

# DOWNLOAD PDF NO NORTH, NO SOUTH? THE CRISIS OF SOUTHERN WHITE IDENTITY

## Chapter 1 : Slavery, the Economy, and Society

*The Identity Crisis of Southern White America Based on documents from Eric Arnesen's Black Protest and the Great Migration The Great Migration of Southern blacks northwards and out of the Southern states created two fundamental crises in the lives of white Southerners, that of economy and that of identity.*

Share via Email Flying the flag: The relentless modern news media has a tendency to make even the most convulsive events look like just another item on the "breaking news" ticker. But the importance of the debate about Scottish independence, which is reverberating throughout the whole of the UK, is clearly massive. Recent polls have put the pro-independence side only a few points behind the "no" camp. In early May, a source close to David Cameron served notice that if the pro-independence side won, he would not resign as prime minister, which spoke volumes about where we have somehow arrived: Whatever happens in the September referendum will have profound consequences. The long-ticking question is about to explode: Political anoraks refer back to the so-called West Lothian question, named in honour of the former Labour MP Tam Dalyell, who first raised the point in a debate about devolution in 1979. Back then, his point remained hypothetical, but it sat under British politics like a time bomb: The last of those ideas was floated by the previous government, only for a plan for an elected regional assembly in the north-east to be resoundingly defeated in 1979, whereupon everything went quiet. Now, a new Yorkshire First party has just been launched, arguing that "Yorkshire has a larger population than Scotland and an economy twice the size of Wales, but isn't the powers of neither. The same restive mood was highlighted last month, when the EU formally granted the people of Cornwall "national minority" status, and there was renewed talk about giving that county "the poorest in the UK" much more control over the spending of European regeneration money. A revival of passions about England has been obvious in things that have looked unremarkable but are freighted with political meaning: In this view of things, Britain and the UK are concepts loaded down with the stuff of empire and colonialism, which all four countries in the UK should shrug off. As Nairn put it, the English perhaps need to "reinvent an identity better than the battered, cliché-ridden hulk which the retreating tide of imperialism has left them". Recently, a crisply phrased version of this view was dispensed by Scottish author Irvine Welsh: By contrast, other people see a "British" identity encompassing a huge range of people, as against an Englishness that is too often crabby and xenophobic. In this reading, the first word in "English Defence League" has a sharp significance. Nigel Farage, leader of Ukip "the conduit for a specifically English political revolt. There is now a small library of books that examine all this, among the most impressive of which is *The Politics Of English Nationhood*, written by London-based academic Michael Kenny. Englishness can be seen as insular and xenophobic. But whatever happens in Scotland in September, all this will come on to the agenda. The electoral evidence is ambiguous: Whatever, even if the creation of an English parliament remains unlikely, the likelihood is that we will soon be talking about new, England-focused arrangements within the UK parliament promised by the Tories in their last manifesto, and which might leave any Labour government with only a slender grip on day-to-day business, or the need to disperse power around the English regions. There will also be an inevitable discussion about values, history and culture. Are people on the liberal left prepared to let England be defined as the country of kings and queens, Victorian values, the Anglican church, Margaret Thatcher, Downton Abbey and Nigel Farage? Or might they finally talk about the place that produced the Diggers and Ranters, the Tolpuddle Martyrs, nonconformist Christianity, Clement Attlee, Two Tone "and great cities that are now the absolute embodiment of everything the Farage-ists take against? Billy Bragg has been discussing questions about England for well over a decade, in both his writing and songs. Its title track found him tentatively exploring what his home country was, and is: The original misused "late" for "former" in reference to the MP Tam Dalyell. This has been corrected.

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## Chapter 2 : Origins of the American Civil War - Wikipedia

*The economic crisis this created, the collapse of the cotton base of the Southern agrarian economy, would force the entire region, white and black, to face a different kind of identity crisis in the transformation into a primarily urban, industrial society.*

Although a minority of free Southerners owned slaves, free Southerners of all classes nevertheless defended the institution of slavery [37] as the cornerstone of their social order. In there were around , slaveholders in a total free Southern population of about six million. Among slaveholders, the concentration of slave ownership was unevenly distributed. Perhaps around 7 percent of slaveholders owned roughly three-quarters of the slave population. The largest slaveholders, generally owners of large plantations, represented the top stratum of Southern society. They benefited from economies of scale and needed large numbers of slaves on big plantations to produce cotton, a highly profitable labor-intensive crop. Yet poor whites and small farmers generally accepted the political leadership of the planter elite. Several factors helped explain why slavery was not under serious threat of internal collapse from any move for democratic change initiated from the South. First, given the opening of new territories in the West for white settlement, many non-slaveowners also perceived a possibility that they, too, might own slaves at some point in their life. Above, this famous photo of a slave, Gordon , deeply scarred from whipping by an overseer, was distributed by abolitionists to illustrate what they saw as the barbarism of Southern society. Second, small free farmers in the South often embraced racism , making them unlikely agents for internal democratic reforms in the South. White racism in the South was sustained by official systems of repression such as the "slave codes" and elaborate codes of speech, behavior, and social practices illustrating the subordination of blacks to whites. For example, the " slave patrols " were among the institutions bringing together southern whites of all classes in support of the prevailing economic and racial order. Serving as slave "patrollers" and "overseers" offered white southerners positions of power and honor. Slave "patrollers" and "overseers" also won prestige in their communities. Policing and punishing blacks who transgressed the regimentation of slave society was a valued community service in the South, where the fear of free blacks threatening law and order figured heavily in the public discourse of the period. Southern tradesmen often depended on the richest planters for steady work. Such dependency effectively deterred many white non-slaveholders from engaging in any political activity that was not in the interest of the large slaveholders. Furthermore, whites of varying social class, including poor whites and "plain folk" who worked outside or in the periphery of the market economy and therefore lacked any real economic interest in the defense of slavery might nonetheless be linked to elite planters through extensive kinship networks. Since inheritance in the South was often unequitable and generally favored eldest sons , it was not uncommon for a poor white person to be perhaps the first cousin of the richest plantation owner of his county and to share the same militant support of slavery as his richer relatives. Finally, there was no secret ballot at the time anywhere in the United States this innovation did not become widespread in the U. For a typical white Southerner, this meant that so much as casting a ballot against the wishes of the establishment meant running the risk of being socially ostracized. Increasingly dependent on the North for manufactured goods, for commercial services, and for loans, and increasingly cut off from the flourishing agricultural regions of the Northwest, they faced the prospects of a growing free labor and abolitionist movement in the North. Davis refutes the argument that Southern culture was different from that of Northern states or that it was a cause of the war, stating that "Socially and culturally the North and South were not much different. They prayed to the same deity, spoke the same language, shared the same ancestry, sang the same songs. National triumphs and catastrophes were shared by both. Slavery demarked not just their labor and economic situations, but power itself in the new republic. Southerners waged a vitriolic response to political change in the North. Slaveholding interests sought to uphold their constitutional rights in the territories and to maintain sufficient political strength to repulse

