

“The Most Boisterous Passions”:

Southern Responses to Thomas Jefferson’s Critique of Slavery

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“The Devil is to be overcome, not by the power of God, but by His righteousness.... Not that power is to be shunned as though it were something evil; but the order must be preserved, whereby righteousness is before it. For how great can be the power of mortals? Therefore let mortals cleave to righteousness; power will be given to immortals.”

--Augustine¹

In Notes on the State of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson penned a searing indictment of slavery's effects on masters. Reverberating through decades of abolitionist criticism, it caused southern slaveholders no end of pain, anger, and soul-searching:

There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it....The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of his passions, and thus

nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.²

Jefferson had predecessors for his indictment, who, like him, had surely been influenced by Locke's psychological portrait of children as naturally seeking dominion over others. And Montesquieu, another southern favorite, had warned that as a result of the master's unlimited authority, "He insensibly accustoms himself to the want of all moral virtues, and thence becomes fierce, hasty, severe, choleric, voluptuous, and cruel." David Rice, the father of Presbyterianism in the West, appealed for emancipation in 1792, arguing that slavery, among its many evils, undermined the moral as well as political virtue of the community, especially of its young men. George Mason, at least as early as 1765, denounced slavery for impairing the morals of white Virginians, much as it had impaired the morals of the Romans and led to the decay of ancient civilization. But when Mason returned to the theme at the Federal constitutional convention--"Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant"--Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut silenced him with the suggestion that, in that case, Mason and other Virginians should free their slaves. Other antislavery Southerners in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries invoked Jefferson's authority to condemn slavery for corrupting the morals and political virtue of southern youth. St. George Tucker seconded Jefferson's indictment, most notably in his influential edition of Blackstone's Commentaries. He denied that Virginians had a disposition toward the sanguinary but, quoting Jefferson at length on "boisterous passions," he said that slavery unfitted blacks for freedom and unfitted whites for equality. David Ramsay of South Carolina sounded the

same alarm, although by the time he wrote his History of the Revolution, he was praising the finer feelings of humanity and kindness that marked the master class. Jefferson's indictment nonetheless continued to echo throughout the South.³

As might be expected, antislavery Northerners built on Jefferson's indictment to condemn slavery as a nursery for tyrants. "It is in accordance with the general law," remarked the Baptist Reverend Francis Wayland, the antislavery president of Brown University, "that those who enslave the bodies of others, become in turn the slaves of their own passions." In the 1840s, Ralph Waldo Emerson took issue with the common charge that Southerners did not so much want slaves as the immunities and luxuries they made possible. He referred to "the love of power, the voluptuousness of holding a human being in his absolute control." In an address in 1845 on the anniversary of West Indian emancipation, Emerson, who had spent a little time in the South, admitted that he lacked first-hand knowledge of southern slavery but nonetheless spoke of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama as "the semi-barbarous" and "debauched." Angelina Grimké hit a raw nerve when she referred to the hundreds of thousands of southern slaveholders "who do not hold their slaves, by any means, as much 'for purposes of gain,' as they do for the lust of power." One abolitionist after another observed that the kind of power lodged in a slaveholder would make any man a tyrant--that no human being could be trusted with such power over another. "The slavery gentleman, wrote Adam Gurowski, a Pole who fought for the Union, "is a scarcely varnished savage, for whom the highest law is his reckless passion and will." A century later C. S. Lewis teasingly recalled Aristotle's assertion that some men are born to be slaves: "I do not contradict him, but I reject slavery because I see no men fit to be masters."⁴

Foreign and northern travelers and sojourners, as well as northern critics of abolitionism, commented frequently on Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. The great majority agreed with his moral indictment, peppering it with reports of telling incidents that rang all too true. Charles Wesley protested that white children had slaves of their own age "to tyrannize over, to beat and abuse out of sport," and George Whitefield, who accommodated to slavery, filed a similar complaint. Benjamin Latrobe described a four year-old Virginian in 1797 as a spoiled Lord of the House: "The servants had no other master, and his father, brothers and sisters no greater plague. For years he refused all discipline and would not learn to read and write. At the age of fourteen, by some miracle, he grew ashamed, reformed himself, and developed into an exemplary chap." In later years, Horace Fulkerson, touring the lower Mississippi Valley, recoiled from the sight of children reared "in constant exercise of arbitrary power over his slave companions; it makes him impatient of contradiction from any source." Frederick Law Olmsted stopped at a dirty house in northeastern Tennessee. The "disgusting" bed he was given made him testy, but what appalled him was the shocking language used by one of the white boys to a slave girl who showed up a bit late to attend to him. Visiting a successful planter in eastern Texas, Olmsted found two sons: "One was an idle young man. The other was already, at eight years old, a swearing, tobacco-chewing young bully and ruffian." The planter ordered his son to stop cursing, only to be met with a "Why not? You do it."⁵

Visiting women especially picked up on Jefferson's remarks about the manner in which children were raised. Frances Trollope railed at "the infant tyranny of white children towards their slaves." She could not begin to describe her indignation at the sight of the "puny bullying and well-taught ingenious insult of almost baby children towards stalwart

slaves, who raised their heads toward heaven like men, but seemed to have lost the right of being so classed." Frederika Bremer recounted the judgment of a "noble lady of New Orleans" that the white child, surrounded by slaves from the cradle, accustoms himself to command them, to expect satisfaction of any caprice, and to demand stern punishment for any slave who thwarts his will. Harriet Martineau asked, "What is to be expected of little girls who boast of having got a negro flogged for being impertinent to them, and who are surprised at the 'ungentlemanly' conduct of a master who maims his slaves." Catherine Cooper Hopley of England did a good job as governess in disciplining the children in her care, and their mother warmly thanked her, admitting that she herself had no such success. Hopley, who admired the people of Virginia and the South, commented that southern parents, having been "reared on the same principles," could not readily impose discipline: "They are too indulgent, too much accustomed to control an inferior class, and to allow their children to control that class, to reconcile themselves to the idea of compelling obedience in their own children when once past infancy, which would perhaps be placing them too much on a par with the negroes."⁶

These impressions received telling reinforcement from Southerners. In 1836 ten prominent Presbyterians joined the fray, echoing Jefferson and denouncing slavery as encouraging moral depravity among both masters and slaves; notably, they singled out the masters as especially under constant temptation to indulge their passions and appetites. The young Amos Kendall tutored the children of Henry Clay, himself well regarded as a kind and humane master. Kendall commented on the effects of slavery on the children, notably the twelve-year old Thomas and Theodore: "Yesterday Mrs. Clay being absent, Thomas got into a mighty rage with some of the negroes, and threatened and exerted all his little power to kill

them." A few months later: "Hearing a great noise in the kitchen, I went in and found Theodore swearing in a great rage with a knife drawn in attitude to stab one of the big negroes." Mary Jane Chester, a student at Columbia Female Institute in Tennessee, wrote home: "Give my love to all the Servants. Has Aunt Nancy got entirely well? Sometimes I do wish that she was here to do up my clothes and to dress me." John Evans, overseer, wrote to George Noble Jones, his employer, "I informed the people that they had another young Master by the name of Noble Wimberley." James Sanders Guignard of the Carolina lowcountry began life like many of his class: When he turned eight years old, his grandmother gave him a present--a black girl. William David Beard, a nonslaveholding renter, lashed out at the sons of slaveholders who did no work and were so lazy they would make a slave fetch them a glass of water.⁷

Throughout the South, black children as well as adults had to call the white children "little massa" or "little missie," sometimes without even the "little." Anna Matilda King, worried sick over debts, wrote her husband Thomas Butler King, "I wish we could get rid of ALL at THEIR VALUE and leave this wretched country. I am more and more convinced it is no place to rear a family of children....To bring up boys on a plantation makes them TIRANICAL as well as lazy and girls too." That was 1844. In 1858 she wrote her husband, "We have not done well by our noble sons. Each one should have been made to go to work for themselves as soon as their education was completed." Even the deeply conservative Richard Taylor, son of President Zachary Taylor, worried about the moral effects of slavery on his sons, judging its tendency deplorable.⁸

In 1832, community leaders and students at the University of North Carolina heard a version of Jefferson's moral indictment from Justice William Gaston of the state Supreme

Court, whose lecture was published and went through five editions by 1858. In South Carolina, Elisha Hammond lectured his son, James Henry, the future governor and senator: "More than half the young men raised in the Southern States are sooner or later ruined by disipation [sic] but this I trust will not apply to you." During the War for Southern Independence, Lucy Breckenridge of Virginia wrote, "I feel that I am a true abolitionist in heart--Here I have been crying like a foolish child for the last half hour because I saw Jimmy chasing poor, little Preston all over the yard beating him with a great stick, and Sister not making him stop but actually encouraging him." Tearfully, she cried out, "I shall never forget Viola's expression of suppressed rage--how I felt for her. My blood boiled with indignation. I never saw such a cruel-tempered and wicked child as Jimmy. I guess my sons had better not beat a little servant where I am! I am so thankful that all of us have been properly raised and never allowed, when we were children, to scold or strike a servant."⁹

Slaves told of the warm and wonderful relations they had as children with the white boys, some of whom remained friends for life, but, more often, they underscored Jefferson's blast. They told of three year-old white boys whom black children had to call "master" or get whipped; of boys who grew up with black playmates to polish their boots, put away their toys, clean up after them, carry their schoolbooks, and do their bidding; of boys who would think nothing of hitting or kicking an old slave who displeased them; of boys who, without malice or nastiness, simply took for granted privileges and prerogatives of every kind.

