

***Expansion and Reform, the Growth of Slavery,  
Cotton, Antislavery and Proslavery Arguments***

Teaching American History 2

Final Project: Series of four lesson plans

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September 21, 2011  
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**Introduction:**

During the course of this Teaching American History seminar, I was exposed to some primary source documents of the time period leading up to the Civil War that brought the sectional crisis alive for me. I have attempted to introduce some of these documents to my students in an accessible manner that is not overwhelming. By reading first hand accounts of the debates over the continuation and extension of slavery, students will gain a better appreciation of the issues leading up to the Civil War.

The National Center for History in the Schools recognizes five standards in historical thinking. Students will be engaged in chronological thinking, historical comprehension, historical analysis and interpretation, historical research capabilities, and historical issues-analysis and decision-making. <http://nchs.ucla.edu/standards/thinking5-12.html>

To American students living in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, it is difficult to understand the justification of slavery, the opposition to abolitionists among Northerners, and the continuation of slavery until the Civil War. Students identify so strongly with abolitionists. Furthermore, students demonize Southern slaveholders and condemn the Southern way of life. These lessons should help them understand the perspective of Southerners regarding antislavery activities.

After the Revolutionary War, slavery was gradually abolished in the Northern states. Many of the Founding Fathers anticipated that slavery would gradually die out. The cotton gin was invented. Even though the international slave trade was outlawed in 1808, the domestic slave trade flourished. The price of slave farm hands increased from 1820-1860. Cotton production soared. Slavery expanded into the Southwest. Cotton textile manufacturing thrived in Northern cities. In the years leading up to the Civil War, cotton was the largest U.S. export, with 75% being sold to Great Britain. A growing number of Americans began to oppose slavery and the extension of slavery on moral and economic grounds. How did Northerners respond to the growing antislavery activity? How did Southerners respond to the growing antislavery activity?

This series of four lessons allows students to explore the growing economic dominance of cotton and the slave trade on the U.S. economy, the antislavery arguments, and the proslavery arguments. Students will be able to recognize the growing tensions between the opponents and proponents of slavery. Students will be able to recognize the point of view of southerners to the growing antislavery activity. Students will be able to grapple with the difficult issues facing the nation from 1820-1860. In order to understand the current political climate it is imperative that students understand the events and ideas that led to the Civil War and its aftermath.

**Essential Questions:**

- ❖ *Do you think it would have been possible to eliminate slavery in the United States without a bloody conflict? Explain.*
- ❖ *Do you think that cotton could have continued to flourish without the use of slave labor? Explain.*

## National Standards

### United States History Era 4: Expansion and Reform (1820-1861)

**Standard 2:** How the industrial revolution, increasing immigration, the rapid expansion of slavery, and the westward movement changed the lives of Americans and led toward regional tensions.

The student understands how the factory system and the transportation and market revolutions shaped regional patterns of economic development.

- The Student is able to explain how the cotton gin and the opening of new lands in the South and West led to the increased demand for slaves. Analyze cause-and-effect relationships.

**Standard 4:** The sources and character of cultural, religious, and social reform movements in the antebellum period. The student understands the abolitionist movement.

- The student is able to analyze changing ideas about race and assess the reception of proslavery and antislavery ideologies in the North and South. Examine the influence of ideas.
- The student is able to explain the fundamental beliefs of abolitionism and compare the antislavery positions of the "immediatists" and "gradualists" within the movement. Consider multiple perspectives.

### United States History Era 5: Civil War and Reconstruction (1850-1877)

#### Standard 1: The Causes of the Civil War

The student understands how the North and South differed and how politics and ideologies led to the Civil War.

- The student is able to explain the causes of the Civil War and evaluate the importance of slavery as a principal cause of the conflict. Compare competing historical narratives. <http://www.nchs.ucla.edu/Standards/>

## Massachusetts History and Social Studies Curriculum Framework

### Economic Growth in the North and South, 1800-1860

USI.29 Describe the rapid growth of slavery in the South after 1800 and analyze slave life and resistance on plantations and farms across the South, as well as the impact of the cotton gin on the economics of slavery and Southern agriculture. (H)

### Social, Political, and Religious Change, 1800-1860

USI.31 Describe the formation of the abolitionist movement, the roles of various abolitionists, and the response of southerners and northerners to abolitionism. (H)

- A. Frederick Douglass
- B. William Lloyd Garrison
- C. Sojourner Truth
- D. Harriet Tubman
- E. Theodore Weld

### **The Civil War and Reconstruction, 1860-1877**

USI.35 Describe how the different economies and cultures of the North and South contributed to the growing importance of sectional politics in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. (H)

<http://www.doe.mass.edu/frameworks/current.html>

**Assessment:** At the completion of the four lessons, students will pair up with another student. The students will write a 5-10 minute conversation between two cousins, one from the South and one from the North where they will discuss slavery. Students should identify which part of the South and the North they are from.

Extension Activity: Students write an essay exploring the following question:  
what could have been done to prevent the Civil War?

### **Lesson #1: Growth of Slavery 1820-1860 and the Growth of the Profitability of Slavery and the Growth of Cotton Production**

**Background:** Even though the importation of slaves officially ended in 1808, the number of slaves in the U.S. increased dramatically. What can account for this and what are the implications of this? At the time of the drafting of the Constitution, many Founding Fathers anticipated the gradual extinction of slavery and many Northern states passed gradual emancipation laws. The purpose of this lesson is to give students an opportunity to see via charts and maps that after the invention of the cotton gin the number of slaves dramatically increased. What would the political and economic repercussions be? We often speak of the southern economy and the northern economy, but this lesson should underscore for students the interconnectedness of economic activities between the regions. Many people in all regions were invested in economic activities related to slavery. Therefore, economic motives would encourage the continuation of slavery. Furthermore, students would be able to extrapolate why abolitionists might not be the most popular people even in the North.

#### **Essential Questions:**

- ❖ *Do you think it would have been possible to eliminate slavery in the United States without a bloody conflict? Explain.*
- ❖ *Do you think that cotton could have continued to flourish without the use of slave labor? Explain.*

**Objectives:** Students will be able to:

- Analyze data presented in charts and maps regarding the growth of the slave population, the domestic slave trade, the production of cotton, and the production of cotton cloth in the North. Interpret maps and charts.
- Explain how the cotton gin and the opening of new lands in the South and West led to the increased demand for slaves. Analyze cause and effect relationships.
- Identify how the economies of the North and the South were connected. Draw conclusions
- Infer how the growth of the slave population, the domestic slave trade, the production of cotton, and the production of cotton cloth in the North would make it difficult to gain supporters to the abolitionist cause. Determine cause and effect.

**Activities:**

Students will work in groups of two to complete Worksheet 1 by analyzing Table 1 which depicts the *Population of the South from 1790-1860*. Students will learn that the population of slaves increased dramatically from 1.1 million in 1810 to 3.95 million in 1860. Students will discuss what type of problems have could result from this? What would slaveholding states need to do?

Students would next analyze the chart entitled Table 3: *Slaves as a Percent of the Total Population* of the slaveholding states. Students would discuss which states have the greatest proportion of slaves (South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi). What impact would this have on their governments?

**Whole Class Discussion:** What can explain the increased number of slaves? What would be the implications for white planters, Northern abolitionists, and the United States?

Students would work in groups of two to complete worksheet #2: The Domestic Slave Trade, 1808-1865. Students will the thriving domestic slave trade after the ban on the importation of slaves in 1808. Students will complete a chart based on information presented in the map. Students will make generalizations about the domestic slave trade.

Students will then analyze a chart depicting the price of slave field hands from 1800-1860. Students will identify trends in the price of slaves after the ban of the importation of slaves. Students will attempt to explain this phenomenon.

Whole Class Discussion: What implications does the thriving domestic slave trade have on white planters, the abolitionist movement, and the United States? Students will predict which states would support the continuation of the domestic slave trade and slavery. Students will predict which states would be the most likely to secede.

