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# Preserving the Southern Way of Life: A Study of Southern Economic Ideologies prior to the American Civil War 1850-1861

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Fort Hays State University

Preserving the Southern Way of Life:  
A Study of Southern Economic Ideologies prior to the American Civil War  
1850-1861

A Research Paper Presented to

Dr. Raymond Wilson

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Course

History 874 CA: An Independent Study: MLS Culminating Experience in History

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PRESERVING THE SOUTHERN WAY OF LIFE: A STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC IDEOLOGIES OF THE SOUTH PRIOR TO THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1850-1861

In the years prior to the Civil War, the North and the South emerged with contrasting views about the state of the Union. This study examines the relationship between the economic ideologies of the South and the central causes of the American Civil War. The time period of 1850 to 1861 surveys the years that were critical in the development of new legislation regarding the state of slavery in the Union and when the South began formulating ideas towards secession.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period marked by tremendous growth in the United States to its population, economy, and territories. The United States had established itself as an independent nation unified under one God, one Constitution, and one government. The American Revolution established the principles of liberty, freedom, and justice for all and these principles answered the question of what kind of nation the United States would be. Over the next century, many Americans moved West and farther South claiming new territories, which once belonged to Britain, France, Spain, and Mexico. Territorial expansion became increasingly important as slave-grown crops, particularly cotton, sugarcane and tobacco to a lesser extent, sustained a large part of the era's economic growth. The nation also witnessed the rise of new industries, the opening of new markets, and vast improvements to transportation systems, including roads, waterways, and railroads. Factories and manufacturing plants were built in the North and the South. As the United States became an industrialized nation, this enabled domestic and foreign investment, as well as stimulated production and the manufacturing of raw goods and materials. Industrial growth in the United States was matched by an influx of European immigrants to urban, industrialized areas in the North and Northeast specifically. On average, from 1845 through 1855, an estimated 300,000 European immigrants arrived in the United States annually.

They settled in the northern and eastern parts of the United States supplying industry with a work force that was unequaled in size and labor.<sup>1</sup> By comparison, the South suffered many disadvantages. The North had five times the number of factories and plants than the South.<sup>2</sup> Out of the 18,000 factories or plants in the South, only two were capable of producing rolled iron and one or two others produced gunpowder. None of the factories or plants in the South produced steel or firearms.<sup>3</sup>

Thirty-four states had been admitted to the Union by 1861. Thirty-two of those states were divided between the North and the South.<sup>4</sup> The North was characterized by its industrial-based economy, transportation systems, urban areas, immigrant population, and a free-labor workforce. The South, on the other hand, was characterized by its agricultural-based economy, rural areas, and slavery. Versus the twenty-one million that populated the North, the South's population was an estimated nine million by 1861; four million of which were slaves. The South's remaining population consisted of upper-class gentry, wealthy aristocrats, well-to-do planters, and small farmers. Many of whom invested in cotton, purchased slaves, and owned large southern plantations. Out of the estimated four million slaves in the South, one million slaves worked in agriculture, two million slaves worked on cotton plantations, and the remaining one million slaves worked in domestic positions, industry, construction, mining, lumbering, or transportation. The profits earned by cotton planters and farmers as a result of slave-labor and

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<sup>1</sup> James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 6-14.

<sup>2</sup> *Economics of the Civil War* [on-line]; available from <http://www.historycentral.com/CivilWar/AMERICA/Economics.html>; Internet; accessed 17 October 2007.

<sup>3</sup> *American Civil War* [on-line]; available from [http://www.conservapedia.com/American\\_Civil\\_War](http://www.conservapedia.com/American_Civil_War); Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.

<sup>4</sup> *The Division of the States during the Civil War* [on-line]; available from <http://www.civilwarhome.com/statesdivison.htm>; Internet; accessed 2 October 2007.

inventions, such as Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793, enabled the growth of the nation's economy and turned the cotton industry into a moneymaking field.<sup>5</sup> Thus, when the North challenged the South on the issue of slavery and its expansion into new territories, this led to sectional disagreements between the South and the North. The impact of the ensuing debates between the opposing sides regarding the balance of power, equal representation, constitutional interpretation, states' rights, self-government, and slavery demonstrates the significance of the South's economic ideologies and identifies what factors gave cause to southern fears and attitudes of economic inferiority. The significance of the South's economic ideologies also lies within the reasons the South engaged in the Civil War and targets the preservation of the South's economic institutions of agriculture and slavery as the two major influences.

The term, *ideology*, has been defined by social scientists and historians as a "system of beliefs, values, fears, prejudices, reflexes, and commitment – in sum, the social consciousness – of a social group, be it a class, a party, or a section." An ideology also relates directly or indirectly to the perceptions of a social group. In this case, perception is the relationship between how a group or section views itself and its values against the values of society.<sup>6</sup> Typically, the political, economic, and social interests of a specific region, state, or an entire nation can be influenced by an ideology or by a set of ideologies. The further development of the political, economic, and social interests is, therefore, presided over by the group or section of a specific region, state, or by an entire nation. These specific interests, whether political, economic, or social, are generally labeled as helpful or harmful to the overall welfare of the region, state, or to

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<sup>5</sup> *Economics of the Civil War*, History Central [on-line]; available from <http://www.historycentral.com/CivilWar/AMERICA/Economics.html>; Internet; accessed 17 October 2007.

<sup>6</sup> Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 4-6.

the entire nation.<sup>7</sup> In other words, “. . . each [section] viewing its own society as fundamentally well-ordered, and the other as both a negation of its most cherished values and a threat to its existence.” The individual ideologies of the North and the South developed as predatory responses to the political, economic, and social differences, which existed between them.<sup>8</sup>

However, many historians have recently claimed that the American Civil War was the result of fundamental economic differences between the North and the South. Modern discussions about the North and the South have emphasized these differences because of their direct relation to the causes of the American Civil War. The economic differences between the North and the South resulted from the two regions developing into two distinct, separate, and often divided civilizations. The political, economic, and social ramifications of which has had many historians and scholars describing the American Civil War as the “*irrepressible conflict*.”<sup>9</sup>

The central causes of the American Civil War are contained within the disputes the North and the South had concerning the balance of power, equal representation, constitutional interpretation, states’ rights, self-government, and the most divisive issue of all, slavery. The inability of either side to resolve their disagreements or to explore a common compromise demonstrates an overall breakdown within the American political process that finally ended with the secession of the South in 1861.<sup>10</sup> The secession of the South was the immediate cause to the

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<sup>7</sup> Bill Schweke, “Economic Development as Ideology,” *Ideas in Development*, available from [http://www.cfed.org/ideas/2007/04/economic\\_development\\_as\\_ideolo.html](http://www.cfed.org/ideas/2007/04/economic_development_as_ideolo.html); Internet; accessed 5 November 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Pessen, "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?" *The American Historical Review* 85, no. 5 (1980); 1120, <http://www.umuc.edu/library/database>.

<sup>10</sup> Herman Hattaway & Archer Jones, *How the North Won: A Military History of the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 1.