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"hostile" and "ruinous" legislation. Behind this shift was the growth of the cotton textile industry in the North and in Europe, which left slavery more important than ever to the Southern economy. They saw a vast growing abolitionist movement after the success of *The Liberator* in by William Lloyd Garrison. The fear was a race war by blacks that would massacre whites especially in Black Belt counties where whites were a small minority. Searching for Biblical passages endorsing slavery and forming economic, sociological, historical and scientific arguments, slavery went from being a "necessary evil" to a "positive good". The *First an Inferior Race: The Latter Its Normal Condition*—setting out the arguments the title would suggest—was an attempt to apply scientific support to the Southern arguments in favor of race-based slavery. As industrial capitalism gained momentum in the North, Southern writers emphasized whatever aristocratic traits they valued but often did not practice in their own society: This supported their argument that slavery provided a more humane society than industrial labor. He advocated enslaving Northern factory workers, for their own benefit. Abraham Lincoln, on the other hand, denounced such Southern insinuations that Northern wage earners were fatally fixed in that condition for life. To Free Soilers, the stereotype of the South was one of a diametrically opposite, static society in which the slave system maintained an entrenched anti-democratic aristocracy. McPherson, exceptionalism applied not to the South but to the North after the North ended slavery and launched an industrial revolution that led to urbanization, which in turn led to increased education, which in its own turn gave ever-increasing strength to various reform movements but especially abolitionism. The *Charleston Mercury* read that on the issue of slavery the North and South "are not only two Peoples, but they are rival, hostile Peoples. We are not engaged in a Quixotic fight for the rights of man Nevins synthesized contending accounts emphasizing moral, cultural, social, ideological, political, and economic issues. In doing so, he brought the historical discussion back to an emphasis on social and cultural factors. Nevins pointed out that the North and the South were rapidly becoming two different peoples, a point made also by historian Avery Craven. At the root of these cultural differences was the problem of slavery, but fundamental assumptions, tastes, and cultural aims of the regions were diverging in other ways as well. More specifically, the North was rapidly modernizing in a manner threatening to the South. They fought to preserve their constitutional liberties against the perceived Northern threat to overthrow them. The ascension to power of the Republican Party, with its ideology of competitive, egalitarian free-labor capitalism, was a signal to the South that the Northern majority had turned irrevocably towards this frightening, revolutionary future. Watson has synthesized research on antebellum southern social, economic, and political history. Resultant "doubts and frustrations" provided fertile soil for the argument that southern rights and liberties were menaced by Black Republicanism. Thornton contends that Alabama was engulfed in a severe crisis long before Deeply held principles of freedom, equality, and autonomy, as expressed in Republican values appeared threatened, especially during the s, by the relentless expansion of market relations and commercial agriculture. Alabamians were thus, he judged, prepared to believe the worst once Lincoln was elected. Frederick Douglass The politicians of the s were acting in a society in which the traditional restraints that suppressed sectional conflict in the s and s—the most important of which being the stability of the two-party system—were being eroded as this rapid extension of democracy went forward in the North and South. Historians agree that political involvement was a larger concern to the average American in the s than today. Politics was, in one of its functions, a form of mass entertainment, a spectacle with rallies, parades, and colorful personalities. Leading politicians, moreover, often served as a focus for popular interests, aspirations, and values. By , they were mostly gone, and politics divided four ways. Republicans controlled most Northern states with a strong Democratic minority. The Democrats were split North and South and fielded two tickets in Southern non-Democrats tried different coalitions; most supported the Constitutional Union party in With the exception of South Carolina, whose convention election did not even offer the option of "no secession" but rather "no secession without the collaboration of other states", the Southern conventions were dominated by Unionists who voted down articles of secession. While an economic basis to the sectional crisis was popular among the "Progressive school" of historians from the s to the s, few professional historians now subscribe to this

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explanation. Craig, "In fact, numerous studies by economic historians over the past several decades reveal that economic conflict was not an inherent condition of North-South relations during the antebellum era and did not cause the Civil War. The three major attempts at compromise, the Crittenden Compromise, the Corwin Amendment and the Washington Peace Conference, addressed only the slavery-related issues of fugitive slave laws, personal liberty laws, slavery in the territories and interference with slavery within the existing slave states. Huston emphasizes the role of slavery as an economic institution. Understanding the relations between wealth, slavery, and property rights in the South provides a powerful means of understanding southern political behavior leading to disunion. First, the size dimensions of slavery are important to comprehend, for slavery was a colossal institution. Second, the property rights argument was the ultimate defense of slavery, and white southerners and the proslavery radicals knew it. Third, the weak point in the protection of slavery by property rights was the federal government. Fourth, the intense need to preserve the sanctity of property rights in Africans led southern political leaders to demand the nationalization of slavery—the condition under which slaveholders would always be protected in their property holdings. Any chance that the South would industrialize was over. The South, Midwest, and Northeast had quite different economic structures. They traded with each other and each became more prosperous by staying in the Union, a point many businessmen made in 1850. Beard in the 1890s made a highly influential argument to the effect that these differences caused the war rather than slavery or constitutional debates. He saw the industrial Northeast forming a coalition with the agrarian Midwest against the Plantation South. Critics challenged his image of a unified Northeast and said that the region was in fact highly diverse with many different competing economic interests. In 1861, most business interests in the Northeast opposed war [citation needed]. After 1861, only a few mainstream historians accepted the Beard interpretation, though it was accepted by libertarian economists. By contrast, Southerners described free labor as "greasy mechanics, filthy operators, small-fisted farmers, and moonstruck theorists". Indeed, opposition to homestead laws was far more common in secessionist rhetoric than opposition to tariffs. After the American Revolution and the disestablishment of government-sponsored churches, the U.S. Without centralized church authorities, American Protestantism was heavily reliant on the Bible, which was read in the standard 19th-century Reformed hermeneutic of "common sense", literal interpretation as if the Bible were speaking directly about the modern American situation instead of events that occurred in a much different context, millennia ago. It was never denounced by Jesus, who made slavery a model of discipleship. Mk 10:65 The Apostle Paul supported slavery, counseling obedience to earthly masters Eph 6:6: Because slaves were to remain in their present state unless they could win their freedom 1 Cor 7:21: The abolitionist north had a difficult time matching the pro-slavery south passage for passage. For our purposes, it is important to realize that the South won this crucial contest with the North by using the prevailing hermeneutic, or method of interpretation, on which both sides agreed. So decisive was its triumph that the South mounted a vigorous counterattack on the abolitionists as infidels who had abandoned the plain words of Scripture for the secular ideology of the Enlightenment. The theological crisis occasioned by reasoning like [conservative Presbyterian theologian James H. Many Northern Bible-readers and not a few in the South felt that slavery was evil. They somehow knew the Bible supported them in that feeling. Yet when it came to using the Bible as it had been used with such success to evangelize and civilize the United States, the sacred page was snatched out of their hands. Trust in the Bible and reliance upon a Reformed, literal hermeneutic had created a crisis that only bullets, not arguments, could resolve. The question of the Bible and slavery in the era of the Civil War was never a simple question. The issue involved the American expression of a Reformed literal hermeneutic, the failure of hermeneutical alternatives to gain cultural authority, and the exercise of deeply entrenched intuitive racism, as well as the presence of Scripture as an authoritative religious book and slavery as an inherited social-economic relationship. The North—the North—forced to fight on unfriendly terrain that it had helped to create—the North—lost the exegetical war.

