

VOX POPULI – VOX BELLI
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF SOUTHERN ANTE BELLUM PUBLIC ATTITUDES
AND MOTIVATIONS TOWARD SECESSION

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines why the south seceded in 1860 as opposed to any other time in the 19th century and what changed the mentalité of the people in the period 1857-1860. The underlying issue in southern politics and the issue of secession was clearly slavery and slavery rested on the economics of cotton. Yet slavery and cotton do not explain why the South seceded in 1860 and not at other times in the preceding seventy years. 1807 saw the outlawing of the international slave trade and 1819 saw Congress pass the Slave Trade Act interdicting the ships involved. In 1828 and 1832 the bitter tariff disputes between northern industrial and southern agricultural interests led to the South Carolina doctrine of “Nullification” but no secession. Neither the 1846 proposed Wilmot Proviso restricting slavery in the new territories nor the immediate post Mexican War disputes over the territorial expansion of slavery caused secession and in every case the South was willing to compromise.

The methodology of this work is based on the assumption that words and thoughts are intimately linked and that by measuring changes in frequency of word use, changes in thought can be detected and measured. Evidence for the changing use word frequency was provided by an etymological and article content study of selected daily editions of six newspapers in the three cities. The thesis put forward to explain the change in political attitude is that for the southern cities of Richmond, Charleston and New Orleans, political power and political issues were the most important factors. The rise of the sectional northern Republican Party and fear of its abolitionist principles weighed more heavily than any other factors in altering the psychology of the South. This raised the political dispute over slavery to an issue of secession and potential military conflict.

To the Boyden women,
Mrs. Irene F. Boyden (nee Woodward) and Mrs. Doris A. Boyden (nee Mewes)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	xviii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY	10
CHAPTER 3 HISTORY OF STATES, CITIES, AND NEWSPAPER	20
CHAPTER 4 THE RESULTS	32
Overview- Comparative Article Frequency	32
Word Frequency and Frequency of Articles Containing Key Words.....	41
Economics.....	41
Social.....	57
Political	67
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS	99
APPENDIX A COMPARATIVE ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE BY STATE, CITY AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLE RANK.....	101
APPENDIX B ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY TOTAL PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	103
APPENDIX C POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY TOTAL PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	105
APPENDIX D MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY TOTAL PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	107
APPENDIX E SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY TOTAL PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.	109

APPENDIX F TOTAL NUMBER OF ECONOMIC ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY WORDS PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	111
APPENDIX G TOTAL NUMBER OF POLITICAL ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY WORDS PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	113
APPENDIX H TOTAL NUMBER OF MILITARY ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY WORDS PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	115
APPENDIX I TOTAL NUMBER OF SOCIAL ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY WORDS PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	117
APPENDIX J RICHMOND ENQUIRER ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	119
APPENDIX K RICHMOND ENQUIRER POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	121
APPENDIX L RICHMOND ENQUIRER MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	123
APPENDIX M RICHMOND ENQUIRER SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	125
APPENDIX N RICHMOND ENQUIRER ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	127
APPENDIX O RICHMOND ENQUIRER ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	129
APPENDIX P RICHMOND ENQUIRER ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	131

APPENDIX Q RICHMOND ENQUIRER ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	133
APPENDIX R RICHMOND ENQUIRER ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE ARTICLE PERCENTAGE.....	135
APPENDIX S RICHMOND ENQUIRER ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE NUMBER OF ARTICLES	137
APPENDIX T RICHMOND ENQUIRER ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY.....	139
APPENDIX U RICHMOND ENQUIRER POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY.....	141
APPENDIX V RICHMOND ENQUIRER MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY	143
APPENDIX W RICHMOND ENQUIRER SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY	145
APPENDIX X RICHMOND ENQUIRER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS.....	147
APPENDIX Y RICHMOND ENQUIRER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS	149
APPENDIX Z RICHMOND ENQUIRER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS.....	151
APPENDIX AA RICHMOND ENQUIRER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS.....	153
APPENDIX AB CHARLESTON MERCURY ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	155
APPENDIX AC CHARLESTON MERCURY POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	157

APPENDIX AD CHARLESTON MERCURY MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	159
APPENDIX AE CHARLESTON MERCURY SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	161
APPENDIX AF CHARLESTON MERCURY ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	163
APPENDIX AG CHARLESTON MERCURY ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	165
APPENDIX AH CHARLESTON MERCURY ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	167
APPENDIX AI CHARLESTON MERCURY ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	169
APPENDIX AJ CHARLESTON MERCURY ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE ARTICLE PERCENTAGE.....	171
APPENDIX AK CHARLESTON MERCURY ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE NUMBER OF ARTICLES	173
APPENDIX AL CHARLESTON MERCURY ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY	175
APPENDIX AM CHARLESTON MERCURY POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY	177
APPENDIX AN CHARLESTON MERCURY MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY	179
APPENDIX AO CHARLESTON MERCURY SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY	181
APPENDIX AP CHARLESTON MERCURY NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS.....	183

APPENDIX AQ CHARLESTON MERCURY NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS	185
APPENDIX AR CHARLESTON MERCURY NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS.....	187
APPENDIX AS CHARLESTON MERCURY NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS.....	189
APPENDIX AT NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	191
APPENDIX AU NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	193
APPENDIX AV NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	195
APPENDIX AW NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	197
APPENDIX AX NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	199
APPENDIX AY NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	201
APPENDIX AZ NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	203
APPENDIX BA NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	205

APPENDIX BB NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE ARTICLE PERCENTAGE.....	207
APPENDIX BC NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE NUMBER OF ARTICLES	209
APPENDIX BD NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY	211
APPENDIX BE NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY	213
APPENDIX BF NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY	215
APPENDIX BG NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY	217
APPENDIX BH NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS.....	219
APPENDIX BI NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS	221
APPENDIX BJ NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS.....	223
APPENDIX BK NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS	225
APPENDIX BL RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	227
APPENDIX BM RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	229
APPENDIX BN RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	231

APPENDIX BO RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	233
APPENDIX BP RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	235
APPENDIX BQ RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	237
APPENDIX BR RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	239
APPENDIX BS RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	241
APPENDIX BT RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE ARTICLE PERCENTAGE.....	243
APPENDIX BU RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE NUMBER OF ARTICLES	245
APPENDIX BV RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY.....	247
APPENDIX BW RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY.....	249
APPENDIX BX RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY.....	251
APPENDIX BY RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY.....	253

APPENDIX BZ RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS	255
APPENDIX CA RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS	257
APPENDIX CB RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS	259
APPENDIX CC RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS	261
APPENDIX CD CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	263
APPENDIX CE CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	265
APPENDIX CF CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	267
APPENDIX CG CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	269
APPENDIX CH CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	271
APPENDIX CI CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	273
APPENDIX CJ CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	275

APPENDIX CK CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	277
APPENDIX CL CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE ARTICLE PERCENTAGE.....	279
APPENDIX CM CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE NUMBER OF ARTICLES	281
APPENDIX CN CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY ..	283
APPENDIX CO CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY ...	285
APPENDIX CP CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY.....	287
APPENDIX CQ CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY	289
APPENDIX CR CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS	291
APPENDIX CS CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS	293
APPENDIX CT CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS	295
APPENDIX CR CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS	297
APPENDIX CV NEW ORLEANS BEE ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	299
APPENDIX CW NEW ORLEANS BEE POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	301

APPENDIX CX NEW ORLEANS BEE MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	303
APPENDIX CY NEW ORLEANS BEE SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES	305
APPENDIX CZ NEW ORLEANS BEE ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	307
APPENDIX DA NEW ORLEANS BEE ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	309
APPENDIX DB NEW ORLEANS BEE ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	311
APPENDIX DC NEW ORLEANS BEE ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES.....	313
APPENDIX DD NEW ORLEANS BEE ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE ARTICLE PERCENTAGE.....	315
APPENDIX DE NEW ORLEANS BEE ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE NUMBER OF ARTICLES	317
APPENDIX DF NEW ORLEANS BEE ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY	319
APPENDIX DG NEW ORLEANS BEE POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY	321
APPENDIX DH NEW ORLEANS BEE MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY	323
APPENDIX DI NEW ORLEANS BEE SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY	325
APPENDIX DJ NEW ORLEANS BEE NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS.....	327

APPENDIX DK NEW ORLEANS BEE NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS	329
APPENDIX DL NEW ORLEANS BEE NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS.....	331
APPENDIX DM NEW ORLEANS BEE NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS.....	333
APPENDIX DN BRITISH AND AMERICAN RAW COTTON TRADE.....	335
APPENDIX DO COTTON PRICES VERSUS SLAVE PRICES BY YEAR.....	337
APPENDIX DP ECONOMICS OF AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY	339
APPENDIX DQ AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD REPUBLICAN PER 1000 ARTICLES	341
APPENDIX DR AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD ABOLITION PER 1000 ARTICLES	343
APPENDIX DS AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD KANSAS-NEBRASKA, ET. AL. PER 1000 ARTICLES	345
APPENDIX DT AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD SLAVERY PER 1000 ARTICLES	347
APPENDIX DU AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD COTTON PER 1000 ARTICLES	349
APPENDIX DV AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD SECESSION PER 1000 ARTICLES	351
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	353

Primary Sources	353
Secondary Sources	353
Journals	357

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Subject Percentage Based on Total Article Frequency. wtd= Weighted Average	102
Table 2: Number of Key Economic Words Recorded per 1000 Slavery Articles	104
Table 3: Number of Key Political Words Recorded per 1000 Slavery Articles	106
Table 4: Number of Key Military Words Recorded per 1000 Slavery Articles	108
Table 5: Number of Key Social Words Recorded per 1000 Slavery Articles	110
Table 6: Total Number of Economic Articles Containing Key Words per 1000 Slavery Articles	112
Table 7: Total Number of Political Articles Containing Key Words per 1000 Slavery Articles	114
Table 8: Total Number of Military Articles Containing Key Words per 1000 Slavery Articles	116
Table 9: Total Number of Social Articles Containing Key Words per 1000 Slavery Articles...	118
Table 10: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	120
Table 11: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	122
Table 12: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	124
Table 13: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	126
Table 14: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	128

Table 15: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	130
Table 16: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	132
Table 17: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	134
Table 18: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	136
Table 19: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	138
Table 20: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	140
Table 21: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	142
Table 22: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	144
Table 23: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860.....	146
Table 24: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	148
Table 25: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	150

Table 26: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	152
Table 27: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	154
Table 28: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	156
Table 29: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	158
Table 30: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	160
Table 31: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	162
Table 32: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	164
Table 33: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	166
Table 34: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	168
Table 35: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	170
Table 36: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	172

Table 37: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860.....	174
Table 38: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	176
Table 39: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857- 1860.....	178
Table 40: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857- 1860.....	180
Table 41: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857- 1860.....	182
Table 42: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	184
Table 43: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	186
Table 44: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	188
Table 45: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860	190
Table 46: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	192
Table 47: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	194

Table 48: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	196
Table 49: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	198
Table 50: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	200
Table 51: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	202
Table 52: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	204
Table 53: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	206
Table 54: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860	208
Table 55: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	210
Table 56: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860	212
Table 57: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860	214
Table 58: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860	216

Table 59: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860	218
Table 60: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	220
Table 61: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860	222
Table 62: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860.....	224
Table 63: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860	226
Table 64: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860.....	228
Table 65: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860.....	230
Table 66: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860.....	232
Table 67: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860.....	234
Table 68: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	236
Table 69: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	238

Table 70: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860.....	240
Table 71: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860.....	242
Table 72: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	244
Table 73: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	246
Table 74: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	248
Table 75: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	250
Table 76: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	252
Table 77: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	254
Table 78: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	256
Table 79: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	258
Table 80: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	260

Table 81: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860	262
Table 82: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860.....	264
Table 83: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860.....	266
Table 84: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860.....	268
Table 85: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860.....	270
Table 86: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	272
Table 87: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	274
Table 88: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860.....	276
Table 89: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860.....	278
Table 90: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860.....	280
Table 91: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860.....	282

Table 92: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	284
Table 93: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	286
Table 94: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	288
Table 95: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	290
Table 96: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	292
Table 97: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	294
Table 98: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	296
Table 99: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860	298
Table 100: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	300
Table 101: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	302
Table 102: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	304

Table 103: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	306
Table 104: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	308
Table 105: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	310
Table 106: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	312
Table 107: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	314
Table 108: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	316
Table 109: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860.....	318
Table 110: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	320
Table 111: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860.....	322
Table 112: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860.....	324
Table 113: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860.....	326
Table 114: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	328

Table 115: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	330
Table 116: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	332
Table 117: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860	334
Table 118: Gene Dattel's British and American Raw Cotton Trade Table from <i>Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power</i>	336
Table 119: A Comparison of Cotton Prices and Slave Prices from 1800 to 1860.....	338
Table 120: The Economics of Negro Slavery Based on Fogel and Engerman's <i>Time on the Cross, Economics of American Negro Slavery</i>	340
Table 121: Average Frequency of the Word Republican per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860	342
Table 122: Average Frequency of the Word Abolition per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860	344
Table 123: Average Frequency of the Word Kansas-Nebraska, et. al. per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860	346
Table 124: Average Frequency of the Word Slavery per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860..	348
Table 125: Average Frequency of the Word Cotton per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860...	350
Table 126: Average Frequency of the Word Secession per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860	352

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The goal of this thesis is to examine why the South felt it necessary to secede in 1860 while finding acceptable political compromises in the years up to 1856. The thesis put forward is that for the cities of Richmond, Charleston and New Orleans at least, political power and political issues were the most important factors. The rise of the sectional northern Republican Party and fear of its abolitionist principles weighed more heavily than any other factors in altering the psychology of the South. This raised the political dispute over slavery to an issue of secession and potential military conflict.

As Gene Dattel makes clear in *Cotton Race and the Making of America*, the underlying issue in southern politics and the issue of secession was clearly slavery, and slavery rested on the economics of cotton.¹ Eli Whitney's cotton gin, patented in 1793, efficiently removed the cotton seeds from the fiber. This process revolutionized the economics of short fiber cotton and created an enormous demand for cheap agricultural labor to grow cotton which grew well almost everywhere in southern climes. Slavery provided the economic answer and the roots of the political divisions with the North. Yet slavery and cotton do not explain why the South seceded in 1860 and not at other times in the preceding seventy years.

¹ Gene Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2009.

As early as 1790, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, who would be twice nominated as the Federalist Party presidential candidate, was expressing abolitionist sentiment and complaining that slavery “is altogether a matter of domestic regulation”.²

1807 saw the outlawing of the international slave trade and 1819 saw Congress pass the Slave Trade Act which gave the U.S. Navy authority to use armed force to interdict the ships involved. In 1820 the struggle over slavery continued but the South was willing to allow Maine into the Union as a free state and accept the Missouri compromise which permitted the entry of Missouri as a slave state. In 1828 and 1832 the tariff disputes between northern industrial and southern agricultural interests led to the South Carolina doctrine of “Nullification”.

During the nullification crisis, this Constitutional construction helped intensify the split between Vice President John C. Calhoun and President Andrew Jackson and caused South Carolina to threaten to secede. Southern economic anger at this time was intensified by the societal fear caused by Nat Turner’s 1831 rebellion.³ In 1835, the abolitionist crises saw religious organizations promoting a postal campaign to encourage abolition in the South, an important move which Mitchell Snay sees as heralding “the change in American antislavery from gradualism to immediatism.”⁴ As a result of the very different strong religious views on slavery developed in the North and South, the Southern Methodists seceded from the unified church in 1844 and the Baptists withdrew from the national organization a year later, yet these secessions did not carry over into action in the southern political arena.

² Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to “My Dear General” March 31, 1790, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Papers, USC. quoted in Steven A. Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974.

³ David M. Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. New York: Harper Colophon, 1976, 455.

⁴ Mitchell Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997, 29. (First Published 1993).

In 1846 the Wilmot Proviso proposed to ban slavery in any territory to be acquired post the 1846-1848 Mexican War. This proposal, by a Pennsylvania Democrat, passed the house but was defeated in the Senate. The passage in the House shocked the South, generated vast resentment, and became one of the factors leading to the secession crisis of 1850. The acquisition of vast amounts of Southwestern territory from Mexico, following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, opened up the possibility of several new states. It also reopened the question as to whether these proposed states should be free or slave states and threatened a new secession crisis. South Carolina was willing to lead any secession movement but again the rest of the South, if not exactly emollient, was willing to negotiate in good faith and accepted the so-called compromise of 1850. Henry Clay's compromise contained five major points and was pushed through Congress primarily by Senator Stephen Douglas.⁵ Texas surrendered its claim to New Mexico which could then potentially become a separate state but received the Texas Panhandle, and previously claimed El Paso. The states' outstanding debts were also cancelled. California was admitted to the Union as a free state rather than being split into two states at the Missouri Compromise Line. As compensation, the South received the possibility of slave states; an issue to be determined by popular sovereignty in the newly established New Mexico territory and Utah territory and the Wilmot Proviso was dropped. A stronger Fugitive Slave Act was passed and slavery was continued in the national capital although the slave trade was banned there. Clay's and Douglas' efforts avoided secession or civil war at the time and reduced sectional conflict for four years.

⁵ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 96-110; Michael F. Holt. *The Political Crisis of the 1850's*. New York W.W. Norton Company, 1978, 81-84; Elizabeth R. Varon. *The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789-1859*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008, 212-214.

In 1856, the issue of whether Kansas and Nebraska were to be admitted to the Union as free or slave states came to the fore. President James Buchanan, a Pennsylvania northerner with southern views on slavery, vacillated; appointing several governors in an attempt to find a solution to what became an actual shooting war with “Bleeding Kansas” becoming a cause célèbre in the North and the South.⁶

Yet in all these matters, until 1856, the overwhelming majority of the southern states and their electorates were willing to compromise, and their politicians to fight for political solutions in Congress. It is true that South Carolina had been often ready and willing to secede since 1832, but even that fierce state was not politically united on the issue even in the 1856-1860 years. Leading political figures varied considerably in their views. The head of South Carolina’s Democratic Party, James L. Orr, was a staunch Unionist in the 1850s trying to move South Carolina into the mainstream and even seeking the presidency.⁷ Similarly, Francis William Pickens, the state governor, was a moderate Unionist during this period, seeking a national convention to save the Union even on the brink of secession.⁸ Christopher G. Memminger, South Carolina’s secession commissioner to Virginia, had helped defeat disunionists in 1852 but had become a both a cooperationalist and a believer in the need for secession, calculating that a strong southern Union was most likely to secede successfully if led by Virginia.⁹ Virginia’s enthusiastic participation would have unified all the Border States and provided the all-important population and industrial base for a successful economic autarchy and military preparedness.

⁶ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 206-209, 211-216.

⁷ William W. Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, vol. II*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 179, 294.

⁸ Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, vol. II*. 261, 420.

⁹ Steven A. Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974, 17-18.

Newspaper owner, Robert Barnwell Rhett, had been one of the longest, staunchest and the most public supporters of secession, state congressman, and former mayor of Charleston, William Porcher Miles, was a long time secessionist and most “ultra” of the legislators, while Governor William Henry Gist was one of the most tireless and ruthless organizers in the cause.¹⁰

By the end of 1860, however, seven cotton states, their ruling elites and their people were ready to secede, even at the cost of massive economic disruption and a civil war, and four southern Border States were ready to join them when the Federal Government used force to quell the seceding regimes.

Clearly something had changed in the psyche and political discourse of the southern population. Either existing slavery issues had considerably changed in importance or new factors had occurred in the 1856-1860 period which had considerably altered the mentalité of southerners. In order to determine what the bulk of the population thought and the nature of these changes, wide ranging sources are required which give clear, definable and measurable inputs.

Southern newspapers have long provided a substantial primary source for historians of slavery and the Civil War. They have been quoted on every subject which affected the South and the republic as a whole. In 1931 Dwight L. Dumond published *Southern Editorials on Secession* a very substantial collection of important newspaper editorials in the period between January 6, 1860, and May 9, 1861.¹¹ No town or county of significance was without one or more local newspapers. While it is true that any newspaper reflects the position, power, and propensities of its editor and/or owner, it is also true that in order to sell in a free market the newspaper must

¹⁰ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 66, 68, 105, 123, 129, 390; Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*. 46; Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, vol. II*. 384, 453.

¹¹ Dwight L. Dumond, *Collection: Southern Editorials on Secession*. New York: The Century Company, 1931.

also reflect the needs, mores, and prejudices of its local community. In setting out their wares therefore, writers and editors carefully choose both their subject matter, their political position on the subject and the words they use.

If linguistic philosophers such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf are correct, then words, language and thought are intricately intertwined, with words influencing thought, and cultural experience influencing both thought and the way the mind receives and processes words.¹² This latter concept, sometimes known as cultural relativism, derives largely from the Sapir –Whorf hypothesis and is one of the two major hypotheses on how the mind processes words.¹³ The other major idea, associated with philosopher Noam Chomsky, is that all human beings process data in the same way. This idea underpins mathematics and science which assumes that scientists from every culture will understand scientific data in an identical way.¹⁴

¹² Johann Gottfried Herder, 1744-1803, in "*Ursprung der Sprache*", established fundamental ideas concerning an intimate dependence of thought on language which underpin modern philosophy of language. *Treatise on the Origin of Language*, Berlin: 1772, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907 and *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921. Wilhelm von Humboldt, 1767-1835, noted for his contributions to the formation of modern linguistics, semiotics, hermeneutics and language philosophy. *Ueber das vergleichende Sprachstudium in Beziehung auf die verschiedenen Epochen der Sprachentwicklung*" GS Vol 4, 1–34 and *Das bildende Organ des Gedankens*, GS Vo. 6, 152. Berlin: 1820. Edward Sapir, 1888-1934, developed the idea that linguistic structure influences the cognition of language This concept has found utility in, anthropological and psychological linguistics, cognitive science and philosophy of language. Benjamin Lee Whorf, 1897-1941, developed the idea of linguistic relativity, the hypothesis that language influences thought. Carroll, John B. (ed.) (1997) *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1956.

¹³ The Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/relativism/sup>: David G. Mandelbaum, ed., *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality*, University of California Press, 1983: John B. Carroll (ed.), ed., *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, MIT Press, 1956. John A. Lucy, *Grammatical Categories and Cognition: A Case Study of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; John A. Lucy . *Language Diversity and Thought: A Reformulation of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

¹⁴ Noam Chomsky. *The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory*. New York: Pantheon Books 1975: Noam Chomsky *Reflections on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1975. Avram Noam Chomsky studied language and in a series of published works, *Transformational Analysis*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1955. *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton, 1957. *Current issues in linguistic theory*, The Hague: Mouton, 1964,

The use of words and linguistics as a diagnostic tool has been widespread and taken many forms. Access Science, in an article by Carol Chaski, describes the following:

“Psycholinguistics studies how the human cognitive system processes language at all levels of structural analysis and at all levels of human development. Language acquisition by adults focuses on the cognitive system as well as the best practices in pedagogy. Neurolinguistics focuses on the human neuroanatomy and neuronal functioning related to the acquisition, genetics, and disintegration of linguistic ability. Sociolinguistics examines how human social systems use language to define boundaries and interaction. Dialectology focuses on the identification of dialects related to regional boundaries, while sociolinguistics focuses on the identification of linguistic patterns constrained by social, class, racial, and gender boundaries. Computational linguistics develops tools through which computers can be used to perform linguistic tasks for humans, such as information retrieval, machine translation, and language analysis.¹⁵

Forensic linguistic analysis has been used in the identification of criminals, the validation of ransom demand notes, death row confessions and speaker identifications.¹⁶ Linguistic analysis has been used extensively in literature, where it has helped identify authors of historical works from their writing style, in psychiatry where it has been used to identify medical disorders and in the study of history.¹⁷ Linguistic analysis has also been used in econometric analysis: for

Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge: The MIT Press. 1965, and *Cartesian Linguistics*. New York: Harper and Row. 1965.emphasized "an innate set of linguistic principles shared by all humans" known as universal grammar. Chomsky's approach has been critical of the behaviorist concepts of the school which was dominant up until the 1950s.

¹⁵ Carole E. Chaski, "Forensic linguistics," in Access Science, ©McGraw-Hill Companies, 2007, <http://www.accessscience.com>

¹⁶ B. S. Howald, Comparative and non-comparative forensic linguistic analysis techniques: Methodologies for negotiating the interface of linguistics and evidentiary jurisprudence in the American judiciary, *Univ. Detroit Mercy Law Rev.*, vol. 83, issue 3, Spring 2006; John Olsson. *Forensic Linguistics, Second Edition*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2008: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/lindbergh/sfeature/crime.html>; John Olsson *An Introduction to Language Crime and the Law*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004; J. N. Levi, *Language and Law: A Bibliographic Guide to Social Science Research in the USA*, American Bar Association, 1994; M. Coulthard. Author Identification, Idiolect and Linguistic Uniqueness. *Applied Linguistics*, 2004 25, (4), 431-447.

¹⁷ C.E. Chaski. Who's at the keyboard? Authorship attribution in Digital Evidence Investigations, *Int. J. Digital Evidence*, Spring, 2005; D. Reynolds et al. Super SID project: Exploiting High-level information for high accuracy speaker recognition, *ICASSP*, 2003; R.D Rodman et al. Forensic Speaker Identification Based on Spectral Moments. *Forensic Logistics; Int. J. Speech, Lang, Law*, vol9,2002;J. Li and R. Cheng, From Finger print to Writprint. *Commun, ACM*, 49 (4):76-82; Linguistic Analysis of Speech in Affective Disorders. Nancy J. C. Andreasen, Md. Ph. *Arch General Psychiatry*, 1976.33 (11): 1361-1367; Linguistic Transcriptions and Specification of Psychiatric

example one of the leading indicators of an impending recession in the United Kingdom is the rate of increase in frequency in the use of the word recession in financial newspaper articles.¹⁸

The first assumption of this paper is that accurately measuring the frequency of use of such key words on a systematically rigorous basis can give the historian a clear indication of the relative importance of the issues of concern to the editor and readers. Thus both the subject and tenor of newspaper articles and the frequency and nature of the words used, such as honor, republicanism, states rights, war, secession, property and cotton, should give indications into the “Mentalité” of the readers as well as that of the writers and the editor.

The second assumption of this paper is that understanding the “Mentalité” of the readers should enable us to: produce evidence to support or challenge existing historiographical approaches to the causes of secession; show differences between the different newspapers, cities and states studied; indicate how their concerns changed over time; postulate the more probable causes of southern secession and the civil war.

By examining word frequency in any historical newspapers, one would therefore hope that light could be shown on works diverse in style content and nature; for example Kenneth S. Greenberg’s 1996 cultural history book *Honor and Slavery*,¹⁹ which looks at different linguistics in the same language, country and society over time and postulates cultural factors as a cause of the Civil War, implicitly uses the Sapir Whorf hypothesis as its etymological basis. By contrast,

interview materials. Norman A. McQuown. *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes*, vol. 20, 1957, 78-86:(9) (Eds.) Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyers. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London” Sage Publications 2001 and 2009; Kathleen Canning. Feminist History: After the Linguistic Turn. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1994, vol. 19, no. 21.

¹⁸ The R word index: Up means down. *Economist*, Sep, 17-23, 2011.

¹⁹ Kenneth S. Greenberg. *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave, Rebellions, The Pro Slavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, Gambling, in the old South*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Gavin Wright's econometric work *The Political Economy of the Old South*, which argues that the cause of the Civil War was the desire of southern planters to protect the value of their slaves, uses equations and graphs to make his point, and thus relies heavily on the more scientific and structured etymological approach associated with Chomsky.²⁰

²⁰ Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Old South: Households, Markets and the 19th Century*. New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1978.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

The methodology applied in this thesis is to examine major articles and editorials from six different southern newspapers, in different cities and states between January 1857 and December 1860. The newspapers chosen are the Richmond *Enquirer* and *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, the Charleston *Mercury* and *The Charleston Daily Courier*, and in New Orleans, *The Daily Picayune* and *Bee*.

The choice of these six newspapers arises from a pilot study in spring 2010. An examination of three different newspapers from three different states, the Richmond *Enquirer*, Charleston *Mercury*, and New Orleans, *The Daily Picayune* gave a geographic diversity which allowed for identification of differences in the political, economic and social issues in these communities. The use of newspaper articles over a four year time period also helped tell us how the attitudes of the people in these communities changed on vital issues as their society moved from peace towards secession and possible war. The six newspapers were also chosen because they were significant publications in their cities in terms of circulation and influence and were considerable sources of news and views for provincial and local papers. As it happens, by chance, they also show very different political persuasions and interests.

The methodology used was to examine the major articles in the paper. These usually commenced on the front two pages of each paper and were continued on the second, third or fourth pages. In the case of the commercially orientated *New Orleans Picayune* advertisements often pushed major stories off the front page. The process of article selection is also not as an objective process as it might be since the editor must deal with the issue of standard column lengths. Thus major articles are supplemented by shorter news items in order that each column

may exactly fill the full length of the newspaper. Since these filler items are of different lengths, a certain degree of subjectivity occurs in deciding what is major and what is not. Since the criteria for study is primarily column inches and not topic, this should not impart any particular bias to the study but occasionally differences in type face are used to identify a story's importance where the article is short and some articles have "Important" as heading independent of the length of the article.

Additional problem of selection are caused by the differing nature of the newspapers. The Richmond *Whig and Enquirer* and the Charleston *Mercury* generally have articles with a single clear topic. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* and *Bee* focus more on news as brought in by ship, telegraph or occasionally pony express and mail. These reports can and usually do contain more than one topic. The Charleston *Courier* contains a mixture of both formats. In the case of these later newspapers a single most important topic has been selected as the subject of each article. This is not always easy to do and requires a certain degree of judgment by the researcher with the possibility of unconscious bias in the selection criteria.

All the articles examined were read, summarized and analyzed for content. These articles were broken down into seven categories, slavery, politics, social affairs, commerce, foreign affairs, defense and religion. Categorizing the nature of these articles is also somewhat subjective. Since factors which similarly affected North and South were unlikely to be the most significant causes of secession only articles relating to slavery underwent a subsequent word analysis.

The institution of slavery impinged on all aspects of southern life, and it is therefore not always easy to discern what is a slavery article and what is an economic, political, or foreign

news or policy article, particularly as secession drew closer. However politics would still have existed without slavery. Thus *Enquirer* articles supporting Governor Henry A. Wise as a political candidate over rival Senator Robert M. T. Hunter were clearly not primarily about slavery when both were leading Virginia Democrats, both supported States' rights, and both were heavily pro slavery in their politics.²¹ Similarly articles on railroads, which argue for more local government subsidy or discuss completions and do not mention slavery and Negro labor are more likely to be commercial in nature and similar to articles found in northern and foreign newspapers rather than slavery orientated.