American Civil War. President Abraham Lincoln viewed the secession of the South as “an illegal and unconstitutional rebellion against the authority of the Federal government.”<sup>11</sup>

The American Civil War began on April 12, 1861 after the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. It lasted four years and finally ended on May 26, 1865 with the surrender of General Robert E. Lee and the last Confederate Army.<sup>12</sup> The origins of the American Civil War and its causes can be traced back to the American Revolution (1775-1783), one of the most vulnerable time periods in the evolution of the United States. The American Revolution set forth the political, economic, and social frameworks that all Americans would use to define themselves as Americans.<sup>13</sup>

The sectional tensions between the North and the South first appeared at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. These tensions were the result of an amendment to the Constitution, which guaranteed each state equal representation within the Senate, but still permitted the size and population of each state to determine its representation in the House of Representatives. The South’s large slave population guaranteed southern states a representational advantage in the House of Representatives and more importantly, granted the South political control of Congress. The amendment was met with strong opposition from the North. Northerners argued slaves should not be counted as part of the national population because slaves could not own property or vote and did not pay taxes; therefore, only free men should be counted. The ensuing debate over whether or not slaves should have been counted as part of the

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<sup>11</sup> Michael Lind, *What Lincoln Believed: The Values and Convictions of America’s Greatest President* (New York: Anchor Books, 2004), 118.

<sup>12</sup> *American Civil War* [on-line]; available from [http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia\\_761567354/American\\_Civil\\_War.html](http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761567354/American_Civil_War.html); Internet; accessed 15 September 2007.

<sup>13</sup> *The American Revolution – The Complete History* [on-line]; available from <http://www.americanrevolution.com/>; Internet; accessed 5 October 2007.

national population was the beginning of a long and enduring political power struggle between the North and the South.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, the framers of the Constitution inserted Article 1, Section 2, into the United States Constitution. The amendment allowed for each slave to count as three-fifths of a person in regards to the national population and it states:

*Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.*<sup>15</sup>

The three-fifths clause widened the debate about slavery and allowed the South to maintain its representational advantage over the North in Congress.<sup>16</sup> Increasingly, Northern delegates voiced their opposition to slavery arguing that “all men were created equal and had the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” In response to northern grievances, Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, which prohibited slavery in the territories north of the Ohio River and west of the Appalachian Mountains. Southern slave owners soon became aware that the free North offered a place of refuge for escaped slaves. The North’s strong opposition to slavery lessened the probability that Northerners would assist the South in the return of fugitive slaves. As a result, Congress enacted the Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, which was written into the United States Constitution, under Article IV, section 2. It states:

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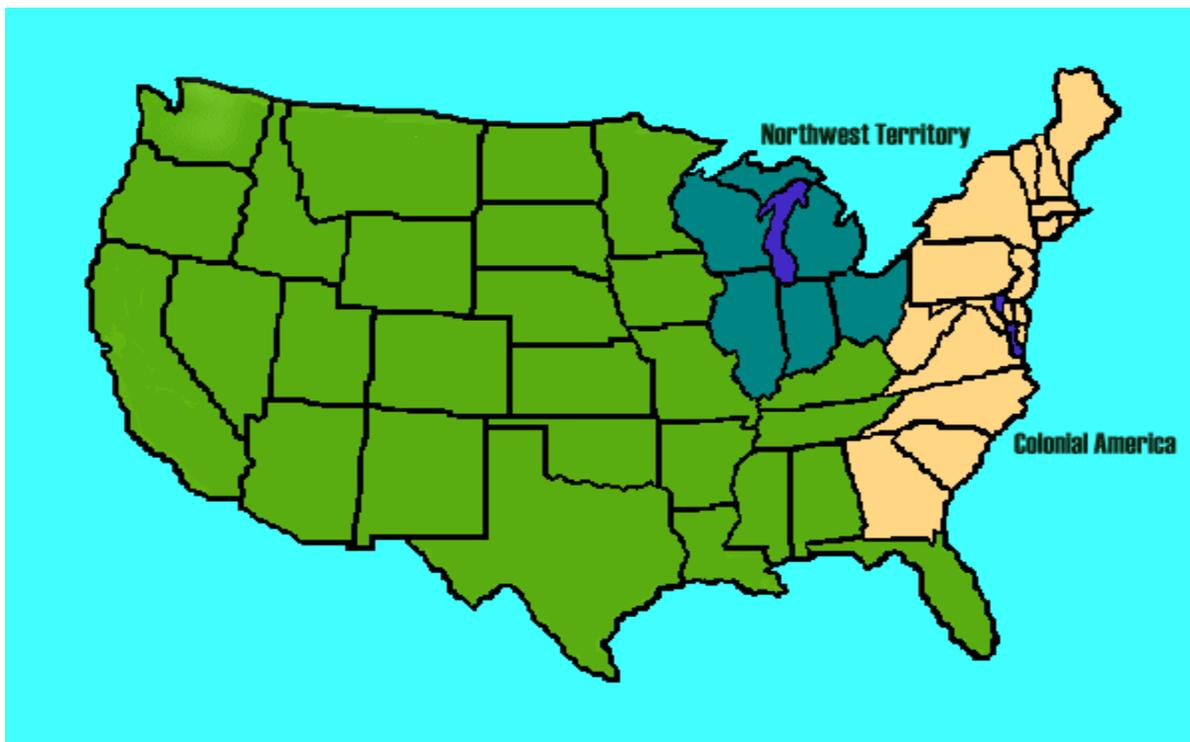
<sup>14</sup> James F. Epperson, *Causes of the Civil War* (New Jersey: Ottm Publishing, 2005), <http://www.ottnpublishing.com/images/CausesofCivilWar.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> The Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 2

<sup>16</sup> Epperson, *Causes of the Civil War*.

*No person held to Service or Labour in State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.*<sup>17</sup>

Under the Constitution, it was now the duty of the Federal government to forcefully return, either by arrest or seizure, any slave(s), who escaped from bondage, to their owners or masters. Consequently, States in the North and the South were also under this



*Figure I. Map of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 – The states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota eventually filled the Northwest Territory (shaded in gray).*<sup>18</sup>

Constitutional obligation to enforce slave laws.<sup>19</sup> The Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 permitted slave owners to cross state and territorial lines to recapture escaped slaves. The

<sup>17</sup> The Constitution of the United States, Article IV, Section 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Extent of Slavery: Northwest Ordinance 1787*, [Map of NW Ordinance](http://www.wfu.edu/~zulick/340/maps/map1.html) [on-line]; available from <http://www.wfu.edu/~zulick/340/maps/map1.html>; Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.

law required slave owners to offer proof to a judge or magistrate that the slave in custody was his property. A five-hundred dollar fine was levied against persons, who obstructed or interfered with a slave's recapture. The law accommodated southern slave interests by extending legal protection to slave owners. It suggested the reclamation of fugitive slaves by their slave owners was a right of property. In many northern states, the fugitive slave law was never enforced. Northern judicial officials found a legal loophole, which granted them the "leeway in rendering judgment on the validity of a claimant's proof, and there were no enforcement provisions requiring states to assist in the reclamation."<sup>20</sup>

By 1819, twenty-two states had entered the Union and were equally divided among slave and non-slave states. The North and the South had long practiced alternating between the admittance of non-slave and slave states. The equal division preserved the balance of power between the North and the South within Congress. However, the balance of power was soon threatened with the application of the state of Missouri for admission into the Union as a slave-state. Debates between the North and the South over the single admission of the state of Missouri steadily intensified because the South already maintained control of the House of Representatives. If the South gained control of the Senate as well, then the power to expand or regulate slavery was placed firmly in southern hands. The reverse was true as well. If the North gained control of the Senate and the House of Representatives, then the power to restrict or prohibit slavery would be in northern hands. The crisis was later resolved through the Missouri Compromise of

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<sup>19</sup> *Africans to America: Part Four - Eric Foner on the Fugitive Slave Act*, PBS [on-line]; available from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4i3094.html>; Internet; accessed 4 November 2007.

