

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

20 points

History 6

Mr. Dohr

***Critical Question #3: To what extent did international, social, technological, economic, and political events and trends in the free states and territories from the 1840's to 1877 tended to split the Union?***

***Rewrite the question in your own words:***

***Evidence to consider: Primary sources***

***Document A: Growth of cotton and manufactured goods, 1800 – 1860***

Year	Value of cotton in millions of dollars	Value of manufactured goods in millions of dollars
1800	10	N/A
1810	19	199
1820	29	N/A
1830	36	N/A
1840	117	N/A
1850	199	1,019
1860	207	1,900

Source: Allan O. Kownslar and Donald B. Frizzle, “Discovering American History”. New York, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970, p. 460

***Document B: An editorialist condemns the United States for upholding slavery***

Accursed be the AMERICAN UNION, as a stupendous republican imposture!

Accursed be it, as the most frightful despotism, with regard to three millions of the people [slaves], ever exercised over any portion of the human family!

Accursed be it, as the most subtle and atrocious compromise ever made to gratify power and selfishness!

Accursed be it, as a libel on Democracy, and a bold assault on Christianity! Accursed be it, as stained with human blood, and supported by human sacrifices . . . . Accursed be it, for all the crimes it has committed at home—for seeking the utter extermination of the red men of its wildernesses—and for enslaving one-sixth part of its teeming population . . .

Accursed be it, as a mighty obstacle in the way of universal freedom and equality!

Henceforth, the watchword of every uncompromising abolitionist, of every friend of God and liberty, must be, both in a religious and political sense-“NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!”

Source: William Lloyd Garrison, “The American Union”. *The Liberator*, January 10, 1845

<http://fair-use.org/the-liberator/1845/01/10/the-american-union>

### ***Document C: the 1848 Free Soil Party Platform***

We [Free Soil party members] have assembled in convention as a union of free men, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political differences, in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggression of the slave power, and to secure free soil to a free people . . .

1. Resolved, Therefore, that we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking his guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

2. Resolved, That slavery in the several states of this Union which recognize its existence depends upon the state law.-, alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the federal government, and for which laws that government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any state . . .

7. Resolved, That the true and, in the judgment of this convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free is to prohibit its extension in all such territory by an act of Congress.

8. Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave states and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is: No more slave states and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land and the oppressed and banished of other lands seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world . . .

Source: Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland, eds, “A Political Textbook for 1860”. New York, A. Tribune, 1860, pp. 17-18

[http://www.mission-us.org/uploads/document/document\\_file/316/freesoilpartyplatformfinal.pdf](http://www.mission-us.org/uploads/document/document_file/316/freesoilpartyplatformfinal.pdf)

***Document D: A Southerner challenges non-slave owning whites in the South***

Non-slaveholders of the South! farmers, mechanics and workingmen, we take this occasion to assure you that the slaveholding politicians whom you have elected to offices of honor and profit, have hoodwinked you, trifled with you, and used you as mere tools for the consummation of their wicked designs. They have purposely kept you in ignorance, and have, by molding your passions and prejudices to suit themselves, induced you to act in direct opposition to your dearest rights and interests. . . . they have taught you to hate the lovers of liberty, who are your best and only true friends . . .

Once and forever, at least so far as this country is concerned, the infernal question of slavery must be disposed of; a speedy and absolute abolishment of the whole system is the true policy of the South--and this is the policy which we propose to pursue. Will you aid us, will you assist us, will you be freemen, or will you be slaves! . . .

In our opinion . . . the causes which have impeded the progress of the South . . . sunk a large majority of our people in galling poverty and ignorance . . . [and] entailed upon us a humiliating dependence on the Free States;--may all be traced to one common source, and there find solution in the hateful and horrible word, that was ever incorporated into the vocabulary of human economy--Slavery!.... Notwithstanding the fact that the white non-slaveholders of the South are the majority, as five to one, they have never yet had any part or lot in framing the laws under which they live. There is no legislation except for the benefit of slavery, and slaveholders. As a general rule, poor white persons are regarded with less esteem and attention than Negroes, and though the condition of the latter is wretched beyond description, vast numbers of the former are infinitely worse off....

