

MENTA.

I do not, then, hesitate to avow before this House and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you [northerners] seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico, purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, and to abolish slavery in this District [Washington, D.C.] thereby attempting to fix national degradation upon half the states of this Confederacy, I am for disunion. And if my physical courage be equal to the maintenance of my convictions or right and duty, I will devote all I am and all I have on earth to its consummation.

Congressman Robert Toombs of Georgia,

Response on the floor of the House to northern efforts to keep slavery out of the territories, December 13, 1849

MENTA.

Sir, there are those abolition societies, of which I am unwilling to speak, but in regard to which I have very clear notions and opinions. I do not think them useful. I think their operations of the last twenty years have produced nothing good or valuable.

I do not mean to impute gross motives even to the leaders of these societies, but I am not blind to the consequences. I cannot but see what mischiefs their interference with the South has produced. . . .

These abolition societies commenced their course of action in 1835. It is said—I do not know how true it may be—that they sent incendiary publications into the slave states. At any event, they attempted to arouse, and did arouse, a very strong feeling. In other words, they created great agitation in the North against Southern slavery.

Daniel Webster,

Speech in the Senate supporting the  
Compromise of 1850, March 7, 1850

MENTA.

Tom spoke in a mild voice, but with a decision that could not be mistaken. Legree shook with anger, his greenish eyes glared fiercely, and his very whiskers seemed to curl with passion. But, like some ferocious beast, that plays with its victim before he devours it, he kept back his strong impulse to proceed to immediate violence, and broke into bitter rallery.

"Well, here's a pious dog, at last, let down among us sinners!—a saint, a gentleman, and no less, to talk to us sinners about our sins! Powerful holy critter, he must be! Here, you rascal, you make to believe to be so pious—didn't you never hear, out of yer Bible, 'Servants, obey yer masters'? An't I yer master? Didn't I pay down twelve hundred dollars, cash, for all there is inside yer old cussed black shell? An't yer mine now body and soul?" he said, giving Tom a violent kick with his heavy boot; "tell me!"

In the very depth of physical suffering, bowed by brutal oppression, this question shot a gleam of joy and triumph through Tom's soul. He suddenly stretched himself up, and looking earnestly to heaven, while the tears and blood that flowed down his face mingled, he exclaimed,

"No! no! no! my soul an't yours, Mas'r! You haven't bought it—ye can't buy it! It's been bought and paid for by One that is able to keep it. No matter, no matter, you can't harm me!"

"I can't!" said Legree, with a sneer, "we'll see—we'll see! Here, Sambo, Qimbo, give this dog such a breakin' in as he wot't get over this month!"

Harriet Beecher Stowe,

Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1852

MENTA.

Why . . . can we not withdraw this vexed question from politics? Why can we not adopt the principle of this bill as a rule of action in all new territorial organizations? Why can we not deprive these agitators of their vocation, and render it impossible for senators to come here upon bargains on the slavery question? . . . leave the people, under the Constitution, to do as they may see proper in respect to their own internal affairs. . . . The bill does equal and exact justice to the whole Union, and every part of it, it violates the rights of no state or territory . . . and leaves the people thereof to the free enjoyment of all their rights.

Speech of Stephen Douglas

defending the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854

	Senate			House		
	Majority Party	Principal Minority Party	Other	Majority Party	Principal Minority Party	Other
1849-1851	D 35	W 25	2	D 112	W 109	9
1851-1853	D 35	W 24	3	D 140	W 88	5
1853-1855	D 36	W 22	2	D 159	W 71	4
1855-1857	D 40	R 15	5	R 108	D 83	43
1857-1859	D 36	R 20	8	D 118	R 92	26
1859-1861	D 36	R 26	4	R 114	D 92	31

U.S. Government Printing Office,  
*Historical Statistics of the United States, 1873*

"A house divided against itself can not stand." I believe this Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Abraham Lincoln,  
 Speech at the Republican state convention,  
 Springfield, Illinois, June 17, 1858

In my opinion our government can endure forever, divided into free and slave States as our fathers made it,—each State having the

right to prohibit, abolish, or sustain slavery, just as it pleases. Thus government was made upon the great basis of the sovereignty of the states, the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself and that right was conferred with the understanding and expectation that, inasmuch as each locality had separate interests, each locality must have different and distinct local and domestic institutions, corresponding to its wants and interests. Our fathers knew, when they made the government, that the laws and institutions which were well adapted to the green mountains of Vermont, were unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina.

Stephen Douglas,  
 Speech at Alton, Illinois, October 15, 1858

If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did at least, begin the war that ended slavery....  
 The irrepressible conflict was one of words, votes, and compromises. When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared... and the clash of arms was at hand.

Frederick Douglass,  
 Speech at Storrs College,  
 Harpers Ferry, Virginia, May, 1862

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

For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the forms of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the Executive Department, the

means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that "Government can not endure permanently half slave [and] half free," and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

A Declaration of the Causes Which Induce

Document A

Source: Speech given at the Republican State Convention, 1858.

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Document B

Source: First Inaugural Address, 1861.

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.

Document C

Source: Speech given at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1863.

It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Document D

Source: Second Inaugural Address, 1865.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, urgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish, and the war came...

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Document  $\text{\textcircled{J}}$ : J

"Let us discard [get rid of] all this quibbling [arguing] about this man and the other man, this race and that race and the other race being inferior [lower], and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal."

Chicago, IL 9  
Abraham Lincoln giving a speech in ~~New York~~, July 1858

Document  $\text{\textcircled{K}}$ : K

"I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races . . . while they [blacks and whites] do remain together there must be the position of superior [higher] and inferior [lower], and I . . . am in favor of [want] having the superior position assigned [given] to the white race."

Charleston, IL 18,  
Abraham Lincoln giving a speech in ~~Virginia~~, September 1858

Document  $\text{\textcircled{L}}$ : L

"My paramount [main] objective in this struggle [the Civil War] is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy Slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slavers, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about Slavery and the colored race [blacks], I do because it helps to save the Union . . . I have stated here my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no [change] of my . . . personal wish that all men, everywhere, could be free."

Abraham Lincoln, August 1862

Document  $\text{\textcircled{M}}$ : M

"That on the first day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State [in which the people are] in rebellion against the United States shall be then, henceforward and forever free . . ."

President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, September 1862

Document  $\text{\textcircled{N}}$ : N

Thirteenth Amendment

"Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude (forced work), except as a punishment for crime where of the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction (place owned by the U.S.).

Section 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."