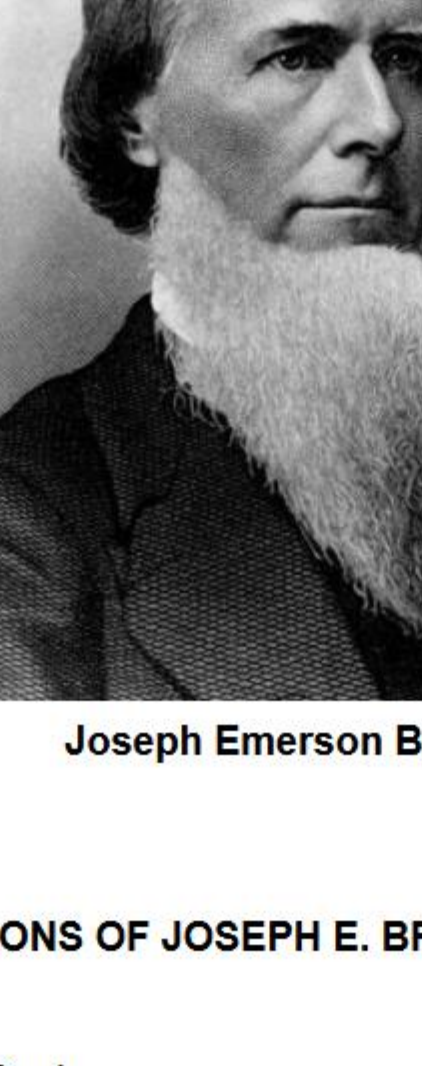


AN INTERNAL DEBATE

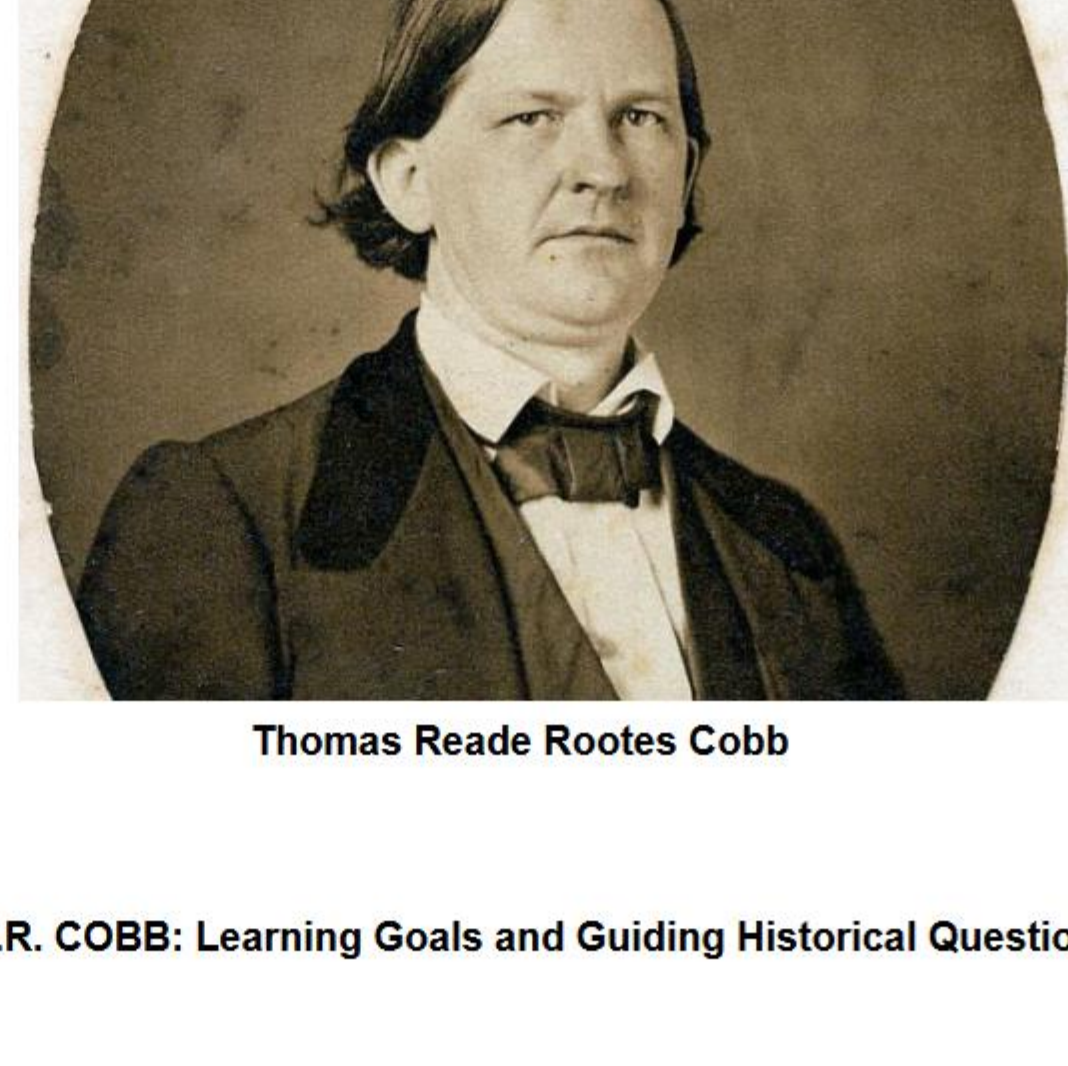
A LESSON PLAN FOR SECONDARY HISTORY TEACHERS

By Laura Higgason

In the question of Georgia's standpoint during the secession debates, two men played a central role. Both Joseph E. Brown and Thomas R.R. Cobb were united in their function as leading statesmen, and their advocacy for the secession of Georgia and slavery, but both represented entirely different groups of Georgians. This lesson plan for middle and high school American history students suggests ideas and provides resources for exploring the role and the political beliefs of Joseph E. Brown and Thomas R.R. Cobb.



Joseph Emerson Brown



Thomas Reade Rootes Cobb

THE POSITIONS OF JOSEPH E. BROWN AND THOMAS R.R. COBB: Learning Goals and Guiding Historical Questions

Overall Learning Goal:

The students will explore the political positions of both Brown and Cobb regarding the secession of Georgia and slavery. They will understand that Brown and Cobb represented entirely different groups of Georgians, and that, thus, the South was not unified as one may believes. The students will compare and contrast the historic background, socioeconomic status, and the politics of Brown and Cobb.

Specific Questions Students will Address by Engaging in the Lesson:

- Who is Joseph Emerson Brown?
- Who is Thomas Reade Rootes Cobb?
- What groups do each men represent?
- What are their political ideologies?
- Do the men agree with each other? If so, what do they agree upon?

