

Heritage Defense

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The War for Southern Independence, 1861-1865, was the culmination of many complex causes and factors. Slavery was not a direct or proximate cause of the war; rather, it was intertwined with these other complex issues and factors that led to the war:

- Centralized Federal Power versus States Rights. The war was fought by the Northern Federal Government to trample the original intent of the Constitution in order to establish a much more powerful central government in violation of our Founding Fathers' intent.
- Regional economic, political and social differences between the Agricultural South and the Industrialized North. Dating from the earliest colonial times, the development of society in the northern and southern sections of the country diverged significantly. By 1860, the nation had two distinct sections of the country, often at odds with each other over political, economic, and cultural issues. Up until then, compromises had kept the Union intact, but the sectional animosity and distrust finally became so great that a split could not be avoided.
- Sectional tariffs on imported goods implemented on Southern States by the Federal Government. The collected tariffs were used to fund public projects in the North such as improvements to roads, harbors and rivers. From 1789 to 1845, the North received five times the amount of money that was spent on southern projects. More than twice as many lighthouses were built in the North as in the South, and northern states received twice the southern appropriations for coastal defense. In 1861 Lincoln was asked "why not let the South go in peace?" He replied by saying "I can't let them go. Who would pay for the government?"
- It was really a war about political power and economic dominance. It wasn't slavery, as such, that the North really objected to. Rather it was the Southern States' vocal opposition to the growing Northern appetite for Federal money.
- Control of Western Territories: Congress passed laws against slavery in western states and territories that Southerners considered punitive. These political actions told Southerners they were not welcome in the new states and territories. It was all about control and Congressional power; slavery was merely a scapegoat.
- Northern industrialists wanted the South's resources: Some industrialists wanted war as an excuse to get the South's resources for pennies on the dollar.
- The election of Lincoln as president in 1860: Lincoln received only 39.8% of the popular vote and 59% of the electoral votes. He did not receive a single Southern Electoral Vote as Southern States believed that Lincoln favored Northern interests. In between Lincoln's election and his inauguration, seven states seceded from the Union: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.
- Northern aggression against Southern States: Original correspondence between President Lincoln and U.S. Agent Naval Captain G.V. Fox shows that Lincoln acted with deceit and willfully provoked South Carolina into firing on Fort Sumter (a Tariff Collection Facility). It was politically important that the South be provoked into firing the first shot so that Lincoln could claim the Confederacy started the war.

NOTE: Fort Sumter presented Lincoln with a series of dilemmas. If he took action to maintain the fort, he would lose the border South and a large segment of northern opinion which wanted to conciliate the South. If he abandoned the fort, he jeopardized the Union by legitimizing the Confederacy. Lincoln also hazarded losing the support of a substantial portion of his own Republican Party, and risked appearing a weak and ineffective leader. Lincoln could escape these

predicaments, however, if he could induce The South to attack Fort Sumter, "to assume the aggressive and thus put themselves in the wrong in the eyes of the North and of the world." By sending a relief expedition, ostensibly to provide bread to a hungry garrison, Lincoln turned the tables on the Confederates, forcing them to choose whether to permit the fort to be strengthened, or to act as the aggressor. By this "astute strategy," Lincoln maneuvered the South into firing the first shot.

