

Moral Argument vs. Legal Argument

The Question of Slavery

Fredrick Douglass /John C. Calhoun

Moral Argument vs. Legal Argument (U.S. Slavery)

Standards

National Standards for History

Era 4: Expansion and Reform

Standard 4: The sources and character of cultural, religious, and social reform movements in the antebellum period.

4A: The student understands the abolitionist movement.

Therefore, the student is able to:

7-12: Analyze changing ideas about race and assess the reception of proslavery and antislavery ideologies in the North and South.[Examine the influence of ideas]

Ohio K-12 Social Studies -Benchmarks and Indicators by Standard

Benchmarks By the end of the 11-12 program:

Social Studies Skills and Methods

- A. Obtain and evaluate information from public records and other resources related to a public policy issue.
- B. Critique data and information to determine the adequacy of support for conclusions.

History

Civil War and Reconstruction

9. Explain causes of the Civil War with emphasis on:

- a. Slavery;
- b. States' rights;

People in Societies

- 4. Analyze the economic, geographic, religious and political factors that contributed to:
 - b. Resistance to slavery.

Focus/Concept:

Identify, evaluate and analyze the motives, morals, and legal issues in historical documents

Measurable Outcome:

The student will be able to:

- A.** Analyze the speeches
- B.** Identify respective motive for the speeches as they relate to the issue of slavery
- C.** Analyze and evaluate those motives to their respective-moral and the legal issues

Primary Source:

A. Excerpt from “The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro,” a speech by Frederick Douglass, at Rochester, New York, July 5th, 1852.

B. Excerpt from “The Southern Address,” a manifesto written by John C. Calhoun in 1849, signed by 48 members of Congress

Overview: The purpose of this lesson is to allow the student to examine and analyze Two (2) primary sources documents (Speeches of Frederick Douglass and John C. Calhoun) Using SOAPSTONE focus on the moral and legal conflicts. Complete essay that gives his/her findings of these two (2) documents and show how They contributed to the United States History. Regarding the moral and legal conflicts – Answer the question, “What are the lasting affects, if any?”

Lesson Implementation: Previous Lessons on the Slavery - Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution (Articles), Middle Passage, Advantage of African Labor, African Diaspora, Seasoning, Plantation Crop, Economic involvements of the Northern and Southern States in U.S. slavery, Abolitionism,

Day 1

Introduction: The growth of Abolitionism escalated the conflict over the questions of slavery. As a class we are going to read to opposing opinion on the moral and legal argument on the question of slavery as presented in speeches of Fredrick Douglass and John C. Calhoun. And how each used either the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution to support their respective arguments.

1. Homework -Read the biography of Fredrick Douglass and John C. Calhoun. Compare the lives (worksheet for non-honor class)

Day 2

2. In class - Discuss the lives of Fredrick Douglass and John C. Calhoun. Discuss morality and legality – “Just cause you can, should you!” Which is more important morality or legality?

3. Homework - Read:
Honors must read entire excerpt - **Non-honors** must read highlighted passages.

Excerpt from “The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro,” a speech **by Frederick Douglass**

Excerpt from “The Southern Address,” a manifesto written by **John C. Calhoun**

4. Homework
SOAPSTONE - the documents for Excerpt from “The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro” & Excerpt from “The Southern Address”.

Day 3

5. a. Class discussion on the their individual SOAPSTONE.
- b. Construct a class collective SOAPSTONE of these two (2) documents
- c. Class discussion - created list of morality and legality issues in the speeches.
- d. look at how the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution was used to support their position
- e. Ticket out – What are the strong similarities pick 2-3?
What are the strong contradictions pick 2-3?

Day 4

6. Students will write a two (2) to 3 (three) pages essay on the validity of these two documents and why they created such a conflict.

Assessment: Student will write minimum two paragraphs - “Does this conflict have any long lasting effects on U.S. History and does this conflict affects Americans today?”

Resources:

Biography of Frederick Douglass
Biography of John C. Calhoun
SOAPSTONE for “The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro”
SOAPSTONE for “Southern Address”
Speech-Frederick Douglass-“The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro”
Manifesto -John C. Calhoun- “The Address”

Other:

American National Biography

<http://www.anb.org/articles/home.html>



Frederick Douglass

Douglass, Frederick (Feb. 1818-20 Feb. 1895), abolitionist, civil rights activist, and reform journalist, was born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey near Easton, Maryland, the son of Harriet Bailey, a slave, and an unidentified white man. Although a slave, he spent the first six years of his life in the cabin of his maternal grandparents, with only a few stolen nighttime visits by his mother. His real introduction to bondage came in 1824, when he was brought to the nearby wheat plantation of Colonel Edward Lloyd. Two years later he was sent to Baltimore to labor in the household of Hugh and Sophia Auld, where he remained for the next seven years. In spite of laws against slave literacy, Frederick secretly taught himself to read and write. He began studying discarded newspapers and learned of the growing national debate over slavery. And he attended local free black churches and found the sight of black men reading and speaking in public a moving experience. At about age thirteen he bought a popular rhetoric text and carefully worked through the exercises, mastering the preferred public speaking style of the time.

Literacy and a growing social consciousness made Frederick into an unruly bondsman. In 1833, after being taken by master Thomas Auld to a plantation near St. Michael's, Maryland, he organized a secret school for slaves, but it was discovered and broken up by a mob of local whites. To discipline Frederick, Auld hired him out to a local farmer who had a reputation as a "slave breaker." Instead he became increasingly defiant and refused to allow himself to be whipped. Hired out to another local farmer, he again organized a secret school for slaves. Before long, he and his pupils had plotted to escape to the free state of Pennsylvania, but this too was discovered. Expecting further trouble from Frederick, Auld returned him to Baltimore in 1836 and hired him out to a local shipyard to learn the caulking trade. Taking advantage of the relative liberty afforded by the city, Frederick joined a self-improvement society of free black caulkers that regularly debated the major social and intellectual questions of the day.