Homework: Worksheet #3 Table 4: *American Production of Raw Cotton, 1790-1860*, Quote about U.S. exports, Table 5: *Cotton Produced and Consumed in Lowell, Massachusetts*. Students will see the incredible increase in the production of cotton in the United States from 1820-1860. Students will attempt to explain why this happened and predict the consequences of this growth. Students will see that Cotton accounted for the majority of U.S. exports which produced wealth for lots of different people. Students would recognize the tremendous increase in cotton cloth production and cotton consumption in Lowell, Massachusetts from 1834 to 1858.

Whole Class Discussion: What would you predict about Great Britain if a civil war came? Why would some Northerners support the continuation of slavery?

**Assessment:** Students will write a 2 page essay answering the following question: What do you think the implications of the growth in cotton production, cotton cloth production, cotton exports, slavery, domestic slave trade had on the politics of the United States in the years between 1820 and 1860? Do you think it would have been possible to eliminate slavery in the Southern states without a bloody conflict?

## Lesson 2: Anti-Slavery Timeline

**Background:** In order to understand the context of when the proslavery speeches were delivered. Although slavery and cotton were growing in prominence, there were increasing voices articulating the antislavery sentiment in the nation. Numerous groups began to vigorously challenge the continuation of slavery in the United States. Their arguments were spread via the increase in circulation of newspapers. Increasingly slaveholders felt under attack from various sources. This lesson allows students to review the abolition movement in the antebellum period and reflect on how each of the events would be perceived by a Southerner. Students can imagine how they would respond to the antislavery movement in the United States. This will provide students with the context of the proslavery speeches they will be reading in lesson 3.

Logic: Teaching about slavery in the North to students in 2011 is somewhat difficult because students identify so strongly with abolitionists. Furthermore, students demonize Southern slaveholders and condemn the Southern way of life. This activity should help them understand better the perspective of Southerners regarding antislavery agitation.

**Objectives:** Students will be able to

- Analyze changing ideas about race and assess the reception of proslavery and antislavery ideologies in the North and South. Examine the influence of ideas. (*National Standards United States History Era 4: Expansion and Reform, 1820-1861, Standard 4*)
- Explain how the North and South differed and how politics and ideologies led to the Civil War
- Identify point of view

**Activities:**

**Homework:** Have students complete the Anti-Slavery worksheet. Students will review the various activities of opponents of slavery from 1816-1861. Students will respond to each event from the perspective of a Southerner.

Next day in class:

10 minutes: **Pair Share** activity. Have students discuss in pairs how viewing the events and activities of antislavery groups from the point of view of a Southerner made them feel. Which events would be perceived to be the most egregious and which the least noxious?

15 minutes: Whole Group Discussion: Discuss how a Southerner would have reacted to growing abolitionist activity in the North. Which events would be considered particularly upsetting by a Southerner? Do you think that antislavery activity contributed to the Civil War?

20 minutes: Small Group Activity: Southern Response Plan to Antislavery activities. Divide students into groups of four. Have each group come up with a comprehensive plan to respond to the growing antislavery activity. Make a poster to display their key ideas. Come up with a slogan to sum up their plan.

10 minutes: Wrap up. Have each group present their plans to the class. Have the class vote on the most effective and responsible responses to the growing antislavery agitation. Discuss how this should help them understand the Southern mindset and how they would be most likely to respond to

**Assessment:** Homework chart completion and participation in class activities.

### **Lesson 3: Anti-slavery arguments**

**Background:** Students would already be familiar with major antislavery and abolitionist figures, activities, tactics, and arguments. Students would also have studied the Second Great Awakening. Students will identify with different

motives and tactics of various individuals and organizations that opposed slavery.

**Objectives:** Students will be able to

- Explain the fundamental beliefs of abolitionism and compare the antislavery position of the “immediatists” and “gradualists” within the movement. Consider the multiple perspectives.
- Analyze changing ideas about race and assess the reception of antislavery ideologies in the North and the South. Examine the influence of ideas.
- Explain the causes of the Civil War and evaluate the importance of slavery as a principal cause of the conflict. Compare competing historical narratives.

**Activities:**

1. Homework: students will read Frederick Douglass’s “*The Meaning of the 4<sup>th</sup> of July for the Negro*” Speech delivered in Rochester, New York on July 5, 1852. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h2927t.html> Students will complete questions that coincide with the text of the speech. A sample excerpt is included here:

*What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sound of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants brass fronted impudence; your shout of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy -- a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States, at this very hour.*

- a. What is the main point of Frederick Douglass’s address?
- b. What does he want his audience to do?

2. Next day in class:

A. **Pair Share Activity:** Have pairs of students discuss the Rochester speech by Frederick Douglass. What was the most significant quote from the speech? (5-10 minutes)

B. Whole class activity: Discuss the main points of Frederick Douglass's "*The Meaning of the 4<sup>th</sup> of July for the Negro*" speech. What are his strongest arguments? What do you predict for the nation?

C. In groups of three discuss Documents A and B. Complete the worksheet analysis form.

D. Discuss in a large group the major arguments presented by Garrison and Foster in their documents. What role did newspapers and religion play in the antislavery movement? What are the implications of their rhetoric?

E. Wrap Up Discussion: Can someone be antislavery yet not an abolitionist? How? Discuss the wide variety of actions, tactics, and goals of opponents of slavery. What impact do you think different tactics and goals had on the antislavery movement? How would their lack of unity effect their effectiveness? What impact do you think the antislavery movement had on the coming of the Civil War?

**Assessment:** Write a paragraph response to the following question: what do you think the role of the antislavery movement would be on the political harmony of the country? How do you think Northerners and Southerners would respond to the antislavery movement and actions?

**Document A: William Lloyd Garrison, The Liberator, 1831**

*Let Southern oppressors tremble—let their secret abettors tremble—let their Northern apologists tremble—let all their enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.*

1. What is Garrison's tone?
2. How do you think it would be received in the South? How do you think it would be received in the North?

*Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life liberty and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population.*

3. How does Garrison justify his antislavery position?
4. What is his goal?

*I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! ...I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard.*

4. Does Garrison support gradual or immediate emancipation? Why?
5. In 1835 Garrison was mobbed, dragged through the streets of Boston, and nearly killed and his press was destroyed.  
<http://www.bchistory.org/beavercounty/booklengthdocuments/AMilobook/12Garrison.htm>  
 Why do you think some in the North opposed William Lloyd Garrison's approach to slavery?

**Document B: Excerpt from Rev. Eden B. Foster’s “The Rights of the Pulpit and the Perils of Freedom: Two Discourses Preached in Lowell,” June 25, 1854 Source: “Cotton, Cloth, and Conflict, University of Massachusetts Lowell**

*By what right, then does the minister discuss the subject of Slavery? ...The object of the pulpit is to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people, and the salvation of the souls. ...Slavery represses education; endangers moral purity; betrays and destroys souls; and no pulpit can be silent on this theme, and be true to God, or to virtue’s cause.*

1. How does Reverend Foster justify speaking out against slavery?

*I believe that when Slavery was abolished in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, it was not on account of the unprofitableness of slave-labor, but because the sentiments of humanity and religion dwelt in the bosom of men. I believe that it is this alone which will ever abolish Slavery in any province. Slavery may be unprofitable, but this does not abolish it. It may impoverish a nation or a State, while still the slave-holders (who form only a small minority of the nation) may grind the faces of the poor, and fatten on the spoils of the many, and grow rich while the country is sinking into decay.*

2. According to Foster, why was slavery abolished in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts?

3. According to Foster, why should slavery be eradicated?

#### **Lesson 4: Proslavery Arguments in the South**

##### **Background:**

How did Southerners justify slavery?

Why did they justify slavery?

