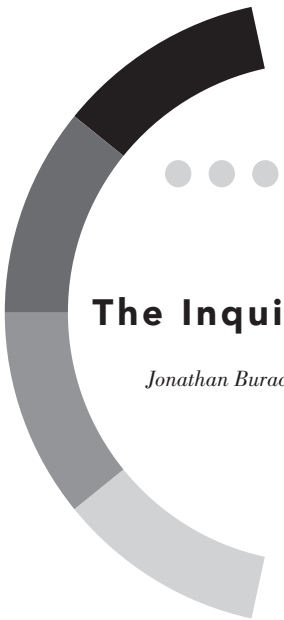


The Civil War and Reconstruction



The Inquiry Arc in U.S. History

Jonathan Burack

Secession

MindSparks®

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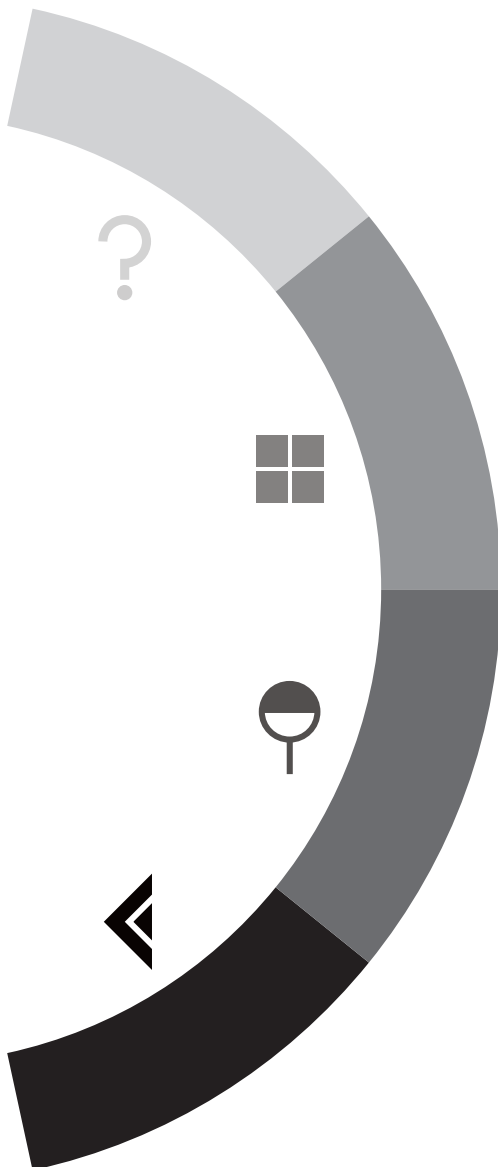
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C3 Framework

This book is based primarily on the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies Standards. This C3 Framework is an effective tool offering guidance and support for rigorous student learning. The assignments encourage students to be active participants in learning and to explore the parts of history that they find most compelling. Central to the C3 Framework and our use of it is its Inquiry Arc—a set of four interrelated dimensions of informed inquiry in social studies. The lessons in this book are based on all four dimensions of the C3 Inquiry Arc. While the C3 Framework analyzes each of the four dimensions separately, they are not entirely separable in practice—they each interact in dynamic ways. As a result, the lessons combine some or all of the dimensions in various ways.



Four Dimensions of the Inquiry Arc

1 Developing compelling and supporting questions and planning inquiries

Questions shape social studies inquiries, giving them broader meaning and motivating students to master content and engage actively in the learning process.

2 Applying disciplinary concepts and tools

These are the concepts and central ideas needed to address the compelling and supporting questions students pose. The C3 Framework stresses four subject fields: history, civics, economics, and geography. Each lesson addresses all of these disciplines.

3 Evaluating sources and using evidence

The purpose of using primary and secondary sources as evidence is to support claims and counterclaims. By assessing the validity and usefulness of sources, including those that conflict with one another, students are able to construct evidence-based explanations and arguments.

4 Communicating conclusions and taking informed action

While this may take the form of individual essays and other writing assignments, these units stress other kinds of individual and collaborative forms of communication, including debates, policy analyses, video productions, diary entries, and interviews. Meaningful forms of individual or collaborative civic action are also incorporated into each lesson.

How to Use This Book

This book offers you the chance to implement the entire C3 Inquiry Arc in brief, carefully structured lessons on important topics in U.S. history. Each lesson is driven by a central compelling question, and disciplinary supporting questions are provided. Each lesson asks students to apply understandings from all of the C3 disciplines—history, civics, economics, and geography—and they include individual and group tasks in an integrated way.

Each lesson includes an introductory essay, detailed teaching instructions, a set of primary sources, and the handouts needed to implement the lesson’s assignments. Rubrics for student evaluation and sources for further study are also provided. The teaching instructions suggest a time frame for completion of each lesson, but the assessments can easily be adapted to fit into any lesson plan.

Each lesson is aligned with several C3 Framework standards and Common Core State Standards. The College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Literacy emphasize the reading and information texts, making these lessons ideal for integration into English Language Arts instruction.



C3 Disciplines



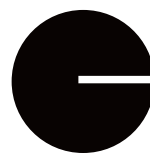
History



Civics



Economics



Geography



Secession

Did It Make Sense for the South to Leave the Union?

Overview

Introduction

In late 1860 and early 1861, eleven Southern states seceded from the Union to form a new nation, the Confederate States of America. President Abraham Lincoln insisted they had no right to do this. Legally speaking, he said they could not do it. He made it clear he would not accept their right to secede, and he would act to prevent them from doing so. As a result, America plunged into a long and bloody Civil War. Some historians have wondered whether Lincoln was right to fight to keep the South from seceding. However, historians less often ask why the South felt it had to leave in the first place. That is the compelling question this lesson will focus on. Students will work with short passages from primary sources. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the lesson's compelling question.

Objectives

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about the South's decision to secede from the Union. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of view represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time.
- ◆ **D2.His.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.His.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.His.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.Civ.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.Eco.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.Geo.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.
- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.
- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.

- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

Teaching Instructions

Compelling Question

Did it make sense for the South to leave the Union?

Preparation

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.

Asking Questions about Secession

This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework

Day One

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay with the class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the lesson’s overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the sources for this lesson. Each group may share a primary and secondary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three sources and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.

**Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence**

This part of the lesson stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework

Day Two

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group’s compelling question. After reading the remaining sources, they will select one that supports their claim.

7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about the South's secession from the group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, or a PowerPoint or similar type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics with the members of their group.

Day Three

8. Each group will deliver its presentation (prepared by the students as their final task on Day Two). Following each presentation, allow time for class discussion and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



Communicating Results and Taking Action

This part of the lesson stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the unit's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the Secession Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

Communicating Results

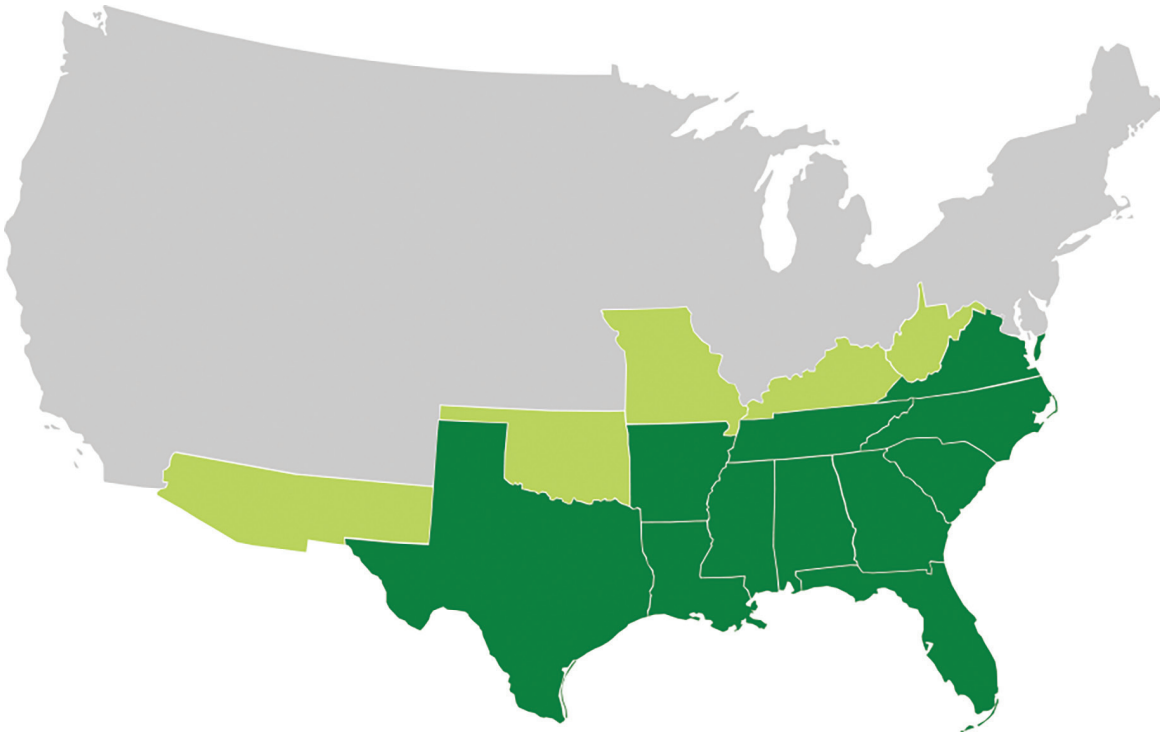
- ◆ In small groups, have students design the front page of a Southern newspaper dated sometime just after Abraham Lincoln's election as president. The key headline should be "Will the South Secede?" Each group member should write a feature story or an editorial. Each story or editorial should include specific references to at least two of the primary sources for this lesson. At least two editorials should appear—one calling for secession and the other opposing it. Have the groups post their newspaper front pages where the class can read and discuss them.
- ◆ Have students read Primary Sources 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3. Have half the students take the part of Henry Clay and write a letter to James Henry Hammond. The letter should explain where Clay does and does not agree with Hammond's "Cotton Is King" speech. The other half of the students will take the role of Hammond and reply to one of the student letters from Clay. (Students may want to read more about Clay and/or Hammond before completing this assignment. Also, those writing as Clay must imagine that he was still alive in 1858, when Hammond wrote his speech.)
- ◆ Have students read Abraham Lincoln's entire First Inaugural Address. Each student should make two lists—one of details in the speech that Southern secessionists would find most encouraging, and one of details secessionists would find most alarming. As a class, discuss the items on these lists.

Taking Action

- ◆ Could there ever be a reason for a state to secede from the United States now or in the future? Have students research this question by looking for relevant magazine and newspaper articles, or by searching the Internet. Have students collect relevant articles and make them available to the class as a whole. Then divide students into two groups. The first group should make a brief presentation supporting the idea that secession might be acceptable under some circumstances. The second group should make a brief presentation opposing this idea. Have some students take careful notes on this debate to use in completing the next assignment.
- ◆ Using the information from the previous assignment, students should write letters to a newspaper expressing their views about one current conflict between a state and the federal government. The letters should summarize the conflict accurately and explain why the idea of secession is or is not reasonable as a way to resolve the conflict.

Introductory Essay

The South Secedes



The Confederate States of America and claimed states and territories

In late 1860 and early 1861, eleven Southern states seceded from the Union. That is, they announced they were no longer a part of the United States. Instead, they formed a new nation, the Confederate States of America. President Abraham Lincoln insisted that they had no right to do this. He said that, legally speaking, they actually could not do it. He made it clear he would not accept their right to secede, and he would act to prevent them from doing so.

As a result, America plunged into a long and bloody Civil War. Before it ended in 1865, some 600,000 or more soldiers died in it. Many historians wonder if Lincoln was right to fight the Civil War once the South had seceded. Less often, it seems, do historians ask why the South felt it had to leave in the first place.