Solomon Northup, whose slave narrative breathes authenticity and judiciousness, wrote of a slaveholder's ten or twelve year-old son who took special delight in whipping slaves, even the venerable Uncle Abram. Northup conceded the young monster some noble qualities,

but wrote: "Mounted on his pony, he often rides into the field with his whip, playing the overseer, greatly to his father's delight."¹⁰

"Come on, nigger," the son of an overseer called to the slave boy his father had bought. "I'm no nigger," came the defiant reply. "Yes, you is, my pa paid \$200 for you. He bought you to play with me." James W. C. Pennington, Maryland's "fugitive blacksmith," described how the white children imitated their father and the overseer in playing the tyrant and demanding obedience from the slave boys whom they "tortured." Here and there, were hints of sibling rivalry between the white and black boys. Gus Feaster, who taught himself to read, got off lucky because his master liked him for his pluck and brains. The master's two sons, decidedly less enamored, beat Feaster badly one day but probably never again, for their father "wore them out" for it. "Little Massa John treat me good sometime," recalled Henry Gladney of South Carolina, "and kick me 'round sometime. I see now dat I was just a little dog or monkey, in his heart and mind, dat 'mused him to pet or kick me as it pleased him." Rebecca Jane Grant was among a number of former slaves who got whipped at age eight for refusing to call a slaveholder's son half her size "massa." From the testimony of the privileged whites came stories of how they could tease their black playmates unmercifully, play all kinds of pranks on them, torment than in every which way without necessarily wishing them harm or doing more than what children so readily do to other children over whom they hold an advantage--and doing it all in full knowledge that their victims could curse or stamp their feet but could not readily tell on them or find a protector.¹¹

Jefferson's harsh view of slavery's effects on white character and morals ran into a powerful counter-attack from the very beginning, as Southerners proudly recalled Edmund

Burke's great speech on conciliation with America, in which he paid high tribute to the slaveholders:

In Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, that freedom as in countries where it is a common blessing and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude; liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean, Sir, to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and these people of the Southern Colonies are much more strongly, and with an higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves... In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible.¹²

Burke had a large and adoring following in the South. To John Randolph of Roanoke, he was "an intellectual banquet" and "a treasure," and "a mine of eloquence, sagacity, and political wisdom!" ,” William Wirt advised aspiring lawyers, “You will find a rich mine of instruction in the splendid language of Burke. To the influential Daniel K. Whitaker, who, among his other accomplishments, edited Southern Literary Messenger and

then Southern Field and Fireside, Burke had “amazing genius.” To Henry W. Miller, speaking to the students at the University of North Carolina, Burke was “that great man.” To Nathaniel Beverley Tucker at the College of William and Mary, he was “the most profound of political philosophers.” President Jasper Adams of the College of Charleston and Hugh Legaré of South Carolina, and James P. Holcombe and Edmund Ruffin of Virginia were among the leading southern intellectuals who sang Burke’s praises.¹³

Decade after decade, leading Southerners would not let their adversaries forget Burke’s warning against attempts to trample slaveholders. Robert Y. Hayne reminded Daniel Webster of it during their famous senatorial debate, and he invoked the example of George Washington to illustrate slavery’s fine influence on personal and national character. William Drayton, Hayne’s fellow South Carolinian, followed suit in a vigorous proslavery polemic that paid tribute to the great slaveholding Virginians of the Revolutionary era. Twenty years later in Boston, Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia hurled Burke’s words in the face of the abolitionists. As the sectional struggle waxed hotter in the 1840s and 1850s, college students repeatedly heard Burke’s words recalled. Among others, the Baptist Reverend Basil Manly, president of the University of Alabama, implicitly, and John Perkins, Jr. at the University of North Carolina, explicitly, used Burke’s words as a rallying cry to defend slavery. Even after the War, students at the University of Georgia heard Burke’s words from Senator Benjamin Hill. Meanwhile leading journals like DeBow’s Review and Southern Literary Messenger returned to Burke again and again. When David J. McCord of South Carolina claimed moral superiority for the South over the North, he called Burke as witness. So did the irrepressible George Fitzhugh of Virginia and no few others.¹⁴

John Taylor of Caroline, Jefferson's friend and co-worker, was not in the habit of citing Edmund Burke, but on this matter he well might have. Taylor rarely took issue with Jefferson in public, but he replied forcefully to his moral indictment of slavery. Taylor condescendingly noted that the Notes on Virginia had been written "in the heat of a war for liberty" and reflected the promise of the French Revolution as well. He allowed that if Jefferson were correct, it would be better to run any risk "than to live abhorred of God, and consequently hated of men." Taylor invoked the great men of Greece and Rome to counter Jefferson's indictment and then twisted the knife: Was not Thomas Jefferson himself a living refutation? "Slaves are too far below, and too much in the power of the master, to inspire furious passions." Slaveholders did not rage at slaves any more than they raged at horses; to the contrary, the great majority viewed their slaves as objects of benevolence. White children, "from their nature were inclined to soothe, and hardly ever to tyrannize over them." Southerners, Taylor was certain, despised the submission and flattery of the slaves, "which rather cause us to hate servility than to imbibe a dictatorial arrogance."¹⁵

During the Revolution, Jefferson complained that Virginians, lacking a proper work ethic, were prone to laziness, carelessness about paying debts, and generally improvident. He traced the roots of these infirmities to monarchical government and the prevalence of slavery. Yet, after Jefferson returned from France in 1789 he fell silent on slavery. And we can only wonder how he squared his indictment with the reply he gave to his grandson, who asked him to explain the extraordinary politeness of Virginia gentlemen. Referring to life in Williamsburg, he replied that Virginians had been trained in "the finest school of manners and morals that ever existed in America." By 1815, at the latest, Virginians were manifestly following John Taylor, not Jefferson, and the press was leading the way in dismissing the

critical remarks in the Notes on Virginia as an emotional reaction to the overheated passions of the revolutionary era. Echoing Taylor during the Missouri debates, Representative William Smith of South Carolina described Jefferson's Notes on Virginia as a product of a youth spent under the influence of speculative philosophy; he denounced the notion of "boisterous passions" as a nonsensical misunderstanding of the patriarchal nature of the master-slave relation.¹⁶

George Tucker, Jefferson's political follower and able biographer, strove for a balanced estimate of the moral as well as economic effects of slavery. His remarks compel particular attention since he ranked high among the worldly intellectuals of the Old South, thought slavery doomed to economic extinction, and bravely rejected racist cant. Tucker applauded Virginians as "open-handed and open hearted; fond of society, indulging in all its pleasures, and practising all its courtesies." But with a well-earned reputation for hospitality came "the kindred vices of love of show, haughtiness, sensuality." Many among the wealthy added to "the allowable pleasures of the chase and the turf...the debasing ones of cock-fighting, gaming, and drinking." Tucker acknowledged that slavery tended to make masters "indolent, proud, luxurious improvident." The master, he wrote, convinced himself of his own natural superiority, whereas the slave all too easily convinced himself of his own inferiority, which he attributed to nature instead of to a man-made system imposed upon him. Emancipation alone could dispel racial prejudices, but those very prejudices blocked emancipation. Notwithstanding this indictment, which echoed Jefferson's own, Tucker warned against overrating the vices of slavery, for they were accompanied by solid virtues: "Domestic slavery, in fact, places the master in a state of moral discipline, and, according to the use he makes of it, he is made better or worse." A basically good man, he argued, was

elevated, whereas a bad man became a horror: Slavery "has thus afforded aliment to his evil propensities." Tucker extolled those who when taught "to curb these sallies of passion or freaks of caprice" or embrace "a course of salutary restraint," attempt to strengthen their own "virtues of self-denial, forbearance, and moderation." He found proof in the examples offered by the great men whom Virginia contributed to the American presidency:

Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe. In 1854 a contributor to Southern Literary Messenger invoked Tucker's biography of Jefferson on the positive moral effects of slavery on whites, and in 1861, John Randolph Tucker echoed his kinsman in a paean to slavery for strengthening white character by imposing self-discipline.¹⁷

Increasingly after 1830, Southerners heard that slavery, far from having the effects on youth that Jefferson deplored, produced men of high moral quality. Defending the character of southern youth, Chancellor William Harper of South Carolina wrote that slavery would indeed be intolerable in the sight of God if it did not subject slaves to masters who scorned dishonesty, cowardice, and meanness. A contributor to Southern Literary Messenger went to some lengths to deride those who fawn before superiors and lord it over inferiors. Virginians, the historian Henry Howe declared in the 1840s, simply did not permit their children to tyrannize over slave children, who readily returned all blows. In retorts typical of the 1840s and after, a contributor to Southern Literary Messenger declared that slavery has strengthened southern character, not at all undermined it. The enslavement of blacks by whites, Nathaniel Beverley Tucker declared, has led to the moral improvement of both races. More specifically, a Mr. Smith informed the readers of Southern Quarterly Review in 1857 that "the desire which the master feels to possess the love and respect of his slave" leads him to cultivate patience, magnanimity and other great virtues. Hence, the

master-slave relation “calls forth some of our noblest affections.” Former Congressman Willoughby Newton, commencement speaker at Virginia Military Institute in the 1850s, told the cadets that slavery had produced Virginia's high-quality gentlemen. And “Sigma,” writing in Southern Literary Messenger carried theme deep into the war years. Francis Pickens of South Carolina turned the tables by declaring that planters had to work steadily to manage their slaves, whereas northern capitalists, free of daily responsibilities for their workers, had more time to indulge their fancies.¹⁸

Southerners charged with the responsibility to defend slavery against abolitionist assaults pointed to another body of testimony to shore up their contention that slavery, in practice, fostered excellent qualities in masters. Inadvertently, Jefferson himself bolstered these proslavery views. Explaining the difference between Southerners and Northerners to the Marquis de Chastellux, he wrote, “Southerners—fiery, voluptuous, indolent, generous, candid; Northerners—cool, sober, persevering, self-interested, chicaning.” In 1803-1804, John C. Calhoun, then a student in New Haven, reported to cousins back home in South Carolina: Yankees “are certainly more penurious, more contracted in their sentiments, and less social than the Carolinians. But as to morality we must yield.” A good look at Newport, Rhode Island prompted rethinking. Newport offered Calhoun ample reasons to doubt New Englanders’ moral superiority. Governor John Tyler, Sr. of Virginia, father of the future president, spoke of Yankees as “these Northern cattle” who denigrated Virginia. Singling out Jedidiah Morse, the geographer, for his “silly and prejudiced opinion” of Williamsburg, Tyler feared that such views threatened the Union. The North has “nothing like that liberty of Sentiment which pervades and animates our Southern world.”¹⁹

Defenders of slavery particularly enjoyed the contrasts drawn by both sympathetic and hostile Europeans and Northerners between southern gentlemen and vulgar upper class Northerners, noting with special pleasure the admissions that slavery had much to do with the contrasts. The Marquis of Lothian called planters America's closest approximation to genuine aristocracy, unlike the North's more powerful and unattractive aristocracy-of-sorts of stockjobbers, low-minded capitalists, and political wire pullers. "Throughout the South, whether in city or country," wrote the Reverend W. H. Milburn, a northern Methodist, "there is an attention paid to the proprieties and courtesies of life, which I have failed to observe in some other parts of the Union—a reverence for age, deference to childhood, a polite regard for equals, a kind tone to the poor, treatment of the negro as if he were one of the family, and a truly chivalrous bearing toward women." Not so in the North. There, according to the Massachusetts-born Unitarian Parson Theodore Clapp of New Orleans, people feared for the respectability of their position and attempted to "guard it, in a chilly isolation, by a stiff reserve." Welcomed in Kentucky on his way south, Clapp was "treated with a more noble hospitality, a more marked and uniform kindness, than I had ever experienced in the land of the Puritans." He found "slaveholders in general possessed of a wider range of knowledge, much more refined, gentle and condescending in manners, far superior in the graces and amenities of social intercourse, to those regarded as well-bred and respectable people throughout the cities, towns, and villages of New England." Nowhere in the world, "have I observed less of aristocratic pretensions, of pharisaic, cold-hearted, unsympathizing conduct toward the poor, humble, and unfortunate."²⁰

