

THE CIVIL WAR

A Unit Plan for Teachers



STAGE 1 – DESIRED RESULTS

Established Goals:

Common Core State Standards

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1

Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.2

Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.3

Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.6

Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7

Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.8

Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.9

Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.11-12.8

Delineate and evaluate the reasoning in seminal U.S. texts, including the application of constitutional principles and use of legal reasoning (e.g., in U.S. Supreme Court majority opinions and dissents) and the premises, purposes, and arguments in works of public advocacy (e.g., The Federalist, presidential addresses).

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.11-12.9

Analyze seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century foundational U.S. documents of historical and literary significance (including The Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address) for their themes, purposes, and rhetorical features.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.11-12.1.A

Come to discussions prepared, having read and researched material under study; explicitly draw on that preparation by referring to evidence from texts and other research on the topic or issue to stimulate a thoughtful, well-reasoned exchange of ideas.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.11-12.1.B

Work with peers to promote civil, democratic discussions and decision-making, set clear goals and deadlines, and establish individual roles as needed.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.11-12.1.C
Propel conversations by posing and responding to questions that probe reasoning and evidence; ensure a hearing for a full range of positions on a topic or issue; clarify, verify, or challenge ideas and conclusions; and promote divergent and creative perspectives.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.11-12.1.D
Respond thoughtfully to diverse perspectives; synthesize comments, claims, and evidence made on all sides of an issue; resolve contradictions when possible; and determine what additional information or research is required to deepen the investigation or complete the task.

National Standards for History

Era 5, Standard 1A: The student understands how the North and South differed and how politics and ideologies led to the Civil War. Therefore, the student is able to...

- Identify and explain the economic, social, and cultural differences between the North and the South.
- Analyze how the disruption of the second American party system frayed the durable bonds of union, leading to the ascent of the Republican Party in the 1850s.
- Explain the causes of the Civil War and evaluate the importance of slavery as a principal cause of the conflict.
- Chart the secession of the southern states and explain the process and reasons for secession.

NCSS Themes

Time, Continuity, and Change; Individual Development and Identity; Power, Authority, and Governance; Production, Distribution, and Consumption; and Civic Ideals and Practices

Understandings: Students will understand that... • National attachments can shift • Culture changes over time • Individuals both shape and react to political and economic situations	Essential Question: Did the Confederated States of America constitute a nation?
Students will know... • How cultural, economic, and political tensions between the North and South grew from the 1840's to the outbreak of the Civil War • How the C.S.A. viewed themselves in relation to the Union • Many of the individuals who advocated for the abolition of slavery, and for secession • How the election of Abraham Lincoln affected the attitudes of southerners Students will be able to... • Define nationhood • Use research skills, with guidance, to find out about life in the North and South in the 1850's • Gather and use evidence for debate • Take multiple perspectives	

STAGE 2 – ASSESSMENT EVIDENCE

Performance Tasks: • Students will participate in a debate as the unit's culminating activity; they will also reflect on the debate and their learning during the unit. • Sample document analyses and group products collected throughout the unit.	Other Evidence: • Interacting with small groups as they read and discuss primary source documents to ensure that all students are understanding the group tasks. • Lecture-discussion model provides space for informal formative assessment. • Entry/exit slips employed sporadically to check progress/understanding.
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STAGE 3 – LEARNING PLAN

Performance Tasks: • Short lectures followed by small group discussions • Debate • Reading, discussing, and analyzing primary source documents • Secondary source readings
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LESSON # 1 – THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE DIVIDED NATION

Overview: Students will be introduced to the major themes and questions of the unit and how those themes and questions will help them in answering the bigger question: “What makes the United States a nation?” Students will examine various primary and secondary sources about family, social, and economic life in the North and South during the 1850’s and 60’s and discuss convergence and divergence between the ways of living.

Estimated Time: 90 minutes

Materials:

Social Life: Attachment 1A-B, with Selected Images from Smithsonian American Art Museum’s Exhibition: “The Civil War and American Art” http://www.americanart.si.edu/exhibitions/online/art_civil_war/¹

Political Life: Attachment 2A-D

Economic Life: Attachment 3A-B & Interactive Map from Scholastic: http://teacher.scholastic.com/activities/bhistory/underground_railroad/map.htm

Document Analysis Chart: Attachment 8²

Comparison Chart: Attachment 9

Objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Analyze primary and secondary source documents
- Draw on primary and secondary sources to understand the lives of ‘ordinary people’ in the 1850’s

Assessment of Student Learning:

At the end of the period, students will turn in the work they did at the stage where students work in groups of three to develop a portrait of each region’s life.

In the exit slip, students will record their initial positions and explain their thinking.

Lesson Procedures:

Introduction to the unit (10 minutes)

Explain the unit’s central question (*Was the Confederacy a nation?*). Review the criteria and characteristics of nationhood. (Level of direct instruction vs. student response will depend on students’ familiarity with the concept of nationhood and whether or not it has been fully examined in the course).

Definitions of Nation (Provided to assist in introducing the unit)

From Merriam Webster Online:

- large area of land that is controlled by its own government
- community of people composed of one or more nationalities and possessing a more or less defined territory and government

From Oxford English Dictionary Online:

- large aggregate of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular country or territory.

Historian and scholar Benedict Anderson described nations as “Imagined Communities”. By that, he meant that a nation is a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group.

Explain that, over the course of the next four meetings, students will examine the economic, social, and political life of the North and South in the antebellum period and the political structure of the Confederacy during the war in order to help answer this question.

Initial reading (10 minutes)

Give each student one of the documents (Attachment 1A-B, Attachment 2A-B, Attachment 3A-B) and the document analysis sheet (Attachment 8). Students should examine individually and fill out their sheet. Tell students that they will have an opportunity to discuss their responses with others who examined the same document.

First group: same readings (15 minutes)

Put students in groups with others who read the same article. Have them share their responses, focusing primarily on context, subtext, and, most importantly, conclusions. Students should work towards consensus responses. Additionally, all students need to be prepared to represent this consensus position at the next group stage.

¹ Suggested paintings: Eastman Johnson’s *A Negro Life in the South* and Thomas Moran’s *Slave Hunt* for the South; Homer Dodge Martin’s *The Iron Mine* and Eastman Johnson’s *Christmas-Time* for the North

² This type of document analysis was suggested by Bruce Lesh in *Why Won’t You Just Tell Us the Answer?* There are many other tools available to help students analyze documents. For some other suggestions, see the worksheets provided by the National Archives at <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/>

Second group: North and South triads (20 minutes)

Put students in triads where each sector (social, economic, political) of one region is represented. Give each group a chart to record their findings (Attachment 9). On the back of the chart, students should respond to the question “*What can you say about life in the North/South?*” Tell students they will be getting into groups with those who read about the other region to complete the rest of the chart.

Third group: comparing the regions (25 minutes)

North and South triads should merge to form groups of six. Have students use Attachment 9 to record similarities and differences between Northern and Southern life.

Ask students to discuss whether two nations had indeed formed in the United States, keeping in mind the characteristics of a nation that were reviewed at the beginning.

Identify preliminary positions and develop support (15 minutes)

Place students in two groups (students should self-identify). One group will be those who believe that the South developed a sufficiently distinct position to be considered a nationality; the others will oppose this proposition.

Assign a facilitator and a recorder for each group. Facilitator should lead group in brainstorming the strongest arguments to support the group’s position; the recorder should make a list of these arguments, in full sentences, on flip chart or butcher paper.

Tell students that they will re-visit these arguments and can add to or modify them in the future; additionally, students may switch positions as new evidence is presented.

Homework

Reading from textbook about life in America from 1848-1861.

LESSON # 2 – DIFFERENT HOPES AND FEARS

Overview: Students will examine political writings from the North and South from the revolutionary era through the Civil War to determine the political aspirations and fears of each region and also to develop a picture of the ideal citizen.

Prerequisite skills: Students will be familiar with the document analysis chart employed in this lesson and will have spent time using primary sources.

Estimated Time: 90 minutes

Materials:

Northern readings: Attachment 4A-C
Southern readings: Attachment 5A-C
Document Analysis Chart: Attachment 8

Objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Analyze primary source documents
- Use primary documents to understand widening political gulf between North and South

Assessment of Student Learning:

Students will turn in their notes from the dueling lectures; additionally, students’ warm-up activity will be collected.

Lesson Procedures:

Warm up (10 minutes)

Individually, students should re-state their answers to the unit’s central question. Then, in four or five sentences, they should explain how last night’s reading modified or strengthened their position.

Initial reading (25 minutes)

Put students in triads with the same groups from the previous class. Give each triad either the three Northern or three Southern readings. Triads that addressed Southern readings in the last meeting should review Northern readings in this meeting, and vice versa. Students should each do a document analysis of their reading.

Then, students should share their findings with their whole group. Questions to discuss in these groups include:

- What does this tell you about how each region viewed the other?
- What is the ‘ideal’ life in the region you are reading about? What is required of citizens?
- How do these readings influence your response to the unit’s central question?

Comparing the regions (25 minutes)

North and South triads should merge to form the same groups of six as during the previous meeting. Give each group their chart from the previous meeting to record additional similarities and differences between Northern and Southern life. They should specifically focus on different political ideas, particularly those that relate to the relationship between citizen and government and state and federal governments.