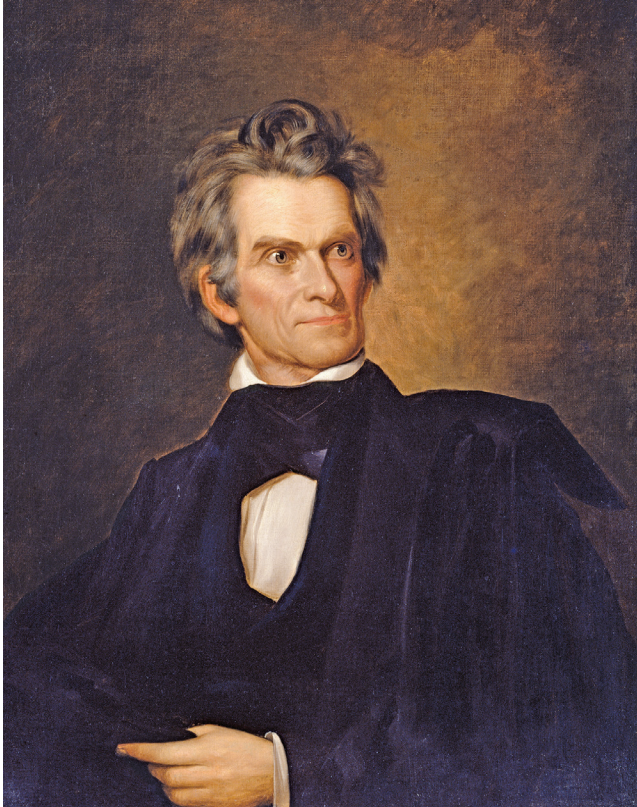
Slaves on a Georgia plantation

Above all, the South seceded in order to protect its slave-labor system. Today, we can agree it was wrong for the South to support slavery. But aside from right or wrong, did Southerners actually need to secede to preserve slavery? The Republican Party's Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860. It is true that the Republicans and Lincoln opposed slavery. It was this, above all, that led the South to secede. Yet was the South's slave-labor system really threatened by this election? Why did the South decide it had to leave the Union? That's the question this lesson and its primary sources may help you to answer.

Lincoln and his party had pledged to close the Western territories to slavery. They insisted, however, they had no plans to interfere with slavery in any state where it was already legal. Lincoln tried hard to reassure the South about this. He couldn't do it. The South felt the Republican victory was just a sign of worse things to come. They feared that if Republicans closed the territories to slavery, many new free states would be formed from those territories. This would mean more free-state senators and representatives in Congress. In time, this would make it much easier for Congress to impose new limits on slavery.

On the other hand, many Northerners were opposed to freeing all the slaves. Had the Southern states remained in the Union, their voters might well have joined with those of the Northerners. Together, they could have voted the Republicans out of office in future elections.

Moreover, the slave states were not all completely united in support of secession. There were Southern moderates who opposed it, even in 1860. This was especially so in the northern portions of the South. These regions had fewer slaves and slaveholding planters. Four slave states—Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware—actually remained in the Union during the Civil War. Despite the presence of many Southern moderates, others who strongly favored secession won in eleven states. They took the plunge into rebellion and civil war. Why?



A notable fire-eater, John C. Calhoun was 7th Vice President of the United States, and Senator from South Carolina at the time of his death in 1850

The most vocal supporters of secession were labeled fire-eaters. Many were wealthy planters from the Deep South. South Carolina was among the states most in favor of secession. South Carolina's planters were facing difficult economic times. Planters in other Southern states were enjoying huge profits and growing demand for their cotton. Both groups produced fire-eaters who called for immediate secession after Lincoln's election. Perhaps for different reasons, both saw Lincoln's win as a sign of mortal danger to the South. They feared growing Northern abolitionist sentiment. They predicted more violent actions by some abolitionists, such as John Brown, who had led antislavery insurrections in 1856 and 1859. The planters worried that the North would make it easier for slaves to run away. Their worst fear was that Northern attitudes would inspire slaves to rise up in a huge and violent insurrection.

Many of these fire-eaters insisted the South was prosperous and strong. The world's growing industrial nations needed the South's cotton. Those nations might in the end accept and support an independent Confederacy. These extremists said the time to save the South was now. In the end, eleven Southern states accepted these appeals. Given the war that followed, it is easy to see how big a mistake they were making and difficult to understand why they took the risk they did. The primary sources for this lesson should help you better understand their perspective. These sources will enable you to make up your own mind about whether those who wanted the South to leave the Union had logical reasons for their position.

Image Sources: ©Nkocharh/CC BY-SA 3.0.

*Picking Cotton on a Georgia Plantation, 1858, courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-76385.
John C. Calhoun by George Peter Alexander Healy, 1845, National Portrait Gallery, Washington.*



History Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

Secession

Your group's task is to explore the history of the secession of the South. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

In 1860, Lincoln said he had no plans to abolish slavery in states where it was legal. Why didn't Southern secessionists trust him to remain true to this promise? Explain your answer.

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.5, 1.6, and 1.7.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Lincoln often said he personally opposed slavery. In 1860, however, he and his Republican Party did not support the abolition of slavery. Their official position was only that it should not be allowed to spread to new territories and states. Lincoln tried hard to reassure the South that he meant no harm to them or their system of slavery. Lincoln was a cautious politician. It is not surprising that he took this stand. However, did he and the Republicans really mean it? Historian James Oakes is not so sure. He makes his case in the book *The Scorpion's Sting: Antislavery and the Coming of the Civil War*. In it, he shows that antislavery leaders often used a dramatic image to sum up their strategy. The image was of a scorpion surrounded by a ring of fire stinging itself to death. By hemming in the slave states with growing numbers of free states, slavery might die out on its own, peacefully. Cotton lands would wear out. Slaves would increasingly escape to free territories. A crisis would in the end force the South to end slavery on its own. Could this strategy have worked? There is no way to tell.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources the group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.5

Primary Source 1.6

Primary Source 1.7

Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

In 1860, Lincoln said he had no plans to abolish slavery in states where it was legal. Why didn't Southern secessionists trust him to remain true to this promise? Explain your answer.

State your group's claim here:

7. From the remaining sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

Reason for choosing this source:

8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



GROUP MEMBERS:

Secession

Your group's task is to explore the civics issues raised by the South's secession. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Secessionists claimed to be defending their constitutional rights to liberty and property. How could they believe in the individual's rights to liberty and property while also defending slavery?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.2, 1.6, and 1.8.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

For a long time, many Southerners defended slavery as a necessary evil. Some even hoped it would fade away on its own over time. In the 1820s and 1830s, abolitionists attacked slavery forcefully. They depicted it as hideously immoral. These attacks provoked Southerners to defend slavery as a positive good. Central to that defense was the idea that poor white workers in the North were not as well off as slaves in the South. Some Southerners even suggested those white workers would also be better off as slaves.