Louisa Quitman, daughter of Governor John A. Quitman of Mississippi, himself a transplanted Yankee, visited New York and concluded that only Southerners had "hearts

that beat within the highest & noblest feelings of honour & chivalry.” Yankees “cannot conceive of such exalted ideas, they have too much of Dr. Franklin spirit.” The better she came to know them the greater her dislike. In the 1850s the sophisticated and well-traveled James Johnston Pettigrew found his relatives in Philadelphia, polite but so lacking in warmth that could not readily call them “cousin.” Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas’ encounter with the “impertinence” of a Yankee “aroused “all the haughty southern woman” in her. Thomas Holly Chivers of Georgia, a fine poet who lived in the Northeast, reacted to boorishness with greater wit and grace. “You are very much mistaken,” he wrote an old friend in New York, “if you suppose that all men who were born in the South become offended at every fanatical turpitude perpetrated by crack-brained Northerners.” During the War, the intellectually impressive Catherine Edmonston of North Carolina insisted, “The Yankee is too calculating to lose his life for mere honour. He wants ‘a consideration’.” In agreement, Tally Simpson of South Carolina found the cool, calculating Northerners “influenced more by self-interest than by principle.”²¹

Such contrasts became standard fare in the 1850s. To Louisa McCord of South Carolina, her beloved father, Langdon Cheves, was not “coldly calm” in grief but “(permit the anomalous expression) passionately calm.” Dr. William H. Holcombe of Natchez, a broadly gauged man of letters, described Northerners: “Individually cautious & timid—collectively bold and courageous. Individually cool and calm—collectively excitable. Individually resorting to law or suasion—collectively to force. Individually insensible to the points of honor—collectively very much so.” And Southerners: “Individually brave to rashness—collectively cautious and wise [word indistinct]. Individually excitable—collectively possessed and dignified. Individually resorting to violence—collectively to

suasion. Individually sensitive to the point of honor—collectively less so, singularly calm and forbearing and forgiving.” For Holcombe, “The pride of the North is in her dollars and cents, her factories and ships, her wooden-clocks, astute trades, and bold hardy prosperity,” that of the South is her sons—“their nobleness of soul, their true gentility, honor and manliness, in their love for native land.” Frederick A. Porcher accused the North of preoccupation with moneymaking, asking whether life should be reduced to “an increasing struggle after more?” What of “family, of kindred, and of friendly affections? Is man to become a mere money-making, cotton-spinning, iron-founding machine?” The letters of Confederate soldiers to their families show a widespread belief that Yankees made a fetish of money. From the vantage point of the 1850s, Hugh Garland of Virginia, lamenting the passing of the Golden Age in his widely read biography of John Randolph, could not say enough about the glory of eighteenth-century Virginia: “Virginia’s cavaliers under the title of gentlemen, with their broad domain of virgin soil, and long retinue of servants, lived in a style of elegance and profusion, not inferior to the barons of England, and dispensed a hospitality which more than a half century of subdivision, exhaustion, and decay, has not entirely effaced from the memory of their impoverished descendants.”²²

What is most striking is that both pro- and anti-slavery Northerners described the traits of the slaveholders in ways not much different from the slaveholders’ self-descriptions. In 1836 G. S. S., writing in American Monthly of a trip to South Carolina of forty years earlier, noted that the Pinckneys, Middletons, and Horrys, among others enjoyed “wealth, hereditary distinction, and educated talent, and service in the military fields or councils of the nation.” Although the Reverend Moses Stuart of Andover Seminary in Massachusetts, rebuked South Carolina for abuse of slaves he testified with “deep conviction” that South

Carolinians were “in general, persons of more generous feeling, more abounding hospitality, more gentlemanly comity and courtesy, more high-souled chivalry, and more ardent love and pride of country” than could be found anywhere. James Kirke Paulding of New York, another successful literary man, celebrated the South as a land of learning, leisure, and gracious living. Nathaniel Parker Willis, at the peak of his literary fame, spoke of the “gracefully cavalier tone” of the Mississippi Valley’s upper classes: “We shall be proud yet of our planter school of gentlemen.” The antislavery Reverend William Ellery Channing of Boston respected Southerners, much as a number of proslavery Southerners respected him. Like Albert Gallatin and Benjamin Latrobe before him and William Cullen Bryant after him, he praised Virginians’ warmth, hospitality, and graciousness. Channing had tutored for eighteen months in Richmond: “Here I find great vices, but greater virtues than I left behind me.” Virginians “love money less than we do.” But in the end the vices outweighed their great virtues: “Could I only take from the Virginians their sensuality and their slaves, I should think them the greatest people in the world.” From the border state of Maryland in 1861, John Pendleton Kennedy, prominent novelist and unionist, in a plea for peace, rejected South Carolina’s political philosophy but not its people: “There is no society in the United States more worthy of esteem for its refinement, its just and honorable sentiment, and its genial virtues.” Carolinians radiate “the best qualities of attractive manhood.”²³

Chief Justice John Belton O’Neill of South Carolina recounted eulogies to Senator Josiah James Evans delivered by several New England Republican Senators. Senator George Hoar of Massachusetts paid an ungrudging tribute: An “aptness for command... makes the southern gentleman, wherever he goes, not a peer only but a prince.” The majority “inherited from the great race from which came the sense of duty and the sense of honor as

no other people on the face of the earth.” Their traits differed from those of men from “places where money making is the chief end of life.” They had their own kind of perseverance—a “supreme and superb constancy” that set aside “personal ambition” and “temptations of wealth.” Over generations they did not tire or get diverted from pursuit of “a great public object.” A northern Presbyterian minister, a gradual emancipationist, who held Southerners responsible for the crisis of 1860, nonetheless believed that the Northeast “would be greatly benefited by the importation of their impulsive generosity, the high sense of personal honor, the gentlemanly courtesy, the frank bearing and chivalrous courage of the Sunny South.” A “perfect American manhood” required a blend of “the cold, angular, conscientious and economical Northerner” with “the warm-hearted, indulgent, confiding, and poetical South Carolinian.” William W. Bennett, in his Great Revival in the Southern Armies (1876), extensively quoted the wartime speech of the Reverend Henry Bellows, who organized the Sanitary Commission, to a Unitarian assembly in New York City. Bellows declined to speculate on “how far race and climate, independent of servile institutions, may have produced a southern chivalric spirit and manner,” but Southerners did have a “habit of command, a contempt of life in defence of honor or class, a talent for political life, and an easy control of inferiors...Nor is this merely an external or flashy heroism. It is real.”²⁴

Upon arriving in Washington, freshman Senator Benjamin (“Bluff Ben”) Wade of Ohio, a tough free-soiler and vociferous South-hater, paid his southern colleagues a backhanded tribute, saying that their arrogance forced Northerners to become either abolitionists or doughfaced flunkies. During the War, Wendell Phillips, a towering figure in the abolitionist movement, acknowledged a generosity in the slaveholders that made them especially formidable. They scorned compensation for emancipation of the slaves, he

observed, because they valued slavery as an institution. The highest of such tributes-of-sorts came from the abolitionist Reverend Nathan S. S. Beman, who spent more than a decade in Georgia and married the mother of William Yancey, the “orator of secession.” In a militant Thanksgiving Day sermon in 1858, Beman warned: “Don’t allow yourselves to be deceived with the idea that these men are going to allow this question to be settled by the result of a ballot...I have lived among these men, and I know them and I tell you they mean blood.”

Tryphena Fox, wife of a small slaveholder in Louisiana, wrote in the same vein to her mother in Massachusetts, “The Southerners can never be conquered. They may all be killed, but conquered, never.”²⁵

The politicians whose rhetoric soared in defense of slavery tried to turn aside Jefferson’s indictment but remained haunted by it. The slave states, M. R. H. Garnett of Virginia announced, have provided all of America’s great statesmen and generals. Year after year, Congress heard one or another version of the refrain. John C. Calhoun proudly announced himself a planter and a slaveholder, and Senator Stephen Mallory of Florida declared that whenever the American people felt the need to turn to their greatest men to fill the presidency--seven times from Washington to Taylor--they had chosen slaveholders. Waddy Thompson of South Carolina thundered in Congress during the debate over the Gag Rule, “No country where domestic slavery does not exist has the character of man ever been, or ever will be, found in its highest development.” Slavery, he added, is essential to the maintenance of liberty. Even Representative Edward Stanly of North Carolina, who supported slavery only because he could think of no safe way to get rid of it, defended the morality of the slaveholders against abolitionist attacks. Governor John A. Winston of

Alabama was still at it in 1863, when he stressed the contribution made by an inferior race to the formation of the southern gentleman and a more "enlightened manhood."²⁶

Did these politicians believe their own rhetoric? Their personal papers leave little doubt that they did. Hear Governor Robert F. W. Allston of South Carolina, in a private communication to J. H. Hammond on the publication of Hammond's reply to the British abolitionist Thomas Clarkson: "I beg leave to congratulate you on the taste for which you have given your preference i.e. the life & pursuits of a Planter which if viewed aright, regulated by the principles of Religion, that highest philosophy, enlighten'd and aid'd by Science, affords both the means & opportunity to do as much good, and contributes to the true dignity of man, the elevation and just influence of his character, quite as much as any avocation whatever." Hear the Unionist Whig Representative David Outlaw of North Carolina to his wife Emily, "Whatever evils may be attendant upon the institution of slavery, and he is uncandid who does not admit there were many, yet its tendency is to beget a higher sense of honor, an undying love of liberty, which nothing but death can destroy."²⁷

In defending the character and honor of the slaveholders, even usually reserved men fell prone to self-adulation. William H. Trescot of South Carolina, a superior intellect who deserves to rank as America's first great diplomatic historian, pointed to Rutledge, Pinckney, Lowndes, Calhoun, and Cheves, among other South Carolinians, maintaining that slavery "has made us a grave, earnest, resolute, just people." For A. B. Meek, a leading light among Alabama's men of letters, much of the South's intellectual and moral character could be traced to the beneficent effects of slavery. For E. A. Pollard of Virginia, slavery inspired "independence, refines the soul, and nourishes a graceful pride." For Dr. E. H. Barton, president of the New Orleans Academy of Science, slavery "elevates the tone of the

superior, adds to its refinement, allows more time to cultivate the mind, exalts the standard in morals, manners, and intellectual endowments." For Thomas Cobb of Georgia, a first-rate legal scholar and devout Presbyterian layman, Jefferson's indictment was "not true to the extent he alleges." Cobb conceded that "the young man of the South is accustomed to rule," and had "a spirit of independence, which brooks no opposition." But he concluded, "Within a proper limit this is not an evil. Indulgence makes it a sin." For Daniel Hundley of Alabama, who spent many years as a businessman in Chicago, slavery's influence on the young accounted for "the natural dignity of manner peculiar to the Southern Gentlemen."²⁸