Note to Teachers:

This lesson would be particularly useful for 8th grade history students in Georgia because the Georgia State Social Studies Standards include indicators relating to the topic of the secession debates in the state. This lesson plan could also be used at the High School level when teaching about the Civil War.

ACCOUNTS, DOCUMENTS, AND MATERIALS LIST (materials and documents are found at the end of the lesson)

1. Excerpts from *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* by Joseph H. Parks
2. Excerpts from *Thomas R.R. Cobb (1823-1862): The Making of a Southern Nationalist* by William B. McCash
3. Document I: Excerpts from *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America* by Thomas R.R. Cobb
4. Document II: Excerpt from Gov. Joseph Brown's Open Letter to the state of Georgia printed in the "Southern Banner of Athens"
5. Document III: Letter from Thomas R.R. Cobb to Howell Cobb, c. 3 April 1850: Hargrett Library, Howell Cobb Collection, Genealogy, MS 1367, University of Georgia

Investigating the Past, Learning American History: A Research-Based Approach to Lesson Design

The approach and design of this lesson plan is rooted in several decades of research on how students learn history. It has been customary for history teachers to tell students the story of the past as a means of getting them to reproduce what they hear. However, research consistently presents evidence that such an approach seldom succeeds. Simply put, students seem to quickly forget what they hear.