Articles which were slavery oriented usually contained the word "slave" or "negro" and occasionally "race" and these words make good internal markers. Choice of words was generally dictated by the frequency in which they occurred in slavery articles but decisions on which derivatives of words were used, e.g. abolition, abolitionism, abolitionist invariably involved a degree of subjectivity. Copies of the first three newspapers were examined every Tuesday from December 16 1856 until the end of June 1857 in order to build up the word base.²² Thereafter

²¹ William A. Link, *Roots of Secession: slavery and politics in ante-bellum Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003, 169, 198-99, 325.

²² **Social:** honor(s)(able), faith, family, religion(ion), country, manly(iness/hood), equal(ity), liberty patriot(ism/ic), duel(ing/ist), methodist, church, baptist, kindness, race, mission(ary), ministers, bishop. Additional supporting data on social words and article frequency can be found in appendices A, E, I, M, Q, R, S, W, AA, AE, AI, AJ, AK, AO, AS, AW, BA, BB, BC, BG, BK, BO, BS, BT, BU, BY, CC, CG, CK, CL, CM, CQ, CU, CY, DC, DD, DE, DI, and DM

Economic: cotton, land, tariff(s), prices(slaves), prices (land), sale (of slaves), slave(ry(s), manufacturing, industry, agriculture(al), tobacco, property, ,mines, railroads, capital, trade, commerce(ial),sugar, rice

Additional supporting data on economic words and article frequency can be found in appendices A, B, F, J, N, R, S, T, X, AB, AF, AJ, AK, AL, AP, AT, AX, BB, BC, BD, BH, BL, BP, BT, BU, BV, BZ, CD, CH, CL, CM, CN, CR, CV, CZ, DD, DE, DF, and DJ

Political:(r)Republican , (r)Republicanism , States rights, southern rights, , insurrection(ry), revolt, conspiracy, abolition (ist/m), constitution, Nullification(iers), Free soil(ers/ism), lands, Confederacy, negro, secession(ism/sts), ultra(ist), Free state, Squatter sovereignty, Popular sovereignty, non- intervention, Kansas –Nebraska (Bill/Act), protect(ion/ed), revolution(ary), oppression(ive)

Additional supporting data on political words and article frequency can be found in appendices A, C, G, K, O, R, S, U, Y, AC, AG, AJ, AK, AM, AQ, AU, AY, BB, BC, BE, BI, BM, BQ, BT, BU, BW, CA, CE, CI, CL, CM, CO,

the Tuesday edition was almost always utilized every other week, copies permitting, for all newspapers. In the event of a Tuesday copy being missing a Friday paper was often utilized since Tuesday and Friday copies seem to have been the copies currently most widely available. In the case of the *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser* many copies of both Tuesday and Friday editions were missing in the last four months of 1860 and the absence of these could cause a sufficient gap in the data which might affect the reliability of the analysis. In examining copies of all six newspapers on various days of the week, a comparison indicated that the Tuesday copy was not in any way idiosyncratic.

It should be noted that some of the words used in the final version of the initial study either changed their meaning over time or had radically different meanings. For example, the word “Confederacy” was used almost as a synonym for Union until late 1859-1860. Prior to late 1859, Union was generally used in the way we use United States today while confederacy was used to indicate both the Union and to denote the federal nature of that Union, whereas from late 1859, the term confederacy begins to appear in the term southern confederacy. Similarly in 1857 and early 1858 the word “republican” was occasionally used in the *Enquirer* to indicate the older US political philosophy based on Hobbes’ concept of a social contract that lies somewhere between Aristotle’s concept of man as a political animal, the Renaissance concept of enlightenment and Jefferson’s concept of a pure republic of farmers continuously threatened by greedy bankers, merchants and corrupt politicians. Much more frequently however the term Republican was used as Black Republican and it is almost exclusively used in this context in all

CS, CW, DA, DD, DE, DG, and DK

Military: War, Arsenal, Aggression(ive), Defence(sic), Rebellion

Additional supporting data on military words and article frequency can be found in appendices A, D, H, L, P, R, S, V, Z, AD, AH, AJ, AK, AN, AR, AV, AZ, BB, BC, BF, BJ, BN, BR, BT, BU, BX, CB, CF, CJ, CL, CM, CP, CT, CX, DB, DD, DE, DH, and DL

the newspapers to describe the northern party of Abraham Lincoln, William Seward, Salmon P. Chase and John C. Fremont.

Some words kept their meaning but were applied different contexts. The word “war” where it occurred from 1857-1860 was initially used in considering war against foreign powers, usually England or Spain, but as the political crises grew it came to mean more often war between the states. Similarly nullification kept its clear meaning of refusing to recognize Congressional power and acts. In the early 1850s, southerners used the word to describe a refusal to recognize congressional authority to raise national tariffs and apply these to the individual states. From 1858 onwards, southerners used nullification to describe the failure of Congress to protect southern property, i.e. slaves, in the federal territories and the new Free states and the persistent failure of Congress and the Buchanan administration to apply the Fugitive Slave Act in the northern territories.

The word data from the study was used in three ways. The first way was to analyze the articles and group them according to subject and measure the frequency with which each type of subject matter occurred. The second method of analysis was to examine the number of articles in which a key word was mentioned and measure the frequency of use. The third method was to examine the total frequency with which key words occur in the article sampled and measure the total frequency of use.

For example a frequency of social articles and a high usage of social words such as, honor, manliness and dueling would tend to indicate a strong press and public interest in social causes of the war. Such data would tend to support the views of social historians such as Kenneth

S. Greenberg, Christopher J. Olsen, Bertram Wyatt Brown and Elliot Gorn.²³ Words such as religion, methodist, church and baptist would tend to indicate a strong religious southern reason for secession and possible war, supporting the views of a writers such as Mitchell Snay who postulates that a sharp difference in moral climate and beliefs and the consequent separation of the churches in 1844 /45 and lay at the root of the war.²⁴

A high usage of economic words such as, cotton, sugar, tobacco, and tariffs would seem to indicate a strong southern press and public interest in economic causes of the war can lend support to the widely viewed concept that slavery was primarily an agricultural phenomenon tending to validate the arguments of authors such as Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Gavin Wright and Marc Egnal and to reinforce in part the concepts of Marxist historian Eugene Genovese who saw both economic and social causes at work.²⁵

An emphasis on the prices of slaves and land would support authors such as Walter Johnson who believed the sale of slaves was the chief business of the South. Words such as manufacturing, industry, mines and railroads would strengthen the hands of authors such as Ronald L. Lewis, Kathleen Bruce, John Bezis-Selfa, Charles B. Dew, and Robert S. Starobin who have written on the iron and steel industry and the slave labor used extensively to operate

²³ Kenneth S Greenberg. *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Women, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, The Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, Gambling in the Old South*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996. Christopher J. Olsen. *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi: Masculinity, Honor and the Antiparty Tradition 1830-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Bertram Wyatt-Brown.. *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the old South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982 (First Published 1932).Gorn, Elliott J. Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch: The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Back Country. *The American Historical Revue*, Vol. 90, No. 1 (Feb. 1985), 18-43.

²⁴ Mitchell Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997, (First Published 1993).

²⁵ Fogel, Robert W. and Stanley L. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: the Economics of Negro Slavery*. New York: W.W Norton and Company, 1974. Gavin. *The Political Economy of the Old South: Households, Markets and the 19th Century*. Mark Egnal. *Clash of Extremes; The Economic Origins of the Civil War*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2009. Genovese, Eugene D. *The Political Economics of Slavery*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989, (first Published 1961).

it.²⁶ These authors and others demonstrated that the upper South, particularly Virginia, was quite industrialized and in many ways had more links with, and similarities to, the North than with the South, despite the South's ultimate secession.

Fundamentalists historians such as James McPherson, Eric Foner, and Bertram Wyatt-Brown tend to base their cases on the older argument of W.E. B. Dubois. For these writers the "peculiar institution" of slavery was the key issue of the war causing two distinctive and antagonistic societies to arise with political systems that were by their very existence a threat to the other.²⁷

By contrast modern revisionists are viewed as following the lead of Kenneth Stampp and David Potter. These writers also emphasize the many factors that were common to North and South and feel that a compromise might have been possible with better political leadership. Stampp, in *And the War Came; The North and the Secession Crisis of 1860-1861*, believes that slavery was the inevitable cause of the war while in *America 1857: A Nation on the Brink* he sees President Buchanan's errors in handling slavery politics in Kansas as the point where there was no turning back from war.²⁸ A high frequency of use of political words such as Republican, constitution, institution and abolition would tend to support the political case for the causes of the war.

²⁶ Lewis, Ronald L. *Coal, Iron and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia 1715-1865* Westport Connecticut, London England: Greenwood Press, 1979. Bruce, Kathleen, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era*, New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1968 (First Published New York: The Century Company, 1930. Bevis Selfa, John. *Forging America: Iron workers, Adventurers and the Industrial Revolution* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2004 (Originally published 1996): Charles B. Dew. *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War*. Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2001. Starobin, Robert s. "Industrial Slavery in the Old South" New York; Oxford University Press 1970.

²⁷ Varon. *The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789-1859*. 2008, 3.

²⁸ Kenneth M. Stampp, *And the War Came*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1970. Kenneth M. Stampp. *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Authors such as Michael Holt, William Gienapp and William Freehling have become in some sense revisionists of the revisionists. They point out the bicameral debate between fundamentalists and a revisionist is too simplistic and point to sharp political debates within sections that do not fit into a simple structure. Freehling sees national politics as the key issue but believes a deeply committed Ultra minority in the South coerced the Democratic Party which in turn coerced the North.²⁹ William Cooper also sees national politics as the key issue. His contention however is that the institution of slavery, southern parties and politicians, the southern political structure and the values of white society were the driving forces dominating the slavery issue rather than immigration, economics, or finance. In all these cases words relating to politics would be important markers but frequent use of words such as ultra and ultra, conspiracy and revolution would strengthen the Freehling case.

Another important school of thought has Elizabeth Varon as its most recent advocate. Varon, argues that since the founding of the Republic disunion was one of the most pejorative words in the American lexicon of political epithets, encapsulating the deepest fears of Americans “extreme political factionalism, tyranny, regionalism, economic decline, foreign intervention, class conflict, gender disorder, racial strife, widespread violence and anarchy and civil war”.³⁰ She rejects the economic determinism of the Beards in particular and points to the work of Avery Craven and James Randall which also rejects determinism and highlight irresponsible agitation and a needless war. Like Edward Ayers, Varon considers that economic, political and social factors all played a part. Free labor and nativism were strong political forces in the North and the

²⁹ William J Cooper. *The South and the Politics of Slavery 1828-1856*. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1978; William W. Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, vol. II*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

³⁰Elizabeth R. Varon. *The Coming of the American Civil War 1789-1859*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina press. 2008, 1.

South was divided by class, economic, and regional differences. A constant frequency of use of the word "secession" over the period considered would tend to support her case, where as a rapidly rising rate would suggest some major change in southern thinking.

Another important group of group of historians such as John M. Sacher, William G. Shade and William G. Link see local party politics as key issues while Steven A. Channing in his work on the State of South Carolina sees fear of slave revolt as the main factor determining southern attitudes and political behavior.³¹ A great difference in the frequency of key word use and article topics by city and state would testify to the lack of homogeneity in the states and the probable importance of local politics.

In addition to the issue of the changing meaning of words there are two other types of difficulties with the methodology. The first type is with the observer and includes the required judgment of the historian, the difficulty of article selection and key subject identification. The second type lies in the source material itself. The newspapers studied, although among the larger publications in each town may not be representative of the population at large. We know in each of these cities there were other newspapers which often held different philosophical and party views. It is also possible that some issues were deliberately underplayed by the papers. For example Stamp, in *America in 1857*, points out that references to slave revolts were always under recorded in order not to encourage a servile revolt.³² If Stamp is correct, a numerical study however meticulously carried out would under measure the importance of this issue.

³¹ John M. Sacher, *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003; William A. Link. *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003 ; Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina.*; William G Shade. *Democratizing the Old Dominion: Virginia and the Second Party System 1824-1861*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1996.

³² Stamp. *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink*. 35.

Arising from this point it is important to remember the golden rule that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

The cities the six selected papers covered considered did represent the lower and border South but all were older more established cities which, as William Link and Avery Craven point out, often had different economic wishes and political views from newspapers in the more westerly southern states and the larger more industrialized populations in the West and North of the United States.³³

The frequency of articles and words on these various subjects in the first three newspapers examined, the Richmond *Enquirer*, Charleston *Mercury*, and New Orleans, *The Daily Picayune* was sufficient to indicate that political power was a central theme of all three newspapers and the dispute over the entry of Nebraska and Kansas, particularly the latter, as free or slave states was seemingly one of the most important factor in increasing the several underlying North South divisions. Indeed the preliminary study allowed a testable hypothesis to be made; for the cities of Richmond, Charleston and New Orleans, political power and political issues were the most important factors. The rise of the Republican party and fear of its abolitionist principles weighed more heavily than any other factors in altering the psychology of the South, raising the political dispute over slavery to one of secession and potential military conflict.

The data generated by the work on the additional three newspapers, *Whig*, *Courier* and *Bee* has confirmed the above thesis and has also given insights into many of the other factors that influenced secession.

³³ Avery Craven. *The Coming of the Civil War*. New York: Charles Scribner and Sons 1942.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF STATES, CITIES, AND NEWSPAPER

In examining the data for the six journals selected it is important to understand to some degree the differing history and nature of societies in Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana during the period 1857-1860, as well as the economic, geographic and political position of Richmond, Charleston and New Orleans in the states and the political positions of the newspapers and their editors.

Virginia was almost certainly one of the most diverse states in the United States. As William G. Shade put it “While no State was a microcosm of the whole, Virginia’s claims to representing mid-nineteenth-century America are much stronger than those of Massachusetts, or Mississippi and superior to those of Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Illinois or Missouri.”

Geographically the state was divided from east to west by the Blue Ridge Mountains and comprised four fairly separate regions, the Tidewater area, the mainly southern Piedmont, the Valley and the mainly north western Transallegheny regions. In terms of population in 1860, Virginia was the fourth most populous state in the Union, with a white population of just over 1million, a slave population of 490,000 and a free black population of 58,000. 57 per cent of the total population was in the two western districts but 87 per cent of all slaves were in the Tidewater and Piedmont areas giving a majority of slaves or free blacks in both areas. The Northwestern, Transallegheny area had negligible slaves, and was “more orientated to the northern non slaveholding system. Virginia was the state with the largest slave population and also the state with the largest number of slaveholders, fifty two thousand.”³⁴

³⁴. Link, *Roots of Secession: slavery and politics in ante-bellum Virginia*. 3.

Economic growth had been much faster in these latter regions with the two eastern regions suffering relative economic decline. But as Kathleen Bruce points out it is important to distinguish between relative economic decline and absolute economic decline and all areas of Virginia experienced rapid growth between 1840 and 1860, including considerable industrialization, particularly in iron and steel manufacturing, coal mining, tobacco manufacturing and railroad construction.³⁵ By the end of the 1850's Virginia was undoubtedly the major manufacturing state in the South.

Just like Virginia itself, Richmond was portrayed as a place of diversity and contradictions. According to William G. Shade "Richmond, the commonwealth's center, was economically stagnant and populated by old white families surrounded by a growing black majority. . . It was the breeding ground of conservative paternalism."³⁶ While William A. Link sees a rather different industrial scene stating "Richmond solidified its status as the Commonwealth's leading city, and its connection to key canals and railroads fueled its rapid growth."³⁷ A contemporary article from the Richmond Whig certainly supports Link's view, stating "We are in Richmond, - the city of a hundred tobacco factories – of nine story flour mills, feeding the world at eight thousand barrels per day – a city of mile long railway bridges, of rolling mills, of shops and of a wakened southern enterprise."³⁸

This industrialization had been sufficient to develop a large class of free white workers who voted Whig and were also not particularly pro slavery. These and the small farmers of

³⁵ Kathleen Bruce. *Slave Labor in the Virginia Iron Industry*. The William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, Vol. 6 (Oct.1926), 290.

³⁶ William G. Shade. *Democratizing the Old Dominion: Virginia and the Second Party System, 1824-1861*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1996, 55.

³⁷ Link, *Roots of Secession: slavery and politics in ante-bellum Virginia*. 32.

³⁸ "A Day in Richmond" *Enquirer*, Mar, 8, 1857.

Northwestern Virginia form a substantial part of the basis of the Whig and American parties while the Planters, farmers and dependents of the Gentry in Tidewater area and the southern Piedmont tended to form the backbone of the Democratic party.

Understanding the political split in Richmond which was both the industrial and political capital of the state is helpful in understanding the political stances of the two Richmond papers. The *Enquirer* was strongly southern, determinedly conservative but not reactionary, completely pro slavery, pro states rights, pro strict interpretation of the Constitution, pro Democrat, very strongly pro-Union and very strong on US rights vis a vis foreigners. Somewhat surprisingly perhaps for a Democratic paper, it was also pro government aid for internal improvements, particularly road and rail, as articles such as “Appropriations to Internal Improvements” “Virginia Improvements” and “Appropriations” show.³⁹ It represented the ruling Tidewater elite, sometimes known as the Richmond Junto and later as the Chivalry.

The Richmond *Enquirer* generally wanted the world to stay as it was in the early 1850s. Virginia was a slave exporting state. It did not want competition for its markets or troublesome issues raised. It saw the obsession of the cotton states to reintroduce slave trading as likely to bring down the full weight of northern outrage and federal power down on the South. So annoyed was the editor of the Richmond paper that in 1858, in an article on “The Southern Commercial Convention,” he threatened that if Alabama and the other cotton states continued to agitate for the reopening of the slave trade, Virginia would become the southern border state of a northern union rather than the northern most state of a southern confederacy.⁴⁰ Needless to say

³⁹ “Appropriations to Internal Improvements” *Enquirer*, Feb, 2, 1858. “Virginia Improvements” *Enquirer*, Feb, 16, 1858: “Virginia Improvements” *Enquirer*, Feb, 16, 1858. “Appropriations” *Enquirer*, Mar, 2, 1858.

⁴⁰ “The Southwest Commercial Convention,” *Enquirer*, May 25, 1858.

this action provoked vicious attacks from the secessionist Charleston *Mercury* and vigorous rebuttals from the *Enquirer*.⁴¹

The only change that was generally welcomed by the *Enquirer* was anything that benefited and promoted the political career of Governor Henry A. Wise. The editor of Richmond *Enquirer* was O. Jennings Wise, the son of the prominent politician and sometime state Governor Henry Wise (1855-1859) and possible Democratic presidential candidate in 1860. The younger Wise was often at odds with the editor of the Richmond *Whig* on personalities and politics. Two linked articles in the 20th January 1857 *Enquirer*, which excoriated the *Whig* for its adverse views on the Democratic Buchanan administration and attacked the Whig policies on public lands, are typical of the verbal sparring between the publications.⁴²

The *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser* was founded in 1833 at the start of the Whig political revival, was the house organ of the party in Richmond and was, if anything, even more politically orientated than the Richmond *Daily Enquirer*. The *Whig* railed against party switching ex Whigs, such as Governor Wise, Democrats, the Buchanan administration, abolitionists, Democratic Senator William O. Douglas, the Republican Party and Know Nothings in roughly descending order of abomination.

The main political tasks of the *Whig* were to whip up party enthusiasm, encourage the formation of committees to select and organize support and meetings for increasingly beleaguered Whig candidates and get out the vote on Election Day. One of the ways the *Whig* carried out its task of energizing the party faithful in Virginia was to be “more royalist than the

⁴¹ “The Charleston *Mercury* on the State of Virginia,” *Mercury* Aug. 3, 1858, 1:“The *South* and *The South Carolina Guardian*” *Enquirer*, Jul. 5, 1858, 1.

⁴² “Organism,” *Enquirer*, Jan, 20 1857. “Explanation and Inconsistencies” Mar, 10,1857.

king” on the subject of slavery. A typical example of the Whig’s work in this respect, during the 1859 Virginia gubernatorial election campaign, can be seen from the papers support of Whig candidate William H. Goggins and its multiple, persistent and vitriolic diatribes against Democratic candidate John Letcher.⁴³

Letcher’s besetting sin was that he as a man from the western part of the state and had been suspected of being an abolitionist as late as 1849, having supported a very controversial, and anti- slavery pamphlet published by missionary Dr. Henry Ruffner. What made Ruffner’s and Letcher’s sins more unforgivable was that Ruffner advocated the political division of Virginia and freedom from Richmond’s control.⁴⁴

The *Richmond Enquirer*, which ultimately supported Letcher, had made slavery a test of electoral suitability.⁴⁵ The *Whig* returned the *Enquirer’s* attacks with gusto, criticizing the *Enquirer* and the Democrats for their alleged weakness on the slavery issue in 1859 and condemning the *Enquirer* as being insufficiently anti Lincoln and Bell in the 1860 Presidential campaign.⁴⁶

From the very beginning South Carolina’s history was steeped in slavery. The state was divided into two geographically, economically and socially different regions. The Low Country

⁴³“The Convention and Nomination”, Whig, Feb, 15, 1859 : “Honest John and the Ruffner Pamphlet.” Whig Feb, 15, 1859: “Dr. Ruffner’s Address”, Whig, Mar, 1, 1859: “Mr. Letcher, Mr. Buchanan and the Richmond Enquirer”, Whig, Mar, 1, 1859: “Letcher’s Hostility to slaveholders Further Illustrated”, Whig, Mar, 15, 1859” “Mr. Letcher and his Party: Whig, Mar, 15, 1859: “Mr. Letcher and the annexation of Texas”, Whig, Apr, 12, 1859.

⁴⁴ Link, *Roots of Secession: slavery and politics in ante-bellum Virginia*. Press. 168: “Honest John and the Ruffner Pamphlet.” Whig Feb, 15, 1859.

⁴⁵ “A Practical Test of Democracy” *Enquirer*, Dec, 1, 1857: Governor wise Supports Mr, Letcher. *Enquirer*, Mar, 29, 1859.

⁴⁶ “The Only Party That protects Slavery”, Whig, Mar, 15, 1859: “More Blundering”, Whig, Jul, 10, 1860.

was settled by a class of wealthy proprietors, who dominated the state legislatures.⁴⁷ This wealthy class possessed large amounts of land which they planted for rice and other staples and commercial crops, cotton becoming the most commercially important.

The Back Country was settled chiefly by Welsh and Scots-Irish Presbyterians from Ulster, Pennsylvania and Virginia who came before 1776.⁴⁸ These men from the less affluent areas were used to working poor land and their chief occupation was subsistence farming and the production of indigo as a cash crop.⁴⁹ Differences in wealth, class, aspirations and lifestyle were marked and exacerbated by the fact that these settlers did not need nor use many slaves.⁵⁰ These differences led to longstanding political competition between the Low Country and Upcountry that played out in politics.⁵¹

William Freehling, in *Secessionists at Bay* describes the politics of South Carolina where Slave owners had more control over the state government than was possible in any other state.⁵² The legislature very much followed the British pattern of limited aristocratic democracy. Although all white male residents were allowed to vote, property restrictions for office holders were higher in South Carolina than in any other state. It was also the only state where the legislature elected the governor, all judges and state electors. The state's chief executive was to a large extent a figurehead who had no authority to veto legislative law.

⁴⁷ Lacy K. Ford Jr. *The Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry 1800-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, 35-46, 101; Walter Edgar. *South Carolina: A History*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988, 41, 205.

⁴⁸ George Lloyd Johnson. *South Carolina Backcountry, 1736-1800*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997, 11, 16. Edgar. *South Carolina: A History*. 57.

⁴⁹ Johnson. *South Carolina Backcountry, 1736-1800*. 66.

⁵⁰ Johnson. *South Carolina Backcountry, 1736-1800*. 65.

⁵¹ Ford Jr. *The Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry 1800-1860*. 101.

⁵² Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay 1776-1854*. 213-228.

In 1860, the population of the state was 703,620. 401,000, 57%, were black slaves. In contrast to other slave states free blacks constituted a very small part of the population, less than 10,000. The growth in slave numbers had occurred over a ninety year span. Freehling comments that “By 1830, 85 percent of inhabitants of rice plantations along the coast were slaves. When rice planters left the malarial low country for cities such as Charleston, up to 98 percent of the low country residents were slaves. By 1830, two-thirds of South Carolina's counties had populations with 40 percent or more enslaved; in the two counties with the *lowest* rates of slavery, 23 percent of the population were slaves.”⁵³ South Carolina was thus unlike most slave states, in having a both a black majority, large plantations and therefore large and concentrated pockets of blacks throughout the state.

Unfortunately cotton is a crop which rapidly depletes the soil. The lower yields achieved in the State and opportunities elsewhere caused some 40 per cent or more of the white planter class to seek new lands in the lower south and the west.⁵⁴ A political consequence of this was that South Carolina's population shrank relative to the other states causing the loss of several congressional seats and national political influence.⁵⁵

Declining political influence at the federal level made South Carolina more defensive in respect of federal government laws, taxes and tariffs. This political defensiveness was supplemented by social defensiveness over fear of possible slave revolt. In 1822, a black slave in Charleston, Denmark Vesey, organized other slaves in a co-ordinated plan to kill their owners and other slaveholders, seize the city of Charleston, and then escape from the United States by

⁵³ Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay 1776-1854*. 213-228.

⁵⁴ Gene Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 47.

⁵⁵ Dodd and Dodd. *Historical Statistics*. Quoted in Walter Edgar. *South Carolina: A History*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988, 277.

sailing to Haiti. Court records show that it was intended that several hundred slaves would take part.⁵⁶ Fortunately for the whites, the plan was betrayed by another slave and severe reprisals against local slaves followed.⁵⁷

As Steven A. Channing, one of the more prominent antebellum experts on South Carolina, claims that this event, along with the high percentage and concentration of South Carolina's blacks, Nat Turner's 1831 revolt in Virginia and continuing slave unrest in the 1830s, all imposed a heavy psychological burden on the city and the state.⁵⁸

Given the state's life and death involvement in all aspects of the slave system and their reticence towards the federal government, it is not surprising that at least one of Charleston's major newspapers was deeply involved in pressing for secession from the Union to protect the institution of slavery. The *Charleston Mercury* was the house journal of the most consistent and determined advocate of secession in the United States, Robert Barnwell Rhett and its editor was his son, Robert Barnwell Rhett Jr.

Robert Barnwell Rhett was scion of South Carolina's elite. Both his great uncle, Robert Barnwell and his uncle, Robert Woodward Barnwell were United States Congressmen and Rhett himself served, in succession, as South Carolina's attorney general, Congressman and U.S. senator. In 1844 he split with former Vice President, and supporter of a Southern Confederacy, John C. Calhoun, urging separate state action on the Tariff of 1842. Rhett was one of the leading "ultras" at the 1850, Nashville Convention which did not support his aim of secession for the

⁵⁶ Egnal. *Clash of Extremes: The Economic Origins of the Civil War*. 162.

⁵⁷ Kenneth M. Stampp. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. Vantage Books, 1989 p135. (First Published New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc.1956); Edgar. *South Carolina: A History*..328-329. FordJr. *The Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry 1800-1860*. 107.

⁵⁸ Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*. 21-22.

whole South.⁵⁹ In 1852, Rhett's zeal for secession caused a split even with many of the "ultras" in his party and he resigned his Senate seat in 1852 to publicly campaign for his goal, excoriating all any who were not as hot for an aristocratic southern revolution as he was himself.

Steven Channing describes the *Charleston Courier* as "staid."⁶⁰ Its editor Richard Yeadon was certainly a less red in tooth and claw secessionist than the Rhett father and son. However, only by the fire eating standards of South Carolina could Yeadon's paper be described as "staid." When the vigilance committees were set up in Charleston after the John Brown raid, it was the *Courier* that attested to the character and responsibility of its leaders, and it was Yeadon in his newspaper who promised to detect and punish both active abolitionists and passive sympathizers and invited "Responsible Citizens" to inform on citizens or travelers to the *Courier's* Office.⁶¹

Channing claims that Yeadon subsequently took a more moderate and responsible line.⁶² It is interesting to note however, that when militant Virginia secessionist Edmund Ruffin distributed John Brown's pikes, designed to arm black slaves after the attack on Harper's Ferry, to secessionist sympathizers, it was Yeadon and militantly secessionist Governor Gist who received the trophy's and not the "ultra" militant Rhett's and the *Mercury*.⁶³

From its inception, and particularly under US rule from 1803, the state and city of New Orleans city grew rapidly, with immigration of Anglo-Americans, African, French stock and refugees fleeing from the revolution in Haiti. In 1804 this influx was heavily supplemented by

⁵⁹ The term "Ultra" is used in Rhett's newspaper, the *Charleston Mercury* to describe those who believed in S.C. secession in almost all circumstances and at all costs. Typical examples of the use of the word appear in "How to Preserve the Union" *Mercury*, Feb, 17, 1857: "From Kansas" *Mercury*, Sep,22,1857.

⁶⁰ Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*.24.

⁶¹ "Northern Drummer Pedlars" *Courier*, Dec, 6, 1859.

⁶² Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*.34.

⁶³ Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*.19.

the birth of creoles of mixed French and African descent born Louisiana. Many of the Haitian refugees, both white and black who arrived in New Orleans were free settlers and both white and black arrivals often brought their slaves with them. This immigration provoked a political split between whites and creoles. Whites, led by Louisiana's Governor William C.C. Claiborne wanted to keep out more free black men, while the New Orleans French Creoles wanted to increase the French-speaking population. This political split between New Orleans and its environs and the rest of the state of Louisiana continued up until the Civil war with New Orleans retaining francophone newspapers as late as 1876.⁶⁴

From 1830 the city saw a large influx of Irish and German immigrants, the port becoming the main immigration gateway from Europe. With cotton from the South, sugar from South Louisiana and other inland natural products going out and manufactured goods , luxuries, and immigrants from Europe coming in, New Orleans lived from the sea and the great inland waterways of the great Mississippi river. Walter Johnson describes antebellum New Orleans as “a city poised on the brink of commercial greatness. Along the city's water front, ships from Europe and around the coast, steamers from the Mississippi river valley, and thousands of flatboats packed so tight that one could walk deck to deck from one end of the city to the other. Stevedores and draymen, white and black, traced out tiny connections in the world economy unloading and loading, moving goods that had been paper traded miles away and weeks before: crates of clothes, shoes and buttons, guns and tobacco, and textiles, china, books and French

⁶⁴ Edward Larocque Tinker. *Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana*. Worcester, Mass: American Antiquarian Society, 1933: Louisiana Newspaper Project Printout, 3rd ed., 2001. LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, La. : OCLC World Cat.

wines, cattle, hogs, corn and whiskey bales of cotton and barrels of sugar, stacked and flagged with the colors of the commission merchants responsible for their sale.”⁶⁵

Just as New Orleans history was very different from that of most of the Anglophone US, economics, culture and especially politics in Louisiana was very different from politics in the US as a whole and even politics in the southern states.⁶⁶ For example, on the great issue of tariff law nullification, Louisiana backed President Jackson against Calhoun, the great nullifier and did not support Calhoun’s drive for South Carolina’s secession from the Union, believing that fragmentation would lead to huge increase in independent states with large armies, less political freedom, higher taxes and a federal tariff on sugar cane.