However, few Southerners would go that far. Instead, they said slavery was fit only for an inferior race. They said Africans brought to America as slaves were lucky. Black slaves were better cared for and happier here than they would be anywhere else. On their own, supposedly, they did not have the ability to do as well for themselves. This racist view of African Americans depicted them as unable to handle liberty. It saw them as fit only to be a human form of property. Moreover, it was this "property" that

enabled whites to exercise their liberty and independence more fully. In this way, black slavery supported the ideal of liberty that many in the South supported.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.2

Primary Source 1.6

Primary Source 1.8

Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Secessionists claimed to be defending their constitutional rights to liberty and property. How could they believe in the individual's rights to liberty and property while also defending slavery?

State your group's claim here:

7. From the remaining sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

Reason for choosing this source:

8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



Economics Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

Secession

Your group's task is to explore the economics of secession. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Why did Southerners think they were strong enough economically to found a new nation and win the Civil War?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources I.1, I.6, and I.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In 1860, the North far exceeded the South in population. The North also had 90 percent of the nation's industry. It had twice as many miles of rail lines. Its navy was far larger. It seemed far better prepared to fight a major war. However, many other economic factors gave Southerners good reasons to think they could win in a showdown with the North.

Above all, there was the South's powerful role in the growing world economy. Starting in England, industrial change was sweeping the world. And the most important manufacturing industry by far was the textile industry. Its demand for cotton seemed to have no limit. For the South, cotton was as important as oil for today's oil-rich nations. Cotton was a resource others would always need. It made the South's plantation owners rich and powerful. The South's ability to supply cotton would, they were sure, lead England and other nations to support the South in its fight.

It also helped that the South was fighting a defensive war. That is, it merely had to hold out against invading Northern armies, not make

inroads into the North. By contrast, the Northern armies needed to do more than win battles here and there. They would have to conquer and control the vast Southern territory. In the end, that's what the North did. However, it was not unreasonable for Southerners in 1860 to think that could not happen.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.1

Primary Source 1.6

Primary Source 1.10

Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Why did Southerners think they were strong enough economically to found a new nation and win the Civil War?

State your group's claim here:

7. From the remaining sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

Reason for choosing this source:

8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



Geography Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

Secession

Your group's task is to explore the geography of secession. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Support for secession was on average stronger among the slave states farthest to the south. Why do you think that was so?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.1 and 1.9, and Secondary Source 1.4.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The motto “Cotton Is King” did not apply equally throughout the South. Cotton really was king in the lower South. The lower South was made up of the seven states that seceded first. Above all it was cotton that was fueling rapid economic growth there in the 1850s. Slave production was highly profitable. Planters in the lower South were determined to keep this system going. For many of them, secession made sense as a way to do that. Staying in the Union might mean future limits on what they could do with their slaves. Even if slavery remained legal, abolitionists would still be a danger. Abolitionism could well help incite a vast slave insurrection. Given the huge number of slaves in the lower South, this fear was always in the air.

In more northerly regions of the South, other factors shaped people's attitudes. Slavery was not growing rapidly there. Slave-produced tobacco and grain in those regions were not as profitable as sugar and cotton farther south. Slaves ran away more easily. Many slave owners in the upper South were selling slaves to the lower South in growing numbers. Meanwhile,

immigrants and other free laborers from the North were moving into the region in growing numbers. All these uncertainties about slavery help explain the fact that support for secession was not nearly as strong outside the lower South.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the background information above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.1

Secondary Source 1.4

Primary Source 1.9

Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Support for secession was on average stronger among the slave states farthest to the south. Why do you think that was so?

State your group's claim here:

7. From the remaining primary sources for this lesson, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

Reason for choosing this source:

8. Prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will be studying several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special historical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

◆ *Question the source*

Since no primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed in so many words. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.I

Senator Hammond's "Cotton Is King" Speech

South Carolina senator James Henry Hammond was one of the strongest Southern defenders of slavery. Hammond gave his "Cotton Is King" speech to the Senate on March 4, 1858. In this passage from it, he praised the great economic power of the South.

Original Document

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. . . .

But . . . would any sane nation make war on cotton? Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they make war on us we could bring the whole world to our feet. The South is perfectly competent to go on, one, two, or three years without planting a seed of cotton. I believe that if she was to plant but half her

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cotton, for three years to come, it would be an immense advantage to her. I am not so sure but that after three years' entire abstinence she would come out stronger than ever she was before, and better prepared to enter afresh upon her great career of enterprise. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine, but this is certain: England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is king.

Adapted Version

The South is huge. Eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles. As large as Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Spain. It's a large enough empire to rule the world. We have the finest soil, the most delightful climate. We have staple products those other great countries cannot grow. We have three thousand miles of sea-shore full of bays and crowded with islands. 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. Thirty-six thousand miles of tributary rivers empty into it. Beyond it are desert prairie wastes to protect us in our rear. Can you hem in a territory like that? You talk of putting up a wall of fire around eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles! How absurd.

The great valley of the Mississippi is already the seat of the empire of the world. Everyone will soon see that. It will be as important as the Nile in mankind's earlier ages. We own the most valuable part of it. Our opponents above us will change their views in time. Slave labor will spread over every part of this great valley where it is profitable. Those who do not use slave labor will soon be united with us anyway by other ties. Railroads will carry the products of the entire region to our Atlantic ports even as they now do in the ice-bound North. The Mississippi itself will be a bond of union forever.

No sane nation will make war on cotton. If any did, we could bring the whole world to our feet. The South can survive easily for one, two, or three years without planting a seed of cotton. If we plant only half our cotton crop, it would push up its price and be an immense advantage to us. Even without planting any cotton for three years, we would be stronger than ever and be ready to start up our enterprise all over again. If no cotton were furnished for three years, England would decline and fall and take the world with her—except for the South. No one will dare to make war on cotton. Cotton is king.

Original Document Source: James Henry Hammond, "On the Admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution," March 4, 1858, in *Selections from the Letters and Speeches of the Hon. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina* (New York: John F. Trow 1866), 311–322. Available online from TeachingAmericanHistory.org at <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/cotton-is-king/>.

This is another portion of Senator James Hammond's "Cotton Is King" speech (see Primary Source 1.1). In that portion of his speech, Hammond praised the economic power of the South and the superiority of its slave-labor system. In this portion, he defends slavery as a positive good.

