MANIFEST DESTINY -- THE BELIEF THAT IT IS GOD'S WILL FOR AMERICA TO EXPAND TO THE PACIFIC...

A BELIEF COMMON TO BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH.

I MEAN, IF YOU THINK ABOUT IT THERE ARE FAR MORE BONDS HOLDING THE SOUTH TO THE REST OF THE NATION BY THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY THAN THERE WAS AT THE END OF THE 18th.

CERTAINLY, THEY HAVE THESE COMMON TRADITIONS.

IT STRIKES ME THAT ONE OF THE THINGS THAT'S HAPPENING IS MANIFEST DESTINY -- A WHOLE CREATION OF THE NATION AS THE NATION IN THE 19th CENTURY.

RACISM HOLDS THE NATION TOGETHER IN SOME UTTERLY BIZARRE WAY.

IT ISN'T SOMETHING WHICH DIVIDES NORTH AND SOUTH; IT'S SOMETHING WHICH BINDS THEM TOGETHER.

DIFFERENCES OVERWHELM COMMON BONDS.

"THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR" -- TODAY ON A BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.

THE STORY OF THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS ORIGINS -- "OUR MOST FELT HISTORY" -- CUTS TO THE CORE OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL EXPERIENCE.

CLEARLY, BLACK SLAVERY FUNCTIONING AS A FUNDAMENTAL BASIS FOR WHITE FREEDOM CONTRADICTED THE LIBERTY ALL AMERICANS CHERISHED.