I wanted to give high school students access to some of the major speeches that defended slavery as cotton and slavery spread in the years 1820-1860. What were the defenders of slavery reacting to? How did they justify slavery? How did they characterize opponents of slavery? Why did they think the South would be successful? What was the tone of the defenders of slavery? What was the

purpose of each speech? What is foreshadowed in Calhoun's and Hammond's speeches? Why is Stephens confident that the South would be successful?

**Objectives:** Students will be able to

- Identify the constitutional, economic, moral, and political arguments used by the defenders of slavery.
- Infer the rationale for the proslavery speeches, writings, and activities of Southerners. Consider multiple perspectives. Identify point of view.
- Explain the causes of the Civil War and evaluate the importance as a principal cause of the conflict. Compare competing historical narratives.

**Activities:**

Divide students into three groups.

**Homework:** Assign one of the three excerpted speeches for students to read for homework. (#1 John Calhoun's *Slavery as a Positive Good*, February 6, 1837, #2 James Henry Hammond's *Mudsill Speech*, March 4, 1858, #3 Alexander Stephens *Cornerstone Speech*, March 4, 1861) Have students answer the questions for homework. Students will read excerpts of the longer speeches. I made worksheets with questions after each passage for the students to have better access to the primary source documents. Students will identify the constitutional, economic, moral, and political arguments used by the defender of slavery.

Next day in class:

**Small Group Discussion:** Have students work in groups of three students to discuss the speeches. Utilize "the Last Word" activity. Have student #1 in the group identify one quote from the speech, then have student #2 comment, then student #3 make a comment, then student #1 gets to say the last word. Continue with student #2 make a leading statement, then student #3 has a chance too. Have one student in the group chronicle the discussion.

**Whole Group Discussion:** Have students who read the John C. Calhoun's *Positive Good* speech give a brief overview of Senator Calhoun's arguments. Discuss. Have students who read James Henry Hammond's *Mudsill* speech give a brief overview of Senator Hammond's arguments. Discuss. Have students who read Alexander Stephen's *Cornerstone* speech give a brief overview of Vice-President's arguments. Discuss the major arguments used by defenders of slavery. Continue the discussion on how the growing defense of slavery would impact the attempts at political compromise in the 1840s and 1850s. Why did Southerners think their society and economy were superior to the Northern society and economy?

**Assessment:**

Each student will write a two page essay answering the following questions: What were the major arguments used by defenders of slavery? Why do you think some Southerners felt compelled to defend slavery at this time? What implications would these writings of leading Southerners have on the future of the United States? Why were Southerners confident that they would be successful in establishing a new and improved nation?

**TABLE 2 □ Population of the South 1790-1860 by type**

<b>Year</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Free Nonwhite</b>	<b>Slave</b>
1790	1,240,454	32,523	654,121
1800	1,691,892	61,575	851,532
1810	2,118,144	97,284	1,103,700
1820	2,867,454	130,487	1,509,904
1830	3,614,600	175,074	1,983,860
1840	4,601,873	207,214	2,481,390
1850	6,184,477	235,821	3,200,364
1860	8,036,700	253,082	3,950,511

Source: *Historical Statistics of the U.S.* (1970). <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/wahl.slavery.us>

1. In 1808, the trans-Atlantic slave trade to the U.S. officially ended. What does that mean?
  
2. What happened to the population of slaves from 1810-1860? What can explain this trend?
  
3. What happened to the free nonwhite population in the South from 1810-1860? What do you think can explain this?
  
4. From 1800 until 1830 how much did the slave population grow in each decade?
  
5. From 1840 until 1860 how much did the slave population grow in each decade?
  
6. Based on the information depicted in the chart, what generalizations can you make?
  
7. Based on the information depicted in the chart, predict the implications for the United States.
  
8. What questions are raised by the information depicted on this chart?

**TABLE 3** Slaves as a Percent of the Total Population selected years, by Southern state

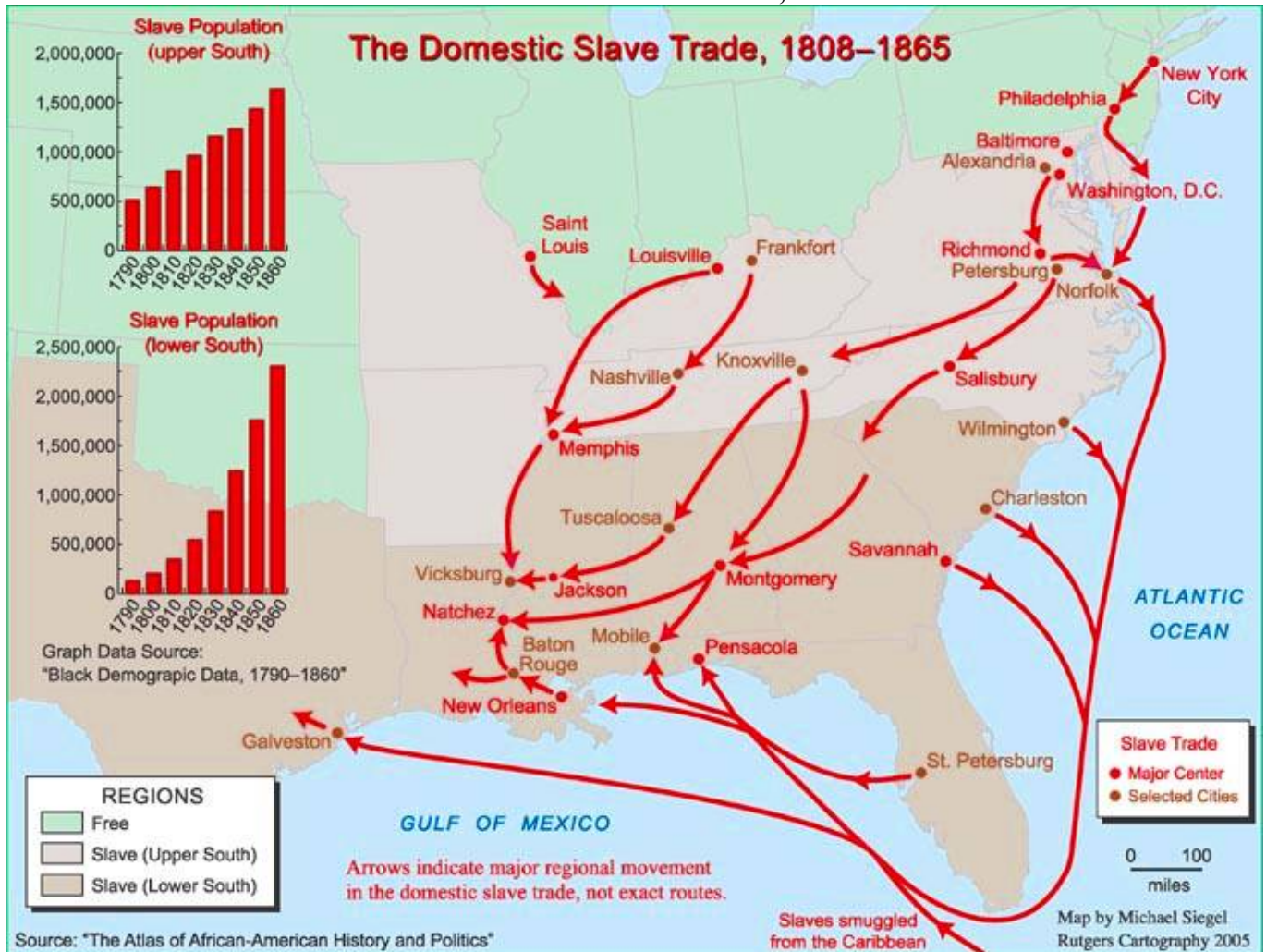
	<b>1750</b>	<b>1790</b>	<b>1810</b>	<b>1860</b>
<i>State</i>	<i>Black/total population</i>	<i>Slave/total population</i>	<i>Slave/total population</i>	<i>Slave/total population</i>
Alabama				45.12
Arkansas				25.52
Delaware	5.21	15.04	5.75	1.60
Florida				43.97
Georgia	19.23	35.45	41.68	43.72
Kentucky		16.87	19.82	19.51
Louisiana				46.85
Maryland	30.80	32.23	29.30	12.69
Mississippi				55.18
Missouri				9.72
North Carolina	27.13	25.51	30.39	33.35
South Carolina	60.94	43.00	47.30	57.18
Tennessee			17.02	24.84
Texas				30.22
Virginia	43.91	39.14	40.27	30.75
Overall	37.97	33.95	33.25	32.27

Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States (1970)*, Franklin (1988).

