Source: Maps created from various sources.

Railroads in 1860

Slave Density and Cotton Production, 1860

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Resources of the Union and the Confederacy, 1861

- **Total Population**
  - North: 23,000,000
  - South: 8,700,000

- **Slave Population**
  - North: Free States 0
  - Border States 430,000
  - South: 3,500,000

- **Industrial Workers**
  - North: 1,300,000
  - South: 110,000

- **Yearly Value of Manufactured Goods**
  - North: $1,500,000,000
  - South: $155,000,000

- **Railroad Mileage**
  - North: 22,000
  - South: 9,000

- **Cotton (bales)**
  - North: 0
  - South: 5,000,000

- **Corn (bushels)**
  - North: 396,000,000
  - South: 280,000,000

Document C


It is a fact well known to every intelligent Southerner that we are compelled to go to the North for almost every article of utility and adornment, from matches, shoepins and paintings up to cotton-mills, steamships and ...; that we have no foreign trade, no princely merchants, nor respectable artists; that, in comparison with the free states, we contribute nothing to the literature, polite arts and inventions of the age; that, for want of profitable employment at home, large numbers of our native population find themselves necessitated to emigrate to the West, whilst the free states retain not only the larger proportion of those born within their own limits, but induce, annually, hundreds of thousands of foreigners to settle and remain amongst them; that almost everything produced at the North meets with ready sale, while, at the same time, there is no demand, even among our own citizens, for the productions of Southern industry; and that we are dependent on Northern capitalists for the means necessary to build our railroads, canals and other public improvements....

Note: Hinton Helper was a well known political writer from North Carolina.

Document D


It appears ... that last year (1857) the United States exported in round numbers $279,000,000 worth of domestic products. Of this amount $158,000,000 worth is the clear produce of the South; articles (like cotton and rice) that are not and cannot be made at the North.

In addition to this, we sent to the North $30,000,000 worth of cotton, which is not counted in the exports. We sent her $7 or $8,000,000 worth of tobacco, which is not counted in the exports. We sent naval stores, lumber, rice, and many other minor articles. There is no doubt that we sent to the North $40,000,000... if I am right in my calculations, ...there is not a nation on earth, with any numerous population, that can compete with us on produce per capita.

... 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 to make war upon it. Cotton is king.
Document E


... a State, as a party to the constitutional compact, has the right to secede, – acting in the same capacity in which it ratified the constitution .... All this results, necessarily, from the nature of a compact between sovereign parties.

Document F


I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination.
Document G


Document Note: This passage is from a speech given by the famous African-American abolitionist, Frederick Douglass. Douglass was himself an escaped slave from Maryland. His audience was almost entirely white Northerners. Douglass was 34 at the time.

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

Document H

Source: George Fitzhugh, Cannibals All! Or Slaves Without Masters, Richmond, Virginia, 1857.

The Negro slaves of the South are the happiest, and, in some sense, the freest people in the world. The children and the aged infirm work not at all, and yet have all the comforts and necessities of life provided for them. They enjoy liberty, because they are oppressed neither by care nor labor. The women do little hard work, and are protected from the despotism of their husbands by their masters. The Negro men and stout boys work, on the average, in good weather, not more than nine hours a day. The balance of their time is spent in perfect abandon. Besides, they have their Sabbaths and holidays. White men, with so much of license and liberty would die of ennui; but Negroes luxuriate in corporeal and mental repose. With their faces upturned to the sun, they can sleep at any hour; and quiet sleep is the greatest of human enjoyments....

...We do not know if free laborers ever sleep. They are fools to do so; for whilst they sleep, the wily and watchful capitalist is devising means to ensnare and exploit (sic) them. The free laborer must work or starve. He is more of a slave than the Negro, because he works longer and harder for less allowance than the slave, and has no holiday, because the cares of life begin when its labors end. He has no liberty, and not a single right.... Free laborers have not a thousandth part of the rights and liberties of the Negro slaves. Indeed, they have not a single liberty, unless it be the right or liberty to die.

Note: Fitzhugh was a sociologist from North Carolina. Cannibals All! was one of his most famous books.
The Reaction to John Brown

... On the night of October 16, 1859, (John Brown) led a band of 18 men, black and white, into Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). His aim was to seize the federal arsenal there, distribute the captured arms to slaves in the area, and start a general slave uprising.