In the 1840s there was a very strong Whig party but after their successful introduction of a new state constitution in 1852 the Whig party suffered something of the same decline as the Whigs nationally, a process which was considerably exacerbated by the more commercially minded Whigs focusing on financial matters. Sacher points out the party’s difficulties in finding candidates in New Orleans where “it is asking a great deal of a man of business to absent himself during the busiest period of the year.”⁶⁷ Similarly, The *Bee* complained “it is no easy matter to find four capable gentlemen willing to surrender the claims of their business avocations in the behest of the party.”⁶⁸

Democratic party politics reflected the cultural makeup of the Louisiana with the New York born US Senator (1853-1861) John Slidell’s faction competing bitterly with French born

⁶⁵ Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press , 1999, p1.

⁶⁶ Sacher. *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*.1.

⁶⁷ Daily Delta. Dec, 7, 1852. Quoted in Sacher. *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*. 225.

⁶⁸ Bee. Dec, 3, 1852. Quoted in. Sacher. *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*.225.

US Senator (1847 and 1849-1853) Pierre Soule's, a process which forced most of the state's Democratic politicians to take sides.

The Picayune was established in 1837 and continues to be published as of 2011 as the *Times Picayune*. It was generally noted as more of a business paper than anything else, but both the *Picayune* and *Bee* were interested in business politics and other subjects and both were politically moderate compared with more militant papers such as the New Orleans *Delta*. The *Bee*, *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, in its French version, was founded in 1827 and the French version was still being published in the period 1857-1860. The *Bee* was historically a pro democratic paper but had backed Whig candidate Hugh Lawson White in 1836 against President Jackson's handpicked Democratic nominee Martin Van Buren,⁶⁹ In 1828 it had supported government funded internal improvements to Louisiana's water ways, a policy that was frequently opposed by Democrats in the state and would become much more the choice of the Whig party.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Sacher. *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*. 77.

⁷⁰ Sacher. *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*. 36.

CHAPTER 4 THE RESULTS

Overview- Comparative Article Frequency

One thousand, one hundred and eighty four articles were examined in the initial hypothesis forming study, covering the *Enquirer*, *Mercury* and *Bee*. In the second “proof” section, covering the *Whig*, *Courier* and *Bee*, two thousand five hundred and ninety three articles were examined to create Appendix A. Figures of this magnitude are statistically sufficient to virtually eliminate random effects. The large number of articles used and the large differences obtained in frequency of the mentions of the various subject headings indicate clearly that the etymological analysis technique is measuring something. The variations in results would logically seem to arise either from the differing personalities and policies of the editors or because the populations of the states and/or cities themselves were different, or very possibly both factors were involved. If the differences were due solely to the views and interests of the editors and publishers one would not expect the very high degree of correlation of results in papers as politically different in their views as the *Enquirer* and the *Whig*. This is particularly true given that the *Enquirer* was a personal political broadsheet for the Wise family. Similarly the very close correlation in the New Orleans *Picayune* and *Bee* would not be expected if the subjects of the newspapers articles depended solely on proprietorial or editorial whim. The biggest differences in the percentages come in the area of commerce. This is no surprise as we know that the *Picayune* was a journal that did focus on business as a result of editorial policy.

The papers are different in Charleston with slavery being of greater interest to the *Mercury* compared to the *Courier*. Again this is not surprising since we know that Robert Barnwell Rhett, who owned the *Mercury*, was the most consistent, pro slavery, pro- secession

politician and was regarded as a firebrand even by many of his fellow secessionists. Channing documents the hatred shown to Rhett when he was nominated to head the second Democratic delegation to the Richmond Convention.⁷¹

It seems reasonable to assume therefore that the relatively high degree of consistency in the results obtained does in some part reflect the considerable need of the newspapers to reflect the “Mentalité” of the population purchasing the product.

If the above deduction is true then the comparative article data strongly indicates that the South was far from being a unified and homogenous entity.

This deduction provides some support for the views of several eminent historians. In *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* Michael Holt postulates that the breakdown of the Whig-Democratic two party structures, at both the national and local levels, removed structures that channeled dissent into fixed channels, which had formerly permitted negotiated resolutions of policy disputes, particularly regional ones.⁷² This breakdown of party structure, rather than divisions over slavery, caused the democratic process to break down into violence. One of the chief ways that the author tries to prove his thesis is by demonstrating that state issues were more important than Federal ones during the 1850 to 1860 period, and his book focuses much of the discussion on these local state issues.

In *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, Vol. II*, William Freehling, discusses the issues, forces, trends and personalities which led up the southern secession. Freehling considers not only the broad question of why the majority of the southern states left the Union but also examines in greater detail why the very disparate southern states of the lower, upper and

⁷¹ Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*. 34.

⁷² Holt. *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*.

border South all eventually felt obliged to move to secession when the North was not actively threatening the institution of slavery.

As previously noted John Sacher in *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861* provides support for the views of Michael F. Holt and J. Mills Thornton on the reasons for the disappearance of the Whig party by demonstrating that politics in Louisiana also reflected the inter-reaction between national and state political relationships.⁷³ The sudden collapse of the Whig party can best be explained by considering the impact of federal politics on the states and the impact of states' politics at the federal level. Studies of Louisiana internal affairs in the areas of economics, philosophy of government, ethnic divisions and nativism, and even social programs such as education and public improvement, are particularly valuable in supporting the view that other factors besides a simple defense of slavery are important in defining political relations in the south.

One of the more interesting observations from Appendix A is that the two Richmond, Virginia papers, (36.4% and 28.4%) have approximately as great a percentage of articles on slavery as the most militant paper from Charleston (31.8%). Virginia was a southern border state with strong links to the north, while South Carolina was a true lower South cotton state and a hot-bed of slavery and secession politics. Possible reasons for this high interest in slavery could be that Virginia was more concerned with escaping slaves given its proximity to the north, concerned about its own pro northern secessionist movement in West Virginia and worried that Deep South states would close off the export markets for its blacks. Yet another plausible explanation is that simply due to its more northerly location, more Virginians could be expected

⁷³ Sacher. *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*.

to continue the trek westwards into Kansas and Nebraska with their slave property than settlers from South Carolina, who generally confined their migrations due westwards to other southern cotton states and territories.

William Freehling sees a rapidly changing world in Virginia.⁷⁴ 1850 slave numbers and percentages of population had declined rapidly in Delaware, northern Maryland and western Virginia and were continuing to decline in the entire border South and some upper South states.⁷⁵ Manumission or sale of blacks to the lower South were the primary means of change, with slavery becoming more and more concentrated in the lower slave states of South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia. The deep seated fear of the lower slave states was that border and upper south states would eventually lose the overwhelming majority of their slaves and become free states.⁷⁶

Richmond, Virginia also shows the greatest interest in politics. Given the political nature of their editors and proprietors and their party allegiance this is not surprising. The business of the ruling elite in Virginia was politics. Washington DC. in geographical terms was also practically a part of the state. Virginia was the state which, in terms of serving presidents, had led the Union from 1780-1830. While Appendix A shows 36.4 percent of total articles in the *Enquirer* and 34.3 percent in the *Whig* were on politics, surprisingly almost 25 percent of the political articles in the *Enquirer* and 30 percent in the *Whig* consist of political, non slavery issues outside Virginia. Richmond, unlike Charleston or New Orleans, was also the political capital of the state and therefore one might have expected a high percentage of state based

⁷⁴ Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, vol. II.*

⁷⁵ Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, vol. II.* p175.

⁷⁶ New Orleans Delta. Apr, 11, 1857, quoted in Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, vol. II.* 175.

political articles. Either geographic proximity to the capital, or the determination of Virginia's elite to maintain its national authority and influence are possible reasons for the high level of out of state articles.

By contrast New Orleans has relatively little interest in politics, national or local. Appendix A shows only 7 percent of the *Picayune's* articles and 14 percent of the *Bee's* articles were on political issues. 28.8 percent of the *Picayune's* and 15.7 percent of the *Bee's* articles were on commerce. Much of this interest centered on commerce with Europe, Mexico and Central America and the southern states and relatively little on commerce with the North. Thus for example, the 1860 commercial articles in the *Picayune* show fourteen from Europe, nine from the southern United States, mainly from Texas because of its proximity and access to Mexican and Central American news, five from California concerning the railway route to the Pacific, one from central America direct and only one from the Northern United States.⁷⁷

The heavy interest in commerce and relative lack of interest in politics shown in Appendix A strongly supports Sacher's view that the elite of New Orleans were far more interested in commerce than politics.⁷⁸ One of the reasons for New Orleans's relative lack of

⁷⁷ "European News" *Picayune*, Jan, 17,1860: "Still Further By Europa" *Picayune*, Jan, 17,1860: "Mercantile Letter" *Picayune*, Feb, 14, 1860: "Arrival of Steamship Niagra" *Picayune*, Mar, 13, 1860: "Further By The Niagra" *Picayune*, Mar, 13, 1860: "Further From Europe" *Picayune*, Apr, 10, 1860: "Mails of steamer Australian" *Picayune*, Apr, 24, 1860: "Further From Europe" *Picayune*, Apr, 24, " *Picayune*, Apr, 10, 1860: "Arrival of Steamship Brazil" *Picayune*, May, 8, 1860: "Steamship Bohemia at Quebec" *Picayune*, Jun, 5, 1860: "Annual coffee Statement" *Picayune*, Jul, 3, 1860: "Letter From Europe" *Picayune*, Aug, 28, 1860: "Further From Europe" *Picayune*, Nov, 6, 1860: "Further From Europe" *Picayune*, Nov, 20, 1860: "letter From London and Liverpool" *Picayune*, Dec, 18, 1860: "Later from Havana" *Picayune*, Nov, 20, 1860: "Later From Texas" *Picayune*, Mar, 27, 1860: "New Orleans, Jackson and the Great Northern Railroad" *Picayune*, Apr, 10, 1860: "Letter From Texas" *Picayune*, May, 8, 1860: "Letter From Texas" *Picayune*, Jun, 19, 1860: "Letter From Texas" *Picayune*, Aug, 28, 1860: "River Intelligence" *Picayune*, Aug, 28, 1860: "Letter From Texas" *Picayune*, Sep, 25,1860: "Letter From Texas" *Picayune*, Sep, 28,1860: "Louisiana Intelligence" *Picayune*, Oct, 9, 1860: "Key West, Marine Intelligence" *Picayune*, Nov, 20, 1860: "Letter from California" *Picayune*, Jan, 17,1860: "The Pacific Railroad Bill" *Picayune*, Jan, 17,1860: "The Pacific Railroad Bill" *Picayune*, Feb, 28,1860: "Letter from California" *Picayune*, Sep,11,1860: "Letter From Havana" *Picayune*, Nov, 20, 1860:"The Bienville Trip" *Picayune*, Jul, 31, 1860.

⁷⁸ Sacher, *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*. 225.

interest in politics, and later lack of support for Whigs in the state, may be that given its geographic location, admirably supplied with waterways, the city, and to a lesser extent the state, did not have the same deep need for capital and state governmental assistance in the form of loans, bond guarantees, permits and eminent domain legal assistance to build the new railways and improve roads and bridges as the newer states of the North West. Certainly it seemed to demand and receive less Federal support than other regions. If true this would lend some support to Avery Craven's pro southern view of secession and the war.⁷⁹ In Craven's view economic and social progress, immigration, westward internal emigration, rises in cotton consumption and prices and land exhaustion had divided the United States into four different regions with their own interests. Most significant was the rise of population, industry and a free labor force in the North West. This section cried out for Federal Government internal improvements, docks and harbors for the Great Lakes, canals and railroads to the east, all to be paid for with higher tariffs.⁸⁰ For the South, this had the double effect of reducing the growth rate of North South Mississippi trade and paying for the improvements with taxes on southern cotton.⁸¹

In *Clash of Extremes*, Mark Egnal, even more strongly develops a thesis that the origins of the Civil War were economic. For him, the evolution of very different economies in North and South, which required different economic inputs and competing government programs, was the principal factor in causing the conflict. The author's work tends to support Gavin Wright's econometric view that the economics of cotton and consequent slave values were the economic cause of the war and, perhaps more surprisingly, offers considerable support for Craven's view

⁷⁹ Avery Craven. *The Coming of The Civil War*.

⁸⁰ Avery Craven. *The Coming of The Civil War*. 217-218.

⁸¹ Avery Craven. *The Coming of The Civil War*. 316-317:

that it was the rise of the Great Lakes economy and their demands that allowed for the success of a purely regional party.⁸²

If Craven, Wright and Egnal are correct then one would expect that all three states and cities would have commerce as a top priority in their thinking and their expression of that thinking. If agricultural slavery and agricultural crops, such as cotton, sugar and tobacco, were as universally profitable as suggested by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, then one might have thought that economics and commerce would be of great important to all three cities.⁸³ The widespread interest in commercial matters, as shown by the frequency of articles in Appendix A, ranging from 28.8 percent in the New Orleans's *Picayune* to 10.3 percent in the Richmond *Whig*, offers no consistent support for the fact that economics was the primary driving force of secession or the primary reason for the southern change of mentalité from January 1857-December 1860.

In terms of foreign affairs it is no surprise that the port towns of New Orleans and Charleston show more interest in foreign affairs than inland Richmond. The New Orleans *Bee* and *Picayune* have respectively 23 and 19 percent of their articles on foreign affairs and the Charleston *Mercury* and *Courier* have 9.5 and 10.1 percent. By contrast with New Orleans the *Enquirer* shows a mere 6.5 percent of articles on foreign affairs with the *Whig*'s 10.3 percent figure being very similar to the figures from the Charleston publications. Given New Orleans' major port, large immigrant population and strong cultural and historical links to the French and Spanish lingaphone worlds it is not amazing that it should have circa one fifth of the newspaper articles, net of commercial items, devoted to foreign matters but it is perhaps somewhat

⁸¹ Egnal, *Clash of Extremes; The Economic Origins of the Civil War*.

⁸³ Fogel, and. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: the Economics of Negro Slavery*.

surprising that the *Enquirer* figure is so small. In further contrast to the Richmond papers, the New Orleans papers have few articles from their Washington correspondent and seem to rely more on the UK Times as their source of information. For example in 1857, eleven of the reports in the New Orleans Bee covered things that were directly Washington related while thirteen covered significant items from Britain including such eclectic items as “A Peep into the Bank of England” and “News from the Anglo-Saxon” which described the bickering of the UK and France over proposed elections in the Turkish, Rumanian speaking, province of Moldavia and Britain’s politico - military affairs in China and its military relief of the city of Lucknow in India.⁸⁴

Despite some reported quarrels with Spain over Spanish occupation of Cuba, differences over Spanish –Mexican relations and short lived disputes with Great Britain over the British search and seizure of suspected US slave ships, North and South had no real fears that the US would enter in to any war except upon the volition of the United States itself.⁸⁵ There is a remarkable consistency shown by all six newspapers in terms of the percentage of the paper dedicated to defense. Article frequency figures vary from 0.8 percent in the Richmond Whig to a maximum of 1.8 percent in the Charleston Chronicle. These low numbers are coupled with a consistent near absence of reader interest in US defense. The fact that this lack of interest was not due to any lack of interest in things military can be shown by the number of articles

⁸⁴ “A Peep into the Bank of England.” Bee, Apr, 28, 1857: “News from The Anglo-Saxon” Bee Sep, 1, 1857: “By Telegraph” Bee, Nov, 24, 1857

⁸⁵ “Spain and Mexico” Bee, Mar, 31, 1857.

published on the Franco-Austrian war in Italy. The Charleston newspapers took a particular interest in this topic.⁸⁶

None of the six newspapers studied give a lot of coverage to religious topics. However, a slight difference in coverage does show up in the numbers. The good citizens of Charleston, South Carolina were apparently the most God fearing with the *Mercury* and *Courier* having 2.8 and 2.7 percent of religious articles respectively and the population of New Orleans being the least, with the *Bee* at 1.2 and the pecuniary orientated *Picayune* at 0.5 percent. It is also possible since the considerable majority of citizens in New Orleans were Roman Catholic in faith, and the Protestants, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians were both in a minority and disunited, that religious differences or views never became a serious issue in the city. At all events they do not seem to have competed well against commerce.

Religious subjects were often covered by specialty publications, such as the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, a Methodist paper, the *Southern Baptist Messenger* and the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. Snay lists some forty six US religious newspapers and periodicals thirty six of which were in the South.⁸⁷ The abundance of these specialized journals may have inhibited discussions of religion in more secular publications.

⁸⁶ “The War” *Mercury*, May, 1824, 1859: “Montebello” *Mercury*, Jun, 7, 1859: “Napoleon The Third” *Mercury*, Jul, 19, 1859: “The American Mails” *Mercury*, Nov, 8, 1859: “Further By the Anglo-Saxon” *Courier*, Jun, 21, 1859: “Latest From Europe, Arrival of the Vanderbilt” Jul, 5, 1859. “Later From Europe, Arrival of the Indian” *Courier*, Aug, 30, 185: “Additional From Europe, Arrival of the Anglo-Saxon” *Courier*, Sep, 13, 1859: “France and England” *Courier*, Oct, 11, 1859: “Additional By The Europa”, *Courier*, Oct, 25, 1859: ‘From Europe, arrival of the America” *Courier*, Nov, 8, 1859.

⁸⁷ Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*. 220.

What is clear is that this study of the six newspapers and three cities gives no validation to Snay's concept that because religious divide preceded political secession it was therefore the psychological and social driving force of secession.⁸⁸

Social affairs, covers a wide body of subjects. In a sense is something of a catch all for subjects not residing neatly into the other subject headings and is more easily dealt with when word and article frequencies are considered.

As stated three of the newspapers considered, the *Enquirer*, *Mercury* and *Courier* were strongly Democratic. The *Bee* was Democratic leaning, but had at times supported Whig candidates, the *Picayune* was largely non-political and the *Whig* in the period 1856-1860 was, as its name implies, strongly pro the rump of the Whig party. The comparative article frequency analysis shows that differences between cities and states were considerably greater than differences between newspapers and editors whatever their political views. These results confirm the non-homogeneous nature of the south states studied and strongly suggest that local interests in politics, economics and social affairs were very differently weighted. The data obtained thus offers considerable support for those historians who have emphasized the importance of local politics when considering the causes of secession.

Word Frequency and Frequency of Articles Containing Key Words

Economics

The most frequently occurring word in the economic section of the word analysis is slavery, and articles containing the word slavery also appear most frequently in all the six newspapers examined as Appendices B through DM clearly show. Since the articles were

⁸⁸ Mitchell Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997, p29. (First Published 1993).

selected as articles with slavery as the main topic this is not surprising. The second most frequently occurring economic key word occurring in total was cotton, with sixty nine mentions per thousand slavery articles studied.

As Gene Dattel points out cotton was unquestionably the most important economic force in the South and the major reason for slavery: “Cotton became the economic engine of the antebellum economy. Its economy rests on a confluence of events; the revolution in the English textile industry, the invention of the cotton gin, the availability of massive American acreage suitable for cotton cultivation, and the existence of a black labor force that could be moved about at will. These elements coalesced in the first decades of the nineteenth century and, along with an aggressive materialism and an intense racial prejudice, enabled cotton’s emergence as a dominant force in the development of America”.⁸⁹

Cotton accelerated the rise in demand for cheap labor and exacerbated labor shortages in America thus increasing slavery. Appendix DO shows the relationship between cotton and slave prices and indicates a rising correlation in the years 1844-1860. The rise of slavery and a southern economic empire built on it exacerbated the split between the largely non slave holding North and slave owning South so clearly identified by James Madison in 1787: “the States were divided into different interests not by their difference of size, but principally from their having or not having slaves. It did not lie between the large and small States: it lay between Northern and Southern”.⁹⁰ This split, evident at the formation of the United States, eventually widened into secession and civil war.

⁸⁹ Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 28-29.

⁹⁰ Gordon Wood. Reading the Framers’s Minds, *New York Review of Books*, June 28, 2007. 64.

Despite this divide, cotton was not simply a matter for the South or even for North and South alone. The cotton trade formed a transatlantic commercial and financial web with the United Kingdom at its heart.⁹¹ A negative financial tremor in London could send ripples into Le Havre and Paris, waves into Liverpool, stormy billows into New York, a tsunami of debt into the American South and an eddy of rural desperation into India.⁹²

Southern exports of cotton to Great Britain were valued at one hundred and thirty five million dollars in 1860, based on a volume of one thousand, two hundred and thirty one million pounds in weight as shown in Appendix DN. It is difficult to understand the value and importance of this revenue in modern currency but a dispatch of one hundred thousand dollars of specie, 0.07% of the total export volume, was sufficiently large to be the major subject of a news article in the 1860 Richmond Whig.⁹³

In fact exports of raw cotton, although almost 50% of the US total, considerably understate both the importance of southern exports and the importance of the material. As the Richmond Whig pointed out in its article entitled “Northern and Southern Products”, total direct US exports in 1859 were two hundred and seventy eight point four million dollars. Of these, only five point three million dollars were of northern goods. A further eighty eight point seven million dollars of direct exports were joint exports from North and South combined, including processed or partly processed cotton goods from northern mills in New England.⁹⁴

If the Southern states were dependent upon England’s textile industry and its financial system then the dependence of the British Empire on southern agriculture, cotton and slaves was

⁹¹ Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. De, 35-37,

⁹² Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 29. 82, 174.

⁹³ “Letter From California” Whig, Nov, 6, 1860

⁹⁴ “Northern and Southern Products” Whig, Dec, 16, 1859

no less. In 1860 British exports of textiles, valued at fifty five million pounds sterling accounted for almost exactly one third of its total exports of one hundred and sixty four million pounds sterling.⁹⁵

Nine hundred thousand people were directly involved in the cotton mills and other cotton based industries, hosiery, muslin, lace and finished clothing. Another one hundred and fifty thousand were employed as warehousemen, draymen, stevedores and mechanics. In addition there were seamen, shipwrights, customs officers, and bankers and other supporting functions which drew their living from the humble cotton boll. Four million people or more, almost twenty per cent of the British population was reliant upon the South which supplied eighty eight percent of the country's cotton.⁹⁶

The southern states were very aware of this dependency. In the post John Brown raid period and facing an uncertain presidential election in November southerners were looking for things which bolstered their pride and their self confidence. In March 1860, the New Orleans Bee published an article entitled "Cotton is King" which highlighted the dependency and vulnerability of Great Britain's economy to any disruption in supply and assumed that any disruption would provoke sympathy for the South.⁹⁷

In the North, not only the New England textile mills profited from the white gold of cotton. As early as the 1830s it was estimated that one third of the revenue produced by cotton wound up in New York.⁹⁸ By 1860 the South had raised that estimate to 40 per cent of total revenues and calculated that almost three billion dollars had been transferred to the Empire State

⁹⁵ Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. Chicago: 37.

⁹⁶ Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 36.

⁹⁷ "Cotton is King" Bee, Mar, 27, 1860.

⁹⁸ Report of an Alabama State Legislative Committee, quoted in Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 69

between 1800 and 1860.⁹⁹ The process began with the banks. The South funded little of its crop with much of the funding for cotton coming from European and Northern banks. The South thus missed out financially on much of the later cotton boom.

Cotton was a very profitable crop in its own right as Appendix DP shows. The massive increase in export demand in the period 1850-1860, shown in Appendix DN, and the overall increasing demand shown by Fogel and Engerman restored high rates of profitability and made the South once again a boom economy.¹⁰⁰ This massive expansion of the industry restored much of the profitability of earlier decades when annual returns as high as 35% were by no means uncommon.¹⁰¹

Cotton was not a risk free opportunity however. The annual nature of the crop meant that most southerners were well into debt in the pre harvest period and their fortunes depended on the unpredictable rise and fall of international prices and weather. In the late 1830s and the first half of the 1840s low prices had brought banks in New York to ruin. Financially astute financial men in New York therefore looked at all aspects of cotton growing to minimize risk. The Bee's article "Present Growth and the Supply of Cotton" included a verbatim a report from the New York Herald covering cotton growing by France in Algeria, the UK in Africa and the US in the South.¹⁰² New York's detailed knowledge of the systems of free and slave labor employed was clearly as good as the South's. Fortunately, the unpredictable nature of the cotton trade was however underpinned by a massive 1.5 billion dollars of fixed assets in the form of land and 1.6 billion dollars in slaves. These assets provided substantial collateral for mortgages and it was

⁹⁹ Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 85, 69.

¹⁰⁰ Fogel and. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: the Economics of Negro Slavery*. 89-94.

¹⁰¹ Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 48.

¹⁰² "Present Growth and the Supply of Cotton" Bee, Jan, 20, 1857.

estimated that by 1860, fifty per cent of the wealth of the southern states was in the form of slaves.¹⁰³

In 1860, total northern exports to the South were calculated at over sixty million dollars and the city of New York alone imported one hundred and ten million dollars worth of clothes from the United Kingdom, earning a small fortune from its double handling of the South's commodity crop.

Under these circumstances it is no surprise that New England's Cotton Whigs, and New York's merchant and political classes, led by New York's popular mayor Fernando Wood, were strong allies and supporters of the southern states and their peculiar institution. As Wood so clearly put it in 1859 "As a commercial people it is to our interest to cherish and to keep so good a customer. Let us therefore, do nothing to estrange the South. Not only let us avoid making war upon her own peculiar system of Labor but let us become even stronger defenders of the system than the south itself."¹⁰⁴

In the New Orleans *Picayune*, New Orleans *Bee* and Charleston *Courier* "hot from the press" articles containing news on the prices of cotton, money, wheat and breadstuffs are frequent. Cotton is mentioned thirty times as often as tobacco and ten times as often as sugar. For example, in the four years from 1857-1860, even the somewhat sugar orientated New Orleans Bee showed fifty one articles on cotton out of a total number of one hundred and twenty eight commercial reports, some forty percent of the total. This data adds support for the views of Fogel and Engerman that sugar played only a minor role in the development of US slavery.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 304.

¹⁰⁴ Philip Foner. *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and Irrepressible Conflict*. Chapel Hill: 1941, p148.

¹⁰⁵ Fogel, and Engerman. *Time on the Cross: the Economics of Negro Slavery*. 20.

Liverpool's cotton and commodities prices were the most frequently quoted but Le Havre, France, Augusta, Georgia and New York were also often quoted for cotton. London was the financial center for Consols and other monetary quotes, with New York and New Orleans important centers. 1860 must have been a difficult time for those not borrowing in London. An April report entitled "Tight Times" in the New Orleans Bee showed interest rates of eighteen per cent in New Orleans and nine in New York.¹⁰⁶

In the 1850s decade, there was a consistent rise in cotton and slave prices, with 1850 cotton prices being the best for fifteen years. Surprisingly, this rise went on largely uninterrupted by the recession of 1857 and indicates just how economically strong, and independent of the North cotton, commodities and international trade had made the South. As Stampf points out, this was largely a financial recession caused initially by the Bank of France withdrawing specie from the United Kingdom.¹⁰⁷ Rising UK interest rates directly squeezed US banks and a sell off of US shares by British investors further squeezed the capital base in the USA. Internally heavy railroad speculators were caught short by the monetary squeeze and the resulting sell off and bankruptcies further hurt capital markets.

Equally surprising, given that the asset value of the South was largely in slaves, references to the price of slaves occur only twice per thousand articles. The Richmond *Enquirer* is the paper most concerned but much of its interest is focused on the immigration of northern free workers into Virginia and it concentrates more on industrial aspects and on slavery as an institution than it does on gain or loss of asset value.¹⁰⁸ The other area of deep interest to the

¹⁰⁶ "Tight Times" Bee, Apr, 24, 1860.

¹⁰⁷ Stampf, Kenneth M. *America in 1857: A Nation On The Brink*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, Ch 8.

¹⁰⁸ "Colonization in Virginia" *Enquirer*, Mar, 17, 1857.

Enquirer, that did concern value, was in any possible opening of the slave trade, a cause which the *Enquirer* most firmly opposed. So sensitive is the *Enquirer* on this issue, that in an article entitled *The South and "The South Carolina Guardian"*, the *Enquirer* rebuts attacks by the South Carolina newspaper, which is advocating a reopening of the trade and confirms its anti-South Carolina "ultra" and secessionist policies by stating that it "will ever be the Union adoring *Enquirer*".¹⁰⁹

Mentions of land and land prices are also relatively sparse, with a word count less than one tenth as frequent as mentions of cotton, perhaps because the great migration west to new cotton lands had slowed and eastern migrants were beginning to push on to California and the promise of gold. In the period 1800-1860 one of the greatest migrations in history occurred as settlers from the East poured in to the new cotton growing states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. "Alabama fever" and "Mississippi madness" inspired no false dreams for the early settlers. One traveler in Alabama in 1819, reported that land bought for \$15,000 produced a cotton income of \$15,000 per annum and was sold two years later for \$60,000.¹¹⁰

The term agriculture and specific crops such as wheat, sugar and tobacco do not figure prominently in either word or article count as drivers of slavery as Appendices B, C, D, E and F, G, H, I show, but the papers do contain many commercial articles on crops and weather and agricultural improvements.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ "The South and "The South Carolina Guardian"". *Enquirer*, Jul, 5, 1858.

¹¹⁰ Dattel. *Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power*. 85, 48.

¹¹¹ "Report to the Cotton Planters of Georgia", *Courier*, Aug, 28, 1860: "Agricultural-New White Wheats" *Courier*, Sep,14, 1858: "Apples for the South" *Courier*, Aug, 16, 1859: "Prairie Lands of Texas" *Courier*, Oct, 11, 1859: "Louisiana Items." *Bee*, Aug, 18, 1857: "Sorgo Sugar Cane." *Bee*, Sep, 1, 1857: "The Chinese Sugar Cane"

The term sugar occurs only nine times per thousand articles but as expected occurrence is most frequent in the New Orleans papers and reflects two important concerns, one of the City in particular, tariffs, and another more common to all the agricultural South, abolition. The abolition of slavery in the British West Indies had seen a near collapse of the vibrant sugar economy that prevailed in these territories in the early part of the 1800s. This outcome was held up as a permanent warning of what abolition would mean to southern prosperity. In a “Letter from British West Indies” the Daily Picayune prominently publishes a complaint from Kingston, Jamaica, about the debased economy of the BWI compared to the Spanish possessions which still permitted local slavery.¹¹²

For sugar growers, Havana, Cuba was the great market for world sugar prices. Many articles in the New Orleans papers and the Charleston Courier carry the latest news from Havana. Political views in the great city were mixed however. The bolder spirits, such as “Mississippi fire eater John Quitman, who mounted an unsuccessful campaign to take over Cuba” favored the annexation of the Spanish colony; saw it as part of a great southern empire, and believed Cuban slave produced sugar power added to cotton would help the South turn into an unassailable power with permanent protection for slavery.¹¹³ Less politically bold spirits, such as President Franklin Pierce and many successful Louisiana sugar growers saw that annexation of Cuba, with its low costs, would obviate the need for a US tariff on the product and destroy the industry in Louisiana.