After an unsuccessful attempt to buy his freedom, Frederick escaped from slavery in September 1838. Dressed as a sailor and carrying the free papers of a black seaman he had met on the streets of Baltimore, he traveled by train and steamboat to New York. There he married Anna Murray, a free black domestic

servant from Baltimore who had encouraged his escape. They soon settled in the seaport of New Bedford, Massachusetts, where Frederick found employment as a caulker and outfitter for whaling ships, and began a family; two daughters and three sons were born to the union in a little more than a decade. At the urging of a local black abolitionist, he adopted the surname Douglass to disguise his background and confuse slave catchers. He also joined the local African Methodist Episcopal Zion church and became an active lay leader and exhorter.

Soon after arriving in New Bedford, Frederick Douglass was drawn to the emerging antislavery movement. He began to read the *Liberator*, a leading abolitionist journal edited by William Lloyd Garrison, and to attend antislavery meetings in local black churches, occasionally speaking out about his slave experiences. His remarks at an August 1841 convention of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society on Nantucket Island brought him to the attention of Garrison and other leading white abolitionists. Society officials, impressed by Douglass's eloquence and imposing presence, hired him as a lecturing agent. Over the next two years, during which time he moved his family to Lynn, Massachusetts, he made hundreds of speeches for the society before antislavery audiences throughout New England and New York State. In 1843 he joined other leading abolitionist speakers on the One Hundred Conventions tour, which sought to strengthen abolitionist sentiment in upstate New York, Ohio, Indiana, and western Pennsylvania. His oratorical skills brought him increasing recognition and respect within the movement. But antislavery lecturing was a hazardous business. Douglass and his colleagues were often subjected to verbal assaults, barrages of rotten eggs and vegetables, and mob violence. And, as a fugitive slave, his growing visibility placed him in constant danger of recapture. He had to conceal or gloss over certain details in his life story, including names, dates, and locations, to avoid jeopardizing his newfound freedom.

Douglass's growing sophistication as a speaker brought other difficulties in the mid-1840s. At first, his speeches were simple accounts of his life in bondage. But as he matured as an antislavery lecturer, he increasingly sought to provide a critical analysis of both slavery and northern racial prejudice. His eloquence and keen mind even led some to question whether he had ever been a slave. As Douglass's skills--combined with his circumspection--prompted critics to question his credibility, some white abolitionists feared that his effectiveness on the platform might be lost. They advised him to speak more haltingly and to hew to his earlier simple tale. One white colleague thought it "better to have a little of the plantation" in his speech (quoted in McFeely, p. 95).

Douglass bristled under such paternalistic tutelage. An answer was to publish an autobiography providing full details of his life that he had withheld. Although some friends argued against that course, fearing for his safety, Douglass sat down in the winter of 1844-1845 and wrote the story of his life. The result was the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself* (1845). The brief autobiography, which ran only to 144 pages, put his platform tale into print and reached a broad American and European audience. It sold more than 30,000 copies in the United States and Britain within five years and was translated into French, German, and Dutch. Along with his public lectures, "the *Narrative* made Frederick Douglass the most famous black person in the world" (David W. Blight, ed., *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* [1993], p. 16).

Although the *Narrative* enhanced Douglass's popularity and credibility, it increased the threat to his liberty. He was still a fugitive slave--but now one with a bestselling autobiography. Antislavery colleagues advised Douglass to travel to Britain to elude slave catchers, also hoping that his celebrity would mobilize British abolitionists to bring international pressure against American slavery. He sailed in August 1845 and remained abroad twenty months, lecturing to wildly enthusiastic audiences in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Douglass broadened his reform perspective, grew in confidence, and became increasingly self-reliant during this time. English antislavery friends eventually raised the funds necessary to purchase his freedom from the Aulds and permit his return home. They also collected monies to allow him to begin his own antislavery newspaper in the United States. In December 1847 Douglass moved his family to Rochester in the "burned-over district," a center of reform activity in upstate New York. There he launched the weekly reform journal *North Star*, which promoted abolitionism, African-American rights, temperance, women's rights, and a host of related reforms. Like his later journalistic ventures, it was well written and

carefully edited and carried Douglass's message to an international audience. While it served as a personal declaration of independence, it initiated an ever-widening rift between Douglass and his Garrisonian colleagues, who sensed that they were losing control of his immense talent.

Douglass's movement away from Garrisonian doctrine on antislavery strategy also signaled his growing independence. Unlike Garrison, who viewed moral suasionist appeals to individual conscience as the only appropriate tactic, Douglass was increasingly persuaded of the efficacy of politics and violence for ending bondage. He attended the Free Soil Convention in Buffalo in 1848 and endorsed its platform calling for a prohibition on the extension of slavery. In 1851 he merged the North Star with the Liberty Party Paper to form Frederick Douglass' Paper, which openly endorsed political abolitionism. This brought a final breach with the Garrisonians, who subjected him to a torrent of public attacks, including scandalous charges about his personal behavior. Nevertheless, Douglass endorsed the nascent Republican party and its moderate antislavery platform in the elections of 1856 and 1860. At the same time, he increasingly explored the possibilities of abolitionist violence. As early as 1849 Douglass endorsed slave violence, telling a Boston audience that he would welcome news that the slaves had revolted and "were engaged in spreading death and devastation" throughout the South (Benjamin Quarles, *Allies for Freedom* [1974], p. 67). After passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which put the federal government in the business of capturing and returning runaway slaves, he publicly urged resistance to the law, with violence if necessary. And he became active in the Underground Railroad, hiding numerous fugitives in his Rochester home and helping them on the way to Canada West (now Ontario). Douglass's growing attraction to violence is evident in his 1852 novella, *The Heroic Slave*, generally considered to be the first piece of African-American fiction, which glorified the leader of a bloody slave revolt. Later in the decade Douglass became involved in the planning for John Brown's 1859 raid at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, and secretly helped raise funds for the venture, although he thought it ill conceived. When the raid failed, he fled to Canada East (now Quebec), then on to England, fearing arrest on the charge of being Brown's accomplice. He returned home in 1860, disillusioned about African-American prospects in the United States, and planning to visit Haiti in order to explore the feasibility of black settlement there.