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## Chapter 3 : The South Tyrol identity crisis: to live in Italy, but feel Austrian | Education | The Guardian

*Compared to the North AWAY DOWN SOUTH This concentration of investment in slaves explained why planters owned only 12 percent of southern manufacturing stock in even though the profits of southern manufacturers exceeded the national mean in both and By no means were all the differences between North and South economic.*

Large-scale war fought between the Northern states of the Union and eleven Southern slaveholding states of the Confederacy that declared their secession from the United States Date: Principally in the southern United States Significance: Immigrants played leading roles in the Civil War and the reconstruction of the South. Apart from slavery, few issues were as important in Civil War America as immigrants and immigration policy. Immigrant settlement patterns in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century demonstrated an ever-deepening division between the North and the South that would soon explode into open war. Federal troops firing on draft rioters in New York City. Gay Brothers From the founding of the United States through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, white American culture was generally homogenous; most whites were Protestant and could trace their ancestry to Great Britain. Several of the Founders, including Thomas Jefferson, were ambivalent about immigration and argued that it should be limited to those who were culturally and politically similar to native-born Americans. Local reactions were sometimes extreme. In the same decades, antipathy toward immigrants led to the development of the Know-Nothing Party, whose dominant plank was the restriction of immigration. Immigrants on the Eve of the Civil War Despite the prejudice and violence, immigration increased more than percent from until , with about three million immigrants coming to the United States. Almost 90 percent settled in the North or the West, where either jobs or cheap land, or both, were plentiful. German and Hungarian farmers tended to settle in the central and upper Midwest. By , more than 1. Unskilled and semiskilled immigrants from Ireland, Wales, and Italy settled in urban or industrialized areas in Pennsylvania, New York, and New England. These immigrants, particularly the Irish, often found themselves competing against nativeborn white Americans and free blacks for lowpaying jobs. The million Irish immigrants who came to America were survivors of the Great Irish Famine and could be both tenacious and incredibly brutal, as events in would show. From until , relatively few immigrants settled in the South. The southern political elite opposed homesteading and government spending for infrastructure, such as canal or railroad construction. Further, there was less capital invested in industrial development in the South, thus fewer factory jobs for immigrants. Despite these facts, there were some immigrant communities in the South, especially in the cities. Besides the Irish, New Orleans had an economically strong community of free black immigrants from Haiti. The vast numbers of immigrants who flooded into the North and West during the nineteenth century provided evidence of a vibrant, blended economy of small farms and urban centers with brisk entrepreneurial and industrial sectors. Far fewer immigrants settled in the South, where the single-crop farming economy was strong, but where job creation was less rapid, and where slave labor limited employment opportunities for unskilled laborers. During the CivilWar, immigrants provided a source of manpower for the North but proved troublesome as the war dragged on. Finally, after the war, northern and southern politicians contended over immigration policy in their efforts to reconstruct the South. Many of these soldiers resigned to serve in the Confederate armed forces. To expand the northern army and to build the southern one, each national government depended upon militia troops raised by the states. Fortunately for the states, there were literally hundreds of various semiprofessional military organizations connected haphazardly with various local governments. In the North, many of these had an ethnic flavor. When war broke out, these drilling societies and irregular companies, native-born or immigrant, were usually integrated into various state militias. Confederate and Union Territories During Civil War Immigrants could find themselves enrolled in a predominantly ethnic unit in another way. In , most states encouraged local recruiting, allowing hundreds of men from small towns and counties to form their own companies and elect their own officers. Where large immigrant communities existed, new militia companies were predominantly foreign born. For example, the

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Ninth Ohio Volunteer Infantry consisted almost entirely of German immigrants, many with previous military experience in Germany. In all, about 100,000 German immigrants served in the Union forces. About 100,000 Irish-born soldiers served in the Union forces, with about one-third serving in New York State forces. Other famous Irish units included the Irish Legion: One polyglot regiment from New York—the Garibaldi Guards—consisted of roughly three hundred Germans, three hundred Hungarians, one hundred Swiss, one hundred Italians, one hundred French, and one hundred combined Spanish and Portuguese. Although immigrants also served in the Confederate forces, there were almost no distinctive immigrant units. Immigration patterns before the war explain this difference. Far fewer immigrants lived in the South, and their communities were smaller. A community of a few dozen families could hardly be expected to furnish the hundred volunteers necessary to form a company. In addition, some of the larger immigrant communities—such as the free black immigrants from Haiti in New Orleans—did not volunteer for the Confederacy. Few immigrants were motivated to enlist by the political rhetoric of either the North or the South. In fact, as historians Richard F. Welch and Susannah U. Bruce point out, immigrants were more often moved to enlist by economic need or loyalty to neighbors, family, and friends who were themselves enlisting. Some Irish immigrants enlisted for military experience, hoping eventually to drive the English out of Ireland. Other immigrants were motivated by fellow expatriates who personally appealed to them to enlist. In 1861, the famous Irish general Thomas Francis Meagher was sent on many recruiting trips throughout New York to exhort Irish volunteers to enlist. Immigrants on the Home Front