Original Document

In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. That is, a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have, or you would not have that other class which leads progress, civilization, and refinement. It constitutes the very mud-sill of society and of political government; and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air, as to build either the one or the other, except on this mud-sill. Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand. A race inferior to her own, but eminently qualified in temper, in vigor, in docility, in capacity to stand the climate, to answer all her purposes. We use them for our purpose, and call them slaves. . . .

The Senator from New York said yesterday that the whole world had abolished slavery. Aye, the name, but not the thing; all the powers of the earth cannot abolish that. God only can do it when he repeals the fiat, "the poor ye always have with you;" for the man who lives by daily labor, and scarcely lives at that, and who has to put out his labor in the market, and take the best he can get for it; in short, your whole hireling class of manual laborers and "operatives," as you call them, are essentially slaves. The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated; there is no starvation, no begging, no want of employment among our people, and not too much employment either. Yours are hired by the day, not care for, and scantily compensated, which may be proved in the most painful manner, at any hour in any street of your large towns. Why, you meet more beggars in one day, in any single street of the city of New York, than you would meet in a lifetime in the whole South. We do not think that whites should be slaves either by law or necessity. Our slaves are black, of another and inferior race. The status in which we have placed them is an elevation. They are elevated from the condition in which God first created them, by being made our slaves. None of that race on the whole face of the globe can be compared with the slaves of the South. They are happy, content, unaspiring, and utterly incapable, from intellectual weakness, ever to give us any trouble by their aspirations. Yours are white, of your own race; you are brothers of one blood. They are your equals in natural endowment of intellect, and they feel galled by their degradation. . . .

CONTINUED

Adapted Version

In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. It is a class of people with weak minds and few skills. It must have strength. It must be docile and loyal. You must have this class if you are also to have another class producing progress, civilization, and refinement. This lower class is the very mud-sill of society and of political government. A house cannot be built on air. Nor can a society. Both must be built on this mud-sill. Fortunately, the South found a race adapted to that purpose. It is a race inferior to her own, but perfectly qualified in temper, vigor, docility, capacity to stand the climate. We use this race for our purpose, and call them slaves.

The Senator from New York said yesterday that the whole world had abolished slavery. They may have abolished the name, but no one can abolish the thing itself. God only can do it when He no longer tells us, "the poor ye always have with you." The poor who work daily in the market and barely survive on whatever wage they can earn, are essentially slaves. They are your whole class of manual laborers and "operatives." The difference between you in the North and us is that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated. There is no starvation, no begging, or any lack of employment among our slaves—and the work they do is not that hard either. Your workers are hired by the day. They are not cared for and not well paid. This can be shown in the most painful manner on any street of your large towns. Why, you meet more beggars in one day on any street in New York than you would meet in a lifetime in the whole South. We do not think that whites should be slaves, either by law or by necessity. Our slaves are black. They are of an inferior race. We have actually elevated them. That is, by making them slaves, we have raised them from the condition in which God first created them. None of that race anywhere else on earth is as well off as the slaves of the South. They are happy, content, unaspiring. Due to their intellectual weakness, they will never give us any trouble by their aspirations. Your "slaves" are white, of your own race. You are brothers of one blood. They are your equals in intellect, and they are angry about their degradation.

Original Document Source: James Henry Hammond, "On the Admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution," March 4, 1858, in *Selections from the Letters and Speeches of the Hon. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina* (New York: John F. Trow 1866), 311–322. Available online from TeachingAmericanHistory.org at <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/cotton-is-king/>.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.3

Henry Clay's Border State Point of View

Henry Clay was a famous member of Congress from Kentucky. Kentucky was one of four border states (slave states that did not secede from the Union; West Virginia became a fifth border state after it formed from parts of Virginia in 1863). Like many in border states, Clay disliked slavery and hoped it would fade away one day. In the meantime, he worked hard to achieve compromises to keep the slavery issue from splitting the nation. This passage is from a letter Clay wrote to Stephen R. Miller dated July 1, 1844.

Original Document

From developments now being made in South Carolina, it is perfectly manifest that a party exists in that State seeking a dissolution of the Union. . . . South Carolina being surrounded by Slave States, would, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, suffer only comparative evils, but it is otherwise with Kentucky; she has the boundary of the Ohio extending four hundred miles on three Free States. What would her condition be in the event of the greatest calamity that could befall this nation?

Adapted Version

From events in South Carolina, it is obvious that a party exists there seeking to dissolve the Union. . . . South Carolina is surrounded by other slave states. If the Union is dissolved, it would suffer minor evils. But it is different with respect to Kentucky. Her boundary along the Ohio extends four hundred miles and touches on three Free States. What would her condition be in the event of the disunion, the greatest calamity that could befall this nation?