The coming of the Civil War revived Douglass's hopes. From the beginning of the conflict, he pressed President Abraham Lincoln to make emancipation a war goal and to allow black enlistment in the Union army. After Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863, Douglass spoke widely in support of the measure. Believing that military service might allow black men to demonstrate their patriotism and manhood, winning greater equality as well as helping to end slavery, he recruited for the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Colored Infantry, the first African-American regiment organized in the North. His stirring editorial, "Men of Color, to Arms," was often reprinted in northern newspapers and became a recruiting poster. Nevertheless, Douglass was disgusted by the government's failure to keep its recruiting promises and met with Lincoln to protest discrimination against black troops. Before long, the War Department offered him a commission to enlist and organize African-American regiments among the slaves fleeing to Union lines in the lower Mississippi Valley. He stopped publication of *Douglass' Monthly*, which he had begun in 1859, and waited. But the commission never came, and Douglass, refusing to go South without it, continued to lecture and recruit in the North. As the war wound toward a conclusion in 1864-1865, he worked to shape public memory of the war and the character of the peace. He reminded audiences that the conflict had been fought to abolish slavery; it would only be successful, he argued, if the former slaves were granted equal citizenship rights with other Americans.

The end of the war and the Thirteenth Amendment outlawing slavery posed a crisis for Douglass. After a quarter of a century as the preeminent black abolitionist, he wondered if his career was at an end. But he soon recognized that important work remained to be done. In an 1865 speech to the American Anti-Slavery Society, many of whose white members were calling to disband the society, he forcefully argued that "the work of Abolitionists is not done" and would not be until blacks had equal citizenship rights with other Americans. Although he vigorously supported the Fourteenth Amendment and other civil rights statutes, he believed that a meaningful Reconstruction required two essential elements: keeping the old leadership elite from returning to power in the South, and giving the freedmen the vote. Putting the ballot in the hands of black men, he argued, would prove the key to uplifting and protecting African-American rights. When

President Andrew Johnson refused to endorse these principles in an 1866 meeting with Douglass, the race leader became one of his most vocal critics. He lobbied hard for passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, even at the cost of a breach with many friends who opposed the measure unless it also granted women the vote.

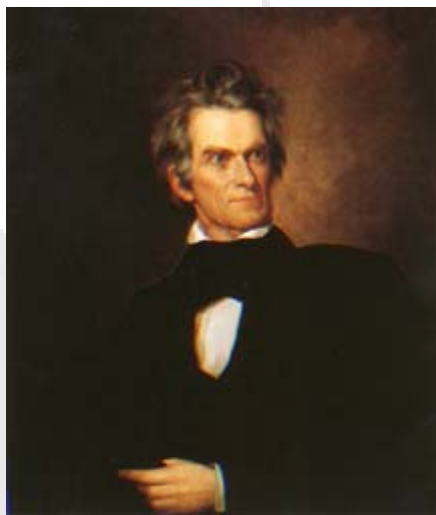
The 1870s were a "time of troubles" in Douglass's life. An 1872 fire destroyed his Rochester home and the files of his lengthy journalistic endeavors. He moved his family to Washington, D.C., where two years earlier he had purchased the *New National Era*. Through careful editorial guidance, he attempted to shape the weekly into a mouthpiece for the race. But persistent financial troubles forced him to stop publication of the paper in 1874. That same year Douglass was named president of the Freedman's Savings Bank, a federally-chartered savings and lending institution created to assist the economic development of former slaves. He soon found that the bank was in severe financial distress; it was forced to declare bankruptcy in a matter of months. These two failed ventures cost Douglass thousands of dollars and some public respect. Other black leaders increasingly criticized his alleged moderation on key race questions, his devotion to American individualism (most clearly seen in his oft-repeated lecture, "Self-Made Men"), and his unswerving loyalty to the Republican party. They openly attacked his failure to criticize the party's abandonment of the Reconstruction experiment in 1877.

The end of Reconstruction dashed Douglass's hopes for a meaningful emancipation. Even so, he never abandoned the fight for African-American rights. And he still regarded the Republican party as the likeliest vehicle for black advancement. A skilled practitioner at "waving the bloody shirt"--linking Democrats with slavery and the Confederacy--he campaigned widely for Republican candidates during the 1870s and 1880s. Partisanship brought rewards. President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed Douglass as the U.S. marshal for the District of Columbia (1877-1881), and President James A. Garfield named him the district's recorder of deeds (1881-1886). These offices made him financially secure. But changing family circumstances unsettled his personal life. His wife Anna died in 1882. Two years later he married Helen Pitts, his white former secretary. This racially-mixed marriage stirred controversy among blacks and whites alike; nevertheless, it failed to limit Douglass's influence.

Douglass was not lulled into complacency by partisan politics. He pressed Republicans as forcefully as ever on issues of concern to the African-American community, while continuing to campaign for party candidates. President Benjamin Harrison rewarded him with an appointment as U.S. minister to Haiti (1889-1891). In this capacity he became an unwitting agent of American expansionism in the Caribbean, unsuccessfully attempting to negotiate special shipping concessions for American business interests and the lease of land for a naval base at Môle St. Nicholas. He eventually resigned his post and returned home in disgust.

Douglass continued to claim the mantle of race leader in the 1890s. He denounced the wave of disfranchisement and segregation measures spreading across the South. He threw much of his energy into the emerging campaign against racial violence. Between 1892 and 1894 he delivered "Lessons of the Hour"--a speech attacking the dramatic increase in black lynchings--to dozens of audiences across the nation. He personally appealed to Harrison for an antilynching law and used his position as the only African-American official at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition to bring the issue before an international audience. He had just returned from another lecture tour when he died at his Washington home.