<http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/wahl.slavery.us>

1. Based on the information depicted in the chart, what generalizations can you make?
2. What questions are raised by the information depicted on this chart?
3. Based on the information depicted in the chart, predict the implications for the United States.

## Worksheet #2 Domestic Slave Trade, 1808-1865



[http://www.inmotionaame.org/gallery/detail.cfm?migration=3&topic=1&id=3\\_004M&type=map&page=](http://www.inmotionaame.org/gallery/detail.cfm?migration=3&topic=1&id=3_004M&type=map&page=)

1. What 8 states constituted the UPPER SOUTH?
2. What 7 states constituted the LOWER SOUTH?
3. What were the fifteen major centers of the DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE?
4. What was the SLAVE population of the UPPER SOUTH in 1790? What was the SLAVE population of the UPPER SOUTH in 1860?

5. What was the SLAVE population of the LOWER SOUTH in 1790? What was the SLAVE population of the LOWER SOUTH in 1860?

6. Fill in the following chart of Slave Population

	UPPER SOUTH	LOWER SOUTH
1790	500,000	100,000
1800	600,000	200,000
1810		
1820		
1830		
1840		
1850		
1860		

11. Based on the information depicted in the map and chart, what generalizations can you make?

12. What might explain the trends depicted on the map and chart?

13. What questions are raised by the information depicted on this map and chart?

14. Based on the information depicted in the map and charts, predict the implications for the United States.

**Chart of Slave Prices 1800 - 1860**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Price of a prime field hand</b>
1800	\$400 - \$600
1850	\$1300 - \$1500
1860	Up to \$3000

<http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/wahl.slavery.us>

**Table 4** American Production of Raw Cotton, 1790-1860 (bales)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Production</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Production</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Production</i>
1790	3,135	1815	208,986	1840	1,346,232
1795	16,719	1820	334,378	1845	1,804,223
1800	73,145	1825	532,915	1850	2,133,851
1805	146,290	1830	731,452	1855	3,217,417
1810	177,638	1835	1,060,711	1860	3,837,402

*Sources:* Adapted from Table 40 in Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, vol. 2 (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1958), 1026. Original Data from United States Department of Agriculture, *Atlas of American Agriculture*, V, Sec. A, Cotton, Table IV, p. 18. Crop Year begins October 1 for 1790-1840 and July 1 for 1845-1860. Production is measured in equivalent 500-pound bales, gross weight. <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/phillips.cottongin>

1. What happened to the production of cotton in the United States from 1810 until 1860?
  
2. What can account for this trend?
  
3. *By 1820, cotton accounted for 39% of all American exports. By 1840, cotton accounted for 52% of U.S. exports. By 1860, cotton accounted for 58% of all American exports. "About three-Quarters of all cotton produced in the U.S. was exported, principally to Britain, and throughout most of the antebellum period, cotton not only constituted the United States' leading export but exceeded in dollar value all other exports combined" (American Slavery, 1619-1877, Peter Kolchin, p. 95).*
  - a. What questions does this raise?
  
  - b. What are the implications for the United States?

**Table 5: Cotton in Lowell, Massachusetts**

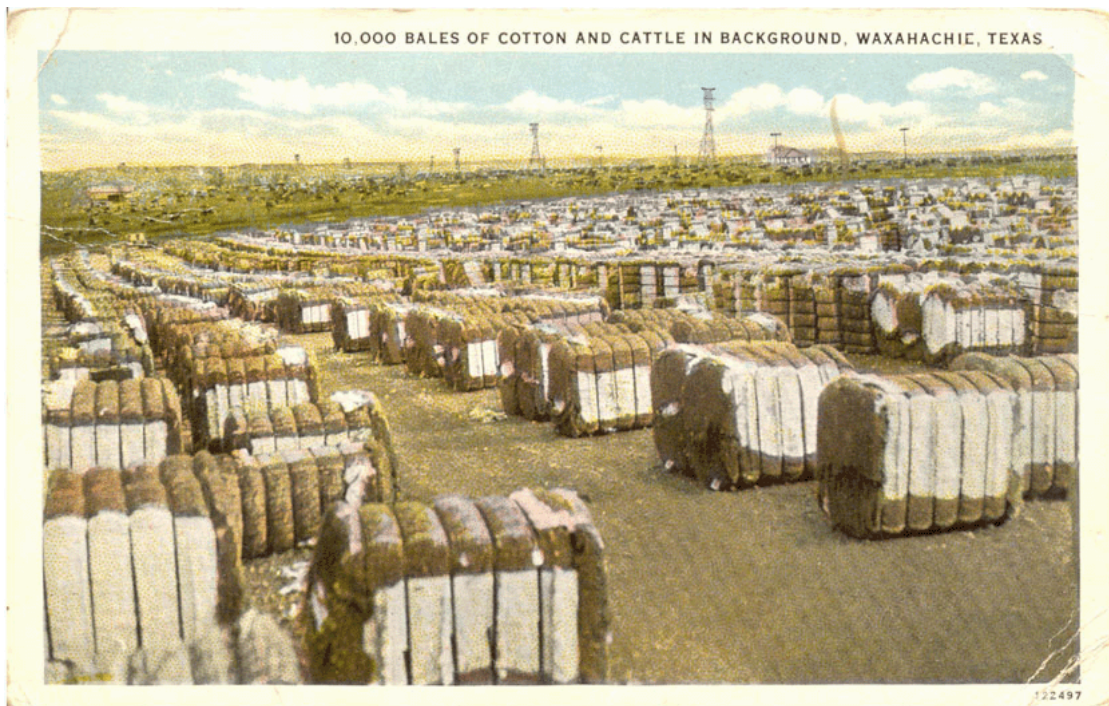
Year	Yards of Cloth Produced Per Week in Lowell	Pounds of Cotton Consumed Per Week in Lowell
1834	753,270	235,700
1844	1,459,100	464,000
1848	1,704,996	559,000
1858	2,394,000	805,770

*"Cotton, Cloth and Conflict," Tsongas Industrial History Center*

4. What is happening to the amount of cloth produced in Lowell, Massachusetts from the 1830 until 1858?

5. What is happening to the amount of cotton consumed in Lowell, Massachusetts from 1834 until 1858?

6. What are the national implications of this?



[http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~txecm/historic\\_postcards.htm](http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~txecm/historic_postcards.htm)