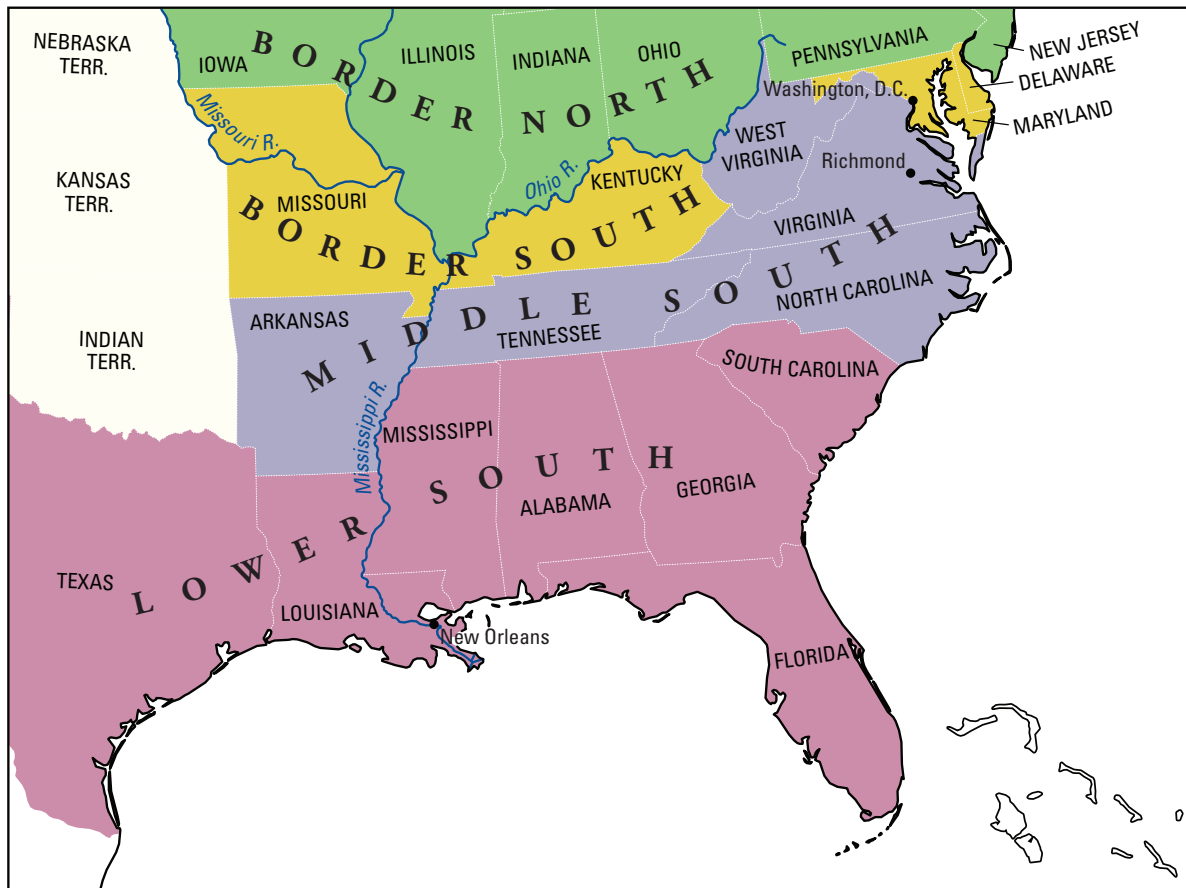
Original Document Source: Letter from Henry Clay to Stephen R. Miller dated July 1, 1844, reprinted in *The New York Times*, December 26, 1860. Available online at <http://www.nytimes.com/1860/12/26/news/what-henry-clay-thought-secession-henry-clay-stephen-r-miller-henry-clay-d.html>.

SECONDARY SOURCE ►

I.4

The Disunited South

First to secede were the seven states of the lower South, as shown on this map. Their economies were based on the huge and growing production of cotton. These states had the highest percentages of slaves and the largest plantations. The middle South put less stress on cotton and had fewer slaves. In the border South, slaveholders formed a smaller share of the population and did not control their states as completely as slaveholding planters in the rest of the South did. Border South slaveholders also had more reason to want to get along with their Northern neighbors.



Map: © Nystrom Education

Abolitionists in the 1850s called for an immediate end to slavery everywhere. Few American voters supported immediate abolition. However, many did hope that slavery would die out over time. They felt that would happen if slavery were simply limited to the states where it was already legal. Some expressed this hope by saying the South would in time be like a trapped scorpion stinging itself to death. In Congress, on January 25, 1860, Virginia representative Sherrard Clemens accused antislavery Republican representative Thaddeus Stevens of holding this hope. According to Clemens, Stevens said the Republican Party's goal was "to encircle the slave States of this Union with Free States as a cordon of fire, and that slavery, like a scorpion, would sting itself to death." This passage is from Clemens's speech that day.

Original Document

Now I put to him [Stevens] respectfully this question, whether in carrying out the program, which he has here to-day laid down as an authoritative exponent of the Republican party, while he affects to deny the power of Congress to interfere with slavery in the States under the Constitution—yet if his policy is carried out, whether to-day, to-morrow, or fifty years hence; if not a single new slave State is admitted into the Union; if slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia, in the Territories, in the arsenals, dockyards, and forts; if, in addition to that, his party grasps the power of the Presidency, with the patronage attached to it, and with the prestige of the Army and Navy calling upon the people of the South to be tried under the laws of the United States for treason—whether, if he did all this, would he not carry out the full extent of the remark which he made, that he would have slavery surrounded like . . . a scorpion with fire, and if it would not sting itself to death?

Adapted Version

Mr. Stevens denies that Congress has any power to interfere with slavery in the states. Yet I have a question for him about the Republican Party program as he described it here today. Under that program, no new slave states are to be admitted. Also, slavery is to be abolished in the District of Columbia, in the territories, in the arsenals, dockyards, and forts. Also if his party wins the Presidency, it will control all government jobs to be given out. Its Army and Navy will seek to try people of the South for treason. My question then is this: If the Republicans do all that would they not be carrying out fully his remark that slavery can be surrounded like a scorpion with fire so that it will then sting itself to death?

Original Document Source: Speech delivered by Sherrard Clemens to Congress on January 25, 1860, in *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, 586. Available online at <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llcg&fileName=051/llcg051.db&recNum=78>.

This passage is from a speech Jefferson Davis gave to the Mississippi Senate in November 1858. Davis was at that time a moderate among Southern politicians. He opposed Northern critics of the South and its slave-labor system. However, in 1858, he was not yet in favor of secession. In time, he came to support it. And in 1861, he became president of the Confederate States of America.

Original Document

The master mind of the so-called Republican Party, Senator Seward, has in a recent speech at Rochester, announced the purpose of his party to dislodge the Democracy from the possession of the federal Government, and assigns as a reason the friendship of that party for what he denominates the slave system. He declares the Union between the States having slave labor and free labor to be incompatible, and announces that one or the other must disappear. He even asserts that it was the purpose of the framers of the Government to destroy slave property, and cites as evidence of it, the provision for an amendment of the Constitution. He seeks to alarm his auditors by assuring them of the purpose on the part of the South and the Democratic Party to force slavery upon all the States of the Union. Absurd as all this may seem to you, and incredulous as you may be of its acceptance by any intelligent portion of the citizens of the United States, I have reason to believe that it has been inculcated to no small extent in the Northern mind. . . .

The same dangerously powerful man describes the institution of slavery as degrading to labor, as intolerant and inhuman, and says the white laborer among us is not enslaved only because he cannot yet be reduced to bondage. Where he learned his lesson, I am at a loss to imagine; certainly not by observation, for you all know that by interest, if not by higher motive, slave labor bears to capital as kind a relation as can exist between them anywhere; that it removes from us all that controversy between the laborer and the capitalist, which has filled Europe with starving millions and made their poorhouses an onerous charge. You too know, that among us, white men have an equality resulting from a presence of the lower caste, which cannot exist where White men fill the position here occupied by the servile race. . . .