Foreigners bolstered southern contentions in books and articles read abroad as well as in the South. In the 1850s, D. W. Mitchell, an Englishman who spent many years in Virginia, identified with the southern view and doubted that any people in the world were as good as Southerners in judging human character. He described southern gentlemen as more European than American in habits, appearance, and character, largely because slavery compelled them to study human nature and learn the self-control necessary to govern. So much for the English Mitchell. John Mitchel, the Irish radical, for once agreed with an Englishman. He insisted that great power bred a great sense of responsibility and self-restraint. A gentleman, he told the readers of Knoxville's *Southern Citizen*, which he edited, was expected to control his passions and to speak softly to servants. Turning to Jefferson's assault on boisterous passions, Mitchel wrote, "I have seen the effect of this on boys. You know it is favorite saying of the Northern people, and the English, that the evil of Slavery is to make the boys impious and cruel. The opposite is true. Christianity has conditioned mores, "and if a boy has a young negro or two of his own to govern, he does it under the eyes of parents and neighbors."²⁹

The assault on the slaveholders' character and morals especially challenged the southern clergy. The northern-born Jasper Adams, a distinguished Episcopalian clergyman and president of the College of Charleston, paid special attention to the effects of education of young Southerners in his influential textbook on moral philosophy. Morals, he wrote, are formed in childhood, and he expostulated on ideals and virtues as he defended slavery: "An early familiarity with the forms of social intercourse, an address uniting dignity, simplicity and naturalness without rudeness, and refined cultivation without affectation, are of immense advantage in the intercourse with the world which every one must continually hold. A well disposed temper, and complete subjection of the appetites, passions, and affections to reason and conscience, are essential to usefulness, and to ordinary respectability." Bishop William Meade, in similar accents, praised the high religious character of the education the youth of Virginia were receiving. Meade wished slavery had never taken root in a Virginia that had nonetheless proven "the fruitful nursery of patriots and orators and statesmen." Despite misgivings, "I rejoice to believe, and I acknowledge that the institution of slavery, by affording more leisure and opportunity to some for the attainment of the most thorough education, has contributed to this." With a glance at Jefferson, he insisted, the very dependence of the slave upon his master is a continual and effective appeal to his justice and humanity." Meade admitted that evil passions sometimes rule but insisted, "The milder virtues are much more frequently called forth."⁵⁰

In the 1850s the Presbyterian Reverend A. A. Porter offered a common generalization when he extolled the South as decidedly more moral than the North: "We are well content to remain as we are--a slaveholding people, and invite the world to compare us with our neighbors." The Baptist Reverend Iveson Brookes of Georgia cried that slavery

produced exceptionally good character in the people of the South, and the Baptist Reverend Thornton Stringfellow published enormously influential pamphlets in defense of slavery and slaveholders. Read carefully from 1 Peter, 2:13 to the end, Stringfellow preached, and you will find "much to secure civil subordination to the State, and hearty and cheerful obedience to the masters, on the part of servants." Stringfellow pointed out that Peter says nothing about masters here but, rather, implicitly identifies the danger to Christianity as arising "on the side of insubordination among the servants, and a want of humility with inferiors, rather than haughtiness among superiors in the church." Stringfellow, who himself owned some thirty slaves, worked himself into ecstasy over slavery's wonderful effects on southern moral as well as material life, gushing that slavery "deserves to expand."³¹

Some ministers laid it on even thicker. In North Carolina the Reverend Mr. Deems raised William Haigh's eyebrows: "His sermon Sunday closed strangely--the last head was--'Jesus Christ as a Gentleman.'" The Reverend R. H. Rivers, a professor at Wesleyan University in Alabama and a prominent Methodist moral philosopher, stated flatly in his popular textbook on moral philosophy, "Slavery exerts no evil effects upon the master." The Methodist Reverend H. N. McTyeire, also defended slavery but warned what everyone, including Rivers knew: The master "is tempted continually to the exercise of injustice and oppression." When secession and war loomed, the Reverend George Howe, a pillar of the southern Presbyterian establishment, looked back on Jefferson's "often quoted" critique of slavery as "in many respects so unjust." Shortly after the War, Thomas M. Hanckel, in a memoir on the death of Bishop Stephen Elliott of Georgia, "a Southern slaveholder and a representative of Southern society," recalled his character as a full and sufficient answer to those who believe that slavery had a deleterious effect on masters.³²

In various ways slaveholders displayed fear that their children, particularly their boys, lived under unusual temptations to go wrong. Parents had to raise their boys not only to be slave masters but to be ready to assume responsibility for the household, white and black, if their fathers died suddenly. Hence they faced a conundrum. They knew that much in the slaveholding environment conspired to make boys irresponsible and willful rather than strong and judicious. Aided by their preachers and religious faith, they struggled to achieve the proper balance. It was never easy. So far as moral suasion could go, fathers did their best to impress upon their boys the awful burden that would likely fall upon them. Sterling Ruffin was looking forward to bringing his daughter home from school and having her "under our immediate care and direction." He explained to Thomas, his sixteen year-old son: "A girl of her age should not be left to the care of a boarding Mistress, as there is nothing so easily injur'd as the reputation of a Virgin; they are tender flowers that cannot bear the Wintery blasts, or Summer heats. I therefore now call upon you, should it please the Eternal and allwise Creator to deprive them of my aid, to be the protector of my family's rights and Earthly happiness."³³

To the charge that slavery was having disastrous effects on the morals of the young, inducing pride, anger, cruelty, selfishness, and licentiousness, John Fletcher of New Orleans, author of a learned and influential proslavery tract, replied that all power, including that of a husband over his wife, invites abuses and puffs up the pride of the weak-willed--deficiencies that inhered in the human condition. All well and good. But the ability of white boys at tender ages to command black girls and--probably more often--black boys could not be gainsaid, even though it could hardly be discussed openly. References to the sexual temptations provided by access to black girls were few and far between; the temptations

provided by sexual access to black boys was an altogether forbidden subject, although it was readily recognized in slaveholding Brazil. Southern family sources do contain indirect expressions that invite extrapolation. The more well-to-do slaveholders sent their boys away to academies and colleges, in part to get them away from the sexual temptations of plantation life.³⁴

By 1860 the slave states had eleven of the twelve private or state-supported military academies in the United States, with Virginia Military Institute and the Citadel in Charleston the most prestigious. Only in part were they intended to train young men for military service. Most graduates did not go on to military careers, nor did most parents want them to. Military schools were designed primarily to shape character, not make military officers. Thus, William Browne sent his son to VMI in 1841 with an introduction that read, "He is our only son, who was sorely afflicted by illness in his early youth, & may therefore have been more indulged than was proper...I submit him to your guidance with the utmost confidence." Especially in slaveholding families, boys could become imperious and undisciplined at an early age, causing their parents to worry that they might not develop an appropriate level of maturity and self-control. In 1825, Captain Alden Partridge argued for military schools by saying that they were more likely to lead students away from the common college path of dissipation and irresponsibility. Robert Allston's mother sent him to West Point to learn a military discipline that he would need to command slaves. J. Hardeman Stuart, a student at the University of Mississippi, wrote his father in 1857 to express his support for the decision to send his younger brother to a military school: As you know he is constitutionally inert, and the rigid discipline of a Military Academy will probably alter this." Stonewall Jackson, teaching at VMI, doubtless understood, for he had his hands full with

hard-drinking, unruly cadets who raised hell in town and had to be taught to walk orderly. Bishop J. H. Otey of Tennessee, who had trouble with his own sons, recommended the VMI to a Dr. Cook, who was looking for the right place to send his boys. In 1893, John Peyre Thomas, in his history of the Citadel, frankly admitted that slavery injured the white youth of the South: "Reared from infancy to manhood with servants at his command to bring his water, brush his shoes, saddle his horse, and, in fine, to minister to his personal wants, the average Southern boy grew up in some points of character dependant, and lazy and inefficient. He was found, too, wanting in those habits of order and system that come from the necessity, in man, to economize time and labor." Thomas added that the discipline of the Citadel, South Carolina's prized military academy, helped to correct those deficiencies. These testimonies suggest nothing so much as the constant concern of slaveholding parents that Jefferson's warning had to be taken seriously.³⁵

Yet, Jefferson's critics scored important points. For, however powerful the principal tendency of lordship, it engendered counter-tendencies, most notably among those drawn to evangelical Christianity. Intelligent slaveholders worried about the effects upon their children, especially the boys, and sought to promote self-discipline. Robert Carter and his wife had "a manner of instructing and dealing with children far superior, I may say it with confidence," wrote Philip Fithian, "to any I have ever seen, in any place, or in any family." They keep their children "in perfect subjection to themselves, and never pass over an occasion of reproof; and I blush for many of my acquaintances when I say that the children are more kind and complaisant to their servants who constantly attend them than we are to our superiors in age and condition." In the 1860s, Catherine Cooper Hopely noted that

scions of the FFV's were still trying to instill in their children the necessity of working hard to make their way in the world, but she wondered about the extent of their success.³⁶

Many of the planters, to say nothing of the small and middling slaveholders, had come up through the yeomanry and had first-hand knowledge of the importance of hard work for character formation. And among those born to wealth, many knew enough of the world to get the point. Down to the War many planters and proslavery intellectuals, especially divines like Robert L. Dabney, spent their youth as hard-working farm boys. Langdon Cheves of South Carolina, who rose to become president of the Bank of the United States, like the sons of other yeomen, had worked in the fields and plowed before the age of ten. Even in the lowcountry, white boys joined black in grinding corn, viewing it as something of a sport. In the Southwest, planters like Zachary Taylor tamed his wild, Yale-educated son Richard by making him take over a plantation and learn to work as well as manage. When Jefferson Davis quit school in rebellion against the discipline, his father sent him to do fieldwork with the slaves--a two-day experience that sent him scurrying back to school. Many others in their teens had to take over a small farm to provide for their families in the wake of their father's death. The campaign to establish manual-labor colleges failed for a variety of reasons, but it was pursued precisely to combat the tendencies against which Jefferson complained.³⁷

In the 1890s, Andrew Polk of North Carolina, the Populist leader, recalled the boyhood common across the South: He was born and raised on a small plantation of thirty slaves or so, "by one of those plain old farmers" who, in some respects qualified as "an old fogy." His father believed in honest, hard work and taught his sons that even the son of a millionaire must be taught to work. "He had another old fogy idea. He believed that it took

twenty-one years to make a man out of his son." His father would have "no fourteen year old young gentlemen about his premises." In Georgia, Governor and Mrs. Brown, small slaveholding devout Baptists, tried to teach their children to work for themselves, lest their morals be corrupted. Senator Benjamin Hill and his brothers had had to work in the fields with the slaves, keeping the same hours and doing the same work. In later years, Hill returned to Jefferson's indictment and concluded: "No people ever exhibited a more hospitable and refined society, nor one in which the standard of morals was higher, than did the Southern people under slavery."³⁸

Dr. William H. Holcombe of Natchez told a story of his life with a father who took the measure of slavery in Virginia, freed his slaves, and departed for the Midwest. Holcombe's father taught his ten year-old son "an object lesson in the dignity of labor which has never been forgotten." One day his grandmother sent him down to the store to get a jug of molasses. He refused: "It cut a pretty figure lugging molasses through the Street like a little darkie." His father overheard him and commanded him to do as he was told: "I will teach you that all honest labor is respectable and to be respected, whether it be done by a bootblack or a President." He then instructed Willie's grandmother to make sure that he served as molasses-boy for the family thereafter." Young Willie grew up to be ardently proslavery, but he took that lesson to heart and made it his own.³⁹

Some Southerners who winced at the charge that slavery produced spoiled brats suggested that a more vigorous sporting life provided a supplement or functional equivalent to ordinary labor. John Belton O'Neill praised Robert Y. Hayne as a representative South Carolinian shaped by "rural labors and rural sports" to become physically and mentally strong, energetic, and patient, with a sense of responsibility and an unconquerable purpose.

