a big force of unpaid and cheap bodies to cultivate permanently the fields, one is almost sure that the South would never have been able to enjoy such a great economic success. The kind of treatment of the slaves was regrettable; even the best plantation master was much more interested in making a great profit than being sure his slave was properly treated. In fact, a minimum of money enabled many plantations' owners to become wealthy.

Unlike what some used to believe, the main crop in the South during the outset of slavery was not cotton, but was based on other agricultural products that would finally contribute to the development of mass cultivation. As a matter of fact, even though cotton was part of the agricultural domain, crops such as tobacco, indigo, and rice were the most cultivated.

Effectively, initially, tobacco was considered as the primary crop; nevertheless, the need for cotton replaced the reliance on tobacco as a principal product. This happened until the invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin thanks to which the cotton industry began to boom in the South. This invention enabled Southern plantations to produce a great quantity in a short time.

Consequently, slaves were being more and more required to maintain fruitful productions to satisfy the demand for cotton. Thus, this growing potential to provide more cotton favoured an increasing economic dependence on slavery. It should be reminded that without such a cheap slaves' labour, the South would have never been able to develop a

powerful productivity of cotton that had become the pillar of the Southern economic issue during years after the introduction of the cotton gin in 1793.

Because of the practice of slavery, Southern states such as Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama could have solid economies directly based on the production, huge export of cotton and other less principal elements like tobacco and rice. Effectively, this led to a great economic strength that helped these states become more inflexible about discussing the right to possess slaves. It was unshakeable that without slavery the economy of the South would crumble; therefore, the Southerners were able to face the great number of rebellions and political opposition that was growing in the North.

Acts like the Fugitive Slaves Law tried to restrain the flight of slaves to the Northern states through the Underground Railroad[11], which became a real threat to Southern plantation slave owners who needed more help from the free work force to save their economic wealth. No doubt that the Southerners defended their interests to consolidate their economic security based on the old institution until it became legally impossible to maintain their economic lifestyle after the Emancipation of Slavery. The South struggled to avoid its loss, but the law firmly declared an end to slavery in spite of the great amount of money and political effort spent to protect the Right of possessing slaves.

At the beginning of the 19th C, the South started a poor era while the North began to grow economically after the spread of industrialisation and the increasing numbers of abolitionist. Both elements, though different in their structures, being guided by the different

[11] Underground Railroad was the term used to describe a network of meeting places, secret routes, passageways and safe houses used by slaves in the U.S. to escape slave holding states to Northern states and Canada. (Mull 2015:5)

interests, worked out and converged to attain the same aim, which is the abolition of slavery.

1.5. Reactions towards Slavery in the North and the South

Although many New Englanders in the North East of America owe their wealth to the slave trade before its prohibition, this region of the nation became the hotbed of the abolitionist idea. Abolitionist newspapers and pamphlets came into existence. Because they had become numerous, South Carolina proclaimed penalties for anyone daring to bring antislavery pieces of writing into the state by 1820. These disturbing publications described slavery as a social as well as a moral evil. They often used examples of African American writings and other accomplishments to argue that Africans and their descendents were capable of learning as Europeans were if their descendents in America were given the opportunity to do so. South Carolina defended the abolitionists to teach the salves write. "*As late as 1835, a South Carolina statute made it a crime to teach free Blacks or slaves to read or right and designated different punishments for anyone caught doing so"*. (John-Browns, Frazier and Brooks 2014:22)

One should note that many people among the abolitionists did not really believe the two races were equal. In order to prove that one individual owning another one was indisputably morally wrong, before all, they had to persuade many in all the country that the black people, called Negros at the time, were human. In the North, a freeman of colour and a Civil Rights activist originating from the South, David Walker, published *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* in Boston, Massachusetts in 1829. Being a benchmark, he pushed abolitionists towards extreme combativeness. He incited slaves to rise up against their masters

and to react to speak about their natural right: "*It is no more harm for you to kill a man who is trying to kill you, than it is for you to take a drink of water when thirsty*." (Hayes, 2000:107) In 1800, a slave from Virginia, known as Gabriel Prosser had tried to rebel there, but it failed after the betrayal of two slaves.

Furthermore, in 1831, William Lloyd Garrison [12] founded the most famous and influential of abolitionist newspapers, The Liberator, whose publication was perceived as one of the most renowned means of media in that period. That same year, the region of Virginia debated emancipation; the debate was marked as being the last movement for abolition in the South before the Emancipation proclamation issued during the Civil War. Besides, the Southampton Slave Riot resulted in Virginia that passed new regulations against slaves. The South also knew a slave revolt, the bloody Haitian Revolution of 1791–1803, and Southerners never chased such a fear from their minds (Bryan 1984: 12). Furthermore, the Nat Turner's[13] revolt and the remarkable writings and speeches of Frederick Douglass, a former slave and a harsh abolitionist, contributed to the growing discontentment.

There were some cases of early abolitionist movements rooted in the states of the South; however, abolitionism set up in the North. In fact, it was essentially one of the Northern political aims, which was not realised only after the tragedy of the Civil War and imposed

[12] William Llyod Garrison: In the first issue of *The Liberator* he stated his views on slavery vehemently: "*I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation.... I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.*" (Cameron 2014:108)

[13] Nat Turner revolt called also the Southampton Insurrection was a slave rebellion that took place in Southampton County, Virginia, in August 1831. It was led by Nat (Nathaniel) Turner, killed in the same year. (Danver 2011: 274)

legally thanks to the *Thirteenth Amendment* [14] . In 1833, Philadelphia witnessed the first American Antislavery Society Convention. In contrast, some riots headed by anti-abolitionists broke out in several Northeastern cities, like New York and Philadelphia during 1834-35. Many Southern states, including at first the Carolinas, deposited some formal requests to eliminate abolition leaders and their literature.

Additionally, the legislature of Illinois voted to stop the spread of abolition societies and their aspiration. In that time, Delegate Abraham Lincoln voted with the majority. After that, he immediately co-sponsored a bill to lighten some of the language of the earlier one.

1.6. The Political Masterpiece of the 19th C

Abraham Lincoln, a determining figure in the American political and historical scenes, brought a large contribution to changing the course of history in the US over the mid nineteenth century.

1. 6.1 Lincoln's Early Years and Career

Abraham Lincoln had little formal education. He said once, when he was a young boy, he went to school "a little bit," "a little bit now and a little later". In all, he would have

[14] In " *The Constitution of the U. S. A.*", the *Thirteenth Amendment* of the Constitution declared that: *"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction*." (Diane Publishing Company 1994: 73). Formally abolishing slavery in the United States, the 13th Amendment was passed by the Congress on January 31, 1865, and ratified by the states on December 6, 1865.

received one year of educational assistance. *"While here I went to A B C schools by littles, kept successively by Andrew Crawford,--Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey."* (Guelzo, 2009: 14). One could assume that his stepmother had played a great role to trigger his motivation and his ambition, and put him on the rail of success. Perseverance became his strong ally.

Apparently, Lincoln did not read many books, but he has completely read the little he had to read, punctuality being one of his great qualities. Among these books there was "*The Life and Memorable Actions*" by George Washington Parson Weems (with its story of the little hatchet cherry), *"Robinson Crusoe"* byDaniel Defoe, *"The Pilgrims progress*" by John Bunyan and Aesop's Fables. He was somewhat familiar with the Bible. Lincoln's upbringing was through the Bible and his stepmother's singing of spiritual hymns, the first steps forward the principles of justice. Feeling depressed with a talent for imitation and being a storyteller, he attracted friends easily. This gift will serve him later in bringing people in his rank during his political career.

Aspiring to become a legislator in Illinois after having reached only twenty one years old in 1831, he was defeated in his first attempt and then was re-elected several times to the assembly of the state. Eager of knowledge, he was able to learn by himself grammar and mathematics, and with an iron will, he started studying books of law. It was a challenge and he had won out. In 1836, after passing the exam in New Salem, he began the practice of law. The following year he moved to Springfield, Illinois, the new capital of the state, which of course offered much more opportunities. Abraham was an associate of two or three lawyers; they won a few cases; they shared the gains and never seemed to have been in quarrels over money. In fact, Lincoln was giving primacy to human relations on the basis of moral

principles rather than materialistic aspects of life. Being a member of the Whig Party, he was also elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1846, where he gave the infamous "Spot" speech about the war that had begun with Mexico.

Approximately twenty years after the launch of his law career, Abraham had become one of the most distinguished lawyers in Illinois. He was noted for his honesty, fairness, tips and his practical common sense, which enabled him to perceive any legal case.

1.6.2. Lincoln's View on Slavery

Lincoln was raised in a Calvinistic home, but rejected later his family's religion, and undertook his own path through his new perception of Calvinism, which approved slavery. *"Some of the fuel for that repudiation came from Lincoln's reading of arguments for deism and "infidelity" in the form of Thomas Paine's Age of Reason, Constantin-François Volney's The Ruins; or ‚A Survey of the Revolution of Empires, and by the mid-1840s, Robert Chambers' proto-Darwinian Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation."*(Guelzo, 2009:16)

He had never tolerated violence, and he pointed this principle in his first speeches. Although he had never had the opportunity to get a high formal education of collegiate moral philosophers, he was gifted with a common sense and an outstanding wisdom that made him the first man who acquired the will to confront a whole nation with a stubborn spirit, older than two centuries. *"In temper he was Earnest, yet controlled, frank, yet sufficiently guarded, patient, yet energetic, forgiving, yet just to himself; generous yet firm*,…" wrote J. T. Duryea of the U.S. Christian Commission, which met frequently with President Abraham Lincoln.*:*

"His conscience was the strongest element of his nature. His affections were tender & warm. His whole nature was simple and sincere – he was pure, and then was himself." (Guelzo, 2002: 53). If there was something that he could not bear most in life, it was enslaving human beings; he qualified this act as "wrong." He wrote a letter to Albert G. Hodges [16] in April 4, 1864: "*If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think, and feel."* (Guelzo, 2009: 80)

A lover of liberty, influenced by the principles of the founding fathers, he was an admirer of Thomas Pain [17] and his "*Common Sense" (1776),* that historical work that sparked the American Revolution, and regarded fair policy as his political religion. "*O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia, and Africa, have long expelled her."*(Pain, 1776: 30)

He strove to demonstrate that it was amazing to look for denying a natural Right. By depriving the Black Man from his legitimate Right to Freedom, the White Man was breaching the law of Nature. He effectively respected the old pillars of the previous generations, but he was always wondering if, one day, his contemporary generation would manage to get rid of some uncommon uses that were completely in contradiction with the

[16] Albert G. Hodges was an important editor who asked President Lincoln to put in writing what he said to politicians. The letter he sent him described Lincoln's internal struggle against the issue slavery of Lincoln. From the Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. Volume 7 (Lincoln 2008 :497)

[17] Thomas Pain (February 9, 1737 – June 8, 1809) was an English-American political activist, author, political theorist and revolutionary. Through his persuasive essays and pamphlets, Thomas Paine became one of the most influential figures in the American independence movement and in Lincoln's life. (Begler 2007: 105)

bases of the Constitution, and even with the recommendations of the bible. Slavery, *"an enormous national crime*," such a cruel institution was destroying all the moral values that Americans always pretended to defend.

His thinking was being reflected in many circumstances of his political life, one of them was during his famous speech "*The Perpetuation of our Political Institu*tions" [18], through which people started to be acquainted with such a kind of spirit.

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1.7. The Economic and Political Threat of Divisiveness

Until 1850, the conflict was at the level of civil citizens. However, the threat started to take other proportions, gaining a large scale at the political level.

1.7.1. The impact of Cotton Gin

The cotton gin indirectly caused the Civil War by changing the economics of the cotton industry. Thinking first about what the cotton gin did, it was basically a machine to streamline the manual process of separating out the cotton fibers from the seeds. The manual processing of cotton was a time consuming process (an estimate I read was that 10 hours of labour could produce a single pound of usable cotton fiber) that naturally put a brake on production. No sense in growing and picking cotton that you cannot turn into usable fiber fast enough. Once

[18] "*The Perpetuation of our Political Institu*tions", Abraham Lincoln's Lyceum Address was delivered on January 27, 1838 to the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois . In this speech, Lincoln denounced the dangers of slavery in the United States, and how much the institution could corrupt the Federal Government. Lincoln also warned people who disrespected American laws and courts could destroy the United States.(Briggs 2005:29)

the cotton gin came along, it meant that more cotton could be processed by less slaves in less time; the machine could process 50 pounds a day, with only a small group of 2or 3 people running the machine.

> " *Similarly the people of the Southern Atlantic States, moving westward into the great cotton-growing regions of Gulf States, took with them cotton and the plantation system. Cotton led the westward movement in the South, as did wheat in the North. Is it to be wondered at that the conflict out which grew the Civil War came first in the regions just west of the Missouri River-that section where wheat growing and cotton culture met?...*" (Mehrling and Sandilands ,2002: 197)

Being able to produce more cotton in less time offered planters a new incentive to expand their productions and grow more cotton, leading to an increased demand for slave labour and increased interest in expansion into new territories. So slavery, which might have disappeared, expanded very much to become a key element of the Southern economy. More, when it was time to discuss the expansion of slavery into new territories, and as the abolition movement moved forward in the Northeast, it was regarded as a direct threat to the Southern lifestyle.

1.7.2. The "House Divided" Speech 1858

Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Congress of the United States while exercising the profession of advocate. From this period, his anti-slavery positions were apparent but it was

not in favour of voting for the black population. He became known as an advocate of railway companies, but also by his speech against the admission of new slave states into the Union, in particular during the Senate elections of 1858. Feeling concerned, he delivered a speech on the issue of slavery highlighting the danger of disunity in the country. People had been astonished. The daring discourse had tremendously marked the American population.

On June 16th , 1858, Lincoln explained the day had come where people would choose between a nation of freedom and a slave nation because he was aware, and firmly convinced that the union of the states would fall apart sooner or later. He provided evidence of common sense and of long-sighted politics: *"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved I do not expect the house to fall but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."* (Basler, 1953: 461)

Many important people regarded his speech too risky and yet so right. His partners were the first to be tremendously surprised by his decision. For a moment, both Secretaries were speechless when Lincoln showed them the discourse. They could not believe Lincoln would dare deliver such ideas:

> *" Even Lincoln's friends believed the speech was too radical for the occasion. His law partner, William H. Herndon, believed Lincoln was morally courageous but politically incorrect. Lincoln read the speech to him before delivering it, referring to the "house divided" language this way: "The proposition is indisputably true ... and I will deliver it as written. I want to use some universally known figure, expressed in simple language*

as universally known, that it may strike home to the minds of men in order to rouse them to the peril of the times" (Basler, 1953:461).