As the war developed, northern strategy demanded ever-increasing numbers of soldiers, yet the U. In 1861, northern efforts to win the war were fruitless, marked by increasingly costly campaigns that failed to defeat the Confederacy. Public frustrations with repeated military disasters were intensified by the press. In 1861, many northern newspapers ran hawkish editorials demanding victory at all costs. By 1862, these were replaced by dovish pleading for peace at any price. In light of defeatism in the press and military disasters in the field, voluntary enlistments plummeted. As a result, individual states in the North resorted to drafts to meet their federal quotas. As one might expect, these worsened an already sour public mood. Immigrant communities throughout the North expressed their frustrations violently. In 1863, there were antidraft riots in four states, including immigrant areas in the coalfields of Pennsylvania and the German American farming communities of Wisconsin. In each case, federal troops had to be sent in to quell the violence. With lessons unlearned, the U. For three days, a largely Irish working-class mob plundered New York City, looting, burning, attacking police and city officials, and killing any black person it could find. The New York City riot demonstrated the intensity of Irish immigrant anger over related issues: In short, the Irish of New York City—who competed with free black people for the lowest-paying industrial jobs, and who had themselves experienced extensive prejudice—believed that they were being forced to die so that others could be free to come North and take their jobs. Eventually, the riot was suppressed, and even the most militant immigrants learned that federal draft laws did not target them. In fact, far more of the rural, native-born poor were forced into service than their urban immigrant counterparts. As one might expect, urban industrial workers were often exempted for economic reasons. The structural challenge faced by the federal government from 1861 until 1865 was to expand the economy while replacing the vast numbers of experienced farmers and workers who were now in uniform. To meet this challenge, the federal government introduced new legislation to promote increased immigration to meet the demands of the wartime economy. In 1862, Congress passed a homestead law and a law allowing immigration for the purposes of labor contracts. Previous versions of these bills had been proposed before the Civil War but had always been blocked by legislators in the South. As a result of these laws, immigration surged once again, with subsequent railroad expansion, as well as increased production of food, textiles, clothing, and military technologies. After the war, the status of certain immigrant groups increased tremendously in both the North and the South. Immigrants were perceived as a crucial element in various competing strategies for economic recovery in the South. Northern politicians who loathed the prewar planter aristocracy and feared their return to power passed the Southern Homestead Act of 1866 with the goal of breaking up the larger plantations into small family farms that could be parceled out to new immigrants. Ironically,

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southern politicians also hoped for increased immigration of northern or western European immigrants. They hoped to increase immigration to the South in order to flood the labor market and drive down wages in the South, thereby bringing the newly liberated slaves once more into economic subservience. With this goal in mind, most southern states founded commissions to market the region to prospective European immigrants. Although pursued vigorously, these efforts were usually unsuccessful. Of the three million immigrants who came to America from 1820 to 1860, almost none settled in the South. Some historians contend that these efforts failed because they were founded on the unrealistic belief that immigrants would passively accept the sort of living conditions and treatment that slaves had been forced to endure. In 1825, an Alabama planter persuaded a group of thirty Swedish immigrants to settle on his plantation. He fed, housed, and clothed them as he had formerly provided for his slaves. Nevertheless, they all quit within a week. Meyers Further Reading Anbinder, Tyler. *Immigrants and the Federal Conscription of 1862: A Study of conscription records demonstrating that immigrant groups were not unfairly targeted by federal draft laws in 1862*. *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish- American Volunteers and the Union Army*, New York University Press, 1998. Recounts the motives and exploits of Irish immigrants during the war. One of the best studies of the politics of the era. *The Irish in the South*, University of North Carolina Press, 1998. One of the few modern studies of southern immigrants. Kamphoefner, Walter, and Wolfgang Helbich, eds. *Germans in the Civil War*:

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## Chapter 4 : The Women's Rights Movement

*Contrary to country songs, T-shirts, ball caps and even geography, no one is born Scots-Irish, country, hillbilly, redneck or even Southern by the grace of God. It's a learned condition. It's a*

Religion in the Civil War: Yet it immediately raised to national crisis a conflict that had been spilling blood regionally for decades. Both North and South looked to God for meaning, and each side believed "with equal fervor and certitude" that God was on its side. Many ministers, generals, leaders, and editors went so far as to proclaim that God had ordained the war and would determine its length, its damages, and its outcome. The victor would show, in other words, whose side God really supported. In fact, the South claimed to be a uniquely Christian nation. National fast days had long been quintessentially northern. This language of Christian nationhood dissolved the barrier between religious and secular speech in the South, and set the stage for a moral battle that declared a declined spirituality in the North, a region "according to southern voices" now run by infidels and fanatics under a godless government. In a thanksgiving sermon preached the same day in Richmond, Virginia, at St. God has given us of the South today a fresh and golden opportunity "and so a most solemn command" to realize that form of government in which the just, constitutional rights of each and all are guaranteed to each and all. Such declarations, once rare in the South, would now become a staple of the religious press, the civilian preacher, the military chaplain "and the politician. For the remainder of Confederate history, nearly three-quarters of all published sermons were thanksgiving, public fast or other war-related sermons, and the number of sermons actually in print represented only a fraction of the total. Not only did church-goers hear the message that their war was a holy one, but so did virtually anyone who read a newspaper, attended a public gathering or served in a military camp or on the battlefield. The net effect of this was to make the southern women ferocious in their opposition to the North and their insistence that their men keep fighting. When they went to work in the mills and factories left unmanned by war, when they took over the roles of protector and provider at home, they understood themselves as vital players in a divine experiment of Christian nationhood. Furthermore, some averred, God had ordained slavery as a punishment for African paganism. Ironically, this very conviction led Southern educators to talk seriously for the first time about educating the black people among them. Baptist ministers, especially, sought to pass resolutions encouraging their congregations to work politically toward repealing laws banning slave literacy. Within the privacy of the southern slave quarters, the Bible told a different tale. The slaves had their preachers too, as well as their own secret religious gatherings. In fact, there was strong practical incentive to do so, because often it was only through obedience and subservience that slaves avoided the lash and other penalties. Yet at the end of the day, slave religion emphasized that God would change their earthly situation and punish the cruelty of the slave holders. It strengthened their resolve to follow the Underground Railroad in the face of untold risks and dangers toward what they supposed would be a new life in freedom. Their religious beliefs became vocal in their spirituals "songs full of their pain, sorrow and resignation, their hope, joy and rebellion. While the runaway slaves sought the protection of the northern army, buoyed by religious messages of freedom and redemption, the armies of the South fought to maintain their right to own those slaves and otherwise to determine their own destinies, both politically and economically. As good news for the Confederacy dwindled, the religious press filled the lackluster newspaper columns with ringing stories of revival in the military. With such news to cling to, the demoralized populace of the South now looked to the army for their spiritual hope. Meetings are still held in every part of the army; and in many, if not all the brigades, meeting-houses have been constructed for their own use, and faithful chaplains nightly preach to large and deeply attentive congregations. Did they turn to religion out of a growing certainty that theirs was a lost war? Perhaps some did, but it was far more complicated than that. Facing failure, they needed to know that they had not fought in vain. Jackson rallied his troops with his conviction that God would give the victory to them. When he died on the battlefield, his memory and the strength of his