Mercury, Jan, 19, 1858: “Rotation with Peas for a Tobacco Farm” Whig, Mar, 13, 1857: “The African Sugar Cane,” Courier, Mar, 2, 1858.

¹¹² “Letter from British West Indies” Picayune, Mar, 3, 1857.

¹¹³ Varon. *Disunion: The Coming of The Civil War, 1789-1859*: Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant 1854-1861*. 152.

Tariffs and trade were of interest to all the southern states. In 1828 a protective tariff on designed to protect industry in the northern United States was passed by Congress. Known as the “Tariff of Abominations” the act protected industries in the northern United States from better quality, lower priced foreign competition. This harmed the southern states in two ways: they had to pay higher prices on goods the region did not produce, and secondly because the tariff reduced the importation of British goods and made it more difficult for the British to pay for the cotton they imported from the South. The southern states were outraged, particularly South Carolina. South Carolina, under the leadership of Vice –President John C. Calhoun called the measure unconstitutional and began considering measures to thwart the act. The Tariff Act of 1832 attempted to ameliorate the worst effects on the South but was felt to still be unsatisfactory. At this point South Carolina took the view that a State had a legal right to nullify any Federal Government act it deemed unconstitutional. President Jackson’s threat to enforce Federal laws by military means lead to the Nullification Crisis that began in late 1832. At this point a few very militant southern citizens began to consider secession from the Union as a serious prospect.

Throughout the period 1832 to 1860, high tariffs continued to be a source of complaint in much of the South, and low tariffs were also an item of irritation in the North, as a Courier’s article detailing the complaints of New Jersey and Pennsylvania iron interests clearly shows.¹¹⁴ The Virginia ironworks shared much of their neighboring states’ views on the subject but despite this as late as 1857 the *Richmond Enquirer* was cautioning against reducing raw material and other tariffs that could overly benefit manufacturers, even if they were in Virginia.¹¹⁵ By

¹¹⁴ “Correspondence of the Courier- Washington, January 29, 1859” Courier, Feb,1, 1859.

¹¹⁵ “Reduction of the Tariff” Enquirer, Jan, 20, 1857. A New Argument on the Tariff Question” Enquirer, Feb, 15, 1859.

contrast, the Charleston Courier was strongly for free trade as its article on the possibility of raising tariffs for the possible purchase of Cuba makes clear.¹¹⁶

Despite this long standing grievance, mentions of tariffs occur only thirty one times per thousand slavery articles and only sixteen slavery articles per thousand used the word tariff. The modestly high tariffs prevailing in the 1857-1860 period were thus neither the most pressing source of concern for the South nor a deep concern for New Orleans or much of Louisiana. As late as 1857 New Orleans politicians were still defending the much needed tariff.¹¹⁷ That said the Charleston papers, with eighty five per thousand article mentions of tariffs for the *Mercury* and thirty mentions for the *Courier*, showed considerably more interest in tariffs than the New Orleans papers, which showed only eleven mentions for the *Bee* and zero for the *Picayune*.

The mean value of thirty one mentions of tariff per thousand articles for all the newspapers is well below the level of political issues such as the constitution, mentioned two hundred and seventy two times, Republican mentioned two hundred and nine times and southern rights mentioned sixty nine times. For the individual newspapers in all the cities there is no strongly rising trend in mention of tariffs. One can reasonably conclude from the data that tariffs were not a significant factor in unifying the South nor did concern over this issue alter the southern psyche between 1857 and 1860.

All the newspapers except the Richmond Whig are interested in trade. The use of the word trade in conjunction with slave is used more often than trade on its own even though the latter was the more normal trade which was the life blood of the two port cities. In 1807, Britain had banned the slave trade and in 1807, the US Congress, also outlawed the importation of

¹¹⁶ "Correspondence of The Courier: Washington January 27 1859" Courier, Jan, 31, 1859.

¹¹⁷ "The Tariff and Mr. Eustis" Bee, Mar, 17, 1857.

slaves. The British Navy established a naval base at Freetown on the West Coast of Africa which intercepted and arrested slave ships.¹¹⁸ By the 1850s, around 25 vessels and 2,000 officers and men were on the station, supported by some ships from the small United States Navy and occasional vessels from France.¹¹⁹

The bulk of the newspaper articles, which occurred mainly in 1857 and 1858, either promoted a reopening of the slave trade or more commonly criticized foreign, particularly British, search and seizure tactics applied to US flag ships. Although the Senate called a special 1858 session to deal with British search and seizures primarily in the Gulf of Mexico, it became increasingly clear that neither the North nor the Buchanan government were seriously prepared to countenance either any changes to the law or the Federal Governments obligations.¹²⁰

The *Bee's* views can be seen from articles such as "Europe: The Arabia's News." which extolled the Spanish slave trade in Cuba and complained about British stop and search rights.¹²¹ The *Charleston Daily Courier*, in "Free African Emigration" complained that a French attempt to bring African indentured servants into their West Indian colonies was slavery in a new disguise.¹²² Other articles such as "The Vanderbilt Mails" "From The Coast Of Africa" "British Interference with Trade on the Coast of Africa" and "Mails by the Arabia" complained about British search and seizure while another very interesting article entitled "Respect for the Law" showed the Courier and the National Intelligencer complimenting South Carolina and Charlestonians on not sending armed men to kidnap and sell, captured contraband slaves being

¹¹⁸ Niall Ferguson. *Empire: How Britain made the Modern World*. London: Penguin, 2003, 119.

¹¹⁹ *The Royal Navy and the Battle to End Slavery*. BBC History, bbc.uk.co/history/british/abolition//royal_navy_article/01.shtml.

¹²⁰ "US Senate Special Session" Mercury, Jun, 22, 1858: "The Insult to Our Flag" Bee, May, 25, 1858: "Congress" Bee, Jun, 8, 1858: "The Right of Search" Bee, Aug, 17, 1858.

¹²¹ "Europe: The Arabia's News." Bee, Jul,6, 1858

¹²² "Free African Emigration" Courier, Feb 16, 1858

held by the Federal customs authorities.¹²³ This does support the view that the *Courier* was a relatively moderate paper by the standards of South Carolina! In contrast the *Mercury* presses the case for its fellow slave states and the reopening of the trade even going so far as to propose importing immigrants from Africa and then enslaving them to avoid the Congressional ban on importing slaves.¹²⁴ The paper rails against the British blockade of slave ships and the British and federal governments designation of such trade as piracy. A typical *Mercury* sense of outrage on the subject is given in the article entitled “The Pirates of the Echo”.¹²⁵ The Crew of the ship Echo was arrested for piracy as slave traders. The *Mercury* article demands a full report as to why the crew was not set free by judges in Columbia after the grand jury found no true bill.

While the Charleston *Courier* and *Mercury* were both pro slave trade, differing only in their intensity of support, The Richmond *Whig* and *Enquirer* had very different views on the subject. The *Whig* was very pro the reopening of the trade publishing the usual 1858 articles on French and Spanish slavery and British interception.¹²⁶ What was unusual however was that the *Whig* was so politically pro slavery that it was prepared to advocate against the economic interests of the State. As a net exporter of slaves to the cotton South, Virginia needed no foreign competitor to steal volume and lower prices. In an article headed “Revival of the Slave Trade” the *Whig* strongly supported a speech by Alabama’s William Lowndes Yancey, urging

¹²³ “The Vanderbilt Mails.” *Bee*, Jun,22, 1858: “Mails by the Arabia.” *Bee*, Jul, 5, 1858: “Respect for the Law.” *Courier*, Oct, 12, 1858: “From The Coast Of Africa” *Courier*, Jul, 31, 1860: “British Interference with Trade on the Coast of Africa” *Courier*, Jun, 22, 1858.

¹²⁴ “From the Charleston Mercury” Jun, 23, 1857.

¹²⁵ “The Pirates of the Echo”. *Mercury*, Mar, 15, 1859

¹²⁶ “From Washington.” *Whig*, Jan, 8, 1858: “Additional by the Arabia.” *Whig*, Jul, 2, 1858: “Gen Cass on Suppression of the Slave Trade.” Apr, 27, 1858.

specifically that Virginia should support slavery and the slave trade from belief and not from its own economic interest.¹²⁷

The South did understand the importance of industry, capital and commerce and Commercial Conventions were initially set up with improving southern strength in these areas.¹²⁸ Yet with cotton manufacturing in the South returning up to 29 per cent per annum, southerners still preferred growing commodities to adding further value.¹²⁹

The words commerce/commercial and capital occur thirteen and seven times per thousand articles respectively. Property is noticeably mentioned with an average of thirty seven mentions per thousand slavery articles and is normally used in conjunction with the word slave, as in slave property. Many of these references come in the years 1857 and 1860 and relate to the Congress's failure to protect southern property in the free states, particularly Kansas and Nebraska.

The terms industry and manufacturing are not widely used either in the economic articles or the slavery articles, with Richmond having the most of a very limited interest. Articles expressing Southern fears about northern industrial power did appear from time to time but do not dominate the debate.¹³⁰ Articles pointing out the existing importance of manufacturing and others advocating greater economic independence particularly direct European trading links also

¹²⁷ "Revival of the Slave Trade" Whig, May, 11, 1858.

¹²⁸ "The Southwestern Commercial Convention" Enquirer, May, 25, 1858.

¹²⁹ "Southern Manufacturing" Mercury, Sep, 14, 1858.

¹³⁰ "The Extension of slavery: The Policy of the South" Enquirer, Jan, 6, 1857.

appeared.¹³¹ Overall however, it can be reasonably deduced that concern over the factory aspects of slavery were not the cause of secession.

Articles on railroads are very frequent in the non-slavery economic pieces. They occur in all six newspapers, and highlight the ever increasing importance of this new industry to both North and South. Stamp describes the railroad boom as follows. “Much of the economic boom of the 1850s centered on feverish railroad construction and the consolidation of smaller lines into trunk lines such as the Boston Albany and the New York Central, The New York and Erie, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Pennsylvania Railroad. During the decade more than 20,000 miles of track were laid, of which nearly 2,500 were completed in 1857. Everywhere, politicians, merchants and land speculators regarded the railroads “those wonder working agencies of modern civilization” – as precursors of an economic millennium. Early in 1857 the Southern Pacific Rail Road, with land grants from the state of Texas, began building westward from the Louisiana border, thereby arousing in New Orleans exciting visions of the riches to be gained if it were to become the eastern terminus of the first, and perhaps only, Pacific railroad.¹³² Stockholder meetings of the Southern Pacific Railroad received good coverage in the New Orleans Bee. Commercial interest was high in May 1858 when the company raised \$400,000 but by December that year interest had waned and too few shareholders attended to form a quorum.¹³³

¹³¹ “The Past And Present” Bee, Apr, 10, 1860: “Southern Commercial Communication with Europe” Enquirer, Mar, 24, 1857.

¹³² Kenneth Milton, Stamp. *America in 1857: A Nation On The Brink*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 215-216.

¹³³ “Southern Pacific Railroad.” Bee, May, 11, 1858: “Southern Pacific Railroad Meeting.” Bee, Dec, 21, 1858.

However important railways were economically, politically and socially, the word occurs only twice per thousand articles. There is thus no evidence from the study that railroads changed the southern mentality with respect to secession.

The frequency with which economic terms occur overall both in non slavery and slavery articles in the Bee, and Picayune, Courier, and Mercury does give some support for the view that disagreements over commercial activity were a cause for secession but the evidence from this study would not go to the extent of the economic determinism cause of the war seen by Stamp. ¹³⁴ When Stamp writes “Spokesmen for the two sections (North and South) could never agree upon the wisdom of protective tariffs, navigation acts, shipping and fishing subsidies, national banks or Federal appropriations for internal improvements” he was surely overlooking the fact that differences over these very policies also divided both southern Democrats and Whigs and had done so for a long time. Later political works by William Cooper, *The South and the Politics of Slavery 1828-1856* and John Sacher’s *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861* show just how deep these divisions could be, and how they could even unite southern parties. ¹³⁵

What one can say is that only cotton, trade, property and tariffs seem at all significant and none of these is large enough to effectively explain the change in the southern attitude to secession between 1857 and 1860.

¹³⁴ Stamp, *And the War Came*. 2.

¹³⁵ Cooper, Jr. *The South and the Politics of slavery 1828-1856*.: John M. Sacher, *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861*.

Social

Only one point eight per cent of the articles studied concerned religion. As Appendix A shows, both Charleston papers make references to religious terms than the others, but since rural agrarian societies are often more religious than urban ones, this may reflect the more agricultural nature of South Carolina and the smaller size of Charleston as a city, or the fact that religious articles were better covered by a specialist press. Certainly the southern papers reviewed did occasionally complain about the role of the Northern religious press and its promotion of abolitionist tendencies.¹³⁶

Religious articles in secular newspapers may also not be entirely what one expects. Thus while some deal with such innocuous subjects as a favorable report on a pastor's sermon at a funeral service and lightning striking a Connecticut church, other are clearly more political.¹³⁷ Considerable concerns arose over the activities of the Mormons and fell into two main areas. The first was their strange religious practices, particularly polygamy.¹³⁸ The second was their political and military strength which played on the mind of the editors and the readers alike.¹³⁹

When open armed rebellion against the federal government broke out, the army was called in, the commanding general died and the war tapered off to a guerrilla campaign, the southern press, sensing an opportunity for increased circulation, became even more interested in activities in Utah as did the press in the rest of the world.¹⁴⁰ The horror and interest came to a new crescendo when Indians massacred a one hundred strong wagon train of settlers in 1859.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ "The Northern Press" *Enquirer*, Jan, 6, 1857

¹³⁷ "Sabbath Last" *Mercury*, Feb, 16, 1857: "A Thunderbolt in Church. *Mercury*, Sep, 8, 1857: "Texas Items" *Bee*, Jul, 3, 1860.

¹³⁸ "Mormondom" *Mercury*, Apr, 28, 1857: "The Mormon Flirtation." *Picayune*, Jan, 19, 1858

¹³⁹ "Utah" *Mercury*, Apr, 28, 1857: "The Mormons", May 26, 1857.

¹⁴⁰ "The Mormon War". *Enquirer*, Dec, 29, 1857: "The Mormon Flirtation" *Picayune*, Jan, 19, 1858: "The Mormons." *Enquirer*, Jan, 19, 1858: "Utah and the Deficiency Bill." *Enquirer*, Apr, 13, 1858: "Death of General

In May 1860, the Richmond *Enquirer* devoted two somewhat tongue in cheek articles to Catholicism and Papal Bulls, possibly a subtle Democratic side swipe at the prejudices of the know nothings.¹⁴²

The religious articles presented in the papers often have a strong political undertone to them. The relative and scattered references to more traditional southern faith also provide little or no support for Snay's theory, set forth in *Gospel of Disunion*, that religious division was important in southern secession, even if the North and South divided religiously well before they did so politically.¹⁴³

The word honor occurs a relatively infrequent nineteen times per thousand articles, but there is a big difference between the cities and their newspapers. The word occurs thirty three times per thousand articles in the Richmond newspapers and twenty two times per thousand articles in Charleston whereas in the New Orleans journals the word appears a mere two times per thousand. Clearly there were big cultural differences between aristocratic tidewater Virginians, oligarchic South Carolinians and the slave and commodity traders of New Orleans, Louisiana. The concept of honor was not then a unifying concept for the South. Since South Carolina and Louisiana were among the seven early seceders and Virginia, the state where honor is mentioned most, remained Unionist until Lincoln offered to use force, there is no support for the concept of Greenberg, Olsen, Wyatt-Brown and Gorn, that the southern culture of honor was

Persifer Smith." *Enquirer*, May, 1858: "The London Times on the Mormon War" *Bee*, Jan 1, 1858: "Late and Important from Utah" *Whig*, Jan, 19, 1858: "Letter From Salt Lake" *Feb*, 16, 1858: "By Telegraph" *Bee*, Jun, 7, 1859.

¹⁴¹ "The Mountain Meadows Massacre By The Mormons – A Tale of Horror" *Whig*, May, 24, 1859.

¹⁴² "Papal Bull" *Enquirer*, May 8, 1860.

¹⁴³ Snay, *Gospel of Disunion*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997, (First Published 1993).

a driving force for secession and war.¹⁴⁴ Indeed in this study the evidence on honor would seem to be inversely correlated to their thesis.

Other key words drawn from these authors' works such as manliness and dueling also present no supportive evidence. The word manliness occurs infrequently in only two newspapers as do duel and dueling but even the two dueling references do not support the violent society concept as a basis for secession. That dueling was real and deadly is born out by three 1859 articles in the *Bee*, which deal with Senator Broderick killing Judge Terry in far off California.¹⁴⁵ The fact that this remote affair was worth four articles in two significant newspapers suggests that any other prominent duels occurring closer to home were likely to have been reported.

The word "dueling" does come up some 15 times in another article on slavery but ironically this was in an *Enquirer* attack on the *New York Post*, which itself attacked Governor Wise and Wise's son for being duelists and having no respect for human life.¹⁴⁶ Governor Wise had failed to pardon the notorious John Brown after the Harper's Ferry incident. Some substance is given to the accuracy of the *New York Post*'s information in a *Mercury* article entitled the "The Late Duels in Richmond" which gives details of the duel, between the Congressman the Hon Sherrard Clemmons and Mr. O. Jennings Wise, the father of Virginia's governor, which fortunately both survived.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Greenberg. *Honor and Slavery*. Christopher J. Olsen. *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi: Masculinity, Honor and the Antiparty Tradition 1830-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Bertram Wyatt-Brown.. *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the old South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982 (First Published 1932). Gorn, Elliott J. *Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch: The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Back Country*. The American Historical Revue, Vol. 90, No. 1 (Feb. 1985), pp 18-43.

¹⁴⁵ "California" *Bee*, Oct, 11, 1859: "Letter from California" *Bee*, Oct, 11, 1859: "Safety of Missing Balloonists" Oct, 11, 1859: "Letter to the Editor on the Broderick -Terry Duel" *Enquirer*, Oct, 25, 1859.

¹⁴⁶ "Can There Be No Justice in Politics," *Enquirer*, Oct. 11, 1859, 1.

¹⁴⁷ "The Late Duels in Richmond," *Mercury*, Sep, 28, 1858.

The terms liberty and equality, which might also tie in to an honor concept, occur infrequently as Appendices B, C, D, E and F, G, H, I show. Equality was an acceptable theoretical idea within the concept of republicanism, but because the people as a whole were “likely to turn to the unrestrained pursuit of selfish ends, a liberty that descended into license,” it was not one the planter elite generally favored when it came to fair electoral practices, social contact and genuine democratically fair representation practices at election time.¹⁴⁸ Liberty, for any except slave owners and slavery supporters was by and large an anathema to the southern elite since it smacked of the detested personal liberty laws in the North that allowed free states to ignore the Fugitive Slave Acts, let escaped slaves go free.¹⁴⁹

Even if the words and article frequencies were significant, which they are not, the author’s own studies would need to show that the South was a more violent and honor focused society in 1860 when it implacably refused to compromise over secession than it was in the years 1808-1857 when the South compromised regularly on the key issues.

It would be wrong however to think that the word and article frequency survey cast no useful light on social affairs. The most widely used word in the social section is patriotism. This is generally used in the South in its older Latin meaning of love for the land of one’s own birthplace rather than the more modern meaning of love of the country as a whole, although this later meaning also existed at the time. When Robert E. Lee surrendered his Federal army commission to join the forces of his native state he was torn and forced to decide between these two forms of patriotism. As social appendices M through DM show, the use of the word

¹⁴⁸ “J. William Harris. *Plain folks and Gentry in a Slave society: White Slavery and Black Slavery in Augusta’s Hinterland*. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press, 1985, p18.

¹⁴⁹ Harris. *Plain folks and Gentry in a Slave society: White Slavery and Black Slavery in Augusta’s Hinterland*. 64, 68, 75, 77”. Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1851*, 138-139.

patriotism does rise as the war gets closer. Use of the word increases on average from nineteen mentions per thousand slavery articles in 1857 to fifty four mentions in 1860. The data is however hard to interpret. Great differences in 1860 are shown between newspapers within the same city, with the Richmond *Enquirer* having zero mention in 1860 per thousand slavery articles and the Richmond Whig one hundred and eighty two.

Reasonably and unsurprisingly the rise in use of the word patriotism can be assumed to be a part of a changing mentality as the South became more dominant in the protection of its perceived rights but the absolute numbers are too small for this to be a dominant factor and the variations make it far from a universal indicator.

As Appendix A shows, interest in social affairs correlates wonderfully well between the paired newspapers in the same cities, being the dominant category in Charleston and New Orleans where politics was the order of the day. One reason for the lower percentage of political articles and higher level of social articles in the lower southern cities may well be the aristocratic, paternalistic, nepotistic and oligarchic structure of South Carolina and southern Louisiana politics. To be a political figure in these states it was overwhelmingly helpful to have a large circle of family, friends, business contacts and political allies who moved in the right social circles. When Drew Gilpin Faust writes “The day after the election he (Henry Hammond) was inaugurated governor in the chamber of the house of representatives before a gallery filled with the “*beauty and fashion of Columbia*” she is almost certainly describing the very important social group that selected candidates for all major offices in the state.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Drew Gilpin. Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1985, 235.

Faust clearly highlights the interest of women in politics and the newspapers show the interests of women in fashion and social amusements. The Charleston *Mercury* excels itself in this respect. The article entitled “Young Lady in Serape-Hoops and High Heels in Church” solemnly reports on the dangers of the above attire when a reverend young lady catches the skirt on the footwear, falls and is unable to rise unaided.¹⁵¹ Later articles are less foreboding. “Mantles Illuminated Trinkets” comments on the visiting Princess of Prussia’s fashions, “Old Fashioned Letter”, discusses New York’s spring offerings, “Fashion Letter” denounces excess in flounces, jewelry and flowers as inconsistent with quiet refinement, its follow up gives excellent descriptions of the new bloomers available and other high fashion items and “Queen Victoria’s State Ball” describes the dresses worn by the British aristocracy.¹⁵²

The *Mercury*, having promoted the desire for high fashion, leaves it to the *Bee* to inform the ladies on performance. In “A New Dance” the *Bee* educates the ladies in a new delight, the Lancer, a pastime for 8-16 people.¹⁵³ In “Fashionable Intelligence for May” which describes the first masked ball in Charleston, the “The Ball at Theatre” which reports on a fancy dress ball, the Masonic and Grand Mason ball, the *Mercury* and *Courier*, let them know how successful in general their sartorial and terpsichorean efforts have been.¹⁵⁴

The interests of male readers in the world of fashion should also not be overlooked. Many internal debts in the South were settled in paper currency, which circulated within the South, but imports sooner or later had to be paid for in gold. The sheer scale of fashion imports for the

¹⁵¹ “Young Lady in Serape-Hoops and High Heels in Church” *Mercury*, May, 12, 1857.

¹⁵² “Mantles Illuminated Trinkets” *Mercury*, Apr, 27, 1858: “Old Fashioned Letter”, *Mercury*, Mar, 1, 1859: “Fashion Letter” *Mercury*, Aug, 2, 1859 : “Fashion Letter” *Mercury*, Jan 3, 1860: “Queen Victoria’s State Ball” *Picayune*, Feb, 16, 1858.

¹⁵³ “A New Dance” *Bee*, Mar, 17, 1857.

¹⁵⁴ “Fashionable Intelligence for May” *Mercury*, Apr, 27, 1858: “The Ball at Theatre” *Mercury*, May, 10 1859: “Masonic and Grand Mason Ball, *Courier*, Mar, 30, 1858.

ladies from Europe caused the *Whig* to attribute the southern shortage of specie in the sharp 1857 down turn to men spending too much on imports for women, especially silk dresses and gloves!¹⁵⁵

The *Mercury* was also keen to stimulate the minds of male and female readers giving excellent literary coverage of new books and magazines. It continued this practice throughout the four year period, maintaining it even in 1860, an election year when political tensions rose greatly.¹⁵⁶ The *Enquirer* and the *Bee* were also firm supporters of reading books and introducing new works, including translations or reprints of diverse European works such as “*Gaufrey the Knight and the Fair Brunhilde*” translated from the French and a review of Emmanuel Swedenburg’s “*Alchemy and the Alchemist*.”¹⁵⁷ Reviews of Russell’s magazine were particularly popular with readers of the *Enquirer*, *Mercury* and the *Courier*, as were *Blackwood’s*, *Graham’s Illustrated*, *Harper’s* and *De Bow’s*.¹⁵⁸

The high level of literacy prevailing provoked other strong cultural interests. Most editions of the *Bee* carried a poem and the *Bee* was undoubtedly a paper for theatre goers. When not reporting on crimes, fires and court cases, the paper’s city intelligence column, regularly

¹⁵⁵ “The Monetary Crisis and Women” *Whig*, Oct, 16, 1867.

¹⁵⁶ “New Publications” *Mercury*, May, 26, 1857: “New Publications” *Mercury*, Jun, 23, 1857: “New Publications” *Mercury*, May, 25, 1858: “New Publications” *Mercury*, Mar, 27, 1860.

¹⁵⁷ “Gaufrey the Knight and the Fair Brunhilde” *Enquirer*, Apr, 7, 1857: “Books on out Table” *Enquirer*, Oct, 26, 1858.: “Champagne Made and Doctored,” *Bee*, Apr, 27, 1857.

¹⁵⁸ “A Wholesome Literature,” *Enquirer*, Feb, 17, 1857. “Russell’s Magazine for May,” *Mercury*, May, 12, 1857: “Russell’s Magazine for January,” *Mercury*, Jan, 4, 1860: “Russel’s Magazine for January” *Courier*, Jan, 4, 1859: “Harper’s Magazine” *Courier*, May, 26, 1857 :“Russell’s Magazine,” *Courier*, Feb, 16, 1858 :“Periodicals” *Courier*, Jun, 9, 1857:“De Bow’s Review,” *Courier*, Aug, 14, 1860:“Periodical Literature” *Mercury*, Feb, 2, 1858.

covered serious events at the theatre. The twenty five newspapers examined in 1857 showed eight articles on the theatre.¹⁵⁹

The *Picayune*, perhaps stereotypically French and frivolous when it came to comedy, had a soft spot for Crisp's Gaiety theatre, reporting on the fashionable nature of the audience in 1857 and the highly successful run of Eliza Logan in 1858.¹⁶⁰ The *Bee* by contrast took its light hearted entertainment at the Placidies Variety theatre which allegedly had a great and varied bill.¹⁶¹ Since the same week saw the running of the Metairie horse races, a very, very popular event for sporting types of all classes and much favored by the ladies as an opportunity to display finery, the evening theatre would have found the town full of locals and visitors to the city.¹⁶² The *Charleston Daily Courier* showed its own cultural and ethnic tastes, apparently eschewing comedy and preferring the English theatre and the drama and political power of Shakespeare as its material.¹⁶³

The other remaining papers also covered the thespian arts. None showed the consistent interest of the *Bee* but the performance of star actress Miss Ayonia Jones clearly caught the jaded eye of the *Enquirer's* editor.¹⁶⁴

Those with a taste for opera could read about the best of the international world. Soprano Opera star, Miss Johanna Maria Lind, member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music from 1840, better known as Jenny Lind the "Swedish Angel" was singing in New York in August

¹⁵⁹ "City Intelligence" Bee, Jan, 6, 1857. "City Intelligence" Bee, Feb,3, 1857: "City Intelligence" Bee, Mar, 3, 1857.: "City Intelligence" Bee, Mar, 31, 1857: "City Intelligence" Bee, Apr, 28, 1857: "City Intelligence" Bee, May, 12, 1857: "City Intelligence" Bee, Nov, 10, 1857: "City Intelligence" Bee, Dec, 22, 1857.

¹⁶⁰ "Crisp's Gaiety" Picayune, Feb, 3, 1857: "Crisp's Gaiety" Picayune, Jan, 5, 1858.

¹⁶¹ "Amusements" Bee, Mar, 29, 1859.

¹⁶² "Metaire Races" Bee, Mar, 29, 1859. "Metaire Races" Bee, Apr, 12, 1859.

¹⁶³ "The Theater" Courier, Jan, 19, 1858. "The Theater" Courier, Mar, 2, 1858.

¹⁶⁴ "Miss Ayonia Jones" Enquirer, Feb, 3, 1857: "Complimentary Benefit to Miss Ayonia Jones" Dec, 29, 1857.

1858 and *Mercury* was reporting on the London music festival in July 1857.¹⁶⁵ Those southerners attending to their cotton business in the great metropolis would doubtless have taken the opportunity to go to hear Miss Lind in person as would the citizens of New Orleans when offered the opportunity to hear “The Italian Opera” with the well known Maria Di Rohan in the starring role or “Una Vendetta in Dominio” by Verdi.¹⁶⁶

Domestic music was also not neglected. Operatic and classical concert works were drawing popular reviews in Charleston and Richmond, with Mr. Thalberg on his fourth violin and piano concert and the Campbell Minstrels and the Keller dance troop was performing to appreciative audiences.¹⁶⁷ The *Picayune* reported on music from Mobile, Alabama, the rapidly developing railway terminus and the *Courier* contained reports of a new opera house being built in Cincinnati Ohio.¹⁶⁸ These items help show that by 1860 formerly rough and frontier states were forming elites with close cultural connection to the aristocracy of the long developed parts of the seaboard.

The cultural connection could also be pursued directly via the arts, both American and International. Art galleries were popular in Charleston, The Fraser Galley was commented on favorably by the editor *Mercury* and the *Courier*, while the later paper goes on to review works such as arctic panorama paintings in an exhibition at the Hibernian Hall and more general art

¹⁶⁵ “From our Special Correspondent, New York, August 27th 1858” *Courier*, Aug, 17, 1858: “Grand Music Festival in London” *Mercury*, Jul, 7, 1857.

¹⁶⁶ “The Italian Opera” *Bee*, May, 12, 1857: “The Courier” *Courier*, Feb, 15, 1859” “Music and Drama” *Bee*, Mar, 2, 1858.

¹⁶⁷ “The Operatic Concert” *Mercury*, Dec, 21, 1858: “Thalberg’s Concert,” *Whig*, Jan, 8, 1858: “Mr. Thalberg’s Fourth Concert,” *Mercury*, Feb, 2, 1858: “The Campbell Minstrels” *Mercury*, Mar, 2, 1857: “The Keller Troup” *Mercury*, Mar, 30, 1858.