Representative Reuben Davis of Mississippi protested against the great injustice of supposing that southern men "were given up to self-indulgence and luxury." To the contrary, the sons of the gentry were especially "brought up in habits of a free and fearless activity. Daniel Hundley went further, arguing that the outdoor life produced healthy men who, among other advantages, did not readily fall prey to the mental disorders that infected a less vigorous northern society.⁴⁰

Early twentieth-century recollections of Confederate war veterans from all classes in Tennessee provide a window on the extent to which slaveholders tried to raise their sons in a manner designed to prove Jefferson wrong. A minority of planters' sons admitted that they did little or no work, but most of such admissions came from those who insisted that they were in school most of the year. Usually, the sons of slaveholders, including the biggest planters, carefully noted that they did all kinds of farm work "when not at school." Most indicated that their fathers expected them to plow and do other farm work when they came home on vacation. For that matter, some of the sons of middling and small slaveholders, especially those whose fathers were professionals, attended school regularly and worked only during vacations. Having to work with slaves brought out the competitive instincts of some. The father of John Russell Dance owned between fifty and a hundred slaves but insisted his son work hard. Dance remarked, "I plowed and worked with the hoe. Some of my hardest work as a boy was trying to beat the fastest negro cotton picker." Edwin Maximilian Gardner proudly reported that he and his brother picked as much cotton as the best slaves.⁴¹

Such testimony might be dismissed as self-serving were it not that small slaveholders and non-slaveholders attested to its truth, generally suggesting that only the biggest richest and of the planters--and not even most of them--encouraged idleness in their sons. Then

too, small slaveholders and non-slaveholders expressed notable respect for the hard work that planters themselves put into the management of plantations. The overwhelming majority of slaveholders had less than twenty slaves and did not qualify as planters; circumstances demanded that their sons work in the fields. They, too, insisted that they worked alongside of and as hard as the slaves. For a typical case: William Sidney Hartfield's parents owned twelve slaves, but he worked in the fields "from very early evening until late at night." Did the sons of planters and slaveholding yeomen work as hard as the field slaves? Some, like Robert P. Adair appear to have enjoyed doing so. His father, a Tennessee planter, sent him to school, but he preferred to plow and work on the farm. Doubtless, most thought that they did, in fact, work as hard as their slaves, although the slaves may not have agreed. Farmers do, after all, have to work hard. But for perspective consider the testimony of Abram David Reynolds, whose father owned 147 slaves in 1861. Having worked in a tobacco factory as well as on the farm by the time he entered his teens, he admitted that he never worked as hard as when he returned from the War to find the blacks gone.⁴²

Since planters wanted one of their sons to succeed them, they often put one or more to work as fledgling overseers, which meant that they were expected to do every kind of work they would later have to supervise. William G. Lillard, went to college and did not engage in regular farm work, but his father who owned about 100 slaves, insisted that his sons learn farming and do enough physical work to make them men. A big planter might easily have spoken as did the owner of only four slaves in Tennessee when his son, Ireneus F. Fisher complained that he worked him harder than he did his four slaves. The reply: "I

want you to learn to work and if you ever take up business and fail, you will have an experience that dont fail."⁴³

John Triplett Thomas and other wealthy slaveholders in the Virginia Piedmont required their sons learn to learn an assortment of plantation tasks and trades so that, when they were ready to become planters, they could train their slaves properly. Even the aristocratic planters of the lowcountry, despite or because of their enormous wealth, took measures to engage their sons in real work as necessary to their character and sense of responsibility. Robert F. W. Allston, for one, believed that a planter's sons should work as overseers in order to learn the rice business properly. Charles Manigault put his sons to work, declaring, "Any property I may have Created, or Inherited, I would rather, see it sink in the ocean than go to an idle, loafer of a son." The Manigaults, nonetheless, had their share of loafers, as Henry considered his spendthrift brother.⁴⁴

Slaveholders congratulated themselves on their own excellence and wallowed in the illusion that by making their sons do manual labor, they were somehow scotching the tendency to exhibit "boisterous passions." Much depended upon criteria and, above all, the balance of effects. The Reverend J. A Lyon's Report to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church--signed by such distinguished men as the Reverends Benjamin Morgan Palmer and J. Leighton Wilson and by Judge J. N. Whitner--ominously noted that slavery humanizes the character of the master only when it comes up to biblical standards. Master and slave, the Report declared, rise or fall together. Yes, countless slaveholders made every effort to train their boys to be responsible, humane, adults, not petty tyrants, and we may marvel at how many succeeded under the worst of circumstances. For all that, nothing

emerges so clearly as the essential truth of Jefferson's indictment, which by itself was enough to condemn slavery as a system of human relations.⁴⁵

Stanton Elmore, reflected well after the War on the life of masters who were "powerful and yet alone." He thought, "When a hundred slaves did the bidding of one master, and every great plantation was a principality, a little despotism, there were Americans subject to influences now little known of in America or elsewhere." Writing in 1916, Harvey Oliver Cook, professor of Greek at Furman University and a staunch supporter of the old régime, reflected on the lessons of ancient history: "Slaveholding was imperialism in small change and it placed in the will of the master a power which few men and fewer governments have been found sane and wise enough not to abuse."⁴⁶

Notwithstanding the widely different value judgments that separated Southerners' self-celebrations from the tributes paid them by adversaries, the similarity of the descriptions of southern character and personality compels a return to Channing's observations. Recall that, having found "great vices, but greater virtues" in Virginia, he decided that the vices outweighed the virtues: "Could I only take from the Virginians their sensuality and their slaves, I should think them the greatest people in the world." The question most contemporary partisans did not want to hear and that good-spirited people could not resolve has plagued every people in every historical age: To what extent can a people's virtues be separated from attendant vices? Specifically, to what extent did command of slaves produce masters in whom their finest virtues were inextricably intertwined with their vices? And to what extent--if at all--could the virtues be reestablished on other and more just social foundations? These questions and the intractability of the answers underscore the poignancy of George Santayana's bon mot: "The necessity of rejecting and destroying some

things that are beautiful is the deepest curse of existence.” In any case, when the slaveholders surveyed the ruins in 1865, they had reason to recall the handwriting on the wall (Daniel, 5:26-27): “God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it....Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.”⁴⁷

¹ Augustine, "On the Trinity," tr. Arthur West Hadden, rev. and annotated William G. T. Shedd, in Philip Schaff, ed., Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 1st ser., 14 vols. (Peabody, Mass., 1995), 3:176. Augustine was widely read in the South, promoted primarily by the Presbyterians, who commanded much of the educational system.

² Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (Chapel Hill, 1955), 155. Jefferson's words were quoted with approbation by Jedidiah Morse in his popular text American Geography (1789 and many subsequent editions), and by the moderate antislavery men as well as the abolitionists from the 1820s onward: see e. g., George M. Stroud, A Sketch of the Laws Relating to Slavery in the Several States of the United States of America, 2nd ed. N. Y., 1966 [1856; 1st ed., 1827]), x, 42; John Hersey, An Appeal to Christians on the Subject of Slavery, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1833), 43-45; Sarah M. Grimké; An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States (N. Y., 1836), 19; William Goodell, Views of American Constitutional Law, in Its Bearing upon American Slavery, 2nd ed. (Utica, N. Y., 1845), 11; John S. C. Abbott, South and North; or, Impressions Received during a Trip to Cuba and the South (N. Y., 1969 [1860]), 83-84, 100; LaRoy Sunderland, The Anti-Slavery Manual: Containing a Collection of Facts and Arguments on American Slavery 3rd ed. (N. Y., 1839), 31; Rufus W. Clark, A Review of the Rev. Moses Stuart's Pamphlet on Slavery, Entitled Conscience and the Constitution (Boston, 1850), 74; Charles K. Whipple, The Family Relation as Affected by Slavery (N. Y., 1858), 19.

³ For Locke's views and its influence in America see Thomas L. Pangle, The Spirit of Modern Republicanism: The Moral Vision of the American Founders and the Philosophy of Locke (Chicago, Ill., 1988), 180-181; Baron de Montesquieu, The Spirit of the Laws, tr. Thomas Nugent 2 vols. in 1 (N. Y., 1975 [1734]), 1:Bk. 15.1; George Mason, "Scheme for Replevying Goods and Distress for Rent," in ., Robert A. Rutland, ed., The Papers of George Mason, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, N. C. 1970), 1:61-62; Mason in James Madison, Notes of the Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 (Athens, Oh., 1966), 504 for the Ellsworth-Mason exchange see Robert Allen Rutland, George Mason: Reluctant Statesman (Baton Rouge, La.), 88; St. George Tucker, ed., Blackstone's Commentaries, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1803), 1 (pt. 2), App. Note H., 63, 69. On Ramsay's shift see Arthur H. Shaffer, To Be an American: David Ramsay and the Making of the American Consciousness (Columbia, S. C., 1991), 176; Shaffer, "David Ramsay and the Limits of Revolutionary Nationalism," in Michael O'Brien and David Moltke-Hansen, eds., Intellectual Life in Antebellum Charleston (Knoxville, Tenn., 1986), 74-75.

Benjamin Franklin, among other Northerners, had been making the same points about children and slavery. Sir Moses Finley aptly observed that Franklin's complaint about the effect of slavery not on slaves but on masters was possible only in a modern society that proclaimed the virtue of earning a living by one's own industry: Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology (N. Y., 1980), 100.