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conviction lived on. When all was said and done, religion formed the backbone of the South in the Civil War. It affirmed the spirituality of the southern church, and it gave the white South its self-proclaimed sacred identity. God had not deserted the South, they declared, but had rather disciplined them in a refining fire that would hone them for a higher calling, yet to be revealed. For the black South, religion formed a mighty rallying point for freedom fighters and the cause of equality. It empowered African Americans with a cultural and shared language that would fuel their entry into leadership, civil rights, the arts, and education. Regional biases live on, so where you teach may play a part in the views your students have formed. An important facet of your work in presenting the Civil War from the Southern perspective will be in helping your students to put aside their biases for the sake of a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the people, whether northern or southern, black or white, religious or not, who participated in the conflict. In order to do this, you may need to give your students an opportunity to express their opinions. Best case, you can set up a chart and write out the various views represented in the class. This is the first step in moving class discussion toward an evenhanded, contextualized discussion of the Civil War, and especially of how religion informed the people engaged in the conflict. You may want to give your students the opportunity to do some research on antebellum southern life. Much has been made of plantation life on the grand scale that cotton and sugar produced. But the majority of southerners did not live on huge plantations. Townspeople often employed white and freed black workers to run their businesses and factories. What all southerners had in common was their dependence on the slave economy. They viewed the North, with its superior resources and industrialization, as exploitive and irreligious. Make sure your students understand that the North—and especially New England—had made itself obnoxious to the South with regard to expansion across the continent. Politicians, ministers, and abolitionists used the occasion of western settlement to preach and act against not only slavery but also the economy that depended on it. Southerners did not share the long-held northern assumptions about a special status in the eyes of God that could only be realized in a single Union. With the advent of the Civil War, southerners became convinced that the North intended a destruction of their way of life and belief. In your discussion, remind your students that people make sense to themselves. Southerners, raised in a slave economy and versed in biblical language that had been amply applied to the context of that economy, truly believed that they were the good guys. Those in the North, of course, believed the same of themselves. Help your students step into the shoes of the ordinary soldier, sometimes a mere child, sometimes facing enemy soldiers who in other circumstances would have been friends and family; the woman left at home with children and often hostile slaves, aware that enemy troops might be near at hand ready to steal or kill; the leaders whose responsibility it was to defend home and wealth and nation; the African Americans who heard the cry of freedom, but faced deadly odds. It is not a chess game, with canny hands moving inanimate pieces on a playing board and discarding the pieces only to set them back up for the next contest. War is a cruel, wasteful, and terrifying engagement between opposing forces that often must kill, or be killed. The Civil War was the single most destructive war in the history of this nation. In fact, it equals all other wars combined. Let your students discuss the ways in which religion would affect people under circumstances of war such as these. To aid in their understanding and to help them build their ideas and arguments, refer them to the fine online sources available. For a more immediate sense of the conflict, take them on a visual tour through the Library of Congress, American Memory, Selected Civil War Photographs. Ed Ayres and the University of Virginia have made available a remarkable archive of two communities during the Civil War—one North and one South—at The Valley of the Shadow that could give your students experience in examining primary resource material for a closer understanding of the differing points of view. He is the author of several books, including *Upon the Altar of the Nation*:

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## Chapter 5 : U.S. Civil War » Immigration to the United States

*nullification crisis of further implanted haunting fears in white southern minds conjuring up nightmares of abolitionist devils and black incendiaries -jailings, whippings, and lynchings greeted rational efforts to discuss slavery in the south.*

In the drama of Texas history the period of early statehood, from 1845 to 1861, appears largely as an interlude between two great adventures—the Republic of Texas and the Civil War. These fifteen years did indeed lack the excitement and romance of the experiment in nationhood and the "Lost Cause" of the Confederacy. Events and developments during the period, however, were critical in shaping the Lone Star State as part of the antebellum South. By 1845 Texas was so like the other Southern states economically, socially, and politically that it joined them in secession and war. Antebellum Texans cast their lot with the Old South and in the process gave their state an indelibly Southern heritage. When President Anson Jones lowered the flag of the republic for the last time in February 1846, the framework for the development of Texas over the next fifteen years was already constructed. Their economy, dependent on agriculture, was concentrated first on subsistence farming and herding and then on production of cotton as a cash crop. This meant the introduction of what southerners called their "Peculiar Institution"—slavery. Political institutions were also characteristically Southern. As befitted an agricultural state led by Jacksonians, the constitution prohibited banking and required a two-thirds vote of the legislature to charter any private corporation. Article VIII guaranteed the institution of slavery. With the foundations of their society in place and the turbulence of the republic behind them, Texans in anticipated years of expansion and prosperity. Differences between the two nations arose from a variety of issues, but disagreement over the southwestern boundary of Texas provided the spark for war. Mexico contended that Texas reached only to the Nueces River, whereas after the republic had claimed the Rio Grande as the border. Zachary Taylor to occupy the disputed area. Approximately 5,000 Texans served with United States forces in the conflict that followed, fighting for both General Taylor in northern Mexico and Gen. Winfield Scott on his campaign to capture Mexico City. Victory in the Mexican War soon led to a dispute concerning the boundary between Texas and the newly acquired Mexican Cession. Wood sent Spruce M. Baird to organize the local government and serve as its first judge. The people of Santa Fe, however, proved unwilling to accept Texas authority, and United States troops in the area supported them. In July 1846, after failing to organize the county, Baird left. At the same time a bitter controversy was developing in Congress between representatives of the North and the South concerning the expansion of slavery into the territory taken from Mexico. President Zachary Taylor, who took office in March 1845, proposed to handle the Mexican Cession by omitting the territorial stage and admitting California and New Mexico directly into the Union. His policy angered southerners in general and Texans in particular. First, both California and New Mexico were expected to prohibit slavery, a development that would give the free states numerical superiority in the Union. They urged Texas to stand firm on the boundary issue, and the Mississippi state legislature called for a convention in Nashville during June "to devise and adopt some means of resistance" to Northern aggression. Ultra-Southern spokesmen in Texas took up the cry, demanding that their state send delegates to Nashville and take all steps necessary to prove that it was not "submissionist. Neighbors was sent to organize the government there. The legislature also provided for the election in March of eight delegates to attend the Nashville convention for "consultation and mutual action on the subject of slavery and Southern Rights. Moderation prevailed, however, in Washington, Nashville, and Texas. By September Congress had worked out a compromise to settle the crisis. After much wrangling, Senator James A. Some Texans bitterly opposed the "Infamous Texas Bribery Bill," but extremism was on the wane across the state and the South as a whole. He made fun of the election to choose delegates to the Nashville convention. The vote had been called too late to allow effective campaigning anyhow, and of those elected only former governor J. Pinckney Henderson actually attended the meeting in Tennessee. Incidentally, in this same election Texans approved the permanent choice of Austin as state capital. The Nashville convention, although it urged Texas to stand by its claim to