INDEED, THE GROWING CONFLICT BETWEEN NORTHERN FREEDOM AND SOUTHERN SLAVERY ONLY GREW OVER TIME. UNABLE TO REACH A VIABLE COMPROMISE OVER SLAVERY NORTHERNERS AND SOUTHERNERS EVENTUALLY FOUND THEMSELVES
33 01:02:10:28 01:02:12:20 AT ONE ANOTHER'S THROATS.
34 01:02:12:22 01:02:16:14 ULTIMATELY, THE BITTER CONTEST BETWEEN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM HAD TO BE RESOLVED BY VIOLENT IF NOT PEACEFUL MEANS.
35 01:02:16:16 01:02:17:22 CLOSELY TIED TO THIS BATTLE BETWEEN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM WAS THE QUESTION OF THE STATUS OF BLACKS, FREE AND SLAVE AND THE STATUS OF NON-WHITES.
36 01:02:17:24 01:02:20:29 BLACK FREEDOM FIGHTERS LIKE FREDERICK DOUGLASS CONSTANTLY REMINDED WHITE AMERICANS THAT A TRAGIC LIMITATION OF THE FREEDOM THEY ENVISIONED INCLUDED WHITES ONLY.
37 01:02:21:01 01:02:24:11 IN OTHER WORDS, WHITE AMERICANS WERE UNABLE TO SEE BLACKS AS AMERICANS LIKE THEMSELVES ENTITLED TO THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP.
38 01:02:24:13 01:02:27:24 AN INCREASINGLY AGGRESSIVE PROSLAVERY SPIRIT DOMINATED THE WHITE SOUTH.
39 01:02:27:26 01:02:29:28 SLAVE OWNERS AND PROSLAVERY ADVOCATES LIKE SOUTH CAROLINA SENATOR JOHN C. CALHOUN VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED THE RIGHT OF SLAVERY ESPECIALLY IN THE NEWLY GAINED AND NEWLY ORGANIZED TERRITORIES.
40 01:02:30:00 01:02:32:23 IN THE MIDWEST AND THE SOUTHWEST.
41 01:02:32:25 01:02:34:22 NORTHERNERS LIKE ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAW THE RIGHT OF FREE SOIL AND FREE LABOR ESPECIALLY IN THE NEWLY GAINED AND NEWLY ORGANIZED TERRITORIES.
42 01:02:34:24 01:02:37:28 AN EQUALLY AGGRESSIVE FREEDOM-LOVING SPIRIT DOMINATED THE NORTH.
43 01:02:38:00 01:02:40:12 THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, FUGHT BETWEEN 1846 AND 1848, REVEALS TWO CRITICAL STRANDS
OF THE GROWING SECTIONAL
CONFLICT OVER SLAVERY.
FIRST, THERE WAS THE ISSUE
OF WHETHER THE TERRITORIES--
AND IN TIME, THE STATES
WHICH WOULD GROW
OUT OF THESE TERRITORIES--
WOULD BE PROSLAVERY
OR ANTISLAVERY.
SECOND, THE UNITED STATES'
VICTORY IN THE WAR
SPOKE TO THE QUESTION
OF THE MANIFEST DESTINY
OF THE AMERICAN NATION.
IN THIS CONTEXT,
MANIFEST DESTINY REFERRED
NOT JUST TO THE EXPANDING
NATIONAL BELIEF
THAT IT WAS GOD'S WILL THAT THE
UNITED STATES TAKE FULL CONTROL
OF THE TERRITORY STRETCHING
TO THE PACIFIC IN THE WEST
MEXICO IN THE SOUTH
AND CANADA IN THE NORTH.
IN ADDITION, MANIFEST DESTINY
INCLUDED THE UNSETTLED QUESTION
OF WHETHER OR NOT THE NATION
COULD CONTINUE TO EXIST
THAT IT WOULD BE
LIKEWISE, SOUTH CAROLINA'S
FAVORITE SON JOHN C. CALHOUN
LIKENED MEXICO TO...
THE COMPROMISE OF 1850
THAT WOULD ORGANIZE
TERRITORY GAINED IN THIS WAR.
NOWHERE WAS THE FAILURE
OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM
TO CONTAIN
THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY
MORE CLEAR-CUT
THAN THIS COMPROMISE OF 1850.
CRAFTED PRINCIPALLY
BY THE VENERABLE KENTUCKY
SENATOR HENRY CLAY
AND SUPPORTED
BY THE EQUALLY VENERABLE
MASSACHUSETTS
SENATOR DANIEL WEBSTER
THE EFFORT HAD IMPECCABLE
POLITICAL BACKING.
CALHOUN, ANOTHER POLITICAL GIANT
SIMILARLY, CLAY CONTENTED THAT HE KNEW "NO NORTH, NO SOUTH, NO EAST, NO WEST... MY ALLEGIANCE IS TO THE AMERICAN UNION AND TO MY OWN STATE..."
MY ALLEGIANCE IS TO THE AMERICAN UNION AND TO MY OWN STATE."
CLAY WAS WIDELY ADMIREDFOR TRYING FOR OVER TWO DECADES TO KEEP PEACE BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH. AT MID-CENTURY, THE SICKLY YET PROUD OLD WARRIOR STILL ARGUED FORCEFULLY FOR "PEACE, CONCORD AND HARMONY" OVER "PASSION... PARTY AND INTEMPERANCE."
SHORTLY AFTER THE DEBATE OVER THE COMPROMISE CALHOUN, CLAY AND WEBSTER WERE ALL DEAD.
SOON, THE SPIRIT OF SECTIONAL COMPROMISE WOULD WITHER AWAY COMPLETELY.
NEVERTHELESS, THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 HAD BECOME LAW. UNDER ITS PROVISIONS CALIFORNIA ENTERED THE UNION AS A FREE STATE.
NEW MEXICO AND UTAH
AS TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS WHICH WOULD DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES WHETHER SLAVERY WAS TO BE ALLOWED OR PROHIBITED. THE UNITED STATES ASSUMED THE DEBTS TEXAS OWED BEFORE ANNEXATION. NEW MEXICO RECEIVED LAND IN DISPUTE BETWEEN THAT STATE AND TEXAS. SPEAKING DIRECTLY TO THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 ENDED THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND FORBADE SLAVE EMANCIPATION THERE WITHOUT COMPENSATION TO THE SLAVE OWNERS AND THE SLAVE OWNERS’ CONSENT. DIRECTLY APPEASING PROSLAVERY INTERESTS CONGRESS CLARIFIED THAT IT LACKED JURISDICTION OVER THE INTERNAL OR DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE IN THE SOUTH. LIKEWISE, THE COMPROMISE FEATURED A STRENGTHENED FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT. THIS ACT GAVE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GREATER POWER TO ENFORCE THE RETURN OF FUGITIVE SLAVES TO THE SOUTH. ESCALATING SECTIONAL TENSIONS EXTENDED EVEN TO AMERICAN CULTURE. NO MOMENT COULD MATCH THE SENSATIONAL IMPACT OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE’S UNCLE TOM’S CABIN.

Published in 1852, it was widely praised in the North and equally condemned in the South. Stowe’s text showed how the absolute evilness of slavery dehumanized and corrupted good as well as bad people.
BEST-SELLER WAS ELECTRIC.

162 01:08:47:20 01:08:50:10 MORE THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE CULTURAL EPISODE

163 01:08:50:12 01:08:53:25 THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE NOVEL CREATED CONVERTS

164 01:08:53:27 01:08:56:27 FOR THE NORTHERN ANTISLAVERY CAUSE ON ONE HAND

165 01:08:56:29 01:09:00:22 AND CONVERTS FOR THE SOUTHERN PROSLAVERY CAUSE ON THE OTHER.

166 01:09:00:24 01:09:03:27 UNCLE TOM'S CABIN SOLD OVER 300,000 COPIES

167 01:09:03:29 01:09:06:19 IN ITS FIRST YEAR OF PUBLICATION ALONE

168 01:09:06:21 01:09:09:19 AND A MILLION BY MID-1853.

169 01:09:09:21 01:09:11:16 ITS IMPACT WAS EVERYWHERE.