The issue dividing the nation was due to the importance of the surface that was likely to adopt Slavery in the growing western territories. A decision should be taken to determine the extent of federal power over individual states' Rights. Lincoln declared that only the federal government had the power to end slavery. Obviously, the Southern states relied on an economy and lifestyle depending upon the cheap labour provided by African-American slaves, and it has been stated that the North opposed Slavery only on moral grounds. In fact, the Northern states considered industrialisation and manufacturing the key to America's economic future, not farming. The entrance of new states into the Union, such as Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska, caused unresolved conflicts over which government, state or federal, should make the final decision regarding slavery. For his part, Lincoln firmly believed that Slavery was immoral and was totally incompatible with the principles of the Declaration of Independence embodied in the phrase "all men are created equal." His eloquence made him known to the general public. He continued his fight through the electoral campaign against his rival, Stephen Douglas, focusing on pointing out his priority to preserve the Union.

1.7.3. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates 1858

The Lincoln-Douglas debates were a series of political debates between the challenger, Abraham Lincoln, and the concurrent, Stephen A. Douglas. Although Lincoln lost the election, these debates made him famous in all the national territory, which, in the end, led to

his election as the 16th President of the United States. Lincoln distinguished himself by his respect of moral values and his reliance on two noble principles: honesty and justice.

Slavery was the central issue and Lincoln, while he wanted to end eventually the "peculiar institution," favored as an interim step the exclusion of slavery from the new American territories. This infuriated leaders in the slave states, who were in no mood to compromise. Stephen Douglas, who had defeated Lincoln in that Senate campaign two years earlier, was his main competitor again in the presidential contest. Douglas had a more nuanced view of slavery, favoring its continuation in the states where it already existed. Douglas, in fact, envisioned a nation "forever divided into free and slave states, as our fathers made it as the people of each state have decided.

Douglas, a Democrat, was a Senator elected in 1847; he had chaired the Senate Committee on Territories, and was fostered and already popular through some political events. Indeed, he was behind one of the reasons that triggered the North-South conflict; on December 18, 1850. He helped enact the *"Compromise of 1850*", and was responsible for the "*Kansas-Nebraska Act*" of 1854, which led to violence in Kansas, hence the name "*Bleeding Kansas*". It has been the single most significant event leading to the Civil War. (Alexander 2008: 458). It offered new territories the choice to decide if they were a free or slave state by popular sovereignty. This act repealed the Missouri Compromise, which had outlawed slavery above particular latitudes in the Louisiana territories and

reopened the national struggle over slavery in the western territories.

Lincoln and Douglas agreed to debate in seven of the Illinois Congressional Districts: Washington Square Ottawa, Freeport, Coles County Fairgrounds Charleston, Union County Fairgrounds Jonesboro, Knox College Galesburg, Washington Park Quincy, and Market Streets Alton from August 21 to October 15, 1858. In each debate either Douglas or Lincoln would open with an hour address. The other would then speak for an hour and a half. The first then had thirty minutes of disproof. In the seven debates, Douglas was entitled and allowed to go first four times. Yet, Lincoln, eventually, managed to be elected President of the USA.

1.7.4. The Election of 1860 and its Outcome

The tone of the presidential campaign of 1860 was anything but moderate. Effectively Lincoln had risen to national attention for his widely reported debates with Stephen Douglas in the Illinois Senate campaign of 1858. Before that, Lincoln also gave a powerful and eloquent speech in Springfield in which he declared, "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." In another memorable passage, he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." These arguments were considered moderate among the antislavery forces at the time, and they established him as a leader of what might be considered a "centrist" group of the Republican Party in the North.

Lincoln won thanks to 1, 866,452 votes without including a single Southern state. Douglas, the candidate of some Northern and Western factions of the Democratic party, who was more tolerant of slavery, had 1, 376,957 votes. The candidate of the Democrats'

proslavery and pro-secession, representing the South and a pro-Union candidate split the remaining 1, 438,660 votes. With a nation so divided, the consequence was set for the Civil War. In fact, many Southern leaders had warned that if Lincoln won, they would claim for secession.

On November 6, 1860, the Republican Party appointed Abraham Lincoln as candidate for the presidential elections. The lack of unity within the Democratic Party, led by Stephen A. Douglas enabled the young party to win the elections, and secured Abraham Lincoln's election. The Republican man was a notorious antislavery man and managed to become the16th president of the United States. Obviously, not a single Southern state had given his voice to the man of the North.

On December 20th , 1860, in response to Abraham Lincoln's the election of to the presidency of the United States, , the state of South Carolina announced its withdrawal from the union, the decision of South Carolina was threatening the US entity because six more states - Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas started imitating it. Southern states had proposed a compromise in Congress, in December, 1860, including constitutional amendments guaranteeing that slavery will remain where it already existed, dividing the territory into slavery and freedom spaces. Then, in 1861 four more others imitated them shortly after the creation of "Confederation of American States" with President Jefferson Davis and capital Richmond (Virginia).

On April 12, 1861, the fire started from the South side, which had chased all kinds

of hesitation in the spirit of the American President. Consequently, Lincoln appealed to arms, and the war became inevitable. On May 6, 1861 in Alabama, the Confederate Congress declared war on the United States: The War of Secession, more commonly known in North America by "*the Civil War*", broke out.

On Mars 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln took fully his functions as a president, and gave his "*First Inaugural Address*". In his discourse, he refused the recognition of the secession, considering it illegal:

> *" Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy…I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.(Basler, 1953: 260)"*

He also wrote privately:"*I am inflexible*…".He apprehended a territorial division, condemning the principle of the extension of slavery; imperialism would encourage producers to seek new territory of slavery in South of the U.S. border, and therefore, they would still be on the highway of an empire of slaves. Thus, Lincoln thought he had a tremendous task to achieve. His thorny mission was actually very hard but not impossible to accomplish. He was striving to mend the outcomes of his leaning towards his antislavery

policy, which led all the country to endure the nightmare of the Civil War during which he would launch his famous Emancipation of Slavery followed by the ratification of the *Thirteen Amendment*, a constitutional Act that banned Slavery in all the American territory.

1.8. Conclusion

In 1801, Congress extended Virginia and Maryland slavery laws to the District of Columbia, establishing a federally sanctioned slave code. It also restarted controversy over the spread of slavery in the territory. However, in 1807 Congress banned the importation of slaves into the U.S., even if at the same time smuggling continued in some parts of the South. Once the transatlantic slave trade was prohibited, domestic slave trading throughout the South increased. In 1820, the Missouri Compromise brought Missouri and Maine into the Union. In the same year, Congress declared trade in foreign slaves an act of piracy.

Missouri entered the Union as the 24th state and a slave-holding state, maintaining the balance of slave and free states in 1821. In 1825, a ship operated by the U.S. Revenue seized a slave ship, the *Antelope*, sailing under a Venezuelan flag with a cargo of 281 Africans. The case was brought before the U.S. Supreme Court, which issued a unanimous opinion declaring the slave trade to be a violation of natural law. However, only some of the Africans were set free since the ruling also held that the U.S. could not prescribe law for other nations such as Spain, Portugal and Venezuela in which the slave trade was legal.

Besides, the Compromise of 1850 admitted California as a free state; voters in New Mexico and Utah territories would decide whether they would be slave or free upon applying for statehood. The new Fugitive Slave Act, also passed in 1850, made the federal government

responsible for apprehending fugitive slaves in the North, and sending them back to the South. This extended slavery and its enforcement beyond the South, which, however, felt that even this law was not strong enough, and the demand for more effective legislation resulted in enactment of a second Fugitive Slave Act that same year. However, the law was so severe that its implementation was open to abuses that defeated its purpose. Even during the Civil War, the Fugitive Slave Acts were used to prosecute blacks fleeing their masters in border states that were loyal to the Union. The acts were eventually repealed, but not until June of 1864. In 1851, Shadrach Minkins, an African American working as a waiter in Boston, was abducted by slave catchers. Before he could be freed by legal means in a challenge to the Fugitive Slave law, Minkins was rescued by a group of African Americans.

In 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed, dividing the region along the 40th parallel, with Kansas to the South and Nebraska to the North, and providing both territories the right to vote on whether to be slave or free. For all practical purposes, the act effectively repealed the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850, which had attempted to regulate the spread of slavery. As a result of the new law, both pro- and anti-slavery supporters tried to convince settlers to move to Kansas in order to influence the vote.

The New England Emigrant Aid Company, an anti-slavery group, was very successful, and a group of anti-slavery activists was established around the town of Lawrence, Kansas. (Chinn 2005 :78). At the same time, pro-slavery settlers from Missouri began moving across the border to Kansas, some establishing themselves as residents of the territory, others simply coming across to vote. They were called “border ruffians” by their opponents. Lecompton, the territorial capital of Kansas, boiled with tension over the issue, and so-called “*Free-Soilers*”

felt so threatened there that they set up their own unofficial legislature at Topeka. Lecompton played a major historical role in pre-Civil War, and the period (1855-1861) became known as "Bleeding Kansas." Finally, the *Dred Scott* decision was delivered in 1857, which denied citizenship to free and enslaved blacks.

Eventually, Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency in 1860 convinced many Southerners that slavery would never be permitted to expand into new territories acquired by the US and might ultimately be abolished. As a result, in 1860, Eleven Southern states successively took the decision to secede from the Union; consequently, the awful Civil War broke out. The weightiness of slavery in the South was determining since slavery was considered as a serious issue and a reason important enough to cause a four-year war. The decline of slavery was not instantaneous. *The Thirteenth Amendment* was established some months after Abraham Lincoln's death [19] in order to legally impose the law throughout all the territory since the proclamation of emancipation issued on January 1, 1863 was not constitutional.

[19] Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on April 15, 1865 and the *Thirteenth Amendment* was issued on December 6, 1865. (See Chapter 3, Section: 3.10.)

CHAPTER TWO

THE FIGHT FOR ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE U.S.

DURING THE 19TH C

CHAPTER TWO

The Fight for Abolition of Slavery in the U.S.

During the 19 th C

2.1. Introduction

As an absolute consequence of the peculiar institution, the sentiment of restituting the enslaved black population's natural right, Freedom, arose, weaving a movement [1] from the 1830s to the 1860s to abolish Slavery in the new nation, the American Unites States. Many struggles had been led by free blacks such as the famous Frederic Douglass[2] and white supporters such as Harriet Beecher Stowe [2], who played a great role in the spread of awareness. Beside the worthy work of a handful abolitionists, no one can resign to affirm who from them deserves most the outstanding merit of such a historic fate given that every activist contributed to complement the process of the making of the abolition of slavery within the heart of the oldest pitiless institution. Not only did they abolish slavery but they also avoided the Confederates' secession. The adoption of a federal law requiring chasing

[1] In Rodriguez (2007:99) 1830s was the beginning of the crucial period regarding the rise of abolitionism.

[2] Frederick Douglas (See Chapter Two, Section 2.2.4.)

[3] Harriet Beecher Stow (See Chapter Two, Section 2.2.2.2)

[4] "Fugitive Slave" laws enacted in 1793 and 1850 (Hudson, 2002: 184) provided for the seizure and return of runaway slaves, but the Quakers, a group of a religious Christian movement, were willing nonviolently to disobey what they considered unjust laws. (Hudson, 2002: 106)

chasing runaway slaves: the *Fugitive Slave Act* [4], which was part of the Compromise of 1850, had led a woman writer, one committed member of the white community, engaged in this noble cause, outraged by that cruelty, to publish a serialized novel depicting the terrible ordeal experienced by the blacks, which helped the lay of the groundwork of "the Civil War" (1861). Free blacks and other antislavery Northerners had begun helping fugitive slaves escape from Southern plantations to the North via a loose network of safe houses. This practice, called the Underground Railroad [5], gained real force in the 1830s, for it is supposed to have helped more than 40,000 slaves be free. (Hudson, 2002 : 53). The success of the Underground Railroad helped spread abolitionist feelings in the North; it also undoubtedly increased sectional tensions, convincing pro-slavery Southerners of their Northern countrymen's determination to defeat the institution that sustained them.

As a matter of fact, the personalities' activities were narrowly linked while targeting the same aim: the confrontation of the North South conflict. By the time of the Civil War, Frederic Douglass was one of the most famous black men in the country for his role to implement the Black Americans in the war and promote their status in the country. In 1863, Douglass had talks with President Abraham Lincoln concerning the treatment of black soldiers and with his successor, Andrew Johnson regarding black suffrage. Above all, the abolitionists' activities had largely paved the Emancipation ground, for Lincoln would never have been elected without a previous increasing antislavery sentiment in the North, nor would he be able to venture into the political encouragement for the spread of

[5] Underground Railroad (See Chapter Two, Section 2, 2.5.)

the Emancipation Proclamation of Slavery. The surge was created mostly by two people from Connecticut: John Brown [6] and Harriet Beecher Stowe. The antislavery activist John Brown, who tried to liberate slaves vainly in 1859 on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, predicted that slavery would cease only after "very much bloodshed."

After the election of Abraham Lincoln as the sixteenth American President in November1860, the Southern Convention did indeed issue an ordinance of secession on December, announcing their withdrawal from the Union after the creation of the Confederates, which had been strongly rejected by the President.

Consequently, the war broke out and the Union was not sure to gain. President Lincoln had to cope with such a complex situation and thus saw himself obliged to implement the emancipation of Slavery in the third year of the bloody Civil War to accelerate its end after gaining the support of the freed slaves who had run away the Southern plantations. At the end of the war, the emancipation had to be consolidated through the Thirteenth Amendment that stipulates the legal and official the liberation of all slaves throughout all the American territory.

2.2. Mid- 19th C Major Activists in Quest of Freedom

The great majority of Americans who joined the antislavery cause in the 1830s came from the countryside and small villages of the North, and usually grew up in deeply

[6] John Brown : (See Chapter Two , Section 2.2.3)

religious families. William Lloyd Garrison [7], a Massachusetts printer and editor, began in 1831 to publish the *The Liberator* which was considered to be the primary vehicle in New England for radical and militant abolitionism. The following year he and his allies organized the New England Anti-Slavery Society, dedicated to securing the immediate abolition of slavery.

In 1838, the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed to unify abolitionists from the West, New York, and New England. The female society was the first to begin. They held the first Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in New York, in 1837 and the second Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women met in Philadelphia in the following year; unfortunately, the latter resulted in huge pro-slavery riots. The Liberty Party, a political action group, held its first national convention, at Albany, N.Y., in 1839.

Besides, the activists were working in different abolitionist movements. For instance, some of them were guided by religious leaders who were strongly connected with Northern Protestant churches[8]**.** American activists of different race and gender have brought a great literary contribution in the American history, which helped the set up of the founding of the spirit of regaining dignity and freedom within the black population.

[7] William Lloyd Garrison joined the abolitionist movement in 1830. In *Abolitionist Movement, The Document Decoded* Cameron reports Garrison's statements at that time:"On this subject (slavery), *I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. . . . I am in earnest -- I will not equivocate -- I will not excuse -- I will not retreat a single inch -- AND I WILL BE HEARD.*" (Cameron, 2014: 108)in his anti-slavery newspaper, the *Liberator*, a weekly paper in 1831. Effectively, William Lloyd Garrison was heard. He continued to write until after the Civil War 1865.