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New Mexico, generally adopted a moderate tone. The crisis demonstrated the existence of strong Unionist sentiment in Texas, but it also revealed that the Lone Star State, in spite of its location on the southwestern frontier, was identified with the Old South. Bell during the crisis: A state census in 1850 reported the population at 1,000,000. Three years later a far more complete United States census the first taken in Texas enumerated 1,200,000 people, excluding Indians, in the state. Immigrants arriving in North Texas came primarily from the upper South and states of the old Northwest such as Illinois. Settlers entering through the Marshall-Jefferson area and Nacogdoches were largely from the lower South. On the Gulf Coast, Galveston and Indianola served as entry points for many lower southerners. Numerous foreign-born immigrants, especially Germans, also entered through these ports during the late 1840s. The Texas to which these migrants came was a frontier state in the classic sense. That is, it had a line of settlement advancing westward as pioneers populated and cultivated new land. Also, as in most American frontiers, settlers faced problems with Indians. By the late 1840s Texas frontiersmen had reached the country of the fierce Comanches and were no doubt relieved that, since annexation, the task of defending the frontier rested with the United States Army. Within two years, under the pressure to open additional lands and do a better job of protecting existing settlements, federal forces built seven new forts approximately 100 miles to the west of the existing posts. This new line of defense, when completed in 1850, ran from Fort Belknap, on the Brazos River, to Fort Clark, at the site of present-day Brackettville. Conflict with the Comanches continued for the remainder of the decade as federal troops, joined at times by companies of Texas Rangers, sought to protect the frontier. They were never entirely successful, however, and Indian warfare continued after the Civil War. With the Comanches and the lack of water and wood on the western plains both hampering its advance, the Texas frontier did not move during the 1850s beyond the seven forts completed at the onset of the decade. Areas immediately to the east of the military posts continued to fill, but the rush westward slowed. In the line of settlement ran irregularly from north to south through Clay, Young, Erath, Brown, Llano, Kerr, and Uvalde counties. The great majority lived well to the east in areas where moving onto unclaimed land and fighting Indians were largely things of the past by 1850. These Texans, not frontiersmen in the traditional sense, were yet part of an extremely significant frontier—the southwesterly march of slaveholding, cotton-producing farmers and planters. Anglo-American settlers had sought from the beginning to build a plantation society in the region stretching from the Red River through the East Texas timberlands to the fertile soils along the Trinity, Brazos, Colorado, and lesser rivers that emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. During the 1850s this cotton frontier developed rapidly. At the census of 1850, 95 percent of the 1,200,000 Texans lived in the eastern two-fifths of the state, an area the size of Alabama and Mississippi combined. The population had far greater ethnic diversity than was common elsewhere in the South. There were large numbers of Germans in the south central counties, many Mexican Americans from San Antonio southward, and smaller groups of Poles, Czechs, and other foreign-born immigrants scattered through the interior. Nevertheless, natives of the lower South constituted the largest group of immigrants to Texas during the 1850s, and southerners headed three of every four households there in 1850. Their numbers rose from 58,000 in 1840 to 100,000 in 1850, a growth of 70 percent, during the decade. The expansion of slavery correlated closely with soaring cotton production, which rose from fewer than 60,000 bales in 1840 to more than 1,000,000 in 1850. In 1850 of the nineteen counties having 1,000 or more slaves—ten in northeastern Texas and nine stretching inland along the Brazos and Colorado rivers—fifteen produced 1,000 or more bales of cotton. The census of 1850 reported sixty-four counties having 1,000 or more slaves, and all except eight produced 1,000 or more bales. Only six counties in this area managed to grow at least 1,000 bales of cotton without a matching number of slaves. Plantations in Brazoria and Matagorda counties produced significant sugar crops, but elsewhere farmers and planters concentrated on cotton as a source of cash income. By 1850 King Cotton had the eastern two-fifths of Texas, excepting only the north central prairie area around Dallas and the plains south of the San Antonio River, firmly within his grasp. Perhaps, as Charles W. Ramsdell suggested, the cotton frontier was approaching its natural limits in Texas during the 1850s. The soil and climate of western Texas precluded successful plantation agriculture, and proximity to Mexico, with its offer of freedom for runaways, reinforced these geographical limitations. In reality, however, regardless of these apparent natural boundaries, slavery

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and cotton had great potential for continued expansion in Texas after Growth had not ended anywhere in the state at that time, and the north central prairie area had not even been opened for development. The fertile soils of the Blackland Prairie and Grand Prairie counties would produce hundreds of thousands of bales of cotton once adequate transportation reached that far inland, and railroads would soon have met that need. The two prairie regions combined were more than three-fourths as large as the state of South Carolina but had only 6 percent as many slaves in The cotton frontier of antebellum Texas constituted a virtual empire for slavery, and such editors as John F. Marshall of the Austin State Gazette wrote confidently of the day when the state would have two million slaves or even more. Only a minority of antebellum Texans, however, actually owned slaves and participated directly in the cash-crop economy. Only one family in four held so much as a single slave, and more than half of those had fewer than five slaves. Agriculture developed rapidly in antebellum Texas, as evidenced by a steady expansion in the number of farms, the amount of improved acreage, the value of livestock, and the size of crops produced. Slave labor contributed heavily to that growth. On the other hand, during the s Texas developed very slowly in terms of industry, commerce, and urban growth. In both and only about 1 percent of Texas family heads had manufacturing occupations. With industry and commerce so limited, no urban area in the state reached a population of 10, during the antebellum years. Antebellum Texans failed to diversify their economy for several reasons. Part of the explanation was geographical: Slavery appears also to have retarded the rise of industry and commerce. Slave labor made the plantation productive and profitable and reduced the need for the invention and manufacture of farm machinery. Planters concentrated on self-sufficiency and on the cultivation of cotton, a crop that quickly passed out of Texas for processing elsewhere with a minimum involvement of local merchants along the way. Opportunities for industry and commerce were thus reduced by the success of the plantation. Moreover, the planters, who were, after all, the richest and most enterprising men in Texas and who would have had to lead any move to diversify the economy, benefited enough financially and socially from combining land and slave labor that they generally saw no need to risk investments in industry or commerce. Planters did have an interest in improving transportation in their state. From the s onward Texans had utilized the major rivers from the Red River to the Rio Grande to move themselves and their goods and crops, but periodic low water, sand bars, and rafts of logs and brush made transportation by water highly unreliable. Moving supplies and cotton on Texas roads, which became quagmires in wet weather, was simply too slow and expensive.