170 01:09:11:18 01:09:14:00 IT PENETRATED AMERICAN CONSCIOUSNESS THROUGH ALL KINDS OF CONTEMPORARY MEDIA:

171 01:09:14:02 01:09:16:25 COPYCAT FICTION, DRAMATIC READINGS AND PLAYS

172 01:09:16:27 01:09:19:27 AND ALL MANNER OF EVERYDAY POPULAR CULTURAL PRODUCTIONS

173 01:09:19:29 01:09:23:25 LIKE WOODCUTS AND DRAWINGS.

174 01:09:23:27 01:09:25:24 LITTLE WONDER, THEREFORE MET HARRIET BEECHER STOWE DURING THE CIVIL WAR, HE OBSERVED:

175 01:09:25:26 01:09:27:08 IT PENETRATED AMERICAN CONSCIOUSNESS THROUGH ALL KINDS OF CONTEMPORARY MEDIA:

176 01:09:27:10 01:09:30:00 THE RADICAL ABOLITIONIST SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS CHARLES SUMNER

177 01:09:30:02 01:09:31:27 DURING THE CIVIL WAR, HE OBSERVED:

178 01:09:31:29 01:09:36:00 "SO YOU'RE THE LITTLE LADY WHO STARTED THIS WAR."

179 01:09:36:02 01:09:39:13 VIOLENCE ALSO BLED ONTO THE FLOOR OF THE CONGRESS.

180 01:09:39:15 01:09:41:23 IN SPRING 1856

181 01:09:41:25 01:09:45:23 THE RADICAL ABOLITIONIST SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS CHARLES SUMNER

182 01:09:45:25 01:09:48:09 DENOUNCED THE "CRIME AGAINST KANSAS"

183 01:09:48:11 01:09:52:08 BEING COMMITTED IN THE NAME OF THE "HARLOT OF SLAVERY."

184 01:09:52:10 01:09:55:07 WHEN IN A SPEECH SUMNER PERSONALLY ATTACKED ANDREW BUTLER OF SOUTH CAROLINA

185 01:09:55:09 01:09:58:25 PROSLAVERY SENATOR BUTLER'S COUSIN, REPRESENTATIVE PRESTON BROOKS, TOOK OFFENSE.

186 01:09:58:27 01:10:03:02 BROOKS VICIOUSLY ATTACKED SUMNER WITH A CANE

187 01:10:03:04 01:10:06:03 AS SUMNER SAT IN HIS SENATE SEAT.

188 01:10:06:05 01:10:08:27 SUMNER SOON COLLAPSED FROM THE ATTACK AND THE LOSS OF BLOOD.