[8] « *The historian Richard Hofstadter wrote in 1948 that Abolitionism was a religious movement, emerging from the ferment of evangelical Protestantism, psychologically akin to other reforms – women's rights, temperance, and pacifism – which agitated the spirits of the Northern middle classes during the three decades before the Civil War. » (*https://www.nla.gov.au/selected-library-collections/anti-slavery-movement-in-the-united-state)

2.2.1. White Abolitionists

The increase in religious revivals known as the Second Great Awakening [9] of the 1820s and 1830s led abolitionists to see slavery as a sin against humanity. By the 1830s, thousands of American women were involved in the movement to abolish slavery, and some became prominent leaders in the abolition movement. They wrote articles for abolitionist papers, circulated pamphlets and delivered petitions to Congress calling for abolition.

Since William Penn's days [10], Quaker practice had allowed women to take public stances on social issues and granted women the right to speak openly at public meetings. Licensed as a Quaker minister in 1821, Lucretia Mott [11] was soon speaking out against slavery in Quaker meetings. After disagreements about the issue of slavery, the Quakers split into two groups in 1827; Mott became active in the abolition movement in Pennsylvania.

Mott took part in discussions at the first meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) founded by William Lloyd Garrison in 1833, but women were not permitted to serve

[9] The Second Great Awakening was a religious revival movement starting in the early 19th century in the United States. *Many emerged from these religious revivals with a conviction that human society could be changed to look more heavenly. They joined their spiritual networks to rapidly developing social reform networks that sought to alleviate social ills and eradicate moral vice. Tackling numerous issues, including alcoholism, slavery, and the inequality of women, reformers worked tirelessly to remake the world around them.* (http://www.americanyawp.com/text/10-religion-and-reform)

[10] William Penn was an English early quaker and the founder of Pennsylvania in 1681; " *…he did promote good treatment for slaves, and other Pennsylvania Quakers were among the earliest fighters against slavery."* (http://www.ushistory.org/penn/bio.htm)

as delegates. Recognizing the need for an anti-slavery society in which women could actively participate and contribute, Mott and a group of abolitionists including many African American women founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society(PFASS) affiliated from the (AASS) in December1833.

This was the first time women had the opportunity to run an organisation, but they quickly learned how to conduct meetings, prepare agendas and conduct petition campaigns. Anti-Slavery Sewing Circles enabled women to turn their domestic skills into fundraisers for the cause as they sold their goods at antislavery bazaars and fairs.

Key white women who worked for the abolition of slavery, helping African American women find their voices as well as their rights, included Martha Wright, Julia Ward Howe and Mary Livermore. While these and other well-known activists are mentioned in accounts of the abolitionist movement, there is scant reference to most other female abolitionists.

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[11] Lucretia Mott, a white activist woman, attended the first Convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society held in Philadelphia in 1833. A a co-founder of the organization, she played a great role in the anti-slavery struggle and continued her work even after the Civil War. "McKim first met Mott at the founding convention of the American Anti-Slavery society in 1833." *A native of Carliste, Pennsylvania, Mckim was training to be a Presbyterian at the time*" (Faulkner, 2011: 88). He reportedly told her, "*Mrs. Mott you are the greatest radical I have ever met with"* (Faulkner, 2011: 89)

Key white women who worked for the abolition of slavery, helping African American women find their voices as well as their rights, included Martha Wright, Julia Ward Howe and Mary Livermore. While these and other well-known activists are mentioned in accounts of the abolitionist movement, there is scant reference to most other female abolitionists.

William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, The Liberator, noted in 1847: *"..the Anti-Slavery cause cannot stop to estimate where the greatest indebtedness lies, but whenever the account is made up there can be no doubt that the efforts and sacrifices of the women, who helped it, will hold a most honorable and conspicuous position."* (Jeffrey, 1998: 1)

Women who were active in the abolitionist movement also became interested in women's rights. Many of the men who were opposed to slavery were also opposed to women playing active roles in the abolitionist movement. The discrimination female abolitionists faced within the movement itself led them to see that some of their own rights were being crushed. Indeed, the women's rights movement was the offspring of abolition, and many people actively supported both reforms. Women abolitionists learnt to master the sense of organization after acquiring necessary skills for a successful social movement. They learned to write persuasively, raise funds, organize events and speak to large groups about political and social issues. While fighting for the abolition of slavery, women headed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton [12], an antislavery activist, found their own voices thanks to the World Anti-Slavery

[12] Elizabeth Cady Stanton: With Lucretia Mott and several other women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton held the famous Seneca Falls Convention in July 1848. At this meeting, the attendees drew up its "Declaration of Sentiments" and took the lead in proposing that women be granted the right to vote. She continued to write and lecture on women's rights and other reforms of the day.

Convention of 1840 [13].

2.2.1.1. Harriet Stow Beecher

In the North, Harriet Stow beecher's contribution to the conflict was her massively popular antislavery book, Uncle Tom's Cabin, originally a serial in the anti-slavery newspaper *The National Era* in 1851. After its publication, the novel had a great success and played a significant role in accelerating the movement to abolish slavery. Its impact was intensely effective since her work generated other works of antislavery literature. It also arrived in the halls of Congress, where politicians became aware of its increasing influence. At the same time, her novel provoked outrage in the South, for nearly 30 proslavery novels and scores of other writings appeared in response to "Uncle Tom's Cabin." They presented slavery as a wonderful institution that gave shelter, food and religious instruction to ignorant barbarians brought from Africa. As a response to those critics, she wrote The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1853. In the same year, in a letter, she explained, "*I wrote what I did because as a woman, as a mother, I was oppressed and broken-hearted with the sorrows and injustice I saw, because as a Christian I felt the dishonor to Christianity – because as a lover of my county, I trembled at the coming day of wrath."* (Hedrick, 1994: 237)

2.2.1.2. John Brown and the Dred Scott Case

Pacifists such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and notably Henry David Thoreau[14], were

[13] In *The Proceedings of the General Antislavery Convention*, (*Volume 1),* called by the committee of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society , held in London from June 12th to June 23rd, 1840 "*WENDELL PHILIPS,……That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare a correct list of the members of this Convention, with instructions to include in such list, all persons bearing credentials from any Anti-Slavery body*." (Johnson and Barrett, 1841, 23)

inspired by the martyred abolitionist John Brown, whom they compared with Jesus Christ and the Founding Fathers. Stowe hailed Brown as the man who has done more than any man for the honor of the American name. As a matter of fact, Brown was widely viewed as a hero in the North and as a demon in the South. Brown created such political turmoil that Lincoln won the 1860 Presidential race, with just 40 percent of the popular vote, because his opponents were divided. Lincoln addressed a famous speech at the Cooper Institute in February of 1860, a speech which many believe helped secure Lincoln's nomination for the presidency. *"The Legend of Brown as immortal hero actually began in November and December 1859 when the abolitionists extolled him as an American saint."*(Oates, 1983: 44)

In 1857, the Supreme Court dealing with the Dred Scott [15] case (involving a slave who asked for his freedom on the grounds that his master had taken him into free territory) effectively cancelled the Missouri Compromise by ruling that all territories were open to slavery. The antislavery resistant John Brown, who in 1859 raided Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in a heroic, doomed effort to liberate slaves, was executed, but hailed as a martyred hero by the Northern abolitionists. He correctly predicted that slavery would fall only after "very much bloodshed".

[14] Henry David Thoreau, a famous American author, poet, philosopher, abolitionist, naturalist and tax resister was arrested and imprisoned in Concord for one night in 1846 because he protested against slavery and the Mexican War. He was totally against the spread of slavery in all territories. (https://www.walden.org/.../Civil_Disobedience)

[15] Dred Scott : (See Chapter One, Section 1.3.3 : in note 9 and Chapter three, Section 3.2)

2.2.2. Black Abolitionists

Much of the history of abolitionism devotes a great place to whites struggling to eradicate slavery, yet the black abolitionists instigated much of the effort given that the struggle was much more personal for black abolitionists, who wanted not only their freedom but equal rights as well. Many white abolitionists, while denouncing slavery as an institution, still could not accept blacks as their equals.

The first black woman, or woman of any color, to speak on political issues in public, Maria Stewart [16] gave her last public speech in 1833 before retiring to work only in women's organisations. Despite her very short lecturing career, it paved the African American women speakers'path. There were surely countless others who have remained unknown. Margaretta Forten [17], of the Forten family of black abolitionists, was inspired by the many people who visited her parents to join the abolitionist cause. Because membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society was denied to women, Forten and several other African American women helped to establish the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. She founded her own private grammar school for black students in Philadelphia in 1850 and spoke out against slavery.

Pennsylvania Hall was built as an abolitionist meeting place in 1838. In the previous

[16] In Richardson (1987: 140) The Original Text: "*In both formulation and articulation of ideas central to the emerging struggle for black freedom and human rights, Stewart was a forerunner to Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Frances Harper and generations of the most influential champions of black activists, male and female."*

[17] Margaretta Forten was one of 14 women who drafted the anti-slavery Society's constitution. She and other prominent activists such as Douglass, came well known abolitionists. "*She saw a need for an organization to support female activist.".(* Smith, Bracks and Wynn,2015,242)

years, the city's African American population had grown substantially, when freed and runaway slaves began to unite with the city's Quaker population in the struggle to end slavery.

Three days after the dedication of the Hall, it was the site of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women [18]. (Mankiller, 1998:1).As 3,000 white and black women gathered inside to hear prominent abolitionists. The mob returned the following day and burned the Hall.

Mob violence against abolitionists began to increase since they was seen as a threat to the social order. And increasingly in the 1840s, abolitionist leaders were escaped slaves, who had a more personal approach to the issue of slavery. The most famous of these were fugitive slaves from Maryland, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass, two of the most radical voices calling for an immediate end to slavery.

2.2.2.1. Harriet Tubman

Throughout the tumultuous 1850s, Harriet Tubman became known as a “conductor” on the Underground Railroad. Born a slave in Maryland, she endured the harsh existence of a hardworker in plantations, including brutal beatings. In 1849 she fled slavery, leaving her newly freed husband, and her family behind.(Foner and Garraty 1991: 40)

Despite a bounty on her head, saved by her native intelligence and courage, she returned to the South at least 19 times to lead her family and hundreds of other slaves to freedom via the Underground Railroad. Tubman also served as a scout, spy and nurse during

[18] Convention of American Women: One hundred and seventy-five women, from ten different states and representing twenty female antislavery groups, gathered in New York City to discuss their role in the American abolition movement including Lucretia Mott. (7countrysidecivilwar.weebly.com/impact-of-women)

the Civil War. She helped the fugitives and never abandoned them. Two things sustained her: the pistol at her side and her faith in God. She would not hesitate to use the pistol in self-defense, but it was also a symbol to instruct slaves, making it clear that "dead Negroes tell no tales." Timid slaves seemed to find courage in her presence; no one ever betrayed her. She affirmed her faith in God in her statement, "*I always tole God, I'm gwine to hole stiddy on to you, an' you've got to see me trou [through]*." (Federer, 2000:591). Tubman effectively collaborated with John Brown in 1858 in planning his attack on Harpers Ferry, a village in West Virginia. They met in Canada where she explained to him all she knew of the Underground Railroad in the East and advised him on the area where he was supposed to operate. Tubman's struggle against slavery did not end with the outbreak of the Civil War. Her services as nurse, scout, and spy were solicited by the Union government. For more than three years she nursed the sick and wounded in Florida and the Carolinas, tending whites and blacks, soldiers and contrabands.

2.2.4 Frederick Douglass, the Catalyst

The previous slave and great civil rights activist, Frederick Douglass, fought fiercely Slavery and its advocates and became the catalyst for change. Frederick Douglass was known as the Father of the abolitionist movement; he was the most exceptional black political and intelectual leader of his time. He became also the icon for the abolitionist movement, advising Presidents and lecturing thousands of causes of women's rights and slavery.

(Foner, 2003 : 61)

As many of people of the US in the nineteenth-century, Frederick Douglass fled from the atrocities of slavery to enjoy freedom, yet his unique and personal drive to reach justice for his race drove him to devote his life to the abolition of slavery and the peaceful movement of blacks fo their civil rights. (Foner, 2003 : 19)

His enthousiastic oratory and extraordinary accomplishments produced an impact that had not left the American President of that period, Abraham Lincoln, indifferent. He extended his influence throughout the U.S. through his writings since at the first of three autobiographies *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* [19], published in 1845, he recounts the horrour of his early life. He barely saw his mother who was a field hand in platations ; he had not enough clothes to cover his body, and had to eat from a trough like a farmyard animal. As he grew old enough to work he passed through a series of masters, some kind and some cruel.

In spite of his situation, Frederick Douglass managed to learn to read and write ; most of the time by bribing white little boys to incite them to teach him in exchange for bits of bread. Then, after he acquired basic literacy, Frederick Douglass started to approach the others, helping his fellow slaves to read and setting up a forbidden Sunday school. While he was gaining more knowledge of the world, he decided he would not remain passive and submitted to a life of slavery anymore. Indeed, in September 1838, he borrowed the identification papers of a free black sailor and boarded a train for the North. Setting up in New

[19] Douglass' work depicts how he became a powerful example of intellect, humanity and charisma undermining the racist views of the day. He made a strong moral case against slavery. Many were amazed to see a black man speaking with great eloquence and intellect; his powerful speeches challenged many people's views, prevalent at the time, that black men were racially inferior and could not be properly integrated into society. (Foner, 2003:20)

Bedford, Massachusetts, he managed to appropriate the name Frederick Douglass, relative to a character in Sir Walter Scott's epic poem, *The Lady in the Lake*. (Foner, 2003 :5)

In fact, he stands for the fight of the Blacks and the crown of the Black History. A month after President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, Frederick Douglass praised the outstanding moral impact of emancipation on all Americans.

> *"We are all liberated by this proclamation. Everybody is liberated. The white man is liberated, the black man is liberated, the brave men now fighting the battles of their country against rebels and traitors are now liberated… I congratulate you upon this amazing change—the amazing approximation toward the sacred truth of human liberty." (Masur, 2014 :11)*

Reaching freedom was simply the beginning of the path for Frederick Douglass. After a few years he became known worldwide as a great abolitionist, author, and orator. He published his narrative detailing his time as a slave, edited his own newspaper, and traveled throughout the United States and Britain lecturing on important civil rights and social justice topics. He was the single male delegate at the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention on women's rights to support the call for woman's suffrage. (Foner, 2003 :13) When the Civil War erupted in 1861, Douglass was twice invited to the White House to advise President Abraham Lincoln, and then acted as a recruiter for African American troops. (Foner, 2003 :22).

Eventually, one must note that Douglass owes his freedom to the famous network , the Underground Railroad, which helped free a considerable number of enslaved blacks in his

early years.

2.3. The Underground Railroad

Evangelical Methodists[20], Presbyterians, and Congregationalists subsequently joined the effort, which expanded to help greater numbers of escaped slaves find their way out of the South. Free blacks came to assume increasingly prominent roles in the movement, which became known as the Underground Railroad, not because it employed tunnels or trains but for the railroad language it employed. A "conductor" familiar with the local area would spirit one or more slaves to a "station," typically the home of a sympathising "stationmaster," then to another station, and so on, until the slaves reached free territory.