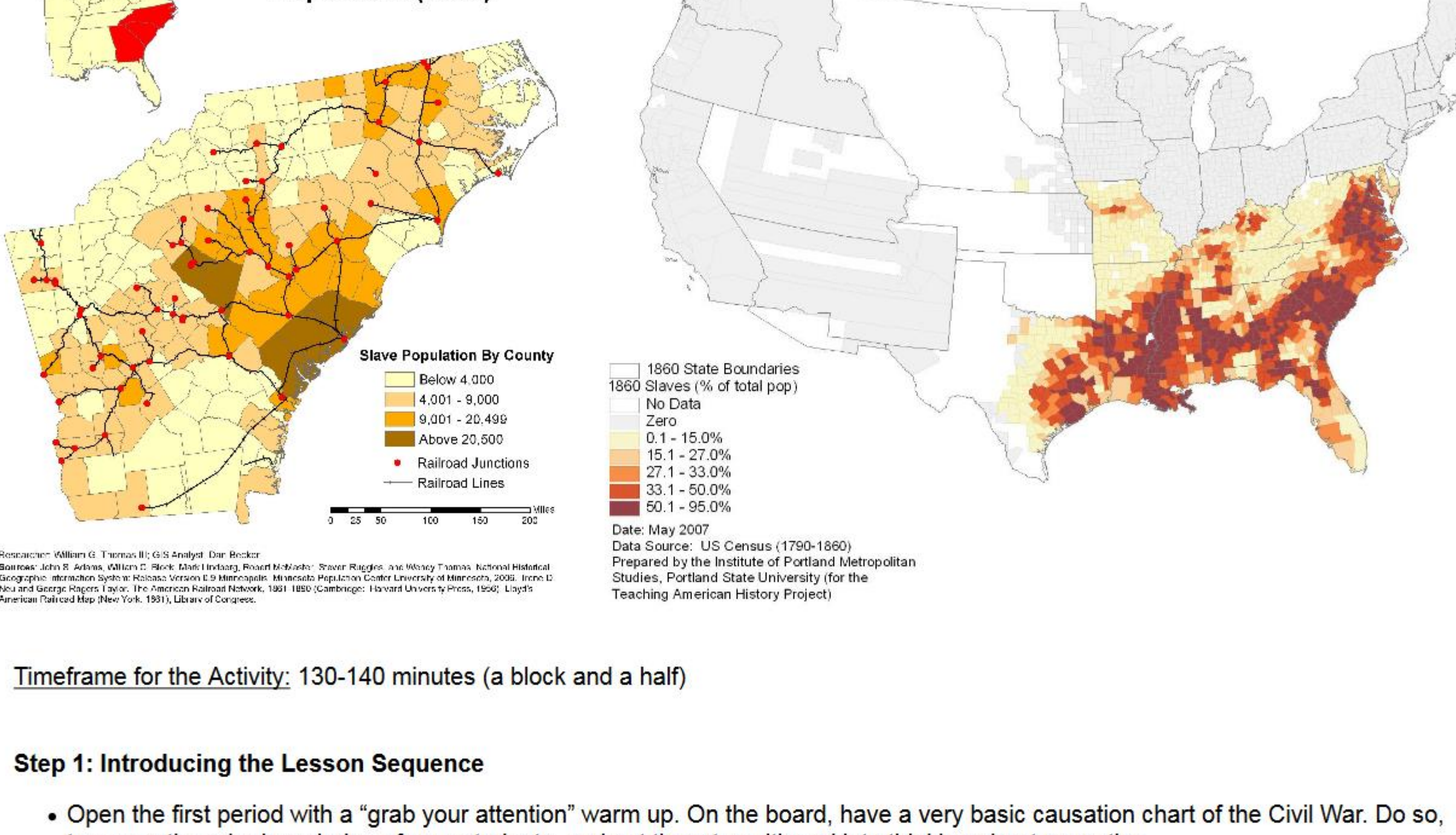
In studying how students learn history more deeply, researchers have found that students are far more likely to understand the past and therefore reproduce their understandings later if they have authentic opportunities to investigate the past themselves (i.e. to do history). As a result, history teachers who structure lessons around questions, accounts (firsthand and secondary), and investigations into the accounts as a means of answering the questions posed are far more likely to help students attain strong understandings of the past.

This lesson is designed to draw from the research by structuring its sequencing in an investigative way. It poses crucial questions for students to address, invites them to dig into the accounts that might help provide answers to those questions, draw evidence from them, and make claims about what the past means and what happened back then. Such claims represent students' growing understandings of history. By "doing history" themselves, students come to understand it much more deeply and are prone then to remember what they learn.

Note to Teachers:

This approach includes working with original sources, student-lead investigation, and debate over central questions given by the teacher. The lesson plan is based on the approach of student-centered and self-guided learning. The teacher will help students engage with the material, give advice, and assess the student's progress, but the students will teach each other by their work. By taking back over the class and scaffolding the students' connections to the overall theme, the teacher is able to steer the learning so that students can question their prior assumptions that the South was "All slave owning/and all wealthy plantation owning whites." Then, the teacher will be able to broaden their understanding of the larger themes: The secession debates as a whole.