⁴ Wayland in Richard Fuller and Francis Wayland, Domestic Slavery, Considered as a Scriptural Institution in Correspondence, 5th ed. (N. Y., 1847), 120; Len Gougeon and Joel Myerson, ed., Emerson's Antislavery Writings (New Haven, 1995), 17, 38, 48, also, 74; Grimké, quoted in Ronald G. Walters, The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830 (Baltimore, Md., 1976), 71; Adam Gurowski, January, 1862 in Adam G. de Gurowski,

Diary, 2 vols. (Boston, Mass., 1862-1865), 143; C. S. Lewis, "Equality," in Present Concerns (N. Y., 1986). Jefferson's words were quoted with approbation by Jedidiah Morse in his popular text American Geography (1789 and many subsequent editions), and by the moderate antislavery men as well as the abolitionists from the 1820s onward: see e. g., George M. Stroud, A Sketch of the Laws Relating to Slavery in the Several States of the United States of America, 2nd ed. (N. Y., 1966 [1856; 1st ed., 1827]), x, 42; John Hersey, An Appeal to Christians on the Subject of Slavery, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1833), 43-45; Sarah M. Grimké, An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States (N. Y., 1836), 19; William Goodell, Views of American Constitutional Law, in Its Bearing upon American Slavery, 2nd ed. (Utica, N. Y., 1845), 11; John S. C. Abbott, South and North; or, Impressions Received during a Trip to Cuba and the South (N. Y., 1969 [1860]), 83-84, 100; LaRoy Sunderland, Anti-Slavery Manual, 31; Rufus W. Clark, A Review of the Rev. Moses Stuart's Pamphlet on Slavery, Entitled Conscience and the Constitution (Boston, 1850), 74; Charles K. Whipple, The Family Relation as Affected by Slavery (N. Y., 1858), 19.

⁵ Wesley quoted in Walter J. Fraser, Jr. Charleston! Charleston!: The History of a Southern City (Columbia, S. C., 1989), 54; Latrobe, Apr. 16, 1797, in Edward C. Carter, III, et al., ed., The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1795-1798, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1977), 1:208-209; Fulkerson, Early Days in Mississippi, 14, 16, 144; Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey in the Back Country (N. Y., 1970 [1860]), 269; Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas; Or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier (Austin, 1978 [1857]), 117.

⁶ Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans (Gloucester, Mass., 1974 [1832]), 245, n. 3; Fredrika Bremer, Homes of the New World: Impressions of America, 2 vols. (N. Y., 1853), 2:233-234; Harriet Martineau, Society in America, 2 vols. (N. Y., 1837), 2:342; Catherine Cooper Hopley, Life in the South from the Commencement of the War, 2 vols. (N. Y., 1971 [1863]), 2:244; in general see Jane Louise Mesick, The English Traveler in America, 1785-1835, (N. Y., 1922), 141-142.

⁷ Committee of the Synod of Kentucky, Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, 7. See also, P. Cartwright, Backwoods Preacher, 58, 118; Kendall's Journal quoted in Clement Eaton, Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics (Boston, 1957), 66; Mary Jane Chester to Elizabeth Chester, Dec. 8, 1840; also, Jan. 7, 1841, Papers at UNC; Frances Kemble, Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839 (N. Y., 1863), 57-58; John Evans to George Noble Jones, April 15, 1852, in Ukrich Bonnell Phillips and James David Glunt, eds., Florida Plantation Records from the papers of George Noble Jones (St. Louis, 1927), 65; Arney R. Childs, ed., Planters and Businessmen: The Guignard Family of South Carolina, 1795-1930 (Columbia, S. C., 1957), 15; The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires, ed. Coleen Morse Elliott and Louise Armstrong Moxley, 5 vols. (Easley, S. C., 1985), 1:300 (Beard)--hereafter cited as TCWVQ.

⁸ Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, Mary Boykin Chesnut, A Biography (Baton Rouge, La., 1981), 19 (She was 5); Anna Matilda King to Thomas Butler King, Dec. 24, 1844, Aug. 8, 1858, in T. B. King Papers; Michael T. Parrish, Richard Taylor: Soldier Prince of Dixie (Chapel Hill, 1992), 55.

⁹ For the setting and impact of Gaston's lecture see Clement Eaton, The Freedom-of-Thought Struggle in the Old South (N. Y., 1964), 220; Drew Gilpin Faust, James Henry Hammond and the Old South (Baton Rouge, La., 1982), 9; Mary D. Robertson, ed., Lucy

Breckinridge of Grove Hill: The Journal of a Virginia Girl, 1826-1864 (Kent, Oh., 1979), 211.

¹⁰ Solomon Northup, Twelve Years a Slave (N. Y., 1970 [1854]), 261-262. For a sampling of black testimony see Benjamin Drew, ed., A North-Side View of Slavery: The Refugee (N. Y., 1968 [1856]), 156; Benjamin A. Botkin, ed., Lay My Burden Down (Chicago, Ill., 19450), 174; George Rawick, ed., The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, 19 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1972), Rawick Ind, VI (Pt. 2), 27-28; Okla, VII (Pt. 1), 77; SC, II (Part 2)), 178.

¹¹ Francis Black in Rawick, American Slave: Texas, 4 (pt. 1), 88; Pennington, in Arna Bontemps, ed., Great Slave Narratives, 208; Feaster in Rawick, American Slave:S.C., 2 (pt. 2), 50; S.C., 2 (pt. 2), 130, 176; D. E. Huger Smith, in Alice R. Huger Smith, A Carolina Rice Plantation, 81, 83.

¹² Edmund Burke, Conciliation with the Colonies, ed. Cornelius Beach Bradley (Boston, 1894), 21.

¹³ Robert Dawidoff, The Education of John Randolph (N. Y., 1979), 217-18; William Cabell Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833, 2 vols. (N. Y., 1970 [1922]), 1:140, 239; 2:675; ; K. Shorey, ed., Collected Letters of John Randolph of Roanoke to Dr. John to Brokenbrough, 1812-1833, (New Brunswick, N. J., 1988), xvii; "Letter from Mr. Wirt to a Law Student," SLM, 1 (1834), 35; [Daniel K. Whitaker], "English Views of the Literature and Literary Men, and of the Political and Domestic Character of the People of Ancient Greece and Rome," Southern Literary Journal, 1 (1836), 426; Henry W. Miller, Address Delivered before the Philanthropic and Dialectic Societies of the University of North-Carolina, June 3, 1857 (Raleigh, 1857), 8; Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, "Moral and Political Effect of the Relation between the Caucasian and the African Slave." Southern Literary Messenger, 10 (1844), 747; Jasper Adams, Elements of Moral Philosophy (Philadelphia, 1837), 101-102; James P. Holcombe, The Election of a Black Republican President (Richmond, 1860), 9. In 1863 Edmund Ruffin read Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France for the third time: May 14, 1863, in William Kaufman Scarborough, ed., The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, 3 vols. (Baton Rouge, La., 1972-1989), 2:656. For the impact of Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France in the South see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and ugene D. Genovese, The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders's Ideology (forthcoming), ch. 1.

¹⁴ Robert Y. Hayne, Jan. 25, 1830, in Herman Belz, ed., The Webster-Hayne Debate on the Nature of the Unon: Selected Documents (Indianapolis, Ind., 2000), 50; [William Drayton], The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists (Philadelphia, 1836), 104-108; Basil Manly, "An Address on Agriculture," in Proceedings of the Agricultural Convention of the State of Alabama (Tuscaloosa, 1842), 20; John Perkins, Jr., An Address Delivered before the Adelphic and Belle-lettres Societies, of Oakland College...On the Duty of Drawing from the History and the Theory of Our Government Just Views of Individual and National Life (Port Gibson, Miss., 1853), 17-18; "Address at the University of Georgia, 1871," in Senator Benjamin Hill of Georgia: His Life, Speeches and Writings (Atlanta, Ga., 1891), 342, n.; D. J. McCord, "How the South Is Affected by Its Slave Institutions," DeBow's Review, 11 (1851), 351-352, 357; George Fitzhugh, "Southern Thought—Its New and Important Manifestations," DeBow's Review, 23 (1857), 349; also, "American Slavery in 1857," Southern Literary Messenger, 25 (1857),

84; ; Robert Toombs, "Slavery—Its Constitutional Status and Influence on Society and on the Colored," DeBow's Review, 20 (1856), 604. Gerrit Smith invoked the speech of William Pinckney of Maryland in 1789, on slavery's transformation of whites into despots, to refute Burke's tribute. Letter of Gerrit Smith to Rev. James Smylie of the State of Mississippi (N. Y., 1837), 52-53.

¹⁵ John Taylor, Arator: Being a Series of Agricultural Essays, Practical and Political: In Sixty-Four Numbers (Indianapolis, Ind., 1977 [1818]), 121-123. Jefferson did not reply to Taylor directly, but he may have been making an oblique reference in letters to John Adams in which he wrote derisively of Taylor's "quaint, mystical and hyperbolic ideas, involved in affected, new-fangled and pedantic terms" and of his "far-fetched, mystical concepts, and flimsy theories." See Jefferson to John Adams, Oct. 28, 1813, Jan. 24, 1814, in Lester J. Cappon, ed., The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), 2:392, 421.

¹⁶ John Chester Miller, The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery, (N. Y., 1977), 32; Jefferson quoted in Dumas Malone, Jefferson and His Time, 6 vols. (Boston, Mass., 1962-1981), 1:87, also, 6:329-330; for Smith see Glover Moore, The Missouri Controversy, 1819-1821 (Lexington, Ky., 1966), 125.

¹⁷ George Tucker, The Life of Thomas Jefferson, 2 vols. (London, U. K., 1837), 1:10-11, 120, 122-123; "A Few Thought on Slavery," 20 (1854), 198; John Randolph Tucker, "The Great Issue," Southern Literary Messenger, 32 (1861), 164. George Tucker reiterated these themes later in life, when he had removed to Philadelphia: Political Economy for the People (Philadelphia, 1859), 86-87.

¹⁸ Chancellor Harper, "Slavery in the Light of Social Ethics," in E. N. Elliott, ed., King Cotton Is King and Pro-Slavery Arguments (N. Y., 1969 [1860]), 597; C., "Remarks on Servility." Southern Literary Messenger, 1 (1834), 6; Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia (Charleston, S. C., 1845), 158; W. [of Westmoreland Co., Va.], "Slavery in the Southern States," Southern Literary Messenger, 9 (1843), 739-740; Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, "Moral and Political Effect of the Relation between the Caucasian and the African Slave." Southern Literary Messenger, 10 (1844), 333; Mr. Smith, "Character of the American People," Southern Quarterly Review, 3rd Ser., 2 (1857), 404; N. D. Newton, XXXX; Sigma, "Southern individuality," Southern Literary Messenger, 36 (1864), 370; F. W. Pickens, An Address Delivered before the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina (Columbia, S. C., 1849), 13-15; see also, "Slavery and the Abolitionists," Southern Quarterly Review, 15 (1849), 165-223.