The slaves would normally travel under cover of darkness, usually about 16 to 32 kilometers per night. This was extremely dangerous work. Conductors and slaves faced harsh punishment or death if they were captured. The most famous conductor was a woman, an escaped African-American slave named Harriet Tubman. (Stein, 2010:47) After reaching freedom in 1849, Tubman returned to the South on some 20 Underground Railroad missions that rescued about 300 slaves, including Tubman's own sister, brother, and parents. (Stein, 2010:49) She was a master of disguise, posing at times as a harmless old woman or a deranged old man. No slave in Tubman's care was ever captured. African Americans

[20] David Torbett's *Theology and Slavery* explains: " *there was a radically egalitarian dimension to evangelicalism that formed the basis of evangelical opposition to slavery. (Leonard Sweet "nineteenth Century evangelicalism"* in Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience. Vol.2 of studies of Traditions and Movements, ed. Charles Lippy and Peter Williams (New York. Charles Scribners' Sons, 1988) 894- 895.

looking Northward called her "Moses," and the Ohio River that divided slave states from free states in parts of the nation the "River Jordan," biblical references to reaching the Promised Land. Slaveholders offered a huge reward for her capture, and John Brown called her "General Tubman."

In 1850, a sectional political compromise resulted in the passage of a new and stronger Fugitive Slave Law. While many Northern states had quietly declined to enforce the previous statute, this new law established special commissioners authorised to enforce in federal court slave-masters' claims to escaped slaves. It imposed heavy penalties on federal marshals who failed to enforce its terms, and on anyone who gave assistance to an escaped slave. The Underground Railroad now was forced to adopt more aggressive tactics, including daring rescues of blacks from courtrooms and even from the custody of federal marshals. While the numbers of agents, stationmasters, and conductors was relatively small, their efforts freed tens of thousands of slaves. (Hudson, 2002:161). Their selfless bravery helped spark an increase in Northern antislavery sentiment. That response, and Northern resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, convinced many white Southerners that the North would not permanently accept a half-slave nation.

Beside those harsh activists and the famous Underground Railroad, this period knew the advent of men whose political journeys relied largely on the issue of Slavery ; the most determining man appeared in the mid 19th C and had an extraordinary influence on the American history. One cannot dissociate the issue of Slavery from a political centerpiece, Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the US in that period of time; this is the reason why this research focuses on this landmark personality.

2.4. The Issue of Slavery and Lincoln's Early Speeches

2.4.1."The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions" Speech 1838

When giving a lecture in a lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, he was only twenty nine, a young lawyer with strong convictions. Lincoln, in his speech entitled "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions, "on January 27, 1838 in Illinois, implored his fellow citizens to replace those old pillars with new ones based on reason; the young Abraham was highly fascinated by the logical spirit of the founding fathers (Jaffa, 2000 : 343) . Yet, he was aware that this kind of recommendation could barely attain the traditional spirits of the audience. Lincoln took the event of the assassination of Lovejoy [21], a Presbyterian minister and an abolitionist editor in 1837, as an opportunity to treat smartly but very superficially the point of injustice towards the black people; indeed, Abolitionism became a hot topic in Illinois in late 1837.

According to Paul Simon, Lincoln's chronicler, almost three months after Lovejoy's terrible murder, with an extreme caution, Lincoln attempted to denounce mob violence in general terms, without mentioning any name, pointing out examples in New England, Louisiana, Mississippi, and St. Louis; it was an early substantive proof that represented his loyalty to two great principles: fairness and courage.

[21] Lovejoy Elijah parish was an abolitionist journalist and the founder of a Presbyterian gradualist abolitionist newspaper, the *St Louis Observer*, in 1833. However, in 1836, he was forced by changing the site and going to Illinois where he founded the *Alton Observer*, which was destroyed three times, for he urged for an immediate emancipation of the slaves. Eventually, he was killed while defending the site of his antislavery newspaper in 1837, but "*His killing provided a source of effective propaganda in the Northern states*. (Harmer, 2014: 166)

Despite the compromise of the restitution of the slaves who were running away their promoters in 1850, the tension did not cease from growing; the Northerners could not swallow that horrible law; on the contrary, they continued to help them escape from the ruthless owners. They refused to be accomplice in the capture of impotent slaves.

Some important states refused to become a free territory as Kansas. The three neighboring states were free territories, so Kansas risked following them anyway. Consequently, the delegates of the Missouri in Congress supported by the Southerners froze all the efforts intending to organize the region. Thereby, the situation worsened with the apparition of an exasperating project that foresaw the creation of two territories, Kansas, and Nebraska through the promulgation of "*The Kansas-Nebraska Act*" [22] on May 30, 1854. The very inhabitants had to determine whether they would join the Union as Free States or the Pro-Slavery.

In the same year, Lincoln could not help approaching explicitly that sensitive issue with an admirable courage. He could be aware enough to foresee the danger of division threatening the unity of the nation; this is why he took the firm decision of doing everything in his power, at the first opportunity: it was during his Speech in Peoria.

[22] The Nebraska- Kansas Act : See also Chapter One , Sections 1.1 and 1.7.3.

A map representing the free states, the slaves states, and the territories of popular sovereignty subject to disputes and source of the North South conflict at the beginning of the 1850s. (www.cioccahistory.pbworks.com/w/page/13053955).

2.4.2. "The Peoria Speech" 1854

Abraham Lincoln had always regarded slavery as an evil. Time arrived when he felt that it was his duty to patently express it. In his discourse, in Peoria, Illinois the 16th of October 1854, he declared that all the laws concerning the internal affairs should have laid on the principle of the limitation and the radical suppression of slavery. He also supported that the principle of the sovereignty of the people was wrong because the issue of slavery in the West did not concern the inhabitants of the region solely, but rather all states.

The 1854 speech marked Lincoln's initial confrontation with the decisive question of slavery expansion. It was in fact the first time that he focused on it so strongly. That discourse rendered him famous in the whole growing West. It was considered as a turning point of his political career and of the nation as well. People henceforth knew who Lincoln was indeed. Here are pieces of the speech against the "*Kansas-Nebraska Act"*:*"What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man, without that other's consent. I say this is the leading principle - the sheet anchor of American republicanism…"* (Basler, 1953: 266).

Another factual piece that is worth mentioning:

> *" Little by little, but steadily as man's march to the grave; we have been giving up the old for the new faith. Nearly eighty years ago we began by declaring that all men are created equal, but now from that beginning we have run down to the other declaration, that for some men to enslave others is a 'sacred right of self-government.' These principles cannot stand together. They are as opposite as God and Mammon; and whoever holds to the one must despise the other. "* (Basler, 1953: 275)

This speech was exceptional. It looked like a preach, full of common sense, and wisdom, yet, the orator was a politician. Only two years later, Lincoln was a candidate against a Democrat, Stephen. A. Douglass, in the senatorial elections of Illinois. Douglass was accused of seeking for pleasing those of the South for the sake of presidency in 1856. The Southern region welcomed with enthusiasm that project. This unfortunate initiative had disastrous incomes.

The Whig Party of which Abraham Lincoln was a member that had avoided dealing with the issue of slavery extension, fell apart, leaving the place to another organization, the Republican Party, which claimed foremost that slavery would be banned in all the territories. Despite the failure of the Whig party, it gained a great deal of Northern voices; this step will strongly contribute to paving a favorable ground for the fight against slavery. Among the ranks emerged the first Republican Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln decided to shake people for the second time in his political career; he introduced his historical discourse by an important paragraph setting out a crucial point that contributed to change the course of the American history. He was more than never determined. The title reflects a part of the speech's introduction, "*A house divided against itself cannot stand*." [23] Later, he addressed the American population at different occasions in different regions through some speeches where he clearly displayed his stance toward slavery.

[23] House Divided Speech (See Chapter One, Section 1.7.2.)

2.5. "The Cooper Union Speech" 1860 that made Lincoln President

In February, 1860, Lincoln addressed his longest and most direct discourse in regard to the issue of slavery at the great hall of the Cooper Union. [23] He clearly explains that the South states were those that deviated from the Constitution and the Republican Party tried to protect and to wore the mantle of the founding fathers.

> *"To further complicate matters, careful study reveals the complex Cooper Union address itself to be, in a sense, three distinct speeches in one, each ingeniously calculated to validate the antislavery platform of Lincoln's Republican party through completely different approaches: legal precedent, a hearty dose of ironic challenge, and a dazzling coda of inspiring political faith*." (Holzer, 2004:4)

Holzer explains Lincoln's goal was to "*prove historically what he had long argued politically: that the extension of slavery was wrong*" and that it contradicted the founding Fathers' intentions. (2004:4)

Coming back to the remaining sixteen signers of the Constitution who did not leave later votes, Lincoln argued that fifteen of them opposed slavery and left "significant hints" that they would have voted to restrict it from the territories if given the opportunity to do

[23] The Cooper Union Speech is considered one of his most important speeches. Some have argued it was responsible for making him President. In the speech, Lincoln elaborated his views on Slavery , affirming that he did not wish it to be expanded into the western territories and claiming that the Founding Fathers would agree with this position.

so. (2004:128). In the end he announced a thirty-six to three decision from the framers that Congress could ban slavery in the territories.

2.6. Slavery and President Lincoln

Slavery is the major subject in Lincoln's *First Inaugural Address* in March 4th, 1861, for at the heart of his address was the secession crisis and slavery was at the heart of the division crisis. Lincoln did not waste time bring up the subject. Starting in the third sentence, he tried to help keep the country from descending into a civil war.

> "*Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection.* " (Hodge and Nolan, 2007: 392)

Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency as a Republican in November, 1860 was not welcomed by the Southern slave states, especially when Lincoln's confesses his stance toward slavery : "*Whenever I hear any one arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.*" (March 17, Basler ,1865: 361).

Those states saw the Republicans as not supportive of keeping the institution of slavery alive in the South, or even worse, as a group of abolitionists who wanted to set all the slaves free. Abraham Lincoln wanted to calm the leaders of these states and keep them from

seceding from the United States, so he tried to put them at ease in his First Inaugural Address [24] on March 4th, 1861 « *One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought to be extended. »* (Jaffa, 2000 :343)

President Lincoln addressed many times directly to the Southern states in the House Divided Speech and his First Inaugural Address, saying that he only wants to talk about the big issue that he knows everyone cares about. For the sake of avoiding division, he notes by reassuring that he and his government will uphold the constitutionally-protected laws of the country, including the issue of slavery in the South. He also says that even though there is disagreement whether the Fugitive Slave Act should be enforced by the states or the federal government, that should not be a reason for the Southern states to panic. Above all, President Lincoln stresses that the country could not legally be broken up and that the Constitution binds the states together.

Furthermore, President Lincoln says that signing the Constitution is like signing a 'contract.' In other words, unless all states choose to dissolve the contract, no one state or group of states is allowed to leave. The President wants the South to know that the North

[24] Slavery is the major topic in President Lincoln's *First Inaugural Address* because the sectional crisis was at the heart of his address and slavery was at the heart of the sectional crisis; Lincoln was aware of the seriousness of the issue likely to lead the nation to division. He alluded to the awful Dred Scott decision (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2.3) without mentioning any name. He was very cautious to avoid any direct provocation.

will not agree to let them violate the contract by seceding from the United States.

Finally, President Lincoln addresses the issue with slavery moving into the territories that were not yet states, but that would one day become states. President Lincoln knew that the slave states were worried that new states would mostly choose to be free, and once there were enough free states, those states would have the votes in Congress to band together and to end slavery by law. He points out that even though the Constitution does not answer what to do about slavery in the territories, the Supreme Court will help to answer that question, and the states must come together and compromise about what to do in order to deal with the minority of slave states. Still, he also alludes to the infamous *Dred Scott decision* of 1857 and advanced the controversial notion that the U.S. Supreme Court was not the final arbiter of the constitution and the majority cannot decide for the minority he knew he had to be careful and to take into account every small sentence. (Jaffa, 2000 :397)

President Lincoln eventually tells the Southern states that they can choose to peacefully work with the free states to come up with a solution, but, if they are dangerously obstinate and they secede from the United States, the President will have to answer that aggression in order to protect the U.S. A from breaking up. He asks them, and everyone in the United States, to choose to be friends rather than enemies and not to pursue any actions that could lead to a civil war. *"I hold, that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual."* (Stout,2006:12)

2.7. Emancipation Proclamation January 1, 1863

The South felt the threat after Lincoln's *First Inaugural Address* and did not want to lose a whole institution that is source of Southerners' wealth and welfare. Some months after Lincoln's speech, some slave states announced their will of secession from the American nation. President ignored their act and banned their reaction firmly, knowing very well that other states would start imitating them. The Civil War was not intended to abolish slavery; it was for the sake of preserving the Union of the emancipation of slavery was equally a masterpiece of the American course of history. Having been the origin of the conflict threatening the American union, the proclamation of Emancipation has eventually turned into a means of attaining the abolition of slavery. Lincoln confessed modestly that he felt very proud to have been able to contribute humbly to a florescence that his eyes probably would never see. In 1863 a huge crowd invaded the hence of the White House. Black people were from all kinds. They waited for their tour after the departure of ministries, ambassadors, journalists. They called him "Master Lincken". They wept out of happiness. They were able to approach that unique man who had been tired from shaking white hands. (Hofstadter and Gray, 1955:107)

Lincoln understood the complexity of the problem. Slavery represented for the planters their tool for living. Without them, there was no cotton, no rice… Lincoln was obsessed with the future more than the present. It is never enough to repeat that he had had the fantastic intuition of the unique practical solution. The planters needed to be indemnified and

it was necessary to obtain from them to educate the workforce. At the same time it was crucial to keep all the states in the US, make white people accept freely though progressively that total change, and rely on the time. It is in regard to wisdom and fairness more than the generosity of his heart that Lincoln has deserved to be called "Liberator".

Eventually, his initiative has taken the form of "*Emancipation Act".* The act had been signed after the first half-victory on January 1, 1863. It stated that he ordered that any slave in a state or a part of a state which is against the government was henceforth free. Although it was considered as a military measure which is completely true because of the flood of slaves that had joined the Northerners' ranks, no one could ignore that that initiative was a remarkable plot for linking judiciously emancipation with the fate of the American Union.

The most important testimony is Lincoln's when he told Albert Hodges, the editor of the Frankfort Commonwealth and Thomas Bramlette, the 23rd Governor of Kentucky in 1864:" *If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong, I did not remember when I did not so think and feel*."(Basler, 1953: 281)

To understand well why Emancipation took a long time to be enacted, one should know that although Abraham Lincoln had early the deep conviction of the legitimacy of the African American freedom, he had in fact acquired progressively enough courage and strength to make such decisions. He was carefully and wisely approaching the aim, step by step, awaiting people's spirits to get used to this new idea. "*I did not think that the people had been quite educated up to it…"* (Guenzo, 2009:126) addressing McClintock. He was a patient man who knew when to react and firmly when necessary. Avoiding the spread of slavery was his priority before declaring explicitly his intent to abolish it. Lincoln "*saw the time of emancipation coming*" and was "*quick to see the tendency of the public mind*," said Lincoln's

earliest serious biographer, Josiah G. Holland, He was *(in a more recent version by Lawanda Cox) cautious, advancing one step at a time, and indirect, exerting influence behind the scenes*." (Guenzo,2009:126)

Speaking to a packed house at New York's Cooper Institute, Douglass insisted, as many anti-slavery reformers had long done, that the Emancipation Proclamation was a first step towards healing a nation regretfully diseased by the evil institution of slavery. He was from the first who called for immediate emancipation in 1863.(Hozer 2004: 244). Once the Emancipation proclaimed, President Lincoln needed to reinforce this document by a constitutional law. Effectively, the Congress voted and passed the Thirteenth Amendment that could legally ban Slavery all over the American Country.