¹⁶⁸ “Musical Items” *Picayune*, Apr, 13, 1857: “New Opera House in Cincinnati,” *Courier*, Mar, 1, 1859.

works displayed at Institute Hall.¹⁶⁹ The *Enquirer and Courier* took an interest in many forms of art, including highlighting local artists, and sculpture.¹⁷⁰ Again, however, interest was not at all parochial, with the *Enquirer* publishing a well constructed article on art news from Florence, Italy and the *Mercury* describing the new science and art of photography in Vienna, Germany.¹⁷¹

For men in particular, chess was a popular hobby. Both the *Courier* and the *Bee* carry regular reports on the subject. The *Courier* covered inter-city matches such as those between New York and Philadelphia and Augusta, S.C and Charlestown with moves and reports being communicated almost instantly by Samuel Morse's telegraph system.¹⁷²

Both papers covered international chess matches, particularly the national chess congress and the matches of New Orleans born, American prodigy Paul Morphy. Morphy, born in 1837, was the greatest chess master of his generation and the widely recognized, if unofficial, World Chess Champion after his defeat of all the leading European players such as the Germans, Anderson and Paulson and the Frenchman, Harrwitz.¹⁷³

Firstly it is very clear women, at least in the major southern cities, had excellent cultural opportunities and were a lively part of the society in all its aspects. The tenor of the newspaper articles does not at all reflect the dreary lives of the plantation wives so carefully documented in

¹⁶⁹ "Fraser Gallery" *Mercury*, Jan, 30, 1857: "The Fraser Galley" *Courier*, Feb, 17, 1857: "Hibernian Hall: Artistic Panorama," *Courier*, Mar, 15, 1859: "A peep into The Fair" *Courier*, Nov, 24, 1857.

¹⁷⁰ "A Virginia Artist" *Enquirer*, Jan, 6, 1857: "A Virginia Artist" *Enquirer*, Dec, 21, 1858 "The Coquette" *Courier*, Mar, 30, 1858: "Thomas Crawford The Sculptor," *Enquirer*, Dec, 21, 1858: "The Bunyan Tableau" *Courier*, Dec, 20, 1859.

¹⁷¹ "Interesting Sketches of Art News" *Enquirer*, Sep, 27, 1859: "Daguerreotype and Photography." *Picayune*, Mar, 31, 1857: "Photography," *Mercury*, Mar, 2, 1858.

¹⁷² "Telegraphic Chess Match between New York and Philadelphia," *Courier*, Nov, 23, 1858: "Chess Intelligence" *Courier*, Jan, 4, 1859: "The Telegraphic Chess Match," *Courier*, Mar, 29, 1859. "Chess" *Courier*, Apr, 12, 1859: "Chess" *Courier*, Apr, 26, 1859.

¹⁷³ "The Chess Congress," *Courier*, Oct, 13, 1857: "National Chess Congress," *Bee*, Oct, 27, 1857: "Morphy and Anderson" *Bee*, Jan, 18, 1859: "Another Chess Wonder" *Bee* Jul, 5, 1859.

*The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South.*¹⁷⁴ This in its turn also provides evidence for how diverse the lives of southerners could be. Secondly, the South in the period 1840 to 1860 had moved a very long way from the violent colonial style settlement and had become a highly literate, well educated, sophisticated society culturally closely linked to the North and to Europe. By 1860, an insult received in the cities studied was less likely to result in a duel and more likely to result in a brutal excision from a key guest list at the latest artistic, fashionable, cultural, social and thus political event.

Political

Five of the political terms can be considered together for the purposes of the words study. Although not identical in meaning, the terms Kansas-Nebraska, free soil(ers), free state, popular sovereignty and squatter sovereignty are all used in connection with the struggle over the western lands and whether the new states formed from these developing territories should be slave states or free states. Free soil and free state are used interchangeably but popular sovereignty is the term used by Senator Stephen A. Douglas to describe a policy, initially proposed by Senator Lewis Cass, which would allow the electorates of the territories and /or newly formed states to decide if they would permit or prohibit slavery.¹⁷⁵ Douglas, a northern Democrat, proposed this policy for several interconnected reasons. The Democratic Party was the only national political party which fully covered North and South. To retain its southern members, and avoid the dismemberment fate of the Whigs, the Democratic Party had to be pro-slavery. Simultaneously, in order to retain a strong political hold on the northern electorate and ensure substantial northern

¹⁷⁴ Catherine Clinton. *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982 (first published 1952).

¹⁷⁵ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 56-60.

membership, the Democratic Party needed to be anti-slavery or at the very least not obviously pro-slavery. A consistently strong Democratic Party, particularly in the Senate, would protect slavery in the South, save the country from the possibility a bloody sectional civil war and maintain the Union. By allowing individual territories and states to decide, the Democratic Party as a whole, but particularly in the North, would a “prevent national Confrontation” and have the poisoned chalice of decision removed from the national political arena.¹⁷⁶

Unfortunately for the “Little Giant”, many southerners saw the Douglas position as one of abandonment of southern rights. Since the lower house of congress was already numerically dominated by northerners, control of the Senate, which approved the justices of the Supreme Court, was believed vital to the South and the protection of slavery. The issue of where a politician stood on the Douglas doctrine thus became something of a test case for southern loyalty and patriotism. There was also a belief that due to the more contiguous nature of the territories with the North, and a theory of the iso-thermal line that said that slavery could only thrive in a warm climate suitable for growing commodities, northern emigration into the territories would outstrip southern population movements, leading to the formation of all new free states. Southerners thus often referred to the Douglas doctrine by the contemptuous term Squatter Sovereignty.

The legalistic issue of the power of the Congress to make decisions for the territories and the practical issue of when the territories could decide to be slave or non -slave: at initial settlement, after the setting up of a convention, the election of a provisional state legislature or the moment of statehood, enriched the debate on popular sovereignty. When applied to the case

¹⁷⁶ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 174-176. Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant*, vol. II.,271; Holt. *The political Crisis of the 1850s*. 52, . 80, 186.

of when and under what conditions the territories of Kansas and Nebraska become states, they philosophically, politically and sharply exacerbated differences between pro and anti-slavery forces in the north and upper South particularly those in the Democratic Party.

As Appendix C shows, the term Kansas – Nebraska occurs on average twenty three times, free soil(ers) twenty nine, free state thirty seven, popular sovereignty six and squatter sovereignty twenty seven times, giving a total of one hundred and twenty two mentions per thousand slavery article for the related group. By contrast, the total mentions of cotton, sugar, tobacco and agriculture combined total only eighty five as shown in Appendix B. As expected the majority of references to the Kansas - Nebraska related terms come in the two Richmond papers and the Charleston *Mercury*. By distance and less militant persuasion the other three papers are less concerned, but the *Bee* does worry more about the issue than the *Courier* or *Picayune*. Appendix G covering article frequency shows this similar pattern.

Despite strong opposition from anti-slavery forces, and intense personal vilification of Douglas, the proposed Kansas Nebraska Act was well supported by Democrats. The Act forming the two new states was passed by the senate in March 1854 and by the House, after much acrimony, on May 25th. The balance of expectation was that Nebraska would probably become a free state and Kansas probably a slave one but many doubted that either state would become a slaveholding entity. Certainly the antislavery forces did not wait to find out. Eli Thayer of Massachusetts began to try raising \$5 million to promote the emigration of free soil men into the territories even before the act was passed.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ David M. Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. New York: Harper Celephon, 1976, p.199.

The arrival of Governor Reeder in October 1854, led to a census in which 2, 905 persons were eligible to vote. The subsequent election held at the end of March 1855 produced a majority for the pro-slavery forces of 6,307 as neighboring Missourians rushed the borders to vote. This opened up a situation where the losers were unwilling to accept the results of an election they deemed fraudulent. In this they were supported by many outraged northerners elsewhere.¹⁷⁸

The anti-slavery forces set up a separate regime in the town of Lawrence, facing the legal government in Leavenworth. During 1855 the pro slavery legal government produced a proslavery constitution which went to the voters in December 1855 for legal ratification and was followed by the not so legal election of a “governor” in January 1856 and a “legislature” which met in March 1856.

Active hostility between the two armed camps might well have been avoided if it were not for the land situation. Land claims were largely unregistered at this time and disputes over ownership and boundaries were frequent. In all frontier areas such disputes were often settled violently and in Kansas the weaker party tended to look for support for his economic claims from own political faction. The southern tendency to believe that “God made all men equal but Samuel Colt ensured they stayed that way” was met by fire from “Beecher’s Bibles”, rifles often supplied by northern abolitionist preacher the Reverend, Henry Ward Beecher.¹⁷⁹

Between November 1855 and May 1856 individual shooting wars broke out culminating in the “Sack of Lawrence” when a sheriff’s posse, strongly supported by Missourians opened

¹⁷⁸ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 201.

¹⁷⁹ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 206-207.

cannon fire on the town's hotel, burned the house of the leader of the illegal Lawrence regime, "Governor Robinson" and looted considerable private property.¹⁸⁰

The Northerners were outraged at this behavior, with proslavery organizers propagandizing the conflict by referring to the attacks on "Bleeding Kansas" In the House and Senate, denunciations of southern violence were made, none more passionate than the speeches made by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. When the young representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina attacked the elderly New England Senator, in the Congress building, with a heavy cane, moral outrage merged into sectional hostility. Strong support for Brooks by much of the southern press and public only increased northern fury.¹⁸¹

The fighting was ended only by the vigorous actions of newly appointed legal Federal Governor John W. Geary in the late fall of 1856. Threats on Geary's life led to his resignation in January 1857. The *Whig* in its article "Kansas Affair" made it clear how unhappy they and other pro slavery papers, such as the *Mercury*, were with Geary.¹⁸²

President Buchanan's supported popular sovereignty. In his inaugural address he stated that the intention of his administration was to "secure to every inhabitant the free and independent expression of his opinion by his vote."¹⁸³ To support his intention he appointed another tough and competent politician, former Democratic senator for Mississippi, Robert, J. Walker as governor of Kansas. Slave owning, Pennsylvania born, Walker was acceptable to the North and initially very well received by much of the South. The *Enquirer* commenting on Walker's initial speech and position, in "The Jury of the Vicinage" said that the Pro slavery Party

¹⁸⁰ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 209.

¹⁸¹ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 209-211: Varon. *Disunion: The Coming of The American civil War 1789-1859*. 268-271.

¹⁸² "Kansas Affair", *Whig*, Mar, 24, 1857.

¹⁸³ James Buchanan, Inaugural Address, Mar, 4, 1857.

supported Walker and States Rights and went on to rebukes Georgia and Mississippi for condemning the Kansas pro-slavery party for being too moderate.¹⁸⁴ A pro Buchanan article on “The Instruction of Governor Walker (of Kansas)” reflected President Buchanan’s fears and concerns over S. Carolina’s extremism on the Kansas issue and in “A Voice From Georgia” the paper published an article length letter praising the former Senator.¹⁸⁵

The *Enquirer’s* reference to South Carolina’s attitude reflected its response to the Charleston *Mercury’s* article entitled “Governor Walker’s Inaugural Address from Lecompton Kansas” which correctly reported that the people were invited to participate in election of candidates for convention to set a state constitution but argued that ratification of a pro slavery constitution by polling was unnecessary. In fairness to that most militant of states it must be reported that the *Mercury* article was not entirely hostile and the more moderate Charleston *Courier* did not take an “ultra: position at all. In “From Kansas” the *Courier* published verbatim extracts from Walker’s speech and indicates that it found it very fair.¹⁸⁶

It was left to the *Richmond Whig* to excoriate all things Democratic, even before Walker was appointed. In “Growth of the Anti-Slavery Power” the *Whig* discussed the Free State issue with respect to Oregon and Minnesota which it correctly believed were to be shortly admitted in that category. The *Whig* clearly recognized the impact of these pending events on the South’s political power stating “In the popular Branch of the National legislature, the South is hopelessly powerless. The admission of Minnesota will give the North a decided preponderance in the senate and greatly reduce the chances of protection from the boasted conservatism of that body.

¹⁸⁴“The Jury of the Vicinage” *Enquirer*, Jul, 14, 1857.

¹⁸⁵ “The Instruction of Governor Walker (of Kansas)” *Enquirer*, Jul, 14, 1857: “A Voice From Georgia” *Enquirer*, Jul, 28, 1857.

¹⁸⁶ “Governor Walker’s Inaugural Address from Lecompton Kansas” *Mercury*, June, 9, 1857: “From Kansas” *Courier*, June, 9, 1857.

Under such circumstances – with no territory directly available out of which to carve new slave States as a counterpoise - there is but one path of safety for the South,- a stern and inflexible determination to exact her “constitutional rights” to the very least iota.”¹⁸⁷ In “The Course of the Democracy in Regard to Kansas” the *Whig* made clear its opposition to popular sovereignty and compromise. It insisted that Kansas should and must be a slave state, claiming that the South voted for Buchanan and Breckinridge on this basis, and they had reneged.¹⁸⁸

Post Walker’s appointment his reception by the *Whig* was little better. “In “Kansas and the Democracy” Governor Walker was described as “a man of Northern birth accidentally possessed of Southern confidence”. The paper claimed that Walker cheated the South, continuing policies of Democrats since Martin Van Buren.¹⁸⁹ The “Free State Movement in Kansas” article accused Walker of the “detestable heresy of squatter sovereignty” claiming a sly move by the Administration to exclude slavery from Kansas, while in “The Principal is Responsible – not the Agent” the Whig holds Buchanan responsible for “the odious Kansas Policy of Robert J. Walker.” “To the South he is indebted for his election – let him, therefore, be arraigned before a Grand Jury of southern men and indicted for treason to the South. For, disguise it as we may, palliate as we may, *it is nothing but unpardonable treason at last.*”¹⁹⁰

The elections for a constitutional convention were held in June 1857. The anti-slavery forces continued their boycott of elections organized by the Leavenworth government and the proslavery forces won a clear legal victory with a very substantial majority. The boycott received little sympathy from the South and even moderate newspapers such as the *Bee* did not

¹⁸⁷ “Growth of the Anti-Slavery Power” *Whig*, Feb, 10, 1857.

¹⁸⁸ “The Course of the Democracy in Regard to Kansas” *Whig*, Feb, 23, 1857.

¹⁸⁹ “In Kansas and the Democracy” *Whig*, May, 22, 1857.

¹⁹⁰ “The Free state Movement in Kansas” *Whig*, June 16, 1857: “The Principal is Responsible – not the Agent”, *Whig*, July, 28, 1857.

acknowledge that the elections were rigged and wanted Kansas in the Union as Slave State.¹⁹¹ Walker had fraternized with the free soilers, abandoned neutrality, contradicted the position espoused by the *Bee* and most southerners and urged the anti-slavery forces to vote. By doing so he had lost his initial support, moving much of the southern press closer to the *Whig* position. In “Kansas”, the *Mercury* goes so far as to accuse Walker of actively encouraging “Black Republicans” to go to Kansas While in “The Last Act of Folly” the *Bee* summarizes Walker’s mistakes in showing his partiality.¹⁹² Walker was thus left with a result that he knew would be unacceptable to southerners and northern Democrats alike.

Until the result of the Constitutional Convention election in Kansas few in the South had believed that Kansas could become a slave state and a counter balance to Minnesota. The *Whig* made the southern position clear in its May, 1857 article “Kansas is Lost to the South”.¹⁹³

From June 1 1857 on however fierce hopes and expectations arose. The *Whig*’s article of the 6th of October “Kansas Policy- Growing Prospects for the South” is in marked contrast to its May report.¹⁹⁴

Dissension also arose between Walker and Buchanan and his cabinet. Buchanan had publicly promised Walker that all electors would have a right to vote and ratify the state constitution. However four influential southerners in his cabinet, Treasury Secretary Howell Cobb of Georgia, War Department secretary John B. Floyd of Virginia, Postmaster General Aaron Brown of Tennessee and Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Thompson of Mississippi,

¹⁹¹ “The Free State Men Of Kansas” *Bee*, May, 12, 1857.

¹⁹² “Kansas” *Mercury*, Sep,22, 1857, “The Last Act of Folly” Jan, 19, 1858.

¹⁹³ “Kansas is Lost to the South”. *Whig*, May, 5, 1857.

¹⁹⁴ “Kansas Policy- Growing Prospects for the South”, *Whig*, Oct, 6, 1857.

disliked Walker's strong leaning to the Free Staters.¹⁹⁵ With Secretary of State Cass threatening to send the results to the courts and realizing he could do little more constructive, Walker resigned in November 1857.¹⁹⁶

The electoral reaction to the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was to considerably damage the Democratic Party but while the southern wing lost only 4 of its 67 seats in the house the results in the North showed a staggering loss of 66 seats out of 91. This effectively ended the party's position as the only national party. The proposal by the Kansas Conventional Convention, known as the Lecompton Constitution, now divided the Democratic Party with President Buchanan and his cabinet supporting the proposal and Senator Douglas, the party's odds on favorite to be presidential candidate in 1860, refusing to accept anything except a clear popular sovereignty vote on the whole constitution.

For much of the South, The Douglas position, as set out in his meeting with Buchanan on December 3, 1857, was seen as clear, brutal and triple betrayal of slavery, the South and the Democratic Party. The *Courier's* article "Correspondence of the Courier: Washington Nov 21, 1857" describes how the Kansas issue is splitting the party and a follow up article "Correspondence of the Courier" on the 8th December 1857, paraphrases Douglas as saying that Buchanan's view was "illegitimate in its incipiency and wrong in its actions". The *Courier* makes it clear that it believes Buchanan's power of patronage will stop northern Democrats supporting Douglas.¹⁹⁷ By April 1858 the bitterness inside the Democratic Party had reached a

¹⁹⁵ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 304.

¹⁹⁶ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 306.

¹⁹⁷ "Correspondence of the Courier: Washington Nov 21, 1857" *Courier*, Nov, 24, 1857: "Correspondence of the Courier" *Courier*, Dec, 8, 185.

pitch where the *Mercury* could talk about the treason of northern Democrats and demand a powerful southern response.¹⁹⁸

The *Enquirer* and Governor Wise of Virginia took a moderate course, believing that Kansas could not become a free state by genuine popular sovereignty and any attempt by the South to force and win the issue would generate enormous anti-slavery resistance in the North. Henry Wise may have been loquacious, bombastic, arrogant and overbearing, but he was also intelligent, cunning and very politically shrewd and greatly feared a Pyrrhic victory for the South. The *Enquirer* summed up the political situation accurately in “Will Kansas Be admitted with the Lecompton Constitution?” pointing out that the Administration accepts it, but Congress was baulking.¹⁹⁹ In “The South: The Enquirer and Popular Sovereignty” it opined that furor over slavery should be calmed down, in “Kansas and the Course of the South” the paper claimed that the country needed end North/South strife over Kansas and in “Proscription and Indulgence”, the *Enquirer*, more in sorrow than in anger, attack the *Washington Post* for strongly and vituperatively opposing Lecompton Commission. In this missive the *Enquirer* was preaching to the many border state moderate democrats who were not antislavery.²⁰⁰

It was left to the *Whig* to highlight the poisonously anti Douglas sentiments of the South in articles such as “Senator Douglas’ Defection”, “Bad for Douglas and the Enquirer” and “Judge Douglas Position” and to refute the *Enquirer’s* position with brutal denunciation of the paper and personal attacks on Henry Wise as the new Benedict Arnold.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ “For the Mercury” *Mercury*, Apr, 12, 1858.

¹⁹⁹ “Will Kansas Be admitted with the Lecompton Constitution” *Enquirer*, Feb, 18, 1858.

²⁰⁰ In “The South: The Enquirer and Popular Sovereignty” *Enquirer*, Dec, 1, 1857: “Kansas and the Course of the South” *Enquirer*, Mar, 2, 1858: “Proscription and Indulgence” Mar, 16, 1858.

²⁰¹ “Senator Douglas’ Defection”, *Whig*, Dec, 22, 1857: “Bad for Douglas and the Enquirer” *Whig*, Jan, 19, 1858: “Judge Douglas Position” *Whig*, Mar, 30, 1858: “The Democratic Press on Governor Wise” *Whig*, Feb, 16,

The bill authorizing one or the other versions of the pro slavery Lecompton constitution to put to the electors passed the Senate in March 1858. In the House stalled as Douglas Democrats voted with Republicans. The Lecompton Bill asked Congress to grant 23 million acres of land. In order to find a compromise Congressman William Hayden English proposed a bill and a constitution containing only 4 million acres of land. This compromise passed both houses and was rejected overwhelmingly by the Kansas electorate on August 2nd 1858. Kansas thus remained a territory until 1861.

Although the English bill ended the struggle over Bloody Kansas with a whimper and the issue faded in 1859, the recriminations and bad feeling resurfaced with a vengeance in the Presidential election year of 1860. Articles such as “How Lincoln and Douglas May be Beaten: A Compromise Without Sacrifice” arguing both Lincoln and Douglas were unsound on Squatter sovereignty, and the “Speech of Hon W. Porcher Miles Delivered at The Meeting For Ratification of the Proceedings of the Richmond Convention, held at the Theatre on Evening of July 9th 1860” where popular sovereignty and Kansas were the main reasons given for the split between the Baltimore and Richmond Democratic Conventions.²⁰²

The split in the Democratic Party also opened up the question of whether the Democratic Party could be relied upon to protect the South. The Whig’s view was clearly that even the

1858: “Scene in the House of Representatives – Extra Billy breaching wise out of Democratic Party” Whig, Mar, 30, 1858: “An Invitation to Leave” Whig, May, 25, 1858.

²⁰² “How Lincoln and Douglas May be Beaten: A Compromise Without Sacrifice” Courier, Jul, 3, 1860: “Speech of Hon W. Porcher Miles Delivered at The Meeting For Ratification of the Proceedings of the Richmond Convention , held at the Theatre on Evening of July 9th 1860” Courier, Jul, 17, 1860.

“ultra” Breckinridge secessionist wing of the Democrats could not be trusted to protect southern rights in Congress and whether secession might be the only answer.²⁰³

The Kansas crisis had shown that political problems could be inflamed or soothed by the granting of large parcels of federal government lands to new states. The issue of public lands was not found to be a major concern of the South, with the key word occurring only ten times per thousand articles and only four articles per thousand mentioned the word. What is interesting is the distribution, with a mean of thirty seven occurrences per thousand in the *Enquirer*, eighteen in the *Whig*, five in the *Charleston Mercury* and zero in the *Courier, Bee* and *Picayune*. Public lands would thus seem to be more of a political issue than an economic one and more of a Virginia issue than a southern one. In “Our Position on the Public Lands” the *Enquirer* complained about distribution of Public Land to New States and the *Whig* made the complaint more specific citing The Illinois Central Railroad for selling land granted to it by the government and putting the Democrats at fault. A particular affront to the *Whig*’s southern sensibilities was that Virginia had to pay higher interest on its bonds than the Illinois Central Railroad.²⁰⁴

The sectional hostility shown would seem to some support for Mark Egnal’s view that the evolution of very different economies in North and South, which required different economic inputs and competing government programs, was the principal factor in causing the conflict.²⁰⁵ This view should be set against the fact that the *Whig* bitterly criticized almost any Democratic Administration policy. None of the southern newspapers reviewed showed any other form hostility to the Northwest and the most critical, the *Whig*, also published a most laudatory article

²⁰³ “Breckenridge among the Prophets” *Whig*, Aug, 10, 1860: “Which is the Friend of the South” *Whig*, Sep, 28, 1860.

²⁰⁴ “Our Position on the Public Lands” *Enquirer*, Mar, 31, 1857: “How The Public Lands Go” *Whig*, Jan, 27, 1857: “The Other Side of the Picture” *Whig*, May, 5, 1857: “The Question of Distribution” Jun, 2, 1857.

²⁰⁵ Mark. *Clash of Extremes; the Economic Origins of the Civil War*.

on “Progress of the North West” stating that economic progress had been amazing, exceeding everyone’s wildest dreams.²⁰⁶

The term “constitution” is the most frequently occurring word in the six newspapers occurring on an average two hundred and thirty nine times per thousand articles, a frequency only exceeded by the use of the word slavery. Again there is a very sharp difference among the newspapers, the more political three having an average of three hundred and forty four times versus an average of one hundred and sixteen in the two less militant more economic papers. The term constitution is used heavily in 1857 and 1858 in connection with the proposed Lecompton constitution for Kansas, in articles such as “Kansas Affair” which records the draft Kansas constitution going to the president, but also in national terms, setting out relations between the states and in terms of requiring constitutional protection for the institution of slavery by congress.²⁰⁷

In an article, entitled “Green’s Amendment” describing Missouri Senator James S. Green’s amendment to a bill, allowing the citizens of Kansas the right to abolish the Government if it did not accept slavery, the highly supportive *Mercury* uses the term constitution twenty one times, while another article, headlined “Remarks of the Hon R.M.T. Hunter (of Virginia)”, which reported Hunter’s Congressional rebuke to Kentucky Senator John J. Crittenden on his Kansas position, inspired a commentary from the *Mercury* which mentioned the word “constitution a substantial twenty eight times.²⁰⁸ There is no indication from the data or the articles themselves

²⁰⁶ “Progress of the North West” Apr, 13, 1858.

²⁰⁷ “Kansas Affair” Courier, Feb, 2, 1858: “The Constitution – What it is and How to preserve it” Enquirer, Apr, 21, 1857: “The Constitution and the Union” Enquirer, Aug, 11, 1857.

²⁰⁸ “The Green Amendment” enquirer, Mar, 30, 1858: “Remarks of Hon RMT Hunter (of Virginia)”. *Mercury*, May, 11, 1858.

that a changing view of the Constitution was a root cause of secession but by 1860 there is some sense that the Constitution may not be a fully satisfactory guarantee for the South.

The word “Negro” appears on average one hundred and forty two times per thousand articles. Since it was put into the word group as a proxy for slavery the high frequency of use is to be expected. The word “Negro” is generally used in the more rational and less descriptive articles whereas the colloquial form “nigger” is generally used as a form of contempt. This colloquial version was not included in the word count.

The word institution occurs an average of seventy nine times per thousand articles. Institution is often used in the form southern institution. This clearly refers to the eighteenth century description of the peculiar institution referred to by the founding fathers but also includes concepts such as republicanism and the desire to avoid a large free white labor force.

The term “republicanism” with a small r, occurs twenty four times per thousand articles and in ten of every thousand articles. The use of the term is virtually confined to the *Enquirer* and the *Mercury* and by 1860 had become a description with two very different interpretations. To the Tidewater and Piedmont slave owners of the ruling Junto in Virginia and the *Enquirer*, republicanism meant an Athenian type structure where those involved in agriculture, with the leisure and time to be well read polymaths, would defend democracy and the good of society against the machinations of corrupt politicians and merchants and the passions of ignorant free laborers. The free white population of the valley and the Trans-Allegheny, and the more business orientated *Whig* saw republicanism as a “Herrenvolk Democracy” where all free white men would have political rights. A similar situation applied in South Carolina where the lowland aristocracy formed the ruling elite and believed that they alone had the wisdom to govern justly

and effectively. There was little doubt in Charleston that the Rhettts were a key part of the aristocratic elite.

The poor working conditions of much of the free white labor in the United Kingdom was well known to Americans in the 1860s. Engels had published the published “The Conditions of the Working Class in England” as early as 1845 and Marx and Engels had prepared “The Manifesto of the Communist party in 1848”.²⁰⁹ This latter publication would have been well known to many of the German refugees from the failed 1848 revolution.

The problems of early industrialization were clearly highlighted and exploited by southern slaveholders and their press. Items such as “The Riots on The Ohio and Baltimore Railroads, “A Contrast”, comparing conditions of white labor versus slaves and the “Bread Riots”, obviously fall into this category²¹⁰. Yet despite the obvious cynicism and opportunism, there is a sense that southerners were genuinely appalled by the conditions of the lower order of the white working class. In his diary entries of August, 14th, 17th and 20th, made during his visit to England, James Henry Hammond, aristocrat of South Carolina records his views on the British working class. As Faust aptly puts it “The postilions and domestics along his route seemed to him as stupid and unenlightened as plantation blacks, though the squalor of their villages led him to conclude that their conditions of life and labor were far harsher than those of most southern slaves.” “Hammond did not forget these scenes. For the rest of his life his thinking about slavery would reflect the images of the misery of so called free laborers. Hammond now argued from conviction of personal experience that the freedom of free societies was greatly overrated.”²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Engels, Friedrich. “*The Conditions of the Working Class in England*” London: 1845.

²¹⁰ “The Riots on The Ohio and Baltimore Railroads” *Enquirer*, May, 5, 1857: “A Contrast” *Bee*, Sep, 14, 1858: “Bread Riots” *Courier*, Nov, 10, 1857.

²¹¹ Gilpin. *James Henry Hammond and the Old South : A Design for Mastery*. 189, 201.

If life for the black slave in the South were better than the life of free white workers in the North, as the southerners often suggested, there was always a danger that the slave would be unaware of, or not appreciate his relative economic advantage. The issue of white fear of frequent or massive slave rebellion has often been given as a major cause of the South's secession and the ultimate disaster of the Civil War. Authors such as John Ashworth, in *Slavery, Capitalism and Politics in the Antebellum Republic*; William Freehling in *The Reintegration of American History*; William Link in *Roots of Secession* and Steven Channing in *Crisis of Fear* believe that black discontent and resistance to slavery and white fear of slave resistance and northern abolitionist infiltrators inciting rebellion were the at the base of every southern and action and reaction.²¹²

Channing's own evidence seems to be weak. If South Carolina was terrified of a slave revolt why did it not ban imports of slaves as Louisiana did in 1825? Why was it interested in reinstating the slave trade if it was terrified of slave revolt? Channing cites the reinstatement of the Charleston Fire Brigade, and its alarm system after the John Brown attack in 1859 but does not explain why the city disbanded it some decades before if it lived in a state of mortal terror.²¹³ In his search for dreadful examples Channing has to go to Santo Domingo in 1790, Camden NJ. In 1816, Virginia and Nat Turner in 1832, and he can find only a single incident of black murder of a white in S. Carolina in 1824.²¹⁴

²¹² Ashworth, John. *Slavery, Capitalism and Politics in the Antebellum Republic. Vol. 1, Commerce and Compromise*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Freehling, William W. *The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990; Link, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Ante-bellum Virginia*. 2003; Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*. 1974.

²¹³ Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974, 44-46.

²¹⁴ Steven A. Channing. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina*. 20-22.

Link in particular lists arson, assault, poisoning, rape and murder as the principal fears of southern whites.²¹⁵ Occasional articles and references do occur but typically these are infrequent and mostly based on rumors or reports of actions elsewhere. A typical *Enquirer* report on slave revolt in 1856 was headed “Rumors of Insurrection in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and Texas.”²¹⁶ The articles examined show only two accounts of minor slave revolts, insurrections or crimes.²¹⁷ Where there is a specific major article on crimes, it is an account of the escape of white criminals from jail.²¹⁸ Curiously Link’s own illustrations do not seem to support his contention. In the twelve years 1850 to 1861 there were sixty nine cases of black arson reported an astonishingly low figure of figure of 0.006-0,009 cases per 1,000 people. Slaves and free blacks were responsible for 38 per cent of the cases but Negroes and free blacks accounted for 35.4 per cent of the population. Given that courts were far more likely to convict a Negro than a white such a discrepancy seems insignificant. Crimes such as murder, burglary and theft show similar numbers with blacks committing only 30 per cent of the crimes. Only twenty one verdicts of black rape were declared, a rate of 1.75 per annum, less than a two in a million event!