*Anti-Slavery Timeline*

Date	Event	Your response as a Southerner What are your concerns?
1816	The American Colonization Society is formed to encourage free blacks to settle in Liberia, West Africa	
1820	Missouri Compromise allows Missouri to become a slave state, establishes Maine as a free state, and bans slavery in the territory west of Missouri. The first organized emigration of U.S. blacks back to Africa from New York to Sierra Leone.	
1821	New Jersey Quaker born Benjamin Lundy establishes the first American anti-slavery newspaper, <i>The Genius of Universal Emancipation</i> , in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio	
1822	Denmark Vesey, a free black, organizes an unsuccessful slave uprising in Charleston, SC.	
1824	Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, is established by freed American slaves	
1827	John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish establish the first African American newspaper, <i>Freedom's Journal</i> , in New York. The paper circulates in 11 states, the District of Columbia, Haiti, Europe, and Canada.	
1829	David Walker of Boston publishes his fiery denunciation of slavery and racism, <i>Walker's Appeal in Four Articles</i> . <i>Walker's Appeal</i> causes a great stir with its call for slaves to revolt against their masters and its protest against colonization	
1830	Virginia legislature launches an intense	

	debate on abolishing slavery	
1831	William Lloyd Garrison of Boston begins publishing <i>The Liberator</i> , the most famous anti-slavery newspaper.	
1831	Nat Turner launches a bloody uprising among enslaved Virginians in Southampton County.	
1833	American Antislavery Society, led by William Lloyd Garrison, is organized in Philadelphia. For the next three decades, the Society campaigns that slavery is illegal under natural law, and sees the Constitution "a covenant with hell." Within five years, the organization has more than 1,350 chapters and over 250,000 members.	
1834	August 1 becomes another black American and abolitionist holiday when Britain abolishes slavery in its colonies.	
1835	Female antislavery societies are organized in Boston and Philadelphia	
1835	Female antislavery societies are organized in Boston and Philadelphia	
1836	The public careers of Angelina and Sarah Grimke, Quaker abolitionists from a prominent South Carolina family, begin	
1837	Philadelphia blacks, under the leadership of Robert Purvis, organize the Vigilance Committee to aid and assist fugitive slaves. Robert Purvis is referred to as the "President of the Underground Railroad."	
1837	First gathering of the Antislavery	

	<p>Convention of American Women, an inter-racial association of various female antislavery groups, becomes the first independent women's political organization</p>	
1838	<p>Philadelphia is plagued with anti-black and anti-abolitionist violence, particularly from Philadelphia white workers who feared that they have to compete with freed slaves for jobs. Second meeting of the Antislavery Convention of American Women, gathered in Philadelphia at the newly built Pennsylvania Hall, is attacked by a mob. The mob burns down the hall, as well as sets a shelter for black orphans on fire and damages a black church. Pennsylvania Hall was open only three days when it fell. More than 2,000 people bought "shares" and raised \$40,000 to build the Hall. An official report blames abolitionists for the riots, claiming that they incited violence by upsetting the citizens of Philadelphia with their views and for encouraging "race mixing."</p>	
1839	<p>Abolitionists form the Liberty Party to promote political action against slavery. Pope Gregory XVI condemned slavery and the slave trade.</p>	
1840	<p>American Anti-Slavery Society splits over the issue of the public involvement of women. Dissidents opposed to women having a formal role form the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.</p>	

1841	Abolitionist Thomas Clarkson chairs the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. American attendees include William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.	
1845	<i>Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave</i> is published in Boston, launching the public career of the most notable black American spokesman of the 19th Century.	
1846	War with Mexico adds significant western territory to the United States and opens a new arena in the fight to check the spread of slavery.	
1848	Free Soil Party is organized to stop the spread of slavery into the Western territories. Slavery is abolished in all French territories.	
1849	Harriet Tubman escapes from slavery. She becomes a major conductor on the Underground Railroad, as well as an advocate for Women's Rights	
1850	The Compromise of 1850 includes a controversial Fugitive Slave Law that compels all citizens to help in the recovery of fugitive slaves. Free blacks form more Vigilance Committees throughout the North to watch for slave hunters and alert the black community.	
1852	Congress repeals the Missouri Compromise, opening western territories to slavery and setting	

	the stage for a bloody struggle between pro and anti slavery forces in Kansas Territory (Bleeding Kansas).	
1856	The Republican Party, newly formed from various groups opposing the extension of slavery	
1857	The Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision declares blacks, free or slave, have no citizenship rights.	
1859	John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry to free and arm slaves. His effort fails and he is executed.	
1861	Lincoln's election in 1860 leads to Southern states seceding and starts Civil War between the free and the slave states.	

<http://www.ushistory.org/more/timeline.htm>

Part II: In a carefully crafted essay, what did you learn from this exercise? Do you have any more understanding of the Southern position?

**Alexander Stephens' Cornerstone Speech, March 4, 1861 Savannah, Georgia**

*I was remarking that we are passing through one of the greatest revolutions in the annals of the world. Seven States have within the last three months thrown off an old government and formed a new. This revolution has been signally marked, up to this time, by the fact of its having been accomplished without the loss of a single drop of blood.*

1a. Who is Alexander Stephens?

1b. According to Stephens, why is the secession of 7 southern states remarkable?

*But not to be tedious in enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow me to allude to one other though last, not least. The new constitution has put at rest, forever, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution African slavery as it exists amongst us the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution.*

2. According to Stephens, why did the 7 Southern states secede?

*Jefferson in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the "rock upon which the old Union would split." He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was that, somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the constitution, was the prevailing idea at that time. The constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly urged against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell when the "storm came and the wind blew."*

3. According to Stephens, what did the Founding Fathers think about slavery? What did they think about the future of slavery?

4. According to Stephens, what faulty assumption did the Founding Fathers make at the

time of the Constitution?

*Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner- stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well, that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North, who still cling to these errors, with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics. All fanaticism springs from an aberration of the mind from a defect in reasoning. It is a species of insanity. One of the most striking characteristics of insanity, in many instances, is forming correct conclusions from fancied or erroneous premises; so with the anti-slavery fanatics. Their conclusions are right if their premises were. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. If their premises were correct, their conclusions would be logical and just but their premise being wrong, their whole argument fails. ...They were attempting to make things equal which the Creator had made unequal.*

5. According to Stephens, what idea is the Confederate government based upon?

6. How does Stephens characterize people with anti-slavery views?

*Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. With us, all of the white race, however high or low, rich or poor, are equal in the eye of the law. Not so with the negro. Subordination is his place. He, by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material-the granite; then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know that it is best, not only for the superior, but for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of His ordinances, or to question them. For His own purposes, He has made one race to differ from another, as He has made "one star to differ from another star in glory." The great objects of humanity are best attained when there is conformity to His laws and decrees, in the formation of governments as well as in all things else. Our confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these laws. This stone which was rejected by the first builders "is become the chief of the corner" the real "corner-stone" in our new edifice. I have been asked, what of the future? It has been apprehended by some that we would have arrayed against us the civilized world. I care not who or how many they may be against us, when we stand upon the eternal principles of truth, if we are true to ourselves and the principles for which we contend, we are obliged to, and must triumph.*

7. According to Stephens, why does he think the Confederacy will be successful? *Some have propounded the inquiry whether it is practicable for us to go on with the confederacy without further accessions? Have we the means and ability to maintain nationality among the powers of the earth? ... We have all the essential elements of a high national career. The idea has been given out at the North, and even in the border States, that we are too small and too weak to maintain a separate nationality. This is a great mistake. In extent of territory we embrace five hundred and sixty-four thousand square miles and upward. This is upward of two hundred thousand square miles more than was included within the limits of the original thirteen States. It is an area of country more than double the territory of France or the Austrian empire. France, in round numbers, has but two hundred and twelve thousand square miles. Austria, in round numbers, has two hundred and forty-eight thousand square miles. Ours is greater than both combined. It is greater than all France, Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain, including England, Ireland, and Scotland, together. In population we have upward of five millions, according to the census of 1860; this includes white and black. The entire population, including white and black, of the original thirteen States, was less than four millions in 1790, and still less in 76, when the independence of our fathers was achieved. If they, with a less population, dared maintain their independence against the greatest power on earth, shall we have any apprehension of maintaining ours now? In point of material wealth and resources, we are greatly in advance of them. The taxable property of the Confederate States cannot be less than twenty-two hundred millions of dollars! This, I think I venture but little in saying, may be considered as five times more than the colonies possessed at the time they achieved their independence.*

8. According to Stephens, why is the Confederacy well-suited to be an independent nation?

*It is true, I believe I state but the common sentiment, when I declare my earnest desire that the border States should join us. The differences of opinion that existed among us anterior to secession, related more to the policy in securing that result by co-operation than from any difference upon the ultimate security we all looked to in common.*