The most influential African American of the nineteenth century, Douglass made a career of agitating the American conscience. He spoke and wrote on behalf of a variety of reform causes: women's rights, temperance, peace, land reform, free public education, and the abolition of capital punishment. But he devoted the bulk of his time, immense talent, and boundless energy to ending slavery and gaining equal rights for African Americans. These were the central concerns of his long reform career. Douglass understood that the struggle for emancipation and equality demanded forceful, persistent, and unyielding agitation. And he recognized that African Americans must play a conspicuous role in that struggle. Less than a month before his death, when a young black man solicited his advice to an African American just starting out in the world, Douglass replied without hesitation: "Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!" (Joseph W. Holley, *You Can't Build a Chimney from the Top* [1948], p. 23).



John C. Calhoun

Calhoun, John C. (18 Mar. 1782-31 Mar. 1850), vice president, U.S. senator, and secretary of state, was born John Caldwell Calhoun at what was then known as the District of Ninety-six, later known as Abbeville, on the frontier of southwestern South Carolina, the son of Patrick Calhoun, a prosperous Scotch-Irish farmer and one of the largest slave owners in the backcountry, and Martha Caldwell, also of Scotch-Irish descent. John Calhoun was the couple's third son, and though like his older brothers and sister he did his share of farm work, the family considered him to have such promise that he deserved a better education than the local field schools afforded. Calhoun attended Moses Waddel's school in Appling, Georgia, where he studied Latin, Greek, and mathematics and read widely in history and philosophy, especially the works of John Locke. In October 1802 he was admitted to the junior class of Yale College. He graduated with distinction in 1804. Some months later he began the study of law in Charleston under Henry William DeSaussure, a Federalist in politics and one of the most prestigious lawyers in the city. Calhoun soon decided that he needed more formal training in the law and enrolled in Tapping Reeve's noted law school at Litchfield, Connecticut.

Calhoun was again exposed to Federalist politics from Reeve and other notables in Litchfield, but he rejected their explanations of public policy and was outspoken in his defense of Jeffersonian-Republicanism. He completed his studies at Reeve's law school in the fall of 1806. Returning to South Carolina he was admitted to the bar in December 1807. He practiced law briefly but soon decided that he would make his career and his living as a planter and in public service. He was elected to the South Carolina legislature the following year, but after only one term he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Jeffersonian-Republican. He served three terms in the Twelfth through the Fourteenth Congresses from 4 March 1811 to 3 November 1817. Just before his first election to the House of Representatives, Calhoun married his cousin Floride Bonneau Colhoun in 1811. The couple had ten children, seven of whom lived to maturity.

In early April 1812 Calhoun became chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, and in June of that year the Congress passed President James Madison's war message in a declaration that followed Calhoun's report on the message. One of the small group of congressmen who had pushed for war with Great Britain, Calhoun was considered a preeminent "War Hawk." On the conclusion of the war in 1815, he emerged as a leading nationalist. He drafted the bill that created the Second Bank of the United States. Relying on the cash put up by incorporators of the bank, or the "bonus," Calhoun framed a bill that would have provided federal funds for a national scheme of internal improvements, and he supported the protective tariff of 1816 to ward off a postwar flood of foreign goods that threatened American economic development. Madison approved all of this legislation except the Bonus Bill. Congress was unable to override his veto.

Calhoun resigned his seat in the House to accept the post of secretary of war in the new Monroe administration. He inherited a department that had been grossly mismanaged during the war by a succession of incompetent secretaries. The able secretary of the treasury, William H. Crawford, who was also acting as War Department head, had begun a process of reorganization. Calhoun pushed Crawford's plan to completion and managed to keep the small professional army intact in the face of an economy-minded Congress. In addition, as secretary he encouraged the migration of Georgia Cherokee Indians west and reformed the factory system of trade with the Indian tribes so that white traders' activities were more carefully monitored. Calhoun also sponsored several important surveying expeditions into the far northwest. His reports to Congress were competent state papers that gained him political reputation but also excited the opposition of formidable rivals.

In cabinet council, Calhoun sought to discipline his southwestern commander, Andrew Jackson, who had made an unauthorized foray into Spanish-held Florida. But the president, backed up by his secretary of state John Quincy Adams, quashed Calhoun's proposed censure of Jackson for insubordination.

In 1824, on the expiration of Monroe's second term, Calhoun was a candidate for the Republican congressional caucus nomination, which had been tantamount to election to the presidency. But he was unable to cope with the political capacity and popularity of his competitors, Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Crawford. Calhoun settled for the vice presidency. In the election that followed, none of the presidential candidates received a majority. As the Constitution prescribed, the issue was settled in the House of Representatives, each state casting one vote. With the support of Clay, Adams was elected on the first ballot even though Jackson had the most popular votes.

Calhoun joined with Martin Van Buren, then a senator from New York, in opposing the Adams administration. His followers joined in a pro-Jackson coalition that provided essential support for Jackson's nomination by state legislatures and "spontaneous" conventions and his subsequent election to the presidency in 1828. As vice president, Calhoun engaged in a public exposition of the role of that office in a series of published essays he signed as "Onslow," a noted speaker of the British Parliament. An adversary who signed himself "Patrick Henry" was thought to be the president himself. The debate veered away from the functions of the vice presidency to the broader context of power and liberty. The exchange marked Calhoun as a powerful debater and a close student of political theory.

Meanwhile, Calhoun had been caught up in the debates over the Tariff of 1824, which he had indirectly opposed, and the Tariff Bill of 1828, which he had supported when it was thought that the protectionist demands of northern manufacturers would lead to its defeat in Congress. But under the leadership of Clay, the tariff bill passed; President Adams signed it into law.

A tariff with such strong protectionist features was seen to be so harmful to southern planter interests that it was denounced, especially in South Carolina, as "the Tariff of Abominations." At the request of the South Carolina legislature Calhoun drafted papers entitled "Exposition" and "Sundry Resolutions" that threatened nullification of a federal law such as the tariff if found to be inimical to a given state or states' vital interests. In making his case, Calhoun claimed original sovereignty for the states. The Constitution, he argued, was a compact or contract between the federal government and the states, with the federal government limited to enumerated powers spelled out in the Constitution. The federal government was merely the agent for the states. If a state deemed the federal government to have broken the contract by enacting a given law, it was the duty of the state through a convention or referendum to nullify that law.