<sup>20</sup> Lawrence R. Tenzer, *The Forgotten Cause of the Civil War: A New Look at the Slavery Issue* (Manahawkin: Scholars' Publishing House, 1997), 83.

1820. It prohibited slavery in the Louisiana territory beyond the 36' 30 latitude line and included the admission of Maine as a non-slave state in order to preserve the balance of power.<sup>21</sup> The Missouri debates changed the complexion of intersectional relations between the North and the South. Previously, the sectional rivalry between the North and the South had been held together by a mutual tolerance of sectional differences. Additionally, mutual concessions had kept the sectional tensions between the North and

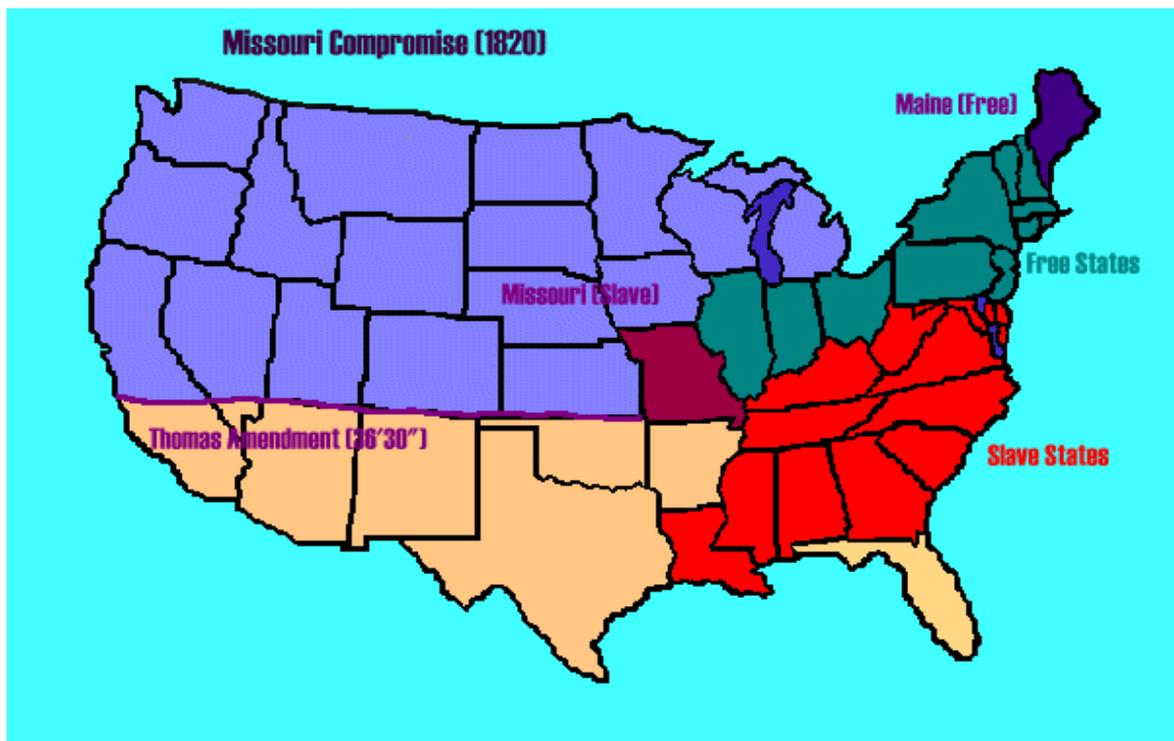


Figure II. Map of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 – the admission of Missouri and Maine maintained the balance between Free states and Slave states. The compromise included a provision, which prohibited slavery north of the 36' 30 latitude line.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Missouri Compromise*, [Web Guides: Primary Documents in American History](http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Missouri.html) [on-line]; available from <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Missouri.html>; Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.

<sup>22</sup> *Extent of Slavery: Missouri Compromise 1820*, [Map 3](http://www.wfu.edu/~zulick/340/maps/map3.html) [on-line]; available from <http://www.wfu.edu/~zulick/340/maps/map3.html>; Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.

the South on a level of urbanity and self-restraint. Nevertheless, intersectional relations were now taunted by rude and discourteous behavior; foul language and attacks on conduct.<sup>23</sup>

The political power struggle for equal representation between the North and the South was also due to the conflicting interpretations each side had with regard to the United States' Constitution's true meaning of the powers extended to the Federal government versus the powers extended to the states. The North believed the Federal government needed to retain power over the states.<sup>24</sup> Using this interpretation, the North developed arguments against the South and slavery. The North insisted that the Federal government had the power to legislate against slavery.<sup>25</sup> The South, on the other hand, believed the states needed to retain their own power so each state would have the freedom to act independently.<sup>26</sup> The South viewed the involvement of the Federal government in state matters, particularly slavery, as impinging on states' rights to self-government and authority over domestic and local matters.<sup>27</sup>

Historically, Federal and State governments within the United States have interacted with one another on various levels of activity, often overlapping and overseeing public and private interests.<sup>28</sup> State and local governments in the North and the South had always been involved in the regulation of various economic activities. State governments participated in developing forms

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<sup>23</sup> Kenneth M. Stampp, ed., *The Causes of the Civil War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), 56.

<sup>24</sup> Edward Raver, *Socioeconomic Factors in the American Civil War* [online]; available from [http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/106860/socioeconomic\\_factors\\_in\\_the\\_american.html](http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/106860/socioeconomic_factors_in_the_american.html); Internet; accessed 17 August 2007.

<sup>25</sup> Paul S. Boyer, et al., ed.; *The Oxford Guide to United States History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 129.

<sup>26</sup> Raver, *Socioeconomic Factors in the American Civil War* .

<sup>27</sup> Boyer, et al., *The Oxford Guide to United States History*, 129.

<sup>28</sup> Boyer, et al., *The Oxford Guide to United States History*, 742.

of business enterprise; engaged in business themselves; chartered banks and transportation companies; and regulated local communities. Local governments imposed taxes on its citizens; ensured standards of public health and safety were maintained; oversaw the regulation of businesses and made public improvements to thoroughfares.<sup>29</sup>

The first state rights doctrines emerged within the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions written by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison respectively. Both resolutions protested the enactment of Alien and Sedition Acts by the Federal government.<sup>30</sup> The Alien Acts authorized the President to arrest and deport any alien if he or she was determined dangerous or identified as a national of a foreign country that was engaged in war against the United States. The Sedition Acts, on the other hand, made it a criminal offense to print or publish derogatory statements about the President, Congress, or the Federal government. In addition, any attempt to aid a foreign county in a plot against the United States was also considered a criminal offense.<sup>31</sup> In response, Jefferson and Madison argued that the Federal government was made up through a compact of states and its powers were regulated to those expressed in the Constitution. This entitled states to have rights of self-government and authority. State rights doctrines are based on the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution, which states:

*The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.*<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Pessen, "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?," 1140.