Dueling lectures (25 minutes)

Give two 7-8 minute mini-lectures; these lectures should be in the form of dueling theses. In the first lecture, support the idea that the South developed such radical differences from the North as to form its own national identity. In the second, stress the similarities between the two regions and the ties that bound them.

Take a 5 minute break after each lecture and have students review the lecture with a partner, noting the strengths and weaknesses of each thesis and bolstering or combating each using gathered evidence.

Exit slip (5 minutes)

In pairs, ask students to compare the two lectures and determine which way they are leaning.

Homework

Find two images that represent, in your mind, the best of life in each section of the country in the 1850’s and 60’s.

LESSON # 3 – THE POLITICAL DIVIDE

Overview: Students will examine several political documents from the Confederacy.

Prerequisite skills: Students will be highly familiar with the document analysis chart employed in this lesson and will have spent a great deal of time using primary sources.

Estimated Time: 90 minutes

Materials:

Mississippi declaration of secession: Attachment 6A

South Carolina declaration of secession: Attachment 6B

South Carolina secession debate: Attachment 6C

Northern newspaper reaction to secession: Attachment 6D

Excerpts from Lincoln’s First Inaugural Address: Attachment 6E

Confederate Constitution’s preamble & US Constitution’s Preamble: Attachment 7

Objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Form arguments about political life in the United States in the 1850’s and 60’s
- Use primary source documents to understand the political structure and underpinnings of the Confederacy

Assessment of Student Learning:

At the end of the period, students will turn in the work they did at the stage where students work in groups of three to develop a portrait of each region’s life.

In the exit slip, students will record their initial positions and explain their thinking.

Lesson Procedures:

Warm up (15 minutes)

Ask students to write captions for each of the images they collected for homework and to explain the relationship between these images and the unit’s central question.

Then, students should pair up to discuss their findings.

Evaluating secession (45 minutes)

Give students excerpts of the debate from the South Carolina secession declaration debate. Ask students to read and highlight arguments made in support of secession and those made in opposition or that express reservations. In groups of four, students should discuss their findings.

Then, give each group a packet containing Attachment 6A-E. In groups, they should divide reading responsibilities for these documents and then, after reading, discuss:

- How did the South view itself at the time of secession? How did it view the North?
- Is there evidence to suggest that Northerners considered the South a separate nation? How did Northerners view Southern secession?
- How do these readings influence your response to the unit’s central question?

Comparing government structures (15 minutes)

Give each group Attachment 7 (the Preamble to the Confederate Constitution and the Preamble to the US Constitution). Ask students to compare the two preambles.

What do these documents suggest about:

- The role and purpose of the central government?
- The role and purpose of the state governments?
- The role of citizens?
- The rights of citizens?

How are these documents similar? How are they different?

Debate prep (15 minutes)

Remind students that there will be a debate during the next class meeting about whether the Confederacy met the criteria of a nation. Ask students to re-identify their positions on this question (following the same format as the unit’s first lesson). Students may switch positions. In these groups, they will have the remainder of the class to prepare for debate. Give each group the butcher paper they began working on during the first class meeting.

Assist groups as needed as they prepare for the debate.

Homework

Students should continue to prepare for the debate; they should each come to class with one strong, well thought-out argument that they hope to make during the debate.

LESSON # 4 – THE DEBATE

Overview: Students will debate the unit’s central question: *Was the Confederacy a nation?* After the debate, students will reflect, in writing, on the debate and on what they have learned during the unit.

Prerequisite skills: Students should be familiar with a wide variety of sources that address the unit’s central question; additionally, they should be familiar with debate procedures and guidelines, including specific debate formats.

Estimated Time: 90 minutes

Materials: None

Objectives: Students will be able to:

- Marshall evidence to support claims
- Articulate arguments
- Listen and respond to ideas and assertions of others

Assessment of Student Learning:

Debate engagement and efficacy

Reflection on debate

Lesson Procedures:

Warm up (10 minutes)

Give students time to review all of their sources to develop their arguments; for the first five minutes, this should be an individual task. Then, students should discuss their ideas with a partner.

Final debate preparations (10 minutes)

Students should get into self-selected debate teams (the yeas and the nays). Appoint a facilitator for each team. Facilitators should lead their teams in:

- Identifying their strongest arguments
- Considering the counter-arguments that the other team might offer
- Selecting the first two representatives from their group

Comparing government structures (30 minutes)

Use a fishbowl debate structure to hold a debate about the unit’s central question:
Was the Confederacy a nation?

Arrange four (or six) chairs in the middle of the room, with the remaining chairs in a circle around them. Two (or three) “yea” students and two (or three) “nay” students sit in the center chairs and debate the scenario. The students in the circle around them observe and listen to the debate. If a student in the outer circle wishes to speak, s/he must tap the shoulder of one of the “inner four” and exchange places. To ensure that there are an even number of yeas and nays debating in the center, students may exchange places only with a student from their side of the debate. *Depending on the size, behavior, and discussion skills of the group, the teacher might need to set additional rules and guidelines to structure the debate.*

As debate lags, possible questions to prompt further discussion include:

- What were the strongest similarities between the Confederacy and the Union?
- What were the biggest differences between the two?
- What are the most important criteria of a nation? How do we know if something is a nation?
- Does the existence of a coherent Southern identity in the 21st century bolster the argument that the Confederacy was a nation? If so, why?

Debate reflection discussions (15 minutes)

Create groups of four where two students supported each side of the debate. Ask students to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each side’s position and arguments. Was there a clear winner in the debate? Did either side have arguments they did not have an opportunity to make? Which readings from the unit most influenced the debate? How did this debate strengthen students’ understanding of the concept of nationhood? Did it influence anyone’s thoughts on the course’s question (*What makes the United States a nation?*).

Written reflection on the unit and the debate (25 minutes)

Tell students that, for the remainder of the class period, they will respond in writing to the reflection questions they have already begun to discuss in groups. They do not have to respond to all questions, but their written response should:

- Show how their understanding of the concept of nationhood evolved/changed/strengthened during the unit (or explain why it didn’t)
- Provide evidence to support their response to the unit’s central question

Homework

Students should write a reflection on the unit process: what activities helped them learn the most? Which had the least impact? What would they like to see changed about this unit?

Attachment 1A: Social Life in the North

The Northern soil and climate favored smaller farmsteads rather than large plantations. Industry flourished, fueled by more abundant natural resources than in the South, and many large cities were established (New York was the largest city with more than 800,000 inhabitants). By 1860, one quarter of all Northerners lived in urban areas. Between 1800 and 1860, the percentage of laborers working in agricultural pursuits dropped drastically from 70% to only 40%. Slavery had died out, replaced in the cities and factories by immigrant labor from Europe. In fact an overwhelming majority of immigrants, seven out of every eight, settled in the North rather than the South. Transportation was easier in the North, which boasted more than two-thirds of the railroad tracks in the country and the economy was on an upswing.

Far more Northerners than Southerners belonged to the Whig/Republican political party and they were far more likely to have careers in business, medicine, or education. In fact, an engineer was six times as likely to be from the North as from the South. Northern children were slightly more prone to attend school than Southern children.³

³ “North and South: Different Cultures; Same Country”, The Civil War Trust, <http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/civil-war-overview/northandsouth.html>.

Attachment 1B: Social Life in the South

The fertile soil and warm climate of the South made it ideal for large-scale farms and crops like tobacco and cotton. Because agriculture was so profitable, few Southerners saw a need for industrial development. Eighty percent of the labor force worked on farms. Although two-thirds of Southerners owned no slaves at all, by 1860 the South's "peculiar institution" was inextricably tied to the region's economy and culture. In fact, there were almost as many blacks - slaves and free - in the South as there were whites (4 million blacks and 5.5 million whites). There were no large cities aside from New Orleans, and most of the ones that did exist were located on rivers and coasts as shipping ports to send agricultural produce to European or Northern destinations.

Only one-tenth of Southerners lived in urban areas and transportation between cities was difficult, except by water. Only 35% of the nation's train tracks were located in the South. Also, in 1860, the South's agricultural economy was beginning to stall while the Northern manufacturers were experiencing a boom.

A slightly smaller percentage of white Southerners were literate than their Northern counterparts, and Southern children tended to spend less time in school. As adults, Southern men tended to belong to the Democratic political party and gravitated toward military careers as well as agriculture.⁴

⁴ "North and South: Different Cultures; Same Country", The Civil War Trust, <http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/civil-war-overview/northandsouth.html>.

Attachment 2A: Political Life in the North

Whig Party Platform of 1852

June 17, 1852

The Whigs of the United States, in Convention assembled, firmly adhering to the great conservative principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government, and their devotion to the Constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determination for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization as a party was effected:

First: The Government of the United States is of a limited character, and it is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that all powers not granted or necessarily implied are expressly reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

Second: The State Governments should be held secure in their reserved rights, and the General Government sustained on its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

Third: That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party, we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his Farewell Address, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and of never quitting our own to stand upon foreign ground, that our mission as a republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose on other countries our form of government by artifice or force; but to teach, by example, and show by our success, moderation, and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions.

Fourth: That, as the people make and control the Government, they should obey its constitution, laws, and treaties, as they would retain their self-respect, and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

Fifth: Revenue sufficient for the expenses of an economical administration of the Government in time of peace ought to be derived from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxation; and in laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes, and to all parts of the country.

Sixth: The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence, and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations, or among the States, said improvements being, in every instance, national and general in their character.