Calhoun's authorship of the "Exposition" was supposed to be secret, but it soon became public knowledge, particularly when it served as the theoretical basis for a direct challenge to the new Jackson administration, in which Calhoun served as vice president. Van Buren, who had become secretary of state, was determined to root out Calhoun's influence in the administration. He utilized the adverse impact of the "Exposition" on Jackson's nationalist views to Calhoun's disadvantage. Through intermediaries Van Buren also raked up Calhoun's attempt to censure Jackson for his Florida foray. The president was extremely sensitive on that topic, which Clay had made the subject of an embarrassing congressional investigation.

The Peggy Eaton affair further damaged Calhoun's relationship with the administration. Calhoun's wife and the wives of his followers in the cabinet had refused to accept socially Peggy Eaton, the wife of the secretary of war, because of her alleged infidelities. Jackson defended what he saw as the honor of a wronged woman and insisted on proof. When nothing specific was forthcoming, Jackson blamed Calhoun and his associates in the cabinet.

At this point Van Buren decided the cabinet should be reconstituted, his own position included, to purge the administration of Calhoun's influence. All cabinet members either resigned or were forced to resign, and politicians who favored Van Buren replaced them. Congress was not in session so the replacements were made on an interim basis. Van Buren was appointed minister to Great Britain, but when Congress convened on 5 December 1831, in a tie vote, broken by Vice President Calhoun, the Senate refused to confirm his appointment. This contrived humiliation of Van Buren moved Jackson to select him as his running mate in 1832 and presumably his successor in 1836. Calhoun was effectively ruled out of the Democratic party. Accordingly, he resigned the vice presidency and was elected a U.S. Senator from South Carolina. In 1832 Congress passed another protective tariff.

The Nullification party had now gained the upper hand in South Carolina. Extremists demanded separation from the Union if the new tariff of 1832 was not rescinded, and the South Carolina legislature enacted an ordinance of nullification. Although Calhoun's "Exposition" was utilized to justify nullification, he sought to avoid what might lead to armed conflict between Nullifiers and the Unionists. The Jackson administration threatened military intervention if nullification was undertaken but was willing to compromise on the tariff. Calhoun, seeking to head off such a confrontation, met with Clay and they worked out the Compromise Tariff of 1833, which scaled rates on commodities deemed essential to the southern planters down to the approximate level of the 1816 tariff. A national crisis was thus avoided.

Complicating these political maneuvers was the issue of slavery, which had been given much publicity by northern abolitionists and Adams, now a congressman from Massachusetts, who presented their petitions in the House. Calhoun had been concerned about the growth of antislavery sentiment not just in the free states but in western Europe since the Missouri Compromise debates of 1819-1821. The Nat Turner slave uprising in 1831 had contributed an emotional outburst to the already heated rhetoric in South Carolina over nullification. Calhoun then stated in more direct terms than he had used in the "Exposition" his views on minority rights within a federal republic. In what came to be known as the Fort Hill Address he proposed what he called a "concurrent majority," which would give a proportional weight to all the diverse economic and social interests of the nation. Slavery, he believed, was the principal minority institution that must be protected in an industrializing economy.

For the next twenty years, most of which he served in the U.S. Senate, Calhoun constantly fought for an accommodation of slavery in the Union. Briefly he held the cabinet post of secretary of state in the Tyler administration, where he vigorously supported the annexation of Texas in part because it would constitute additional slave territory and in part to act as a buffer against British interests in Mexico.

Returning to the Senate in 1845, Calhoun strongly opposed the Mexican-American War because he feared the addition of vast additional new territories to be gained from Mexico would make the divisive issue of slavery much more dangerous. Calhoun's fears were borne out when Congressman David Wilmot in August 1846 introduced an antislavery rider to an appropriation bill, declaring any territory that might be gained from Mexico free soil. For the remaining four years of his life Calhoun dedicated himself to defending slavery and to raising the specter of disunion if southern interests were not adequately protected. He opposed the admission of Oregon as a free state in 1848 and the admission of California in 1849 under a free soil constitution. He saw in these moves a drastic shift in the sectional balance, against the South, that seemed to justify his fears for the maintenance of the Union.

The "Southern Address" that he prepared in February 1849 charged that a conspiracy existed in the free states that sought to emancipate the slaves. It was an incendiary document aimed at rallying public opinion in the South.

Later that year, Calhoun supported the Nashville convention of representatives from the slave states to protest the admission of California as a free state and to insist that the remainder of the Mexican cession be thrown open to slavery. He hoped that the convention would propose demands that the federal government explicitly protect slavery and utilize its military power if necessary to defend slave interests in the new territories. Under this pressure the free states would be compelled to make a satisfactory adjustment. California petitioned for admittance to the Union as a free state in September 1849. Congress now took seriously the threat of disunion.

Leaders of both parties, headed by Clay and Daniel Webster for the Whigs and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for the Democrats, sought to compromise the issue before the Nashville Convention met. Calhoun made his last speech against the compromise measures on 4 March 1850. He still held out hope for the Union if the North would ensure what amounted to autonomy for the South and its institutions. He died in Washington before the Compromise of 1850 eased tensions between the sections sufficiently to defuse any concerted move for disunion by the Nashville Convention.

In Calhoun's last years he drafted two essays that set forth his ideas on political theory. The first and shorter essay, "The Disquisition on Government," is the more significant in that Calhoun sought to develop a consistent theory on minority rights within the context of majority rule. He urged universal recognition of the inequality of mankind and the differentiation of social and economic concerns. For an organized society to work in a harmonious and practical sense, these differences, Calhoun contended, had to be recognized and then institutionalized. He was of course arguing for his section and its "peculiar institution," but nowhere does he mention slavery in the essay. Calhoun's thought as developed in the "Disquisition," and to a lesser extent in his "Discourse on the Constitution," remains an original contribution to the history of political theory. His assertion of pluralism in political representation has influenced diverse critics of society, including liberal supporters of civil rights and conservative defenders of special social and economic interests .