2.8. The Thirteenth Amendment

President Lincoln and the Congress established the "*Thirteenth Amendmen*t", which outlawed slavery and involuntary servants, relying on mainly a legislation solution, and not only on war power because he was convinced that law was the strongest weapon and therefore, more reliable and sustainable. "The *Thirteenth Amendment*" was indisputable; it was passed by both the Senate and the House by the end of 1864, but was not adopted till December 6th , 1865, some months after his death assassination. The ratified Thirteenth Amendment states :

"Section 1: Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2: Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."
(Nelson,2015 :1580)

Some months before the outbreak of the Civil War, in February 1861, Congress had passed a Thirteenth Amendment for an entirely different purpose willing to guarantee legality and continuity of slavery in the slave states, rather than to ban it. Although the Thirteenth Amendment guaranteeing slavery was narrowly passed by both houses, the Civil War started before it could be sent to the states for ratification.

But the new version of the Thirteenth Amendment, the one ending slavery, evolved as follows. After being passed during the Civil War years, and when Southern congressional representatives were not present for debate, it could not have easily passed both the House of Representatives and the Senate. As a matter of fact, although passed in April 1864 by the Senate, with a vote of 38 to 6, the required two-thirds majority was defeated in the House of Representatives by a vote of 93 to 65 (Eisenstark and Weber 2010 :80). Abolishing slavery was almost exclusively a Republican party effort given that only four Democrats voted for it.

Thus, before the end of Civil War, Congress sent to the states for ratification, the Thirteenth Amendment which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude and authorized Congress to enact "appropriate legislation" implementing the abolition. The Amendment was understood to also make blacks citizens of the United States. When the vote was announced the galleries cheered, congressmen [25] embraced and wept out of relieve. George Julian, a

[25] The original text: “The constitutional majority of two thirds having voted in the affirmative, the Joint Resolution is passed.” The speaker of the House considered February 1, 1865, the day he signed the House resolution, the happiest day of his life. (Goodwin, 2006:689)

politician, lawyer and writer who served in Congress from Indiana, wrote in his diary, "*I have felt, ever since the vote, as if I were in a new country*." (Norton and Sheriff, 2011:430). Ratification by the states quickly followed, and Secretary of State Seward proclaimed the Amendment adopted on December18, 1865.

Some months after ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, Congress used its power to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1866 [26], giving black American people the same right in all the states, stopping considering them as a personal property; acquiring equal benefits of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizens.

2.9. Conclusion

The Abolitionist movement all over the American territory was a great effort to end the old institution in a nation that gives value to personal freedom and believes that "all men are created equal." Thus, over time, abolitionists grew stronger in their demands, and the rigid slave owners were intractable, encouraging regional division that ultimately led to the unavoidable civil war. Effectively, the period of the 19th C knew some outstanding and influential activists struggling against the old institution of Slavery, considered as a deadly issue synonym of a social trouble as well as a financial one; in other words, it was a dangerous taboo throughout the American society, mostly in the Southern region. Nevertheless, human activists different in race and gender, helped shape great success in abolition of slavery; the whites were more persistent, indeed.

[26] In Rutherglend's work , the original text testifies about the complementarity of the events. "*The 1866 Act was the first of many steps taken by the Congress to fulfill this task. The Thirteenth Amendment confirmed the emancipation of the slaves,..*" (2013, 6)

Both white and black abolitionists followed a variety of tactics to combat slavery and win their natural and civil rights. Within a nation being half slave and half free, one obvious strategy was to help slaves acquire the spirit of restituting freedom. Members of several religious groups took the lead. Why were white women abolitionists more numerous than the black ones? The answer is simple. The activities of all women especially the blacks in the 19th century were restricted by social convention, yet white women had more freedom than black women to move, and were more likely to have the income to support themselves while doing abolitionist work. After the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 African American women, even in the North, were at risk of capture if someone alleged that they were escaped slaves. In fact, the atrocities of slavery affected many people, some of which could not remain indifferent. Effective Activists emerged at a low speed but with solid principles and contributions. Shortly afterwards, they were followed and supported by the birth of the Republican Party whose members included the future President of the United States of America, Abraham Lincoln. In 1863, he proclaimed the emancipation of Slavery, seeking to push the blacks escape the plantations in the South and eventually join the ranks of the Union that was in terrible difficulties at its third year in war. The abolition of Slavery, in fact, needed to be supported by a more legal document to be spread all over the territories and thus, had been constitutionally formalised thanks to the establishment of the Thirteenth Amendment, in December 1865.

CHAPTER THREE

STRATEGIES FOR SAVING THE AMERICAN UNION

CHAPTER THREE

Strategies for Saving the American Union

3. 1 Introduction

The strategies involved for the achievement of the preservation of the American Union were fundamentally based on the issue of Slavery. While the old institution had been the origin of the North South conflict, it had also been the element that helped the Union win the war opposing the North and the South against division thanks to the Emancipation of Slavery. After the election of the candidate, Abraham Lincoln as President in November 1860, the South Carolina Convention passed an Ordinance of Secession soon imitated by six Southern States in the respective order: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. Their secession from the American Union was followed by four others. (Volo 2009: 30). The Southern states created a Confederacy[1], which actually asked for its independence, but President Lincoln, determined to protect and preserve the American Union at all costs, rejected firmly their demand. Consequently, two months later, the Civil War broke out.

[1] In *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalists,* Escott explains that the Confederacy would never surrender and was decided to fight for the necessary time « *however the enemy persisted* » (1992 :47)

In fact, several reasons had grounded the Southern states' apprehension that led them to resign from the American United States; among them was the increase of the feeling of the duty to abolish the blacks among the Northerners' ranks. The enslaved people, whether in the North or in the South, felt encouraged and started to believe in. While the whites fought for the American reunification, to the eyes of the blacks, the struggle through the Civil War soon turned into a war of freedom. President Lincoln 's first message to Congress in 1860 was to think of a vast future, and to struggle in order to give all men "*a fair chance in the race of life*". (Sandage, 2009 :221)

In fact, the Union Army was overdue at its third year of war, so Lincoln had to launch Emancipation to enable the African slaves leave the plantations in the South and join the Union Army as Soldiers to reinforce it. Inside the American United States, the change caused by the war was unexpectedly very profound. In 1861, even those who were against slavery were not convinced that generations of slavery could be ended overnight and former slaves and slaveholders would be able to live together. The suffering of the Union forces favoured the conditions in which Abraham Lincoln felt driven by the power to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. « *The Union, briefly and precariously balanced between despair and hope, between defeat and victory, was willing in 1862 to accept that bold decision as a strategy of war and to enlist volunteers from among black Americans. »* (Dickson 2008: 130). First, the war ended with the victory of the Union. Lincoln continued to apply other strategies such as the of Reconstruction[2] plan including Amnesty and Compensation Plan, which started to take effect during the war to help the Southern owners of government as far as they do not resist the plan of the gradual Reconstruction.

[2] Compensation and Reconstruction (See Chapter 3, Sections 3. 3.7. and 3.3.9.)

3.2 The Grounds of the North South Conflict

No doubt that the central issue of divisiveness was the degree of spread of Slavery in the new American territories and the imbalance between the North and the South economically, slavery being the Southerners' source of wealth. On the contrary, the North advanced in technological industry, which stopped the Northerners reliance on the slaves, especially that they were sustained by religious abolitionist organisations. (Aggard 2010 :99). Nevertheless, to understand better the course of the events before the nation's falling into the conflict, a series of chronological political driving forces, Inventions, Decisions, Acts and Events that grounded the North- South conflict must be underlined:

- Whitney's Cotton Gin

By the end of the 18th C, Whitney's Cotton Gin[3] changed greatly the events' course. As a matter of fact, cotton became a lucrative crop and a major export for the South. Before the advent of Whitney's Cotton Gin , Cotton needed a great number of slaves'hands that had to separate the sticky and embedded seeds. After the advent of this machine, the work moved forward quickly, but the increasing number of farms involved more slaves any way. Thus, the South defended the proslavery position as if they defended their lives. For the Southerners,

[3] The impact of the machine was crucial and determining in the South's economy. « *The slave population in the United States increased nearly five-fold in the first half of the 19th Century, and by 1860, the South provided about two-thirds of the world's cotton supply. Southern wealth had become reliant on this one crop and thus was completely dependent on slave-labor*. » (http://www.civilwar.org/resources/civil-war-history-how-the.html)

protecting the institution of Slavery was primordial for their economic survival. It soon became a national issue that led to the Civil War. (Mc Neese 2003 : 6)

- The Division of the Whig Party

The Whig Party was an American political party of the liberal right, created during the winter 1833-1834 to oppose the President Andrew Jackson's policies. It included members of the National-Republican Henry Clay and as John Quincy Adams and supporters of the right of states against the federal government. The party was dissolved in the 1850s, torn between pro- and anti-slavery .The Whig party had never taken a clear stand against slavery. The short-lived party, "Free Soil" [4] (1848- 1854) created to counter the Democratic Party, traditional support of the slave South adversary of slavery, had an influence on the extension of the abolitionist movement in the North. (Mitchell 2001 : 9) Finally, his former members created the Republican Party to replace the Free Soil Party.

- The Three Fifths Compromise:

It was a compromise between Southern and Northern states reached during Philadelphia Convention of 1787. It stated that the 3/5 of the slaves would be counted for Representation in the US. By that count, the Southerners over passed by far the Northerners since there was a huge number of slaves in the South for the labour work. It played a great role which was in favour of the Southerners. Since slaves could not vote, slaveholders would thus have the

[4] The *Free Soil*, an influential party, ended in 1854 : « *Earlier in the Year, Adams had been instrumental in an attempt to recognise the free Soil Party on an anti-slavery, anti-know Nothing basis. Hesitation, procrastination, and difference of opinion among party leaders eventually undermined the effort and its collapse marked the end of the Free Soil party in the state*. » (Gienapp 1987 : 213)

benefit of increased representation in the House and the Electorate.

- "Fugitive Slave Act" and Uncle Tom's Cabin :

The adoption of a federal law requiring pursuing runaway slaves the "*Fugitive Slave Act*" [5] of 1850, -which was part of the Compromise of 1850, had led Harriet Beecher Stowe[6], a young American woman outraged by that cruelty, to publish a tremendously successful serialized novel, "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*" that helped the lay of the groundwork of " *the Civil War*".

- Compromise of 1850 :

In December 1849, the U.S.-Mexican War had just ended, increasing the size of the states. A huge problem emerged. Should slavery be admitted into the new territories acquired from the war? The new Compromise of 1850 provided for the admission of California under Free State, i.e. without slaves. This entry was compensated by the organisation of two new territories, Utah and New Mexico, on land acquired during the war against Mexico where the principle of popular sovereignty predominated its territories and could thus decide on the adoption of slavery**.** (Waugh, 1987 :4)

- The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 :

Two new territories, Kansas and Nebraska, have been debated in Illinois, in which the principle of popular sovereignty would be applied, i.e. the new Member States shall take a position towards slavery. Two years after the establishment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of

[5] *The Fugitive Slave Act :* See Chapter 1, Section 1.2.3.

[6] Harriet Beecher Stow : See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.2.

1854, the issue violently opposed slavery and abolitionist settlers: there had been looting and burning of the city of Lawrence, Kansas, slavery in the state of Missouri beside the aggression of Senator abolitionist, Charles Sumner. (Zelizer, 2004 :134)

- Buchanan Election:

In 1856, the Republican candidate for presidency, John C. Fremont received enough votes to ensure his position in the electoral system of the United States. However, he did not obtain electoral votes to be raised to the Presidency, and James Buchanan, a Northern Democrat with Southern principles is elected the 15th American President who served in office from March 4, 1857 to March 4, 1861 .Then, he asked Congress to admit Kansas into the Union as a slave state, a proposal that offended the *Yankees* [7] . (Maltby, 2008 :76)

- Dred Scott Case:

Strong dissatisfaction reigned when the Supreme Court of the United States declared on the7th of March, 1857, regarding the Dred Scott Case[8], a complaint slave claiming for his freedom, that the Constitution of the United States could not give Congress any power to prohibit the slavery in the territories. Few incidents later of the same kind, heightened

[7] Yankees : for the American people, the Yankees are the Northerners, for the foreigners, the Americans are called also Yankees. (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 5th edtion)

[8] Dred Scott Case : See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.

tensions within the Union.

- John Brown Case:

On the 16th and 18th of October, 1859, the anti-slavery John Brown [9] (1800-1859), an American revolutionary abolitionist, advocated and practised armed insurrection as a means to abolish slavery in the United States. His small army of thirteen white men, three of his son, and five black men attacked the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry in Virginia located on Potomac Street. The attack had been neutralised, and on November 2nd, 1859, John Brown was sentenced to death by hanging, after fifty five minutes of deliberation.

- Election of the Republican Abraham LINCOLN

The division of the Democrats secured the election of the Republican Abraham Lincoln, known as a notorious antislavery man, and in favour of centralisation of power, on November 6, 1860, the16th President of the US. Knowing his antislavery position, not a single Southern state has given his voice to the man of the North. In Pennington's opinion, the last factor was the one that had cancelled any doubt in the spirits of the Southerners, and led to the breakdown of the North South relationship, hence the Southern States' Secession: « *Besides bringing on South Carolina's secession, Lincoln's election also brought resolutions of secession. He did not make any major effort to assure the South that he would not end slavery...* » (2011 :53). The election of Abraham Lincoln is considered as a major cause of the declaration of secession that led to the Civil War.

[9] John Brown See Chapter 2, Section: 2.2.3

3.3. The Outbreak of Secession

South Carolina was the first to secede from the Union in December 1860. After her secession, it began to react as an independent state, attempting to protect her sovereignty by excluding any Command of the Union and getting rid of the intolerable presence of the Union forces in an armed fortress at Fort Sumter, in the Charleston. According to President Lincoln, the voluntary abandonment of this garrison was equally intolerable as it would be a clear acknowledgment of South Carolina's independence. The Southern states willing to secede from the Union created a Confederacy in February, 1861 and appointed Jefferson Davis as President :

> *"We do further declare and ordain, that the union now subsisting between the State of North Carolina and the other States under the title of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved, and that the State of North Carolina is in the full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State."*(Connery 2011 :42)

By February 1, 1861, six more Southern states had seceded. On February 7, the seven states adopted a provisional constitution for the Confederate States of America. Four others followed, but their belonging to the Confederate was not long. The remaining southern states remained in the Union. (See the table below of the seceding states).