189 01:10:08:29 01:10:12:02 THE SOUTH HOWLED IN PROTEST

190 01:10:12:02 01:10:15:29 WHILE THE NORTH

191 01:10:15:29 01:10:18:08 THE WHITE SOUTH EXPRESSED
APPROVAL OF BROOKS'S RESPONSE

192 01:10:22:03 01:10:24:15 TO SUMNER'S "SLANDER" ON THE SOUTH.
193 01:10:24:17 01:10:26:07 THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER BOLDLY NOTED
194 01:10:26:09 01:10:28:25 THAT "IT WAS A PROPER ACT, DONE AT THE PROPER TIME
195 01:10:28:27 01:10:30:11 AND IN THE PROPER PLACE."
196 01:10:30:13 01:10:34:15 IN THE NORTH, FEARS OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY" ONLY GREW.
197 01:10:34:17 01:10:36:01 INCREASINGLY NORTHERNERS SAW THE DESIGNS OF THE "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY"
198 01:10:36:03 01:10:38:26 AS A THREAT TO THEIR VERY OWN FREEDOM.
199 01:10:38:28 01:10:41:00 WHAT, MANY THOUGHT, WAS TO STOP THE SLAVE SOUTH TERRITORIES AND NEW STATES IN THE WEST
200 01:10:41:02 01:10:43:23 BUT ULTIMATELY FROM SWALLOWING UP THE NORTH?
201 01:10:43:25 01:10:45:06 IN THE NORTH, FEARS OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY" ONLY GREW.
202 01:10:45:08 01:10:47:19 IN THE NORTH, FEARS OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY" ONLY GREW.
203 01:10:47:21 01:10:50:22 GREATLY ALARMED NORTHERNERS, BLACK AND WHITE.
204 01:10:50:24 01:10:53:09 FREED AND RUNAWAY BLACKS HAD LEGITIMATE FEARS ABOUT BEING REENSLAVED.
205 01:10:53:11 01:10:55:15 WHAT, MANY THOUGHT, WAS TO STOP THE SLAVE SOUTH TERRITORIES AND NEW STATES IN THE WEST
207 01:10:58:29 01:11:01:00 IN THE NORTH, FEARS OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY" ONLY GREW.
208 01:11:01:02 01:11:03:19 GREATLY ALARMED NORTHERNERS, BLACK AND WHITE.
209 01:11:03:21 01:11:05:26 FREE NORTHERN BLACKS WHOSE COMMUNITIES AND PERSONS WERE UNDER GROWING ASSAULT.
210 01:11:05:28 01:11:07:35 FURTHERMORE MANY NORTHERN WHITES SAW THIS FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AS FURTHER PROOF OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY"
211 01:11:07:37 01:11:09:44 WHICH POSED A DIRECT THREAT TO THE PERSONAL LIBERTIES OF FREE BLACKS AND SOLD SOUTH AS SLAVES
212 01:11:09:46 01:11:11:53 ALSO ALARMED FREE NORTHERN BLACKS WHOSE COMMUNITIES AND PERSONS WERE UNDER GROWING ASSAULT.
213 01:11:11:55 01:11:13:62 FURTHERMORE MANY NORTHERN WHITES SAW THIS FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AS FURTHER PROOF OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY"
214 01:11:13:64 01:11:15:71 WHICH POSED A DIRECT THREAT TO THE PERSONAL LIBERTIES OF FREE BLACKS AND SOLD SOUTH AS SLAVES
215 01:11:15:73 01:11:17:80 ALSO ALARMED FREE NORTHERN BLACKS WHOSE COMMUNITIES AND PERSONS WERE UNDER GROWING ASSAULT.
216 01:11:17:82 01:11:19:89 FURTHERMORE MANY NORTHERN WHITES SAW THIS FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AS FURTHER PROOF OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY"
217 01:11:19:91 01:11:21:98 WHICH POSED A DIRECT THREAT TO THE PERSONAL LIBERTIES OF FREE BLACKS AND SOLD SOUTH AS SLAVES
218 01:11:21:10 01:11:23:17 ALSO ALARMED FREE NORTHERN BLACKS WHOSE COMMUNITIES AND PERSONS WERE UNDER GROWING ASSAULT.
219 01:11:23:19 01:11:25:26 FURTHERMORE MANY NORTHERN WHITES SAW THIS FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AS FURTHER PROOF OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY"
220 01:11:25:28 01:11:27:35 WHICH POSED A DIRECT THREAT TO THE PERSONAL LIBERTIES OF FREE BLACKS AND SOLD SOUTH AS SLAVES
221 01:11:27:37 01:11:29:44 ALSO ALARMED FREE NORTHERN BLACKS WHOSE COMMUNITIES AND PERSONS WERE UNDER GROWING ASSAULT.
222 01:11:29:46 01:11:31:53 FURTHERMORE MANY NORTHERN WHITES SAW THIS FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AS FURTHER PROOF OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY"
223 01:11:31:55 01:11:33:62 WHICH POSED A DIRECT THREAT TO THE PERSONAL LIBERTIES OF FREE BLACKS AND SOLD SOUTH AS SLAVES
224 01:11:33:64 01:11:35:71 ALSO ALARMED FREE NORTHERN BLACKS WHOSE COMMUNITIES AND PERSONS WERE UNDER GROWING ASSAULT.
225 01:11:35:73 01:11:37:80 FURTHERMORE MANY NORTHERN WHITES SAW THIS FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AS FURTHER PROOF OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY"
226 01:11:37:82 01:11:39:90 WHICH POSED A DIRECT THREAT TO THE PERSONAL LIBERTIES OF FREE BLACKS AND SOLD SOUTH AS SLAVES
227 01:11:39:92 01:11:42:00 ALSO ALARMED FREE NORTHERN BLACKS WHOSE COMMUNITIES AND PERSONS WERE UNDER GROWING ASSAULT.
228 01:11:42:02 01:11:44:10 FURTHERMORE MANY NORTHERN WHITES SAW THIS FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AS FURTHER PROOF OF A "SLAVE POWER CONSPIRACY"
229 01:11:44:12 01:11:46:19 WHICH POSED A DIRECT THREAT TO THE PERSONAL LIBERTIES OF FREE BLACKS AND SOLD SOUTH AS SLAVES
AS THE IRREPRESSIBLE FREDERICK DOUGLASS PUT IT:
"THIS REPROACH, THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT, MUST BE WIPPED OUT AND NOTHING SHORT OF RESISTANCE ON THE PART OF THE COLOR MAN CAN WIPE IT OUT. EVERY SLAVE HUNTER WHO MEETS A BLOODY DEATH IN HIS INFERNAL BUSINESS IS AN ARGUMENT IN FAVOR TO SOME 300 ALLEGED FUGITIVES BEING OFFICIALLY RETURNED TO SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH.

COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE GREW WITH THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. ITS MANY WAY STATIONS SECRETLY MOVED FUGITIVE SLAVES ALONG VARIOUS PATHS TO FREEDOM IN THE NORTH AND CANADA.

AT THE SAME TIME THERE WERE NUMEROUS HIGHLY DRAMATIC EPISODES IN THE NORTH EMPHASIZING THE GROSS INHUMANITY OF SLAVERY. THESE MOMENTS CREATED MUCH SYMPATHY FOR THE ANTI SLAVERY CAUSE THROUGHOUT THE REGION.