THE ADDRESS -

A manifesto written by John C. Calhoun in 1849, signed by 48 members of Congress.

We, whose names are hereunto annexed, address you in discharge of what we believe to be a solemn duty, on the most important subject ever presented for your consideration. We allude to the conflict between the two great sections of the Union, growing out of a difference of feeling and opinion in reference to the relation existing between the two races, the European and the African, which inhabit the southern section, and the acts of aggression and encroachment to which it has led.

The conflict commenced not long after the acknowledgment of our independence, and has gradually increased until it has arrayed the great body of the North against the South on this most vital subject. In the progress of this conflict, aggression has followed aggression, and encroachment encroachment, until they have reached a point when a regard for your peace and safety will not permit us to remain longer silent. The object of this address is to give you a clear, correct, but brief account of the whole series of aggression and encroachments on your rights, with a statement of the dangers to which they expose you. Our object in making it is not to cause excitement, but to put you in full possession of all the facts and circumstances necessary to a full and just conception of a deep-seated disease, which threatens great danger to you and the whole body politic. We act on the impression, that in a popular government like ours, a true conception of the actual character and state of a disease is indispensable to effecting a cure.

We have made it a joint address, because we believe that the magnitude of the subject required that it should assume the most impressive and solemn form.

Not to go further back, the difference of opinion and feeling in reference to the relation between the two races, disclosed itself in the Convention that framed the Constitution, and constituted one of the greatest difficulties in forming it.

After many efforts, it was overcome by a compromise, which provided in the first place, that representative and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States according to their respective numbers; and that, in ascertaining the number of each, five slaves shall be estimated as three. In the next, that slaves escaping into States where slavery does not exist, shall not be discharged from servitude, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom their labor or service is due. In the third place, that Congress shall not prohibit the importation of slaves before the year 1808; but a tax not exceeding ten dollars may be imposed on each imported. And finally, that no capitation or direct tax shall be laid, but in proportion to federal numbers; and that no amendment of the Constitution, prior to 1808, shall affect this provision, nor that relating to the importation of slaves..

There remains to be noticed another class of aggressive acts of a kindred character, but which instead of striking at an express and specific provision of the Constitution, aims directly at destroying the relation between the two races at the South, by means subversive in their tendency of one of the ends for which the Constitution was established. We refer to the systematic agitation of the question by the Abolitionists, which, commencing about 1835, is still continued in all possible forms. Their avowed intention is to bring about a state of things that will force emancipation on the South. To unite the North in fixed hostility to slavery in the South, and to excite discontent among the slaves with their condition, are among the means employed to effect it. With a view to bring about the former, every means are resorted to in order to render the South, and the relation between the two races there, odious and hateful to the North. For this purpose societies and newspapers are everywhere established, debating clubs opened, lecturers employed, pamphlets and other publications, pictures and petitions to Congress, resorted to, and directed to that single point, regardless of truth or decency; while the circulation of incendiary publications in the South, the agitation of the subject of abolition in Congress, and the employment of emissaries are relied on to excite discontent among the slaves. This agitation, and the use of these means, have been continued with more or less activity for a series of years, not without doing much towards effecting the object intended. We regard both object and means to be aggressive and dangerous to the rights of the South, and

subversive, as stated, of one of the ends for which the Constitution was established. Slavery is a domestic institution. It belongs to the States, each for itself to decide, whether it shall be established or not; and if it be established, whether it should be abolished or not. Such being the clear and unquestionable right of the States, it follows necessarily that it would be a flagrant act of aggression on a State, destructive of its rights, and subversive of its independence, for the Federal Government, or one or more States, or their people, to undertake to force on it the emancipation of its slaves. But it is a sound maxim in politics, as well as law and morals, that no one has a right to do that indirectly what he cannot do directly, and it may be added with equal truth, to aid, abet, or countenance another in doing it. And yet the Abolitionists of the North, openly avowing their intention, and resorting to the most efficient means for the purpose, have been attempting to bring about a state of things to force the Southern States to emancipate their slaves, without any act on the part of any Northern State to arrest or suppress the means by which they propose to accomplish it. They have been permitted to pursue their object, and to use whatever means they please, if without aid or countenance, also without resistance or disapprobation. What gives a deeper shade to the whole affair, is the fact, that one of the means to effect their object, that of exciting discontent among our slaves, tends directly to subvert what its preamble declares to be one of the ends for which the Constitution was ordained and established: "to ensure domestic tranquillity," and that in the only way in which domestic tranquillity is likely ever to be disturbed in the South. Certain it is, that an agitation so systematic--having such an object in view, and sought to be carried into execution by such means--would, between independent nations, constitute just cause of remonstrance by the party against which the aggression was directed, and if not heeded, an appeal to arms for redress. Such being the case where an aggression of the kind takes place among independent nations, how much more aggravated must it be between confederated States, where the Union precludes an appeal to arms, while it affords a medium through which it can operate with vastly increased force and effect? That it would be perverted to such a use, never entered into the imagination of the generation which formed and adopted the Constitution, and, if it had been

supposed it would, it is certain that the South never would have adopted it...