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## Chapter 6 : England's identity crisis: what does it mean to be English? | UK news | The Guardian

*The South Tyrol identity crisis: to live in Italy, but feel Austrian In Bolzano, an Italian mountain town on the Austrian border, most residents want independence from Italy and a right to speak.*

The southern states were last to join the bandwagon. The early feminists, members of the upper middle class, based their agenda on human equality and gained political support by aligning themselves with the abolitionists. They maintained that women had the same rights to political, religious, economic and social independence as men simply because they were no different from men. The early platform was articulated in a speech written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in In her speech, titled "The Solitude of Self" , Ms. Stanton stated that women deserved complete sovereignty because they, like men, had only themselves to rely on in times of crisis. However, they were separated on ideological lines. The NWSA continued to seek to transform the ideological foundations of the prevailing patriarchal society, balancing the feminine and masculine scales. The more conservative, religion based AWSA emphasized the differences between men and women, claiming that the moral and caring qualities of women were better suited for reform movements in areas such as child labor, urban sanitation, and temperance Green p. The climate in the south was ripe for the seeds of change to take root and the first wave of feminism rolled over Dixie. The clouds of change that the northern feminists brought with them were not without opposition. The eradication of the plantation system had shifted towards increased urbanization and industrialization. Textile and tobacco mills, distilleries and other industries were growing in urban centers, creating professional and working classes. Women began dribbling into the paid work force. Women took up the call for social reform and began to voice their concerns about the dangers of factories, the exploitation of child workers, and domestic abuse. Existing laws made it very difficult for women to own businesses and excluded them from politics and public positions. Still, postwar economic change in the late nineteenth century mirrored changes that had taken place a generation or two earlier in the north. The professional class of white collar workers emerged to provide services to the industrial elite as doctors, lawyers and bankers. The women of these families ranked high in the suffragette movement in the s. The growing cities also provided employment for women as they helped to fill post war labor shortages. Although few working women joined local and state organizations, their plight spread the suffrage sentiment throughout the middle class. In , the NAWSA attended the Louisiana constitutional convention which resulted in partial suffrage to tax paying women. Another factor that led to greater activism at this time was heightened opportunity for higher education for women. There was a considerable number of college educated women in the Southern suffrage movement. Until the late 19th century, women had been excluded from higher education. Southern women were at least a generation behind Northern women in their opportunity to receive a college education. Again it was the women from the new professional class that began to attend college at the turn of the century. Very few came from the plantation and industrial elite or the working class. If a woman wanted an education equal to that of a man, she usually attended a northern school. They also lagged a generation behind the northeastern states. The first club, was formed in New York state in Most activism in the south centered around reform in areas that were traditionally female such as child labor, urban sanitation and temperance. The membership of most clubs was made up of the professional women with a smattering from the urban elite. Although conditions in the South were favorable for the arrival of the woman suffrage movement, there was also opposition from the political and industrial elite. These preservers of the antebellum society ideal, upheld the Southern lady as morally virtuous and happily subjugated to husband and hearth. Northern feminists were out to destroy a homogeneous, virtuous society with their liberal, atheistic, and materialistic views. It was another case of the north imposing itself on the south in a period of already unwelcome change. Many white southerners wanted to preserve their superior southern culture whose cornerstone was white supremacy in the guise of state sovereignty Wheeler p. Racism was definitely an issue in the s suffrage movement. The national woman suffrage movement seemed to threaten the white political

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elite, who was devoted to maintaining state sovereignty and the disenfranchisement of blacks. In actuality, NAWSA was lobbying southern organizations to join their leagues as a source of suffrage unity, not to change their ideology. When they were challenged by a local newspaper to defend their position on the "Negro Question," NAWSA responded that "the right of the state is recognized within the national body and that each auxiliary state association arranges its own affairs in accordance with its own ideas and in harmony with the customs of its own section. Southerners could exclude black women from their organizations and from the polls. The traditional role of woman as the ideal of Southern virtue, compassionate and charitable was in danger from the influence of the immoral, outspoken women of the North. The preservers of the old south put the southern lady on a pedestal where she would act as preserver of Southern religion and morality and as an inspiration to her husband and children. The United Confederate Veterans literally placed young prominent virgins from each state on a pedestal at their annual reunions to eulogize the ideal woman who is loyal, and obedient, trusting solely in the protection of their men Wheeler p. The social, economic and political tides were turning in the s as Southern sisters joined their Northern siblings in the woman suffrage movement. However, the movement began to lose momentum which did not return for another decade. There were too few activists to really make a difference and the threat of a federal suffrage amendment was far from the threatening reality that it became in The social, economic and political changes that shook the South at the end of the nineteenth century greatly impacted the lives of its women. Women began to open their eyes to possibilities for themselves and their society. They recognized their ability to make an impression in the public sphere through social reform. They considered the value of continued education and experienced themselves as paid laborers. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the Southern lady, long condemned to life on a pedestal, cautiously stepped down and proudly stood her ground.