Lesson Sequence



Slaves as a Percent of Total Population By County (1860)

Timeframe for the Activity: 130-140 minutes (a block and a half)

Step 1: Introducing the Lesson Sequence

- Open the first period with a "grab your attention" warm up. On the board, have a very basic causation chart of the Civil War. Do so, to gauge the prior knowledge of your students, and get them transitioned into thinking about causation.
- Have both a northern side and southern side. Ask your students to volunteer to come up to the board and write down a few causes for each side. This will get them up out of their seats and their brains moving.
- Take a look at the causes the students provided. Then circle the reason that will come up in your lesson.
Example: slavery, agrarian vs. industrial economy, state's rights, secession, etc.
- Then, open the class by asking students some open ended questions:
 - o "What states were pro-slavery?"
 - o "Why did some states agree and others disagree?"
- As you are asking these questions, frame them so they get closer to the subject matter at hand. Allude to prominent secessionist, abolitionists, steer towards big names in Georgia, etc.
- Ask the end goal question: "Was the South a unified force during the Secession Debates?"
- Then, explain the activity and investigation at hand.

Step 2: Activity

- With a class total of 25 students, split the into 6 groups. Each group will have 4 students, one group will have 5 students.
- Assign 3 groups to investigate Joseph E. Brown, assign the other three groups to investigate T.R.R. Cobb.
- Give each group the respective texts for each man. Both groups will take a look at the same maps.
- The assignment at hand is as follows: Each group is responsible to answer the following questions about their respective Georgian.
 - o Who is Joseph Brown / T.R.R. Cobb?
 - o What is their background like? (where are they from, what is their job, who is their family)
 - o What is their day-day life like?
 - o What do they believe in regards to slavery?
 - o Do they want to secede from the Union? If so, why?
- Each group should create a power point presentation answering the above questions. This should take about an hour (60 minutes).
- As the students send their power point presentations to you via email, compile slides to make sure that there each group has been represented and all the information is not overlapping.
- SO, you will have 2 final powerpoint presentations: one for T.R.R. Cobb and one for Joseph Brown.
- With 30 minutes left in class, you will go over both of the presentations in class. So opposing groups will learn about the other groups research and vice versa. This will take until the end of the first block.

Homework Assignment:

- Now that students have been exposed to both men, they will take home a worksheet to wrestle with the issues at hand. They will answer the following questions at home:
 - o What groups do each men represent?
 - o What are their political ideologies?
 - o Do the men agree with each other? If so, what do they agree upon?
- Then they will use the first half of the next block to conclude the Lesson.

Concluding the Lesson:

- This part of the lesson is the most important. It is here that we will compare and contrast the two men.
- This is the teacher's time to scaffold the learning that students have already done.
- Help them to draw final conclusions in the form of an open discussion at the beginning of the block.
- Grapple with the evidence. Ask students how they drew their conclusions... Ask them if they find the evidence reliable... Ask them what we can conclude from the evidence...
- NOW, as the teacher, it is your job to help students see the bigger picture.
 - o Scaffold their connection making to the larger theme: Secession Debates
 - o Ask them if their understanding of the South as a unified force has been complicated/ muddled.
 - o It is here that we will introduce the assessment.

Assessment(s)

The assessment is as follows:
Write a 1000 word, 4 page paper answering the question:
"Is the South a Unified Force in wanting to secede from the Union. Pay close attention to the two figures: Joseph Brown and Thomas Reade Rootes Cobb."

Rough Paper Rubric (TOTAL: /100 pts)

1. Clearly stated Thesis (10 pts)
 - o Is your thesis clear?
 - o Does it clearly tell the reader what the paper will be about?
 - o Does it clearly explain your argument and stance on the issue?
2. Use of 3 reliable pieces of evidence (10 pts x 3 = 30 pts)
 - o Did you base your thesis on reliable evidence?
 - o Are the sources you used cited correctly?
 - o Does your paper have a Works Cited page?
3. Analysis and Interpretation (40 pts)
 - o Is there a clear connection between the chosen sources and your initial argument?
 - o Did you introduce and conclude each quote well?
 - o Do your sources support your argument?
4. Grammar/Sentence Structure (20 pts)
 - o Is your paper readable?
 - o Do your sentences flow nicely from one to the next?
 - o Are there errors in your grammar (spelling, punctuation, etc.)

Prediction of Student Action? If Any? Potential Problems?

- Problems often arise when group work is assigned. If students do not put forth effort during group work, it is your job to be walking around the room to check on groups.
- Scaffold their research with them.
- Keep an eye on the conclusions they are drawing.
- Make sure each group is represented in the culminated power points because some students may upset if their slides are not used.
- Be careful in the formation of groups, separate talkative students, evenly distribute excellent students, etc.

How will you assess whether students addressed the question(s) or not?
Hopefully speaking, this would be a high school classroom with 9th or 10th grade students. I will assume that these students are in the middle of the semester, but are still cultivating their ability to INVESTIGATE. Furthermore, you will need to help scaffold their research and conclusions. I chose to split the class into groups due to the time constraints. By splitting students into groups, we are able to solve the time problem because they are investigating different information. While they are researching different men, they will be exposed to both groups because they will see the combined power points. As the teacher, by combining the power points together for each man, you are not wasting time by presenting overlapping information.

