



# God's Will:

*Proslavery, the Bible, and Preserving  
the Patriarchal Social Order of the South, 1831-1861*

by Al Watts

HIST520: Graduate Seminar in U.S. History

February 28, 2021

“...[T]he defenders of American slavery... have become its defenders as a social and political good, morally right, and sanctioned by the Bible and by God himself.”

- E.N. Elliott, *Cotton is King*, 1860<sup>1</sup>

Few issues in American history perplex the twenty-first century mind more than a people going to war to defend their ability to keep other people in bondage. Hundreds of thousands of white Southerners fought in the Civil War for their freedom to deny black slaves from being free. “Many scholars have felt uncomfortable contending with zealous defenses of a social system that the twentieth century judges abhorrent...” explains Drew Gilpin Faust.<sup>2</sup> There is a tremendous volume of scholarship focused on the abolitionists who argued for manumission. Former slaves Frederick Douglas and Sojourner Truth, preacher William Channing, publisher William Lloyd Garrison, and novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe are just some of the many well-known abolitionists in history books on the period leading up to the Civil War. Very little is known, however, about the proslavery voices on the other side of the debate. South Carolina Senator John C.

---

<sup>1</sup> E. N. Elliott, “Introduction,” in *Cotton is King and the Pro-Slavery Arguments Comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christy, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright on This Important Subject*, ed. E.N. Elliott (Augusta, GA: Pritchard, Abbot & Loomis, 1860), viii, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28148/28148-h/28148-h.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 1, accessed February 14, 2021, <https://www.amazon.com/Ideology-Slavery-Proslavery-Antebellum-Civilization/dp/0807108928/>.

Calhoun, Professor Thomas Roderick Dew, Baptist minister Thornton Stringfellow, and essayist Louisa S. McCord were just some of the many writers and orators across the South defending slavery with as much vigor as their counterparts to the north were attacking it. Recently, historians have shifted from considering proslavery ideology “as evidence of moral failure and more as a key to wider patterns of beliefs and values.”<sup>3</sup> In this wider context, the reasons for white Southerners’ proslavery ideology and the arguments they used that so convinced them to go to war over it, can provide a deeper understanding of the causes of the seminal event in American history and, perhaps, get at the roots of racial inequity that continues today.

Following the War of 1812, the United States began a period of immense change. In the North, the economy was rapidly transitioning from agricultural to industrial, uprooting the traditional patriarchal social order. However, in the South, the soaring production and profits of cotton kept the agrarian economy largely unchanged and their patriarchal hierarchy of race, class, and gender intact. Faith also transformed Americans. Evangelists spread Christianity in both the North and South during the Second Great Awakening, differing only on the issue of slavery. By the 1830s, the peculiar institution became a major rift along the Mason-Dixon line. Rather than acquiesce to the intellectual and moral arguments of the abolitionists, white Southerners, “began to study the institution in all its aspects

---

<sup>3</sup> Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery*, 1.

and to formulate systematic arguments.”<sup>4</sup> Anxiety about white Southerners’ patriarchal social order anchored by slavery caused them to turn to proslavery rhetoric and the arguments that convinced them to defend slavery with their lives came from the Bible as God’s will.

Through the first three decades of the nineteenth century, slaveholders “usually submitted to the charge that slavery was a political evil...and social and economic necessity.”<sup>5</sup> This idea of slavery as “a necessary evil,” though, gradually gave way to a more morally appealing “positive good” justification which “contained a greater potential for forging sectional solidarity in the South and converting more moderate proslavery opinion into more radical proslavery opinion.”<sup>6</sup> Nothing was new about this proslavery rhetoric, for its roots went back at least as far as 1701.<sup>7</sup> What was new, however, was the turn toward an aggressive campaign of exclusively proslavery ideology. By the mid 1830s, slavery was seen by white Southerners only “as a good - a positive good.”<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> William Sumner Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 105, accessed February 14, 2021, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005309268>.

<sup>5</sup> Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*, 55.

<sup>6</sup> David F. Ericson, *The Debate over Slavery: Antislavery and Proslavery Liberalism in Antebellum America* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 23, accessed January 22, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=865381&query=>.

<sup>7</sup> Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*, 39.

<sup>8</sup> John C. Calhoun, *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Ross M. Lence (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1992), 474, accessed January 25, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=3327366>.

While there is wide consensus that a homogenous turn from defending slavery as “a necessary evil” to “a positive good” occurred in the 1830s, historians are in substantial disagreement as to the reason. William Sumner Jenkins, the first to write about the history of the proslavery justification, finds that abolitionist agitators caused defenders of slavery to increasingly turn toward more assertive moral reasoning. Starting with the debate over Missouri statehood in 1819, attacks on slavery became more frequent and fierce such that “the South, for the first time, felt an imminent danger to the welfare of the slave system.”<sup>9</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust and Edward B. Rugemer agree with Jenkins that “The defense of slavery always followed an attack.”<sup>10</sup> Bertram Wyatt-Brown also agrees with Jenkins but focuses particularly on anti-slavery pamphlets mailed South as the inflection point. Patricia Roberts-Miller, however, disputes Wyatt-Brown finding that no one in the South read the pamphlets because “critics of slavery within the South faced boycott, shunning, and personal violence.”<sup>11</sup> Others contend the turn to proslavery came in response to the fear of slave revolts. “Mere discovery of Denmark Vesey’s insurrection plot at Charleston in 1822 plunged South Carolina into a frenzy of

---

<sup>9</sup> Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*, 66.