IN 1854, THE CAPTURE OF FUGITIVE SLAVE ANTHONY BURNS IN BOSTON AND HIS RETURN TO SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA CREATED A STUNNING PUBLIC SPECTACLE.

OVER 50,000 BOSTONIANS LINED THE STREET SCREAMING AND SHOUTING IN PROTEST AS FEDERAL AUTHORITIES LED BURNS FROM THE COURTHOUSE TO THE RETURN SHIP.

THE BURNS EPISODE THRILLED THE PRO SLAVERY SOUTH DEEPLY ANGERED MANY IN THE NORTH, ESPECIALLY IN BOSTON AND COST THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT $100,000.

IN THE DRED SCOTT v. SANFORD CASE SCOTT, A MISSOURI SLAVE, CLAIMED THAT EXTENDED RESIDENCE ON FREE SOIL HAD MADE HIM A FREE MAN.

IN THE 1857 DECISION
IN THE CASE
257 01:13:36:29 01:13:40:24 THE COURT REASONED THAT SCOTT DID NOT HAVE LEGAL STANDING
258 01:13:40:26 01:13:43:00 AS A SLAVE AND AS A BLACK PERSON.
261 01:13:49:27 01:13:51:06 BLACKS POSSESSED...
263 01:13:59:11 01:14:01:16 THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT OF 1854
264 01:14:01:18 01:14:04:09 AND ITS PRINCIPLE OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY.
265 01:14:04:11 01:14:08:04 CONGRESS, ACCORDING TO THE COURT, DID NOT HAVE THE POWER
266 01:14:08:06 01:14:10:22 TO PROHIBIT SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.
267 01:14:10:24 01:14:12:19 NOT SURPRISINGLY, AGAIN
268 01:14:12:21 01:14:15:20 SOUTHERNERS WERE PLEASED AND NORTHERNERS WERE ALARMED.
269 01:14:15:22 01:14:17:06 FOR NORTHERNERS
270 01:14:17:08 01:14:20:20 THE DECISION UNFORTUNATELY CONSTITUTED FURTHER EVIDENCE
273 01:14:28:27 01:14:31:26 IT CONFIRMED THEM IN THEIR BELIEF IN SLAVERY
274 01:14:31:28 01:14:33:08 AS A POSITIVE GOOD.
275 01:14:35:08 01:14:38:15 IN 1859, JOHN BROWN AND HIS 17-MEMBER TEAM
276 01:14:38:17 01:14:41:14 OF BLACK AND WHITE CO-REVOLUTIONARIES
277 01:14:41:16 01:14:44:03 INCLUDING SEVERAL OF HIS OWN SONS
278 01:14:44:05 01:14:47:12 BOLDLY SEIZED CONTROL OF THE FEDERAL ARSENAL
279 01:14:47:14 01:14:49:17 AT HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA.
280 01:14:49:19 01:14:53:02 ONCE THEY POSSESSED THE LARGE CACHE OF ARMS STORED THERE
281 01:14:53:04 01:14:55:29 THEY TOOK SEVERAL PLANTERS AND SLAVES HOSTAGE.
282 01:14:56:01 01:14:58:00 BROWN AND HIS CO-INSURRECTIONISTS
283 01:14:58:02 01:15:00:20 HOPED THEIR SURPRISE ACTIONS WOULD INSPIRE
284 01:15:00:22 01:15:02:14 A MASSIVE SLAVE INSURRECTION
285 01:15:02:16 01:15:05:11 WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD DESTROY SOUTHERN SLAVERY.
286 01:15:05:13 01:15:09:27 INSTEAD, FEDERAL AUTHORITIES QUICKLY AND RUTHLESSLY SQUELCHED
287 01:15:09:29 01:15:11:14 THE INSURRECTION
THE NEWS SPREAD LIKE WILDFIRE THROUGHOUT THE NATION, INFLAMING FURTHER SECTIONAL TENSION.
THE SLAVE SOUTH AND THEIR NORTHERN SYMPATHIZERS WERE ESPECIALLY OUTRAGD. FOR THEM, THIS AWFUL EPISODE WAS FURTHER PROOF OF AN ABOLITIONIST CONSPIRACY--A BLACK REPUBLICAN CONSPIRACY--TO DESTROY THE WORLD OF SOUTHERN SLAVERY. BRAVELY CONFRONTING THE GALLOWS FOR HIS ACTIONS BROWN SPOKE OF AN INCLUSIVE, INTERRACIAL VISION OF EQUALITY. THE UNCOMPROMISING COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND A COMMON HUMANITY AS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF BLACKS AS WELL AS WHITES HAD FUELED HIS INTENSE HATRED OF SLAVERY. IN A CLASSIC AMERICAN MOMENT, BROWN EXPLAINED:
WHEN LINCOLN BECAME THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT HE WAS THOROUGHLY UNACCEPTABLE TO SOUTHERN WHITES. THEY WARNED THAT HIS ELECTION AS A NORTHERN ANTISLAVERY REPUBLICAN WOULD MEAN SECESSION OF THE SOUTH FROM THE UNION. HIS EVENTUAL ELECTION IN A VIGOROUSLY FOUGHT, HIGHLY SPLIT AND SECTIONAL ELECTION FEATURING FOUR PARTIES, ONLY INCREASED SOUTHERN WHITE ALARMS. LINCOLN WAS UNABLE TO CALM THEIR FEARS. IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS ON MARCH 4, 1861 HE EVEN OFFERED SUPPORT FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ENSURING THAT "THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHALL NEVER INTERFERE WITH THE DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE STATES"-- THAT IS, WITH SLAVERY. FOR SOUTHERN SECESSIONISTS,
THAT WAS PRECISELY THE PROBLEM.