Additionally, I like the idea of having peers teach each other because it allows students to be proud of the hard work they did. By taking back over the class and scaffolding their connections to the overall theme, you are able to steer the learning so that students can question their prior assumptions that the South was "All slave owning/and all wealthy plantation owning whites." Then, you will be able to broaden their understanding of the larger themes: The secession debates as a whole. HOPEFULLY, students will be able to make the connection that while both Brown and Cobb were Pro-Secession and Pro-Slavery, they represented entirely different groups of Georgians.

I will use the assessment tool of the paper to see that students are able to make that connection. I chose to do a paper instead of a test because, in my opinion, this is somewhat of an abstract idea. I think a 2-4 page paper will allow students to wrestle with the ideas instead of regurgitating them on a multiple choice test.

Lesson Resources

1. Excerpts from *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* by Joseph H. Parks (p. 2-6)
Joseph Emerson, was born on Long Creek, Pickens District, on April 15, 1821.
While Joseph Emerson was young, the family returned to Georgia, settling in the Gadsden County. Joseph worked on the farm and peddled produce and firewood in nearby Dahlonega. This was "gold rush" country, but in after years Brown made no mention of ever attempting to follow this path to riches.
In 1840, when Joseph decided to leave the farm and seek an education, he could not write and do arithmetic "to far as the rule of three." Taking with him his younger brother, James, and his father's plow horse, he drove a yoke of oxen before him on the 125-mile trek to Professor Pleasant Jordan's Academy in Anderson District, South Carolina. The oxen were exchanged for eight months' board and lodging, and James returned to Georgia with the horse. Professor Jordan extended credit for eight months' tuition, and Joseph E. Brown began his formal education. At the close of the term he returned to Georgia where he taught an "old field" school for three months and paid his debt.
Brown later related that "under the encouragement of Dr. O. R. Broyles of Pendleton, South Carolina, and the doctor's father, Mayor Aaron Broyles of Calhoun, and the late Judge J. P. Reed," he returned to the Georgia Railroad Company and the Athens branch of the Levrett's. When Levrett moved to Anderson Court House at the close of the year, Brown followed for a second year on credit.
Source: *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* by Joseph H. Parks, p. 2-6

2. Excerpts from *Thomas R.R. Cobb (1823-1862): The Making of a Southern Nationalist* by William B. McCash (Chapter 1: Early Life, p. 8-14)
Viewed from almost any perspective, the decision to take up town life made sense. Between 1820 and 1860 Athens had expanded rapidly. The population increased, businesses of every description multiplied, a lucrative up-country wagon trade developed, a rail connection with other points in Georgia was established, rival newspapers competed for public opinion, male and female academies sprang up, Franklin College (the University of Georgia) grew in size and prestige, churches flourished, informal entertainments made regular appearances, saloons, houses of prostitution, and gambling halls found a ready clientele as well as reform-minded opponents, and "a complex and highly differentiated occupational structure" evolved. In brief, as one student of comparative social systems has explained, "Athens was no metropolis, but it offered a variety of urban services and a self-consciously urban ethos, a strong sense of its urban character, which separated it from the surrounding countryside."
The Cobbs fit easily and comfortably into Athenian society and contributed significantly to the town's development as an economic, cultural, and political center. Colonel Cobb variously served as town commissioner, chairman of the board of the local grammar school, and director of both the Georgia Railroad Company and the Athens branch of the Bank of the State of Georgia. His wife, meanwhile, became a fixture in the Trail Creek Baptist Church and gave birth to three more children: John Boswell in 1826, Mary Willis in 1828, and Sarah Martha (Marty) in 1831.
During the last month or so of his mother's pregnancy with Marty, eight-year-old Tom was sent to live on his Uncle Henry Jackson's farm a few miles outside of town. Concerning the youngsters' behavior, Dr. Jackson reported: "Tom seems as yet unwearyed with his stay here... He has some habits which it will take some time to be reformed and removed—however I find him perfectly tractable and attentive to what I mention to him." Whatever his faults, Thomas R. R. Cobb enjoyed a normal childhood, one that was healthy, active, and happy. He played all the usual juvenile games, rode horsesback regularly with his father, owned a variety of pets, attended the Athens grammar school, took private French lessons, and made occasional trips with his father, who traveled often to Louisville, Augusta, and Savannah on business.
The colonel's business, unfortunately, was not always good. His cotton crop failed in 1832 and it was necessary to remind the family of the need for economy. Nevertheless, life was anything but hard for the Cobbs who took full advantage of the social and educational opportunities open to the southern upper class. However, for instance, graduated from Franklin College, married the daughter of a wealthy Baldwin County planter, opened a law office in Athens, and by 1842 had embarked upon a highly successful political career that would lead to Congress and the cabinet of James Buchanan.
Source: *Thomas R.R. Cobb (1823-1862): The Making of a Southern Nationalist* by William B. McCash