<sup>30</sup> Stamp, ed., *The Causes of the Civil War*, 67.

<sup>31</sup> *Alien and Sedition Acts*, MSN Encarta [on-line]; available from [http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia\\_761559286/Alien\\_and\\_Sedition\\_Acts.html](http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761559286/Alien_and_Sedition_Acts.html); Internet; accessed 3 November 2007.

<sup>32</sup> The United States Constitution, Tenth Amendment.

In other words, any federal legislation passed by the Federal government that was deemed unconstitutional by the states could be challenged on the basis of the Tenth Amendment.<sup>33</sup> More importantly, these resolutions set the precedent for justifying nullification, which permitted states to legally void federal laws.<sup>34</sup> The question of states' rights was an issue of agitation for both the North and the South. By itself, the argument for states' rights was not strong enough to cause the South to secede from the Union and subsequently lead to the outbreak of the American Civil War.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand, the intersectional disagreements between the North and the South over the balance of power, equal representation, constitutional interpretation, and states' rights really pertained to a much larger issue, that of slavery and its expansion within the Union. The mere possibility of slavery spreading into the western territories exacerbated tensions between the North and the South. The national population census had only recorded a few hundred slaves within the territories prior to the American Civil War. Although, the majority of the slave population, an estimated four million, remained in the states, the attack upon slavery was centered upon the territories. One would think the attack upon slavery should have been focused on the states, where the peculiar institution existed in force.<sup>36</sup> The fact of the matter is that the 1830s had witnessed the rise of anti-slavery leaders and abolitionist groups in the North. Collectively, they repeatedly petitioned Congress requesting slavery to be abolished. As pressure

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<sup>33</sup> *States' Rights*, MSN Encarta [on-line]; available from [http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia\\_761556048/States%E2%80%99\\_Rights.html](http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761556048/States%E2%80%99_Rights.html); Internet; accessed 3 November 2007.

<sup>34</sup> *Alien and Sedition Acts*, MSN Encarta [on-line]; available from [http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia\\_761559286/Alien\\_and\\_Sedition\\_Acts.html](http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761559286/Alien_and_Sedition_Acts.html); Internet; accessed 3 November 2007.

<sup>35</sup> Stamp, ed., *The Causes of the Civil War*, 63.

<sup>36</sup> Boyer, et al., ed., *The Oxford Guide to United States History*, 129.

mounted on Congress to respond to the petitions, Southern leaders also became more adamant in their defense of slavery. In May of 1836, the House of Representatives passed the *Gag Rule*, which in effect “tabled” the petitions concerning abolishing slavery. In other words, any Congressional response to the petitions and actions thereof were postponed indefinitely.<sup>37</sup> Although the Gag Rule was repealed in 1844, the legislation had allowed and further enabled slavery to continue within the states without any interference or restrictions. Therefore, the only place slavery could be attacked was in the territories because these regions were not yet states and did not have an installed system of government in which to legislate for or against slavery.

From 1845 onward, the North and the South engaged in many constitutional debates over the expansion of slavery within U. S. territories.<sup>38</sup> For example, shortly after the U. S.-Mexican War had begun, the Wilmot Proviso was introduced in Congress in 1846. The bill provided, “that, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico . . . neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.”<sup>39</sup> At the conclusion of the U. S.-Mexican War in 1848, the United States did gain nearly half of Mexico’s territory.<sup>40</sup> Mostly all Northerners in Congress supported the adoption of the Wilmot-Proviso primarily because of their opposition to slavery and fears related to its expansion. Hence, the bill

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<sup>37</sup> *Struggles over Slavery: The "Gag" rule*, Government Archives [on-line]; available from [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/treasures\\_of\\_congress/text/page10\\_text.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/treasures_of_congress/text/page10_text.html); Internet; accessed 15 November 2007.

<sup>38</sup> Michael Perman, ed., *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1991), 19.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Holt, *The Fate of Their Country: Politicians, Slavery Extension, and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 20.

<sup>40</sup> *U. S. Mexican War, 1846-1848*, PBS [on-line]; available from <http://www.pbs.org/dera/usmexicanwar/war/>; Internet; accessed 7 November 2007.

was easily passed in the House of Representatives because Northerners, by this time, controlled the House of Representatives and outnumbered Southerners, 134 to 91. However, the Wilmot-Proviso did not pass in the Senate because the balance of power in the Senate had remained equal between the North and the South.<sup>41</sup>

At that time, the Congressional debates between the North and the South over the U. S.-Mexican War and the annexation of Texas had been, for the most part, non-partisan. Northern attitudes shifted in the late-1840s. Preston King, a Democrat from upstate New York, in his speech given in January of 1847, said, “. . . the war was undertaken on part of the Administration, aided by the South, for the purpose of extending the area of slavery.” In the same speech, King also expressed, “satisfy the northern people – satisfy the people whom we represent – that we are not to extend the institution of slavery as a result of this war.”<sup>42</sup> Consequently, Northerners were reluctant to show their support for the war. They feared the acquisition of territory from Mexico would only extend slavery to that region. Mexico had already abolished slavery prior to the U. S.-Mexican War. Northerners wanted to ensure that slavery would not be reestablished in Mexico, so they willfully embraced the Wilmot-Proviso. Southerners, on the other hand, opposed the Wilmot-Proviso for reasons, which mirrored Northerners. Southerners feared the admittance of additional free-states would give the North control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate. This fear was based on the fact that the North’s population had surpassed the South’s population and continued to grow at a much faster pace. The North had already gained control of the House of Representatives. Southerners knew if the North also gained control of the Senate and thus, gained full control of Congress,

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<sup>41</sup> Holt, *The Fate of Their Country*, 20.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 22-23.

then northerners would use this power to abolish slavery.<sup>43</sup> However, Article IV, Section 3 of the United States Constitution had assigned Congress with all the necessary powers “to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories or other property belonging to the United States.”<sup>44</sup> Therefore, Congress, as the legal body of the Federal government and having the full discretionary powers of the Constitution, should have been authorized to permit or prevent slavery within the territories.<sup>45</sup>

Incidentally, the actual word, slavery, is neither mentioned nor directly referred to in any of the Constitution’s clauses or within the Constitution as a whole. The ambiguity of the U. S. Constitution caused both the North and the South to have equally plausible arguments on the issue of slavery.<sup>46</sup> What led to this ambiguity was the belief among the founding fathers, who naturally assumed slavery would eventually phase out over time. Most states in the North had gradually abolished slavery by the late 1700s and shortly thereafter, the African Slave Trade was abolished in 1808.<sup>47</sup> In stark contrast, the National Census (see Appendix, Table I) recorded the South’s slave population as growing exponentially from 697,681 in 1790 to nearly four million in 1860. On average, the slave population made up fifteen percent of the total United States population and accounted for eighty-eight percent of the total African-American population in the decades leading up to the American Civil War (see Appendix, Table II).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Holt, *The Fate of Their Country*, 26-29.

<sup>44</sup> U. S. Constitution, Article IV, Section 3.

<sup>45</sup> Perman, ed., *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 19.

<sup>46</sup> Boyer, et al., ed., *The Oxford Guide to United States History*, 129.

<sup>47</sup> Epperson, *Causes of the Civil War*.