Seventh: The Federal and State Governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace, and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, state, and individual welfare.

Eighth: That the series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress,—the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law, included—are received and acquiesced in by the Whig Party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting question which they embrace; and, so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the law on one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace; and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and of the Union.

APP Note: The American Presidency Project used the first day of the national nominating convention as the “date” of this platform since the original document is undated.⁵

Attachment 2A cont: Political Life in the North

Republican Party Platform of 1856

June 18, 1856

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present Administration; to the extension of Slavery into Free Territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a Free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do

Resolved: That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution are essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Resolved: That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing Slavery in the Territories of the United States by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislation, of any individual, or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved: That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign powers over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism--Polygamy, and Slavery.

Resolved: That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people, in order to “form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty,” and contain ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them.

Their Territory has been invaded by an armed force;

Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed.

⁵ Minor/Third Party Platforms: “Whig Party Platform of 1852,” June 17, 1852. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25856>.

Test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office.

The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

They have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law;

That the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect;

Murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present National Administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment thereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of this Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and cooperation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

APP Note: The Official Proceedings of the 1856 Republican National Convention indicates that the platform was announced and read on the second day of the convention (June 18, 1856).⁶

⁶ Republican Party Platforms: "Republican Party Platform of 1856," June 18, 1856. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29619>.

Attachment 2B: Political Life in the South

Democratic Party Platform of 1852

June 1, 1852

Resolved, That the American democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declaration of principles avowed by them when on former occasions, in general convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrages.

1. That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.
2. That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.
3. That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.
4. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen, and every section of the country, has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete an ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.
5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated, to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness safety, and utility in all business pursuits.
7. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.
8. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute-books.
9. That Congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

Resolved, That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures settled by the last Congress—"the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto be repealed nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

Resolved, That the democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states as, alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

Resolved, That the democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

Resolved, That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations was a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

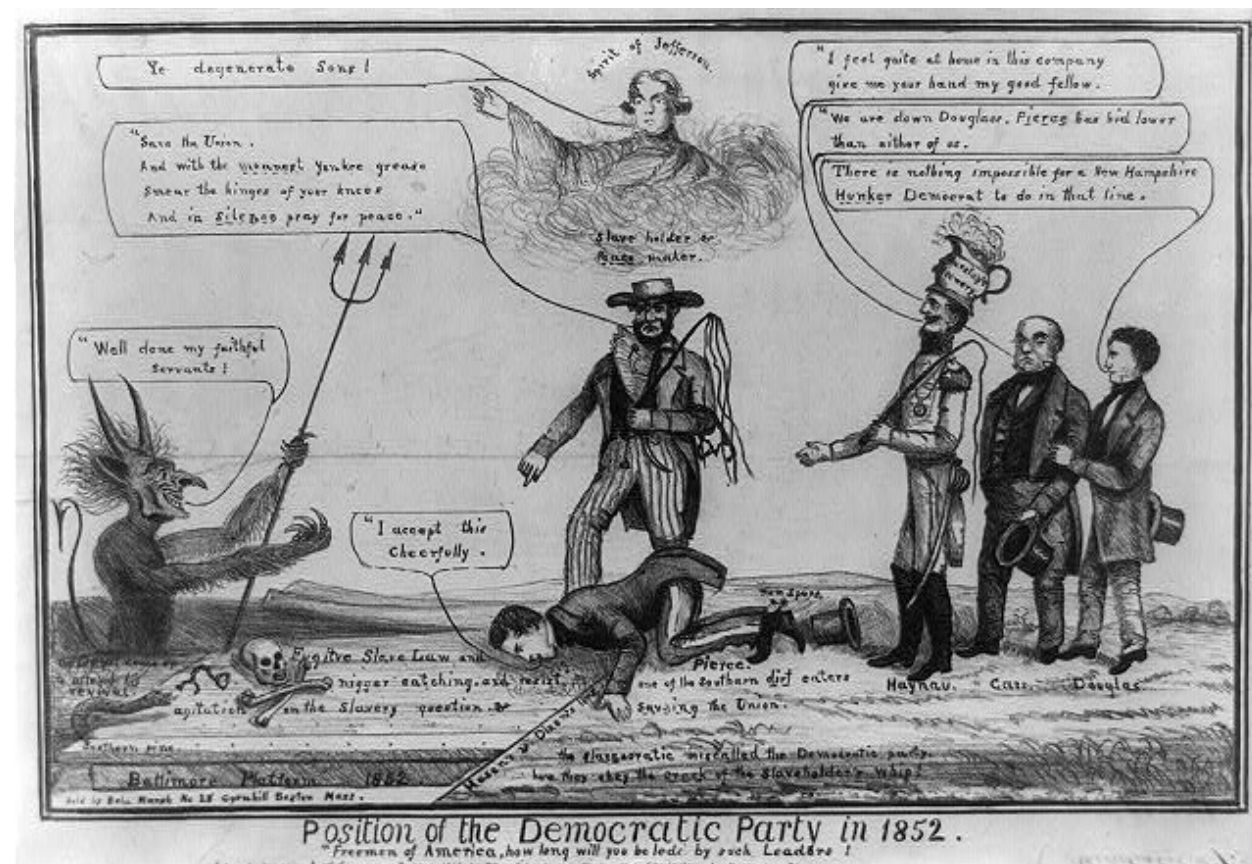
Resolved, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions; and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war, which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the democratic party, and insured to the United States, "indemnity for the past and security for the future."

Resolved, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility upon the democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States, and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

APP Note: The American Presidency Project used the first day of the national nominating convention as the "date" of this platform since the original document is undated.⁷

⁷ Democratic Party Platforms: "Democratic Party Platform of 1852," June 1, 1852. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29575>.

Attachment 2B cont: Political Life in the South



A crudely drawn satire bitterly attacking Democratic presidential candidate Franklin Pierce and appealing to the “Freemen of America.”

The print, possibly executed by a free black, criticizes the Democrats’ platform, as established by the Baltimore Convention, which in the interest of preserving the Union endorsed the Compromise of 1850. More specifically the artist condemns Pierce’s pledge to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, included in the compromise as a submission to southern slaveholding interests. In the center Pierce prostrates himself before a “Slave holder & Peace Maker,” a bearded man in wide-brimmed hat and striped trousers holding a cat-o-nine-tails and manacles. The upper half of Pierce is over the Mason Dixon line, his face in the dirt on the “Baltimore Platform.” The slaveholder says: “Save the Union, / And with the “meanest” Yankee grease / Smear the hinges of your knees / And in “silence” pray for peace.” Pierce, dubbed “one of the Southern “dirt” eaters “Sav[ing] the Union,” replies, “I accept this cheerfully.” The Democratic platform is labeled “Southern pine” and is inscribed with reference to the compromise, “Fugitive Slave Law and n----- catching, and resist agitation on the Slavery question &c.” On it lie a skull and crossbones, manacles, and a serpent. At far left is “the Devil come up to attend his revival,” who commends, “Well done my faithful servants!” On the right is the infamous Hungarian general Julius von Haynau, who carries a whip and wears a “Barclay’s Brewery” pitcher on his head. (Haynau was assaulted by Barclay employees while in England.) The Hungarian extends his hand toward the slaveholder, saying, “I feel quite at home in this company, give me your hand my good fellow.” Further to the right are Lewis Cass and Stephen A. Douglas, disappointed aspirants for the 1852 Democratic nomination. Cass says, “We are down Douglass, Pierce has bid lower than either of us.” Douglas: “There is nothing impossible for a New Hampshire “Hunker” [i.e., conservative] Democrat to do in that line.” On the ground nearby are the words, “the “slave-ocratic miscalled the Democratic party, how they obey the “crack” of the slaveholder’s whip!”⁸

⁸ “Position of the Democratic Party in 1852. “Freemen of America, how long will you be led by such leaders.” Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2008661555/>

Attachment 3A: Economy of the North

Excerpt from *Impending Crisis* by Hinton Rower Helper⁹

It is a fact well known to every intelligent Southerner that we are compelled to go to the North for almost every article of utility and adornment, from matches, shoepegs and paintings up to cotton-mills, steamships and statuary; that we have no foreign trade, no princely merchants, nor respectable artists; that, in comparison with the free states, we contribute nothing to the literature, polite arts and inventions of the age; that, for want of profitable employment at home, large numbers of our native population find themselves necessitated to emigrate to the West, whilst the free states retain not only the larger proportion of those born within their own limits, but induce, annually, hundreds of thousands of foreigners to settle and remain amongst them; that almost everything produced at the North meets with ready sale, while, at the same time, there is no demand, even among our own citizens, for the productions of Southern industry; that, owing to the absence of a proper system of business amongst us, the North becomes, in one way or another, the proprietor and dispenser of all our floating wealth, and that we are dependent on Northern capitalists for the means necessary to build our railroads, canals, and other public improvements; that if we want to visit a foreign country, even though it may lie directly South of us, we find no convenient way of getting there except by taking passage through a Northern port; and that nearly all the profits arising from the exchange of commodities, from insurance and shipping offices, and from the thousand and one industrial pursuits of the country, accrue to the North, and are there invested in the erection of those magnificent cities and stupendous works of art which dazzle the eyes of the South, and attest the superiority of free institutions!