<sup>10</sup> Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*, 104.

<sup>11</sup> Patricia Roberts-Miller, *Fanatical Schemes: Proslavery Rhetoric and the Tragedy of Consensus* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009, 23, accessed January 22, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=547671>).

repression and ideological mobilization,”<sup>12</sup> explains Charles Sellers. Daniel Walker Howe observes that it “had surprisingly far-reaching consequences for a nonevent.”<sup>13</sup> Following Nat Turner’s revolt in 1831 that killed nearly 60 white men, women, and children in Virginia, Charles F. Irons reveals “Nightmares of further carnage haunted whites.”<sup>14</sup> Even though it was rare, fear of a slave rebellion was, as David W. Blight writes, “the fundamental insecurity at the base of proslavery ideology.”<sup>15</sup> A third reason for the “positive good” viewpoint on slavery, according to some historians, was paternalism: Southerners’ belief that they were benevolent caretakers of slaves who were incapable of caring for themselves. “Southern paternalism grew out of the necessity to discipline and morally justify a system of exploitation,” explains Eugene D. Genovese, the most prominent historian with this view.<sup>16</sup> While Irons points to the fear of slave unrest as the

---

<sup>12</sup> Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 1994), 400 accessed January 16, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=886585>.

<sup>13</sup> Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2007), 163, accessed January 14, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=430958>.

<sup>14</sup> Charles F. Irons, *The Origins of Proslavery Christianity: White and Black Evangelicals in Colonial and Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 135, accessed February 14, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=515688>.

<sup>15</sup> David W. Blight, “They Knew What Time it Was: African Americans and the Coming of the Civil War,” In *Why the Civil War Came*, ed. Gabor S. Boritt (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 70, accessed January 29, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=829478>.

<sup>16</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Random House, 1974), 4, accessed February 14, 2021, <https://www.amazon.com/Roll-Jordan-World-Slaves-Made/dp/0394716523/>.

trigger to adopt proslavery rhetoric, he maintains paternalism played a part because it allowed white Southerners to assert their racial superiority. “Taking paternalism as a touchstone,” Adam Rothman summarizes, “historians have traced its origins back to changes in southern society beginning in the late eighteenth century, including the rise of cotton, the closing of slave importation, intensifying antislavery pressure, and the spread of evangelical Christianity.”<sup>17</sup> Related to paternalism is the patriarchal social order as the fourth cause for the proslavery turn. Whereas paternalism describes a parent/child type of relationship with nurturing and discipline, a patriarchal social order is a strict hierarchy of race, class, and gender. Most historians have touched on the patriarchal social order as it pertains to proslavery reasoning, but none have focused on it as the root. Sellers, in his book on the market revolution of the Jacksonian era, describes how the success of cotton in the South allowed many families to remain largely subsistence farmers which preserved the patriarchy.<sup>18</sup> In *Southern Honor*, Wyatt-Brown’s treatise on moral codes of the Old South, the patriarchy was broadly accepted by whites across class and gender.<sup>19</sup> Michael Wayne acknowledges slaves were seen as a part of the family, albeit the inferior members. However, no scholar captures the

---

<sup>17</sup> Adam Rothman, “Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction,” in *American History Now*, eds. Eric Foner, Lisa McGirr, and American Historical Association (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 77, accessed January 26, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=714507>.

<sup>18</sup> Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 16.

<sup>19</sup> Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 125, accessed January 22, 2021, EPUB, <https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy2.apus.edu/2027/heb.00819>.

significance of the patriarchal social order better than Roberts-Miller who expounds “Southern culture was slave culture; southern society, as its rhetors reiterated, was slave society, and any attack on the latter was an attack on the former.”<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the most original reason for the turn to a proslavery argument comes from David Donald. He finds most of the proslavery advocates were white men unable to rise above their class and “were, in fact, hopelessly nostalgic.”<sup>21</sup>

Two additional reasons for turning to characterize slavery in a positive light have largely been dismissed by historians. The first is the idea that plantation owners used positive arguments to coerce white commoners into supporting slavery, a large source of their wealth and power. Michael Wayne contends that the “racially based defense of slavery derived logically from the ideological needs of the planters.”<sup>22</sup> Most scholars, though, disagree. William W. Freehling explains that whites who did not own slaves had more incentive to support slavery than not because of the agricultural economy both elites and commoners shared.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, John Patrick Daly notes this economy was prosperous throughout the

---

<sup>20</sup> Roberts-Miller, *Fanatical Schemes*, 24-25.

<sup>21</sup> David Donald, "The Proslavery Argument Reconsidered," *The Journal of Southern History* 37, no. 1 (February 1971): 16, accessed January 24, 2021, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2205917>.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Wayne, "An Old South Morality Play: Reconsidering the Social Underpinnings of the Proslavery Ideology," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 3 (December 1990): 843, accessed January 24, 2021, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2078988>.

<sup>23</sup> William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854: Volume I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 41, February 2, 2021, <https://search-ebscohost-com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip&db=nlebk&AN=2096316&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.



