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Compromise: The Delay of a Crisis

Directions: Use the documents below and a textbook to answer the questions at the end of the handout.

Document A

Regional Distribution of Wealth, 1850

Property	North	West	South
Value of animals	\$173,812,690	\$112,563,851	\$253,795,330
Capital in manufacture	382,366,732	155,883,045	94,995,674
Value in railroads	451,949,410	298,837,647	221,857,503
Value of bank capital	186,668,462	16,978,130	97,730,579
Real estate	1,835,063,613	619,154,287	1,445,008,447
Personal estate	544,718,966	195,054,073	1,385,727,523*

*Includes value of slaves

Thomas P. Kettell, *Southern Wealth and Northern Politics*, New York: George W. and John A. Wood, 1860, p. 145.

Document B

Personal Income Per Capita by Regions, 1840–1860

Regions	1840	1860
Northeast	135%	139%
North Central	68%	68%
South	76%	72%

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the U.S. Census for 1850*, p. 40. U.S. Census Bureau. *A Compendium of the Ninth Census, June 1, 1870*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872, pp. 798–99.

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Document C

Speech of John C. Calhoun Delivered by Senator James Mason

A single section, governed by the will of the numerical majority, now controls the government and its entire powers. The North has absolute control over the government. It is clear, therefore, that on all questions between it and the South, where there are different interests, the interests of the South will be sacrificed to the North, no matter how oppressive the effects may be. The South possesses no political means by which it can resist.

Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 21,
Part I, pp. 452–55. Language simplified and modernized.

Document D

We . . . maintain – That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother – to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise – to keep back his hire by fraud – or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social and moral improvement.

William Lloyd Garrison, *Selections from Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison*. Boston, R. F. Wallcut, 1852,
pp. 62–63.

Document E

It is said slavery is wrong . . . and contrary to the spirit of Christianity . . . we . . . deny most positively, that there is anything in the Old or New Testament, which would go to show that slavery, when once introduced, ought at all events to be abrogated [abolished], or that the master commits any offense in holding slaves. . . .

But it is further said that the moral effects of slavery are of the most deleterious and hurtful kind; . . . Look to the slaveholding population of our country, and you everywhere find them characterized by noble and elevated sentiments, by humane and virtuous feelings. . . . Is it not a fact, known to every man in the south, that the most cruel masters are those who have been unaccustomed to slavery. It is well known that northern gentlemen who marry southern heiresses, are much severer masters than southern gentlemen. . . .

. . . a merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe, than the negro slave. . . . Why, then, since the slave is happy, . . . should we endeavor to disturb his contentment by infusing into his mind a vain and indefinite desire for liberty – a something which he cannot comprehend, and which must inevitably dry up the very sources of his happiness. . . . ?

Thomas R. Dew, *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*. Richmond. T. W. White, 1832,
pp. 106–13 *passim*.

Document F

The creation of a home market is not only necessary to procure for our agriculture a just reward of its labors, but it is indispensable to obtain a supply of our necessary wants. If we cannot sell, we cannot buy. . . . But this home market, highly desirable as it is, can only be created and cherished by the PROTECTION of our own legislation against the inevitable prostration of our industry, which must ensue from the action of foreign policy and legislation . . .

Henry Clay, *Life and Speeches*. D. Mallory, ed. (New York: Barnes, 1857), I, pp. 660ff.

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Document G
Seats in the House of Representatives, by States

State	1820	1832	1852
Connecticut	7	6	4
Delaware	2	1	1
Illinois	1	3	9
Indiana	1	7	11
Maine	7	8	6
Massachusetts	13	12	11
New Hampshire	6	5	3
New Jersey	6	6	5
New York	27	40	33
Ohio	6	19	21
Pennsylvania	23	28	25
Rhode Island	2	2	2
Vermont	6	5	3
California			2
Iowa			2

Advanced Placement American History I
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State	1820	1832	1852
Michigan			4
Wisconsin			3
Alabama	1	5	7
Georgia	6	9	8
Kentucky	10	13	10
Louisiana	1	3	4
Maryland	9	10	6
Mississippi	1	2	5
Missouri	1	2	7
North Carolina	13	13	8
South Carolina	9	9	6
Tennessee	6	13	10
Virginia	23	21	13
Arkansas			2
Florida			1
Texas			2

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Document H

In one way or another we are more or less subservient to the North every day of our lives. In infancy we are swaddled in Northern muslin; in childhood we are humored with Northern gewgaws; in youth we are instructed out of Northern books; at the age of maturity we sow our "wild oats" on Northern soil; in middle life we exhaust our wealth, energies and talents in the dishonorable vocation of entailing our dependence on our children's children, and to the neglect of our own interests and the interests of those around us, in giving aid and succor to every department of Northern power; in the decline of life we remedy our eyesight with Northern spectacles, and support our infirmities with Northern canes; in old age we are drugged with Northern physic; and, finally, when we die, our inanimate bodies, shrouded in Northern cambric, are stretched upon the bier, borne to the grave in a Northern carriage, entombed with a Northern spade, and memorialized with a Northern slab.

Hinton R. Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South*. New York: Burdick Brothers, 1857, pp. 22–23, 42–45.

1. Using documents A and B, explain how both William Lloyd Garrison and Thomas R. Dew defended their positions on slavery.
Garrison:

Dew:
2. According to Henry Clay, what is the rationale for a tariff?
3. In what respect was the subservient position of the South, as described by Hinton Helper, attributable to protective tariffs?
4. What criticism did Hinton Helper make of the southern economy?

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5. Use your textbook to explain the controversies that developed between the North and South in 1820, 1832, and 1850.

1820:

1832:

1850:

6. How was each of these controversies resolved?

1820:

1833:

1850:

7. According to Senator Hayne of South Carolina, where should the ultimate power of government rest?

8. How do the documents illustrate the increasing economic and political plight of the South?

9. In 1858, Abraham Lincoln asserted in a speech at Springfield, Illinois: "A House divided against itself cannot stand." How do the documents in this lesson illustrate an increasingly divided "House"?

10. After analyzing all of the documents in this lesson, what potential do you see for additional compromises between the North and South? Explain your position.