I say to you . . . if it should ever come to pass that the Constitution shall be perverted to the destruction of our rights so that we shall have the mere right as a feeble minority unprotected by the barrier of the Constitution to give an ineffectual negative vote in the Halls of Congress, we shall then bear to the federal

CONTINUED

government the relation our colonial fathers did to the British crown, and if we are worthy of our lineage we will in that event redeem our rights even if it be through the process of revolution.

Adapted Version

The master-mind of the Republican Party, Senator Seward, recently said the purpose of his party is to end the Democratic Party's control of the federal government. Why? Because the Democratic Party is friendly toward what he calls the slave system. He says the Union cannot continue to be made up of states with slave labor and states with free labor. He even says the framers of the Constitution actually wanted to destroy slave property. He even tries to frighten people by saying the South and the Democrats want to force slavery on all the states. You may think this is absurd and that no one could believe it. Yet I believe it is a widely held view in the North.

This dangerously powerful man also describes slavery as degrading to labor. He says it is intolerant and inhuman. He says the white laborer is not enslaved only because he cannot yet be forced into bondage. I have no idea where he gets this idea. He certainly cannot base it on observation. You all know that both self-interest and higher motives lead slaveholders to treat slave labor in a kinder way than capitalists treat free labor. Slavery removes all conflict between the laborer and the capitalist. It is this conflict that has filled Europe with starving millions and made their poorhouses such a burden. You know that in the South, white men are all equal because we have a lower caste of black slaves. Such equality among whites cannot exist where white men do the work here done by a servile race.

We are a minority in the country and in Congress. If our rights are ever destroyed by removing the Constitution's protections to congressional minorities, we will then be like our colonial fathers were when they faced the British crown. If we are worthy of our heritage, we will redeem our rights—even if we have to do it in a revolution.

Original Document Source: Jefferson Davis, speech delivered to the Mississippi Senate, November 1858, in *Speeches of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, Delivered during the Summer of 1858* (Baltimore: J. Murphy 1859). Courtesy of University of Wisconsin via Hathi Trust. Available online from Hathi Trust Digital Library at <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?num=55&u=1&seq=5&view=plaintext&size=100&id=wu.89062199047>.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

I.7

Lincoln's First Inaugural Address

On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was sworn in as president. These passages are from the inaugural address he gave that day.

Original Document

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them. . . .

[However, it is the case 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. . . .

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.

CONTINUED

Adapted Version

The Southerners seem to be afraid that the Republicans endanger their property and their peace and personal security. There is no reason for this fear. That should have been clear all along. It can be seen in all my speeches. As I said in one of those speeches, I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so. And I have no desire to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me knew full well that I have always made these promises and have never taken any of them back.

[However,] no State on its own can lawfully get out of the Union. Resolutions or state laws doing that are illegal. Acts of violence within any state or states against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, depending on circumstances.

I believe that according to the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken. As far as I am able, I shall do what the Constitution itself expressly demands of me. That is, I will see to it that the laws of the Union will be faithfully executed in all the states.

In my doing this, there needs to be no bloodshed or violence. There shall be none unless it is forced upon the national authority. I will use my powers to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places of the Government and to collect the duties and imposts. But beyond what may be necessary for these purposes, there will be no invasion. There will be no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Original Document Source: Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address. Available online from Yale University Law School, Avalon Project, at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/lincoln1.asp.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

I.8

A Southerner Writes to a Northerner

A few days after Lincoln was elected, Georgian A. A. Echols wrote to Emory Washburn, former governor of Massachusetts. He had earlier visited Washburn during a tour of the North. This letter is dated November 12, 1860. In his letter, Echols shared his views about Southern reaction to Lincoln's election. This is a brief passage from that letter.

Original Document

Is it . . . the certainty of secession, which you are disposed to regard as unsound? To this I can only answer that I fear you are not well acquainted with the Southern people and Southern sentiment touching this question. Do you point to similar demonstrations heretofore made in the South and the means by which they were quieted as a refutation of my position? I answer that the present is unlike any case that has ever arisen amongst us. The ground of our action does not spring from any position taken in the canvass of questions in the National Councils; it is not in a shape to come within the scope of the Federal legislation—a question to be taken hold of and controlled in the character of a compromise for the pacification of the conflicting interests. It lies deeper, and broader, and comes up in a form more alarming and insulting to Southern interests and Southern honor than any that has ever preceded it. It assumes its most fearful character in the acts of your Sovereign States; it now proposes to seize the powers of the Federal Government and wield them by one Section of the country upon principles of hostility to the rights and interests of another Section; and it will be extreme folly and madness in my estimation for any man or party to adopt a course of action upon the supposition that the cotton states will not resist such aggression, even to the sundering of the last ties that bind them to the Federal Union.

CONTINUED

Adapted Version

Is it that you think secession is unlikely? I think you just do not know Southerners and Southern opinion very well. Are you saying I am wrong because similar Southern protests were quieted down in the past? I say the present is unlike any case in the past. The South's actions are not due to some question before the nation or some proposed law under discussion. It is not a matter that can be dealt with by a compromise that might pacify conflicting interests. It is a deeper and broader threat to us than that. It comes in a form more alarming and insulting to Southern interests and Southern honor than any that has ever come before. It takes its most threatening form in the actions of the sovereign states of the North. It is one section of the country seizing the powers of the federal government and using them to enforce principles hostile to the rights and interests of another section. In my opinion, it would be extreme folly and madness for any man or party to assume that the cotton states will not resist such aggression. They will resist even to the tearing apart of the last ties that bind them to the federal Union.

Original Document Source: A. A. Echols, "Letter to Governor Emory Washburn," MS 1151(M). Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries. Available online from Digital Public Library of America at <https://dp.la/item/f98dcd595066a7ab22845644d463be8c>.

For the first few months of 1861, Virginia refused to join the Confederacy. With Lincoln's First Inaugural Address and his first actions as president, however, attitudes in Virginia grew more hostile to the Union. One typical response there to Lincoln's First Inaugural Address is presented in this passage.