¹⁹ Jefferson to Chastellux, Sept. 2, 1785, in Julian P. Boyd, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 28 vols. (Princeton, N. J., 1953), 8:468. According to Jefferson, both cherished their liberties, but Southerners trampled those of others, while Northerners were solicitous. Southerners had no attachment or pretensions to religion except that of the heart, whereas he found Northerners superstitious and hypocritical. J. C. Calhoun to Andrew Pickens, Jr., May 23, 1803 and Calhoun to Alexander Noble, Oct. 15, 1804, in JCCP, 1:10, 13; John Tyler, Sr. to St. George Tucker, July 10, 1795, in Lyon Gardiner Tyler, The Letters and Times of the Tylers, 3 vols. (Williamsburg, Va., 1884-1886), 3:10.

Not everyone agreed. During the nullification crisis in South Carolina, William Campbell Preston of South Carolina wrote to Waddy Thompson, a fellow unionist, that

Southerners “lack perseverance and can only effect their object by a coup de main,” whereas Northerners “never know when to let go what they once put their hands on.” In vain Preston warned against dismissal of Yankees as vulgar, tight-fisted peddlers: “Their energy and enterprise are directed to all objects, great and small within their reach.” Many Carolinians did not share his sober caution. See W. C. Preston to Waddy Thompson, June 23, 1829, in the Preston Papers; Preston quoted in C. G. Parsons, An Inside View of Slavery: A Tour among the Planters (Savannah, Ga., 1974 [1855]), 165. Some twenty years later, a rueful “J. W. D.” complained that Southerners lack the staying power of Northerners. Southern projects, often brilliant, come with a flash and die as quickly: see J. W. D., Southern Eclectic, 1 (1853), 63-66. Nothing alarmed or amazed Augustus Baldwin Longstreet more than the “apathy and indifference” with which Southerners greeted “the encroachments and the pretensions of the Abolitionists.” Author of the rollicking Georgia Scenes and a Methodist minister and college president, Longstreet doubted that another people “would have seen the fires of destruction kindled around them, as they have been kindled around us, with so little resistance, with so little emotion.” William Gilmore Simms, literary light of South Carolina, wrote to his good friend, the politically powerful J. H. Hammond, that Southerners bravely followed audacious leaders but lived too far apart to move politically unless directly attacked. Hammond agreed that Southerners rushed to the field of honor on personal matters but lacked the public spirit necessary to defend their political interests. As a young man, Simms himself had written a to New Yorker, “We Southrons, you know, are creatures of impulse and prejudice,” and Thomas DeLeon of South Carolina laconically remarked after the War, “The young men of the whole South are off-hand and impulsive.” In short Southerners collectively were slow to move, while individually more excitable than Northerners and prone to rashness. See [Augustus Baldwin Longstreet], A Voice from the South: Comprising Letters from Georgia to Massachusetts, and to the Southern States (Baltimore, Md., 1847), 55; Simms to Lawson, July 16, 1830; Simms to Hammond, Jan. 28, 1858, in Mary C. Oliphant, et al., eds., The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, 5 vols. (Columbia, S. C., 1952-1956), 1:3; 4:16-17; T. C. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals (Mobile, Ala., 1892), 155; also, T. L. Clingman, “Speech in Defence of the South,” Jan. 22, 1850, and “Speech on the Future Policy of the Government,” Feb. 15, 1851, in Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Hon. Thomas L. Clingman of North Carolina (Raleigh, N. C., 1877), 238, 283-284; Simms captured the positive and negative effects of rural isolation in his fiction, as shown in Mary Ann Wimsatt, Major Fiction of William Gilmore Simms: Cultural Traditions and Literary Form (Baton Rouge, La., 1989).

²⁰ Marquess of Lothian, “A British View of American Aristocracy,” in Belle Becker Seidman and Lillian Friedman, ed., Europe Looks at the Civil War, An Anthology (N. Y., 1960), 22; E. S. Abdy, Journal of Residence and Tour in the United States of North America, 3 vols. (N. Y., 1969 [1835]), 1:35-36; Francis J. Grund, Aristocracy in America: From the Sketchbook of a German Nobleman (Gloucester, MA., 1968 [1839]), 10, 45-46, 87, 276; John Duffy, ed., Parson Clapp of the Strangers’ Church of New Orleans (Baton Rouge, La., 1957), 167.

²¹ Louisa Quitman to J. A. Quitman, Nov. 17, 1846, at UNC-SHC; Clyde N. Wilson, Carolina Cavalier: The Life and Mind of James Johnston Pettigrew (Athens, Ga., 1990), 110; E. G. C. Thomas Diary, May 27, 1865, at Duke University; Chivers to Bush, March 11, 1855, in Emma Lester Chase and Lois Ferry Parks, ed., The Complete Works of Thomas Holley

Chivers: Correspondence, 1838-1858 (Providence, R. I., 1957), 229; Jan. 11, 1863, in Beth G. Crabtree and James Welch Patton, eds., "Journal of a Secesh Lady": The Diary of Catherine Devereux Edmonston, 1860-1866 (Raleigh, N. C., 1979), 341; Tally Simpson to Caroline Taliaferro, Nov. 12, 1860, in Guy R. Everson and Edward W. Simpson, Jr., eds., "Far, Far from Home": The Wartime Letters of Dick and Tully Simpson, Third South Carolina Volunteers (N. Y., 1994), xvii. . Mary Moragné heard an eloquent speech by Mr. Custis of the board of foreign missions, "but I discovered that he was a Yankee, by a certain obsequiousness--a busy servility, so opposite to the stately indifference of the haughty Southrons--and I turned on my heel [and] mounted my horse": July 29, 1838, Della Mullen Craven, ed., The Neglected Thread: A Journal of the Calhoun Community (Columbia, S. C., 1951), 102.

²² Memoir of Langdon Cheves," in Richard C. Lounsbury, ed., Louisa S. McCord: Poems, Drama, Biography, Letters (Charlottesville, 1996), (Charlottesville, 1996), 261; W. H. Holcombe Diary, Aug. 5, 1855 (but apparently written early in the War), at UNC-SHC; "B." [Holcombe], "The New Social Propositions," Southern Literary Messenger, 20 (May 1854), 295; F. A. Porcher, "Southern and Northern Civilization Contrasted," Russell's Magazine, 1 (1857), 1 (May 1857), 104-105; Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy (Baton Rouge, La., 1978), 309-310; Hugh A. Garland, The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke, 2 vols. (N. Y., 1969 [1859]), 1:1; also, William Cabell Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833: A Biography Based Largely on New Material, 2 vols. (N. Y., 1970 [1922]), 2:116.

²³ G. S. S., "Sketches of the South Santee," American Monthly Magazine 8 (Oct.-Nov., 1836), 313-319, 431-432; Moses Stuart, Conscience and the Constitution (Boston, Mass., 1850), 95; Paulding took a mildly antislavery stance in the 1817 ed. of his Letters from the South but moved to proslavery in the 1835 ed.; N. P. Willis, in Katharine M. Jones, ed., The Plantation South (Indianapolis, Ind., 1957), 339; Virginius Dabney, Liberalism in the South (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1932), Channing quoted at 35 and 39; Memoir of William Ellery Channing, with Extracts from His Correspondence and Manuscripts, 3 vols. (Boston, Mass., 1851) 1:83; John Pendleton Kennedy, The Border States, Their Power and Duty in the Present Disordered Condition of the Country (n. p., 1860), 10. For another antislavery defense of southern character see [Anon.], "Who Is responsible for the Current Slavery Agitation," Presbyterian Quarterly Review, 31 (1860), 543.

James Redpath, a South-hating abolitionist, admitted to being surprised by the slaveholders of Savannah: "I saw so much that was noble, generous and admirable in their characters": The Roving Editor: or, Talks with Slaves in the Southern States (N. Y., 1859), 82. Friendly travelers described Southerners as typically generous, unpretentious, and manly, whereas hostile travelers described them as rash, arrogant, and vulgar. Few reflected on the contrary descriptions as two sides of the same coin. See Kenneth R. Wesson, "Travelers' Accounts of the Southern Character: Antebellum and Early Postbellum Period," Southern Studies, 17 (1978), 310.

²⁴ John Belton O'Neill, Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina, 2 vols. (Charleston, S. C., 1859), 1:189-190; Hoar quoted in Harvey Toliver Cook, The Life and Legacy of David Rogerson Williams (N. Y., 1916), 25-26[Anon.], "Who Is Responsible for the Present Slavery Agitation?" Presbyterian Quarterly Review, 31 (April 1860), 543; William W. Bennett, A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevalled in the Southern

Armies during the Late Civil War between the States of the Federal Union (Harrisonburg, Va., 1989 [1876]), 29. . Robert L. Preston recalled Hoar's remarks in his Southern Miscellanies (Leesburg, Va., 1919), 29.

²⁵ Wade quoted in Louis Filler, The Crusade against Slavery, 1830-1860 (N. Y., 1960), 224; for Phillips, as reported by Henry Yates Thompson, see Christopher Chancellor, ed., An Englishman in the American Civil War: The Diaries of Henry Yates Thompson (N. Y., 1971), 66; Beman quoted in Owen Petersen, A Divine Discontent: The Life of Nathan S.S. Beman (Macon, Ga., 1986), 202; Tryphena Fox to Anna Rose Holder, Aug. 8. 1861, in Wilma King, ed., A Northern Woman in the Plantation South: Letters of Tryphena Blanche Holder Fox, 1856-1876 (Columbia, S. C., 1993), 130.

²⁶ [M. R. H. Garnett], The Union, Past and Future: How It Works, and How to Save It, 4th ed. (Charleston, 1850), 36-38; "Speech on the Slavery Question, in Clyde N. Wilson, ed., The Essential Calhoun: Selection from Writings, Speeches, and Letters (New Brunswick, N. J., 1991), 388; Joseph T. Durkin, Stephen R. Mallory: Confederate Navy Chief (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1954), 104; Waddy Thompson quoted in Mark M. Smith, ed., Debating Slavery: Economy and Society in the Antebellum South (N. Y., 1998); Pleasant A. Stovall, Robert Toombs: Statesman, Speaker, Soldier, Sage (N. Y., 1892), 137-138; Norman D. Brown, Edward Stanly: Whigger's Tarheel "Conqueror" (University, Ala., 1974), 92; Winston quoted in James Benson Sellers, Slavery in Alabama (University, Ala., 1964), 34, 39-351.

²⁷ Robert F. W. Allston to James Hammond, July 24, 1846, in J. H. Easterby, ed., The South Carolina Rice Plantation, as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston (Chicago, Ill., 1945), 95, 27 (sons); David Outlaw to Emily Outlaw, Dec. 10, 1849, Outlaw Papers at UNC.