The North is the Mecca of our merchants, and to it they must and do make two pilgrimages per annum—one in the spring and one in the fall. All our commercial, mechanical, manufactural, and literary supplies come from there. We want Bibles, brooms, buckets and books, and we go to the North; we want pens, ink, paper, wafers and envelopes, and we go to the North; we want shoes, hats, handkerchiefs, umbrellas and pocket knives, and we go to the North; we want furniture, crockery, glassware and pianos, and we go to the North; we want toys, primers, school books, fashionable apparel, machinery, medicines, tombstones, and a thousand other things, and we go to the North for them all. Instead of keeping our money in circulation at home, by patronizing our own mechanics, manufacturers, and laborers, we send it all away to the North, and there it remains; it never falls into our hands again.

In one way or another we are more or less subservient to the North every day of our lives. In infancy we are swaddled in Northern muslin; in childhood we are humored with Northern gewgaws; in youth we are instructed out of Northern books; at the age of maturity we sow our “wild oats” on Northern soil; in middle-life we exhaust our wealth, energies and talents in the dishonorable vocation of entailing our dependence on our children and on our children’s children, and, to the neglect of our own interests and the interests of those around us, in giving aid and succor to every department of Northern power; in the decline of life we remedy our eye-sight with Northern spectacles, and support our infirmities with Northern canes; in old age we are drugged with Northern physic; and, finally, when we die, our inanimate bodies, shrouded in Northern cambric, are stretched upon the bier, borne to the grave in a Northern carriage, entombed with a Northern spade, and memorized with a Northern slab!

⁹ *Impending Crisis*, Hinton Rowan Helper. 1860. This work is the property of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It may be used freely by individuals for research, teaching and personal use as long as this statement of availability is included in the text.

But it can hardly be necessary to say more in illustration of this unmanly and unnational dependence, which is so glaring that it cannot fail to be apparent to even the most careless and superficial observer. All the world sees, or ought to see, that in a commercial, mechanical, manufactural, financial, and literary point of view, we are as helpless as babes; that, in comparison with the Free States, our agricultural resources have been greatly exaggerated, misunderstood and mismanaged; and that, instead of cultivating among ourselves a wise policy of mutual assistance and co-operation with respect to individuals, and of self-reliance with respect to the South at large, instead of giving countenance and encouragement to the industrial enterprises projected in our midst, and instead of building up, aggrandizing and beautifying our own States, cities and towns, we have been spending our substance at the North, and are daily augmenting and strengthening the very power which now has us so completely under its thumb.

It thus appears, in view of the preceding statistical facts and arguments, that the South, at one time the superior of the North in almost all the ennobling pursuits and conditions of life, has fallen far behind her competitor, and now ranks more as the dependency of a mother country than as the equal confederate of free and independent States. Following the order of our task, the next duty that devolves upon us is to trace out the causes which have conspired to bring about this important change, and to place on record the reasons, as we understand them...

Attachment 3B: Economic Life in the South

Excerpt from *Impending Crisis* by Hilton Rowan Helper¹⁰

By taking a sort of inventory of the agricultural products of the free and slave States in 1850, we now propose to correct a most extraordinary and mischievous error into which the people of the South have unconsciously fallen. Agriculture, it is well known, is the sole boast of the South; and, strange to say, many pro-slavery Southerners, who, in our latitude, pass for intelligent men, are so puffed up with the idea of our importance in this respect, that they speak of the North as a sterile region, unfit for cultivation, and quite dependent on the South for the necessities of life! Such rampant ignorance ought to be knocked in the head! We can prove that the North produces greater quantities of bread-stuffs than the South! Figures shall show the facts. Properly, the South has nothing left to boast of; the North has surpassed her in everything, and is going farther and farther ahead of her every day.

We ask the reader’s careful attention to the following tables, which we have prepared at no little cost of time and trouble, and which, when duly considered in connection with the foregoing and subsequent portions of our work, will, we believe, carry conviction to the mind that the downward tendency of the South can be arrested only by the abolition of slavery.

TOTAL DIFFERENCE—BUSHEL-MEASURE PRODUCTS.

	Bushels.		Value.
Free States	499,190,041		\$351,709,703
Slave States	481,766,889		306,927,067
Balance in bushels	17,423,152	Difference in value	\$44,782,636

So much for the boasted agricultural superiority of the South! Mark well the balance in bushels, and the difference in value! Is either in favor of the South? No! Are both in favor of the North? Yes! Here we have unquestionable proof that of all the bushel-measure products of the nation, the free states produce far more than one-half; and it is worthy of particular mention, that the excess of Northern products is of the most valuable kind. The account shows a balance against the South, in favor of the North, of seventeen million four hundred and twenty-three thousand one hundred and fifty-two bushels, and a difference in value of forty-four million seven hundred and eighty-two thousand six hundred and thirty-six dollars. Please bear these facts in mind, for, in order to show positively how the free and slave States do stand upon the great and important subject of rural economy, we intend to take an account of all the other products of the soil, of the live-stock upon farms, of the animals slaughtered, and, in fact, of every item of husbandry of the two sections; and if, in bringing our tabular exercises to a close, we find slavery gaining upon freedom--a thing it has never yet been known to do--we shall, as a matter of course, see that the above amount is transferred to the credit of the side to which it of right belongs.

In making up these tables we have two objects in view; the first is to open the eyes of the non-slaveholders of the South, to the system of deception, that has so long been practiced upon them, and the second is to show slaveholders themselves--we have reference only to those who are not too perverse, ignorant, to perceive naked truths--that free labor is far more respectable, profitable, and productive, than slave labor.

¹⁰ *Impending Crisis*, Hinton Rowan Helper. 1860. This work is the property of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It may be used freely by individuals for research, teaching and personal use as long as this statement of availability is included in the text.

Attachment 4A: Daniel Webster

Excerpt from “The Second Reply to Hayne,” January 26-27, 1830¹¹

(...) This leads us to inquire into the origin of this government and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the State legislatures, or the creature of the people? If the government of the United States be the agent of the State governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it; if it be the agent of the people, then the people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough, that the doctrine for which the honorable gentleman contends leads him to the necessity of maintaining, not only that this general government is the creature of the States, but that it is the creature of each of the States severally, so that each may assert the power for itself of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority. It is the servant of four-and-twenty masters, of different will and different purposes and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of this government and its true character. It is, Sir, the people’s Constitution, the people’s government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that the Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition, or dispute their authority. The States are, unquestionably, sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the State legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given the power to the general government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the government holds of the people, and not of the State governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people. The general government and the State governments derive their authority from the same source. Neither can, in relation to the other, be called primary, thorough one is definite and restricted, and the other general and residuary. The national government possesses those powers which it will be shown the people have conferred upon it, and no more. All the rest belongs to the State governments, or to the people themselves. So far as the people have restrained State sovereignty, by the expression of their will, in the Constitution of the United States, so far, it must be admitted. State sovereignty is effectually controlled. I do not contend that it is, or ought to be, controlled farther. The sentiment to which I have referred propounds that State sovereignty is only to be controlled by its own “feeling of justice”: that is to say, it is not to be controlled at all, for one who is to follow his own feelings is under no legal control. Now, however men may think this ought to be, the fact is, that the people of the United States have chosen to impose control on State sovereignties. There are those, doubtless, who wish they had been left without restraining; but the Constitution has ordered the matter differently. To make war, for instance, is an exercise of sovereignty; but the Constitution declares that no State shall make war. To coin money is another exercise of sovereign power, but no State is at liberty to coin money. Again, the Constitution says that no sovereign State shall be so sovereign as to make a treaty. These prohibitions, it must be confessed, are a control on the State sovereignty of South Carolina, as well as of the other States, which does not arise “from her own feelings of honorable justice.” The opinion referred to, therefore, is in defiance of the plainest provisions of the Constitution...

I must now beg to ask, Sir, Whence is this supposed right of the States derived? Where do they find the power to interfere with the laws of the Union? Sir the opinion which the honorable gentleman maintains is a notion founded in a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this government, and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular government, erected by the people; those who administer it, responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the State governments. It is created for one purpose; the State governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs. There is no more authority with

them to arrest the operation of a law of Congress, than with Congress to arrest the operation of their laws. We are here to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State governments. It is of no moment to the argument, that certain acts of the State legislatures are necessary to fill our seats in this body. That is not one of their original State powers, a part of the sovereignty of the State. It is a duty which the people, by the Constitution itself, have imposed on the State legislatures; and which they might have left to be performed elsewhere, if they had seen fit. So they have left the choice of President with electors; but all this does not affect the proposition that this whole government, President, Senate, and House of Representatives, is a popular government. It leaves it still all its popular character. The governor of a State (in some of the States) is chosen, not directly by the people, but by those who are chosen by the people, for the purpose of performing, among other duties, that of electing a governor. Is the government of the State, on that account, not a popular government? This government, Sir, is the independent offspring of the popular will. It is not the creature of State legislatures; nay, more, if the whole truth must be told, the people brought it into existence, established it, and have hitherto supported it, for the very purpose, amongst others, of imposing certain salutary restraints on State sovereignties. The States cannot now make war; they cannot contract alliances; they cannot make, each for itself, separate regulations of commerce; they cannot lay imposts; they cannot coin money. If this Constitution, Sir, be the creature of State legislatures, it must be admitted that it has obtained a strange control over the volitions of its creators.