South. Because of this, Blight has argued Southerners were more concerned about security from rebellious slaves than putting food on the table. The other common misconception about the motivation for a proslavery defense is guilt. “Slaveholders were less troubled about *whether* slavery was right,” shares Faust, “than precisely *why* it was right and how its justice could be best demonstrated.”<sup>24</sup> Scholars have determined that white Southerners did not choose to view slavery as good to make themselves feel better. Rather, most were ambivalent and the rest confident in their righteousness. “Guilty consciences were rare.”<sup>25</sup>

The arguments in which proslavery rhetors used were either intellectual or biblical. Racial inferiority was, in some way, often the basis of intellectual reasoning used to demonstrate slavery was a net benefit for society. Faust, Jody L. Allen and Chad Vanderford have written about professors such as Thomas Roderick Dew, William A. Smith, Albert Taylor Bledsoe, and George Frederick Holmes who posited slavery was a “political philosophy of classic natural right.”<sup>26</sup> Society was naturally ordered, they argued, such that superior people (whites, in

---

<sup>24</sup> Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery*, 5-6.

<sup>25</sup> John Patrick Daly, *When Slavery Was Called Freedom: Evangelicalism, Proslavery, and the Causes of the Civil War*, Religion in the South, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 37, accessed January 22, 2021, EBSCOHost, <https://web-b-ebSCOhost-com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook?sid=564eb8e2-b286-4e38-9124-4524c905a6bf%40pdc-v-sessmgr01&vid=0&format=EB>.

<sup>26</sup> Chad Vanderford, "Proslavery Professors: Classic Natural Right and the Positive Good Argument in Antebellum Virginia." *Civil War History* 55, no. 1 (March 2009): 11, accessed January 22, 2021, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.apus.edu/scholarly-journals/proslavery-professors-classic-natural-right/docview/518816884/se-2?accountid=8289>.

their view) were to rule over inferiors (blacks, in their view). Freehling and Sellers, in analyzing the “classic natural right” evidence, find it effective in convincing poor white Southerners to support slavery. In this way, “All white men were equally responsible for keeping all blacks unequal”<sup>27</sup> since “Dehumanization of blacks, moreover, staved off the class shame of inequality for poor whites....”<sup>28</sup> McPherson examines the arguments polemic offered that blacks were uncivilized, lawless and lazy. Slavery, according to this premise, kept whites safe and blacks productive. The comparison between free labor and slavery was also a common method for justifying slavery which David F. Ericson details. Free labor, slaveowners believed, led to starvation and homelessness when a man lost his job while slaves always had food and shelter. Ericson also explores the creative idea some put forth that slaveowners owned the slave’s labor, not the person, meaning slaves were not slaves at all. While there were a lot of intellectual ideas that Southerners believed rationalized bondage, “Time and again, white southerners resorted to the Bible to defend slavery as a godly and Christian mission.”<sup>29</sup> Howe, Genovese, Faust, Jenkins and others describe the Bible’s influential effect on proslavery ideology. Biblical text contains numerous details about slavery and never condemns it, making the Bible profound documentary evidence in favor of

---

<sup>27</sup> Freehling, *The Road to Disunion*, 43.

<sup>28</sup> Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 409.

<sup>29</sup> Rothman, “Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction,” 77

bondage. Daly, who writes about the effect of evangelism in spreading proslavery ideology, places the morality of slavery as interpreted by divines at the center of the Bible's persuasive power. Because of this, Daly argues, the Bible was "the first, and remained the most widely disseminated, foundation of southern proslavery."<sup>30</sup> For Mark Noll and Charles Irons, acceptance of the intellectual argument of the racial inferiority of blacks was the necessary ingredient for the Bible to be effective as a tool for supporting slavery. While intellectual arguments were certainly not trivial to proslavery ideology, "The scriptural defense of slavery... probably attained the most elaborate and systematic statement of any of the types of proslavery theory."<sup>31</sup>

In deciphering the reason white Southerners turned to a proslavery argument, historians have probed for clues in the first third of the nineteenth century, a period of meteoric change. In the South, the invention of the cotton gin made it profitable to grow a more labor-intensive but hardier cotton plant.<sup>32</sup> Soon, just about everyone grew cotton which displaced most other exported crops from the South. Land remained the dominant economic force but commanded by one crop that needed more slaves. In the North, a battle emerged between land and markets caused by breakthroughs in transportation and shifting demographics.

---

<sup>30</sup> Daly, *When Slavery Was Called Freedom*, 31.

<sup>31</sup> Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*, 200-201.

<sup>32</sup> Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 129.

Subsistence farming was squeezed out by production agriculture that could reach markets at ever-greater distances and land prices that became prohibitive for most families. Manufacturing also grew exponentially in the North taking advantage of transportation that could bring raw materials to urban centers such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston and the labor available from immigrants and an ever-increasing number of citizens unable to afford land. Before the nineteenth century, children often stayed close to home either inheriting land from their father or acquiring land nearby. As markets overtook land as the economic driver in the North, children had to leave the farm to find work elsewhere, sometimes ending up poorer than their parents.<sup>33</sup> What had dominated societal order for centuries, “patriarchal domination of wife and children,” began to break down as new generations separated from older ones at earlier ages and greater distances.<sup>34</sup>

The South, on the other hand, did not experience these social changes since farming, and the patriarchal social order that flowed from it, remained relatively unchanged. Not recognizing cotton was insulating them from the kind of economic changes happening in the North, they instead attributed their social stability to

---

<sup>33</sup> Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 3-16.