Source: Hinton Rowan Helper, "The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It". New York, Burdick Brothers, 1857.

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/helper/helper.html>

***Document E: Lincoln's "House Divided" speech***

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention.

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

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

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

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

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

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

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

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

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

Source: Abraham Lincoln, speech, Springfield, IL, June 16, 1858.

<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/house.htm>

### ***Document F: Southerner compares Northern wage workers with Southern slaves***

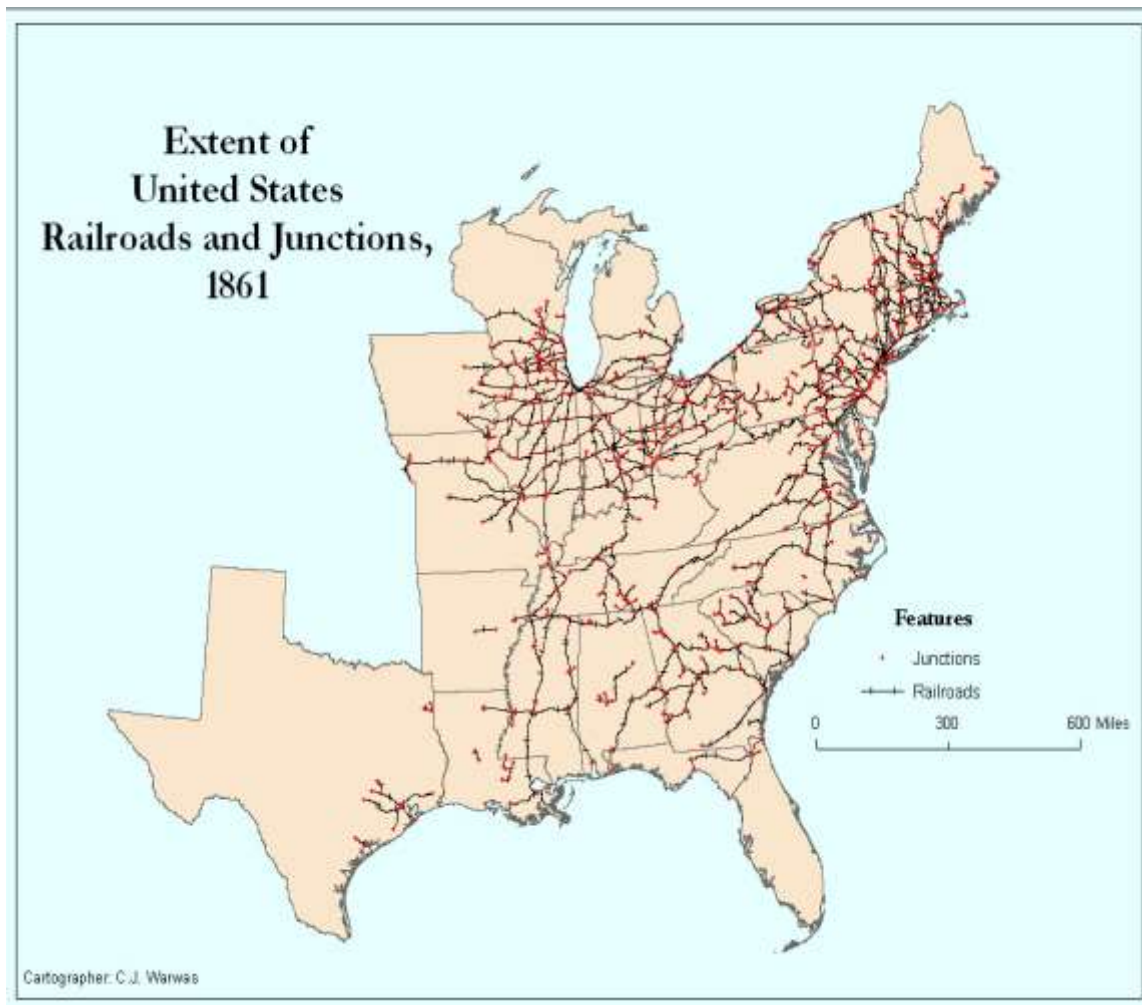
The Negro slaves of the South are the happiest, and, in some sense, the freest people in the world. The children and the aged and infirm work not at all, and yet have all the comforts and necessities of life provided for them . . .