The people, then, Sir, erected this government. They gave it a Constitution, and in that Constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestow on it.. They have made it a limited government. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of such powers as are granted; and all others, they declare, are reserved to the States or the people. But, Sir, they have not stopped here. If they had, they would have accomplished but half their work. No definition can be so clear, as to avoid possibility of doubt; no limitation so precise, as to exclude all uncertainty. Who, then, shall construe this grant of the people? Who shall interpret their will, where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? With whom do they repose this ultimate right of deciding on the powers of government? Sir, they have settled all this in the fullest manner. They have left it with the government itself, in its appropriate branches. Sir, the very chief end, the main design, for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a government that should not be obliged to act through State agency, or depend on State opinion and State discretion. The people had had quite enough of that kind of government under the Confederation. Under that system, the legal action, the application of law to individuals, belonged exclusively to the States. Congress could only recommend; their acts were not of binding force, till the States had adopted and sanctioned them. Are we in that condition still? Are we yet at the mercy of State discretion and State construction? Sir, if we are, then vain will be our attempt to maintain the Constitution under which we sit. (...)

¹¹ “The Second Reply to Hayne,” Daniel Webster, Dartmouth College, <https://www.dartmouth.edu/~dwebster/speeches/hayne-speech.html>

Attachment 4B: John Brown

Address to the Virginia Court at Charles Town, Virginia on November 2, 1859¹²

I have, may it please the court, a few words to say.

In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, -- the design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to do the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case), -- had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends -- either father, mother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class -- and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

The court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to "remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them." I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done -- as I have always freely admitted I have done -- in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments. -- I submit; so let it be done!

Let me say one word further.

I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. I feel no consciousness of my guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of any kind.

Let me say also, a word in regard to the statements made by some to those connected with me. I hear it has been said by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part of them at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

Now I have done.

¹² Reprinted from Annals of America. © 1968,1976 *Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.*

Attachment 4C: William Lloyd Garrison

"On the Death of John Brown," December 2, 1859¹³

God forbid that we should any longer continue the accomplices of thieves and robbers, of men-stealers and women-whippers! We must join together in the name of freedom.

As for the Union--where is it and what is it?

In one-half of it no man can exercise freedom of speech or the press--no man can utter the words of Washington, of Jefferson, of Patrick Henry--except at the peril of his life; and Northern men are everywhere hunted and driven from the South if they are supposed to cherish the sentiment of freedom in their bosoms.

We are living under an awful despotism--that of a brutal slave oligarchy. And they threaten to leave us if we do not continue to do their evil work, as we have hitherto done it, and go down in the dust before them!

Would to heaven they would go! It would only be the paupers clearing out from the town, would it not? But, no, they do not mean to go; they mean to cling to you, and they mean to subdue you. But will you be subdued?

I tell you our work is the dissolution of this slavery-cursed Union, if we would have a fragment of our liberties left to us! Surely between freemen, who believe in exact justice and impartial liberty, and slaveholders, who are for cleaning down all human rights at a blow, it is not possible there should be any Union whatever. "How can two walk together except they be agreed?"

The slaveholder with his hands dripping in blood--will I make a compact with him? The man who plunders cradles--will I say to him, "Brother, let us walk together in unity?" The man who, to gratify his lust or his anger, scourges woman with the lash till the soil is red with her blood--will I say to him: "Give me your hand; let us form a glorious Union?" No, never--never! There can be no union between us: "What concord hath Christ with Belial?" What union has freedom with slavery? Let us tell the inexorable and remorseless tyrants of the South that their conditions hitherto imposed upon us, whereby we are morally responsible for the existence of slavery, are horribly inhuman and wicked, and we cannot carry them out for the sake of their evil company.

By the dissolution of the Union we shall give the finishing blow to the slave system; and then God will make it possible for us to form a true, vital, enduring, all-embracing Union, from the Atlantic to the Pacific--one God to be worshipped, one Saviour to be revered, one policy to be carried out--freedom everywhere to all the people, without regard to complexion or race--and the blessing of God resting upon us all! I want to see that glorious day!

Now the South is full of tribulation and terror and despair, going down to irretrievable bankruptcy, and fearing each bush an officer! Would to God it might all pass away like a hideous dream! And how easily it might be!

What is it that God requires of the South to remove every root of bitterness, to allay every fear, to fill her borders with prosperity? But one simple act of justice, without violence and convulsion, without danger and hazard. It is this: "Undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free!" Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy darkness shall be as the noonday. Then shalt thou call and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say: "Here I am."

¹³ <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/garrison.htm>

“And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in.”

How simple and how glorious! It is the complete solution of all the difficulties in the case. Oh, that the South may be wise before it is too late, and give heed to the word of the Lord! But, whether she will hear or forbear, let us renew our pledges to the cause of bleeding humanity, and spare no effort to make this truly the land of the free and the refuge of the oppressed!

“Onward, then, ye fearless band,
Heart to heart, and hand to hand;
Yours shall be the Christian’s stand,
Or the martyr’s grave.”

Attachment 5A: John C. Calhoun

Excerpt from “The Clay Compromise Measures,” March 4, 1850¹⁴

(...) Having now, senators, explained what it is that endangers the Union, and traced it to its cause, and explained its nature and character, the question again recurs, How can the Union be saved? To this I answer, there is but one way by which it can be, and that is by adopting such measures as will satisfy the States belonging to the Southern section that they can remain in the Union consistently with their honor and their safety. There is, again, only one way by which this can be effected, and that is by removing the causes by which this belief has been produced. Do this, and discontent will cease, harmony and kind feelings between the sections be restored, and every apprehension of danger to the Union removed. The question, then, is, How can this be done? There is but one way by which it can with any certainty; and that is by a full and final settlement, on the principle of justice, of all the questions at issue between the two sections. The South asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer but the Constitution, and no concession or surrender to make. She has already surrendered so much that she has little left to surrender. Such a settlement would go to the root of the evil, and remove all cause of discontent, by satisfying the South that she could remain honorably and safely in the Union, and thereby restore the harmony and fraternal feelings between the sections which existed anterior to the Missouri agitation. Nothing else can, with any certainty, finally and for ever settle the question at issue, terminate agitation, and save the Union.

But can this be done? Yes, easily; not by the weaker party, for it can of itself do nothing--not even protect itself--but by the stronger. The North has only to will it to accomplish it--to do justice by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired territory, and to do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled--to cease the agitation of the slave question, and to provide for the insertion of a provision in the Constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South, in substance, the power she possessed of protecting herself before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this government. There will be no difficulty in devising such a provision--one that will protect the South, and which at the same time will improve and strengthen the government instead of impairing and weakening it.

But will the North agree to this? It is for her to answer the question. But, I will say, she can not refuse if she has half the love of the Union which she professes to have, or without justly exposing herself to the charge that her love of power and aggrandizement is far greater than her love of the Union. At all events, the responsibility of saving the Union rests on the North, and not on the South. The South can not save it by any act of hers, and the North may save it without any sacrifice whatever, unless to do justice and to perform her duties under the Constitution should be regarded by her as a sacrifice.

It is time, senators, that there should be an open and manly avowal on all sides as to what is intended to be done. If the question is not now settled, it is uncertain whether it ever can hereafter be; and we, as the representatives of the States of this Union regarded as governments, should come to a distinct understanding as to our respective views, in order to ascertain whether the great questions at issue can be settled or not. If you who represent the stronger portion, can not agree to settle them on the broad principle of justice and duty, say so; and let the States we both represent agree to separate and part in peace.

If you are unwilling we should part in peace, tell us so; and we shall know what to do when you reduce the question to submission or resistance. If you remain silent, you will compel us to infer by

¹⁴ <http://www.nationalcenter.org/CalhounClayCompromise.html>

your acts what you intend. In that case California will become the test question. If you admit her under all the difficulties that oppose her admission, you compel us to infer that you intend to exclude us from the whole of the acquired Territories, with the intention of destroying irretrievably the equilibrium between the two sections. We should be blind not to perceive in that case that your real objects are power and aggrandizement, and infatuated, not to act accordingly.

I have now, senators, done my duty in expressing my opinions fully, freely, and candidly on this solemn occasion. In doing so I have been governed by the motives which have governed me in all the stages of the agitation of the slavery question since its commencement. I have exerted myself during the whole period to arrest it, with the intention of saving the Union if it could be done; and if it could not, to save the section where it has pleased providence to cast my lot, and which I sincerely believe has justice and the Constitution on its side. Having faithfully done my duty to the best of my ability, both to the Union and my section, throughout this agitation, I shall have the consolation, let what will come, that I am free from all responsibility.

Attachment 5B: James Henry Hammond

Excerpt from “On the Admission of Kansas, Under the Lecompton Compromise,” US Senate, March 4, 1858¹⁵

(...) As I am disposed to see this question settled as soon as possible, and am perfectly willing to have a final and conclusive settlement now, after what the Senator from New York [William Seward] has said, I think it not improper that I should attempt to bring the North and South face to face, and see what resources each of us might have in the contingency of separate organizations.

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.

But, in this territory lies the great valley of the Mississippi, now the real, and soon to be the acknowledged seat of the empire of the world. The sway of that valley will be as great as ever the Nile knew in the earlier ages of mankind. We own the most of it. The most valuable part of it belongs to us now; and although those who have settled above us are now opposed to us, another generation will tell a different tale. They are ours by all the laws of nature; slave-labor will go over every foot of this great valley where it will be found profitable to use it, and some of those who may not use it are soon to be united with us by such ties as will make us one and inseparable. The iron horse will soon be clattering over the sunny plains of the South to bear the products of its upper tributaries of the valley to our Atlantic ports, as it now does through the ice-bound North. And there is the great Mississippi, a bond of union made by Nature herself. She will maintain it forever.