<sup>48</sup> *Historical Census Browser*, [University of Virginia Library](http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/state.php) [on-line]; available from <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/state.php>; Internet; accessed 13 October 2008.

By the 1850s, the United States had witnessed nearly two centuries of economic growth and prosperity. In the North, an industrial-based economy was sustained by a system of free labor and an immigrant workforce. Industrial growth and development worldwide had been fuelled by the Industrial Revolution. Within the United States alone, the Industrial Revolution caused significant transformations within society affecting the social structure and redefining cultural and family values. There were vast changes and improvements made to industry, agriculture, commerce, manufacturing, and transportation.<sup>49</sup> Yet, industrialization had occurred almost exclusively in the States north of the Mason-Dixon Line. The result of which made the North responsible for nearly ninety percent of the nation's manufacturing output. Agricultural production in the North steadily increased due to mechanization; whereas, agricultural production in the South remained very labor intensive. "By 1860, the free-states had nearly twice the value of farm machinery per acre and per farm worker as did the slave states, leading to increased efficiency." Eventually, northern farmers produced crops at a significantly faster pace than their southern counterparts. "As a result, in 1860, the northern states produced half the nation's corn, four-fifths of its wheat, and seven-eighths of its oats."<sup>50</sup>

By contrast, the South was still very dependent on an agricultural-based economy that was sustained by slave labor. An estimated eighty-four percent of the South's population was still very active in agriculture in the 1850s and 1860s. In the North, on the other hand, the percentage of population still engaged in agriculture had dropped to nearly forty percent. Nevertheless, the South remained economically self-sufficient due to the market sales of its

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<sup>49</sup> *World History: The Industrial Revolution*, [The History Channel](http://www.thehistorychannel.co.uk/site/features/the_industrial_revolution.php) [on-line]; available from [http://www.thehistorychannel.co.uk/site/features/the\\_industrial\\_revolution.php](http://www.thehistorychannel.co.uk/site/features/the_industrial_revolution.php); Internet; accessed 27 October 2007.

<sup>50</sup> *Economic Aspects of the Civil War*, [Civil War Institute - National Park Service](http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/manassas/economic/introecon.htm) [on-line]; available from <http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/manassas/economic/introecon.htm>; Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.

crops, specifically cotton. By 1860, cotton had become the nation's leading export and its value exceeded that of all other exports combined. Nearly two-thirds of the world's cotton supply came from the South.<sup>51</sup> Between 1840 and 1860, the amount of capital invested in cotton within the slaves states nearly doubled.<sup>52</sup> These new demands for cotton worldwide led to a greater and ever wider dependency on slaves in the South. In 1805, the total slave population was just over one-million in the United States and netted a worth of approximately \$300 million dollars. Over the next fifty-five years, the slave population in the United States grew to nearly four million and by then, netted a worth of an estimated three billion dollars.<sup>53</sup> The total value of slaves in the United States from 1805 through 1860 is represented in Figure I (see page 18). Therefore, southern resistance to industrial growth and urban development was not the result of economic disadvantages. "The best evidence is that in 1860, despite all the North's wealth, the economic value of slaves in the United States had exceeded the invested value of all of the nation's railroads, factories, and banks combined."<sup>54</sup>

In the South, the production of crops (i.e. tobacco, sugar, rice, and cotton), the introduction of slavery, and the rise of plantations were specific to the region. The South's climate and its natural or land resources were best suited for agriculture. Therefore, instituting slavery over free or indentured labor presented the best possibilities for market profits. By comparison, the North was not rich in agriculture. Northern exports of wheat and other small

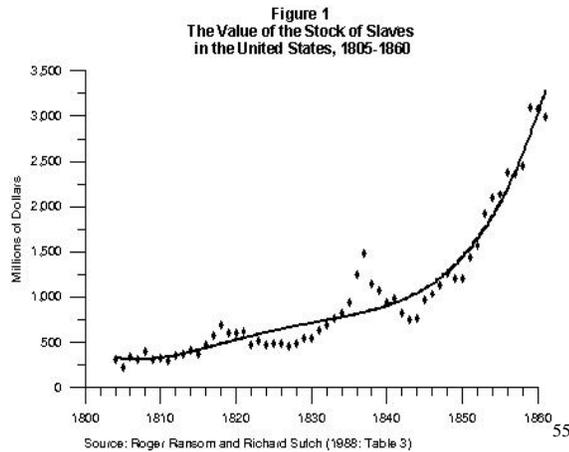
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<sup>51</sup> *Economic Aspects of the Civil War*, [Civil War Institute - National Park Service](http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/manassas/economic/introecon.htm) [on-line]; available from <http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/manassas/economic/introecon.htm>; Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.

<sup>52</sup> Pessen, "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?," 1125.

<sup>53</sup> Roger L. Ransom, *The Economics of the Civil War*, [EH.Net Encyclopedia](http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/ransom.civil.war.us) [on-line]; available from <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/ransom.civil.war.us>; Internet; accessed 18 October 2007.

<sup>54</sup> *Economic Aspects of the Civil War*, [Civil War Institute - National Park Service](http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/manassas/economic/introecon.htm) [on-line]; available from <http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/manassas/economic/introecon.htm>; Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.



grains did not have the economic value to which tobacco, sugar, rice, and cotton had produced for the South.<sup>56</sup> Even still, the values of agricultural products in the North and the South had remained relatively equal. It was in other ways that the North gained economic superiority over the South, such as population growth, industry, transportation, and commerce.<sup>57</sup> Economic improvisation led the North towards development strategies that incorporated industry, commerce, and capital enterprises. The type of climate, an absence of land or natural resources, and a relative small population of slaves led the North to elect an economic pathway of industrialization. On the contrary, the production of agricultural staples and crops for worldwide export by enslaved Africans and African-Americans on Southern plantations was the elected economic pathway of the South.<sup>58</sup>

The system of free-labor in the North and the system of slave-labor in the South were in competition throughout the 1800s. Northerners believed a system of free labor represented a

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<sup>55</sup> Ransom, *The Economics of the Civil War*.

<sup>56</sup> Peter A. Coclanis, *Tracking the Economic Divergence of the North and the South*, [Southern Cultures](http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/southern_cultures/v006/6.4coclanis.html) [on-line]; available from [http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/southern\\_cultures/v006/6.4coclanis.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/southern_cultures/v006/6.4coclanis.html); Internet; accessed 18 October 2007.

<sup>57</sup> Pessen. "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?," 1121.

<sup>58</sup> Coclanis, *Tracking the Economic Divergence of the North and the South*.

man's right to self-reliance and self-preservation. In other words, every man had the right to pursue his highest level of human potential and to reap the benefits of hard work.<sup>59</sup> Comparatively, the labor conditions between the wage worker in the North and the slave in the South were equally poor. During the mid-nineteenth century, northern free-labor workers witnessed a significant decline in real wages that effectively reduced job security, devalued their skill levels, and altered their living conditions. Thus, "the economic gap between enslaved African-Americans and free white workers in antebellum North and South was narrower than historians once thought."<sup>60</sup>

In the South, slavery was a labor-system that really became economically profitable after the invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney in 1792. The cotton-gin revolutionized the cotton industry in the South. It changed how cotton was produced and manufactured.<sup>61</sup> As a result, there were substantial increases in the production of cotton from 1790 through 1860. This is illustrated in Table II below.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, the profits earned by cotton exports increased substantially from five million to nearly one-hundred and ninety-one million dollars between 1800 and 1860. As long as cotton dominated the national marketplace, the institution of slavery would also continue to control the political, economic, and social aspects of southern society.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Leah S. Glaser, *United States Expansion, 1800-1860*, Virginia Center for Digital History: A Guide to Primary Resources for U. S. History [on-line]; available from <http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/solguide/VUS06/essay06c.html>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2008.