History of Slavery

- Africans have practiced slavery since ancient times. In most cases, the slaves had been captured in warfare and sold to Arab traders of northern Africa. The Europeans obtained slaves from black Africans who sold their war captives or traded them for rum, cloth, and other items, especially guns.
- It is extraordinary, considering that less than 5% of all the Trans-Atlantic slaves ended up in North America that the vast majority of films, books and articles concerning the slave trade concentrate only on the American involvement in the slave trade, as though slavery was a uniquely American aberration. However, the vastly greater involvement of Portugal, Spain and France seem to be largely ignored. Even more so, the far greater and longer running Islamic slave trade into the Middle East has been so ignored as to make it one of history's best-kept secrets.
- Slavery was officially established in Virginia in 1654, when Anthony Johnson, a black man, convinced a court that his servant (also black) John Casor was his for life. Johnson himself had been brought to Virginia some years earlier as an indentured servant (a person who must work to repay a debt, or on contract for so many years in exchange for food and shelter) but he saved enough money to buy out the remainder of his contract and that of his wife. The court ruled in Johnson's favor, and the very first officially state-recognized slave existed in Virginia. (Listverse.com)
- Some of the richest and most prominent northeastern families in America made their fortunes in the slave trade; the Fanueils, Royalls, and Cabots of Massachusetts; the Wantons, Browns (for whom Brown University is named), the Dewolf's and Champlins of Rhode Island; the Whipples of New Hampshire; the Eastons of Connecticut; Robert Morris (signer of the Declaration of Independence, The Articles of Confederation, and the U.S. Constitution) of Philadelphia. Ezra Stiles imported slaves while president of Yale University.
- The North shed slavery because it was uneconomical, not because it was immoral. If cotton could have been grown in New York, Illinois, or any other state, they would have been pro-slavery. Racial hatred and notions of black inferiority permeated the white North which dreaded a migration of blacks. Even though the North had tiny black populations accounting for one to two percent of the total, blacks were not allowed to vote and were relegated overwhelmingly to poverty, separate communities, condescension, and overt discrimination. The North fully subscribed to a belief in black inferiority. Anti-slavery movements were, in large part, anti-black. Northerners did not want slavery to expand into the new Western states, but they also deeply opposed free black migration. This brute racial animosity had important consequences after the Civil War and is a reliable guide to the results of Reconstruction.

Slavery and the American Civil War

- Slavery, regardless of morality and the repugnancy of the system, was legal under the Constitution at the time of the war. (Jim Huston, Dean Emeritus of Lynchburg College)
- The War for Southern Independence was not a "Moral Crusade" to end slavery. It was all about Economics and Political Power.
- Slavery was a National Institution/Phenomenon not a regional one.

- The Slave Trade was started in New England and it created great wealth for Northerners
- New York City of 1860 was largely built on slave produced cotton
- The New England Textile Industry was built on slave produced cotton
- Northern Banks financed The Slave Trade (shipping, slaves, agricultural land and insurance)
- Up through 1860, 75-90% of Federal Revenue came from Southern exports of slave produced cotton
- There was never any nationally funded federal program to emancipate slaves, compensate slave holders or integrate free Africans into American Society
- Rampant racism existed throughout the Northern and Western States and Territories
- The Northern States and Lincoln pushed hard for colonization of freed blacks as the only solution to the slavery issue
- Only the South accepted the African population as part of its society
- Lincoln's emotional and political campaign of "No Slavery in the West" was really about keeping free blacks out of the West.

NOTE: All Northern and Western States and Territories passed extremely harsh Black Exclusionary Laws/Black Codes in order to keep free blacks confined to the South. . As a result, 90% of all blacks lived in the South up until the eve of World War I.

- Although Northerners and Westerners were anti-slavery, they were more significantly, virulently anti-black.
- Lincoln believed blacks were inferior to whites, supported Illinois' particularly harsh Black Codes and was a strong supporter of colonization of blacks outside of America. Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his wife virtually adopted a five year old black child named Jim Limber in 1864 after Mrs. Davis rescued him from his black guardian (who was savagely beating him in the streets of Richmond). Mrs. Davis took him home, treated his wounds and made him a member of the Davis Household. President Davis arranged for him to be freed from slavery. Union officers took Jim away from the Davis's when they fled Richmond after General Lee's surrender, despite pleas by the Davis's and Jim to let him stay with them. Although Mrs. Davis searched for him in vain for years, they never saw him again.
- Northern merchants, bankers, brokers, mills and financiers profited far more from the cotton trade than did the cotton growers in the South.
- Slave produced cotton propelled New York to commercial dominance in the 1800's
- Slave produced cotton made America an international economic power
- New York was heavily involved in the Slave Trade until the Civil War forced it to stop
- Anti-black sentiment in New York City erupted during the Draft Riots of 1863. Whites rampaged through the streets, lynched blacks and burned the Colored Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue.
- While the South provided the cotton, the North provided for all other commercial and industrial aspects of the cotton economy (financing, mills, shipping, insurance, brokers, etc.)
- The issue of slavery in the Western Expansion of America was really about who would have political power in Congress and not a national moral issue.