On this fine territory we have a population four times as large as that with which these colonies separated from the mother country, and a hundred, I might say a thousand fold stronger. Our population is now sixty per cent greater than that of the whole United States when we entered into the second war of independence. It is as large as the whole population of the United States was ten years after the conclusion of that war, and our own exports are three times as great as those of the whole United States then. Upon our muster-rolls we have a million of men. In a defensive war, upon an emergency, every one of them would be available. At any time, the South can raise, equip, and maintain in the field, a larger army than any Power of the earth can send against her, and an army of soldiers—men brought up on horseback, with guns in their hands. If we take the North, even when the two large States of Kansas and Minnesota shall be admitted, her territory will be one hundred thousand square miles less than ours. I do not speak of California and Oregon; there is no antagonism between the South and those countries, and never will be. The population of the North is fifty per cent greater than ours. 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.

¹⁵ <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/cotton-is-king/>

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. You may go to your trashy census books, full of falsehoods and nonsense—they tell you, for example, that in the State of Tennessee, the whole number of house-servants is not equal to that of those in my own house, and such things as that. You may estimate what is made throughout the country from these census books, but it is no matter how much is made if it is all consumed. If a man possess millions of dollars and consumes his income, is he rich? Is he competent to embark in any new enterprises? Can he long build ships or railroads? And could a people in that condition build ships and roads or go to war without a fatal strain on capital? All the enterprises of peace and war depend upon the surplus productions of a people. They may be happy, they may be comfortable, they may enjoy themselves in consuming what they make; but they are not rich, they are not strong. 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. (...)

Attachment 5C: George Fitzhugh

Excerpt from “Sociology for the South, or The Failure of Free Society,” 1854¹⁶

(...) But the chief and far most important enquiry is, how does slavery affect the condition of the slave? One of the wildest sects of Communists in France proposes not only to hold all property in common, but to divide the profits, not according to each man’s in-put and labor, but according to each man’s wants. Now this is precisely the system of domestic slavery with us. We provide for each slave, in old age and in infancy, in sickness and in health, not according to his labor, but according to his wants. The master’s wants are more costly and refined, and he therefore gets a larger share of the profits. A Southern farm is the beau ideal of Communism; it is a joint concern, in which the slave consumes more than the master, of the coarse products, and is far happier, because although the concern may fail, he is always sure of a support; he is only transferred to another master to participate in the profits of another concern; he marries when he pleases, because he knows he will have to work no more with a family than without one, and whether he live or die, that family will be taken care of; he exhibits all the pride of ownership, despises a partner in a smaller concern, “a poor man’s negro,” boasts of “our crops, horses, fields and cattle;” and is as happy as a human being can be. And why should he not? – he enjoys as much of the fruits of the farm as he is capable of doing, and the wealthiest can do no more. Great wealth brings many additional cares, but few additional enjoyments. Our stomachs do not increase in capacity with our fortunes. We want no more clothing to keep us warm. We may create new wants, but we cannot create new pleasures. The intellectual enjoyments which wealth affords are probably balanced by the new cares it brings along with it.

There is no rivalry, no competition to get employment among slaves, as among free laborers. Nor is there a war between master and slave. The master’s interest prevents his reducing the slave’s allowance or wages in infancy or sickness, for he might lose the slave by so doing. His feeling for his slave never permits him to stint him in old age. The slaves are all well fed, well clad, have plenty of fuel, and are happy. They have no dread of the future – no fear of want. A state of dependence is the only condition in which reciprocal affection can exist among human beings – the only situation in which the war of competition ceases, and peace, amity and good will arise. A state of independence always begets more or less of jealous rivalry and hostility. A man loves his children because they are weak, helpless and dependent; he loves his wife for similar reasons. When his children grow up and assert their independence, he is apt to transfer his affection to his grand-children. He ceases to love his wife when she becomes masculine or rebellious; but slaves are always dependent, never the rivals of their master. Hence, though men are often found at variance with wife or children, we never saw one who did not like his slaves, and rarely a slave who was not devoted to his master. “I am thy servant!” disarms me of the power of master. Every man feels the beauty, force and truth of this sentiment of Sterne. But he who acknowledges its truth, tacitly admits that dependence is a tie of affection, that the relation of master and slave is one of mutual good will. Volumes written on the subject would not prove as much as this single sentiment. It has found its way to the heart of every reader, and carried conviction along with it. The slave-holder is like other men; he will not tread on the worm nor break the bruised reed. The ready submission of the slave, nine times out of ten, disarms his wrath even when the slave has offended. The habit of command may make him imperious and fit him for rule; but he is only imperious when thwarted or ordered by his equals; he would scorn to put on airs of command among blacks, whether slaves or free; he always speaks to them in a kind and subdued tone. We go farther, and say the slave-holder is better than others – because he has greater occasion for the exercise of the affection. His whole life is spent in providing for the minutest wants of others, in taking care of them in sickness and in health. Hence he is the least selfish of men. Is not the old bachelor who retires to seclusion, always selfish? Is not the head of a large family almost always kind and benevolent? And is not the slave-holder the head of the largest family?

¹⁶ <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/sociology-for-the-south-or-the-failure-of-free-society/>

Nature compels master and slave to be friends; nature makes employers and free laborers enemies.

The institution of slavery gives full development and full play to the affections. Free society chills, stints and eradicates them. In a homely way the farm will support all, and we are not in a hurry to send our children into the world, to push their way and make their fortunes, with a capital of knavish maxims. We are better husbands, better fathers, better friends, and better neighbors than our Northern brethren. The tie of kindred to the fifth degree is often a tie of affection with us. First cousins are scarcely acknowledged at the North, and even children are prematurely pushed off into the world. Love for others is the organic law of our society, as self-love is of theirs. (...)

Attachment 6A: Mississippi Declaration of Secession

A Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union¹⁷

In the momentous step, which our State has taken of dissolving its connection with the government of which we so long formed a part, it is but just that we should declare the prominent reasons which have induced our course.

Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery - the greatest material interest of the world. Its labor supplies the product, which constitutes by far the largest and most important portions of commerce of the earth. These products are peculiar to the climate verging on the tropical regions, and by an imperious law of nature, none but the black race can bear exposure to the tropical sun. These products have become necessities of the world, and a blow at slavery is a blow at commerce and civilization. That blow has been long aimed at the institution, and was at the point of reaching its consummation. There was no choice left us but submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union, whose principles had been subverted to work out our ruin.

That we do not overstate the dangers to our institution, a reference to a few facts will sufficiently prove.

The hostility to this institution commenced before the adoption of the Constitution, and was manifested in the well-known Ordinance of 1787, in regard to the Northwestern Territory.

The feeling increased, until, in 1819-20, it deprived the South of more than half the vast territory acquired from France.

The same hostility dismembered Texas and seized upon all the territory acquired from Mexico.

It has grown until it denies the right of property in slaves, and refuses protection to that right on the high seas, in the Territories, and wherever the government of the United States had jurisdiction.

It refuses the admission of new slave States into the Union, and seeks to extinguish it by confining it within its present limits, denying the power of expansion.

It tramples the original equality of the South under foot.

It has nullified the Fugitive Slave Law in almost every free State in the Union, and has utterly broken the compact, which our fathers pledged their faith to maintain.

It advocates negro equality, socially and politically, and promotes insurrection and incendiarism in our midst.

It has enlisted its press, its pulpit and its schools against us, until the whole popular mind of the North is excited and inflamed with prejudice.

It has made combinations and formed associations to carry out its schemes of emancipation in the States and wherever else slavery exists.

¹⁷ http://www.civil-war.net/pages/mississippi_declaration.asp

It seeks not to elevate or to support the slave, but to destroy his present condition without providing a better.

It has invaded a State, and invested with the honors of martyrdom the wretch whose purpose was to apply flames to our dwellings, and the weapons of destruction to our lives.

It has broken every compact into which it has entered for our security.

It has given indubitable evidence of its design to ruin our agriculture, to prostrate our industrial pursuits and to destroy our social system.

It knows no relenting or hesitation in its purposes; it stops not in its march of aggression, and leaves us no room to hope for cessation or for pause.

It has recently obtained control of the Government, by the prosecution of its unhallowed schemes, and destroyed the last expectation of living together in friendship and brotherhood.

Utter subjugation awaits us in the Union, if we should consent longer to remain in it. It is not a matter of choice, but of necessity. We must either submit to degradation, and to the loss of property worth four billions of money, or we must secede from the Union framed by our fathers, to secure this as well as every other species of property. For far less cause than this, our fathers separated from the Crown of England.

Our decision is made. We follow their footsteps. We embrace the alternative of separation; and for the reasons here stated, we resolve to maintain our rights with the full consciousness of the justice of our course, and the undoubting belief of our ability to maintain it.

Attachment 6B: South Carolina Declaration of Secession

Confederate States of America - Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union¹⁸

The people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, on the 26th day of April, A.D., 1852, declared that the frequent violations of the Constitution of the United States, by the Federal Government, and its encroachments upon the reserved rights of the States, fully justified this State in then withdrawing from the Federal Union; but in deference to the opinions and wishes of the other slaveholding States, she forbore at that time to exercise this right. Since that time, these encroachments have continued to increase, and further forbearance ceases to be a virtue.