Original Document

Mr. Lincoln's Inaugural Address is before our readers—couched in the cool, unimpassioned, deliberate language of the fanatic, with the purpose of pursuing the promptings of fanaticism even to the dismemberment of the Government with the horrors of civil war. Virginia . . . has the denial of all hope of peace. Civil war must now come. Sectional war, declared by Mr. Lincoln, awaits only the signal gun from the insulted Southern Confederacy to light its horrid fires all along the borders of Virginia. No action of our Convention can now maintain the peace. She must fight. The liberty of choice is hers. She may march to the contest with her sister states of the South, or she must march to the contest against them. There is left no middle course. . . . Let not Virginians be arrayed against each other, and since we cannot avoid war, let us determine that together, as people of the same State, we will defend each other, and preserve the soil of the State from the polluting foot of the Black Republican invader.

Adapted Version

Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address is before our readers. It is couched in the cool, unemotional, deliberate language of the fanatic. Its purpose is to carry out the promptings of his fanaticism even if it means the dismemberment of the government and the horrors of civil war. Virginia now has to accept that there has been a denial of all hope of peace. Civil war must now come. Mr. Lincoln has declared sectional war. It waits only for the first clashes coming from the insulted Southern Confederacy to light its horrid fires all along the borders of Virginia. No action of our State Convention can now maintain the peace. Virginia must fight. The liberty of choice is hers. She may march to the contest with her sister states of the South. Or she must march to the contest against them. No middle course is left. Virginians must not be turned against one another. Since we cannot avoid war, let us determine that as people of the same state, we will defend one another. Let us preserve the soil of the state from the polluting foot of the Black Republican invader.

Original Document Source: From "The Declaration of War," *The Richmond Enquirer*, March 5, 1861, p. 2. Available online from the Internet Archive at <https://archive.org/details/richmondenqui18610305linc>.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.IO

The South Marches Off to War

A broadside ballad is a type of song or verse printed on one side of a sheet of paper. This broadside captures the mood of many Southerners at the start of the Civil War.

Original Document**Jeff. Davis in the White House**

Ye Northern men in Washington,
Your administration, too—
Consider well what you are about,
And what you are going to do.
Yankees gained the day with foreigners,
Yet I am sure you'll rue the day,
When you meet the sons of Southern blood
In battle's proud array.

You now confine our commerce,
And say our ships shan't trade;
You first insulted Southerners,
By stealing of their slaves.
And when they dare maintain their rights,
The rights of all free men,
Old Lincoln with his Northern hordes,
Thinks he can coerce them.

Jeff. Davis is a brave man,
He will lead the Southern force;
I pity Lincoln's soldiers,
For I fear they will fare the worse;
He will show the Union shriekers,
The Union it is done—
The secession flag, ere many months,
Will wave o'er Washington.

Jeff. Davis in the White House,
What glorious news it will be;
Abe Lincoln in an inglorious flight,
In a baggage car we will see:
With Seward as conductor,
Gen. Scott as engineer,
Old Hicks, our traitor governor,
Following, panting in the rear.

Take my advice, ye Northern men,
Throw off old Lincoln's yoke;
Hurl down the tyrant from his seat,
Who dares this war evoke.
Recognize the Southern Confederacy,
Be brothers in heart and hand—
Peace, happiness and prosperity,
Will shower its blessing on our land.

Original Document Source: "Jeff. Davis in the White House." Available online from Wake Forest University Special Collections & Archives at <https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/364>.

Communicating Results and Taking Action

Communicating Results

- ◆ In small groups, design the front page of a Southern newspaper dated sometime just after Lincoln's election as president. The key headline should be "Will the South Secede?" Each group member should write a feature story or an editorial. Each story or editorial should include specific references to at least two of the primary sources for this lesson. At least two editorials should appear—one calling for secession and the other opposing it. Your group should post its newspaper front pages where the class can read and discuss them.
- ◆ Read Primary Sources 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3. The teacher will divide the class into groups: Half the students will take the part of Henry Clay and write a letter to James Hammond. The letter should explain where Clay does and does not agree with Hammond's "Cotton Is King" speech. The other half of the students will assume they are Hammond and reply to one of the student letters from Clay. You may want to read more about Clay or Hammond before completing this assignment. Also, if you are writing as Clay (who died in 1852), you must imagine that he was still alive in 1858, when Hammond wrote his speech.
- ◆ Read Abraham Lincoln's entire First Inaugural Address. Make two lists—one of details in the speech that Southerner secessionists would find most encouraging, and one of details secessionists would find most alarming. You will discuss the items on these lists with the class.

Taking Action

- ◆ Could there ever be a reason for a state to secede from the United States now or in the future? Research this question by looking for relevant magazine and newspaper articles or by searching the Internet. Collect relevant articles and make them available to the class as a whole. The teacher will divide the class into two groups. The first group will make a brief presentation supporting the idea that secession might be acceptable under some circumstances. The second group will make a brief presentation opposing this idea. Some students will be asked to take careful notes on this debate to use in completing the next assignment.
- ◆ Using the information from the previous assignment, write a letter to a newspaper expressing your views about one current conflict between a state and the federal government. The letter should summarize the conflict accurately and explain why the idea of secession is or is not reasonable as a way to resolve the conflict.

The Secession Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
Focus	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
Research	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a relevant way to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
Development and Use of Evidence	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
Content	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in-depth its relation to the overall task
Conventions	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

Primary Source Bibliography

- 1.1, 1.2 Hammond, James H. *Selections from the Letters and Speeches of the Hon. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina*. New York: John F. Trow, 1866.
- 1.3 Clay, Henry. "Letter to Stephen R. Miller," July 1, 1844. *The New York Times*, December 26, 1860.
- 1.5 Clemens, Sherrard. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, January 25, 1860.
- 1.6 Davis, Jefferson. *Speeches of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi*, delivered during the Summer of 1858. Baltimore: J. Murphy, 1859.
- 1.7 Lincoln, Abraham. First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861. Yale University Law School, Avalon Project.
- 1.8 Echols, A. A. "Letter to Governor Emory Washburn," MS 1151(M). Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.
- 1.9 "The Declaration of War." *The Richmond Enquirer*, March 5, 1861, p. 2.
- 1.10 "Jeff. Davis in the White House." A broadside available online from Wake Forest University Special Collections & Archives.

Sources for Further Study

Erickson, Paul. *Daily Life on a Southern Plantation, 1853*. New York: Lodestar, 2000.

Kamma, Anna. *If You Lived When There Was Slavery in America*. New York: Scholastic, 2004.

Moore, Kay, and Anni Matsick. *If You Lived at the Time of the Civil War*. New York: Scholastic, 2006.

Sheehan-Dean, Aaron. *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.