Some evidence for fear of revolt is given from this survey. The words “revolt” and “revolution” are used an average of twelve time per thousand slavery articles and insurrection occurs six times, but these are still low frequency occurrences compared to the use of other political terms. The word “protection” is used more at fifteen times per thousand articles but the

²¹⁵ William A. Link. *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Ante-bellum Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003, 46-48, 49-52, 52-54, 55-57, 57-61.

²¹⁶ “Rumors of Insurrection in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and Texas,” *Enquirer*, Dec.16, 1856.

²¹⁷ “Desperate Affairs- Slave Shot” *Bee*, Apr, 14, 1857: “Louisiana Items” *Bee*, Mar, 29, 1859.

²¹⁸ “The Military of Charleston Entirely Responsible for Escape of Criminals,” *Enquirer*, Dec. 20, 1859.

meaning is split between protection of southern rights by Congress, military protection and least of all protection from slave revolts.

If the ladies of South Carolina were afraid their houses would be burned down and their pure southern bodies defiled they were apparently determined that their dwellings would have the finest cloth drapes, they would be ravished in the latest in French bloomers and would subsequently console themselves with the very finest in literature!

Link seems on no stronger ground when he talks about the Virginian and Southern fear of “emissaries in our midst” agents whom they feared were engaged in subversion.”²¹⁹ The *Enquirer* has four articles on the subject in the sample examined, one on “Incendiary Visitors and How to Treat Them” two articles on the trial of a Reverend Keller who was tried and convicted of the deadly sin of (Black) Republicanism and one on “Northern Drummer Pedlars!” and their northern ideas.²²⁰

Fear of the spread of abolitionism and incitement by such itinerants may have been the cause of their fears but there are other equally valid explanations. In the 1850-1861- period the South was rural and under populated. It also had relatively poor land transportation systems. Most isolated rural communities dislike strangers, particularly strangers who are very different in culture. The traveling salesman in the South paid no taxes on property or sale of goods, whereas local retailers did. Peddlers were therefore seen as unfair competition. Being mobile there was also a risk that an itinerant salesman might be a thief and would be long gone into the next county before his crime could be detected or the perpetrator caught. Nothing in the survey of

²¹⁹ Link. *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Ante-bellum Virginia*. 1.

²²⁰ “Incendiary Visitors and How to Treat Them” *Enquirer*, Feb, 17, 1857: “The Rev Mr. Kallock,” *Enquirer*, Apr. 14, 1857: “Northern Drummer Pedlars!” *Enquirer* Dec, 6, 1859.

Enquirer articles bolsters the belief that fear of slave revolts was a major cause of Virginia's secession.

No significant number of slaves joined John Brown in October 1859. Even at the height of the post Harper's Ferry panic, the only case Link cites, the Northern merchant Kendrick, the accused was acquitted by a calm and sober Virginia jury.²²¹ It is also notable that even after this assault on Virginia and direct call for slave insurrection, Virginia voted in 1860 for the Constitutional Party's John Bell and not for the Southern secessionist John Breckinridge.

The closely interrelated terms "southern rights" and "states rights" occur on average a substantial sixty nine and thirty three times per thousand articles. The states rights doctrine relies on the concept of strict construction. That is to say that the states have the power to control and regulate every aspects of their states behavior, including nullifying unconstitutional Federal laws and secession from the Union, except for those very limited and clearly defined powers and areas allocated to the federal government under the constitution.

The South gradually found out that the term states rights was a two edged sword. If Congress did not have the power to regulate slavery in the states then the Missouri compromise of 1820 was open to question from its inception. If the South could nullify laws so could the northern state; in "The Wrongs and Remedies of the South – Federal guarantees- Northern Nullification – Can the Union be Preserved" the *Whig* clearly sees the problem of Federal non-intervention in the North.²²² If Congress could not regulate slavery in the states as many southerners claimed in the Kansas-Nebraska debate then by reasonable inference, Congress did

²²¹ Link. *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Ante-bellum Virginia*.181.

²²² "The Wrongs and Remedies of the South – Federal guarantees- Northern Nullification – Can the Union be Preserved" *Whig*, Jan, 27, 1860.

not have the power to override electors in the northern states. Thus the federal Government could then not readily strike down personal liberty laws in states such as Massachusetts and New York and enforce the 1850 fugitive slave act on reluctant northern states.

The South began to turn away from a mere states rights concept and move to the wider less clearly defined concept of southern rights. In “State Sovereignty and the Federal Constitution” the *Enquirer* takes an extreme position and makes it clear that the States delegate rights and the powers of the Federal Government are circumscribed.²²³ In “Southern Rights” the *Enquirer* gives its opinion that the constitution recognizes Negro slavery as legitimate and beyond Federal Jurisdiction.²²⁴

From 1857 onwards the South moves steadily away from the strict definition of States rights. In “The Southern Commercial Convention” the editor of the Milledgeville (Ga.) *Federal Union* reports on lack of decisive action in protecting Southern rights effectively adding Congressional enforcement of pro slavery laws as a right.²²⁵ The *Whig’s* article “States Rights Applied” arise from a case in the Ohio Supreme Court where Judge Swan ruled in favor of Ohio’s personal liberty laws. The *Whig* makes it very clear that in this case the federal Fugitive Slave Act clearly supersedes Ohio’s state liberty laws.²²⁶ In “Prospectus of the Charleston Mercury”, an article issued after the John Brown Raid, the *Mercury* defines “Southern rights as States rights, free trade and strict construction yet again expanding the Southern rights definition which gradually came to be a broad political definition including the North recognizing the

²²³ In “State Sovereignty and the Federal Constitution” *Enquirer*, June 16, 1857.

²²⁴ “Southern Rights” *Enquirer*, Jul, 18, 1857.

²²⁵ “The Southern Commercial Convention” *Picayune* May, 2,5 1858: “Prospectus of the Charleston Mercury” *Mercury* Jan, 4, 1860.

²²⁶ “States Rights Applied” *Whig*, June, 14, 1859.

equality of the South, even if the South did not have the votes in Congress to ensure equality and protection.²²⁷

This broadening of the South's concept of its rights began to provoke complaints about southern "Slave Power" coercing the North which widened the tensions between both sections of the country and increased abolitionist strength in the North.

Abolition is the fourth most referred to key word occurring one hundred and forty four times per thousand articles, coming after, slavery, constitution and Republican in frequency. The number of articles mentioning abolition is also the fourth highest and as appendices IIIA to IXA show the use of the word peaks in 1860 as might be expected.

The fear of abolition essentially took two forms. The first was legal abolition caused by declining southern strength in the Congress, particularly in the Senate, and the Supreme Court, and the second was extra-legal creeping de facto abolition which the south had already seen occurring in New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware and Missouri, the pace of which could be speeded up by an abolitionist President, his administration, free soil states, abolitionist organizations and individuals with a bias for action.

Typical concerns, over Federal legal protection from abolition are shown in a number of articles. In an article from the *Whig's* Washington Correspondent in 1858, there was a letter to editor complaining about lack of southern protection in 35th Congress and fear that government could be reduced to a democracy in the 36th.²²⁸ Yet another article raised the subject of "The Bill

²²⁷ "Prospectus of the Charleston Mercury" Mercury Jan, 4, 1860.

²²⁸ "Washington Correspondence: Washington, March 18 1858" Whig, mar, 19, 1858.

to Suppress The slave Trade in the District of Columbia” where the *Whig* attempts to defend the 1860 American Party candidate, Bell from a yes vote in that debate.²²⁹

While the *Whig* tends to concentrate its anti- abolitionist articles on the legal threat the other newspapers tend to look at what a hostile President backed up by the Northern states and populations might do. In “More Withdrawals”, the *Enquirer* sees 1860 presidential election support swinging from the Douglas-Johnson ticket to the Breckenridge-Lane ticket in order to defeat Lincoln –Hamlin: the fear expressed is that Lincoln, in the event of his election, will prevent export of slaves from Virginia, destroying local prices and forcing an abolition crisis.²³⁰ In its article headed “New York and Massachusetts” the *Picayune* is jubilant that New York narrowly rejected a personal liberty law; in “Texas Items” the *Bee* frets about organized abolitionist emissaries and northern missionaries and in “The expulsion of James S. Bower, Chesterfield, Maryland, Oct 22nd 1858”, the *Courier* is concerned about the efforts of an aider and abettor of runaway slaves who was expelled from the community.²³¹

The sharp rise in abolitionist concerns from 1857 to 1860 is directly tied to the rise of the Republican Party. The decline of the Whig party from 1852 on left many voters and politicians looking for a new political vehicle to accomplish their goals. The Kansas-Nebraska act re-inspired a large number of abolitionist politicians including some democrats to look for a new anti-slavery vehicle. The term Republican was adopted by thirty congressmen in 1854 but the party was just one of many new groups such as the anti-slavery Fusion Party, Anti-Nebraska Party, the briefly very successful anti- immigrant, anti –catholic, Know-Nothing Party, Silver

²²⁹ “The Bill to Suppress The Slave Trade in the District of Columbia” *Whig*, Aug, 10, 1860.

²³⁰ “More Withdrawals” *Enquirer*, Oct, 23, 1860.

²³¹ “New York and Massachusetts” *Picayune* Apr, 12, 1859: “Texas Items” *Bee*, Jul, 3, 1860: “The Expulsion of James S. Bower, Chesterfield, Maryland, Oct 22nd 1858” *Courier*, Oct, 26, 1858.

Grey Whigs, Hard Shell, Soft Shell and Half Shell Democrats and the Peoples Party.²³² It is perhaps significant that neither William H. Seward, who would become the towering voice and ideologue of the Republican Party nor Abraham Lincoln, who would become its 1860 Presidential standard bearer were ready to abandon their Whig roots and join the Republicans at that time.²³³

Although the multiplicity of parties was sufficient to hammer the Democrats, particularly the northern ones in 1854 and 1855, it became increasingly clear that parties based on solely on opposition could not do well in the long term and that organizations with positive, popular ideological platforms, appealing to growing demographic constituencies, would do best.

As Frank Towers points out the southern cities were changing rapidly in the 1850s.²³⁴ These cities over a long period of time had grown at twice the rate of the southern society. Industrialization was the driving force in their rapid growth. The advent of mass production, particularly in the textile industry, with its great economies of scale, forced many small skilled businessmen into the ranks of the free work force. The skilled labor element of this free labor force in particular had come to lose the notion of egalitarian republicanism, and the aspiration to become self-employed businessmen and minor property owners. Instead they had come to the acceptance of wage status. This new concentration of free labor in these cities, lacked property and possessed the vote. Their voting habits tended to be more volatile and susceptible to pressure and inducements. They were interested in greater employment opportunities and favored a greater economic role for the city council and increased public improvement, a priority of the old

²³² Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 248-249.

²³³ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 247.

²³⁴ Towers, Frank. *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of Virginia Press, 2004.

line Whigs. Both the rapidly growing German and Irish immigrants rejected the Know Nothings. The Democrats largely captured the Irish, dominantly in the North East, while the Republicans captured the Germans in key cities such as St Louis. Both the Whig and the Enquirer complained about emancipationist tendencies among this new industrial proletariat.²³⁵

The Republican program was based on four key policies: firstly protection of free white workers, secondly major public works to build infrastructure for northern and especially northwestern industry, thirdly high tariffs to support northern industrial growth and last and not least the abolition of slavery. With these policies the Republicans could build a coalition of new industrial workers, old ex- Whigs, northern industrialists, disaffected Democrats and committed anti- slavery voters.²³⁶ These policies were however either unpopular or a complete anathema in the South and largely worked to the benefit of the Republicans.²³⁷

By June 1855, the Republican Party had gathered sufficient strength to select a credible Presidential candidate in the form of John C Fremont the former anti-slavery Governor of California. By 1856 the Know Nothings were dead, the Republicans had become the dominant party in the North and Fremont was making a very serious challenge, in a three cornered fight, to the Democrat party's Buchanan and the Whig/American party's Millard Fillmore, a former President. In the North Fremont won eleven out of sixteen free states the other five going to contest winner James Buchanan.

Yet despite this good showing there was no sign in 1857 that the South was unduly perturbed by Republican electoral successes or saw it as a threat to southern institutions and

²³⁵ "Startling Developments" Enquirer, Dec, 16, 1856: "Emancipation in Missouri" Whig, Feb, 10, 1857.

²³⁶ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 248-249, 423; Egnal. *Clash of Extremes: The Economic Origins of the Civil War*. 238, 257-258, 329; Holt. *The Political Crisis of the 1850's*. 201.

²³⁷ Holt. *The Political Crisis of the 1850's*. 201.

rights. In an article entitled “A Vivid Picture” the *Whig* quotes the *Philadelphia North American* which draws a graphic picture of the utter demoralization and profligacy of the Black Republican Members of Congress while in “Black Republicanism on the Wane” the *Courier* cites the results of recent state election in Iowa which went badly for the party.²³⁸ As late as 1858, a former Federal Secretary of Defense and future president of the Southern Confederacy was extolling the virtues of and blessings of the Union in Maine, an event which infuriated the *Whig*.²³⁹

In 1857 and 1858 however the South was winning a series of political victories each one of which was a godsend to the abolitionists. The struggle over “Bleeding Kansas” and the southern abuse of Senator Douglas set the stage. The Dred Scott Supreme Court decision, making slavery constitutional in the Federal territories, was felt by many reasonable legal scholars and two of the justices, to be based on an incompetent understanding of history, an ignoring of precedent, contempt for the views of the founding fathers and most of all to be of doubtful legal propriety.²⁴⁰ Worst of all it was widely excoriated in the North by the newspapers and seen by many as a corrupt and illegal Faustian bargain between pro southern President James Buchanan and southern Chief Justice Roger Taney!²⁴¹

The effect of the Supreme Court’s 1859 decision on an 1854 Fugitive Slave Law cases affecting states personal liberty laws in “Ableman versus Booth” also poisoned Northern feelings. When federal marshals could remove a black man from a free state, over-riding the

²³⁸ “A Vivid Picture” *Whig*, Jan, 13, 1857 “Black Republicanism on the Wane” *Courier*, May, 26, 1857.

²³⁹ “Speech of Senator Davis of Mississippi delivered in Portland, Maine” *Whig*, Aug, 6, 1858.

“Senator Jeff Davis “Remarks” *Whig*, Aug, 6, 1858.

²⁴⁰ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*.. 274 -275, Kenneth M. Stamp: *America in 1857” A Nation on the Brink*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, p106-108.

²⁴¹ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 280-281, 287: Stamp. *America in 1857” A Nation on the Brink*. 104-108: Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, 1854-1861*.118. Holt. *The Political Crisis of the 1850’s*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 202-203.

states personal liberty laws, slave power was brought directly into the heart of northern communities.²⁴²

By the second half of 1858, concern over the rise of the Republicans was beginning to grow. In July, the *Enquirer* complained that Black Republicans sought to absorb all antislavery voters refusing to compromise with the South; In August, Mr. Boyce, the editor of the *Edgefield Advertiser* was quoted in the *Mercury* as anticipating a triumph of Black Republicanism and by November the *Mercury* was recording a strong Republican electoral result in New York state and calling it a severe blow to the Union.²⁴³

Southern fears were unquestionably heightened by Senator William Seward's "Irrepressible Conflict," speech, in October 1858, which emphasized the inevitable "collision" of the two systems of slavery and free labor. Seward believed this would eventually result in the nation becoming either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation and was seen as a call for abolition or even military intervention by the South. Although moderate Republicans promised that they would not impose abolition or interfere with southern institutions there was little that could be done to mollify the South.

The problem of North–South relations was further exacerbated by John Brown's ill-fated 16th of October 1859 raid on the Harper's Ferry arsenal. The South, expected northern condemnation and instead saw a man already guilty of murder hailed as a martyr and a saint. The publishing of southerner Hinton R. Helper's "*The Impending Crisis of the South in 1857*" was seen as treasonous attack on the south and this southern renegade's post John Brown pamphlet

²⁴² www. law.cornell.edu/supct/html/.../USSC_CR_0062_0506_ZO.html. www. britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1393/Ableman-v-Booth. William W. Freehling. *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, 1854-1861*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p435.

²⁴³ "Black Republicanism The Gist of The Opposition" *Enquirer*, July, 20, 1858: "The *Edgefield Advertiser* and a Black republican Government" *Mercury*, Aug, 31, 1858. "The Elections" *Mercury*, Nov, 9, 1858.

prompted heated resentment which bubbled up in 1859.²⁴⁴ Although the Republicans nominated the less well known, less controversial and less outspoken Abraham Lincoln as their standard bearer for the 1860 presidential elections, southern skepticism, hostility and extremism continued to grow.²⁴⁵

By 1860 the *Whig* was equating all northern Democracy with the black Republicans.²⁴⁶ The Whig political convention was opened by its Chairman, Virginia's William K. Pendleton who said "There is one point on which we all agree, and that is that our first duty and our highest duty is, to adopt the surest policy we are capable of devising to ensure the defeat of the Black Republican Party. The rise and progress of that most atrocious and detestable fanaticism presents a danger of so frightful an aspect and magnitude, that all the old issues are, or ought to be, totally disregarded and forgotten, until we get through the trouble before us."²⁴⁷ At the Charleston Convention, which bitterly divided the Democratic Party into pro Douglas and anti-Douglas electoral tickets, a Georgia representative said that division would "carry to the Presidential Chair the arch fiend of Black Republicanism."²⁴⁸ By June the *Mercury* in its article "Northern Aggression and Southern Defence" was already discussing what the South's militant response should be to this threat from a possible Republican President. By October 1860, the form of response to a Republican President revolved around the "Norfolk Question" The question posed to William Douglas at a meeting in Norfolk, Virginia was: "If Abraham Lincoln become

²⁴⁴"By Telegraph" *Bee*, Dec, 6, 1859: "Helper's Pamphlet" *Mercury*, Dec, 6, 1859.

²⁴⁵ Potter. *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861*. 423-430: A Cotton Confederacy: *Whig*, Nov, 6, 1860: "The only Cure for National Disorder" *Whig*, Nov, 16, 1860: "Speech of Hon W.Porcher Miles" *Courier*, Jul, 31,1860; "State Elections" *Courier*, Oct, 9, 1860: Northern Aggression and Southern Defence" *Mercury*, Jun, 19, 1860, "Meeting of Students at Chapel Hill" *Mercury*, Nov 20, 1860.

²⁴⁶ "No Difference Between Northern democracy and Black Republicanism" *Whig*, Jan, 13, 1860.

²⁴⁷"Mr. Pendleton's Opening Speech at the Whig Convention" *Whig*, Mar, 9, 1860.

²⁴⁸"The Charleston Convention" *Whig*, May,4, 1860.

President of the United States will the Southern States be Justified in Seceding from the Union.”

If they (the Southern States) secede from the Union upon the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, before he commits an overt act against their constitutional rights, will you advise or vindicate resistance by force to their secession”.²⁴⁹ Douglas answered with an unequivocal no and at a meeting in Baltimore offered to hang secessionists.²⁵⁰ Senator John C. Breckinridge, candidate of the Southern Democrats and pro-slavers, was reluctant to answer the question.²⁵¹ This was because the southern people themselves were badly divided on the issue. The voters of Pulaski county however Virginia had no doubts and beautifully expressed the concerns and longtime grievances of the South “for more than 20 years , through the public press, through books, novels and dramatic performers, by speeches on the hustings, from the pulpit, in the halls of the legislation of individual States, and of Congress, consistently agitated and discussed the question of domestic slavery as it exists in the southern states of this Union, thereby disturbing our peace, rendering our slave population discontented and unhappy, inciting them to insurrection and rebellion against their masters –that several of the said States have persistently refused to comply with the provisions of the Federal Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from justice and labor, - have by legislative enactments impeded, hindered and nullified the fugitive slave law, made in pursuance of the Constitution, fined and imprisoned our citizens, for the exercise of their constitutional right to pursue and recapture their fugitive slaves within their limits: that the people of these States have countenanced, encouraged and promoted the unlawful forays of lawless men upon our soil, directed against our peace our property and our lives, have condemned the

²⁴⁹ “Questions That ought to be Answered: 28Sep, 1860W

²⁵⁰ “Mr. Douglas At Baltimore” Bee, Sep, 11, 1860.

²⁵¹ “The Norfolk Question” Bee, Oct, 9, 1860.

execution of the laws of Virginia upon these marauders and traitors, and by public ovations, deified the perpetrators of these most enormous crimes into heroes and martyrs of liberty, and finally under forms of law, have elevated to the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States men who owe their election to the prevalence of these unfriendly sentiments and acts and who seem, from the policy purposes and aims of their electors, to be expected so far as in them lies, to carry these hostile sentiments into further acts of aggression though the powers of the federal government.”²⁵² A writer, in the *Saint Louis Journal* in Memphis, went even further offering to hang Lincoln and any who refused to march with the South.²⁵³

The fear of the voters of Pulaski County clearly identifies one of the major problems of the South, their fear of anti-slavery propaganda, particularly that delivered by the postal system, inciting revolt and causing free white workers to understand their class interest and turn against slavery.²⁵⁴

At the same time however Virginia papers could bridle strongly against suggestions that they should secede and even strongly pro-slavery papers complained about Mississippi and South Carolina trying to precipitate a crisis that would force Virginia out of the Union.²⁵⁵

Of the key words used the term “Republican” is the third most frequently used after slavery and constitution and negro. These four terms are the only other words with frequencies above 100 per thousand articles. More important than absolute frequency is the rise of the use of the word “Republican” Appendix DQ shows that this grew from a six newspaper mean of one hundred and eleven mentions per thousand articles in 1857 to six hundred and nine mentions in

²⁵² “Meeting of the People of Pulaski” Whig, Dec, 4, 1860.

²⁵³ “A Scene In Memphis” Whig, Sep, 28, 1860.

²⁵⁴ “Improper Correspondence” Mercury, Jan, 18, 1859: “The Richmond-Examinee-Senator Douglas” Enquirer, July, 5, 1858.

²⁵⁵ “The National Crisis” Whig, Dec, 14, 1860: “Program of the Disunionists” Whig, Dec, 14, 1860.

1860. This growth pattern is largely in step with the rise of the Republican Party to political power in that period. Appendix DR shows that use of the word abolition rises in a similar pattern to that of Republican.

From Appendices DT and DU it is quite clear that neither use of the word “slavery” nor the word “cotton” changed significantly from 1857, to 1860. Use of cotton in fact declined and slavery was at best constant and erratic. Neither compares well with the pattern of the use of secession, the sharp 1859 decline in cotton not at all matching the rising southern concern over possible secession. From the view point of this survey there is little support for the view that either a change in attitudes to slavery or economics, particularly the economics of cotton were relevant in changing southern attitudes between 1857 and 1860. This conclusion is brilliantly underlined by an 1858 article in that most businesslike and un-militant of papers the *Picayune*. In response to a suggestion by a powerful group of New York businessmen and northern politicians that the Federal Government should purchase all slaves at their current market price and free them, the *Picayune* makes it clear that slavery is not a purely economic issue and that the south would never agree to such a proposal.²⁵⁶

As shown in Appendix DS, the Kansas - Nebraska related group of words show a pattern similar but slighter closer to that of secession compared to cotton but neither reflect the sharp increase in the use of secession in 1860. The words Republican and abolition both show very, very, sharp increases in use over the period concerned. The best explanation and fit, using both written and numerical data is that fears of secession in 1857 were mainly a product of the Kansas-Nebraska controversy. In 1858 and 1859, concern over Kansas –Nebraska began to

²⁵⁶ “The Slave labor Question” *Picayune*, Jan, 19, 1858.

diminish but concerns over the rise of the Republican Party, and the strong possibility of extra-legal abolition by propaganda, escape of free slaves and armed intervention, began to rise exponentially, particularly after the John Brown raid in October 1859. Nothing in the Republican Party's manifesto or personal assurances from Lincoln that the Republicans were not seeking legal abolition therefore carried very much weight in the South.

The logic of secession prompted consideration of a Southern Confederacy and the possibility of a war to achieve it. It is clear from the few references to bellicose words that the South never seriously considered that the North would fight and never made strong preparations for any ensuing conflict after secession.

There appear to be three major reasons why the South doubted that the North would fight or if it did would sustain a long and bloody conflict. One was the inherent racism of the North and the pro free white worker bias of the Republican Party. Even in such pro abolitionist states as Massachusetts the Governor resolved that recruitment of blacks into the state militia was unconstitutional.²⁵⁷ The second was the strong support expressed by the northern business community. The courier's 1859 report expresses much of the increasing northern business alarm generated and fears in particular that southern business would bypass New York, while in Massachusetts the Governor threatened to ban abolitionist rallies in order to protect New England businessmen, an action supported by Boston's mayor and police chief.²⁵⁸ Last but by no means least, the northern press also played its part. Articles such as that by the *New York Journal of Commerce* claimed the North had violated its compact with the South especially in terms of

²⁵⁷“The Enrollment of Blacks in the Militia Unconstitutional veto by Governor- Debates in House: Vote Sustained in House” Courier, Jan, 2, 1860.

²⁵⁸ “Correspondence of The Courier: New York Dec 28, 1859” Courier, Jan, 2, 1860: “A Hint to Abolitionist Agitators” Whig, Dec, 14, 1860: “The Commercial Corrective” Courier, Mar, 13, 1860: “A Hint to abolitionist Agitators” Courier, Dec, 18, 1860.

the fugitive slave law, the *New York World* called for northern concessions; the *Boston Courier* openly opposed “Black Republicans” and the *New York Express* excoriated the pro abolition New York newspapers such as the *New York Tribune*.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ “New York Journal of Commerce” *Courier*, Nov, 20, 1860: “false Views” *Courier*, Dec, 18, 1860: “The Effect of the Virginia Movement” *Whig*, Feb, 15, 1859: “New York Tribune” *Whig*, Jan, 2, 1860.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing the motivations for secession and the war, the etymological evidence indicates that the six cities and three states examined did not have identical motivations for secession. In Virginia it was slavery and politics; the politics of slavery to be sure, but also national and state affairs. In Charleston it was slavery and politics, particularly preservation of the planter elite's paternalistic and aristocratic social structure. In New Orleans it was mainly business and preserving the city's trade and cultural links, which were apparently stronger with the other southern states and Europe than they were with the North. However, even in money-mad New Orleans political factors were present.

If there was one item that all could agree on it was the belief that election of a Republican president would lead to Republicans building a cordon of free states around the south. This would lead to a loss of southern political power, would encourage Congress and the North to further erode constitutional protection of the institution of slavery. It would allow the formation of a long porous border that would lead to a continual loss of escaped slaves and gradually force or encourage Maryland and Delaware, and perhaps even Virginia to abandon slavery.

The rise of the "Black Republican" party to presidential power, given its abolitionist principles and possible extralegal actions, exacerbated the South's concerns causing them to make stand on secession while they still believed they had the strength to do so. The paucity of military words occurring suggests that a very substantial number of citizens of the six cities thought secession had an excellent chance of succeeding peacefully and no reporter seems to demonstrated in backing the cause of Union.

While the methodology used does seem to capture the thoughts and concerns of citizens in the six cities and show changes in their thinking over time, no statistical analysis has been performed on the data because the difficulties in deciding what is an article, how an economic article varies from a slavery article or a political article when all these factors are closely interlinked, would give a spurious sense of accuracy to the study.

There is no suggestion that studies of this type can replace conventional historical scholarship. However as more and more primary source data goes onto the computer, the word analysis of the type used in this thesis, which took many tens of hours at the microfilm reader, could be performed in seconds. It is hoped that such speed and ease of data capture using modern software could perhaps make an etymological approach such as that used here an additional useful tool for the historian to have at his disposal.