320 01:17:13:27 01:17:15:21 THEY REJECTED THE VERY NOTION
321 01:17:15:23 01:17:18:06 THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
HAD THE POWER
322 01:17:18:08 01:17:21:03 TO INTERFERE WITH SLAVERY,
WHEREVER IT EXISTED.
323 01:17:21:05 01:17:22:17 LINCOLN, NEVERTHELESS
324 01:17:22:19 01:17:25:03 PROJECTED A PERSUASIVE VISION
OF THE UNION AS ONE
325 01:17:25:05 01:17:27:01 AND OF THE UNION AS UNBREAKABLE.
326 01:17:27:03 01:17:28:16 HE FIRMLY BELIEVED
327 01:17:28:18 01:17:32:07 THAT THE UNION COULD NOT EXIST
DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF
328 01:17:32:09 01:17:34:11 HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE.
329 01:17:34:13 01:17:35:29 IN A POSTELECTION LETTER
330 01:17:36:01 01:17:40:02 TO GEORGIA'S ALEXANDER STEPHENS,
A GOOD FRIEND, LINCOLN NOTED:
331 01:17:40:04 01:17:43:00 "YOU THINK SLAVERY IS RIGHT
AND OUGHT TO BE EXPANDED
332 01:17:43:02 01:17:46:02 "WHILE WE THINK IT IS WRONG
AND OUGHT TO BE REstricted.
333 01:17:46:04 01:17:48:15 "THAT, I SUPPOSE, IS THE RUB."
334 01:17:48:17 01:17:49:22 INDEED IT WAS.
335 01:17:49:24 01:17:52:12 BY THE TIME LINCOLN TOOK
THE OATH OF OFFICE
336 01:17:52:14 01:17:55:01 SOUTHERN SECESSION
WAS ALREADY A REALITY.
337 01:17:57:11 01:17:59:08 SOUTH CAROLINA HAD LED THE WAY
338 01:17:59:10 01:18:01:17 IN THE CREATION
OF THE CONFEDERACY
339 01:18:01:19 01:18:05:08 BY FORMALLY WITHDRAWING FROM
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
340 01:18:05:10 01:18:06:22 ON DECEMBER 20, 1860.
341 01:18:06:24 01:18:09:17 MISSISSIPPI, LOUISIANA,
FLORIDA, GEORGIA
342 01:18:09:19 01:18:11:15 SOUTH CAROLINA AND ALABAMA
343 01:18:11:17 01:18:15:06 MET IN EARLY FEBRUARY 1861
AT MONTGOMERY
344 01:18:15:08 01:18:18:02 TO CREATE THE CONFEDERATE STATES
OF AMERICA.
345 01:18:20:03 01:18:21:22 IN SPITE OF POCKETS
OF COMPROMISE
SOUTH AND THE BORDER STATES
347 01:18:24:21 01:18:28:02 THE UNION APPEARED
PERMANENTLY DIVIDED.
348 01:18:28:04 01:18:31:04 THE CONFEDERATES FIRED
ON THE FEDERAL FORCES
349 01:18:31:06 01:18:35:08 AT FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA,
ON APRIL 12, 1861
350 01:18:35:10 01:18:37:24 TO BRING IT
UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL.
351 01:18:37:26 01:18:41:02 AS A RESULT,
CIVIL WAR BROKE LOOSE.
352 01:18:47:19 01:18:49:01 WALDO.
353 01:18:49:03 01:18:52:24 IT'S NOVEMBER,
MID-NOVEMBER, 1860.

WE'RE IN MISSISSIPPI.

THEY'VE JUST LEARNED THAT ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S BEEN ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WHY DID THEY THINK THEY HAD TO SECEDE AT THAT POINT?

WELL, I THINK IT'S CRITICAL TO UNDERSTAND THAT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, AS THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE REPRESENTED A PARTY WHICH WAS ESSENTIALLY A NORTHERN PARTY.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WAS A SECTIONAL PARTY, AND DID NOT REALLY HAVE SORT OF A SOUTHERN CONSTITUENCY.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WAS REALLY COMMITTED TO A VISION OF SOCIETY AND POLITICS WHICH, ON A FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL, WAS OPPOSED TO THE WAY IN WHICH A LOT OF SOUTHERNERS THOUGHT ABOUT THE WORLD.