3. Document I: Excerpts from *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America* by Thomas R.R. Cobb
AN THE
HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SLAVERY. LAW OF NEGRO SLAVERY.
INTRODUCTION.
CHAPTER I.
WHAT IS SLAVERY, AND ITS FOUNDATION IN THE NATURAL LAW.
§ 50. The history of the negro race then confirms the conclusion to which an inquiry into the negro character had brought us: that a state of bondage, so far from doing violence to the law of his nature, develops and perfects it; and that, in that state, he enjoys the greatest amount of happiness, and arrives at the greatest degree of perfection of which his nature is capable. And, consequently, that negro slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not contrary to the law of nature.
That the system places the negro where his natural rights may be abused, is true; yet this is no reason why the system is in itself wrong. In the words of an enlightened contemporary, "It becomes us then to estimate the value of the declamations of those who oppose the institution of slavery in the Antilles and the United States, on account of the partial abuses which sometimes happen. Judicial records are filled with processes for adultery; yet we should not, for that, destroy marriage. Every day our tribunals visit with severity parents who abuse their children, yet we would not, for that, abolish the paternal power. Every system has its abuses and its excesses. It becomes us to correct the excesses, punish the abuse, and ameliorate the system. If we should deliberately compare the evils of colonial slavery, with its beneficial effects, in civilization, agriculture, and commerce, we would be quickly convinced upon which side the balances would fall."
Source: *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America* by Thomas R.R. Cobb

4. Document II: Excerpt from Gov. Joseph Brown's Open Letter to the state of Georgia printed in the "Southern Banner of Athens" (<http://civilwarcauses.org/jbrown.htm>)
... What effect will the abolition of slavery have upon the interest and social position of the large class of non-slaveholders and poor white laborers in the South? Here would be the scene of the most misery and ruin. Probably no one is so unjust as to say that it would be right to take from the slaveholder his property without paying for it. What would it cost to do this? There are, in round numbers, 4,500,000 slaves in the Southern States. They are worth, at a low estimate, 500 dollars each. All will agree to this. Multiply the 4,500,000 by the 500 and you have twenty-two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, which these slaves are worth. No one would agree that it is right to rob the Southern slaveholders of this vast sum of money without compensation. The Northern States would not agree to pay their proportion of the money, and the people of the South must be taxed to raise the money. If Georgia were only an average Southern State, she would have to pay one fifteenth part of this sum, which would be \$150,000,000. Georgia is much more than an average State, and she must therefore pay a larger sum. Her people now pay less than half a million dollars a year, of tax upon their own slaves to raise money to pay him for them. This would be a great injustice to him. If the sum is to be raised by the tax upon others, the non-slaveholders and poor white men of the South, would have to pay nearly the whole of this enormous sum, out of their labor. This would load them and their children with grievous indebtedness and heavy taxes for a long time to come. But suppose we were rid of this difficulty, what shall be done with these 4,500,000 negroes, when set free? Some of the Northern States have already passed laws prohibiting free negroes from coming into their limits. They will help to harbor our runaway slaves, but will not receive among them our free negroes. They would not permit them to go there and live with them. Then what? One may say, send them to Africa. To such a proposition I might reply, send them to the moon. You may say that is not practicable. It is quite as much so as it is for us to pay for and send this vast number of negroes to Africa, with the means at our command. ...
Source: *Gov. Joseph Brown's Open Letter to the State of Georgia* printed in the "Southern Banner of Athens"

5. Document III: Letter from Thomas R.R. Cobb to Howell Cobb, c. 3 April 1850: Hargrett Library, Howell Cobb Collection, Genealogy, MS 1367, University of Georgia
"The slaveholders are all agog and making a miserable noise... While the mass[] [knowing nothing and caring nothing about it, are] normally attached to the Union, much more so than I had supposed. The misery is that they have no mouthpiece, while the other browlers are manufacturing a spurious public sentiment into which all will eventually fall."
Source: *Letter from Thomas R.R. Cobb to Howell Cobb*, c. 3 April 1850: Hargrett Library, Howell Cobb Collection, Genealogy, MS 1367, University of Georgia

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While Joseph Emerson was young, the family returned to Georgia, settling in the Gaddistown area, Union County. Until he was nineteen Joseph worked on the farm and peddled produce and firewood in nearby Dahlonega. This was "gold rush" country, but in after years Brown made no mention of ever attempting to follow this path to riches.