So far from maintaining the doctrine, which the issue implies, we hold that the Federal Government has no right to extend or restrict slavery, no more than to establish or abolish it; nor has it any right whatever to distinguish between the domestic institutions of one State, or section, and another, in order to favor one and discourage the other. As the federal representative of each and all the States, it is bound to deal out, within the sphere of its powers, equal and exact justice and favor to all. To act otherwise, to undertake to discriminate between the domestic institutions of one and another, would be to act in total subversion of the end for which it was established--to be the common protection and guardian of all. Entertaining these opinions, we ask not, as the North alleges we do, for the extension of slavery. That would make a discrimination in our favor, as unjust and unconstitutional as the discrimination they ask against us in their favor. It is not for them, nor for the Federal Government to determine, whether our domestic institution is good or bad; or whether it should be repressed or preserved. It belongs to us, and us only, to decide such questions. What then we do insist on, is, not to extend slavery, but that we shall not be prohibited from immigrating with our property, into the Territories of the United States, because we are slaveholders; or, in other words, that we shall not on that account be disfranchised of a privilege possessed by all others, citizens and foreigners, without discrimination as to character, profession, or color. All, whether savage, barbarian, or civilized, may freely enter and remain, we only being excluded.

We rest our claim, not only on the high grounds above stated, but also on the solid foundation of right, justice, and equality. The territories immediately in controversy--New Mexico and California--were acquired by the common sacrifice and efforts of all the States, towards which the South contributed far more than her full share of men, ...*

Very different would be the circumstances under which emancipation would take place with us. If it ever should be effected, it will be through the agency of the Federal Government, controlled by the dominant power of the Northern

States of the Confederacy, against the resistance and struggle of the Southern. It can then only be effected by the prostration of the white race; and that would necessarily engender the bitterest feelings of hostility between them and the North. But the reverse would be the case between the blacks of the South and the people of the North. Owing their emancipation to them, they would regard them as friends, guardians, and patrons, and centre, accordingly, all their sympathy in them. The people of the North would not fail to reciprocate and to favor them, instead of the whites. Under the influence of such feelings, and impelled by fanaticism and love of power, they would not stop at emancipation. Another step would be taken--to raise them to a political and social equality with their former owners, by giving them the right of voting and holding public offices under the Federal Government. We see the first step toward it in the bill already alluded to--to vest the free blacks and slaves with the right to vote on the question of emancipation in this District. But when once raised to an equality, they would become the fast political associates of the North, acting and voting with them on all questions, and by this political union between them, holding the white race at the South in complete subjection. The blacks, and the profligate whites that might unite with them, would become the principal recipients of federal offices and patronage, and would, in consequence, be raised above the whites of the South in the political and social scale. We would, in a word, change conditions with them--a degradation greater than has ever yet fallen to the lot of a free and enlightened people, and one from which we could not escape, should emancipation take place (which it certainly will if not prevented), but by fleeing the homes of ourselves and ancestors, and by abandoning our country to our former slaves, to become the permanent abode of disorder, anarchy, poverty, misery, and wretchedness.

With such a prospect before us, the gravest and most solemn question that ever claimed the attention of a people is presented for your consideration: What is to be done to prevent it? It is a question belonging to you to decide. All we propose is, to give you our opinion.

We, then, are of the opinion that the first and indispensable step, without which nothing can be done, and with which every thing may be, is to be united among yourselves, on this great and most vital question. The want of Union and concert in

reference to it has brought the South, the Union, and our system of government to their present perilous condition. Instead of placing it above all others, it has been made subordinate, not only to mere questions of policy, but to the preservation of party ties and ensuring of party success. As high as we hold a due respect for these, we hold them subordinate to that and other questions involving our safety and happiness. Until they are so held by the South, the North will not believe that you are in earnest in opposition to their encroachments, and they will continue to follow, one after another, until the work of abolition is finished. To convince them that you are, you must prove by your acts that you hold all other questions subordinate to it. If you become united, and prove yourselves in earnest, the North will be brought to a pause, and to a calculation of consequences; and that may lead to a change of measures, and the adoption of a course of policy that may quietly and peaceably terminate this long conflict between the two sections. If it should not, nothing would remain for you but to stand up immovably in defence of rights, involving your all--your property, prosperity, equality, liberty, and safety.

As the assailed, you would stand justified by all laws, human and divine, in repelling a blow so dangerous, without looking to consequences, and to resort to all means necessary for that purpose. Your assailants, and not you, would be responsible for consequences.

Entertaining these opinions, we earnestly entreat you *to be united*, and for that purpose adopt all necessary measures. Beyond this, we think it would not be proper to go at present. We hope, if you should unite with any thing like unanimity, it may of itself apply a remedy to this deep-seated and dangerous disease; but, if such should not be the case, the time will then have come for you to decide what course to adopt...

The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro

by Frederick Douglass

A speech given at Rochester, New York, July 5, 1852

Mr. President, Friends and Fellow Citizens:

He who could address this audience without a quailing sensation, has stronger nerves than I have. I do not remember ever to have appeared as a speaker before any assembly more shrinkingly, nor with greater distrust of my ability, than I do this day. A feeling has crept over me quite unfavorable to the exercise of my limited powers of speech. The task before me is one which requires much previous thought and study for its proper performance. I know that apologies of this sort are generally considered flat and unmeaning. I trust, however, that mine will not be so considered. Should I seem at ease, my appearance would much misrepresent me. The little experience I have had in addressing public meetings, in country school houses, avails me nothing on the present occasion.

The papers and placards say that I am to deliver a Fourth of July Oration. This certainly sounds large, and out of the common way, for me. It is true that I have often had the privilege to speak in this beautiful Hall, and to address many who now honor me with their presence. But neither their familiar faces, nor the perfect gage I think I have of Corinthian Hall seems to free me from embarrassment.

The fact is, ladies and gentlemen, the distance between this platform and the slave plantation, from which I escaped, is considerable-and the difficulties to be overcome in getting from the latter to the former are by no means slight. That I am here to-day is, to me, a matter of astonishment as well as of gratitude. You will not, therefore, be surprised, if in what I have to say I evince no elaborate preparation, nor grace my speech with any high sounding exordium. With little experience and with less learning, I have been able to throw my thoughts hastily and imperfectly together; and trusting to your patient and generous indulgence I will proceed to lay them before you.