State	Date of Secession from the Union
South Carolina	Dec. 20, 1860
Mississippi	Jan. 9, 1861
Florida	Jan. 10, 1861
Alabama	Jan. 11, 1861
Georgia	Jan.19, 1861
Louisiana	Jan 26, 1861
Creation of Confederacy	**Feb 4, 1861**
Texas	March 2, 1861
Virginia	April 17, 1861
Arkansas	May 6, 1861
North Carolina	May 20, 1861
Tennessee	June 8, 1861

The reference of the table containing the date of secession of each confederate state in USA (1860/1861). (Berkin, Miller, Chemi and Gormly 2014 :329)

3.4. Lincoln's Handling of the Conflict

Before the military measures were applied, any kind of compromise with the Southern States was refused. Thus, President Lincoln gave his First Inaugural Address on March 4th, 1861, in which he vainly addressed the Southerners, attempting to persuade them to take the wisest decision, and to abandon the idea of secession. Indeed, Lincoln was intransigent in taking decisions. On April 15, after the confederate states' secession, Lincoln asked for troops to suppress the rebellion. He managed to obtain seventy five thousand voluntary loyalists to defend the preservation of the Union. (Rees, 2013 :17)

Between April 17 and May 21, 1861, beside Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas and South Carolina, four new states joined the Confederacy: Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. On April 19, Lincoln ordered the blockade of the ports of the Confederate States and prohibited trade with them. In June, 1861 at the same time remain supporter of slavery four states in the Union. Lincoln had been very cautious to preserve the loyalty of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri; he was bond to point out that it was not a war for abolishing slavery, but only for preserving the union. It was crucial for Lincoln to ensure the support of some towns like Maryland which provided a vital railway junction to the Midwest. (Straub 1988 :170). Kentucky and Missouri also played an important role in military strategy of the North because they controlled access to the valleys of the Mississippi, Tennessee, and Cumberl and through which the Union forces could go to reach the heart of the Confederation. (Lyon, 1999 :34).

To ensure the loyalty of Maryland, Union troops occupied Baltimore and imposed martial law. Kentucky sought to keep its neutrality, but in September 1861, when Confederate

troops crossed the state, it overwhelmingly supported the cause of the Union. (Mackey 2012). For Lincoln, Kentucky's neutrality was primordial and crucial to win the war. *« He explained to a friend on September 22nd, 1861, " I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, I think, Maryland "...* » (Mackey, 2012:39). In Missouri, the Union troops helped protect the state by pushing the governor who defended the confederates into exile. Finally, Virginia's western counties renounced order of secession, formed a provisional government and, in 1863, were admitted to the Union as the new State.

President Abraham Lincoln considered that moment was the right one to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, a declaration of freeing all slaves, drafted first on July 22, 1862, then, on September 22, 1862, by Lincoln who went cautiously through some gradual steps to become more persuasive after preparing all those around him. By that, the ranks of the union would be strengthened by the uprising of each slave in all the American territories. As a matter of fact, to counteract the creation of special battalion called *Buffalo*[10] *Soldiers* constituted solely of Blacks in the rival camps, Lincoln aimed at taking advantage from the black workers, attracting them through offering them freedom, and consequently dispersing the Southern forces. On the other side, the blacks would have a chance to share the fight for their own freedom against the Southerners, which would make them more committed to the cause.

The table above points out that "*The Proclamation Emancipation*" was crucial.

[10] *Buffalo Soldiers* were former slaves who formed the ninth and tenth cavalries. In the African American Historic Place, the author sates they were called *Buffalo Soldiers* by the Apache Indians during the conflict period between the US Union Army and the Apaches. (Savage, 1994 :484)

Several states started seceding, which was considered as an alarm signal. Effectively, this resulted in the creation of the Independent Confederated States was perceived as a real danger and a threat to the Union.

As the union forces started to be weakened and the United States was at the edges of their third year of suffering from the Civil War, this attempt was comprehensible, and, above all highly judicious. It was not an easy task for him at all, but "*The Emancipation Proclamation*", becoming effective at last on January 1st, 1863, declared *"that all persons held as slaves*" within the rebellious states "*are, and henceforth shall be free".* (Wine and Harold 2004 :175) It was the declaration of freedom for all slaves including those in areas of the Confederation that are not under the control of the Union. From that legislation, the slaves started fleeing their owners and rebelled against them. That was exactly Lincoln's expectation, and his target :

> "*One reason that Lincoln's example remains so influential is that he wielded power as commander in chief so successfully, achieving the national government's war aims. His decisions were the single most important factor in saving the Union. If he had not taken the steps he did, without congressional authorization, especially the decision to initiate coercion immediately after the firing upon Fort Sumter, it is quite likely that secession would have succeeded".*(Cardozo, 2008: 929)

Lincoln did not forget his contempt over slavery; he merely had enough wisdom to wait the appropriate moment. The fates of "Union" and "Abolition" were henceforth becoming linked.

3.5. The Steps of Emancipation

The Emancipation Proclamation is undoubtedly one of the most important documents in the history of the United States, for it was one of the most influential and crucial element in determining the American nation's fate throughout the 19th C. Lincoln actually issued the Emancipation Proclamation twice. President Abraham Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862. It stipulated that if the Southern states did not stop immediately their rebellion by January 1, 1863, then Proclamation would go into effect by January 1, 1863. (Kingseed, 2004 :49)

When the Confederacy refused, Lincoln issued the final Emancipation Proclamation on January 1st, 1863President Lincoln explained that the Emancipation Proclamation was issued as a war measure intended to hamper the Confederacy. Being cautious to respect the bounds of his authority, Lincoln launched the Emancipation Proclamation only in the Southern states that were in rebellion.

At first, Lincoln's advisors did not welcome the Emancipation. When President Lincoln proposed it to his cabinet in July 1862, many of the secretaries were reluctant, or worse, worried that the Proclamation was too abrupt. Thanks to Lincoln's firm conviction of the necessity and justice of the Proclamation, and after the end of the *Battle Antietam* [11], he finally managed to persuade his cabinet members to support him. In fact the Union Army was suffering, but Lincoln issued the emancipation at the moment of victory to encourage

[11] The Battle of Antiem also called the battle of Shurpsburg, in Maryland, remains the bloodiest day in the American history, with more than twenty-two thousand soldiers killed or wounded..Five days after Antiem, on September 22, Lincoln went public. (bailey, 38). He issued the preliminary proclamation of Emancipation.

their forces after seeing the enemy retreating. (Woog, 2009 :36). President Lincoln had first suggested the Emancipation to his Cabinet in July 1862, but Secretary of State, William Seward proposed waiting for a Union victory so that the government could prove that it could impose the Proclamation. The Battle of Antietam revealed very hard; however, the Union army managed to drive the Confederates out of Maryland and Lincoln felt comfortable to issue the Emancipation a few days later; it was a firm demonstration of Lincoln. The Southern states used slaves to support their armies on the field and to manage the home front so more men could go off to fight. In a display of his political genius, President Lincoln judiciously justified the emancipation as a "*fit and necessary war measure*" in order to hamper the Confederacy's use of slaves in the war effort. Lincoln also declared that the Proclamation would be enforced under his power as Commander in Chief, and that the freedom of the slaves would be maintained by the executive government of the United States. (Cameron, 2014 :223). Until September 1862, the major concern of the war had been to preserve the Union, but with the establishment of the Emancipation, freedom become a legitimate aim for the slaves.

Besides, the Emancipation of Slavery helped prevent foreign nations' interference in the Civil War. France and Britain had first thought about supporting the confederate states for the sake of assuring the expansion of their influence and increasing their interests in the Western Hemisphere.

[12] In Howard Jones' work : *Blue and Gray Diplomacy : A History of Union and Confederate Foreign Relations,* the original text states that the *nation* had to maintain "*a force sufficient* really to *prevent* access to the coast of the enemy." Washington's fear of *foreign intervention* had become so intense that it helped push the *Lincoln* administration into an antislavery position. (2010 :196).

Yet, many Europeans were not pro slavery. Even if some in the United Kingdom saw the decision of Emancipation risky, Lincoln's initiative consolidated the shift of the international political reactions against intervention.

Meanwhile, the Union victory disturbed those who did not want to intervene on the side of a lost cause at th end of the battle of Antietam.

Thus, the Emancipation paved the path for black Americans to struggle for their freedom. Lincoln declared in the Proclamation that African-Americans of "*suitable condition, would be received into the armed service of the United States*.''A few months after the Proclamation, the United States Colored Troops (USCT) were issued. By the end of the war, freed African-Americans would serve in the Union army and navy. Thus the Emancipation of Slavery led the way to total abolition of slavery in the United States. (Finkelman, 2006 : 291)

Thanks to the Emancipation, the aim of the war turned into both preserving the Union and imposing the freedom of the slaves. Although the Proclamation initially freed only the slaves in the rebellious states, by the end of the war, the Proclamation had influenced and prepared citizens to advocate and accept abolition for all slaves in both camps. Lincoln regarded the Emancipation the crowning accomplishment of his Presidency, and the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery in the United States on December 6th, 1865 came to reinforce the Emancipation.

Proclaimed as the savior of the Union, President Lincoln actually considered the Emancipation to be the most important aspect of his legacy. "*I never, in my life, felt more certain that I was doing right, than I do in signing this paper,*" he declared. "*If my name ever goes into history it will be for this act, and my whole soul is in it*." (Holzer, 2011 :179).

3.6. The Black Soldiers's Role

The black slaves had a prominent role in the Union Army during the Civil War. About two hundred thousand slaves, representing ten percent of the whole military force, joined the military Union. Thirty seven hundred perished fighting for the Union. Most were escaped slaves who served in segregated units under white officers. African American soldiers were not given the same rights as the white soldiers. For instance, while white soldiers earned $13.00 a month with an additional $3.00 clothing allowance, black soldiers earned $10.00 a month and had $3.00 deducted from their earnings for clothing. Till June 15th, 1864, African American soldiers were granted equal pay. (Jordan and Shoomp, 2006 :45)

Actually, the Union forces owes its victory to the freed African Americans ; thanks to the slaves'bravure, courage and patience, the Union forces could advance during four long anf difficult years since they were supposed to achieve the worst tasks within all circumstances. The use of their services was a successful element of strategy to win the war. Initially, the coloured volunteers were only allowed to perform heavy labour tasks and burial duties, but eventually, more and more were put on the front lines in combat.

In the beginning, most of the white soldiers and officers thought that African Americans lacked the courage to be good soldiers. However, in 1862, the first Kansas regiment of slaves repulsed the confederate states' attacks many times at the Battle of Island Mound, Missouri. On July 17th, 1863, at Honey Springs, Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, the same Volunteers under General James Blunt held their ground against Confederate forces while the rest of his units retreated. They would go on to hold the center of the Union line,

exchanging fire for over twenty minutes with the Confederates until the Confederates broke and ran. (Goins, Goble and Anderson, 2006 : 86). After the battle, General Blunt praised the Volunteers and admitted they had fought under his command better than any other soldiers had.

At the Battle of *New Market Heights*, Virginia in 1864, as part of the Siege at Petersburg, the African American soldiers trapped by Confederate artillery fire, were able to engage the Confederates in an hour-long battle, suffering enormous casualties. Fourteen African American soldiers received the Medal of Honour following the battle for their bravery. By 1864 African Americans were serving in some missions in the Union Army in most engagements. (Tucker, 2013 :2239)

At the end of the Civil War, over 179,000 black men served as soldiers in the U.S. Army and another 19,000 served in the Navy. More than 40,000 black soldiers died in war, among them 30,000 of infection or disease. Other black soldiers performed all kind of support functions that reinforce an army ; black carpenters, chaplains, cooks, guards, laborers, nurses, scouts, spies, steamboat pilots, surgeons, and drivers contributed to the noble cause. [13] There were nearly 80 black commissioned officers. Black women, who could not formally join the Army served as nurses, spies, and scouts, the most famous black woman Harriet Tubman [14], who scouted for the second South Carolina Volunteers.

[13] Freeman, Elsie, Wynell Burroughs Schamel, and Jean West. "The Fight for Equal Rights: A Recruiting Poster for Black Soldiers in the Civil War." *Social Education* 56, 2 (February 1992): 118-120. [Revised and updated in 1999 by Budge Weidman.] (https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/blacks-civil-war/)

[14] Harriet Tubman : See Chapter Two 2.2.2.1.

3.7. Gradualism and Compensation Policy

In fact, there were two clever processes, gradualism and compensation, on which President Lincoln, the main actor of the American history, relied for the achievement of Emancipation of slaves. When Delaware was driven to apply the carrot of compensation, things went better because, some border states that were interested in that project had followed and then slavery had odds to regress enormously. Slaveholders would be bound to free their slaves or to move with them towards further South where there would be a surplus of slaves, and hence, the price of slaves would automatically decline. The number of slaves would increase so much that the owners would not need them. Thus, these revocations protected the Border States from the extension of slavery and weakened the idea of confederacy.

The Republicans, being in the majority, congressional elections encouraged the antislavery radicals in the Republican ranks. By 1861, Congress adopted the "*First Confiscation Act*" that had the right to seize the rebel properties, including slaves if found working for the confederates. One year later, "*Second Confiscation Act*" declared the slaves of the rebels were free. (Rodriguez, 2007 :241). Further confiscation legislation continued. Eventually Lincoln gradually managed to impose the Emancipation law. He started writing the first draft of Emancipation Act on July 22, 1862, the final draft on September 22, 1862, and then, the formal declaration of freedom was on January 1, 1863.

Lincoln was sure about himself when coming to sign the proclamation. He believed that nothing was more right and fair than that and the cabinet members would join his point of view because they were aware of all the cautious steps he had followed. Moreover, it was an

important measure to provide some help from the people concerned with Emancipation. Although he faced tyrannical penmen's reaction, public anger, and division, he stroke to defend the project to avoid its failure. Lincoln did not lack defenders; on the contrary, prominent Republicans supported him.

On August 22, 1862, just a few weeks before signing the Proclamation, and after he discussing a draft of it with his cabinet in July, Lincoln wrote a letter in response to an editorial, the *New York Tribune* by *Horace Greeley,* who had already urged complete abolition. Pointing out his position toward the conflict, Lincoln shocked many people by insisting on the fact that his primordial aim was the American Union, minimizing the importance of the abolition of slavery; but all what followed proved the contrary. One could only assume that it was nothing else but a political coverage as a temporary protection not to make people reject the idea of fighting for the Union:

> *"I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. ... My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. "* (Basler,1953:388)

Lincoln was ready to accomplish what no other President could have done before by declaring general emancipation; there were not only the slaves used in Confederate war

service or those of disloyal masters but also all the slaves without exception throughout all rebellious areas. The Union forces had to march far enough the South to make the law operational. It took months to accomplish this mission, but four million slaves were thenceforward definitely free, and forever.