9. Which states have already joined the Confederacy?

10. Which states would Stephens like to join the Confederacy?

*Wisdom, prudence, and patriotism, have marked every step of our progress thus far. This augurs well for the future, and it is a matter of sincere gratification to me, that I am enabled to make the declaration. Of the men I met in the Congress at Montgomery, I may be pardoned for saying this, an abler, wiser, a more conservative, deliberate, determined, resolute, and patriotic body of men, I never met in my life. Their works speak for them;*

*the provisional government speaks for them; the constitution of the permanent government will be a lasting monument of their worth, merit, and statesmanship.*

11. How does Stephens describe the leaders of the Confederacy?

*But to return to the question of the future. What is to be the result of this revolution? Will every thing, commenced so well, continue as it has begun? In reply to this anxious inquiry, I can only say it all depends upon ourselves. A young man starting out in life on his majority, with health, talent, and ability, under a favoring Providence, may be said to be the architect of his own fortunes. His destinies are in his own hands. He may make for himself a name, of honor or dishonor, according to his own acts. If he plants himself upon truth, integrity, honor and uprightness, with industry, patience and energy, he cannot fail of success. So it is with us. We are a young republic, just entering upon the arena of nations; we will be the architects of our own fortunes. Our destiny, under Providence, is in our own hands. With wisdom, prudence, and statesmanship on the part of our public men, and intelligence, virtue and patriotism on the part of the people, success, to the full measures of our most sanguine hopes, may be looked for. But if unwise counsels prevail if we become divided if schisms arise if dissensions spring up if factions are engendered if party spirit, nourished by unholy personal ambition shall rear its hydra head, I have no good to prophesy for you. Without intelligence, virtue, integrity, and patriotism on the part of the people, no republic or representative government can be durable or stable.*

12. According to Stephens, upon what does success depend?

13. What does he warn against?

*We have intelligence, and virtue, and patriotism. All that is required is to cultivate and perpetuate these. Intelligence will not do without virtue. France was a nation of philosophers. These philosophers become Jacobins. They lacked that virtue, that devotion to moral principle, and that patriotism which is essential to good government Organized upon principles of perfect justice and right-seeking amity and friendship with all other powers-I see no obstacle in the way of our upward and onward progress. Our growth, by accessions from other States, will depend greatly upon whether we present to the world, as I trust we shall, a better government than that to which neighboring States belong. If we do this, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas cannot hesitate long; neither can Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. They will necessarily gravitate to us by an imperious law. We made ample provision in our constitution for the admission of other States; it is more guarded, and wisely so, I think, than the old constitution on the same subject, but not too guarded to receive them as fast as it may be proper. Looking to the distant future, and, perhaps, not very far distant either, it is not beyond the range of possibility, and*

*even probability, that all the great States of the north-west will gravitate this way, as well as Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, etc. Should they do so, our doors are wide enough to receive them, but not until they are ready to assimilate with us in principle.*

14. According to Stephens, what is virtue and why is it necessary?

15. What states does Stephens predict will join the Confederacy?

*The process of disintegration in the old Union may be expected to go on with almost absolute certainty if we pursue the right course. We are now the nucleus of a growing power which, if we are true to ourselves, our destiny, and high mission, will become the controlling power on this continent. To what extent accessions will go on in the process of time, or where it will end, the future will determine. So far as it concerns States of the old Union, this process will be upon no such principles of reconstruction as now spoken of, but upon reorganization and new assimilation. Such are some of the glimpses of the future as I catch them.*

16. What does he predict regarding the future political power of the Confederacy?

*As to whether we shall have war with our late confederates, or whether all matters of differences between us shall be amicably settled, I can only say that the prospect for a peaceful adjustment is better, so far as I am informed, than it has been. The prospect of war is, at least, not so threatening as it has been. The idea of coercion, shadowed forth in President Lincoln's inaugural, seems not to be followed up thus far so vigorously as was expected. Fort Sumter, it is believed, will soon be evacuated. What course will be pursued toward Fort Pickens, and the other forts on the gulf, is not so well understood. It is to be greatly desired that all of them should be surrendered. Our object is peace, not only with the North, but with the world. All matters relating to the public property, public liabilities of the Union when we were members of it, we are ready and willing to adjust and settle upon the principles of right, equity, and good faith. War can be of no more benefit to the North than to us. Whether the intention of evacuating Fort Sumter is to be received as an evidence of a desire for a peaceful solution of our difficulties with the United States, or the result of necessity, I will not undertake to say. I would feign hope the former. Rumors are afloat, however, that it is the result of necessity. All I can say to you, therefore, on that point is, keep your armor bright and your powder dry.*

17. What does he predict regarding peace/war with the United States?

18. What does Stephens predict about Fort Sumter? What actually happens?

*The surest way to secure peace, is to show your ability to maintain your rights. The principles and position of the present administration of the United States the republican party present some puzzling questions. While it is a fixed principle with them never to allow the increase of a foot of slave territory, they seem to be equally determined not to part with an inch "of the accursed soil." Notwithstanding their clamor against the institution, they seemed to be equally opposed to getting more, or letting go what they have got. They were ready to fight on the accession of Texas, and are equally ready to fight now on her secession. Why is this? How can this strange paradox be accounted for? There seems to be but one rational solution and that is, notwithstanding their professions of humanity, they are disinclined to give up the benefits they derive from slave labor. Their philanthropy yields to their interest. The idea of enforcing the laws, has but one object, and that is a collection of the taxes, raised by slave labor to swell the fund necessary to meet their heavy appropriations. The spoils is what they are after though they come from the labor of the slave.*

19. What does Stephens insinuate about the motives of Republicans?

That as the admission of States by Congress under the constitution was an act of legislation, and in the nature of a contract or compact between the States admitted and the others admitting, why should not this contract or compact be regarded as of like character with all other civil contracts liable to be rescinded by mutual agreement of both parties? The seceding States have rescinded it on their part, they have resumed their sovereignty. Why cannot the whole question be settled, if the north desire peace, simply by the Congress, in both branches, with the concurrence of the President, giving their consent to the separation, and a recognition of our independence? It is true, I believe I state but the common sentiment, when I declare my earnest desire that the border States should join us. The differences of opinion that existed among us anterior to secession, related more to the policy in securing that result by co-operation than from any difference upon the ultimate security we all looked to in common.

20. According to Stephens, how can this all be settled?

21. What was the purpose of his speech?

22. Was Stephens optimistic about the chances of the Confederacy achieving and maintaining independence? Explain.

**John C. Calhoun: Slavery as a Positive Good Speech--U.S. Senate February 6, 1837**

*I do not belong, said Mr. C., to the school which holds that aggression is to be met by concession. Mine is the opposite creed, which teaches that encroachments must be met at the beginning, and that those who act on the opposite principle are prepared to become slaves. In this case, in particular I hold concession or compromise to be fatal. If we concede an inch, concession would follow concession--compromise would follow compromise, until our ranks would be so broken that effectual resistance would be impossible.*

1. According to Senator Calhoun, should the South compromise with the North?

*We must meet the enemy on the frontier, with a fixed determination of maintaining our position at every hazard. Consent to receive these insulting (antislavery) petitions, and the next demand will be that they be referred to a committee in order that they may be deliberated and acted upon. At the last session we were modestly asked to receive them, simply to lay them on the table, without any view to ulterior action. . . . I then said, that the next step would be to refer the petition to a committee, and I already see indications that such is now the intention. If we yield, that will be followed by another, and we will thus proceed, step by step, to the final consummation of the object of these petitions. We are now told that the most effectual mode of arresting the progress of abolition is, to reason it down; and with this view it is urged that the petitions ought to be referred to a committee. That is the very ground which was taken at the last session in the other House, but instead of arresting its progress it has since advanced more rapidly than ever. The most unquestionable right may be rendered doubtful, if once admitted to be a subject of controversy, and that would be the case in the present instance. The subject is beyond the jurisdiction of Congress - they have no right to touch it in any shape or form, or to make it the subject of deliberation or discussion. . . .*