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Brown later related that "under the encouragement of Dr. O. R. Broyles of Pendleton, South Carolina, and the doctor's father, Mayor Aaron Broyles of Calhoun, and the late Judge J. P. Reed," he returned to Anderson Calhoun Academy, then operated by Professor Wesley Leverett.⁵ When Leverett moved to Anderson Court House at the close of the year, Brown followed for a second year on credit.⁶

In January, 1844, he took charge of the academy at Canton in Cherokee County, Georgia, and in a letter dated October, 1843, Professor Leverett recommended him as "a gentleman of great moral worth and reputable attainments, of much energy and decision of character, all combining to constitute him a judicious and efficient Instructor of youth."⁷

Brown apparently remained at the academy only long enough to earn the money to pay his debts. During the winter of 1844-1845 he tutored the children of Dr. John W. Lewis of Canton and read law in his spare time. On August 20, 1845, the Honorable Augustus R. Wright issued him an admission to the bar;⁸ but Brown did not immediately begin practice. Instead, he secured a loan from Dr. Lewis and, in October, entered Yale law school.⁹

Little is known of Brown's experiences at Yale. He did not remain to receive his diploma at the end of the one-year course, and in after years he seldom referred to his experiences there.¹⁰ He hurried home to open a law office and secure clients for the fall term of court. On March 22, 1847, he was admitted to practice before the Georgia Supreme Court.¹¹

Joseph Brown, plain, practical, conscientious, thorough, and willing to give his best efforts, became the common man's lawyer. One admirer later recalled that his speeches to juries were "marvels of effect," exhausting "practical sense and reason."¹²

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The colonel's business, unfortunately, was not always good. His cotton crop failed in 1832 and it was necessary to remind the family of the need for economy. Nevertheless, life was anything but hard for the Cobbs who took full advantage of the social and educational opportunities open to the southern upper class. Howell, for instance, graduated from Franklin College, married the daughter of a wealthy Baldwin County planter, opened a law office in Athens, and by 1842 had embarked upon a highly successful political career that would lead to Congress and the cabinet of James Buchanan.

Following in the footsteps of his elder brother, Tom Cobb entered Franklin College on 29 July 1837.²⁰ He was fourteen at the time, a bright, eager, piously sentimental youth with a passion for work and a driving ambition to get ahead. From the first he promised to be an outstanding student.

Cobb mastered the course of study with exceptional facility, receiving a solid grounding in Latin and French and a knowledge of the classics which proved invaluable to him in his subsequent research on the history and law of Negro slavery. His fine academic record and exemplary personal conduct were complemented by his enthusiastic role as a member of the Phi Kappa Society, one of two debating fraternities on the campus. Every Saturday morning the brothers met to argue sundry questions, ranging in content from the merits of monasticism to whether a man should be "compelled by law to marry the victim of his seduction."²³ The debates

If Cobb was generous toward his parents and later toward poorer relations, he was not personally extravagant. Very early he vowed to avoid the financial mistakes which had ruined his father and grandfather and seriously compromised his brother. In the first lean years of law practice he was especially frugal, refusing even to buy cloth for a shirt on credit. "I [can] not bear the idea of going in debt," he told his sister. Later, in 1846, when the nation was on the verge of hostilities with Mexico, he warned: "Should there be war, there will be a terrible revulsion in money matters, and wo[e] to the man who [is] then found in debt." And, in 1861, with the Civil War breaking out, he refused to lend money to a close friend because of the uncertainty of the times. "I wish I could aid him," he apologized, "but I am sure I did right."³⁴

Many traits of character—of which solicitude for his parents and financial prudence were but two—Cobb shared with his mother. In fact, he resembled her in looks, piety, and temperament.

3. Document I: Excerpts from *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America* by Thomas R.R. Cobb

AN

THE

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SLAVERY.