We do not know whether [Northern] free laborers [workers who work for wages] ever sleep. They are fools to do so, for whilst they sleep, the wily and watchful capitalist [business owner for whom they work] is devising means to ensnare and exploit them. The free laborer must work or starve. He is more of a slave than the Negro because he works longer and harder for less allowance than the slave and has no holiday, because the cares of life with him begin when its labors end. He has no liberty, and not a single right.

Source: George Fitzhugh, "Cannibals All! Or Slaves Without Masters". Richmond, A. Morris, 1857.

<http://americainclass.org/a-pro-slavery-argument/>

***Document G: Railroads, 1861***



Source: [http://railroads.unl.edu/views/item/bryan\\_rr\\_chars?p=8](http://railroads.unl.edu/views/item/bryan_rr_chars?p=8)

***Document H: Confederate vice-president Alexander Stephens,  
"Cornerstone" speech, 1861***

The new [Confederate] Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions - African slavery as it exists among us - the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. [Thomas] Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the "rock upon which the old Union would split." He was right . . . The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically . . . Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They

rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a Government built upon it-when the “storm came and the wind blew, it fell.”

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

*Source:* “Speech of A. H. Stephens,” Frank Moore, ed., *Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events, with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc.* Volume I, (New York: 1861), 45-46. <http://www.americanyawp.com/reader/the-civil-war/alexander-stephens-on-slavery-and-the-confederate-constitution-1861/>

### ***Document I: The Gettysburg Address, 1863***

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

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

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

**Source:** Abraham Lincoln, speech, November 19, 1863

**Source:** [https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/files/docs/publications/FRB/pages/1920-1924/26396\\_1920-1924.pdf](https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/files/docs/publications/FRB/pages/1920-1924/26396_1920-1924.pdf)

*Document J: extralegal Southern action, 1869*



Source: Alabama Department of Archives and History  
<http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/m-7128>

*Document K: Reconstruction amendments to the Constitution*

**Amendment XIII**

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

**Amendment XIV**

**Section 1:** All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

## **Amendment XV**

**Section 1:** The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

**Source:** <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution#>

### *Evidence to consider: Secondary sources*

#### *Document L: Connections between the Northern economy and slavery*

The ties between slavery and capitalism in the United States weren't always crystal clear in our history books. For a long time, historians mostly depicted slavery as a regional institution of cruelty in the South, and certainly not the driver of broader American economic prosperity . . .

The slave economy of the southern states had ripple effects throughout the entire U.S. economy, with plenty of merchants in New York City, Boston, and elsewhere helping to organize the trade of slave-grown agricultural commodities—and enjoying plenty of riches as a result.

. . . there were a vast number of very obvious economic links between the slave plantations of the southern states and enterprises as well as other institutions in the northern states: Just think of all these New York and Boston merchants who traded in slave-grown goods. Or the textile industrialists of New England who processed vast quantities of slave-grown cotton. Or the bankers who financed the expansion of the plantation complex.

And . . . both the abolitionists as well as pro-slavery advocates talked over and over about the deep links between the southern slave economy and the national economy.

Source: Dina Gerdeman, “The Clear Connection between Slavery and American Capitalism”. Forbes.com, May 3, 2017.

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/hbsworkingknowledge/2017/05/03/the-clear-connection-between-slavery-and-american-capitalism/#680450337bd3>



### ***Document M: Splitting of the Whig and Democratic Parties***

The major American political realignment of the mid-1850s had been brewing for decades due to fundamental divisions over the place of slavery in American politics. By the late 1830s a small and radical group of abolitionists had become fed up with the two major parties, the Whigs and Democrats. Both systematically downplayed slavery, opting instead to spar over seemingly unrelated issues including taxation, trade policy, banking and infrastructure spending . . .