The Challenge was in writing the public letter to James C. Conkling on August 26, 1863 for a mass meeting of Union men in Illinois. It argued that the commitment to Emancipation would not be bargained in any way:

> *"I thought that whatever Negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do, in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But Negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us, if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive—even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept. "* (Basler, 1953:406)

A few months later, Lincoln presented one of his other famous speeches: "*The Gettysburg Address"*. The Northerners multiplied efforts and soldiers and resisted until May1863 when they reached a turning point of the war. On November 19, 1863, Lincoln delivered his famous speech that dedicated the battlefield in this region to the soldiers who perished.

3.8. The Impact of Gettysburg Address

Two months after proclaiming the emancipation and winning the Gettysburg battle, Lincoln sought to bring some solace and encouragements to the American people, and deemed necessary to enhance and boost the morale of the soldiers by addressing them through the famous *"Gettysburg Address"* November 19, 1863. By being merely simple in his words, his speech was accurate, concise, and mostly motivational. It was precisely the purpose: little and well. He intended to be persuasive, to make them bear the pain of the war, moving forward to continue to fight for a fair cause. He focused on the fact that the dead soldiers would never be forgotten, that their memory would be eternal because they struggled for a noble aim. He reminded and highlighted the point of equality and liberty that were the slogans of the founding fathers. In fact, he attempted to make people aware of the rebirth of freedom so much desired by the previous generations in an era :

> *"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, ...that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain -- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom... "*
> (Lewis, 1980:100)

His fellow countrymen were impressed and astonished at his eloquence. The feedback was by and large positive. The result was a great success.

3.9. Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction

After decisive Union victories at the battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg in 1863, President Abraham Lincoln began wisely preparing his plan for "*Reconstruction*" to reunify the North and South after the war's end. Since Lincoln believed that the South had never legally seceded from the Union, his plan for Reconstruction was based on forgiveness. He thus issued the Proclamation of Amnesty, also known as *The Ten Percent Plan*. (Zuczek, 2006 : 48) and Reconstruction in 1863 to announce his intention to reunite the American states. « *On December 8, 1863, he published his famous Ten percent, offering amnesty to all but the leading insurgents, and providint that whenever ten percent of the voters of 1861had taken the oath of amnesty, they are entitled to form a new goverment. ».* (Holzer, 2004 : 305).Lincoln hoped that the proclamation would rally Northern support for the war and persuade weary Confederate soldiers to surrender.

Lincoln's endeavour for Reconstruction included the "*Ten-Percent Plan*", which stated that a Southern state could be readmitted into the Union once ten percent of its voters (from the voter rolls for the election of 1860) solemnly affirmed their allegiance to the Union. The voters would be able to establish new state governments. All Southerners except high-ranking Confederate army officers and government officials would be granted a full pardon. Lincoln guaranteed Southerners that he would protect their private property, but of course not

their slaves. The President's proposal for Reconstruction was supported by most moderate Republicans in Congress because they wanted to bring a quick end to the war.

In many ways, the "*Ten-Percent Plan*" was more of a political process than a plan for Reconstruction. Lincoln wanted to end the war as quickly as possible. He feared that the North and South would never be reunited if fighting did not stop immediately. By late1863, a large number of Democrats fed up were asking for a truce to look for a way to peace. Lincoln's "*Ten-Percent Plan*" was very efficient; the South had been at last tempted to surrender.

President Lincoln's vision for Reconstruction was very wise. He tended to favour the little states that had been quite neglected to help them for Self-Reconstruction. He gave full attention to poorer whites, and he offered the pardon to all Confederates. He also promised to protect private property of former plantation owners and Southern aristocrats. Another important point, that is, unlike Radical Republicans in Congress, Lincoln wanted neither to punish Southerners nor reorganise Southern society in order to gain their trust and mainly peace. He wanted the secessionist to be at their ease to rewrite their constitution.

Some months later, the Radical Republicans spoke about the "*Wade-Davis Bill"* to neutralise Lincoln's *Ten-Percent Plan*. The bill stated that a Southern state could rejoin the Union only if fifty percent of its registered voters swore an "ironclad oath" of allegiance to the United States. (Clancey, Moseley and Spiller, 2004 : 96).

Moreover, 1864 was an electoral campaign period, and Lincoln could not afford to give Northern voters a compromising picture of him. Because the "*Wade-Davis Bill"* was

passed near the end of the Congress's session, Lincoln was able to use his veto, effectively blocking the bill by refusing to sign it before Congress went off. He had saved the union once more from other perturbations that could have surely caused a dangerous delay for stopping the war.

3.10. Lincoln and the Wade-Davis Bill

On July 2, 1864, the Radical Republicans, a group of liberal Republican congressmen during the Reconstruction Period, namely, Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio and Representative Henry Winter Davis of Maryland suggested a plan, the *Wade-Davis Bill* to oppose the Ten-Percent Plan. They thought it was too easy for the South to make them enjoy Amnesty. They were also angry because Lincoln had implemented the Ten-Percent Plan on his own, instead of going through Congress. They thought that Congress, not the President, should have the authority to readmit the Southern states to the Union. The Radical Republicans hoped for retribution for the South because of the Civil War, and wanted to cause as many obstacles as possible for Southern states' readmission to the Union. They also wanted to break the political power of the wealthy planters who had dominated Southern politics before the Civil War. Additionally, it barred anyone who had voluntarily supported the Confederacy from participating in politics on either the state or national level. The bill was passed by both houses of Congress in July 1864.

In the case of the Wade-Davis Bill, Congress adjourned while Lincoln held the bill, so it was immediately pocket vetoed, and Lincoln issued a proclamation stating his reasons for vetoing the bill. He explained that the Wade-Davis Bill was too harsh on the South. He also

did not want "*to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration*" (Zuczek, 2006: 45). One of Lincoln's major reasons for opposing the bill was because it would require former Confederate states that had already been readmitted to the Union under his Ten-Percent Plan to meet the new requirements. According to Lincoln, it would be wrong to revoke the readmission of those states. He thought that doing so would only result in "*repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens*" of the states who had worked so hard to establish new governments (Zuczek, 2006 : 46).

He soon drafted the "*Thirteenth Amendmen*t', which outlawed slavery and involuntary servants, relying on both a legislation solution and war power because he was convinced that law was the strongest weapon and therefore, more reliable and sustainable. "The *Thirteenth Amendment*" was indisputable; both the Senate and the House passed it by the end of 1864. However, it was not adopted until December 6, 1865 and after Lincoln's death in April 15th, 1865. This amendment is a landmark event in the whole history of humanity.

In May, 1864, one month before the end of the war, he addressed the whole nation with his Second Inaugural Speech, ending it with these words:

> *"…With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations. "* (Morel, 2000:203)

The hostilities stopped in April, 1865, but ended officially on June 15, 1865 through the "*Treaty of Ghent*". However, Lincoln had unfortunately not lived enough to see his great achievement set up; he was assassinated on April 15, 1865, just a few days after the ceasefire, which was really a great tragedy for those who believed in him, and who were aware of his achievements. President Lincoln told these words to an Indiana Regiment, passing through Washington less than a month before his murder:

> "*I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly, those who desire it for others. Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally…"*(Basler, 1953: 361)

3.11. Conclusion

In 1861, the United States had to cope with its greatest crisis of that period. The Northern and Southern states had become more and more different, socially, economically and politically. The North were increasingly leaning to industry and commercial affairs whereas the South had remained largely agricultural. More importantly, the issue of slavery caused these differences. Obviously, the nation had to avoid the territorial division threatened by the Confederate states' secession. The "peculiar institution," was the unique issue that separated the South from the North. The Northerners generally wanted to limit the spread of slavery; some wanted eradicate Slavery. On the other side, the Southerners generally wanted to preserve and even expand the institution. Thus, slavery became the hot point of a political

crisis, for, conflicts arose out of the same issue. Many important points had enlarged the space standing between the two sides.

Soon after the 1860 election of the Republican Abraham Lincoln as President, eleven Southern states eventually seceded from the Federal Union in 1861 despite the President's huge effort. They actually sought to establish an independent Confederacy of states in which Slavery would be protected. The Northerners, from their standpoint, insisted that secession was not only unconstitutional but unthinkable as well. They were willing to use military force to keep the South in the Union. Even Southerners who owned no slaves opposed and resisted the Union forces' decisions. The result was a costly and bloody civil war. Almost as many Americans perished in the Civil War as in all the nations' other wars combined.

After four years of fighting, the Union was restored through military and political strategies conducted by President Lincoln as Commander in Chief. The problems of reconstructing the Union were just as difficult as fighting the war had been. Since most of the war took place in the South, the region was devastated physically and economically. Helping freed slaves and creating state governments loyal to the Union also presented difficult problems that would take years to resolve, mainly when they were confronted with the issue of the Blacks' vote that was hotly debated.

In the second half of the 1860s, the Republicans continued to undertake the policy of reconstruction for the sake of preserving the American Union, debating a series of acts intended to deal with the question of the Blacks' Rights and the way the Southern states

would be ruled. Congress discussed several Reconstruction Acts that established military rule over Southern states until new governments could be shaped.

Eventually, the following Reconstruction acts gave freed male slaves the right to vote More, Congress added two amendments to the Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment made the former slaves citizens supposed to get the same rights as the whites and protected from discriminatory state laws. Certainly, the Southern states were asked to accept the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment before being readmitted to the union. At last, the Fifteenth Amendment gave African American men the right to vote.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Slavery had profound implications for the fate of the American nation. As a matter of fact, the old institution had been the source of wealth of a large area in America, mainly the South. On the contrary, the Northern States did not adopt slavery; more, it was prohibited. Consequently, movements of abolition found their way in the North and paved the ground to the upcoming official abolition of slavery. As a consequence, the conflict developed and resulted in the confederates' secession as well as the Proclamation of Emancipation of Slavery, which had a positive impact on the preservation of the American Union, being the tool used to tilt the balance in the Union Forces' favour to win the war.

In fact, this narrative of slave liberation highlights the pivotal role of abolitionist movements in the nineteenth century, the parallel action of slave resistance, the prominent political figure's courage and more importantly the chronological implications of slavery for the US. First, in 1807, a federal action was imposed to ban the importation of new slaves into the US. A decade later, the Missouri Compromise was reached to allow new states to be admitted to the Union with its own slavery laws.

Then, in the 1820s, the Underground Railroad started as an informal network of safe houses offering shelter to the fugitive slaves. It was sustained by religious movements and courageous activists, mainly women such as Harriet Tubman. In 1833, city groups joined together to form the American Anti-Slavery Society. Throughout the 1840s, the slavery issue had become as a major conflict in the USA; the Southerners protected slavery politically so

much that it angered many American citizens who became anxious and worried preserving their freedom of political expression. Consequently, it added support to the abolitionist cause.

The Crisis increased by the Compromise of 1850 approved by the Congress. California was accepted to the Union as a free state, but slavery was allowed in the new territories of New Mexico and Utah. It effectively gained the ground and made the North worried about such decisions. Meanwhile, slave resistance was headed by a white woman, Harrier Beecher stow, writer who published her *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, describing the evils of slavery, which had a great influence on the American readers' conscious and the religious Methodists fostering the great awakening that welcomed black members.

1857 was full of political events leading to the increase of the North South conflict. The US Supreme Court issued the Dred Scott decision which stated that the US Congress could not prohibit slavery in any state, that African-Americans could not be considered as American citizens because they were not perceived as persons. Consequently, runaway slaves became safe only if they escaped from the country. Thus, slavery was becoming more widespread at this time and entrenched in the Western territories.

A few years later, the election of the republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was not welcomed by the Southerners; it was rather considered as a threat, his political stance towards Slavery being known and spread in all the country. As a matter of fact, the slavery issue became threatening in 1861; therefore, the American confederates representing several southern states effectively announced their secession, which was firmly rejected by President Lincoln hence the outbreak of the bloody Civil War.

Lincoln and the American nation went through difficult moments and had been able to accomplish an outstanding feat, which is to impose the Proclamation of Emancipation

throughout both the North and the South beside the preservation of the American Union, Lincoln's prime focus, according to some historical evidence, despite his antislavery position so many times declared.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

Abraham Lincoln's Speeches on Slavery

Before Being President

(*http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches)*

1. The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions

Address Before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois

January 27, 1838

As a subject for the remarks of the evening, *the perpetuation of our political institutions,* is selected.

In the great journal of things happening under the sun, we, the American People, find our account running, under date of the nineteenth century of the Christian era.--We find ourselves in the peaceful possession, of the fairest portion of the earth, as regards extent of territory, fertility of soil, and salubrity of climate. We find ourselves under the government of a system of political institutions, conducing more essentially to the ends of civil and religious liberty, than any of which the history of former times tells us. We, when mounting the stage of existence, found ourselves the legal inheritors of these fundamental blessings. We toiled not in the acquirement or establishment of them--they are a legacy bequeathed us, by a *once* hardy, brave, and patriotic, but *now* lamented and departed race of ancestors. Their's was the task (and nobly they performed it) to possess themselves, and through themselves, us, of this goodly land; and to uprear upon its hills and its valleys, a political edifice of liberty and equal rights; 'tis ours only, to transmit these, the former, unprofaned by the foot of an invader; the latter, undecayed by the lapse of time and untorn by usurpation, to the latest generation that fate shall permit the world to know. This task of gratitude to our fathers, justice to ourselves, duty to posterity, and love for our species in general, all imperatively require us faithfully to perform.

How then shall we perform it?--At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it?-- Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant, to step the Ocean, and crush us at a blow? Never!--All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest; with a Buonaparte for a commander, could not by force, take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.

I hope I am over wary; but if I am not, there is, even now, something of ill-omen, amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of Courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice. This disposition is awfully fearful in any community; and that it now exists in ours, though grating to our feelings to admit, it would be a violation of truth, and an insult to our intelligence, to deny. Accounts of outrages committed by mobs, form the every-day news of the times. They have pervaded the country, from New England to Louisiana;--they are neither peculiar to the eternal snows of the former, nor the burning suns of the latter;--they are not the creature of climate-- neither are they confined to the slave-holding, or the non-slave- holding States. Alike, they spring up among the pleasure hunting masters of Southern slaves, and the order loving citizens of the land of steady habits.--Whatever, then, their cause may be, it is common to the whole country.

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to recount the horrors of all of them. Those happening in the State of Mississippi, and at St. Louis, are, perhaps, the most dangerous in example and revolting to humanity. In the Mississippi case, they first commenced by hanging the regular gamblers; a set of men, certainly not following for a livelihood, a very useful, or very honest occupation; but one which, so far from being forbidden by the laws, was actually licensed by an act of the Legislature, passed but a single year before. Next, negroes, suspected of conspiring to raise an insurrection, were caught up and hanged in all parts of the State: then, white men, supposed to be leagued with the negroes; and finally, strangers, from neighboring States, going thither on business, were, in many instances subjected to the same fate. Thus went on this process of hanging, from gamblers to negroes, from negroes to white citizens, and from these to strangers; till, dead men were seen literally dangling from the boughs of trees upon every road side; and in numbers almost sufficient, to rival the native Spanish moss of the country, as a drapery of the forest.