²⁸ W. H. Trescot, "South Carolina-A Colony and State, DeBow's Review, 27 (1859), 686; A. B. Meek, Romantic Passages in Southwestern History, Including Sketches and Essays (Mobile, Ala., 1857), 58-59; Edward A. Pollard, Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South (N. Y., 1968 [1859]), 107; Anniversary Discourse of E. H. Barton, A. M., M. D., President, before the New Orleans Academy of Sciences (New Orleans, 1856), 22; T. R. R. Cobb, An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery (N.Y., 1968 [1858]), ccxix; Daniel R. Hundley, Social Relations in Our Southern States (Baton Rouge, 1979 [1860]), 71.

²⁹ D. W. Mitchell, Ten Years in the United States: Being an Englishman's Views of Men and Things in the North and South (London, U. K., 1862), 182, 195; John Mitchel, "A Tour in the South-West," Southern Citizen, Feb. 6, 1858;

³⁰ Jasper Adams, Elements of Moral Philosophy (Philadelphia, Pa., 1837), 150; William Meade, Old Churches, Ministries, and Families of Virginia, 2 vols. (Berrysville, Va., 1978 [1857]), 1:90-91n.

³¹ A. A. Porter, "North and South," Southern Presbyterian Review, 3 (1850), 365; Iveson L. Brookes, A Defence of Slavery against the Attacks of Henry Clay and Alex'r Campbell (Hamburg. S. C., 1851), 40-41; Stringfellow, "Bible Argument," and "Statistical View," in E. N. Elliott, ed., Cotton Is King, 483, 523.

³² Haigh Diary, Jan. 23, 1842, at UNC; R. H. Rivers, Elements of Moral Philosophy (Nashville, 1859), 356; H. N. McTyeire, Duties of Christian Masters, ed. Thomas O. Summers (Nashville, Tenn., 1859), 128; [George Howe], "The Raid of John Brown, and the Progress of Abolition," Southern Presbyterian Review, 12 (1860), 788; Hanckel, "Memoir,"

in Sermons by the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., Late Bishop of Georgia, with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, Esq. (N. Y., 1867), xiii-xv.

³³ Sterling Ruffin to Thomas Ruffin, Sept. 8, 1803, in J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, ed., The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, 4 vols. (Raleigh, N. C., 1918), 1:46.

³⁴ John Fletcher, Studies on Slavery (Natchez, 1852), 25, 206-207. Southerners knew from their reading of history and literature that homosexuality flourished in the ancient slave societies they most admired. For one thing, from Suetonius Southerners learned of Julius Caesar's bisexuality--his "evil reputation for both sodomy and adultery"--and of Curio's calling Caesar "every woman's man and every man's woman." See Suetonius, Lives of the Twelve Caesars (Modern Library ed.), 31. That homosexuality was much more widespread than reported seems clear, and its origins in the behavior of the children invites speculations. But speculation is about all we can responsibly engage in.

³⁵ Edgar W. Knight, ed., A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860, ed. 5 vols. (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1949-1953), 4:155; Browne in Jacob and Arnold, VMI Album, 4; Mark T. Carleton, "Louisiana State Seminary and Military Academy," Encyclopedia of the Confederacy, 3:957; John Peyre Thomas, The History of the South Carolina Military Academy (Columbia, S. C., 1991 [1893]), 74-75, 78, 243; on Allston see Dusinberre, Them Dark Days, 288; J. Hardeman Stuart to Oscar Stuart, Feb. 15, 1857, in Mayes-Dimitry-Stuart Papers; John Bowers, Stonewall Jackson: Portrait of a Soldier (N. Y., 1989), 79; Otey to Cook, Jan. 8, 1862, in Otey Papers at UNC. In time, the Episcopal Church sponsored the prestigious Porter Military Academy: Albert Sidney Thomas, A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1820-1857: Being a Continuation of Dalcho's Account, 1670-1820 (Columbia, S. C., 1957), 763.

³⁶ Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed., Journal and Letters of Philip Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774 (Charlottesville, Va., 1957), Dec. 1, 1773; Catherine Cooper Hopley, Life in the South from the Commencement of the War, 2 vols. (N. Y., 1971 [1863]), 1:206-209.

³⁷ Huger Smith, Recollections, 15; Parrish, Richard Taylor, 24; Clement Eaton, Jefferson Davis (N. Y., 1977), 16; Brian Steel Wills, A Battle from the Start: The Life of Nathan Bedford Forrest (N. Y., 1992), 10-11. For accounts of prominent men who worked along with slaves on farm see L. S. McCord, "Memoir of Langdon Cheves," in Richard C. Lounsbury, ed., Louisa S. McCord: Poems, Drama, Biography, Letters (Charlottesville, 1996), 248; Carmack Diary, "Account of Life for his Children" (ms.), at UNC; Reuben Davis, Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians (Oxford, Miss., 1972 [1879]), 4; Joel Crawford to Gen. Duncan L. Clinch, Nov. 17, 1844, in Henry Thomas Shanks, ed., The Papers of Willie P. Mangum, 5 vols. (Raleigh, N. C., 1955-1956), 4:241; J. Marion Sims, The Story of My Life (N. Y., 1884), 71; M. E. Bradford, Against the Barbarians: And Other Reflections on Familiar Themes (Columbus, Mo., 1992), 139 (on Thomas Sumter); Aiken "Autobiography," 2-3 (ms. At UNC); Thomas Teleston Wells, The Hugers of South Carolina (N. Y., 1931), 11-12; Emmaline Eve's account of her family in Carmichael Papers at UNC; on the manual-labor schools see George Washington Paschal, History of Wake Forest College, 2 vols. (Wake Forest, N. C., 1935), 1: ch. 5. Small slaveholders normally sent their sons to work with the slaves at critical moments in the production schedule: Augustus Longstreet Hull, Annals of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1901 (Danielsville, Ga., 1906), 79; Franklin M Garrett, Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events (Athens,

Ga., 1954) 1:33; R. L. Dabney, Life and Campaigns of Lt. Gen T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson, (Harrisonburg, Va., 1983 [1865]), 19; George Lee Simpson, Jr., The Cokers of Carolina: A Social Biography of a Family (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1956), 43. The sons of middling slaveholders (10 to 20) generally had to do farm work, and some reported having started at age eight to ten: TCWVQ, 1:337, 2:824; 3:1314.

³⁸ Stuart Noblin, Leonidas Lafayette Polk: Agrarian Crusader (Chapel Hill, 1949), 22; James C. Bonner, Milledgeville: Georgia's Antebellum Capital (Athens, Ga., 1978), 148-151 (Browns); Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia: His Life, Speeches and Writings (Atlanta, Ga., 1891), 12, 342, n.; also, H. P. Griffith, The Life and Times of Rev. John G. Landrum (Charleston, S. C., 1992 [1885]), 26-27; J. R. Lowell, ed., Virginian in New England." Archibald Murphey's grandfather had made sure that his sons were taught trades: Archibald Murphey to Archibald D. Murphey, April 13, 1807, in William Henry Hoyt, ed., The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey, 2 vols. (Raleigh, N. C., 1914), 1:11-12.

³⁹ Holcombe "Autobiography" (ms.), Part 2, ch. 2, 4-5, papers at UNC. Holcombe also told of a relative, Beverly Lafayette Holcombe of Tennessee, who worked in the field with his slaves so that his wife and daughter could spend gay winters in New Orleans: Autobiography (ms.), 21.

⁴⁰ John Belton O'Neill, Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina, 2 vols. (Charleston, S. C., 1859), 2:27; R. Davis, Recollections, 157-158; Hundley, Social Relations, 40-41.

⁴¹ For planters sons who admitted to doing little or no work see TCWVQ, 1:317; 2:464, 494, 671, 694, 829; 3:1038, 1205, 1245, 1256; 4:1425, 1430, 1756; 5:1860, 1901, 1940, 1983, 2019, 2066, 2106, 2111, 2115, 2151, 2162. For those who spoke of working in the fields when on vacation from school see TCWVQ, 1:192, 220, 225, 239, 286; 2:439, 441, 545, 603, 628, 865; 3:923, 985, 1060, 1179; 4:1523, 1667, 1774; 5:1833, 2137. For the sons of small and middling slaveholders who spent most of the year at school and worked only when on vacation see TCWVQ, 1:363, 386; 2:460, 547, 550, 679, 684; 3:875; 3:923, 965, 995, 1065; 4:1771; 5:2005. For Dance see TCWVQ, 2:630; for Gardner see 3:884.

⁴² For the testimony of small and middling slaveholders' sons on working with slaves see TCWVQ, 2:360, 399, 412, 413, 418, 704, 708, 711, 824; 3:881, 1037 (Hartfield), 1078, 1083, 1110, 1163, 1240; 4:1596. 1708, 1768, 1777, 1780; 5:1797, 1958, 2025, 2030, 2037, 2205. For Adair see 1:165, and for Reynolds, 5:1823. Nathaniel Macon, a planter and son of planter, worked in the fields with his slaves until he was too old and feeble: William S. Price, Jr., "Nathaniel Macon, Planter," North Carolina Historical Review, 78 (2001), 199.

⁴³ TCWVQ, 4:1361 (Lillard); 2: 815 (Fisher).

⁴⁴ For some cases of planters' sons who were made to do every kind of farm work in preparation for overseeing see 3:921; 4:1370, 1670; 5:1980; Catherine T. Bartlett, ed, "My Dear Brother": A Confederate Chronicle (Richmond, Va., 1952), 21-22; for the low country see Easterby, South Carolina Rice Plantation, *passim*; William Dusingberre, Them Dark Days: Slavery in the Rice Swamps (Athens, Ga., 2000), 39.

⁴⁵ For the text of the Lyon Report see Southern Presbyterian Review, 16 (July, 1863), 1-37.

⁴⁶ William Garrott Brown, ed., A Gentleman of the South: A Memory of the Black Belt from the Manuscript Memoirs of the Late Colonel Stanton Elmore (N. Y., 1903), 128-129; Harvey Toliver Cook, The Life and Legacy of David Rogerson Williams (N. Y., 1916),

24. A running theme of The Patriarchal System (1828) by the proslavery but antiracist Zephaniah Kingsley of Florida was that, in fact, well-treated black slaves were more virtuous--much less corrupt--than the mass of poor laboring whites.

⁴⁷ George Santayans, Character and Opinion in the United States (N> Y>, 1920), 130. G. K. Chesterton's remark on Fascism applies just as well to slavery: "It appeals to an appetite for authority, without very clearly giving the authority for the appetite." Quoted in Joseph Pearce, "Fascism and Chesterton," Chesterton Review, 25 (1999), 71.