The 1852 election was a disaster for the Whigs. In the vain hope of once more bridging the widening sectional rift, the party crafted a measured, proslavery platform distasteful to many northern Whigs, thousands of whom simply stayed home on Election Day. Two years later, when Congress passed divisive legislation that could introduce slavery into Kansas, the teetering Whig party came tumbling down. A new coalition that combined most of the Free Soil Party, a majority of northern Whigs, and a substantial number of disgruntled northern Democrats came together to form the Republican party. In less than two years, this grand, and not-at-all-old, party emerged as the most popular political party in the North, electing the Speaker of the House in February of 1856 and winning 11 of 16 non-slaveholding states in the presidential contest later that year . . .

When the Whig Party crumbled and northern Democrats split in the mid-1850s, it was because both of those old parties had failed to respond to the threat of slavery's expansion, which was fast becoming *the* major national issue—one which many Northerners had come to care more deeply about than any other policy question. The collapse of the Whig Party in the 1850s created national chaos, and ultimately civil war, but for many Americans the risk was worth it because of their insistence that slavery's expansion be stopped.

Source: Corey Brooks, "What Can the Collapse of the Whig Party Tell Us About Today's Politics". Smithsonian.com, April 12, 2016

<http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/what-can-collapse-whig-party-tell-us-about-todays-politics-180958729/#738KvUpzEbKY67MC.99>

### ***Document N: The Baptist Church divides over slavery***

While white Southern Baptist elites of 1845 agreed that human equality was wrongheaded and black slavery morally pure (most probably did not condone the enslavement of working class whites), they had not always believed thus. To be certain, the birthing of the pro-slavery Southern Baptist Convention in 1845 did not happen in a vacuum, nor was it necessarily inevitable.

Prior to the 1820s, many Baptists North and South were anti-slavery, reflective of larger views in the South at that time, a legacy of a pre-cotton economy. But by the mid-1840s Baptist sentiment in the South — at least as expressed in denominational leadership — largely perceived the enslavement of blacks as ordained of God . . .

The die had been cast: Baptists in America, united in 1814 in the formation of the General Missionary Convention, were on the road to formal division over the issue of slavery. By the early 1840s American (Northern) Baptists' hostility to slavery reached critical levels. Many white Baptists of the South, now insiders rather than outsiders in Southern culture and society, became ever more defensive of their region's "peculiar institution."

Source: Bruce Gourley, "Yes, the Civil War was about Slavery". Baptists and the American Civil War, February 8, 2017

<http://civilwarbaptists.com/featured/slavery/>

### ***Document O: Post-war impact of Civil War trends***

Also aiding economic expansion in the North and Midwest was the mechanization of farming. By 1861, 125,000 McCormick reapers manufactured between 1856 and 1861 were in use, mostly in Northern states. During the Civil War, another 230,000 reapers were sold. Wartime devastation led to increased demand for agricultural mechanization by the 1870s. The number of farms in the country increased greatly in the post war years, as did industrial expansion in general.

During the Civil War, with Southern members of Congress gone and the Republican Party controlling both houses of Congress and the presidency, the government set about to aid business and technology. In 1862, the Department of Agriculture was founded. It provided a national center to coordinate agricultural development and promote scientific farming. Additionally, scientific farming received a further boost from the idea of land grant colleges through the Morrill Act, which Congress passed that same year. It provided federal land for colleges in order to stimulate agricultural and technical development and represented a new role for the federal government. When the war ended, the practical results of the Morrill law became evident.

Industrialization and technology that helped ensure Northern victory continued after the war. The United States began to make enormous strides in the world of science, technology, and industry. Many pre-Civil War institutions and initiatives continued through the Gilded Age in the late nineteenth century. Robber Barons made use of growing concentrations of business capital and of the nation's extensive natural resources. Cheap immigrant labor again flooded the nation's markets, enabling the building of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, of more factories, and of America's expanding cities. The Civil War furthered the expansion of the Industrial Revolution and eventually made the United States the most powerful industrialized nation in the world.