<sup>34</sup> James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 34, accessed January 29, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=431834>.

moral superiority.<sup>35</sup> “The condition of society in the South,” South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun explained, “exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from this conflict [between labor and capital]; and which explains why it is that the political condition of the slaveholding States has been so much more stable and quiet than that of the North.”<sup>36</sup> The free labor society touted by Northern capitalists did not seem all that free to whites in the South. Laborers “had liberty only to starve”<sup>37</sup> because they were not “shielded from the exploitation of the competitive marketplace.”<sup>38</sup> Caroline Lee Hentz offered an evocative description of what white Southerners believed about laborers in the North in her 1854 proslavery novel *The Planter’s Northern Bride*:

Poverty, with a scourge of iron and a scorpion lash, stands behind them and urges on the life-consuming task. Starvation, with grim, skeleton features, and wild, hollow eyes, stare them in the face... They must work or starve; work or die; work or sell themselves to the demon of temptation. Freedom! God of the white man, as well as the black, if this is freedom, give us bondage and chains instead.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Glenna Matthews, “‘Little Women’ Who Helped Make This Great War,” in *Why the Civil War Came*, ed. Gabor S. Boritt (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 42, accessed January 29, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=829478>.

<sup>36</sup> Calhoun, *Union and Liberty*, 475.

<sup>37</sup> Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery*, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 1995), xviii, accessed January 16, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=694007>.

<sup>39</sup> Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter’s Northern Bride* (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson and Brothers, 1854), 240, Documenting the American South, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/hentz/hentz.html>.

To Northerners, slaveowner Louisa S. McCord remarked, “Your fanciful equality may, in truth, drag all down to one level of starvation and beggary.”<sup>40</sup> Compared to the social upheavals and poverty of free labor, white Southerners saw slavery as preferable for them and slaves. Slaveowners claimed to be benevolent caretakers of their slaves who never had to want for food, clothing, shelter or medical care.<sup>41</sup> The master, relieved from the toils of hard labor, had time to engage in public affairs, science, and the arts which moved civilization forward.<sup>42</sup> Further confirming the Southern slave economy as superior to Northern capitalism was the profitability of cotton for plantation owners and yeoman farmers alike.

Overlapping the “market revolution” of the early nineteenth century was a revival of religious fervor. A Second Great Awakening spread throughout the country which served to alleviate the anxieties of uncertainty during the tremendous turbulence of the period. Initially, evangelicals welcomed all races,

---

<sup>40</sup> Louisa S. McCord, “Right to Labor,” *Louisa S. McCord: Political and Social Essays* (1849): 85, quoted in Leigh Fought, *Southern Womanhood and Slavery: A Biography of Louisa S. McCord, 1810-1879* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 109, accessed February 10, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=3570777>.

<sup>41</sup> George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All! or, Slaves Without Masters*, ed. C. Vann Woodward, (London: Harvard University Press, 1966), 31-32, accessed February 20, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=3300193>; William Drayton, *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists* (Philadelphia: H. Manly, 1836), 68-79, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510023193312>.

<sup>42</sup> William Drayton, *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists* (Philadelphia: H. Manly, 1836), 109-110, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510023193312>; Leigh Fought, *Southern Womanhood and Slavery: A Biography of Louisa S. McCord, 1810-1879* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 102, accessed February 10, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=3570777>.

classes and genders. In the North, this ecclesiastic parity led congregants to recognize slavery as antithetical to the moral teachings of Jesus Christ. But, in the South, such a message “aroused their sharpest fears” by attacking “those hierarchies that lent stability to their daily lives....”<sup>43</sup> Only when Southern evangelists abandoned antislavery teachings, conforming to the patriarchal social order, did their memberships grow. Preaching proslavery, “Ministers had found a message that made them popular and relevant to events....”<sup>44</sup> By 1830 at least half of the white Southern population were members of a Christian church.<sup>45</sup>

As evangelicals had learned, white Southerners firmly believed the patriarchal social order provided stability and “the slave class formed the substratum of the entire structure of society.”<sup>46</sup> “Be it good or bad,” Calhoun observed, “[slavery] has grown up with our society and institutions, and is so interwoven with them, that to destroy it would be to destroy us as a people.”<sup>47</sup> With slavery placed at the base of the hierarchy of social order, white Southerners believed it must be maintained. In her essay, “Slavery and Political Economy,”

McCord asserted “The existence of society is an inherent necessity to man’s

---

<sup>43</sup> Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 26, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://www.amazon.com/Southern-Cross-Beginnings-Bible-Belt/dp/080784716X/>.

<sup>44</sup> Daly, *When Slavery Was Called Freedom*, 73.

<sup>45</sup> Heyrman, *Southern Cross*, 5.

<sup>46</sup> Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*, 287

<sup>47</sup> Calhoun, *Union and Liberty*, 473.

existence; what therefore is needful to the existence of society cannot be unjust.... Thus, then, slavery is sometimes and to certain extents proved just.”<sup>48</sup> If slavery was abolished, blacks would no longer be inferior, disrupting the “the natural and normal condition of society,” and cause “the total overthrow of the Family and all other existing social, moral, religious and governmental institutions.”<sup>49</sup> For proof, white Southerners only had to glance northward where they saw capitalist free labor producing poverty, hunger, insecurity, and broken families. From their perspective, white Southerners believed their traditional patriarchal social order with clear hierarchies based on race, class, and gender was superior, stable, peaceful, prosperous, and a benefit to everyone.