<sup>60</sup> Pessen. "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?," 1124.

<sup>61</sup> *Invention of the Cotton Gin*, eHistory.com [on-line]; available from <http://ehistory.osu.edu/world/articles/ArticleView.cfm?AID=31>; Internet; accessed 15 November 2007.

<sup>62</sup> William H. Phillips, *Cotton Gin*, EH.Net Encyclopedia [on-line]; available from <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/phillips.cottongin>; Internet; accessed 15 November 2007.

<sup>63</sup> Jean M. West, *King Cotton: The Fiber of Slavery*, Slavery in America [on-line]; available from [http://www.slaveryinamerica.org/history/hs\\_es\\_cotton.htm](http://www.slaveryinamerica.org/history/hs_es_cotton.htm); Internet; accessed 15 November 2007.

*Table II: American Production of Raw Cotton, 1790-1860 (bales)<sup>64</sup>*

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

In 1858, Senator James Henry Hammond of South Carolina exclaimed that, “Cotton is King.” Most Southerners, at the time, agreed with Hammond. Cotton dominated the world market and the cotton industry had expanded well beyond the South. Its influence was felt throughout the United States and throughout the world as well. The importance of cotton to the economic sustainability of the South had strong and often adversarial effects on the intersectional relations between the North and the South. Many historians referred to the term, *cotton diplomacy*, to describe the many ways in which the South used the importance of cotton within the United States and the world as a political, economic, and social bargaining tool. This is evident in the remarks Hammond made in his response to Senator William H. Seward of New York. He said:

*“Without the firing of a gun, without drawing a sword, should they [Northerners] make war upon us [Southerners], we could bring the whole world to our feet. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? . . . England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her. No, you dare not make war on cotton! No power on earth dares make war upon it. Cotton is King.”<sup>65</sup>*

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<sup>64</sup> Phillips. *Cotton Gin*.

<sup>65</sup> *King Cotton in the Civil War*, [Civil War Potpourri](http://www.civilwarhome.com/kingcotton.htm) [on-line]; available from <http://www.civilwarhome.com/kingcotton.htm>; Internet; accessed 17 November 2007.

Hammond's statement was not unreasonable by any means.<sup>66</sup> Between 1840 and 1860, the amount of capital invested in cotton manufacturing doubled in the slave states of the South. Evidence suggests the South's heavy investment in cotton was not illogical. ". . . Cotton enabled the South to equal the national rate of profit during the era."<sup>67</sup> Profits from the cotton industry enabled southern cotton producers to purchase, on average, thirty million dollars per year in food supplies from the Midwest and West. Cotton profits also enabled the South to purchase nearly one-hundred and fifty million dollars in domestic and imported goods from the North. Cotton production in Northern textile mills and factories generated an estimated one-hundred million dollars worth of cloth per year.<sup>68</sup> Most of the cotton that was produced in the South was shipped to the North, where northern textile mills and factories also prepared large shipments of cotton for export to Great Britain and Europe. "Northern merchants gained from Southern demands for shipping cotton to markets abroad, and from the demand by Southerners for Northern and imported consumption goods."<sup>69</sup> The income generated from the market sales of cotton and from the import and export of cotton domestically and abroad brought economic prosperity and wealth to the entire nation.

The rise of the cotton industry caused a shift in the South from small-scale farming and planting operations to large-scale plantation based farming and planting operations for the cultivation of cotton. Slave-labor was integral to the cotton-plantation economy of the South. By 1850, nearly two million enslaved African-Americans were working on cotton plantations in the

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<sup>66</sup> West, *King Cotton: The Fiber of Slavery*.

<sup>67</sup> Pessen. "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?," 1125.

<sup>68</sup> *King Cotton, Civil War Potpourri* [on-line]; available from <http://www.civilwarhome.com/kingcotton.htm>; Internet; accessed 15 November 2007.

<sup>69</sup> Ransom. *The Economics of the Civil War*.

South. The expansion of the cotton-plantation economy in the South also led to banking institutions and financial centers in the North to supply loans and investment capital to Southerners, who wanted to purchase land and slaves.<sup>70</sup> For this reason, the North and the South both had a huge economic stake in the cotton industry and in slavery as well.<sup>71</sup> “Slave grown cotton accounted for over half the value of all United States exports, and provided virtually all the cotton used in the northern textile industry and seventy percent of the cotton used in British mills.”<sup>72</sup> The result established an economic interdependence between the North and the South. Northern opposition to slavery did not prevent Northerners from conducting business with Southern plantation owners and slave masters. Slavery was not unknown in the North. The institution had flourished in the region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and continued in New Jersey until 1846. Yet, slavery remained the most crucial difference between the North and the South prior to the American Civil War.<sup>73</sup>

However, the application of California to enter the Union as a free-state in 1849 again threatened to disrupt the balance of power in Congress between non-slave and slave states. Although, the situation was very similar to that of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the major difference was the animosities between the North and the South had become much more dangerous. Henry Clay, a leading politician and U. S. Senator emerged, as he had done with the Missouri Compromise in 1820, to establish a compromise that would contain sectional

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<sup>70</sup> *How Slavery Helped Build a World Economy*, National Geographic [on-line]; available from [http://new.nationalgeographic.com/news/2003/01/0131\\_030203\\_jubilee2\\_2.html](http://new.nationalgeographic.com/news/2003/01/0131_030203_jubilee2_2.html); Internet; accessed 4 October 2007.

<sup>71</sup> Ransom. *The Economics of the Civil War*.

<sup>72</sup> *The Economics of Slavery*, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History [on-line]; available from [http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module7/intro\\_pop23.html](http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module7/intro_pop23.html); Internet; accessed 13 October 2007.

<sup>73</sup> Pessen. "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?," 1123.

animosities and preserve the state of the Union. The Compromise of 1850 proposed a series of resolutions that were designed to resolve the slavery crisis between the North and the South on amicable terms. The compromise included five laws, which admitted California as a free-state to the Union; provided a territorial government for Utah and New Mexico; established a boundary between Texas and the United States; abolished the slave trade in Washington, D. C.; and lastly, amended the Fugitive Slave Act.<sup>74</sup> The changes, which were made the Fugitive Slave Act as a result of the Compromise of 1850, were the most controversial. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 had been ineffective because it had never been actively enforced. Under the new fugitive slave laws, citizens were now required to aid in the recovery of fugitive slaves. The filing process in which slave owners went through to reclaim fugitive slaves was made easier. Fugitive slaves were also denied their right to a jury trial and lastly, more responsibility was placed on federal officials to enforce the law. Many Americans embraced the Compromise of 1850. It preserved the state of the Union and brought a relative calm to the tensions over slavery between the North and the South, at least temporarily.<sup>75</sup>

In 1853, President James K. Polk announced his intentions in acquiring additional territories for the United States. By this time, northerners had since pledged themselves to keeping slavery out of any of the unorganized territories in the United States. There was also additional pressure placed on Congress to formally organize the territories west of Missouri and Iowa. This pressure came from northern farmers, who wanted to settle in the Midwest, hoping to find cheaper land and secondly, from supporters of the transcontinental railroad. In order to build

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<sup>74</sup> *Compromise of 1850 (1850)*, [Our Documents](http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=27) [on-line]; available from <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=27>; Internet; accessed 8 November 2007.