No such uprising occurred, though. Instead, local troops killed eight of Brown’s men. Then a detachment of U.S. marines, commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee, killed two more of the raiders, and captured Brown. Brown was turned over to Virginia to be tried for treason.

... On December 2, 1859, Brown was hanged for treason in the presence of federal troops and a crowd of curious observers. Public reaction was immediate and intense in both sections of the country. Although Lincoln and (Stephen) Douglas condemned Brown as a murderer, many other Northerners expressed admiration for him or his cause. The raid itself may have been the work of a madman, they acknowledged, but Brown’s motive was “sublime.”

Bells tolled at the news of his execution, guns fired salutes, and large crowds gathered to hear fiery speakers denounce the South. Some Northerners began to call Brown a martyr for the sacred cause of freedom. A martyr is someone killed for a righteous belief.

The response was equally extreme in the South, where outraged mobs assaulted whites who were suspected of holding antislavery views. Harpers Ferry terrified Southern whites, who were convinced the North was plotting slave uprisings everywhere. Even long-time supporters of the Union called for secession. As one former Unionist explained, “I am willing to take the chances of ... disunion, sooner than submit any longer to Northern insolence and Northern outrage.”
Document J

Source: Map created from various sources.

Document Note: When the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 was passed, the Missouri Compromise Line of 1820 was repealed. The act organized the Kansas-Nebraska territories on the principle of popular sovereignty. This meant that white settlers moving into the territories from the North and the South would decide if Kansas and/or Nebraska would be free or slave. A bitter contest followed between pro-slavery and anti-slavery supporters for the control of Kansas. In fact, many Southerners arrived with weapons ready to fight to ensure Kansas became a slave state. Six died in Bleeding Kansas.

Kansas - Nebraska Act
Document K


Document Note: On May 19 and 20, 1856 Senator Charles Sumner, an abolitionist from Massachusetts, delivered a long speech entitled "The Crime Against Kansas." The occasion was the Senate debate over the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Sumner attacked pro-slavery men as "hirelings from the drunken spawn and vomit of an uneasy civilization." He then went on to insult South Carolina and one of its Senators, the well-liked Senator Andrew Butler.

Two days after the speech, Butler's kinsman, Preston Brooks, himself a member of the House of Representatives, burst in to the Senate chambers and beat Sumner with a cane. Sumner's injuries were serious enough that he had to retire from the Senate for three years. Sympathetic Southerners sent Brooks dozens of gold-headed canes to replace the one he broke over Sumner's head. Northerners published thousands of copies of Sumner's speech and vilified "Bully Brooks."

SOUTHERN CHIVALRY — ARGUMENT VERSUS CLUB'S.
Document L


Document Note: Dred Scott was a slave whose owner had taken him from a slave state to the free North to live for several years. After returning to Missouri, Scott sued for his freedom on the grounds that he had become free by living in free territory. His case eventually made it to the US Supreme Court where all eyes, North and South, eagerly awaited a verdict.

The question is simply this: Can a Negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community.

... (T)he legislation and the histories of the times and the language used in the Declaration of Independence, show, that neither ... slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were ... a part of the people.... They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, whether in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.... And, accordingly, a Negro of the African race was regarded by them as an article of property....

... (T)he fifth amendment to the Constitution... provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law.... (I)t is the opinion of this court that the Act of Congress (the Missouri Compromise) which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind (slaves) in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void.

Document M

Source: Abraham Lincoln, speech when accepting the Republican nomination for US Senator from Illinois, June 16, 1858, Springfield, Illinois.

...We are now far into the fifth year since a policy (the Kansas-Nebraska Act) was initiated ... of putting an end to slavery agitation.... In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved – I do not expect the house to fall – but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition? ...Let anyone who doubts carefully contemplate ... the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision.

... Two years ago (in the 1856 election) the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger... We shall not fail – if we stand firm, we shall not fail.... (S)ooner or later, the victory is sure to come.
Election of 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate (Party)</th>
<th>Home State of Candidate</th>
<th>Platform</th>
<th>Electoral Vote</th>
<th>Percent of Popular Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abraham Lincoln (Republican)</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>Against expansion of slavery</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>39.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>J.C. Breckenridge (Southern Democrat)</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>Pro-slavery; no talk of secession</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stephen A. Douglas (Northern Democrat)</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>Popular sovereignty</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Bell (Constitutional Union)</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>Hold Union together: pro-Southern rights</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.6</td>
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</tbody>
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