Contending slavery held together the patriarchal social order, white Southerners latched on to what they believed to be irrefutable evidence that “Slavery was established and sanctioned by Divine Authority....”<sup>50</sup> Ministers, intellectuals, and polemicists discerned that God created, defined, and sanctioned

---

<sup>48</sup> Louisa S. McCord, “Slavery and Political Economy,” *Louisa S. McCord: Political and Social Essays* (1856): 442, quoted in Fought, *Southern Womanhood and Slavery*, 65

<sup>49</sup> George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All! or, Slaves Without Masters*, ed. C. Vann Woodward, (London: Harvard University Press, 1966), 40, 198, accessed February 20, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=3300193>.

<sup>50</sup> T. Roderick Dew, *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*, William S. Reynolds Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), Francis Markoe Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), (Richmond: T. W. White, 1832), 9, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t2f76gb48>.



slavery in the Bible.<sup>51</sup> The Old Testament taught how slavery was created through Noah and defined by Abraham, Moses, and other prophets under the direction of God. Jesus and his disciples of the New Testament did not condemn slavery while many letters of Saint Paul implored masters to be benevolent and slaves obedient confirming the institution was sanctioned by God. Minister Theodore Clapp taught that, “It is an indisputable fact, that slavery was universal among that chosen, peculiar people of God....”<sup>52</sup>

The interpretation from the Bible that black slavery was created by God came from the “Curse of Ham” in Genesis 9:18-27. According to John Patrick Daly, the origin of the story used consistently in the proslavery South came from Puritan minister Thomas Saffin in 1701.<sup>53</sup> Noah became intoxicated and threw off his clothes. Ham, one of his sons, saw Noah’s nakedness, which was forbidden. Noah, speaking for God, placed a curse upon Ham’s son, Canaan:

Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge

---

<sup>51</sup> The word “servant,” not “slave,” appears in translations of the Bible used by all the primary sources cited herein but Antebellum theologians and intellectuals claimed a “servant” in antiquity was a “slave.” See E.N. Elliott, “Introduction,” in *Cotton is King and the Pro-Slavery Arguments Comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christy, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright on This Important Subject*, ed. E. N. Elliott (Augusta, GA: Pritchard, Abbot & Loomis, 1860), v-vii, accessed February 26, 2021, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28148/28148-h/28148-h.htm>.

<sup>52</sup> Theodore Clapp, *Slavery: A Sermon Delivered in the First Congregational Church in New Orleans, April 15, 1838* (New Orleans: J. Gibson, 1838), 8, accessed January 25, 2021, HathiTrust, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058139239>.

<sup>53</sup> Daly, *When Slavery Was Called Freedom*, 37.

Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.<sup>54</sup>

“Thus,” elucidated South Carolina Congressman William Drayton, “when there was but one family on the face of the earth, a portion of that family was doomed to be slaves to the others.”<sup>55</sup> That the people cursed to slavery in perpetuity were black came from ancient genealogy which was more convenient than reliable. Bishop Thomas Newton in 1754 recounted rabbinic tradition that claimed, “The whole continent of Africa was peopled principally by the children of Ham.”<sup>56</sup> South Carolina minister Frederick Dalcho, writing in 1823 about his knowledge of the same Jewish origin of Canaanite slaves, relayed that “*Ham*, means *black*, or *burnt*. He was the father of Canaan. His descendants settled the hot regions of Asia, on the Persian Gulph (sic), Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Africa.”<sup>57</sup>

According to Newton and Dalcho, descendants of Noah's other sons, Shem (source

---

<sup>54</sup> Gen. 9:25-27, quoted in Thornton Stringfellow, “The Bible Argument: Or, Slavery in the Light of Divine Revelation,” in *Cotton is King and the Pro-Slavery Arguments Comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christy, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright on This Important Subject*, ed. E.N. Elliott (Augusta, GA: Pritchard, Abbot & Loomis, 1860), 463, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28148/28148-h/28148-h.htm>.

<sup>55</sup> William Drayton, *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists* (Philadelphia: H. Manly, 1836), 89, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510023193312>.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies, Which Have Remarkably Been Fulfilled, and at this Time are Fulfilling in the World* (London, 1839), 13, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015073686449>.

<sup>57</sup> Frederick Dalcho, *Practical Considerations Founded on the Scriptures, Relative to the Slave Population of South-Carolina* (Charleston, 1823), 11, accessed January 26, 2021, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t47p9398h>.

of Persian Muslims) and Japheth (source of Europe Christians) be served by Canaanites according to the curse. Therefore, black Africans, “descendants of Ham and Canaan, according to ancient prophecies,” concluded Dalcho, “are become slaves to christians, descendants of Japheth.”<sup>58</sup> In other words, white Southern Christians were commanded by God to enslave black Africans.