Turn, then, to that horror-striking scene at St. Louis. A single victim was only sacrificed there. His story is very short; and is, perhaps, the most highly tragic, if anything of its length, that has ever been witnessed in real life. A mulatto man, by the name of McIntosh, was seized in the street, dragged to the suburbs of the city, chained to a tree, and actually burned to death; and all within a single hour from the time he had been a freeman, attending to his own business, and at peace with the world.

Such are the effects of mob law; and such as the scenes, becoming more and more frequent in this land so lately famed for love of law and order; and the stories of which, have even now grown too familiar, to attract any thing more, than an idle remark.

But you are, perhaps, ready to ask, "What has this to do with the perpetuation of our political institutions?" I answer, it has much to do with it. Its direct consequences are, comparatively speaking, but a small evil; and much of its danger consists, in the proneness of our minds, to regard its direct, as its only consequences……

The consequence was, that of those scenes, in the form of a husband, a father, a son or brother, a *living history* was to be found in every family-- a history bearing the indubitable testimonies of its own authenticity, in the limbs mangled, in the scars of wounds received, in the midst of the very scenes related--a history, too, that could be read and understood alike by all, the wise and the ignorant, the learned and the unlearned.--But *those* histories are gone. They *can* be read no more forever. They *were* a fortress of strength; but, what invading foeman could *never do*, the silent artillery of time *has done*; the leveling of its walls. They are gone.--They *were* a forest of giant oaks; but the all-resistless hurricane has swept over them, and left only, here and there, a lonely trunk, despoiled of its verdure, shorn of its foliage; unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a few gentle breezes, and to combat with its mutilated limbs, a few more ruder storms, then to sink, and be no more.

They *were* the pillars of the temple of liberty; and now, that they have crumbled away, that temple must fall, unless we, their descendants, supply their places with other pillars, hewn from the solid quarry of sober reason. Passion has helped us; but can do so no more. It will in future be our enemy. Reason, cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason, must furnish all the materials for our future support and defence.--Let those materials be moulded into *general intelligence, sound morality*, and in particular, *a reverence for the constitution and laws*: and, that we improved to the last; that we remained free to the last; that we revered his name to the last; that, during his long sleep, we permitted no hostile foot to pass over or desecrate his resting place; shall be that which to learn the last trump shall awaken our WASHINGTON.

Upon these let the proud fabric of freedom rest, as the rock of its basis; and as truly as has been said of the only greater institution, "*the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*."

2. The Peoria Speech

Peoria, Illinois: October 16, 1854

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the propriety of its restoration, constitute the subject of what I am about to say.

As I desire to present my own connected view of this subject, my remarks will not be, specifically, an answer to Judge Douglas; yet, as I proceed, the main points he has presented will arise, and will receive such respectful attention as I may be able to give them.

I wish further to say, that I do not propose to question the patriotism, or to assail the motives of any man, or class of men; but rather to strictly confine myself to the naked merits of the question.

I also wish to be no less than National in all the positions I may take; and whenever I take ground which others have thought, or may think, narrow, sectional and dangerous to the Union, I hope to give a reason, which will appear sufficient, at least to some, why I think differently.

And, as this subject is no other, than part and parcel of the larger general question of domestic-slavery, I wish to MAKE and to KEEP the distinction between the EXISTING institution, and the EXTENSION of it, so broad, and so clear, that no honest man can misunderstand me, and no dishonest one, successfully misrepresent me.

In order to [get?] a clear understanding of what the Missouri Compromise is, a short history of the preceding kindred subjects will perhaps be proper. When we established our independence, we did not own, or claim, the country to which this compromise applies. Indeed, strictly speaking, the confederacy then owned no country at all; the States respectively owned the country within their limits; and some of them owned territory beyond their strict State limits. Virginia thus owned the North-Western territory---the country out of which the principal part of Ohio, all Indiana, all Illinois, all Michigan and all Wisconsin, have since been formed. She also owned (perhaps within her then limits) what has since been formed into the State of Kentucky. North Carolina thus owned what is now the State of Tennessee; and South Carolina and Georgia, in separate parts, owned what are now Mississippi and Alabama. Connecticut, I think, owned the little remaining part of Ohio---being the same where they now send Giddings to Congress, and beat all creation at making cheese. These territories, together with the States themselves, constituted all the country over which the confederacy then claimed any sort of jurisdiction. We were then living under the Articles of Confederation, which were superceded by the Constitution several years afterwards. The question of ceding these territories to the general government was set on foot. Mr. Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and otherwise a chief actor in the revolution; then a delegate in Congress; afterwards twice President; who was, is, and perhaps will continue to be, the most distinguished politician of our history; a Virginian by birth and continued residence, and withal, a slave-holder; conceived the idea of taking that occasion, to prevent slavery ever going into the north-western territory. He prevailed on the Virginia Legislature to adopt his views, and to cede the territory, making the prohibition of slavery therein, a condition of the deed. Congress accepted the cession, with the condition; and in the first Ordinance (which the acts of Congress were then called) for the government of the territory, provided that slavery should never be permitted therein….

Finally, the Judge invokes against me, the memory of Clay and of Webster. They were great men; and men of great deeds. But where have I assailed them? For what is it, that their life-long enemy, shall now make profit, by assuming to defend them against me, their life-long friend? I go against the repeal of the Missouri compromise; did they ever go for it? They went

for the compromise of 1850; did I ever go against them? They were greatly devoted to the Union; to the small measure of my ability, was I ever less so? Clay and Webster were dead before this question arose; by what authority shall our Senator say they would espouse his side of it, if alive? Mr. Clay was the leading spirit in making the Missouri compromise; is it very credible that if now alive, he would take the lead in the breaking of it? The truth is that some support from whigs is now a necessity with the Judge, and for thus it is, that the names of Clay and Webster are now invoked. His old friends have deserted him in such numbers as to leave too few to live by. He came to his own, and his own received him not, and Lo! he turns unto the Gentiles.

A word now as to the Judge's desperate assumption that the compromises of '50 had no connection with one another; that Illinois came into the Union as a slave state, and some other similar ones. This is no other than a bold denial of the history of the country. If we do not know that the Compromises of '50 were dependent on each other; if we do not know that Illinois came into the Union as a free state---we do not know any thing. If we do not know these things, we do not know that we ever had a revolutionary war, or such a chief as Washington. To deny these things is to deny our national axioms, or dogmas, at least; and it puts an end to all argument. If a man will stand up and assert, and repeat, and re-assert, that two and two do not make four, I know nothing in the power of argument that can stop him. I think I can answer the Judge so long as he sticks to the premises; but when he flies from them, I can not work an argument into the consistency of a maternal gag, and actually close his mouth with it. In such a case I can only commend him to the seventy thousand answers just in from Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana.

3. *A House Divided*

Springfield, Illinois, **June16, 1858**

At 8 :00 p.m.Abraham Lincoln,a candidate for the U.S. Senate, running against Democrat Stephen A. Douglas delivered this address to his Republican colleagues in the Hall of Representatives.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention.

If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it.

We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object, and *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, *not ceased*, but has *constantly augmented.*

In *my* opinion, it *will* not cease, until a *crisis* shall have been reached, and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.

I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved* -- I do not expect the house to *fall* -- but I *do* expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become *all* one thing or *all* the other.

Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its *advocates* will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in *all* the States, *old* as well as *new* -- *North* as well as *South*. ….

Of *strange, discordant*, and even, *hostile* elements, we gathered from the four winds, and *formed* and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy.

Did we brave all *then* to *falter* now? -- now -- when that same enemy is *wavering,* dissevered and belligerent?

The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail -- if we stand firm, we shall not fail.

Wise councils may *accelerate* or *mistakes delay* it, but, sooner or later the victory is sure to come.

4. The Union Cooper Speech

« The Speech that made Abraham Lincoln President »

On October 27, 1859, Abraham Lincoln accepted an invitation to lecture at Henry Ward Beecher's church in Brooklyn, New York.

Mr. President and fellow citizens of New York:

The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation.

In his speech last autumn, at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in "The New-York Times," Senator Douglas said:

"Our fathers, when they framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: "What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?"

What is the frame of government under which we live?

The answer must be: "The Constitution of the United States." That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, (and under which the present government first went into operation,) and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present Government. ….

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government nor of dungeons to ourselves. LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT, AND IN THAT FAITH, LET US, TO THE END, DARE TO DO OUR DUTY AS WE UNDERSTAND IT.

Appendix II

President Abraham Lincoln's Speeches

(*http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches*)

1. The First Inaugural Address

Washington, D.C. , March 4, 1861

Fellow-citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of this office."

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

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

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration.
……

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well*, upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you, in hot haste, to a

step which you would never take *deliberately,* that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied, hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine,* is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you.* You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

2. The Gettysburg Address

November 19, 1863, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate -- we can not consecrate -- we can not hallow -- this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us -- that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last

full measure of devotion -- that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain -- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom -- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

3. The Second Inaugural Address

Washington, D.C. March 4, 1865

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it--all sought to avert it. While the inaugeral [sic] address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war--seeking to dissole [sic] the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and

South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope--fervently do we pray--that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan--to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

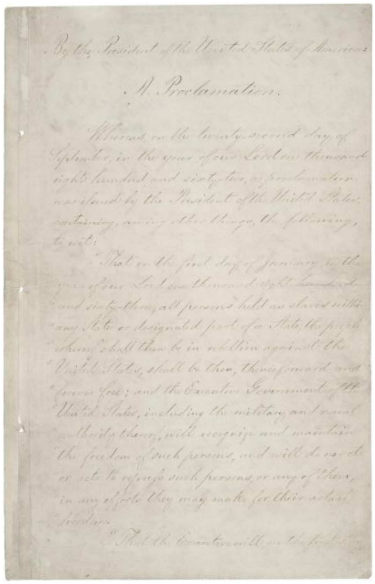
Appendix III

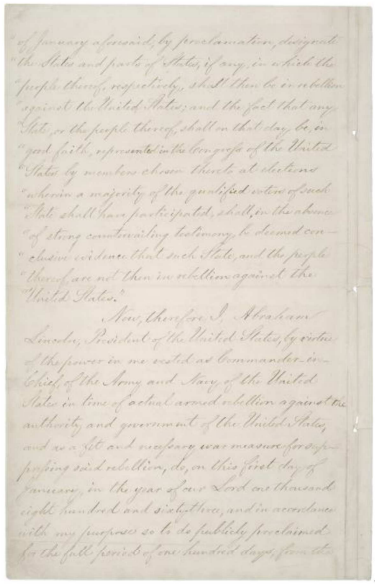
Primary Documents on Abolition of Slavery

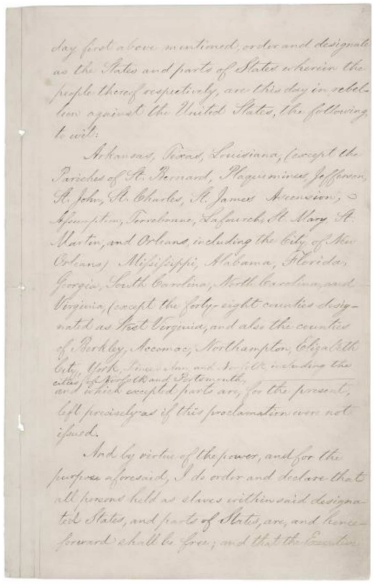
1. Proclamation of Emancipation

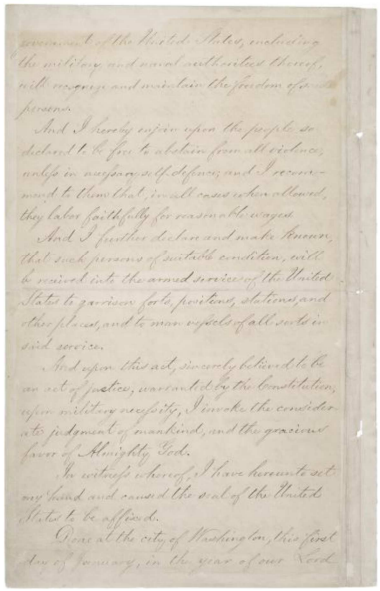
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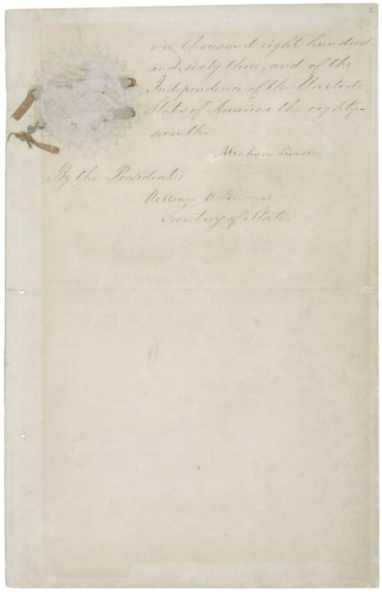
(*http://www.historic-lamott-pa.com/media/client/photos/lincolnandthelaw/emancipation*)


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1.2. Transcription

(*http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/emancipation_proclamation/transcript.html*)

January 1, 1863

By the President of the United States of America, Abraham lincoln :

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties

designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth[)], and which excepted parts, are for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN

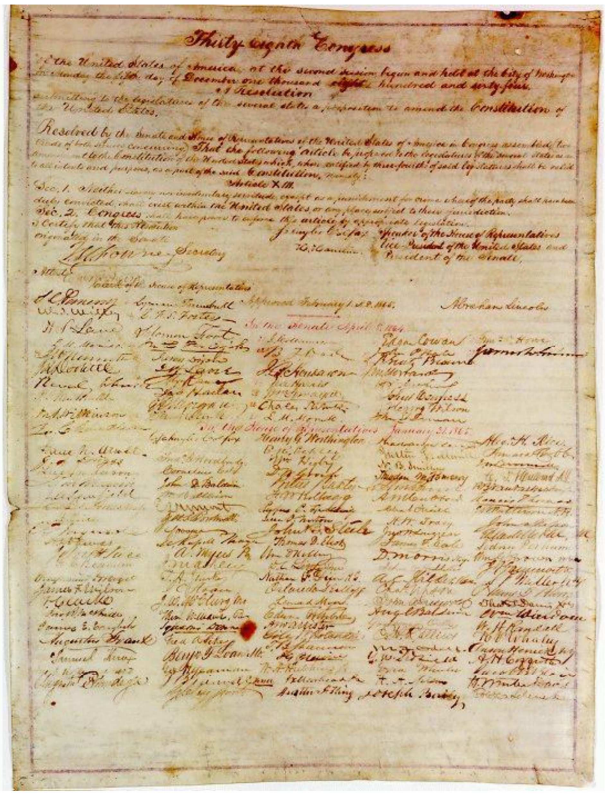
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

2. The Thirteenth Amendment

2.1. The Original Copy

December 6, 1865

(http://www.barefootsworld.net/consti12.html)



2.2. Transcription

*(https://*historygcp*.wordpress.com/unit-iv-reconstruction/13th-amendment/)*