And now the State of South Carolina having resumed her separate and equal place among nations, deems it due to herself, to the remaining United States of America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the immediate causes which have led to this act.

In the year 1765, that portion of the British Empire embracing Great Britain, undertook to make laws for the government of that portion composed of the thirteen American Colonies. A struggle for the right of self-government ensued, which resulted, on the 4th of July, 1776, in a Declaration, by the Colonies, "that they are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

They further solemnly declared that whenever any "form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government." Deeming the Government of Great Britain to have become destructive of these ends, they declared that the Colonies "are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

In pursuance of this Declaration of Independence, each of the thirteen States proceeded to exercise its separate sovereignty; adopted for itself a Constitution, and appointed officers for the administration of government in all its departments-- Legislative, Executive and Judicial. For purposes of defense, they united their arms and their counsels; and, in 1778, they entered into a League known as the Articles of Confederation, whereby they agreed to entrust the administration of their external relations to a common agent, known as the Congress of the United States, expressly declaring, in the first Article "that each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not, by this Confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

Under this Confederation the war of the Revolution was carried on, and on the 3rd of September, 1783, the contest ended, and a definite Treaty was signed by Great Britain, in which she acknowledged the independence of the Colonies in the following terms: "ARTICLE 1-- His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof."

Thus were established the two great principles asserted by the Colonies, namely: the right of a State to govern itself; and the right of a people to abolish a Government when it becomes destructive of

¹⁸ http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_scarsec.asp

the ends for which it was instituted. And concurrent with the establishment of these principles, was the fact, that each Colony became and was recognized by the mother Country a FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE.

In 1787, Deputies were appointed by the States to revise the Articles of Confederation, and on 17th September, 1787, these Deputies recommended for the adoption of the States, the Articles of Union, known as the Constitution of the United States.

The parties to whom this Constitution was submitted, were the several sovereign States; they were to agree or disagree, and when nine of them agreed the compact was to take effect among those concurring; and the General Government, as the common agent, was then invested with their authority.

If only nine of the thirteen States had concurred, the other four would have remained as they then were-- separate, sovereign States, independent of any of the provisions of the Constitution. In fact, two of the States did not accede to the Constitution until long after it had gone into operation among the other eleven; and during that interval, they each exercised the functions of an independent nation.

By this Constitution, certain duties were imposed upon the several States, and the exercise of certain of their powers was restrained, which necessarily implied their continued existence as sovereign States. But to remove all doubt, an amendment was added, which declared that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people. On the 23d May, 1788, South Carolina, by a Convention of her People, passed an Ordinance assenting to this Constitution, and afterwards altered her own Constitution, to conform herself to the obligations she had undertaken.

Thus was established, by compact between the States, a Government with definite objects and powers, limited to the express words of the grant. This limitation left the whole remaining mass of power subject to the clause reserving it to the States or to the people, and rendered unnecessary any specification of reserved rights.

We hold that the Government thus established is subject to the two great principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence; and we hold further, that the mode of its formation subjects it to a third fundamental principle, namely: the law of compact. We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties, the obligation is mutual; that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement, entirely releases the obligation of the other; and that where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure, with all its consequences.

In the present case, that fact is established with certainty. We assert that fourteen of the States have deliberately refused, for years past, to fulfill their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own Statutes for the proof.

The Constitution of the United States, in its fourth Article, provides as follows: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This stipulation was so material to the compact, that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties held slaves, and they had previously evinced their estimate of the value of such a stipulation by making it a condition in the Ordinance for the

government of territory ceded by Virginia, which now composes the States north of the Ohio River.

The same article of the Constitution stipulates also for rendition by the several States of fugitives from justice from the other States.

The General Government, as the common agent, passed laws to carry into effect these stipulations of the States. For many years these laws were executed. But an increasing hostility on the part of the non-slaveholding States to the institution of slavery, has led to a disregard of their obligations, and the laws of the General Government have ceased to effect the objects of the Constitution. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, have enacted laws which either nullify the Acts of Congress or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from service or labor claimed, and in none of them has the State Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. The State of New Jersey, at an early day, passed a law in conformity with her constitutional obligation; but the current of anti-slavery feeling has led her more recently to enact laws which render inoperative the remedies provided by her own law and by the laws of Congress. In the State of New York even the right of transit for a slave has been denied by her tribunals; and the States of Ohio and Iowa have refused to surrender to justice fugitives charged with murder, and with inciting servile insurrection in the State of Virginia. Thus the constituted compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States, and the consequence follows that South Carolina is released from her obligation.

The ends for which the Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a Federal Government, in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized by giving to free persons distinct political rights, by giving them the right to represent, and burthening them with direct taxes for three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years; and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor.

We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and to eloign the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain, have been incited by emissaries, books and pictures to servile insurrection.

For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the forms of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that Article establishing the Executive Department, the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that that "Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free," and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

This sectional combination for the submersion of the Constitution, has been aided in some of the States by elevating to citizenship, persons who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens; and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy, hostile to the South, and destructive of its beliefs and safety.

On the 4th day of March next, this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory, that the judicial tribunals shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.

The guaranties of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

Sectional interest and animosity will deepen the irritation, and all hope of remedy is rendered vain, by the fact that public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanction of more erroneous religious belief.

We, therefore, the People of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America, is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent State; with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

Adopted December 24, 1860

Attachment 6C: South Carolina Secession Debates

Excerpt from the Debates as Transcribed from the Charleston, South Carolina, Courier, Dec. 25, 1860, by Ben Barnhill, Furman University)¹⁹

Monday, December 24 (Seventh day of the State Convention)

Several of the amendments proposed caused a lively colloquial discussion.

In moving to strike out the following: “Where the Caucassian cannot labor,”

Mr. F.H. WARDLAW said he did not consider that portion of the address true. Some of the most fertile portions of South Carolina are cultivated by the labor of the white man. White men in the upper country make Cotton crops. He thought the sentence would be complete without the portion he proposed to strike out.

Mr. RHETT thought if that was a fact the phraseology might be altered, but he did there were portions of the world, under a tropical climate, where the Caucassian could not labor. If he understood it correctly, one of the great justifications of the institution of slavery is that the Caucassian cannot labor in certain regions where the soil is extremely fertile, and where latitude is of a certain degree. The only way in which the soil of those regions can be made useful to man, is by the cultivation of the African. That is an important position in the defence of our institutions. Our enemies have contended on the other hand that the white man is able to cultivate that soil, and secure all tropical productions. That is the idea he intended to express. If it was untrue the sentence ought to be expunged.

Mr. F.H. WARDLAW was not satisfied with the explanation as to the sentence referred to. It refers to the West Indies, and other tropics, and we cannot say that these regions are “kept in order by an unpaid police.” He did not think the force of the sentence would be at all impaired by striking out the portions indicated.

Mr. RHETT said if we agreed with the fact he would be willing to strike out, but he did not believe many portions could be cultivated by the white race. There may be some spots in the up country where Cotton could be produced by him, but as a general rule white men cannot populate a tropical country, nor cultivate the productions of a tropical climate.

Mr. HUTSON suggested that the difficulty might be avoided by striking out the word “most” and inserting the word “many,” so as to read, “and many fertile regions of the world where the Caucassian cannot labor, are brought into usefulness by the labor of the African.” The Amendment was accepted.

Mr. CHEVES moved that all the proposed amendments be accepted as information, and that the paper be ordered to be printed, and that the Chairman of the Committee be authorised to make all verbal amendments necessary, (if the same be not already adopted) the same to be submitted to the Convention to-morrow.

Mr. RHETT thought the Address should now be either accepted or rejected by the Convention. They could simply say whether they were satisfied or whether they were not satisfied or whether they approved of it, and it was better to determine that at once.

Mr. DARGAN said on Saturday he moved to take up the Address in connection with the Report of the Committee charged to prepare a statement of the causes of secession. He then stated his position, that he thought there was an apparent want of congruity between the Address which was prepared

¹⁹ <http://history.furman.edu/benson/docs/scdebate3.htm>

by the Committee on the Address to the Southern States, and that prepared by the Committee of a statement of the causes of secession.

They had already manifestations of some want of concurrence of views in the Convention in reference to these Addresses. When the other paper came up there would be similar manifestations. He thought, therefore, the objects of the Convention would best be subserved, and a more satisfactory conclusion arrived at, by recommitting both papers to their respective Committees, or that both together might form a joint committee of revision. Both then might have a conference on the subject of the Addresses. He, therefore, moved that the Address under consideration, in connection with the report of the Committee charged with the report of the Committee charged with the duty of preparing a statement of the causes of secession, be referred to a Special Committee, consisting of the two Committees that have reported these respective Addresses, with the hope that the action of the joint Committee might result in the production of two papers, which would resolve the action of the Convention without discussion.