After creating slavery, God, through prophets Abraham, Moses, and others, defined how slaves fit into the divinely designed patriarchy. In Genesis chapter 17, God made a covenant with Abraham. He promised to make Abraham “the father of a multitude of nations” and gave his people the land of Canaan, inhabited by the cursed descendants of Ham. In exchange, God commanded Abraham “And all the men of his house, born in the house, and bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him.”<sup>59</sup> The interpretation here was that God defined the patriarchal household to include slaves who were to share in some of the graces offered by God. “Principal church leaders,” Genovese remarked, “agreed that God, in sanctioning slavery, commanded masters to follow the example of Abraham and to treat their slaves as members of their household as brothers and sisters in the eyes of the Lord.”<sup>60</sup> God could not be in covenant with something immoral or evil,

---

<sup>58</sup> Dalcho, *Practical Considerations*, 18.

<sup>59</sup> Gen. 17:27 quoted in Drayton, *The South Vindicated*, 89.

<sup>60</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, *Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 5, accessed January 22, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=3038965>.

reasoned Pastor Theodore Clapp of Louisiana, “Therefore slavery in Abraham’s time was a wise, righteous and beneficial institution.”<sup>61</sup> Through Moses, God provided further definition of the institution of slavery: “Thy bond-men and thy bond-maids which you shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids.”<sup>62</sup> Jenkins maintained “This passage of scripture was the rock of Gibraltar in the Old Testament case,” because “it authorized buying, selling, holding, and bequeathing slaves as property.”<sup>63</sup> Pastor Clapp concluded, “No one is so obtuse as not to see, that if men were permitted by God in the time of Moses to hold slaves, then it may be right for them to do it now....”<sup>64</sup>

“When we turn to the New Testament,” Professor Dew remarked, “we find not one single passage at all calculated to disturb the conscience of an honest slave holder.”<sup>65</sup> In the beginning of His ministry, Jesus explained, “Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy but fulfill.”<sup>66</sup> Jesus then made clear what he meant. For example, in Matthew 5:21-26 Jesus expanded the fifth commandment against murder to include anger such that anger

---

<sup>61</sup> Clapp, *Slavery: A Sermon*, 11.

<sup>62</sup> Lev. 25:44, quoted in Stringfellow, “The Bible Argument,” 475.

<sup>63</sup> Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*, 202.

<sup>64</sup> Clapp, *Slavery: A Sermon*, 15.

<sup>65</sup> Dew, *Review of the Debate*, 106.

<sup>66</sup> Matt. 5:17, quoted in Clapp, *Slavery: A Sermon*, 18.

toward someone was as sinful as murder. Yet, in all Jesus's teaching, He never once mentioned or condemned slavery. The logical conclusion of white Southerners then was "He sanctioned the institutions and relationships existing at His time which He did not expressly condemn."<sup>67</sup> If it was suggested that Jesus did not teach about slavery because it would anger the Romans, divines fired back that He "did not refrain from condemning sin from a regard to consequences."<sup>68</sup> Since Jesus never mentioned slavery and would not have been afraid to do so if it was sinful, Southern whites reasoned it could only have been because slavery was sanctioned by God.

While Jesus never broached the subject of slavery, proslavery writers noted that Saint Paul did. In letters to Philemon, the Colossians, the Ephesians, the Corinthians, Timothy and Titus, Saint Paul taught to and about slaves. In his letter to Philemon, Saint Paul implored Philemon to allow his slave Onesimus to return to him without receiving punishment for running away. Onesimus had been converted to Christianity by Paul and would most certainly be an obedient slave as a Christian. White Southerners were able to "recognize in Philemon a biblical parallel to the Constitution's fugitive slave law."<sup>69</sup> To the Colossians, Saint Paul

---

<sup>67</sup> Jenkins, *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*, 203.

<sup>68</sup> Charles Hodge, "The Bible Argument on Slavery," in *Cotton is King and the Pro-Slavery Arguments Comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christy, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright on This Important Subject*, ed. E.N. Elliott (Augusta, GA: Pritchard, Abbot & Loomis, 1860), 855, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28148/28148-h/28148-h.htm>.

<sup>69</sup> Daly, *When Slavery Was Called Freedom*, 37.

exhorted “Servants obey in all things your masters, according to the flesh; not with eye service, as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God.”<sup>70</sup> Being devoted and dutiful, Paul advised, was how a slave could reach heaven. To the Corinthians Paul taught “Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he is called. Art thou called being a servant? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.”<sup>71</sup> Paul, in urging slaves to become Christian, did not wish for them to be free, but “bids them to bear in mind that the disadvantages of a servile state last but for a moment, and are to be succeeded by the pure and enduring joys of an immortal existence.”<sup>72</sup> With these epistles detailing the master/slave relationship, white Southerners reasoned the Apostle Paul was sanctioning the institution as God’s will.

Given these Biblical interpretations, white Southerners of all classes felt assured God created slavery, provided a people who were specifically cursed to be slaves, commanded Christians to own them, defined their role in the patriarchal household, and sanctioned the master/slave relationship. The Old Testament told how God created slavery in the “Curse of Ham” and Jewish tradition passed down through the centuries identified people of dark skin as the descendants who were cursed. Prophets Abraham and Moses had slaves and rather than scold them, God

---

<sup>70</sup> Col. 3:22, quoted in Stringfellow, “The Bible Argument,” 481.

<sup>71</sup> 1 Cor. 7:20-21 quoted in Drayton, *The South Vindicated*, 95.