This, for the purpose of this celebration, is the Fourth of July. It is the birth day of your National Independence, and of your political freedom. This, to you, as what the Passover was to the emancipated people of God. It carries your minds back to the day, and to the act of your great deliverance; and to the signs, and to the wonders,

associated with that act, and that day. This celebration also marks the beginning of another year of your national life; and reminds you that the Republic of America is now 76 years old. I am glad, fellow-citizens, that your nation is so young. Seventy-six years, though a good old age for a man, is but a mere speck in the life of a nation. Three score years and ten is the allotted time for individual men; but nations number their years by thousands. According to this fact, you are, even now, only in the beginning of your national career, still lingering in the period of childhood. I repeat, I am glad this is so. There is hope in the thought, and hope is much needed, under the dark clouds which lower above the horizon. The eye of the reformer is met with angry flashes, portending disastrous times; but his heart may well beat lighter at the thought that America is young, and that she is still in the impressible stage of her existence. May he not hope that high lessons of wisdom, of justice and of truth, will yet give direction to her destiny? Were the nation older, the patriot's heart might be sadder, and the reformer's brow heavier. Its future might be shrouded in gloom, and the hope of its prophets go out in sorrow. There is consolation in the thought that America is young.-Great streams are not easily turned from channels, worn deep in the course of ages. They may sometimes rise in quiet and stately majesty, and inundate the land, refreshing and fertilizing the earth with their mysterious properties. They may also rise in wrath and fury, and bear away, on their angry waves, the accumulated wealth of years of toil and hardship. They, however, gradually flow back to the same old channel, and flow on as serenely as ever. But, while the river may not be turned aside, it may dry up, and leave nothing behind but the withered branch, and the unsightly rock, to howl in the abyss-sweeping wind, the sad tale of departed glory. As with rivers so with nations. ...

Americans! your republican politics, not less than your republican religion, are flagrantly inconsistent. You boast of your love of liberty, your superior civilization, and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation (as embodied in the two great political parties) is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three millions of your countrymen. You hurl your anathemas at the crowned headed tyrants of Russia and Austria and pride yourselves on your Democratic institutions, while you yourselves consent to be the mere tools and body-guards of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina. You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water; but the fugitives from oppression in your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot, and kill. You

glory in your refinement and your universal education; yet you maintain a system as barbarous and dreadful as ever stained the character of a nation—a system begun in avarice, supported in pride, and perpetuated in cruelty. You shed tears over fallen Hungary, and make the sad story of her wrongs the theme of your poets, statesmen, and orators, till your gallant sons are ready to fly to arms to vindicate her cause against the oppressor; but, in regard to the ten thousand wrongs of the American slave, you would enforce the strictest silence, and would hail him as an enemy of the nation who dares to make those wrongs the subject of public discourse! You are all on fire at the mention of liberty for France or for Ireland; but are as cold as an iceberg at the thought of liberty for the enslaved of America. You discourse eloquently on the dignity of labor; yet, you sustain a system which, in its very essence, casts a stigma upon labor. You can bare your bosom to the storm of British artillery to throw off a three-penny tax on tea; and yet wring the last hard earned farthing from the grasp of the black laborers of your country. You profess to believe "that, of one blood, God made all nations of men to dwell on the face of all the earth," and hath commanded all men, everywhere, to love one another; yet you notoriously hate (and glory in your hatred) all men whose skins are not colored like your own. You declare before the world, and are understood by the world to declare that you "hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and yet, you hold securely, in a bondage which, according to your own Thomas Jefferson, "is worse than ages of that which your fathers rose in rebellion to oppose," a seventh part of the inhabitants of your country.

Fellow-citizens, I will not enlarge further on your national inconsistencies. The existence of slavery in this country brands your republicanism as a sham, your humanity as a base pretense, and your Christianity as a lie. It destroys your moral power abroad; it corrupts your politicians at home. It saps the foundation of religion; it makes your name a hissing and a bye-word to a mocking earth. It is the antagonistic force in your government, the only thing that seriously disturbs and endangers your Union. It fetters your progress; it is the enemy of improvement; the deadly foe of education; it fosters pride; it breeds insolence; it promotes vice; it shelters crime; it is a curse to the earth that supports it; and yet you cling to it as if it were the sheet anchor of all your hopes. Oh! be warned! be warned! a horrible reptile is coiled up in your nation's bosom; the

venomous creature is nursing at the tender breast of your youthful republic; for the love of God, tear away, and fling from you the hideous monster, and let the weight of twenty millions crush and destroy it forever!....

SOAPSTONE

"Fourth of July" speech

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS Use the text to find the answers. Use the exact quotes and words of Douglass as written in his "Fourth of July" speech.

S—SUBJECT

List some specific issues raised by Douglass or specific points he makes in his "Fourth of July" speech

O—OCCASION

Why is the "Fourth of July" relevant to Douglass? Find his specific answers in the text.

A—AUDIENCE

How might non-abolitionist whites respond to this speech? How would abolitionists respond? Explain your answers



P—PURPOSE

What was Douglass⁵ primary reason for making the speech? What actions does he endorse?
Use the text to formulate your answers

S—SPEAKER

Why is Douglass an appropriate person to deliver this speech?

T—TONE

What is Douglass⁵ attitude towards his subject? Find words, phrases, and sentences that reveal tone.



SOAPSTONE

"The Address" Speech

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS Use the text to find the answers. Use the exact quotes and words of Calhoun as written in his "Southern Address" speech.

S—SUBJECT

List some specific issues raised by Calhoun or specific points he makes in his "Southern Address" speech

O—OCCASION

Why is the "Southern Address" relevant to Calhoun? Find his specific answers in the text.

A—AUDIENCE

How might non-abolitionist whites respond to this speech?
How would abolitionists respond? Explain your answers



P—PURPOSE

What was Calhoun primary reason for making the speech? What actions does he endorse?
Use the text to formulate your answers

S—SPEAKER

Why is Calhoun an appropriate person to deliver this speech?

T—TONE

What is Calhoun's attitude towards his subject? Find words, phrases, and sentences that reveal tone.

Curriculum created by Joseph F. Houser Shaker Heights, Ohio