Mr. CALHOUN said it seemed to him that these two Addresses were very different in character, and that it would be inexpedient to unite them, or to bring them together in perfect harmony. In the one Address we are speaking to those with whom we expect to confederate -- we are speaking to our sister Southern States. In the other we are speaking to the world at large, and informing them of the reasons which induced us to take the important steps we have adopted. He took it, therefore, that the language used in both Addresses should, to some extent, be different and not confined to the same tenor of argument. He was, therefore, of opinion that the true policy for the Convention to adopt was, after putting the extensive verbal criticism already made in the Southern Address, we should regard this measure as having progressed to an extent which justifies this Convention in passing this Address to the people of the Southern States. The policy which has been adopted by the Chairman of that Committee was a liberal one. He happened to be a member of that Committee, and while he did not sanction all the verbal criticisms adopted, yet he thought it the best policy to admit it was right. Absolute accuracy in an Address of that length could hardly be expected. After the minute criticism which the paper had undergone, he thought it was not asking too much of the Convention to adopt the Address and let it stand upon its own merits.

As to the other Address, which sets forth the reasons of secession, he was not prepared to say what changes should be made in that Address, but as it covers the whole ground, and it appears to be correct, he thought it the best policy to admit it was right. He hoped they would on and perfect the Address, and that it would be adopted, independent of any action, with the Address to the world at large. The two papers are not of the same nature. It was not necessary that they should speak in the same terms, and were in many respects essentially different.

Mr. HAYNE wished to say a single word upon the subject. He quite agreed with the speaker who preceded him, that the two papers being addressed to different quarters, should not be necessarily the same. It is essential that two different steps be taken in relation to them -- but, nevertheless, the two subjects are certainly kindred -- and it may be that similar positions are taken in each, and there may be apparent opposition in the Addresses. For this reason he thought it best to refer both to the same Committee. They could then see the difficulties that had arisen by reference to separate Committees. He would suggest that as each Committee only consisted of seven, they might meet in joint committee, and the whole fourteen could thus consider the Addresses, and bring them into such harmony as would prevent the seeming inconsistencies that appeared. He proposed to send the amendments and the Addresses before the Committee, and they would discover all discrepancies, avoid them in the perfected paper that would result from their labors. He thought they might make a report tomorrow, which would be satisfactory to many who now entertained doubts in mind.

Col. T. Y. SIMONS. Mr. President, we have passed an Ordinance by which we have declared this State a separate and independent Commonwealth. We are now engaged in bringing those principles to a practical conclusion, which we have asserted and declared upon paper. It is exceedingly important that the Address to the Southern States, whom we hope soon to be our confederates, as well as the Address setting forth the immediate causes which induce and justify the secession of this State, should be placed as speedily as possible before our people and the world. They present the grounds of our action. They contain our appeal and our justification. These matters have been referred to able Committees of this body, who have been engaged in anxious and earnest deliberation upon them. They reported, several days since, to this Convention the fruits of their counsel in the Addresses, which they regarded worthy of the occasion, and entitled to our adoption. We have been engaged the whole morning in their discussion. Such amendments and alterations as the wisdom of this body thought these State papers required, have been suggested and adopted. Now, when they have thus been perfected, and we are about carrying into practical execution the principles therein declared, we are asked to refer the whole matter back to a special joint committee. I see no necessity for it. It can but result in delay, without any prospect of arriving at a clearer or more satisfactory conclusion. What differences is there in these two addresses. The only distinction is that the one enters more in detail than the other. The one prepared by my distinguished colleague, (Mr. Memminger,) justifying the causes of secession, addresses itself solely and simply to those objects. This is its scope and design, and is eminently right and proper. But when we come to the Address to our Southern sister States, that sets forth plainly, though at length, the nation's reasons, not only directly leading to our present action. To refer these papers back to a joint, committee, is to arrive no nearer to a practical conclusion. We have their views here embodied. We can have no other, unless we intend there shall be but one Address.

I have yet to learn of a single member of the Convention, who has arisen in his seat and offered any other than mere verbal criticisms and alterations. I, for one, am prepared to vote for both Addresses. Each is admirable in its kind. It is important they should be sent forth in life and vigor at once. I can see no advantage in postponement. Prompt and decided action on all these matters is necessary to ensure and complete the success of that important measure, which we, a few days ago, inaugurated. If gentlemen have objections to the Addresses. let them state them now. Let them be discussed now. Let them be determined now. We can perfect them as well, and much better at this time, than at any other. Let us take immediate cognizance of them. I trust, Mr. President, that before we adjourn we shall have adopted both, and sent them forth with the sanction of our authority, as a fit and proper sequel to the great act which we have already ordained, and thus stand justified before the world for our course, and answer the grave purposes for which we are assembled.

Attachment 6D: Northern Reaction to Secession

From the New York Daily Tribune, December 17, 1860²⁰

The Albany Evening Journal courteously controverts our views on the subject of Secession. Here is the gist of its argument:

“Seven or eight States” have “pretty unanimously made up their minds” to leave the Union. Mr. Buchanan, in reply, says that “ours is a Government of popular opinion,” and hence, if States rebel, there is no power residing either with the Executive or in Congress, to resist or punish. Why, then, is not this the end of the controversy? Those “seven or eight States” are going out. The Government remonstrates, but acquiesces. And THE TRIBUNE regards it “unwise to undertake to resist such Secession by Federal force.”

If an individual, or “a single State,” commits Treason, the same act in two or more individuals, or two or more States, is alike treasonable. And how is Treason against the Federal Government to be resisted, except by “Federal force?”

Precisely the same question was involved in the South Carolina Secession of 1833. But neither President Jackson, nor Congress, nor the People, took this view of it. The President issued a Proclamation declaring Secession Treason. Congress passed a Force Law; and South Carolina, instead of “madly shooting from its sphere,” returned, if not to her senses, back into line.

-- Does The Journal mean to say that if all the States and their People should become tired of the Union, it would be treason on their part to seek its dissolution?

-- We have repeatedly asked those who dissent from our view of this matter to tell us frankly whether they do or do not assent to Mr. Jefferson’s statement in the Declaration of Independence that governments “derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government,” &c., &c. We do heartily accept this doctrine, believing it intrinsically sound, beneficent, and one that, universally accepted, is calculated to prevent the shedding of seas of human blood. And, if it justified the secession from the British Empire of Three Millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of Five Millions of Southrons from the Federal Union in 1861. If we are mistaken on this point, why does not some one attempt to show wherein and why? For our own part, while we deny the right of slaveholders to hold slaves against the will of the latter, we cannot see how Twenty Millions of people can rightfully hold Ten or even Five in a detested union with them, by military force.

Of course, we understand that the principle of Jefferson, like any other broad generalization, may be pushed to extreme and baleful consequences. We can see why Governor’s Island should not be at liberty to secede from the State and Nation and allow herself to be covered with French or British batteries commanding and threatening our City. There is hardly a great principle which may not be thus “run into the ground.” But if seven or eight contiguous States shall present themselves authentically at Washington, saying, “We hate the Federal Union; we have withdrawn from it; we give you the choice between acquiescing in our secession and arranging amicably all incidental questions on the one hand, and attempting to subdue us on the other” -- we could not stand up for coercion, for subjugation, for we do not think it would be just. We hold the right of Self-Government sacred, even when invoked in behalf of those who deny it to others. So much for the question of Principle.

Now as to the matter of Policy:

South Carolina will certainly secede. Several other Cotton States will probably follow her example. The Border States are evidently reluctant to do likewise. South Carolina has grossly insulted them by her dictatorial, reckless course. What she expects and desires is a clash of arms with the Federal Government, which will at once commend her to the sympathy and cooperation of every Slave State, and to the sympathy (at least) of the Pro-Slavery minority in the Free States. It is not difficult to see that this would speedily work a political revolution, which would restore to Slavery all, and more than all, it has lost by the canvass of 1860. We want to obviate this. We would expose the seceders to odium as disunionists, not commend them to pity as the gallant though mistaken upholders of the rights of their section in an unequal military conflict.

We fully realize that the dilemma of the incoming Administration will be a critical one. It must endeavor to uphold and enforce the laws, as well against rebellious slaveholders as fugitive slaves. The new President must fulfill the obligations assumed in his inauguration oath, no matter how shamefully his predecessor may have defied them. We fear that Southern madness may precipitate a bloody collision that all must deplore. But if ever “seven or eight States” send agents to Washington to say “We want to get out of the Union,” we shall feel constrained by our devotion to Human Liberty to say, Let them go! And we do not see how we could take the other side without coming in direct conflict with those Rights of Man which we hold paramount to all political arrangements, however convenient and advantageous.

20 <http://www.tulane.edu/~sumter/Dilemmas/Tribune17Dec.html>

Attachment 6E: Abraham Lincoln

Excerpt from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861²¹

I take the official oath to-day, with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws, by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to, and abide by, all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens, have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils; and, generally, with great success. Yet, with all this scope for [of] precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold, that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper, ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever -- it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade, by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it -- break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution, was "to form a more perfect Union." But if [the] destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union, -- that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion -- no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality, shall be so great and so universal, as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable with all, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to, are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted, that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution -- certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities, and of individuals, are so plainly assured to them, by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

21 <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/1inaug.htm>

Attachment 7: Constitution Preambles

Preamble to the Constitution of the Confederate States of America²²
We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a permanent federal government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America.

Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America²³
We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

22 http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_csa.asp
23 <http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/preamble>

Attachment 8: Document Analysis

Document: _____

Text	Context
Subtext	Conclusions

Attachment 9: Comparison Chart

North vs. South

Social Life of the North	Social Life of the South
Political Life of the North	Political Life of the South
Economic Life of the North	Economic Life of the South