NOTE: The North wanted to control Western States and Territories such as Kansas and Nebraska. New England formed Immigrant Aid Societies and sent settlers to these areas that were politically attached to the North. They passed laws that Southerners considered punitive. These political actions told Southerners they were not welcome in the new states and territories. These states and territories would be politically aligned with Northern interests and would vote with the North on future legislation and appropriations. It was all about control of Congress and federal money.

- Slavery did not become an issue until late 1862, when it appeared that the South could actually

win the war and other countries were debating whether to actively support the South. After a then rare Northern victory, Lincoln shifted the focus of the war from just preserving the Union to a fight against slavery. This did not sit well with many Northern soldiers or the North at large, but it kept the great foreign powers out of the conflict (this was critical to the northern victory).

- General Grant kept slaves to take care of his wife while he was away fighting to end this supposed root cause of the war.
- Major Robert Anderson, the Union commander of Fort Sumter in April of 1861, was from Kentucky and was a slave owner.

Interesting Quotes

- "Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable and most sacred right - a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own, of so many of the territory as they inhabit." -Abraham Lincoln January 12, 1848.
- "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery." -Abraham Lincoln in letter to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862.
- "If I thought this war would free the negro I would put my sword in its scabbard and go home." -General Ulysses S. Grant
- "The sole object of this war is to restore the Union. Should I be convinced it has any other object, or that the government designs using its soldiers to execute the wishes of the abolitionists, I pledge to you my honor as a man and a soldier I would resign my commission and carry my sword to the other side." -General Ulysses S. Grant, in a letter to the Chicago Tribune, 1862
- "There are at present many Coloured men in the Confederate Army doing duty not only as cooks, servants and labourers, but real soldiers, having muskets on their shoulders, and bullets in their pockets." - Frederick Douglas, Autumn Of 1861
- "That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." -Declaration of Independence, 1776
- "But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." -Declaration of Independence, 1776
- "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence." -United States Constitution Article 4, Section 4

Secession and The United States Constitution

- The 10th Amendment to the US Constitution, which is part of the Bill of Rights and was ratified on December 15, 1791 states that “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.” Secession is not mentioned in the Constitution, thus, the States retained the right to secede.
- Interestingly, in the current debate over individual states’ debts and bankruptcy, states are not allowed to seek protection in federal bankruptcy courts precisely because states are considered “sovereign”. As the New York Times stated on 1/21/11 “Unlike cities, the states are barred from seeking protection in federal bankruptcy court. Any effort to change that status would have to clear high constitutional hurdles because the states are considered sovereign.”
- The Eleventh Amendment has also been interpreted in an 1890 case, *Hans v. Louisiana*, to provide state governments with sovereign immunity even to lawsuits brought in federal court by citizens of the state being sued. Sovereign immunity – the immunity of a sovereign government from being sued against its will – is part of our system of government. Those who argue that the Southern States could not have legally seceded because they were not “Sovereign States” are clearly wrong on this point.