<sup>72</sup> Clapp, *Slavery: A Sermon*, 65.

gave His people a structure for slavery. Further compelling was that Jesus spoke radically about how man should live his life and the specific evils he should guard against but not once spoke of slavery as one of those evils. One of His greatest teachers spreading the Gospel, Paul, taught slaves and masters alike, encouraging slaves to be obedient and never demanding masters release their slaves. These arguments were compelling and convinced rich and poor whites in the Antebellum South that slavery was morally just.

Furthermore, white Southerners saw the institution of slavery as the backbone of the patriarchal social order that brought structure and stability to their society. If the “southern way of life” was to survive the economic and social upheavals white Southerners saw occurring in the North, the institution of slavery must remain. This meant that it was not slavery per se white Southerners were defending. Instead, they were defending the integrity of their society. Louisa S. McCord believed society’s survival depended upon a rigid code of gender, class, and racial hierarchy designed by God.<sup>73</sup> Without slavery, the black race would no longer be inferior to the white race, upsetting this careful balance. Certain slavery was God’s will and believing slavery to be the reason Southern society was stable and superior to the collapsing society of the North, white Southerners defended it, ultimately with many of their lives.

---

<sup>73</sup> Leigh Fought, *Southern Womanhood and Slavery: A Biography of Louisa S. McCord, 1810-1879* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 101, accessed February 10, 2021, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=3570777>.

Throughout the whole of American history, the struggle over racial equality has been a significant theme. With slavery underpinning the patriarchal social order and the Bible providing strong evidence of slavery's divine authority, white Southerners probably had no other choice than to take up arms in 1861. Focusing on their views and why they held them advances comprehension of race in American history. Further research on proslavery ideology could investigate how the Bible and patriarchy was used by whites to justify resistance to Reconstruction, segregation, or rejection of black civil rights. Perhaps a greater understanding of those who fought against racial equality "will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood."<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream" (speech, Washington D.C., August 28, 1963), <https://www.npr.org/2010/01/18/122701268/i-have-a-dream-speech-in-its-entirety>.



## Bibliography

- Allen, Jody L. "Thomas Dew and the Rise of Proslavery Ideology at William & Mary." *Slavery & Abolition* 39, no. 2 (June 2018): 267-279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2018.1446783>.
- Blight, David W. "They Knew What Time it Was: African Americans and the Coming of the Civil War." In *Why the Civil War Came*, edited by Gabor S. Boritt, 51-77. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Accessed January 29, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=829478>.
- Calhoun, John C. *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun*. Edited by Ross M. Lence. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1992. Accessed January 25, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=3327366>.
- Clapp, Theodore. *Slavery: A Sermon Delivered in the First Congregational Church in New Orleans, April 15, 1838*. New Orleans, J. Gibson, 1838. Accessed January 25, 2021. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058139239>.
- Dalcho, Frederick. *Practical considerations founded on the Scriptures, relative to the slave population of South-Carolina*. Charleston, 1823. Accessed January 26, 2021. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t47p9398h>.
- Daly, John Patrick. *When Slavery Was Called Freedom: Evangelicalism, Proslavery, and the Causes of the Civil War: Religion in the South*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002. Accessed January 22, 2021. EBSCOHost. <https://web-b-ebSCOhost-com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook?sid=564eb8e2-b286-4e38-9124-4524c905a6bf%40pdc-v-sessmgr01&vid=0&format=EB>.
- Dew, T. Roderick. *Review of the debate [on the abolition of slavery] in the Virginia legislature of 1831 and 1832*. William S. Reynolds Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress). Francis Markoe Pamphlet Collection (Library of

- Congress). Richmond: T. W. White, 1832. Accessed January 25, 2021. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t2f76gb48>.
- Donald, David. "The Proslavery Argument Reconsidered." *The Journal of Southern History* 37, no. 1 (February 1971): 3-18. Accessed January 24, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2205917>.
- Drayton, William. *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists*. Philadelphia: H. Manly, 1836. Accessed January 25, 2021. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510023193312>.
- Elliott, E. N., ed. *Cotton is King and the Pro-Slavery Arguments Comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christy, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright on This Important Subject*. Augusta, GA: Pritchard, Abbot & Loomis, 1860. Accessed January 25, 2021. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28148/28148-h/28148-h.htm>
- Ericson, David F. *The Debate over Slavery: Antislavery and Proslavery Liberalism in Antebellum America*. New York: New York University Press, 2000. Accessed January 22, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=865381&query=>
- Evans, William McKee. "From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the 'Sons of Ham.'" *The American Historical Review* 85, no. 1 (February 1980): 15-43. Accessed February 22, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1853423>.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin. "Evangelicalism and the Meaning of the Proslavery Argument: The Reverend Thornton Stringfellow of Virginia." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85, no. 1 (1977): 3-17. Accessed February 9, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4248089>.
- . *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. Accessed February 14, 2021. <https://www.amazon.com/Ideology-Slavery-Proslavery-Antebellum-Civilization/dp/0807108928/>.

Fitzhugh, George. *Cannibals All!, or Slaves Without Masters*. Edited by C. Vann Woodward. London: Harvard University Press, 1966. Accessed February 20, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=3300193>

Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*. Cary: Oxford University Press, 1995. Accessed January 16, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=694007>.