WHY DID THEY FEEL THAT SLAVERY HAD TO EXPAND IN ORDER TO SURVIVE?

WELL, I THINK IT DEPENDS A LOT ON WHERE YOU LOCATE THAT ARGUMENT.

THE GROWTH OF THE COTTON ECONOMY-- BUT IT THINK YOU'VE LOCATED IT IN A PLACE WHICH, ON A FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL, WAS OPPOSED TO THE WAY IN WHICH A LOT OF SOUTHERNERS THOUGHT ABOUT THE WORLD.

WHY DID THEY FEEL THAT SLAVERY HAD TO EXPAND IN ORDER TO SURVIVE?

WELL, I THINK IT DEPENDS A LOT ON WHERE YOU LOCATE THAT ARGUMENT.

BUT I THINK YOU'VE LOCATED IT IN A PLACE WHERE THERE WAS GROWTH IN THE COTTON ECONOMY.

AND THE IDEA OF COTTON IS THAT COTTON NEEDS LAND.

COTTON NEEDS A CONTINUOUS BODY OF LAND TO DEVELOP.

COTTON EXHAUSTS THE SOIL.

AND SO THE NOTION OF EXPANSION-- IS NOT ONLY TIED TO THE NOTION OF COTTON--

THE GROWTH OF THE COTTON ECONOMY-- BUT IT'S ALSO TIED TO THE NOTION OF THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

BUT YOU KNOW, IT INTRIGUES ME THAT, YOU KNOW
When we talk about big geopolitical issues and geographic political issues, there's those border states up there. And I include as part of the border states, Southern Illinois--places like Cairo; Southern Indiana... strong secessionist feelings in states like that. That whole area, before the development of transportation would have went with the South. What happened?

Ambrose: The railroads ran east-west. The Midwest had been developed by people coming, for the most part out of New England or out of Europe. But they weren't Southerners. And these people weren't about to secede. They understood the idea of union. Exactly. And they were committed to it in a way that it turned out most Southerners weren't--most white Southerners weren't. And thus, the war came. The technology for building a railroad existed at the time that Sutter found the gold on the American River. There wasn't a great technological advance between 1848 and 1869 when they finally drove in the golden spike and brought the country together.
WHAT KEPT US FROM BUILDING
A TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD
BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR?

IT WASN'T TECHNOLOGY.

THE SOUTHERNERS WERE DAMNED
IF THEY WERE GOING TO LET
THE NORTHERNERS
HAVE CHICAGO FOR A TERMINUS,
OR EVEN OMAHA FOR A TERMINUS.

IT WAS EITHER GOING TO BE
NEW ORLEANS OR NOTHING.

AND THE NORTHERN POLITICIANS,
THEY WERE DAMNED
IF THEY WERE GOING TO LET NEW
ORLEANS BE THE EASTERN TERMINUS
OF A RAILROAD THAT RAN
OUT TO TODAY'S LOS ANGELES.

THEY WEREN'T GOING
TO HAVE THAT HAPPEN.

SO THAT WHAT
COULD HAVE BEEN
HAD IT NOT BEEN
FOR SLAVERY

TEN, EVEN 15 YEARS
BEFORE IT ACTUALLY HAPPENED
CAME ABOUT ONLY BECAUSE
THE WORST MISTAKE
THE SOUTH EVER MADE

WAS TO WALK OUT OF THE UNION.
NOW, WHY DIDN'T THOSE TIES
BETWEEN COTTON GROWERS
AND TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS
IN NEW ENGLAND--
AND BANKERS IN NEW YORK
WHO WERE SUBSIDIZING
THIS WHOLE COTTON TRADE--

WHY DIDN'T THOSE ECONOMIC TIES,
THOSE COMMERCIAL TIES

WHICH WOULD SEEM TO REDOUND
TO THE SOUTH'S SELF-INTEREST
WHY DIDN'T THEY
PREVENT THE SOUTH
FROM PUSHING
THIS TO WAR?

WELL, I THINK
THIS GETS AT THE HEART

OF WHAT CAUSES
THE CIVIL WAR--

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS
THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE HERE.

AND IT STRIKES ME THAT THE WAR
IS NOT JUST ABOUT SORT OF
THOSE ECONOMIC CONNECTIONS;
BUT THEY'RE ALSO
ABOUT THE ECONOMIC
DISCONNECTIONS.