<sup>75</sup> *The Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act*, [PBS](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2951.html) [on-line]; available from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2951.html>; Internet; accessed 30 October 2007.

railroads across the Midwest and through parts of the Louisiana territory, the government, first had to survey the land, then divide it into sections, and lastly, approve which sections on which railroads were to be built. More or less, the farmers and railroad supporters did not care about either the extension of slavery or its prohibition from the territories. The added pressure on Congress worked. Soon thereafter, Iowa Senator and Democrat, Augustus Dodge, emerged at the start of the Thirty-third Congress in December, 1853 and proposed organizing the territory west of Missouri and Iowa into the Nebraska territory. This proposed bill was sent to the Senate Committee on Territories. At the time, Illinois Senator, Stephen A. Douglas, was the chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories. He, too, had expressed a stated interest in organizing the territory west of Missouri and Iowa. Douglas believed the continual build-up of the West and of its population could stabilize the existing power struggle between the North and the South. As a result, Douglas supported the formal organization of the territory west of Missouri and Iowa. His program also included plans for building the transcontinental railroad and included a homestead law, which offered free land to people settling in the West<sup>76</sup>

The subsequent passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 abruptly ended the relative calm the Union had experienced for almost four years. The Act repealed the prohibition of slavery above the 36° 30' line of north latitude, which had been a provision of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The repeal of this provision allowed for the possible expansion of slavery into the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In what Douglas defined as “popular sovereignty”, he chose to let the citizens of Kansas and Nebraska decide for themselves whether or not slavery would be permitted in either territory. These concessions made by Douglas solicited widespread

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<sup>76</sup> Holt. *The Fate of Their Country*, 92-100.

scrutiny and incited fierce opposition from northerners.<sup>77</sup> Of course, southerners were overjoyed by the expansion of slavery into the North. Even still, Nebraska was located so far north; the probability of slavery existing within the territory was nil. On the other hand, Kansas was located next to Missouri, which was a slave state. Indeed, this wielded much influence over Kansas towards the decision whether to permit or not to permit slavery in the territory. The anti-slavery forces of the North and the pro-slavery forces of the South immediately converged in Kansas aiming to win the support of the state legislature in their claims against or for slavery. Both sides were prepared and armed to defend their cause.<sup>78</sup> Groups of abolitionists, along with pro-slavery and free-state forces, rushed to set up rival territorial governments; complained of election fraud; and argued over land claims. Violence and mayhem erupted leaving destruction and death in their wake. One particular incident occurred in May of 1856, when John Brown, an avid abolitionist, and his sons killed five pro-slavery advocates at Pottawatomie Creek. Three years later, Brown would also lead an armed attack against a federal arsenal in Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He was captured, arrested, and later convicted to death for his crimes. The events that took place in Kansas collectively became one of the more catastrophic turning points prior to the American Civil War. Described by many historians, as "Bleeding Kansas", it was also the sign of the times. The political storm and turbulence that raged within the United States foreshadowed the beginning of what was to come during the American Civil War.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> R. D. Monroe, Ph. D. *The Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Rise of the Republican Party, 1854-1856*, Abraham Lincoln Library [on-line]; available from <http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/biography6text.html>; Internet; accessed 11 November 2007.

<sup>78</sup> *Bleeding Kansas*, PBS [on-line]; available from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2952.html>; Internet; accessed 30 October 2007.

<sup>79</sup> *Bleeding Kansas*, Fort Scott National Historic Site [on-line]; available from <http://www.nps.gov/archive/fosc/bleeding.htm>; Internet; accessed 30 October 2007.

The demands for the exclusion of slavery in the territories gave rise to new political forces in 1856, specifically the Republican Party. Among the Republican Party leaders, such as Salmon P. Chase and William Seward, emerged an Illinois lawyer by the name of Abraham Lincoln. While in Peoria, Illinois in 1854, Lincoln delivered a speech in which he publicly denounced the institution of slavery. He stated that all federal legislation needed to be drafted on the idea that slavery should be restricted and eventually abolished. Lincoln also argued against “popular sovereignty.” He further explained that slavery was not any longer a state by state issue only and without doubt, slavery had become a national issue that concerned the entire nation. Lincoln’s speech gained him notoriety throughout the West. Other speeches given by Lincoln, particularly during his Senatorial campaign against Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, also contributed to his designation as an influential political leader within the Republican Party. It was during one of his campaign speeches that Lincoln said:

*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.*<sup>80</sup>

Although, Lincoln lost the Senate race to Douglas by a small margin; his ideas about the state of the Union and the future of slavery united the Republican Party. He was nominated as the Republican candidate for the United States’ Presidency two years later. The Republican Party’s campaign platform pledged to end the spread of slavery; initiate a tariff that would protect industry; and promised passage of the homestead laws.<sup>81</sup> From a southern perspective, when

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<sup>80</sup> *Chapter Six: Lincoln, Douglas, and Brown, From Revolution to Reconstruction: An Outline of American History* [on-line]; available from [http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/H/1994/ch6\\_p8.htm](http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/H/1994/ch6_p8.htm); Internet; accessed 2 November 2008.

<sup>81</sup> *Chapter Six: Secession and Civil War, From Revolution to Reconstruction: Outlines of American History* [on-line]; available from [http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/H/1994/ch6\\_p9.htm](http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/H/1994/ch6_p9.htm); Internet; accessed 2 November 2008.

Lincoln won the Presidential election of 1860, there was no more room to compromise. Southerners were convinced that any terms offered by another compromise would leave the South in a weaker and more vulnerable position, politically and economically, in the future.<sup>82</sup>

By the 1860s, the South realized that it was becoming increasingly more difficult to preserve the southern way of life and its institution of slavery. The states in the South proclaimed the Federal Government had clearly violated the laws expressed in the United States Constitution and in doing so, the Federal Government had also infringed upon the rights pertaining to the states. In addition, the states in the South declared that the independence of the thirteen American colonies had been granted under the premise that the then colonies were indeed, “. . . free and independent States; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.” Furthermore, the states in the South declared America’s independence was based on the ideal that when government in any form ceases to serve the interests of its people, then it becomes the right of the people to either change or abolish that form of government and to install a new form of government. Moreover, the United States Constitution had established a compact between States and had also assigned powers to the Federal Government and to the States. Under the law of compact, the obligations of the parties involved are based on mutual agreement. Therefore, when one of the parties fails to meet part or all of the said agreement, then the other party is entirely released from the said agreement. Using this argument, the South contended that the fourth Article of the United States Constitution, which stipulated the return of escaped slaves to their owners, was essential to maintaining the compact agreement between the states. It was further argued that the Federal

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<sup>82</sup> Henry Steele Commager. ed., *The Civil War Archive: The History of the Civil War in Documents* (New York: Tess Press, 2000), 39.