Source: Frank A Salamone and Sally G. McMillan, Civil War and Industrial Technological Advances. Encyclopedia.com <http://www.encyclopedia.com/defense/energy-government-and-defense-magazines/civil-war-and-industrial-and-technological-advances>

***Document P: Post-Civil War labor system in the South***

Economic historians who have examined the immediate effects of the war have reached a few important conclusions. First, the idea that the South was physically destroyed by the fighting has been largely discarded. Most writers have accepted the argument of Ransom and Sutch (2001) that the major “damage” to the South from the war was the depreciation and neglect of property on farms as a significant portion of the male workforce went off to war for several years. Second was the impact of emancipation. Slaveholders lost their enormous investment in slaves as a result of emancipation. Planters were consequently strapped for capital in the years immediately after the war, and this affected their options with regard to labor contracts with the freedmen and in their dealings with capital markets to obtain credit for the planting season. The freedmen and their families responded to emancipation by withdrawing up to a third of their labor from the market. While this was a perfectly reasonable response, it had the effect of creating an apparent labor “shortage” and it convinced white landlords that a free labor system could never work with the ex-slaves; thus further complicating an already unsettled labor market. In the longer run, as Gavin Wright (1986) put it, emancipation transformed the white landowners from “laborlords” to “landlords.” This was not a simple transition. While they were able, for the most part, to cling to their landholdings, the ex-slaveholders were ultimately forced to break up the great plantations that had been the cornerstone of the antebellum Southern economy and rent small parcels of land to the freedmen under using a new form of rental contract — sharecropping. From a situation where tenancy was extremely rare, the South suddenly became an agricultural economy characterized by tenant farms.

Source: Ransom, Roger. “Economics of the Civil War”. EH.Net Encyclopedia, edited by Robert Whaples. August 24, 2001. URL <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-economics-of-the-civil-war/>

***Document Q: explanation of Southern “lost cause” version of the Civil War***

When the Reconstruction period ended in 1877, southern conservatives resumed control of their state governments, and it is during this phase that regional enthusiasm for the Lost Cause increased. What had been an era of mourning turned into years of celebrating the Confederacy and its heroes, especially Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jefferson Davis. Lost Cause supporters also lauded the principles of states' rights and white supremacy, as well as women of the Confederacy, whose contributions to the southern cause were legendary. This phase, lasting from the 1870s through the 1890s, saw the development and publication of Lost Cause literature that expressed white southerners' loyalty to the principle of states' rights and belief in white supremacy. The literature also offered a revisionist view of the conflict, describing slavery as a benevolent institution, the enslaved as faithful servants, and the period of Reconstruction as a “tragic era.” To those who subscribed to the Lost Cause, the Confederacy suffered military defeat, but not the defeat of its values and belief system.

Source: Karen L. Cox, “Civil War Ideology.” Encyclopedia of Alabama, August 16, 2008  
<http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1643>

*Last step: How can historical evidence be organized in a visual way? Use the two graphic organizers below. Think of it as a large scale or balance. The two ends representative the most extreme sides of Critical Question #3. To the left, the claim is the events and trends of the free states and territories were the ABSOLUTE CAUSES for the splitting of the Union. To the right, the claim is the events and trends of the free states and territories were the ABSOLUTE CAUSES for the splitting of the Union.*

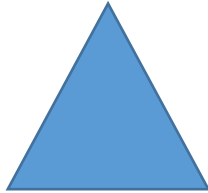
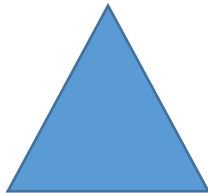
*Using primary and secondary sources from this packet as well as outside information from the textbook, lecture and outside research, place information where it stands in relation to the extreme ends on the top graphic organizer.*

*On the upper graphic organizer, place information gathered from the primary and secondary sources in the historical source packet.*

*On the graphic organizer below it, place information gathered from reading, lecture, the Internet and other sources.*

*Several examples will be given in class. This will help those that need to visually form their thesis and organize their facts into unified paragraphs and a cohesive essay.*

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The events and trends of the <u>free states and territories</u> were the ABSOLUTE CAUSES for the splitting of the Union.		The events and trends of the <u>free states and territories</u> were ABSOLUTELY NOT the causes for the splitting of the Union.
The events and trends of the <u>free states and territories</u> were the ABSOLUTE CAUSES for the splitting of the Union.		The events and trends of the <u>free states and territories</u> were ABSOLUTELY NOT the causes for the splitting of the Union.