450 01:22:34:26 01:22:37:16 THE NORTH IS AN INCREASINGLY
INDUSTRIALIZING SOCIETY;
PRIMARILY AGRICULTURAL.
OF HOW YOU ORDER A SOCIETY
453 01:22:43:06 01:22:45:04 WERE IN CONFLICT FUNDAMENTALLY--
454 01:22:45:06 01:22:48:02 ESPECIALLY IF ONE SYSTEM
OF LABOR IN THE SOUTH
IN THE NORTH
457 01:22:52:00 01:22:53:29 IS A FREE WAGE SYSTEM OF LABOR.
THESE CONNECTIONS
TO TIE THE NATION TOGETHER
460 01:22:57:28 01:23:00:23 THERE ARE ALSO THESE
PROFOUND DIFFERENCES
461 01:23:00:25 01:23:04:05 WHICH ARE, YOU KNOW,
RENDEZVUSSUNDER THE NATION.
462 01:23:04:07 01:23:07:16 SO I THINK
THE OTHER ISSUE
THAT I WOULD ARGUE
463 01:23:07:18 01:23:09:21 IS, ULTIMATELY,
I THINK OF IT
464 01:23:09:23 01:23:12:13 AS AN IDEOLOGICAL
AND POLITICAL WAR.
465 01:23:12:15 01:23:14:05 WHY DO YOU THINK
WE GET A WAR?
466 01:23:14:07 01:23:15:14 Miller:
I THINK
IT'S EMOTION.
467 01:23:15:16 01:23:17:19 I THINK IT'S REALLY EMOTION.
CULTURE BUILT ON...
469 01:23:21:14 01:23:25:03 IT'S A CULTURE OF HONOR,
IT'S A CULTURE OF PRIDE.
470 01:23:25:05 01:23:28:00 THE ABOLITIONISTS ARE ATTACKING
THEM ON MORAL GROUNDS
471 01:23:28:02 01:23:30:08 AND THEY'RE PUSHED
INTO A CORNER ON THIS.
472 01:23:30:10 01:23:33:19 AND COMBINED WITH THAT
473 01:23:33:21 01:23:37:04 THERE ARE THESE YOUNG,
AGGRESSIVE PLANTERS
474 01:23:37:06 01:23:40:02 WHO NEED MORE SLAVES
AND MORE LAND.
475 01:23:40:04 01:23:42:00 AND THEY USE
THESE ARGUMENTS--
476 01:23:42:02 01:23:43:22 THESE EMOTIONAL
ARGUMENTS
AND THINGS LIKE THAT
478 01:23:46:00 01:23:48:06 AND DEFENDING
THE COUNTRY--
TO WHIP THE SOUTH INTO A FRENZY ON THIS ISSUE.

AND, UH... AND IT HAPPENED.

YOU READ SOUTHERN DIARIES...

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE ARGUMENT THAT SLAVERY... AT SOME POINT FREEDOM AND SLAVERY HAD TO BE RESOLVED.

AND THAT THIS WAS A POINT IT HAD TO BE RESOLVED AT THAT POINT IN TIME WAS GOING TO HAVE TO PAY

FOR THAT "ORIGINAL SIN."

YEAH, I THINK SO, I THINK SO.

SO HOW DOES THAT FIT INTO, SORT OF, YOUR PARTICULAR ARGUMENT?

WELL, I DON'T KNOW.

BECAUSE ONCE YOU GET LINCOLN INTO THIS, IT'S OVER.

BECAUSE LINCOLN WAS OBDOURATE.

LINCOLN WOULDN'T BEND ON THIS.

PEOPLE TALK ABOUT LINCOLN BEING WILY

LINCOLN BEING WILY

AND HE WAS A GREAT POLITICIAN

BUT ON THIS ONE, YOU KNOW, HE STOOD STRAIGHT AS A SPEAR.

I MEAN...

AND SLAVERY IS A SYSTEM BUILT ON THE FUNDAMENTAL PREMISE

THAT THE WORST WHITE MAN CAN OWN THE BEST BLACK MAN.

AND THAT'S WRONG.

AND EVEN THE MOST FANATIC JOHN C. CALHOUN SUPPORTERS

IN THEIR HEART KNEW THAT.

IT WAS WRONG...

YEAH.

MORALLY WRONG.

ALL RIGHT, LINCOLN IS THE ONE WHO SPOKE UP.

AND MANY, MANY FOLLOWED LINCOLN.

AND EXACTLY WHAT WALDO SAYS-- IT HAD TO COME...

JUST TURN IT AROUND A LITTLE BIT.

CAN YOU IMAGINE THE UNITED STATES GOING INTO THE 20th CENTURY WITH SLAVERY INTACT?

JUST LEAVE ASIDE THAT THERE HAD
BEEN A CIVIL WAR, OR THAT...

IT SEEMS INCONCEIVABLE.

(laughs)

BUT ONLY BECAUSE, YOU KNOW

IT DIDN'T HAPPEN.

IT SEEMS INCONCEIVABLE, YEAH.

IT DIDN'T HAPPEN

BECAUSE IT IS INCONCEIVABLE.

AND I HATE TO KEEP QUOTING THE MASTER

BUT HE DESERVES TO BE QUOTED HERE.

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT"

THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

AND IT IS SELF-EVIDENT.

AND WE HAD TO UNDERSTAND THAT,

AND WE HAD TO LIVE UP TO IT.

AND WE DID, FINALLY.

[Captioned by

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