Interesting Statistics

- One of the ironies of history is that during the early part of the nineteenth century, "the South seemed to lead in anti-slavery societies and speeches." (Quote is by Alice Dana Adams, Radcliffe College, 1908, p29). Susan Ellis notes that in 1827 "out of the known 130 [anti-slavery] groups, 106 were southern." Terry Matthews states: "from 1808-1831, the South was the leader in the anti-slavery movement with the opposition to slavery being better organized in the South than in the North. (Efforts Toward Compromise Went Unheeded: by Bob Shepherd)
- According to the 1860 U.S. census, about 385,000 individuals (i.e. 1.4% of White Americans in the country, or 4.8% of Southern whites) owned one or more slaves. This equates to about 25% of Southern white families that actually owned slaves.
- Of a population of more than eight million whites in the South, only about 385,000 were slaveholders. How do you explain the rush of half a million men, most of whom were not slaveholders, to the armies to defend the South? (Jim Huston, Dean Emeritus of Lynchburg College)
- According to the U.S. census, 2% of free Southern blacks owned slaves in 1860.
- 3,000 to 4,000 blacks owned slaves in America. A freed black man named William Ellison Jr. owned a plantation with slaves, near Stateburg, S.C. He invented a cotton gin which local planters declared to be better than Eli Whitney's. (Jim Huston, Dean Emeritus of Lynchburg College)
- The country's leading African American historian, Duke University professor John Hope Franklin, records that in New Orleans over 3,000 free Negroes owned slaves, or 28 percent of the free Negroes in that city. (Dixie’s Censored Subject: Black Slave Owners, By Robert M. Grooms)
- In 1860 there were at least six Negroes in Louisiana who owned 65 or more slaves The largest number, 152 slaves, were owned by the widow C. Richards and her son P.C. Richards, who owned a large sugar cane plantation. Another Negro slave magnate in Louisiana, with over 100 slaves, was Antoine Dubuclet, a sugar planter whose estate was valued at (in 1860 dollars) \$264,000 (3). That year, the mean wealth of southern white men was \$3,978. (Robert M. Grooms)
- In Charleston, South Carolina in 1860, 125 free Negroes owned slaves; six of them owned 10 or more. Of the \$1.5 million in taxable property owned by free Negroes in Charleston, more than

\$300,000 represented slave holdings. In North Carolina 69 free Negroes were slave owners.
(Robert M. Grooms)

- Koger (1995) refers to the fact that "in 1860, some 3,000 blacks owned nearly 20,000 black slaves [in the southern states]. (Baepfer, 1999). (Unspoken Reality: Black Slaveholders Prior to the Civil War, Yuliya Tikhomirova and Lucia Desir, Mercy College)

The Emancipation Proclamation

- President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, as the United States was facing a third year of civil war. The proclamation, which became effective on January 1, 1863, declared "that all persons held as slaves within the rebellious States are, and henceforth shall be free."
- The Emancipation Proclamation actually freed few slaves. It did not apply to slaves in Border States fighting on the Union side (Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia, Delaware); nor did it affect slaves in southern areas already under Union control.
- Virginia was named, but exemptions were specified for the 48 counties that were in the process of forming West Virginia, as well as seven other named counties and two cities. Also specifically exempted were New Orleans and thirteen named parishes of Louisiana, all of which were already mostly under Federal control.
- The Emancipation Proclamation did not end slavery in America: this was achieved by the passage of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution on Dec. 18, 1865.

Why the States Seceded from the Union (From Confederate States' Ordinances of Secession)

- The election, by a sectional party, of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin to the offices of president and vice-president of the United States of America.
- Sectional power of Washington City
- Dangerous infractions of the Constitution by the Federal Government
- The Federal Government violated and perverted its Constitutional Limits
- Violation of the compact between the States and the guarantees of the Constitution
- The Government of the United States utterly ignored the Constitution, subverted the Government as constructed and intended by its makers, and established a despotic and arbitrary power instead.
- Usurpation of States' Rights by the Federal Government
- Illegal seizure of property by the Federal Government
- Suspension of Writ of Habeas Corpus
- The Federal Government's Failure to defend states against invasion
- The Federal Government invaded a state with a hostile Army
- The Federal Government waged war on its own citizens

Why Southerners Fought

- Southerners sought to secede from the Union peacefully, much as the united colonies had sought to secede from Great Britain 85 years earlier. Note: New England formed several serious "Secession Movements" from 1804-1814. The North invaded the South over secession!
- Southerners fought to defend their homes and families against an invading army when the federal government resorted to force against the seceding states.
- Very few Confederate soldiers owned slaves. Most of them came from the "humbler ranks of manual labor." More than half were farmers, but most were landless tenants. Just think about it; it would make absolutely no sense for a soldier to leave his wife and children to face the chance of

being killed and leaving his family without a father and provider solely in order to maintain the institution of slavery.

- If you read Lincoln's first inaugural address from 1861, you will discover that Lincoln supported a bill that would have given the South a way to stay in the Union with slavery protected by a Constitutional amendment. If the South's only intention in seceding from the Union was to keep their slaves, wouldn't they have accepted such a deal?

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