

PRACTICING Historical Thinking

Identify: What is Calhoun's main argument?

Analyze: What does Calhoun mean by his use of the word "educational"?

Evaluate: To what extent was the return of fugitive slaves to the South the main reason for Calhoun's argument?

DOCUMENT 11.2

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 1852

Harriet Beecher Stowe's (1811–1896) novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly*, sold over 300,000 copies during its first year of publication. Its strongly antislavery themes, vivid characters, and sentimentalism helped many white readers in the North understand and feel deeply about the plight of slaves. In the following passage, southern slave owner Augustine St. Clare discusses the institution with his Northern abolitionist cousin, Ophelia.

Miss Ophelia stopped her knitting, and looked surprised; and St. Clare, apparently enjoying her astonishment, went on.

"You seem to wonder; but if you will get me fairly at it, I'll make a clean breast of it. This cursed business, accursed of God and man, what is it? Strip it of all its ornament, run it down to the root and nucleus of the whole, and what is it? Why, because my brother Quashy is ignorant and weak, and I am intelligent and strong—because I know how, and *can* do it—therefore, I may steal all he has, keep it, and give him only such and so much as suits my fancy. Whatever is too hard, too dirty, too disagreeable for me, I may set Quashy to doing. Because I don't like work, Quashy shall work. Because the sun burns me, Quashy shall stay in the sun. Quashy shall earn the money, and I will spend it. Quashy shall lie down in every puddle, that I may walk over dryshod. Quashy shall do my will, and not his, all the days of his mortal life, and have such a chance of getting to heaven at last as I find convenient. This I take to be about what slavery *is*. I defy anybody on earth to read our slave-code, as it stands in our law-books, and make anything else of it. Talk of the *abuses* of slavery! Humbug! The *thing itself* is the essence of all abuse! And the only reason why the land don't sink under it, like Sodom and Gomorrah, is because it is *used* in a way infinitely better than it is. For pity's sake, for shame's sake, because we are men born of women, and not savage beasts, many of us do not, and dare not—we would *scorn* to use the full power which our savage laws put into our hands. And he who goes the furthest, and does the worst, only uses within limits the power that the law gives him."

St. Clare had started up, and, as his manner was when excited, was walking, with hurried steps, up and down the floor. His fine face, classic as that of a Greek

statue, seemed actually to burn with the fervour of his feelings. His large blue eyes flashed, and he gestured with an unconscious eagerness. Miss Ophelia had never seen him in this mood before, and she sat perfectly silent.

"I declare to you," said he, suddenly stopping before his cousin—"it's no sort of use to talk or to feel on this subject—but I declare to you, there have been times when I have thought, if the whole country would sink, and hide all this injustice and misery from the light, I would willingly sink with it. When I have been traveling up and down on our boats, or about on my collecting tours, and reflected that every brutal, disgusting, mean, low-lived fellow I met, was allowed by our laws to become absolute despot of as many men, women, and children, as he could cheat, steal, or gamble money enough to buy—when I have seen such men in actual ownership of helpless children, of young girls and women—I have been ready to curse my country, to curse the human race!"

"Augustine! Augustine!" said Miss Ophelia, "I'm sure you've said enough. I never, in my life, heard anything like this; even at the North."

"At the North!" said St. Clare, with a sudden change of expression, and resuming something of his habitual careless tone. "Pooh! you northern folks are cold-blooded; you are cool in everything! You can't begin to curse up hill and down, as we can when we get fairly at it."

"Well, but the question is—" said Miss Ophelia.

"O, yes, to be sure, the *question is*—and a deuce of a question it is!—How came you in this state of sin and misery? Well, I shall answer in the good old words you used to teach me, Sundays. I came so by ordinary generation. My servants were my father's, and, what is more, my mother's; and now they are mine, they and their increase, which bids fair to be a pretty considerable item. My father, you know, came first from New England; and he was just such another man as your father—a regular old Roman; upright, energetic, noble-minded, with an iron will. Your father settled down in New England, to rule over rocks and stones, and to force an existence out of Nature; and mine settled in Louisiana, to rule over men and women, and force existence out of them. . . .

"Now, an aristocrat, you know, the world over, has no human sympathies, beyond a certain line in society. In England the line is in one place, in Burmah in another, and in America in another; but the aristocrat of all these countries never goes over it. What would be hardship and distress and injustice in his own class, is a cool matter of course in another one. My father's dividing line was that of colour. Among his equals, never was a man more just and generous; but he considered the negro through all possible gradations of colour, as an intermediate link between man and animals, and graded all his ideas of justice or generosity on this hypothesis. I suppose, to be sure, if anybody had asked him, plump and fair, whether they had human immortal souls, he might have hemmed and hawed, and said 'Yes.' But my father was not a man much troubled with spiritualism; religious sentiment he had none, beyond a veneration for God, as decidedly the head of the upper classes." . . .

St. Clare rested his head on his hands, and did not speak for some minutes. After a while, he looked up, and went on:—

“What poor, mean trash this whole business of human virtue is! A mere matter, for the most part, of latitude and longitude, and geographical position, acting with natural temperament. The greater part is nothing but an accident. Your father, for example, settles in Vermont, in a town where all are, in fact, free and equal; becomes a regular church member and deacon, and in due time joins an Abolitionist society, and thinks us all little better than heathens. Yet he is, for all the world, in constitution and habit, a duplicate of my father. I can see it leaking out in fifty different ways—just that same strong, overbearing, dominant spirit. You know very well how impossible it is to persuade some of the folks in your village that Squire Sinclair does not feel above them. The fact is, though he has fallen on democratic times, and embraced a democratic theory, he is to the heart an aristocrat, as much as my father, who ruled over five or six hundred slaves.”

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or, Life among the Lowly* (London: Ingram, Cooke, 1852), 175–180.

PRACTICING Historical Thinking

Identify: What is the contrast between the two fathers described in this excerpt?

Analyze: Why might St. Clare state that many slave owners “would scorn to use the full power which our savage laws put into our hands”?

Evaluate: In what ways does Stowe present the issue of slavery as a moral one?

DOCUMENT 11.3

MARY HENDERSON EASTMAN, *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* 1852

Mary Henderson Eastman (1818–1887), like many Southerners, was appalled by Harriet Beecher Stowe's powerful use of vivid images and sentimentality in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Doc. 11.2). She published *Aunt Phillis's Cabin: or, Southern Life as It Is* as a reaction to Stowe's book. In the following passage, Southerner Arthur Weston discusses slavery with Abel Johnson, a fellow student at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut.

“Now,” said Abel, “having a couple of particularly good cigars, where did we leave off?”

“It's too warm for argument,” said Arthur, watching the curling of the gray smoke as it ascended.

“We need not argue,” said Abel; “I want to catechize you.”

“Begin.”

“Do you think that the African slave-trade can be defended?”