2. Why does Calhoun think that the U.S. Senate should not receive the antislavery petitions?

*As widely as this incendiary spirit has spread, it has not yet infected this body, or the great mass of the intelligent and business portion of the North; but unless it be speedily stopped, it will spread and work upwards till it brings the two great sections of the Union into deadly conflict. This is not a new impression with me. Several years since, in a discussion with one of the Senators from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster), before this fell spirit had showed itself, I then predicted that the doctrine of the proclamation and the Force Bill--that this Government had a right, in the last resort, to determine the extent of its own powers, and enforce its decision at the point of the bayonet, which was so warmly maintained by that Senator, would at no distant day arouse the dormant spirit of abolitionism. I told him that the doctrine was tantamount to the assumption of unlimited*

*power on the part of the Government, and that such would be the impression on the public mind in a large portion of the Union. The consequence would be inevitable. A large portion of the Northern States believed slavery to be a sin, and would consider it as an obligation of conscience to abolish it if they should feel themselves in any degree responsible for its continuance, and that this doctrine would necessarily lead to the belief of such responsibility. I then predicted that it would commence as it has with this fanatical portion of society, and that they would begin their operations on the ignorant, the weak, the young, and the thoughtless --and gradually extend upwards till they would become strong enough to obtain political control, when he and others holding the highest stations in society, would, however reluctant, be compelled to yield to their doctrines, or be driven into obscurity. But four years have since elapsed, and all this is already in a course of regular fulfilment.*

3. What does Calhoun predict if the antislavery infection is not stopped?

4. How does Calhoun characterize antislavery men?

*Standing at the point of time at which we have now arrived, it will not be more difficult to trace the course of future events now than it was then. They who imagine that the spirit now abroad in the North, will die away of itself without a shock or convulsion, have formed a very inadequate conception of its real character; it will continue to rise and spread, unless prompt and efficient measures to stay its progress be adopted. Already it has taken possession of the pulpit, of the schools, and, to a considerable extent, of the press; those great instruments by which the mind of the rising generation will be formed.*

5. How will the spread of abolitionist sentiment spread among young people?

*By the necessary course of events, if left to themselves, we must become, finally, two people. It is impossible under the deadly hatred which must spring up between the two great nations, if the present causes are permitted to operate unchecked, that we should continue under the same political system. The conflicting elements would burst the Union asunder, powerful as are the links which hold it together. Abolition and the Union cannot coexist. As the friend of the Union I openly proclaim it--and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time it will be beyond the power of man to arrest the course of events.*

6. Why does Calhoun say that it is urgent to stop the spread of abolitionism?

*We of the South will not, cannot, surrender our institutions. To maintain the existing*

*relations between the two races, inhabiting that section of the Union, is indispensable to the peace and happiness of both. It cannot be subverted without drenching the country in blood, and extirpating one or the other of the races.*

7. According to Calhoun, what is necessary for the peace and happiness of both blacks and whites?

But let me not be understood as admitting, even by implication, that the existing relations between the two races in the slaveholding States is an evil:--far otherwise; I hold it to be a good, as it has thus far proved itself to be to both, and will continue to prove so if not disturbed by the fell spirit of abolition. I appeal to facts. Never before has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. ... This, with the rapid increase in numbers, is conclusive proof of the general happiness of the race, in spite of all the exaggerated tales of the contrary.

8. According to Calhoun, how have Africans improved as a people in the United States?

9. According to Calhoun what is conclusive proof of the happiness of slaves?

*But I take higher ground. I hold that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States between the two, is, instead of an evil, a good--**a positive good**. I feel myself called upon to speak freely upon the subject where the honor and interests of those I represent are involved. I hold then, that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other. Broad and general as is this assertion, it is fully borne out by history. This is not the proper occasion, but, if it were, it would not be difficult to trace the various devices by which the wealth of all civilized communities has been so unequally divided, and to show by what means so small a share has been allotted to those by whose labor it was produced, and so large a share given to the non-producing classes. The devices are almost innumerable, from the brute force and gross superstition of ancient times, to the subtle and artful fiscal contrivances of modern.*

10. According to Calhoun, what is the basis for the wealth of civilized societies?

*Compare his(the slave's) condition with the tenants of the poor houses in the more civilized portions of Europe--look at the sick, and the old and infirm slave, on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master*

*and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poorhouse.*

11. According to Calhoun, who is a slave better off than? How so?

*But I will not dwell on this aspect of the question; I turn to the political; and here I fearlessly assert that the existing relation between the two races in the South, against which these blind fanatics are waging war, forms the most solid and durable foundation on which to rear free and stable political institutions. It is useless to disguise the fact. There is and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization, a conflict between labor and capital. The condition of society in the South exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from this conflict; and which explains why it is that the political condition of the slaveholding States has been so much more stable and quiet than that of the North.*

12. According to Calhoun, what is the conflict in advanced societies?

*If we do not defend ourselves none will defend us; if we yield we will be more and more pressed as we recede; and if we submit we will be trampled under foot. Be assured that emancipation itself would not satisfy these fanatics: -that gained, the next step would be to raise the negroes to a social and political equality with the whites; and that being effected, we would soon find the present condition of the two races reversed.*

13. What does Calhoun warn of?

Surrounded as the slaveholding States are with such imminent perils, I rejoice to think that our means of defense are ample, if we shall prove to have the intelligence and spirit to see and apply them before it is too late. All we want is concert, to lay aside all party differences and unite with zeal and energy in repelling approaching dangers. Let there be concert of action, and we shall find ample means of security without resorting to secession or disunion. I speak with full knowledge and a thorough examination of the subject, and for one see my way clearly.

14. What does he urge all slaveholding states to do?

15. What is the tone of Calhoun's speech?

16. What do you think the purpose of the speech was?

17. How did Calhoun justify slavery?

**James Henry Hammond: The Mudsill Speech    March 4, 1858    U.S. Senate**

*If we never acquire another foot of territory for the South, look at her. Eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles. As large as Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Spain. Is not that territory enough to make an empire that shall rule the world? With the finest soil, the most delightful climate, whose staple productions none of those great countries can grow, we have three thousand miles of continental sea-shore line so indented with bays and crowded with islands, that, when their shore lines are added, we have twelve thousand miles. Through the heart of our country runs the great Mississippi, the father of waters, into whose bosom are poured thirty-six thousand miles of tributary rivers; and beyond we have the desert prairie wastes to protect us in our rear. Can you hem in such a territory as that? You talk of putting up a wall of fire around eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles so situated! How absurd.*

1. According to Senator John Henry Hammond of South Carolina, what benefits does the South enjoy?

*I have nothing to say in disparagement either of the soil of the North, or the people of the North, who are a brave and energetic race, full of intellect. But they produce no great staple that the South does not produce; while we produce two or three, and these the very greatest, that she can never produce. As to her men, I may be allowed to say, they have never proved themselves to be superior to those of the South, either in the field or in the Senate.*

2. According to Hammond, what advantages does the South possess over the North?

*But the strength of a nation depends in a great measure upon its wealth, and the wealth of a nation, like that of a man, is to be estimated by its surplus production. ...All the enterprises of peace and war depend upon the surplus productions of a people. ...It appears, by going to the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, which are authentic, that last year the United States exported in round numbers \$279,000,000 worth of domestic produce, excluding gold and foreign merchandise re-exported. Of this amount \$158,000,000 worth is the clear produce of the South; articles that are not and cannot be made at the North. There are then \$80,000,000 worth of exports of products of the forest, provisions and breadstuffs. If we assume that the South made but one third of these, and I think that is a low calculation, our exports were \$185,000,000, leaving to the North less than \$95,000,000. In addition to this, we sent to the North \$30,000,000 worth of cotton, which is not counted in the exports. We sent to her \$7 or \$8,000,000 worth of tobacco, which is not counted in the exports. We sent naval stores, lumber, rice, and many other minor articles. There is no doubt that we sent to the North \$40,000,000 in addition; but suppose the amount to be \$35,000,000, it will give us a surplus production*