**APPENDIX A
COMPARATIVE ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE BY STATE, CITY AND
NEWSPAPER
ARTICLE RANK**

Table 1: Subject Percentage Based on Total Article Frequency. wtd= Weighted Average

Richmond, VA	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>
Subject	%wtd	%wtd
Slavery	36.4	28.4
Politics	30.1	34.3
Social Affairs	11.8	13.4
Commerce	11.5	10.3
Foreign Affairs	6.5	10.3
Defense	1.7	0.8
Religion	2.4	1.9
Total	100	100
Charleston, SC	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>
Subject	%wtd	%wtd
Slavery	31.8	15.0
Politics	10.0	11.8
Social Affairs	29.7	38.2
Commerce	14.6	20.4
Foreign Affairs	9.5	10.1
Defense	1.5	1.8
Religion	2.8	2.7
Total	100	100
New Orleans, LA	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>
Subject	%wtd	%wtd
Slavery	12.5	12.6
Politics	7.1	14.3
Social Affairs	30.6	32.0
Commerce	28.8	15.7
Foreign Affairs	19.1	23.0
Defense	1.3	1.3
Religion	0.5	1.2
Total	100	100

APPENDIX B
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY TOTAL
PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 2: Number of Key Economic Words Recorded per 1000 Slavery Articles

Economic	Richmond		Charleston		New Orleans		Mean
	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>	
Slave(ry(s))	1149	997	1233	261	303	260	700
Cotton	174	54	52	14	82	38	69
Sugar	9	1	23	3	13	4	9
Tobacco	2	3	0	4	0	4	2
Agriculture	10	0	16	2	0	4	5
Tariff(s)	41	22	85	30	0	11	31
Trade	2	51	165	43	62	33	59
Property	58	80	44	29	2	7	37
Commerce(ial)	47	3	10	1	12	7	13
Capital	9	0	27	0	5	2	7
Industry	4	1	0	5	0	1	2
Manufacturing	6	4	0	4	2	2	3
Railroads	2	8	0	0	0	0	2
Prices, land	2	2	28	0	0	0	5
Prices, slaves	5	3	2	0	0	1	2
Sale (of slaves)	7	2	5	12	0	0	4
Land	13	0	0	0	0	0	2

APPENDIX C
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY TOTAL
PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 3: Number of Key Political Words Recorded per 1000 Slavery Articles

Political	Richmond		Charleston		New Orleans		Mean
	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>	
Constitution	411	312	308	169	136	101	239
Negro	368	104	168	66	78	66	142
Republican	329	353	403	94	68	101	225
Abolition(ist)	218	288	217	52	17	51	140
Southern rights	156	126	108	11	4	6	69
States rights	66	39	79	8	0	4	33
Institution	125	99	103	47	69	30	79
Confederacy	94	57	59	40	4	8	43
Republicanism	66	5	2	0	0	0	12
Free soil(ers)	67	41	47	16	0	5	29
Kansas-Nebraska	51	34	33	12	2	7	23
Free state	38	65	74	11	12	24	37
Squatter sovereignty	16	45	72	6	8	13	27
Popular sovereignty	14	8	5	6	5	0	6
Public lands	37	18	5	0	0	0	10
Nullification	13	0	10	0	0	0	4
Secession	42	41	68	82	42	27	50
Protect(ion)	14	19	39	3	6	0	13
Revolt(ion)	0	8	13	27	22	2	12
Oppression	6	2	0	0	0	1	1
Conspiracy	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
Insurrection(ry)	6	5	5	11	8	3	6
Ultra	0	0	13	0	0	0	2

APPENDIX D
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY TOTAL
PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 4: Number of Key Military Words Recorded per 1000 Slavery Articles

Military	Richmond		Charleston		New Orleans		Mean
	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>	
War	57	51	43	12	10	5	30
Arsenal	0	4	0	0	0	1	1
Aggression(ive)	35	25	62	7	4	4	23
Defense	17	9	26	10	0	0	10
Rebellion	0	7	0	0	0	1	2

APPENDIX E
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY TOTAL
PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 5: Number of Key Social Words Recorded per 1000 Slavery Articles

Social	Richmond		Charleston		New Orleans		Mean
	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>	
Honor(able)	31	36	23	22	0	4	19
Patriot(ism)	34	75	46	21	6	6	31
Equality	29	24	21	2	0	0	13
Liberty	20	0	21	0	0	0	7
Dueling	33	0	0	0	0	0	5
Manly(iness)	10	0	8	0	0	0	3
Church	23	3	3	11	20	0	10
Methodist	14	0	13	2	0	1	5
Religion(ious)	7	0	15	0	7	1	5
Baptist	6	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ministers	0	0	5	2	0	0	1
Missionary	0	0	21	0	20	0	7
Bishop	0	8	8	2	0	0	3
Preacher	0	0	0	0	4	0	1
Race	0	16	2	0	2	6	4

APPENDIX F
TOTAL NUMBER OF ECONOMIC ARTICLES CONTAINING
KEY WORDS PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 6: Total Number of Economic Articles Containing Key Words per 1000 Slavery Articles

Economic	Richmond		Charleston		New Orleans		Mean
	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>	
Slave(ry(s))	185	174	189	81	67	79	129
Cotton	36	21	20	8	16	10	18
Sugar	9	1	5	3	5	0	4
Tobacco	2	3	0	2	0	4	2
Agriculture	10	0	10	1	0	0	3
Tariff(s)	32	13	38	6	0	6	16
Trade	2	17	41	21	18	10	18
Property	77	35	33	10	2	5	27
Commerce(ial)	5	3	10	2	10	3	5
Capital	5	0	5	0	5	2	3
Industry	2	1	0	2	0	1	1
Manufacturing	4	3	0	2	2	3	2
Railroads	2	2	0	0	0	0	1
Prices, land	5	1	2	0	0	0	1
Prices, slaves	5	1	5	0	0	1	2
Sale (of slaves)	7	2	5	1	0	0	2
Land	3	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX G
TOTAL NUMBER OF POLITICAL ARTICLES CONTAINING
KEY WORDS PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 7: Total Number of Political Articles Containing Key Words per 1000 Slavery Articles

Political	Richmond		Charleston		New Orleans		Mean
	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>	
Constitution	169	103	123	45	30	29	83
Negro	106	46	44	34	26	7	44
Republican	143	113	133	42	22	42	82
Abolition(ist)	108	105	102	27	11	4	59
Southern rights	59	80	64	7	2	6	36
States rights	46	27	41	4	0	5	22
Institution	68	64	77	29	31	24	49
Confederacy	56	29	43	20	2	6	26
Republicanism	46	4	0	0	2	0	9
Free soil(ers)	36	31	23	11	0	5	18
Kansas-Nebraska	13	20	15	3	2	5	10
Free state	23	41	38	5	0	8	19
Squatter sovereignty	20	27	39	3	8	3	17
Popular sovereignty	10	7	5	2	5	0	5
Public lands	7	13	2	1	0	0	4
Nullification	13	0	7	1	0	0	3
Secession	7	25	33	19	21	14	20
Protect(ion)	11	29	10	6	4	0	10
Revolt(ion)	0	5	13	13	2	2	6
Oppression	3	2	0	0	0	1	1
Conspiracy	3	0	0	0	0	1	1
Insurrection(ry)	9	5	0	0	10	0	4
Ultra	0	2	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX H
TOTAL NUMBER OF MILITARY ARTICLES CONTAINING
KEY WORDS PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 8: Total Number of Military Articles Containing Key Words per 1000 Slavery Articles

<u>Military</u>	Richmond		Charleston		New Orleans		<u>Mean</u>
	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>	
War	21	32	20	10	8	5	14
Arsenal	0	4	5	0	0	1	1
Aggression(ive)	13	20	36	5	0	4	11
Defense	7	8	13	8	0	0	5
Rebellion	5	4	5	0	0	1	1

APPENDIX I
TOTAL NUMBER OF SOCIAL ARTICLES CONTAINING
KEY WORDS PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 9: Total Number of Social Articles Containing Key Words per 1000 Slavery Articles

Social	Richmond		Charleston		New Orleans		Mean
	<i>Enquirer</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Mercury</i>	<i>Courier</i>	<i>Picayune</i>	<i>Bee</i>	
Honor(able)	27	31	18	14	6	2	16
Patriot(ism)	29	50	36	10	4	4	22
Equality	18	13	18	2	0	0	8
Liberty	6	0	18	0	0	0	4
Dueling	7	0	0	0	0	0	1
Manly(iness)	0	0	5	0	0	0	1
Church	16	8	3	1	5	0	5
Methodist	3	0	2	1	0	1	1
Religion(ious)	0	0	5	0	5	1	1
Baptist	6	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ministers	0	1	2	1	0	0	1
Missionary	0	0	5	0	0	0	1
Bishop	0	4	5	1	0	0	2
Preacher	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Race	0	7	2	0	2	0	2

APPENDIX J
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 10: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860**

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	1,149	1,410	1,638	1,333	1,382
Cotton	18	333	0	346	174
Sugar	9	26	0	0	9
Tobacco	9	0	0	0	2
Agriculture	26	0	0	13	10
Tariff(s)	53	13	83	13	41
Trade	9	0	0	0	2
Property	53	13	0	167	58
Commerce(ial)	9	115	0	34	47
Capital	9	26	0	0	9
Industry	18	0	0	0	4
Manufacturing	26	0	0	0	6
Railroads	9	0	0	0	2
Prices, land	9	0	0	0	2
Prices, slaves	9	13	0	0	5
Sale (of slaves)	0	13	14	0	7
Land	0	52	0	0	13

**APPENDIX K
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES**

**Table 11: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	474	435	389	346	411
Negro	394	256	389	436	368
Republican	140	397	306	474	329
Abolition(ist)	263	77	263	269	218
Southern rights	263	77	208	77	156
States rights	131	39	83	13	66
Institution	184	128	97	90	125
Confederacy	123	51	139	64	94
Republicanism	158	13	28	64	66
Free soil(ers)	96	77	42	51	67
Kansas-Nebraska	0	0	180	26	51
Free state	0	103	0	51	38
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	28	38	16
Popular sovereignty	0	0	55	0	14
Public lands	149	0	0	0	37
Nullification	0	0	14	38	13
Secession	53	13	0	103	42
Protect(ion)	0	0	56	0	14
Revolt(ion)	0	0	0	0	0
Oppression	0	0	0	26	6
Conspiracy	9	0	0	0	2
Insurrection(ry)	26	0	0	0	6
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX L
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 12: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860**

<u>Military</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	61	115	0	51	57
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	141	35
Defense	0	0	56	13	17
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX M
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 13: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	44	38	42	0	31
Patriot(ism)	70	26	42	0	34
Equality	35	0	42	38	29
Liberty	79	0	0	0	20
Dueling	0	0	132	0	33
Manly(iness)	26	0	14	0	10
Church	0	0	55	38	23
Methodist	0	0	42	12	14
Religion(ious)	7	13	0	0	7
Baptist	0	0	0	26	6
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX N
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 14: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	210	154	208	167	185
Cotton	18	51	0	77	36
Sugar	9	26	0	0	9
Tobacco	9	0	0	0	2
Agriculture	26	0	0	13	10
Tariff(s)	44	13	56	13	32
Trade	9	0	0	0	2
Property	26	13	167	102	77
Commerce(ial)	9	13	0	0	5
Capital	9	13	0	0	5
Industry	9	0	0	0	2
Manufacturing	18	0	0	0	4
Railroads	9	0	0	0	2
Prices, land	9	13	0	0	5
Prices, slaves	9	13	0	0	5
Sale (of slaves)	0	13	14	0	7
Land	0	13	0	0	3

APPENDIX O
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 15: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	210	128	208	129	169
Negro	70	90	125	141	106
Republican	114	90	139	230	143
Abolition(ist)	140	51	139	103	108
Southern rights	105	26	69	38	59
States rights	79	38	56	13	46
Institution	114	64	56	38	68
Confederacy	79	51	56	51	56
Republicanism	105	13	28	38	46
Free soil(ers)	53	13	42	26	36
Kansas-Nebraska	0	0	28	26	13
Free state	0	26	14	51	23
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	42	38	20
Popular sovereignty	0	0	42	0	10
Public lands	26	0	0	0	7
Nullification	0	0	14	38	13
Secession	44	13	0	51	27
Protect(ion)	0	0	44	0	11
Revolt(ion)	0	0	0	0	0
Oppression	0	0	0	13	3
Conspiracy	13	0	0	0	3
Insurrection(ry)	9	0	28	0	9
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX P
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 16: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860**

<u>Military</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	44	13	0	26	21
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	51	13
Defense	0	0	14	13	7
Rebellion	9	0	0	13	5

APPENDIX Q
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 17: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	44	38	28	0	27
Patriot(ism)	44	26	42	0	29
Equality	18	0	28	26	18
Liberty	0	0	0	26	6
Dueling	9	0	28	26	16
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	28	38	16
Methodist	0	0	0	13	3
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	26	6
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX R
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
ARTICLE PERCENTAGE**

Table 18: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Subject	%	%	%	%	%
Slavery	36.0	28.2	40.3	41.0	36.2
Politics	24.6	21.0	41.7	33.3	29.2
Social Affairs	14.0	13.1	11.1	9.0	12.0
Commerce	10.5	26.3	1.4	7.7	11.4
Foreign Affairs	8.8	7.9	4.2	5.1	6.7
Defense	4.4	0	1.4	1.3	3.5
Religion	1.8	5.2	0	2.6	0.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

APPENDIX S
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES

Table 19: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Subject					
Slavery	41	22	29	32	124
Politics	28	16	30	26	100
Social Affairs	16	10	8	7	41
Commerce	12	20	1	6	39
Foreign Affairs	10	6	3	4	23
Defense	5	0	1	1	12
Religion	2	4	0	2	10
Total	114	78	72	78	342

APPENDIX T
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY

Table 20: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	131	110	118	104	463
Cotton	2	26	0	27	55
Sugar	1	2	0	0	3
Tobacco	1	0	0	0	1
Agriculture	3	0	0	1	4
Tariff(s)	6	1	6	1	14
Trade	1	0	0	0	1
Property	6	1	0	13	20
Commerce(ial)	1	9	0	5	15
Capital	1	2	0	0	3
Industry	2	0	0	0	2
Manufacturing	3	0	0	0	3
Railroads	1	0	0	0	1
Prices, land	1	0	0	0	1
Prices, slaves	1	1	0	0	2
Sale (of slaves)	0	1	1	0	2
Land	0	4	0	0	4

APPENDIX U
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY

Table 21: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	54	34	28	27	134
Negro	45	20	28	34	134
(r)Republican	16	31	22	37	106
Abolition(ist)	30	6	19	21	76
Southern rights	30	6	15	6	57
States rights	15	3	6	1	25
Institution	21	10	7	7	45
Confederacy	14	4	10	5	33
(r)Republicanism	18	1	2	5	26
Free soil(ers)	11	6	3	4	24
Kansas-Nebraska	0	0	13	2	15
Free state	0	8	0	4	12
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	2	3	5
Popular sovereignty	0	0	4	0	4
Public lands	17	0	0	0	17
Nullification	0	0	1	3	4
Secession	6	1	0	8	15
Protection	0	0	6	0	6
Revolt	0	0	0	0	0
Oppression	0	0	0	2	0
Conspiracy	1	0	0	0	1
Insurrection(ry)	3	0	3	0	9
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX V
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY**

Table 22: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	7	9	0	4	20
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	11	11
Defense	0	0	4	1	5
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX W
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY

Table 23: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	5	3	3	0	11
Patriot(ism)	8	2	3	0	13
Equality	4	0	3	3	10
Liberty	9	0	0	0	9
Dueling	0	0	15	0	15
Manly(iness)	3	0	1	0	4
Church	0	0	4	3	7
Methodist	0	0	3	1	4
Religion	2	1	0	0	3
Baptist	0	0	0	2	2
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX X
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS**

Table 24: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	24	12	15	13	64
Cotton	2	4	0	6	12
Sugar	1	2	0	0	3
Tobacco	1	0	0	0	0
Agriculture	3	0	0	1	4
Tariff(s)	5	1	4	1	11
Trade	1	0	0	0	1
Property	3	1	12	8	24
Commerce(ial)	1	1	0	0	2
Capital	1	1	0	0	2
Industry	1	0	0	0	1
Manufacturing	2	0	0	0	2
Railroads	1	0	0	0	1
Prices, land	1	1	0	0	1
Prices, slaves	1	1	0	0	2
Sale (of slaves)	0	1	1	0	2
Land	0	1	0	0	1

**APPENDIX Y
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS**

Table 25: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	19	10	13	10	62
Negro	8	7	9	11	35
(r)Republican	13	7	10	18	48
Abolition(ist)	16	4	10	8	38
Southern rights	12	2	5	3	22
States rights	9	3	4	1	17
Institution	13	5	4	3	25
Confederacy	9	4	4	4	21
(r)Republicanism	12	1	2	3	18
Free soil(ers)	6	1	3	2	12
Kansas-Nebraska	0	0	2	2	4
Free state	0	2	1	4	7
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	3	3	6
Popular sovereignty	0	0	3	0	3
Public lands	3	0	0	0	3
Nullification	0	0	1	3	4
Secession	5	1	0	4	10
Protection	0	0	5	0	5
Revolt	0	0	0	0	0
Oppression	0	0	0	1	1
Conspiracy	1	0	0	0	1
Insurrection(ry)	1	0	2	0	3
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX Z
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS**

Table 26: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	5	1	0	2	8
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	4	4
Defense	0	0	1	0	1
Rebellion	1	0	0	0	1

**APPENDIX AA
RICHMOND ENQUIRER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS**

Table 27: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	5	3	2	0	10
Patriot(ism)	5	2	3	0	10
Equality	2	0	2	2	6
Liberty	6	0	0	2	8
Duel(ing/ist)	0	0	2	0	2
Manliness	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	2	3	5
Methodist	0	0	1	1	2
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	2	2
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AB
CHARLESTON MERCURY
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 28: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860**

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	1062	860	2242	768	1223
Cotton	135	10	20	42	52
Sugar	94	0	0	0	23
Tobacco	0	0	10	0	2
Agriculture	0	20	10	32	16
Tariff(s)	10	50	121	158	85
Trade	104	210	273	74	165
Property	21	30	111	211	93
Commerce(ial)	10	20	0	11	10
Capital	0	80	30	0	27
Industry	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	101	0	25
Prices, slaves	0	10	10	0	5
Sale (of slaves)	0	10	10	0	5
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AC
CHARLESTON MERCURY
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 29: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	167	970	54	42	308
Negro	177	120	323	53	168
(r)Republican	240	320	465	589	403
Abolition(ist)	62	150	444	347	251
Southern rights	21	50	131	232	108
States rights	31	100	91	95	79
Institution	31	60	152	168	103
Confederacy	21	70	51	95	59
(r)Republicanism	0	0	10	0	2
Free soil(ers)	21	20	30	116	47
Kansas-Nebraska	104	30	0	0	33
Free state	114	80	10	95	75
Squatter sovereignty	104	0	91	95	72
Popular sovereignty	10	10	0	0	5
Public lands	0	10	0	11	5
Nullification	10	0	30	0	10
Secession	10	10	61	190	68
Protection	0	0	40	116	39
Revolt	21	0	20	10	13
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	21	0	5
Ultra	52	0	0	0	13

APPENDIX AD
CHARLESTON MERCURY
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 30: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	70	40	63	43
Arsenal	0	0	10	10	5
Aggression(ive)	10	10	61	168	62
Defense	0	0	40	61	25
Rebellion	10	0	10	0	5

APPENDIX AE
CHARLESTON MERCURY
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 31: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	10	20	30	32	23
Patriot(ism)	10	40	81	53	46
Equality	10	0	30	42	20
Liberty	0	0	30	53	21
Duel(ing/ist)	0	0	0	0	0
Manliness	10	0	0	21	8
Church	0	0	0	11	3
Methodist	0	0	51	0	13
Religion(ious)	0	0	51	11	15
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	20	0	5
Missionary	0	40	0	42	20
Bishop	0	0	30	0	7
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	10	0	2

APPENDIX AF
CHARLESTON MERCURY
ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 32: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	177	190	202	189	189
Cotton	31	10	20	21	20
Sugar	21	0	0	0	5
Tobacco	0	0	10	0	2
Agriculture	0	10	10	21	10
Tariff(s)	10	20	71	53	38
Trade	21	60	61	21	41
Property	21	20	50	42	33
Commerce(ial)	10	10	0	11	10
Capital	0	10	10	0	5
Industry	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	10	0	2
Prices, slaves	0	10	10	0	5
Sale (of slaves)	0	10	10	0	5
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AG
CHARLESTON MERCURY
ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 33: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	104	160	101	126	123
Negro	42	40	61	32	44
(r)Republican	83	120	152	179	133
Abolition(ist)	31	80	182	116	102
Southern rights	20	50	91	95	64
States rights	31	20	50	63	41
Institution	31	50	101	126	77
Confederacy	20	50	40	63	43
Republicanism	0	0	10	0	2
Free soil(ers)	20	10	30	32	23
Kansas-Nebraska	42	20	0	0	15
Free state	62	40	10	42	38
Squatter sovereignty	31	0	61	63	39
Popular sovereignty	10	10	0	0	5
Public lands	0	10	0	11	2
Nullification	10	0	20	0	7
Secession	10	10	40	74	33
Protection	0	0	10	32	10
Revolt	21	0	20	11	13
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	10	0	0
Ultra	21	10	0	0	0

**APPENDIX AH
CHARLESTON MERCURY
ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES**

**Table 34: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	30	40	10	20
Arsenal	0	0	10	11	5
Aggression(ive)	10	10	51	74	36
Defense	0	0	10	42	13
Rebellion	10	0	10	0	5

APPENDIX AI
CHARLESTON MERCURY
ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 35: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	10	30	61	42	36
Patriot(ism)	10	10	30	21	18
Equality	10	0	20	42	18
Liberty	0	0	20	53	18
Duel(ing/ist)	0	0	0	0	0
Manliness	10	0	0	11	5
Church	0	0	0	11	3
Methodist	0	0	10	0	2
Religion(ious)	0	0	10	11	5
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	10	0	2
Missionary	0	10	0	11	5
Bishop	0	0	20	0	5
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	10	0	2

**APPENDIX AJ
CHARLESTON MERCURY
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
ARTICLE PERCENTAGE**

Table 36: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Subject	%	%	%	%	% wtd
Slavery	22.9	33	32.3	38.9	31.8
Politics	13.5	6	9.1	11.6	10.0
Social Affairs	26.0	34	32.3	26.3	29.7
Commerce	20.8	16	10.1	11.6	14.6
Foreign Affairs	11.5	7	10.1	9.5	9.5
Defense	1.0	0	4.0	1.1	1.5
Religion	4.2	4	2.0	1.1	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

**APPENDIX AK
CHARLESTON MERCURY
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES**

Table 37: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Slavery	22	33	32	37	124
Politics	13	6	9	11	39
Social Affairs	25	34	32	25	116
Commerce	20	16	10	11	57
Foreign Affairs	11	7	10	9	37
Defense	1	0	4	1	6
Religion	4	4	2	1	11
Total	96	100	99	95	390

APPENDIX AL
CHARLESTON MERCURY
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY

Table 38: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	102	86	222	73	483
Cotton	13	1	2	4	20
Sugar	9	0	0	0	9
Tobacco	0	0	1	0	1
Agriculture	0	2	2	3	7
Tariff(s)	1	5	12	15	33
Trade	10	21	27	7	65
Property	2	3	11	20	36
Commerce(ial)	1	2	0	1	4
Capital	0	8	3	0	11
Industry	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	10	0	11
Prices, slaves	0	1	1	0	1
Sale (of slaves)	0	1	1	0	2
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AM
CHARLESTON MERCURY
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY

Table 39: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	16	97	53	40	206
Negro	17	12	32	5	66
Republican	23	32	46	56	144
Abolition(ist)	6	15	44	33	96
Southern rights	3	6	15	16	40
States rights	2	5	13	22	42
Confederacy	3	10	9	9	31
Republicanism	2	7	5	9	23
Free soil(ers)	0	0	1	0	1
Kansas-Nebraska	2	2	3	11	18
Free state	10	3	0	0	13
Squatter sovereignty	11	8	1	9	29
Popular sovereignty	10	0	9	9	28
Public lands	1	1	0	0	2
Nullification	0	1	0	1	2
Secession	1	0	3	0	4
Protection	1	1	6	18	26
Revolt	0	0	4	11	15
Oppression	2	0	2	1	5
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	2	0	2
Ultra	5	2	0	0	7

**APPENDIX AN
CHARLESTON MERCURY
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY**

Table 40: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	7	4	6	17
Arsenal	0	0	1	1	2
Aggression(ive)	1	1	6	16	24
Defense	0	0	4	6	10
Rebellion	1	0	1	0	2

APPENDIX AO
CHARLESTON MERCURY
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY

Table 41: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	1	2	3	3	9
Patriot(ism)	1	4	8	5	18
Equality	1	0	3	4	8
Liberty	0	0	3	5	8
Duel(ing/ist)	0	0	0	0	0
Manliness	1	0	0	2	3
Church	0	0	0	1	1
Methodist	0	0	5	0	5
Religion(ious)	0	0	5	1	6
Missionary	0	4	0	4	8
Ministers	0	0	2	0	2
Bishop	0	0	3	0	3
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	1	0	1

**APPENDIX AP
CHARLESTON MERCURY
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS**

Table 42: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	17	19	20	18	74
Cotton	3	1	2	2	8
Sugar	2	0	0	0	2
Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0
Agriculture	0	1	1	2	4
Tariffs	1	2	7	5	15
Trade	2	6	6	2	16
Property	2	2	5	4	17
Commercial	1	1	0	1	3
Capital	0	1	1	0	2
Industry	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	1	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	1	1	0	0
Sale slaves	0	1	1	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX AQ
CHARLESTON MERCURY
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS**

Table 43: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	10	16	10	12	48
Negro	4	4	6	3	17
Republican	8	12	15	17	52
Abolition(ist)	3	8	18	11	40
Southern rights	2	5	9	9	25
States rights	3	2	5	6	16
Institutions	3	5	10	12	30
Confederacy	2	5	4	6	17
Republicanism	0	0	1	0	1
Free soil(ers)	2	1	3	3	9
Kansas-Nebraska	4	2	0	0	6
Free state	6	4	1	4	15
Squatter sovereignty	3	0	6	6	15
Popular sovereignty	1	1	0	0	2
Public lands	0	1	0	0	1
Nullification	1	0	2	0	3
Secession	1	1	4	7	13
Protection	0	0	1	3	4
Revolt	2	0	2	1	5
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	1	0	1
Ultra	2	1	0	0	3

**APPENDIX AR
CHARLESTON MERCURY
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS**

Table 44: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	3	4	1	8
Arsenal	0	0	1	1	2
Aggression(ive)	1	1	5	7	14
Defense	0	0	1	4	5
Rebellion	1	0	1	0	2

**APPENDIX AS
CHARLESTON MERCURY
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS**

Table 45: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Mercury, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	1	1	3	2	7
Patriot(ism)	1	3	6	4	14
Equality	1	0	2	4	7
Liberty	0	0	2	5	7
Duel(ing/ist)	0	0	0	0	0
Manliness	1	0	0	1	2
Church	0	0	0	1	1
Methodist	0	0	1	0	1
Religion(ious)	0	0	1	1	2
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	1	0	1
Ministers	0	1	0	1	2
Bishop	0	0	2	0	2
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	1	0	1

**APPENDIX AT
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES**

**Table 46: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	540	369	110	192	303
Cotton	133	29	0	168	82
Sugar	51	0	0	0	13
Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	102	146	0	0	62
Property	0	0	8	0	2
Commerce(ial)	31	10	0	8	12
Capital	20	0	0	0	5
Industry	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	0	0	0	8	2
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	0	0	0
Sale (of slaves)	0	0	0	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AU
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 47: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	408	49	24	64	136
Negro	133	117	24	40	78
Republican	0	0	24	248	68
Abolition(ist)	10	10	16	32	17
Southern rights	0	0	8	8	4
States rights	0	0	0	0	0
Institutions	173	10	47	48	69
Confederacy	0	0	0	16	4
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	0	0	0	0	0
Kansas-Nebraska	10	0	0	0	2
Free state	0	49	0	0	12
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	24	8	8
Popular sovereignty	20	0	0	0	5
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	0	0	0	168	42
Protection	0	0	16	8	6
Revolt	0	10	8	72	22
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	10	0	0	24	8
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AV
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 48: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	41	0	0	0	10
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	16	4
Defense	0	0	0	0	0
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AW
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 49: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	0	0	0	0	0
Patriot(ism)	10	0	0	16	6
Equality	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manliness	0	0	0	0	0
Church	82	0	0	0	20
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0
Religion(ious)	10	19	0	0	7
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	16	0	4
Race	0	10	0	0	2

APPENDIX AX
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 50: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	92	49	47	80	67
Cotton	31	10	0	24	16
Sugar	21	0	0	0	5
Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	32	39	0	0	18
Property	0	0	8	0	2
Commerce(ial)	21	10	0	8	10
Capital	21	0	0	0	5
Industry	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	0	0	0	8	2
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	0	0	0
Sale (of slaves)	0	0	0	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AY
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 51: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	408	49	24	64	136
Negro	133	117	24	40	78
Republican	0	0	24	248	68
Abolition(ist)	10	10	16	32	17
Southern rights	0	0	8	8	4
States rights	0	0	0	0	0
Institutions	173	10	47	48	69
Confederacy	0	0	0	16	4
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	0	0	0	0	0
Kansas-Nebraska	10	0	0	0	2
Free state	0	49	0	0	12
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	24	8	8
Popular sovereignty	20	0	0	0	5
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	0	0	0	168	42
Protection	0	0	16	8	6
Revolt	0	10	8	72	22
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	10	0	0	24	8
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX AZ
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 52: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	31	0	0	0	8
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	0	0
Defense	0	0	0	0	0
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX BA
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 53: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	0	0	0	16	4
Patriotism	10	0	0	16	6
Equality	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manliness	0	0	0	0	0
Church	20	0	0	0	5
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0
Religion(ious)	10	10	0	0	5
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	8	0	2
Race	0	10	0	0	2

**APPENDIX BB
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
ARTICLE PERCENTAGE**

Table 54: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Subject	%	%	%	%	% wtd
Slavery	9.2	10.7	5.5	24.8	12.8
Politics	5.1	6.8	9.5	7.2	7.3
Social Affairs	37.8	36.9	26.1	26.4	29.9
Commerce	33.7	33.0	22.2	26.4	28.3
Foreign Affairs	14.3	11.7	34.0	17.6	19.9
Defense	0	0	1.6	2.4	1.1
Religion	0	1	0.8	0	0.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

**APPENDIX BC
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES**

Table 55: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Slavery	9	11	7	31	58
Politics	5	7	12	9	33
Social Affairs	37	38	33	27	135
Commerce	33	34	28	33	128
Foreign Affairs	14	12	42	22	90
Defense	0	0	2	3	5
Religion	0	1*	1	0	2
Total	98	103	126	125	452

**APPENDIX BD
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY**

Table 56: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	131	110	118	104	463
Cotton	2	26	0	27	55
Sugar	1	2	0	0	3
Tobacco	1	0	0	0	1
Agriculture	3	0	0	1	4
Tariff(s)	6	1	6	1	14
Trade	1	0	0	0	1
Property	6	1	0	13	20
Commerce(ial)	1	9	0	5	15
Capital	1	2	0	0	3
Industry	2	0	0	0	2
Manufacturing	3	0	0	0	3
Railroads	1	0	0	0	1
Prices, land	1	0	0	0	1
Prices, slaves	1	1	0	0	2
Sale (of slaves)	0	1	1	0	2
Land	0	4	0	0	4

**APPENDIX BE
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY**

Table 57: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	40	5	3	8	59
Negro	13	12	3	5	33
Republican	0	0	3	31	34
Abolition(ist)	1	1	2	4	8
Southern rights	0	0	0	1	10
States rights	0	0	0	0	0
Institutions	17	1	6	6	30
Confederacy	0	0	0	2	2
r/Republicanism	0	0	0	2	2
Free soil(ers)	0	0	0	0	0
Kansas-Nebraska	1	0	0	0	1
Free state	0	5	0	0	5
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	3	1	4
Popular sovereignty	2	0	0	0	2
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	0	0	0	21	21
Protection	0	0	2	1	3
Revolt	0	1	1	9	11
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrectionary	1	0	0	3	4
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX BF
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY**

Table 58: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	4	0	0	0	4
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	2	2
Defense	0	0	0	0	0
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX BG
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY

Table 59: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	0	0	0	0	0
Patriot(ism)	1	0	0	2	3
Equality	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manl(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	8	0	0	0	8
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0
Religious	1	2	0	0	3
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	2	0	2
Race	0	1	0	0	1

**APPENDIX BH
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS**

Table 60: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	9	5	6	10	30
Cotton	3	1	0	3	7
Sugar	2	0	0	0	2
Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariffs	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	3	4	0	0	7
Property	0	0	1	0	1
Commercial	2	1	0	1	4
Capital	2	0	0	0	2
Manufacturing	0	0	0	1	1
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	0	0	0
Sale(of slaves)	0	0	0	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX BI
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS**

Table 61: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in Richmond Enquirer, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	5	1	2	6	14
Negro	5	3	1	2	11
r/Republican	0	0	1	10	11
Abolition(ist)	1	1	2	1	5
Southern rights	0	0	0	1	1
States rights	0	0	0	0	0
Institutions	5	1	5	3	14
Confederacy	0	0	0	1	1
r/Republicanism	0	0	0	1	1
Free soil(ers)	0	0	0	0	0
Kansas-Nebraska	1	0	0	0	1
Free state	0	1	0	0	0
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	3	1	4
Popular sovereignty	2	0	0	0	2
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	0	0	0	8	8
Protection	0	0	2	1	3
Revolt	0	1	1	5	7
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ary)	1	0	0	3	4
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX BJ
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS**