LAW OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS SLAVERY, AND ITS FOUNDATION IN THE NATURAL LAW.

slavery

has
been more universal than marriage, and more permanent
than liberty.¹

In every organized community there must be a laboring class, to execute the plans devised by wiser heads: to till the ground, and to perform the menial offices necessarily connected with social life. This class have generally been slaves, and, in the opinion of Puffendorf, their bondage naturally arose, in the infancy of society, from their occupation. The poorer and less intelligent applied to the more opulent and intelligent for employment. The return was food and raiment, at a time when there was no currency. With the removal of the employer—mankind at that age having no permanent abode—the employee moved also, and with him his family. His children, as they grew to youth and manhood, naturally aided the parent in his labors, and received the same reward; and thus, either by express contract or custom, the one, with his descendants, became attached to and a part of the household of the other. Certain it is, that Abraham had his man-servants and maid-servants, born in his house and bought with his money; and that Sarah, his wife, was a hard mistress to Hagar, her handmaid, who became a fugitive from her hand, and returned only by the direction of the angel of the Lord. The slave-trade too, was of early

§ 50. The history of the negro race then confirms the conclusion to which an inquiry into the negro character had brought us: that a state of bondage, so far from doing violence to the law of his nature, develops and perfects it; and that, in that state, he enjoys the greatest amount of happiness, and arrives at the greatest degree of perfection of which his nature is capable. And, consequently, that negro slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not contrary to the law of nature.

That the system places the negro where his natural rights may be abused, is true; yet this is no reason why the system is in itself wrong. In the words of an enlightened cotemporary, "It becomes us then to estimate the value of the declamations of those who oppose the institution of slavery in the Antilles and the United States, on account of the partial abuses which sometimes happen. Judicial records are filled with processes for adultery; yet we should not, for that, destroy marriage. Every day our tribunals visit with severity parents who abuse their children, yet we would not, for that, abolish the paternal power. Every system has its abuses and its excesses. It becomes us to correct the excess, punish the abuse, and ameliorate the system. If we should deliberately compare the evils of colonial slavery, with its beneficial effects, in civilization, agriculture, and commerce, we would be quickly convinced upon which side the balances would fall."¹

4. Document II: Excerpt from Gov. Joseph Brown's Open Letter to the state of Georgia printed in the "Southern Banner of Athens" ([Link to full document](#))

... What effect will the abolition of slavery have upon the interest and social position of the large class of nonslaveholders and poor white laborers in the South? Here would be the scene of the most misery and ruin. Probably no one is so unjust as to say that it would be right to take from the slaveholder his property without paying for it. What would it cost to do this? There are, in round numbers, 4,500,000 slaves in the Southern States. They are worth, at a low estimate, 500 dollars each. All will agree to this. Multiply the 4,500,000 by the 500 and you have twenty-two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, which these slaves are worth. No one would agree that it is right to rob the Southern slaveholders of this vast sum of money without compensation. The Northern States would not agree to pay their proportion of the money, and the people of the South must be taxed to raise the money. If Georgia were only an average Southern State, she would have to pay one fifteenth part of this sum, which would be \$150,000,000. Georgia is much more than an average State, and she must therefore pay a larger sum. Her people now pay less than half a million dollars a year, of tax. Suppose we had ten years within which to raise the \$150,000,000, we would then have to raise, in addition to our present tax, \$15,000,000 per annum, or over thirty times as much as we now pay.-- The poor man, who now pays one dollar, would then have to pay \$30.00. But suppose the Northern States agreed to help pay for these slaves, (who believes they would do it?) the share of Georgia would then be about one thirtieth of the twenty-two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, or over seventy-five millions; which, if raised in ten years, would be over fifteen times as much as our present tax. In this calculation, I have counted the slave-holder as taxed upon his own slaves to raise money to pay him for them. This would be a great injustice to him. If the sum is to be raised by the tax upon others, the nonslaveholders and poor white men of the South, would have to pay nearly the whole of this enormous sum, out of their labor. This would load them and their children with grievous indebtedness and heavy taxes for a long time to come. But suppose we were rid of this difficulty, what shall be done with these 4,500,000 negroes, when set free? Some of the Northern States have already passed laws prohibiting free negroes from coming into their limits. They will help to harbor our runaway slaves, but will not receive among them our free negroes. They would not permit them to go there and live with them. Then what? One may say, send them to Africa. To such a proposition I might reply, send them to the moon. You may say that is not practicable. It is quite as much so as it is for us to pay for and send this vast number of negroes to Africa, with the means at our command. ...

5. Document III: Letter from Thomas R.R. Cobb to Howell Cobb, c. 3 April 1850: Hargrett Library, Howell Cobb Collection, Genealogy, MS 1367, University of Georgia

“The slaveholders are all agog and making a miserable noise. ... While the mass[,] [know]ing nothing and caring nothing about it, are normally attached to the Union, much more so than I had supposed. The misery is that they have no mouthpiece, while the other brawlers are manufacturing a spurious public sentiment into which all will eventually fall.”