*of \$220,000,000. But the recorded exports of the South now are greater than the whole exports of the United States in any year before 1856. They are greater than the whole average exports of the United States for the last twelve years, including the two extraordinary years of 1856 and 1857. They are nearly double the amount of the average exports of the twelve preceding years. If I am right in my calculations as to \$220,000,000 of surplus produce, there is not a nation on the face of the earth, with any numerous population, that can compete with us in produce per capita. It amounts to \$16.66 per head, supposing that we have twelve millions of people. England with all her accumulated wealth, with her concentrated and educated energy, makes but sixteen and a half dollars of surplus production per head.*

3. According to Hammond, what is the situation of the Southern economy?

*With an export of \$220,000,000 under the present tariff, the South organized separately would have \$40,000,000 of revenue. With one-fourth the present tariff, she would have a revenue with the present tariff adequate to all her wants, for the South would never go to war; she would never need an army or a navy, beyond a few garrisons on the frontiers and a few revenue cutters. It is commerce that breeds war. It is manufactures that require to be hawked about the world, and that give rise to navies and commerce. But we have nothing to do but to take off restrictions on foreign merchandise and open our ports, and the whole world will come to us to trade. They will be too glad to bring and carry us, and we never shall dream of a war. Why the South has never yet had a just cause of war except with the North. Every time she has drawn her sword it has been on the point of honor, and that point of honor has been mainly loyalty to her sister colonies and sister States, who have ever since plundered and calumniated her.*

4. According to Hammond, what is the cause of wars?

*But if there were no other reason why we should never have war, would any sane nation make war on cotton? Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they make war on us we could bring the whole world to our feet. The South is perfectly competent to go on, one, two, or three years without planting a seed of cotton. I believe that if she was to plant but half her cotton, for three years to come, it would be an immense advantage to her. I am not so sure but that after three years' entire abstinence she would come out stronger than ever she was before, and better prepared to enter afresh upon her great career of enterprise. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine, but this is certain: England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. **Cotton is king.** Until lately the Bank of England was king; but she tried to put her screws as usual, the fall before last, upon the cotton crop, and was utterly*

*vanquished. The last power has been conquered. Who can doubt, that has looked at recent events, that cotton is supreme? When the abuse of credit had destroyed credit and annihilated confidence; when thousands of the strongest commercial houses in the world were coming down, and hundreds of millions of dollars of supposed property evaporating in thin air; when you came to a dead lock, and revolutions were threatened, what brought you up? Fortunately for you it was the commencement of the cotton season, and we have poured in upon you one million six hundred thousand bales of cotton just at the crisis to save you from destruction. That cotton, but for the bursting of your speculative bubbles in the North, which produced the whole of this convulsion, would have brought us \$100,000,000. We have sold it for \$65,000,000 and saved you. Thirty-five million dollars we, the slaveholders of the South, have put into the charity box for your magnificent financiers, your "cotton lords," your "merchant princes."*

5. Why is Hammond so confident that no country would ever make war on the South?

6. According to Hammond, what is the relationship between England and the South?

*But, sir, the greatest strength of the South arises from the harmony of her political and social institutions. This harmony gives her a frame of society, the best in the world, and an extent of political freedom, combined with entire security, such as no other people ever enjoyed upon the face of the earth. ...The South, so far as that is concerned, is satisfied, harmonious, and prosperous, but demands to be let alone.*

7. According to Hammond, what is the South's greatest strength?

*In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. That is, a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have, or you would not have that other class which leads progress, civilization, and refinement. It constitutes the very mud-sill of society and of political government; and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air, as to build either the one or the other, except on this mud-sill. Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand. A race inferior to her own, but eminently qualified in temper, in vigor, in docility, in capacity to stand the climate, to answer all her purposes. We use them for our purpose, and call them slaves. We found them slaves by the common "consent of mankind," which, according to Cicero, "lex naturae est." The highest proof of what is Nature's law. We are old-fashioned at the South yet; slave is a word discarded now by "ears polite;" I will not characterize that class at the North by that term; but you have it; it is there; it is everywhere; it is eternal.*

8. What does Senator Hammond mean by the “mud-sill” of society? What purpose do they serve?

*The Senator from New York [William Seward] said yesterday that the whole world had abolished slavery. Aye, the name, but not the thing; all the powers of the earth cannot abolish that. God only can do it when he repeals the fiat, "the poor ye always have with you;" for the man who lives by daily labor, and scarcely lives at that, and who has to put out his labor in the market, and take the best he can get for it; in short, your whole hireling class of manual laborers and "operatives," as you call them, are essentially slaves. The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated; there is no starvation, no begging, no want of employment among our people, and not too much employment either. Yours are hired by the day, not care for, and scantily compensated, which may be proved in the most painful manner, at any hour in any street of your large towns. Why, you meet more beggars in one day, in any single street of the city of New York, than you would meet in a lifetime in the whole South.*

9. According to Hammond, how are slaves' lives better than those of factory workers in the North?

*We do not think that whites should be slaves either by law or necessity. Our slaves are black, of another and inferior race. The status in which we have placed them is an elevation. They are elevated from the condition in which God first created them, by being made our slaves. None of that race on the whole face of the globe can be compared with the slaves of the South. They are happy, content, unambitious, and utterly incapable, from intellectual weakness, ever to give us any trouble by their aspirations. Yours are white, of your own race; you are brothers of one blood. They are your equals in natural endowment of intellect, and they feel galled by their degradation. Our slaves do not vote. We give them no political power. Yours do vote, and, being the majority, they are the depositaries [sic] of all your political power. If they knew the tremendous secret, that the ballot-box is stronger than "an army with banners," and could combine, where would you be? Your society would be reconstructed, your government overthrown, your property divided, not as they have mistakenly attempted to initiate such proceedings by meeting in parks, with arms in their hands, but by the quiet process of the ballot-box. You have been making war upon us to our very hearthstones. How would you like for us to send lecturers and agitators North, to teach these people this, to aid in combining, and to lead them? . . . .*

10. According to Hammond, why are blacks suited for slavery?

11. According to Hammond, why are whites not suited for slavery?

12. What does Hammond suggest could happen if the poor whites united in the North?

*Transient and temporary causes have thus far been your preservation. The great West has been open to your surplus population, and your hordes of semi-barbarian immigrants, who are crowding in year by year. They make a great movement, and you call it progress. Whither? It is progress; but it is progress toward Vigilance Committees. The South have sustained you in great measure. You are our factors. You fetch and carry for us. One hundred and fifty million dollars of our money passes annually through your hands. Much of it sticks; all of it assists to keep your machinery together and in motion. Suppose we were to discharge you; suppose we were to take our business out of your hands; -- we should consign you to anarchy and poverty. You complain of the rule of the South; that has been another cause that has preserved you. We have kept the Government conservative to the great purposes of the Constitution. We have placed it, and kept it, upon the Constitution; and that has been the cause of your peace and prosperity. The Senator from New York says that that is about to be at an end; that you intend to take the Government from us; that it will pass from our hands into yours. Perhaps what he says is true; it may be; but do not forget -- it can never be forgotten -- it is written on the brightest page of human history -- that we, the slaveholders of the South, took our country in her infancy, and, after ruling her for sixty out of the seventy years of her existence, we surrendered her to you without a stain upon her honor, boundless in prosperity, incalculable in her strength, the wonder and admiration of the world. Time will show what you will make of her; but no time can diminish our glory or your responsibility.*

13. According to Hammond, what would happen if the South stopped trading with the North?

14. How did Hammond defend the rule of the South?

15. What was the tone of Senator Hammond's speech?

16. What is revealing about Senator Hammond's speech?

SOURCE: Reprinted in *Selections from the Letters and Speeches of the Hon. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina* (New York: John F. Trow & Co., 1866), pages 311-322.