Table 62: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	3	0	0	0	3
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	2	2
Defense	0	0	0	0	0
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX BK
NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS**

Table 63: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Picayune, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	0	0	0	0	0
Patriot(ism)	1	0	0	2	3
Equality	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	2	0	0	0	2
Religious	1	1	0	0	2
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	1	0	1
Race	0	1	0	0	1

APPENDIX BL
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 64: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	1,045	893	921	1,130	997
Cotton	0	30	0	188	54
Sugar	4	0	0	0	1
Tobacco	4	7	0	0	3
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	0	30	5	58	22
Trade	49	124	5	26	51
Property	91	7	39	182	80
Commerce(ial)	4	7	0	0	3
Capital	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	4	0	0	0	1
Manufacturing	0	10	0	6	4
Railroads	19	13	0	0	8
Prices, land	0	7	0	0	2
Prices, slaves	0	13	0	0	3
Sale (of slaves)	4	0	0	6	2
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX BM
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 65: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	216	319	424	195	288
Negro	110	104	69	221	126
Republican	30	20	49	58	39
Abolition(ist)	121	104	74	97	99
Southern rights	15	17	15	182	57
States rights	0	3	0	19	5
Institution(s)	57	20	49	39	41
Confederacy	57	27	25	26	34
Republicanism	117	47	40	58	65
Free soil(ers)	42	34	20	84	45
Kansas-Nebraska	0	10	5	19	8
Free state	27	13	0	32	18
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0
Popular sovereignty	4	7	10	143	41
Public lands	8	40	30	0	19
Nullification	15	17	0	0	8
Secession	4	0	0	6	2
Protection	0	0	0	0	0
Revolt(ion)	0	0	5	5	5
Oppression	0	4	5	0	0
Conspiracy	216	319	424	195	288
Insurrection(ry)	110	104	69	221	126
Ultra	30	20	49	58	39

APPENDIX BN
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 66: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	30	23	20	130	51
Arsenal	0	0	5	13	4
Aggression(ive)	8	7	0	84	25
Defense	0	0	5	32	9
Rebellion	0	23	0	6	7

APPENDIX BO
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 67: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	19	27	10	87	36
Patriot(ism)	15	43	60	182	75
Equality	8	7	10	71	24
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manliness	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	7	0	6	3
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	15	19	8
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	38	13	0	13	16

APPENDIX BP
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 68: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	178	134	148	234	174
Cotton	0	20	0	65	21
Sugar	4	0	0	0	1
Tobacco	4	7	0	0	3
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	0	10	5	39	13
Trade	15	37	5	13	17
Property	11	7	25	97	35
Commerce(ial)	4	7	0	0	3
Capital	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	4	0	0	0	1
Manufacturing	0	7	0	6	3
Railroads	4	3	0	0	2
Prices, land	0	3	0	0	1
Prices, slaves	0	3	0	0	1
Sale (of slaves)	4	0	0	6	2
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX BQ
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 69: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	87	84	74	169	103
Negro	34	37	29	84	46
Republican	61	70	98	224	113
Abolition(ist)	87	101	108	123	105
Southern rights	53	67	39	163	80
States rights	15	17	25	52	27
Institution(s)	72	54	54	78	64
Confederacy	11	13	10	84	29
Republicanism	0	3	0	13	4
Free soil(ers)	42	17	39	26	31
Kansas-Nebraska	23	23	15	19	20
Free state	64	33	34	32	41
Squatter sovereignty	23	13	20	52	27
Popular sovereignty	0	10	5	13	7
Public lands	15	10	0	26	13
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	4	3	10	84	25
Protection	4	17	25	71	29
Revolt(ion)	15	7	0	0	5
Oppression	4	0	0	6	2
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	0	19	5
Ultra	0	3	5	0	2

APPENDIX BR
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 70: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	23	7	20	78	32
Arsenal	0	0	5	13	4
Aggression(ive)	8	7	0	71	20
Defense	0	0	5	32	8
Rebellion	0	10	0	6	4

APPENDIX BS
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 71: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	15	27	10	71	31
Patriotism	11	37	49	104	50
Equality	8	7	10	26	13
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Kindness	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	7	0	26	8
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	6	1
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	5	13	4
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	15	7	0	6	7

APPENDIX BT
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
ARTICLE PERCENTAGE

**Table 72: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject
in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Subject	%	%	%	%	% wtd
Slavery	20.8	22.1	18.7	51.9	28.4
Politics	31.8	26.5	44.7	34.4	34.3
Social Affairs	12.9	22.5	15.4	2.6	13.4
Commerce	20.4	10.7	4.8	5.2	10.3
Foreign Affairs	12.9	12.1	12.5	3.9	10.3
Defense	0.4	2.3	0	0.6	0.8
Religion	0.8	3.7	1.9	1.3	1.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

APPENDIX BU
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES

Table 73: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Slavery	55	66	38	80	239
Politics	84	79	93	53	309
Social Affairs	34	67	32	4	137
Commerce	54	32	10	8	104
Foreign Affairs	34	36	26	6	102
Defense	1	7	0	1	9
Religion	2	11	4	2	19
Total	264	298	203	154	919

APPENDIX BV
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY

**Table 74: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles
in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	276	266	187	174	903
Cotton	0	9	0	29	38
Sugar	1	0	0	0	1
Tobacco	1	2	0	0	3
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	0	9	1	9	19
Trade	13	37	1	4	54
Property	24	2	8	28	62
Commerce(ial)	1	2	0	0	3
Capital	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	1	0	0	0	1
Manufacturing	0	3	0	1	4
Railroads	5	4	0	0	9
Prices, land	0	2	0	0	2
Prices, slaves	0	4	0	0	4
Sale (of slaves)	1	0	0	1	2
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX BW
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY

**Table 75: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles
in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	93	10	25	64	289
Negro	29	29	20	17	95
Republican	39	50	59	124	272
Abolition(ist)	57	95	86	30	268
Southern rights	29	31	14	34	108
States rights	8	6	10	9	33
Institutions	32	31	15	15	93
Confederacy	4	5	3	28	40
Republicanism	0	1	0	3	4
Free soil(ers)	15	6	10	6	37
Kansas-Nebraska	15	8	5	4	32
Free state	31	14	8	9	62
Squatter sovereignty	11	10	4	13	38
Popular sovereignty	0	3	1	3	7
Public lands	7	4	0	5	16
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	1	2	2	22	27
Protect(ion)	2	12	6	18	38
Revolt(ion)	4	5	0	0	9
Oppression	1	0	0	1	2
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ary)	0	0	1	5	6
Ultra	0	1	1	0	2

APPENDIX BX
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY

**Table 76: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles
in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

<u>Military</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	8	7	4	20	39
Arsenal	0	0	1	2	3
Aggression(ive)	2	2	0	13	17
Defense	0	0	1	5	6
Rebellion	0	7	0	1	8

**APPENDIX BY
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY**

**Table 77: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles
in the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	5	8	2	15	30
Patriotism	4	13	12	28	57
Equality	2	2	2	5	11
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	2	0	7	9
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	1	1
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	3	3	6
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	10	4	0	2	16

APPENDIX BZ
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS

**Table 78: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles
in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	47	40	30	36	153
Cotton	0	6	0	10	16
Sugar	1	0	0	0	1
Tobacco	1	2	0	0	3
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	0	3	1	6	10
Trade	4	11	1	2	18
Property	3	2	5	15	25
Commerce(ial)	1	2	0	0	3
Capital	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	1	0	0	0	1
Manufacturing	0	2	0	1	3
Railroads	1	1	0	0	2
Prices, land	0	1	0	0	1
Prices, slaves	0	1	0	0	1
Sale(of slaves)	1	0	0	1	2
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CA
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS

**Table 79: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles
in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	23	25	15	26	89
Negro	9	11	6	13	39
Republican	16	21	20	34	81
Abolition(ist)	23	30	22	19	84
Southern rights	14	20	8	24	66
States rights	4	5	5	8	22
Institution(s)	19	16	11	12	58
Confederacy	3	4	2	13	22
Republicanism	0	1	0	2	3
Free soil(ers)	11	5	8	4	28
Kansas-Nebraska	6	7	3	3	19
Free state	17	10	7	5	39
Squatter sovereignty	6	4	4	8	22
Popular sovereignty	0	3	1	2	6
Public lands	4	3	0	4	11
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	1	1	2	13	17
Protect(ion)	1	5	5	11	22
Revolt(ion)	4	2	0	0	6
Oppression	1	0	0	1	2
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ary)	0	0	1	3	4
Ultra	0	1	1	0	2

APPENDIX CB
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS

**Table 80: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles
in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

<u>Military</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	6	2	4	12	18
Arsenal	0	0	1	2	3
Aggression(ive)	2	2	0	11	15
Defense	0	0	1	5	6
Rebellion	0	3	0	1	4

APPENDIX CC
RICHMOND WHIG AND PUBLIC ADVERTISER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS

**Table 81: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles
in Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	4	8	2	11	25
Patriotism	3	11	10	16	40
Equality	2	2	2	4	10
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	2	0	4	6
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	1	1
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	1	2	3
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	2	2	0	1	5

APPENDIX CD
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 82: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	248	143	167	485	261
Cotton	11	0	0	45	14
Sugar	6	0	0	7	3
Tobacco	0	0	0	15	4
Agriculture	0	0	0	7	2
Tariff(s)	73	0	17	30	30
Trade	11	62	25	73	43
Property	0	0	8	108	29
Commerce(ial)	0	5	0	4	1
Capital	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	0	0	0	22	5
Manufacturing	0	0	0	19	4
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	0	0	0
Sale (of slaves)	0	0	0	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CE
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 83: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	361	33	4	280	169
Negro	62	57	59	86	66
Republican	56	24	71	224	94
Abolition(ist)	51	29	50	78	52
Southern rights	0	5	8	30	11
States rights	0	5	0	26	8
Institution(s)	23	10	38	119	47
Confederacy	11	0	17	131	40
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	39	5	4	15	16
Kansas-Nebraska	6	0	0	44	12
Free state	39	5	0	0	11
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	4	22	6
Popular sovereignty	0	0	0	26	6
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	21	0	0	0	0
Secession	124	0	4	205	82
Protection	0	0	0	11	3
Revolt(ion)	28	0	4	78	27
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	33	11	11
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CF
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 84: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	0	0	49	12
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	22	5
Defense	0	0	0	41	10
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CG
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 85: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	17	0	4	67	22
Patriotism	0	5	13	63	21
Equality	0	0	0	7	2
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	28	0	0	15	11
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	6	0	0	4	2
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	7	2
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CH
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 86: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	68	67	75	116	81
Cotton	6	0	0	26	8
Sugar	6	0	0	7	3
Tobacco	0	0	0	7	2
Agriculture	0	0	0	4	1
Tariff(s)	6	0	4	19	6
Trade	11	29	17	26	21
Property	0	0	8	33	10
Commerce(ial)	0	5	0	4	2
Capital	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	0	0	0	7	2
Manufacturing	0	0	0	7	2
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	0	0	0
Sale (of slaves)	0	0	0	4	1
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CI
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

Table 87: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	51	19	4	108	45
Negro	28	24	42	41	34
Republican	23	19	42	86	42
Abolition(ist)	28	19	29	33	27
Southern rights	0	5	8	15	7
States rights	0	5	0	11	4
Institution(s)	17	10	33	56	29
Confederacy	11	0	8	63	20
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	23	5	4	11	11
Kansas-Nebraska	6	0	0	7	3
Free state	11	5	4	0	5
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	4	7	3
Popular sovereignty	0	0	0	7	2
Public lands	0	0	0	4	1
Nullification	6	0	0	0	1
Secession	17	0	4	56	19
Protection	0	0	7	11	4
Revolt(ion)	5	0	4	0	2
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	29	11	10
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CJ
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 88: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	0	0	41	10
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	19	5
Defense	0	0	0	33	8
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CK
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 89: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	11	0	4	41	14
Patriotism	0	5	4	30	10
Equality	0	0	0	7	2
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	5	0	0	1	1
Methodist	5	0	0	0	1
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	5	0	0	0	1
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	4	1
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX CL
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
ARTICLE PERCENTAGE**

Table 90: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Subject	%	%	%	%	% wtd
Slavery	10.7	12.4	13.3	23.5	15.7
Politics	15.2	10.0	7.1	14.9	11.8
Social Affairs	40.7	44.5	38.5	29.1	37.5
Commerce	19.8	20.6	20.9	20.2	20.3
Foreign Affairs	10.7	7.2	15.5	7.1	10.0
Defense	1.7	1.0	1.3	3.0	1.8
Religion	1.1	4.3	3.3	2.2	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

**APPENDIX CM
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES**

Table 91: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Slavery	19	26	32	63	140
Politics	27	21	17	40	105
Social Affairs	72	93	92	78	335
Commerce	35	43	50	54	182
Foreign Affairs	19	15	37	19	90
Defense	3	2	3	8	16
Religion	2	9	8	6	25
Total	177	209	239	268	893

APPENDIX CN
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY

Table 92: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	44	30	40	130	244
Cotton	2	0	0	12	14
Sugar	1	0	0	2	3
Tobacco	0	0	0	4	4
Agriculture	0	0	0	2	2
Tariff(s)	13	0	4	8	25
Trade	2	13	6	11	32
Property	0	0	2	29	31
Commerce(ial)	0	1	0	1	2
Capital	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	0	0	0	6	6
Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0
Railroads	0	0	0	5	5
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	0	0	0
Sale (of slaves)	0	0	0	11	11
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CO
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY

Table 93: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	64	7	1	75	147
Negro	11	12	14	23	70
Republican	10	5	17	60	92
Abolition(ist)	9	6	12	21	48
Southern rights	0	1	2	8	11
States rights	0	1	0	7	8
Institution(s)	4	2	9	32	47
Confederacy	2	0	4	35	41
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	7	1	1	4	13
Kansas-Nebraska	1	0	0	12	13
Free state	7	1	0	0	8
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	1	6	7
Popular sovereignty	0	0	0	7	7
Public lands	0	0	0	1	1
Nullification	4	0	0	0	4
Secession	22	0	1	55	78
Protect(ion)	0	0	0	3	3
Revolt(ion)	5	0	1	17	23
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ary)	0	0	8	3	11
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CP
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY

Table 94: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	0	0	13	13
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	6	6
Defense	0	0	0	11	11
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CQ
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY

Table 95: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	3	0	1	18	22
Patriotism	0	1	3	17	21
Equality	0	0	0	2	2
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	5	0	0	4	9
Methodist	1	0	0	0	1
Religious	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	1	0	0	0	1
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	2	2
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX CR
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS**

**Table 96: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles
in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	12	14	18	31	75
Cotton	1	0	0	7	8
Sugar	1	0	0	2	3
Tobacco	0	0	0	2	2
Agriculture	0	0	0	1	1
Tariff(s)	1	0	1	5	7
Trade	2	6	4	7	19
Property	0	0	2	9	11
Commerce(ial)	0	1	0	1	2
Capital	0	0	0	0	0
Industry	0	0	0	2	2
Manufacturing	0	0	0	2	2
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	0	0	0
Sale(of slaves)	0	0	0	1	1
Land	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX CS
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS**

**Table 97: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles
in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	9	4	1	29	43
Negro	5	5	10	11	31
Republican	4	4	10	23	41
Abolition(ist)	5	4	7	9	25
Southern rights	0	1	2	4	7
States rights	0	1	0	3	4
Institution(s)	3	2	8	15	28
Confederacy	2	0	2	17	21
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	4	1	1	3	9
Kansas-Nebraska	1	0	0	2	3
Free state	2	1	1	0	4
Squatter sovereignty	0	0	1	2	3
Popular sovereignty	0	0	0	2	2
Public lands	0	0	0	1	1
Nullification	1	0	0	0	1
Secession	3	0	1	15	19
Protect(ion)	0	0	2	3	5
Revolt(ion)	1	0	1	6	8
Oppression	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0
Insurrection(ary)	0	0	7	3	10
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX CT
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS**

**Table 98: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles
in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	0	0	11	11
Arsenal	0	0	0	0	0
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	5	5
Defense	1	0	0	9	10
Rebellion	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX CR
CHARLESTON DAILY COURIER
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS**

Table 99: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in Charleston Daily Courier, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	2	0	4	11	14
Patriotism	0	1	4	8	10
Equality	0	0	0	2	2
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	1	0	0	1	2
Methodist	1	0	0	0	1
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	1	0	0	0	1
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	1	1
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CV
NEW ORLEANS BEE
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 100: Economic Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	202	353	292	397	260
Cotton	85	40	0	26	38
Sugar	15	0	0	0	4
Tobacco	5	0	0	13	4
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	5	40	0	0	11
Trade	40	40	0	51	33
Property	0	0	0	30	7
Commerce(ial)	15	7	5	0	7
Capital	0	7	0	0	2
Industry	0	0	0	4	1
Manufacturing	0	7	0	0	2
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	5	0	1
Sale (of slaves)	0	0	0	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX CW
NEW ORLEANS BEE
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 101: Political Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	10	207	15	171	101
Negro	127	53	24	60	66
Republican	91	120	81	141	101
Abolition(ist)	30	67	57	51	51
Southern rights	5	0	5	13	6
States rights	5	7	5	4	4
Institution(s)	51	27	10	34	30
Confederacy	0	0	5	26	8
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	20	0	0	0	5
Kansas-Nebraska	20	0	5	4	7
Free state	71	20	5	0	24
Squatter sovereignty	30	20	0	4	13
Popular sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	0	0	0	107	27
Protection	0	0	0	0	0
Revolt(ion)	0	0	0	8	2
Oppression	0	0	0	4	1
Conspiracy	0	0	0	4	1
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	48	4	13
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX CX
NEW ORLEANS BEE
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES**

**Table 102: Military Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	7	10	4	5
Arsenal	0	0	0	4	1
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	17	4
Defense	0	0	0	0	0
Rebellion	0	0	5	0	1

APPENDIX CY
NEW ORLEANS BEE
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 103: Social Word Frequency per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	0	0	0	17	4
Patriotism	10	0	0	13	6
Equality	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0	0	0
Methodist	0	0	0	4	1
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	4	1
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	25	0	0	0	6

APPENDIX CZ
NEW ORLEANS BEE
ARTICLES WITH KEY ECONOMIC WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 104: Articles with Key Economic Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860**

<u>Economic</u>	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	51	93	62	111	79
Cotton	10	13	0	17	10
Sugar	5	0	0	0	1
Tobacco	5	0	0	4	2
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	5	13	5	0	6
Trade	15	13	0	13	10
Property	0	0	0	21	5
Commerce(ial)	5	7	0	0	3
Capital	0	7	0	0	2
Industry	0	0	0	4	1
Manufacturing	0	7	0	4	3
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	5	0	1
Sale (of slaves)	0	0	0	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX DA
NEW ORLEANS BEE
ARTICLES WITH KEY POLITICAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 105: Articles with Key Political Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860**

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	10	53	5	47	29
Negro	20	13	15	21	17
Republican	20	47	20	81	42
Abolition(ist)	10	33	20	34	24
Southern rights	0	7	5	13	6
States rights	5	7	5	4	5
Institution(s)	30	27	10	30	24
Confederacy	0	0	5	21	6
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	20	0	0	0	5
Kansas-Nebraska	10	0	5	4	5
Free state	15	13	5	0	8
Squatter sovereignty	10	0	0	4	3
Popular sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	0	0	0	55	14
Protection	0	0	0	0	0
Revolt(ion)	0	0	0	8	2
Oppression	0	0	0	4	1
Conspiracy	0	0	0	4	1
Insurrection(ry)	0	0	20	4	6
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX DB
NEW ORLEANS BEE
ARTICLES WITH KEY MILITARY WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES**

**Table 106: Articles with Key Military Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860**

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	7	10	4	5
Arsenal	0	0	0	4	1
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	17	4
Defense	0	0	0	0	0
Rebellion	0	0	5	0	1

APPENDIX DC
NEW ORLEANS BEE
ARTICLES WITH KEY SOCIAL WORDS
FREQUENCY PER 1000 SLAVERY ARTICLES

**Table 107: Articles with Key Social Words per 1000 Slavery Articles
Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860**

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	0	0	0	8	2
Patriotism	5	0	0	8	3
Equality	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0	0	0
Methodist	0	0	0	4	1
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	4	1
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	5	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX DD
NEW ORLEANS BEE
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
ARTICLE PERCENTAGE**

Table 108: Annual Article Frequency Percentage by Subject in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Subject	%	%	%	%	% wtd
Slavery	8.6	14.7	6.7	20.5	12.8
Politics	12.1	18.0	9.6	17.5	14.2
Social Affairs	36.9	33.3	35.9	21.8	31.5
Commerce	17.2	10.0	17.2	18.4	16.2
Foreign Affairs	25.3	21.3	26.8	18.8	23.0
Defense	0	0	2.4	2.1	1.3
Religion	0	2.7	1.4	0.9	1.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

**APPENDIX DE
NEW ORLEANS BEE
ARTICLE FREQUENCY TABLE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES**

Table 109: Annual Number of Articles by Subject in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Year	1857	1858	1859	1860	<u>Total</u>
Slavery	17	22	14	48	101
Politics	24	27	20	41	112
Social Affairs	73	50	75	51	249
Commerce	34	15	36	43	128
Foreign Affairs	50	32	56	44	182
Defense	0	0	5	5	10
Religion	0	4	3	2	9
Total	198	150	209	234	791

**APPENDIX DF
NEW ORLEANS BEE
ECONOMIC WORD FREQUENCY**

Table 110: Economic Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	40	53	54	93	240
Cotton	17	6	0	6	29
Sugar	3	0	0	0	3
Tobacco	1	0	0	3	4
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	1	6	1	0	8
Trade	8	6	0	12	18
Property	0	0	0	7	7
Commerce(ial)	3	1	0	0	4
Capital	0	1	0	0	1
Industry	0	0	0	1	1
Manufacturing	0	1	0	0	1
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	1	0	1
Sale (of slaves)	0	0	0	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX DG
NEW ORLEANS BEE
POLITICAL WORD FREQUENCY**

Table 111: Political Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	2	31	3	40	76
Negro	28	8	5	14	55
Republican	18	18	17	33	88
Abolition(ist)	6	10	8	12	36
Southern rights	1	0	1	3	5
States rights	0	1	1	1	3
Institution(s)	10	4	2	8	24
Confederacy	0	0	1	6	7
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	4	0	0	0	4
Kansas-Nebraska	4	0	1	1	6
Free state	14	3	1	0	18
Squatter sovereignty	6	0	0	1	7
Popular sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	0	0	0	25	25
Protect(ion)	0	0	0	0	0
Revolt(ion)	0	0	0	2	2
Oppression	0	0	0	1	1
Conspiracy	0	0	0	1	1
Insurrection(ary)	0	0	10	1	11
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX DH
NEW ORLEANS BEE
MILITARY WORD FREQUENCY**

Table 112: Military Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	1	2	1	4
Arsenal	0	0	0	1	1
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	4	4
Defense	0	0	0	0	0
Rebellion	0	0	1	0	1

APPENDIX DI
NEW ORLEANS BEE
SOCIAL WORD FREQUENCY

Table 113: Social Word Frequency Found in Selected Articles in the New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	0	0	0	4	4
Patriotism	2	0	0	3	5
Equality	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0	0	0
Methodist	0	0	0	1	1
Religious	0	0	0	1	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	5	0		0	5

**APPENDIX DJ
NEW ORLEANS BEE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY ECONOMIC WORDS**

Table 114: Articles with Key Economic Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Economic	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Slave(ry(s))	10	14	13	26	63
Cotton	2	2	0	4	8
Sugar	1	0	0	0	1
Tobacco	1	0	0	1	2
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Tariff(s)	1	2	1	0	4
Trade	3	2	0	3	8
Property	0	0	0	5	5
Commerce(ial)	1	1	0	0	2
Capital	0	1	0	0	1
Industry	0	0	0	1	1
Manufacturing	0	1	0	0	1
Railroads	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, land	0	0	0	0	0
Prices, slaves	0	0	1	0	0
Sale(of slaves)	0	0	0	0	0
Land	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX DK
NEW ORLEANS BEE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY POLITICAL WORDS**

Table 115: Articles with Key Political Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Political	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Constitution	2	8	1	11	22
Negro	4	2	3	5	14
Republican	4	7	4	19	34
Abolition(ist)	2	5	4	8	19
Southern rights	1	0	1	3	5
States rights	0	1	1	1	3
Institution(s)	6	4	2	7	19
Confederacy	0	0	1	5	6
Republicanism	0	0	0	0	0
Free soil(ers)	4	0	0	0	4
Kansas-Nebraska	2	0	1	1	4
Free state	3	2	1	0	6
Squatter sovereignty	2	0	0	1	3
Popular sovereignty	0	0	0	0	0
Public lands	0	0	0	0	0
Nullification	0	0	0	0	0
Secession	0	0	0	13	13
Protect(ion)	0	0	0	0	0
Revolt(ion)	0	0	0	2	2
Oppression	0	0	0	1	1
Conspiracy	0	0	0	1	1
Insurrection(ary)	0	0	4	1	5
Ultra	0	0	0	0	0

**APPENDIX DL
NEW ORLEANS BEE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY MILITARY WORDS**

Table 116: Articles with Key Military Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Military	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
War	0	1	2	1	4
Arsenal	0	0	0	1	1
Aggression(ive)	0	0	0	4	4
Defense	0	0	0	0	0
Rebellion	0	0	1	0	1

**APPENDIX DM
NEW ORLEANS BEE
NUMBER OF ARTICLES
CONTAINING KEY SOCIAL WORDS**

Table 117: Articles with Key Social Words Found in Selected Articles in New Orleans Bee, 1857-1860

Social	1857	1858	1859	1860	Mean
Honor(able)	0	0	0	2	2
Patriotism	1	0	0	2	3
Equality	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0	0
Dueling	0	0	0	0	0
Manly(iness)	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0	0	0
Methodist	0	0	0	1	1
Religion(ious)	0	0	0	1	1
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Ministers	0	0	0	0	0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0
Bishop	0	0	0	0	0
Preacher	0	0	0	0	0
Race	1	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX DN
BRITISH AND AMERICAN RAW COTTON TRADE

**Table 118: Gene Dattel's British and American Raw Cotton Trade Table from
*Cotton Race and the Making of America: The Human Cost of Economic Power***

Year	British Imports	American Exports	American Exports	British Imports of American Cotton
	Lbs (m)	Lbs (m)	\$ (m)	%
1800	56.01	16.18	7.92	28.9
1830	263.96	201.95	16.96	76.5
1840	592.49	477.52	37.72	80.6
1850	663.58	474.70	55.54	71.5
1860	1,390.94	1,230.61	135.37	88.5

APPENDIX DO
COTTON PRICES VERSUS SLAVE PRICES BY YEAR

Table 119: A Comparison of Cotton Prices and Slave Prices from 1800 to 1860

Year	Cotton Prices	Slave Prices
	Cents per Lbs.	US \$
1800	44.0	400
1805	23.0	510
1809	22.0	625
1811	8.9	675
1813	12.0	750
1817	18.7	900
1818	30.8	900
1822	11.5	710
1828	12.0	650
1830	8.4	650
1834	15.5	900
1836	16.0	1,300
1837	8.0	1,100
1839	7.9	1,200
1840	5.0	600
1841	8.0	750
1844	5.5	680
1848	11.5	900
1850	11.7	910
1856	12.4	1,400
1858	14.0	1,300
1860	13.0	1,800

APPENDIX DP
ECONOMICS OF AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY

**Table 120: The Economics of Negro Slavery Based on Fogel and Engerman's
*Time on the Cross, Economics of American Negro Slavery***

Period	Hire \$ pa.	Price \$	Average Annual Rate of Return
1830-1835	127	948	12%
1840-1845	143	722	18.5%
1846-1850	168	926	17%
1851-1855	167	1,240	12%
1856-1860	196.5	1,658	10.3%

Source

Robert Williams Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. *Time on the Cross, Economics of American Negro Slavery*.

APPENDIX DQ
AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD REPUBLICAN
PER 1000 ARTICLES

Table 121: Average Frequency of the Word Republican per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860

Republican	<u>1857</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1860</u>
Enquirer	140	397	306	474
Mercury	240	320	465	569
Picayune	0	0	24	248
Whig	148	168	291	1,766
Courier	56	24	71	224
Bee	91	120	81	376
<i>Median</i>	148	168	186	425
<i>Mean</i>	111	171	206	609

APPENDIX DR
AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD ABOLITION
PER 1000 ARTICLES

Table 122: Average Frequency of the Word Abolition per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860

Abolition	<u>1857</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1860</u>
Enquirer	263	77	243	269
Mercury	62	80	444	347
Picayune	10	10	16	32
Whig	216	319	424	1,740
Courier	51	29	50	78
Bee	30	67	57	154
<i>Median</i>	57	72	150	211
<i>Mean</i>	105	174	208	437

APPENDIX DS
AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD KANSAS-NEBRASKA, ET. AL.
PER 1000 ARTICLES

Table 123: Average Frequency of the Word Kansas-Nebraska, et. al. per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860

Kansas- Nebraska, et. al.	<u>1857</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1860</u>
Enquirer	96	180	332	128
Mercury	353	210	131	306
Picayune	30	49	24	8
Whig	273	138	139	226
Courier	45	10	8	92
Bee	141	60	10	12
<i>Median</i>	118	99	77	110
<i>Mean</i>	156	108	107	129

APPENDIX DT
AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD SLAVERY
PER 1000 ARTICLES

Table 124: Average Frequency of the Word Slavery per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860

Slavery	<u>1857</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1860</u>
Enquirer	1,149	1,410	1,444	1,333
Mercury	1,062	860	2,242	768
Picayune	540	369	110	192
Whig	1,045	893	921	1,130
Courier	248	143	167	485
Bee	202	353	292	397
<i>Median</i>	792	614	606	626
<i>Mean</i>	708	671	862	717

APPENDIX DU
AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD COTTON
PER 1000 ARTICLES

Table 125: Average Frequency of the Word Cotton per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860

Cotton	<u>1857</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1860</u>
Enquirer	474	436	389	346
Mercury	135	10	20	42
Picayune	133	29	0	64
Whig	0	30	0	188
Courier	11	0	0	45
Bee	85	40	0	26
<i>Median</i>	83	29	0	54
<i>Mean</i>	131	91	68	118

APPENDIX DV
AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF THE WORD SECESSION
PER 1000 ARTICLES

Table 126: Average Frequency of the Word Secession per Thousand Articles from 1857-1860

Secession	<u>1857</u>	<u>1858</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1860</u>
Enquirer	53	13	0	103
Mercury	10	10	61	253
Picayune	0	0	0	168
Whig	4	7	10	143
Courier	124	0	4	205
Bee	3	0	1	15
<i>Median</i>	7	3	2	155
<i>Mean</i>	32	5	13	148

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