Fought, Leigh. *Southern Womanhood and Slavery: A Biography of Louisa S. Mccord, 1810-1879*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003. Accessed February 10, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=3570777>.

Freehling, William W. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854: Volume I*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. February 2, 2021, <https://search-ebshost-com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip&db=nlebk&AN=2096316&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

Genovese, Eugene D. *Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. Accessed January 22, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=3038965>.

----- . *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Random House, 1976. Accessed February 14, 2021. <https://www.amazon.com/Roll-Jordan-World-Slaves-Made/dp/0394716523/>.

Goldenberg, David M. *Black and Slave: The Origins and History of the Curse of Ham*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, Inc., 2017. Accessed January 25, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=4866632>.

- Hentz, Caroline Lee. *The Planter's Northern Bride*. Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson and Brothers, 1854. Documenting the American South. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/hentz/hentz.html>.
- Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Accessed January 25, 2021. <https://www.amazon.com/Southern-Cross-Beginnings-Bible-Belt/dp/080784716X/>.
- Hodge, Charles. "The Bible Argument on Slavery." In *Cotton is King and the Pro-Slavery Arguments Comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christy, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright on This Important Subject*, edited by E.N. Elliott, 841-878. Augusta, GA: Pritchard, Abbot & Loomis, 1860. Accessed January 25, 2021. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28148/28148-h/28148-h.htm>
- Howe, Daniel Walker. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. Cary: Oxford University Press, 2007. Accessed January 14, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=430958>.
- Jenkins, William Sumner. *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Accessed February 14, 2021. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005309268>.
- Matthews, Glenna. "'Little Women' Who Helped Make This Great War." In *Why the Civil War Came*, edited by Gabor S. Boritt, 31-49. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Accessed January 29, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=829478>.
- McCord, Louisa S. "Right to Labor." *Louisa S. McCord: Political and Social Essays* (1849): 85. Quoted in Leigh Fought, *Southern Womanhood and Slavery: A Biography of Louisa S. Mccord, 1810-1879* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003). Accessed February 10, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=3570777>.

----- . "Slavery and Political Economy." *Louisa S. McCord: Political and Social Essays* (1856): 442. Quoted in Fought, *Southern Womanhood*.

McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Accessed January 29, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=431834>.

Newton, Thomas. *Dissertations on the Prophecies, Which Have Remarkably Been Fulfilled, and at this Time are Fulfilling in the World*. London, 1839. Accessed January 25, 2021. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015073686449>.

Roberts-Miller, Patricia. *Fanatical Schemes: Proslavery Rhetoric and the Tragedy of Consensus*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009. Accessed January 22, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/reader.action?docID=547671>.

Rockman, Seth. "Jacksonian America," in *American History Now*. Edited by Eric Foner, Lisa McGirr, and American Historical Association. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011. Accessed January 14, 2021. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=714507>.

Rothman, Adam. "Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction" in *American History Now*. Edited by Eric Foner, Lisa McGirr, and American Historical Association. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011. Accessed January 26, 2021. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=714507>.

Rugemer, Edward B. "The Southern Response to British Abolitionism: The Maturation of Proslavery Apologetics." *The Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 2 (May 2004): 221-248. Accessed January 24, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27648398>.

Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. Cary: Oxford University Press, 1994. Accessed January 16, 2021. ProQuest Ebook

Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/apus/detail.action?docID=886585>.

Stringfellow, Thornton. "The Bible Argument: Or, Slavery in the Light of Divine Revelation." In *Cotton is King and the Pro-Slavery Arguments Comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christy, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright on This Important Subject*, edited by E.N. Elliott, 461-492. Augusta, GA: Pritchard, Abbot & Loomis, 1860. Accessed January 25, 2021. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28148/28148-h/28148-h.htm>

Vanderford, Chad. "Proslavery Professors: Classic Natural Right and the Positive Good Argument in Antebellum Virginia." *Civil War History* 55, no. 1 (March 2009): 5-30,4. Accessed January 22, 2021. <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.apus.edu/scholarly-journals/proslavery-professors-classic-natural-right/docview/518816884/se-2?accountid=8289>.

Wayne, Michael. "An Old South Morality Play: Reconsidering the Social Underpinnings of the Proslavery Ideology." *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 3 (December 1990): 838-63. Accessed January 24, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2078988>.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. "The Abolitionists' Postal Campaign of 1835." *The Journal of Negro History* 50, no. 4 (1965): 227-38. Accessed February 14, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2716246>.

----- . *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. Accessed January 22, 2021. EPUB. <https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy2.apus.edu/2027/heb.00819>.

<b>Submission Feedback</b>	
----------------------------	--

<b>Overall Feedback</b>	
-------------------------	--

Thanks for submitting your Research Paper.  
Your paper is very good.  
I like the way that it is presented and it is well written and organized.  
It is clear and succinct.  
You make very good solid points and support those points.  
Your paper flows very smoothly.  
You have an excellent grasp of the subject area."  
This is well done and you cover a major theme during this era.  
Thanks for submitting your research paper.  
I enjoyed reading your submission.  
Have a great day.  
Dr. Sine

<b>Score</b>	
--------------	--

95 / 100 - 95 %

<b>Feedback Date</b>	
----------------------	--

Mar 1, 2021 10:36 AM