Government and the states in the North had failed to effectively execute the law. The South believed the blatant disregard of the fourth Article by the Federal Government and the states in the North was the direct result of the growing hostilities surrounding slavery and its existence within the Union. The combined failure of the Federal Government and the states in the North to effectively execute the law essentially violated the compact agreement. More importantly, under the law of compact, the states in the South were no longer under any obligation to honor the compact agreement between states.<sup>83</sup> Thus, the first state to secede from the Union was South Carolina in December of 1860. Although, an ordinance of secession unanimously passed in South Carolina; in other parts of the South, the decision to secede from the Union was harder to come by, particularly in the Upper South and in the Border States as well.<sup>84</sup> Yet, twelve other states in the South, including Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, and Kentucky, also seceded from the Union by November of 1861. After secession, these thirteen states formed the Confederate States of America.<sup>85</sup>

The relationship between the economic ideologies of the South and the central causes of the American Civil War transcended from the South's need to preserve its way of life and its institutions, particularly slavery and agriculture. The North and the South developed as two regions with distinct, separate, and often divided civilizations. The North had an industrial-based

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<sup>83</sup> *Ordinances of Secession of the 13 Confederate States of America*, [The Civil War Home Page](http://www.civil-war.net/pages/ordinances_secession.asp) [on-line]; available from [http://www.civil-war.net/pages/ordinances\\_secession.asp](http://www.civil-war.net/pages/ordinances_secession.asp); Internet; accessed 15 November 2008.

<sup>84</sup> *The First Wave of Secession: Winter, 1860-1861* [online]; available from <http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu/outlines/secession.html>; Internet; accessed 15 November 2008.

<sup>85</sup> *Ordinances of Secession of the 13 Confederate States of America*, [The Civil War Home Page](http://www.civil-war.net/pages/ordinances_secession.asp) [on-line]; available from [http://www.civil-war.net/pages/ordinances\\_secession.asp](http://www.civil-war.net/pages/ordinances_secession.asp); Internet; accessed 15 November 2008.

economy, urban areas, an immigrant population, and a free-labor workforce. On the other hand, an agricultural-based economy, rural areas, and slavery characterized the South. The fundamental divisions between the North and the South were the result of distinct political, economic, and social differences. These differences were manifested in the disputes the North and the South had over the balance of power, equal representation, constitutional interpretation, states' rights, self-government, and slavery. The failure of the North and the South to reach a common compromise or to seek a resolution represented an overall breakdown within the American political process.

In general, slavery and its expansion within the Union had been the main issue between the North and the South prior to the American Civil War. The slave population in the United States was an estimated four million and netted a worth of an estimated three billion dollars by 1861. Slavery's importance in the South was directly related to the fact that cotton had become the nation's leading export and its value exceeded that of all other exports combined. Nearly two-thirds of the world's cotton supply came from the South. The income generated from the market sales of cotton and from the import and export of cotton domestically and abroad brought economic prosperity and wealth to the entire nation. These new demands for cotton worldwide led to a greater and ever wider dependency on slaves in the South. The combined profits from the cotton industry and slavery sustained the South's economic independence. The cotton industry had also contributed to help sustain the industrial and commercial development of the North. In fact, the entire nation experienced substantial economic growth. As long as cotton dominated the national marketplace, the institution of slavery would continue to control the political, economic, and social aspects of southern society. Thus, it makes perfect sense that Southerners did not want slavery abolished. The success of the cotton industry was closely tied to the preservation of

slavery. More importantly, Southerners feared having to depend on the North for its economic needs. The South was already depended on the North for most of its industrial and commercial needs.

However, the actual word, slavery, is neither mentioned nor referred to in the United States Constitution. In the North, it was believed that the Federal Government had the power to legislate against slavery. Northerners had deemed the institution of slavery as wrong and immoral. In the North, the influence of an anti-slavery ideology enabled political rhetoric and protests from abolitionists and defenders of free labor, who demanded that slavery be abolished. Unlike the South, the North had very little to lose politically or economically if slavery was abolished. Therefore, it was easy for northerners to condemn slavery. The South, on the other hand, believed each state should retain its own authority over state and local matters. Southerners feared the political, economic, and social consequences of what would happen to the South if slavery was prohibited from newly admitted states and territories in the Union. Lincoln's pledge to stop the spread of slavery within the Union only intensified the South's argument that the involvement of the Federal Government in state matters was an infringement upon states' right. In addition, if slavery was contained in only the states where it already existed, the South risked losing its representation within Congress. Subsequently, the North would gain total political control of the Congress once new states and territories were admitted and more importantly, gain the power to abolish slavery. Furthermore, the refusal of the Federal Government and the states in the North to execute the laws of the Constitution that offered legal protection to slave owners and their slaves had already placed the South at a disadvantage. Southerners viewed the enforcement of such laws as an essential component of the compact agreement between the states. In the declarations of secession, the states in the South determined that the Federal

Government and the states in the North had violated the compact agreement between states. According to compact law, the South was then released from any further obligations pertaining to the compact agreement between the states. Between 1860 and 1861, thirteen states in the South seceded from the Union. The secession of the states in the South ultimately led to the outbreak of the American Civil War.

## APPENDIX

Table I: National Population Census: 1790 – 1870

Census Year	# Slaves	#Free Blacks	Total Blacks	%Free Blacks	Total U. S. Population	% Blacks Of Total
1790	697,681	59,527	757,208	7.9 %	3,929,214	19 %
1800	893,602	108,435	1,002,037	10.8 %	5,308,483	19 %
1810	1,191,362	186,466	1,377,808	13.5 %	7,239,881	19%
1820	1,538,022	233,634	1,771,656	13.2 %	9,638,453	18 %
1830	2,009,043	319,599	2,328,642	13.7 %	12,860,702	18 %
1840	2,487,355	386,293	2,873,648	13.4 %	17,063,353	17 %
1850	3,204,313	434,495	3,638,808	11.9 %	23,191,876	16%
1860	3,953,760	488,070	4,441,830	11.0 %	31,443,321	14 %
1870	0	4,880,009	4,880,009	100 %	38,558,371	13%

Reference: "Historical Census Browser," [University of Virginia Library](http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/state.php) [on-line]; available from <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/state.php>; Internet; accessed 13 October2008.

Table II: Calculated Percentages of the Slave Population

Census Year	# Slaves	#Free Blacks	% Free Blacks	Total Black	%Total Black Population	Total U. S. Population	% Total U.S. Population
1790	697,681	59,527	8.5 %	757,208	92 %	3,929,214	17.7 %
1800	893,602	108,435	12 %	1,002,037	89 %	5,308,483	16.8 %
1810	1,191,362	186,466	15 %	1,377,808	86 %	7,239,881	16.4 %
1820	1,538,022	233,634	15 %	1,772,656	86.8 %	9,638,453	15.9 %
1830	2,009,043	319,599	15.9 %	2,328,642	86 %	12,860,702	15.6 %
1840	2,487,355	386,293	15.5 %	2,873,648	86.5 %	17,063,353	14.5 %
1850	3,204,313	434,495	13.5 %	3,638,808	88 %	23,191,876	13.8 %
1860	3,953,760	488,070	12 %	4,441,830	89 %	31,443,321	12.5 %
1870	0	4,880,009	0	4,880,009	0	38,558,371	0

Reference: "Historical Census Browser," [University of Virginia Library](http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/state.php) [on-line]; available from <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/state.php>; Internet; accessed 13 October2008.

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