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## Chapter 7 : History of South Carolina - Wikipedia

*The Southern bolt from the Democratic Party was not principally about uniquely Southern race issues, Ackerman argues, but rather an outgrowth of the South's economic catchup with the North.*

And not just because of the medieval pointed arches, frescoed wooden chalets and strudel-scented air. People here speak in German and have a hard time replying in Italian. When they do, their strong Teutonic accent takes you aback. Locals, however, call it by its original name "South Tyrol" and many wish it were independent. She carries a yellow card in her wallet that says "German is my mother tongue". It drives me mad. I call this linguistic imperialism. In the future this could either translate into full independence from Italy or re-annexation to Austria," she says. I have a Tyrolean identity. Thirty-five miles south of Bolzano, in the town of Trento, a statue of Dante "the father of Italian language" holds his hand up against the Austro-Germanic domination. South Tyrol lies at the feet of the Dolomites and was once part of the wider Austro-Hungarian empire. Here, Italian speakers are a minority. The local flag is red and white with an imperial Austrian-style eagle in the middle. This has led to integration problems among the different communities. Even sports clubs and squads are divided according to linguistic belonging. Liberto talks about his own feelings of identity: I feel South Tyrolean. Luckily and differently from other people my age, I have both German and Italian friends and we like to go clubbing all together. The distribution of public jobs is based on a strict quota system that takes into account ethnic belonging according to the census. This means that if a school hires an Italian-speaking teacher, the next hire must be a German-speaker. Green party councillor Brigitte Foppa says: Italians feel penalised today. My kids, on the other hand, feel they belong to neither linguistic group.

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## Chapter 8 : Westward Expansion and the American Civil War - US History Scene

*South Africa's identity crisis is unique because, according to Tajfel's theories, the groups to which we belong are an important source of pride and self-esteem. Groups give us a sense of social identity: a sense of belonging in a social world.*

Reconstruction in Practice Slavery, the Economy, and Society At the time of the American revolution, slavery was a national institution; although the number of slaves was small, they lived and worked in every colony. Even before the Constitution was ratified, however, states in the North were either abolishing slavery outright or passing laws providing for gradual emancipation. The nationwide distribution of slaves also changed during this time span. By 1800, it had significantly expanded into the Deep South, particularly Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, following the spread of cotton production. Had slavery somehow ceased during that expansion, it would have been impossible for the South to meet the worldwide demand for its products. The introduction of the cotton gin resolved this problem and made the use of large numbers of field hands to work the crop economical. The principal source of slaves for the Cotton Kingdom was the Upper South, which included the states traditionally considered to be border states—Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky—as well as Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Agriculture in this part of the South was diversifying, and although tobacco and rice remained staple cash crops, more and more acreage was being devoted to wheat, corn, rye, and oats for local consumption. These cereal grains were not as labor intensive as cotton or tobacco, and planters in the region were finding themselves with more slaves than they needed. Alexandria, Virginia, became a major center of the internal slave trade, and according to one estimate, three hundred thousand slaves were sold from there into the Deep South in the two decades before the Civil War. Slavery as an economic institution. An even smaller percentage worked as laborers or craftsmen—carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths. But the overwhelming majority of slaves were field hands, picking cotton and planting and harvesting rice, tobacco, and sugar cane. The occupational distribution of slaves reflected the nature of the economy and society of the South, a region that was agricultural and rural with very little industrialization and urbanization compared to the North. Irrespective of the jobs that slaves did, slavery on the whole was profitable. The expense to planters for housing, clothing, and feeding slaves was considerably less than the value they produced. Profitability increased steadily in the first half of the nineteenth century, as prices for cash crops rose and the cost of keeping slaves remained level. The slaves themselves became a good investment. As cotton production expanded and the demand for slaves increased, their prices rose accordingly. The enterprising slave owner bought and sold slaves for an additional source of income. The image of the South as a place where plantation adjoined plantation and the entire white population owned slaves is a myth. Three quarters of the southern whites owned no slaves at all, and among those that did, most owned fewer than ten. Although the planter class, those individuals who owned twenty or more slaves to work plantations of about a thousand acres, was extremely small, it comprised the southern elite. A very few plantations were several thousand acres in size and used hundreds of slaves. The planter was an agrarian businessman, deciding how much land to put into cash crops versus foodstuffs, debating whether to buy more slaves or invest in machinery, and always keeping an eye on the market prices of his crops. Wealth, social position, and lifestyle separated the planter from the farmer who owned just a few slaves and usually labored alongside them in the fields. However, the goal of many small slaveholding farmers was to obtain more slaves and land so they could become planters themselves. While southern women were expected to be models of virtue, the men were bound by no such standards. Southern women endured the disappointment and humiliation of seeing mulatto children on the plantation who had been fathered by their husbands and sons. No laws protected slaves from rape by their owners, nor did the white men face any social consequences for their actions. The yeoman families lived much more isolated lives than their counterparts in the North and, because of their chronic shortage of cash, lacked many of the amenities that northerners

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enjoyed. Some southern yeomen, particularly younger men, rented land or hired themselves out as agricultural workers. Small farmers did not own slaves, and their prospect for acquiring enough land or money to do so was nil, but they still supported slavery out of strongly held views of racial superiority and because a large free black population would compete with them for a decent living. The lowest rung on the white social ladder was occupied by people who lived on the most marginal lands in the South—the pine barrens, swamps, and sandy hill country. Their reputed laziness was primarily due to an extremely inadequate diet; malnutrition left them susceptible to malaria, hookworm, and other diseases that produced lethargy. Slaves sometimes had better physical living conditions than poor whites. Free blacks in the South. Blacks who managed to buy their freedom or were freed by their masters, a practice outlawed throughout the South during the s, occupied a strange place in society. While a handful found financial success, even becoming landowners with slaves of their own, the majority were laborers, farm hands, domestics, factory workers, and craftsmen who never escaped poverty. Religion played an important role in the lives of free blacks, as it did for slaves, and black evangelical churches, particularly Baptist and African Methodist Episcopal AME , flourished. Perhaps because planters felt sentimental toward children they had sired with slaves, mulattos accounted for a significant percentage of the free persons of color. As a group, mulattos tended to look down on those with darker skin, whether free or slave.

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## Chapter 9 : A Southern Culture Identity Crisis | HuffPost

*The last of those ideas was floated by the previous government, only for a plan for an elected regional assembly in the north-east to be resoundingly defeated in , whereupon everything went quiet.*

Lifelong rural culture member and observer, hunter, angler and naturalist. A Southern Culture Identity Crisis

What we see today from flag waving, cap wearing, pickup driving folks is not Southern. It is country as sausage gravy and cathead biscuits, barbwire and dirt roads. Philadelphia is a bustling town and busy port with immigrants arriving regularly. Quaker Jonathan Dickinson notices a new type of immigrant in the New World, "strangers to our laws and customs, and even to our language," observes Dickinson. The young women dress in scandalous fashion, bare legged with tight blouses accentuating their form. Older women wear ankle-length dresses and full bonnets. The men are tall and lanky, wearing felt hats and loose-fitting shirts. The newcomers speak English with a strange cadence out of place and out of tune with Pennsylvanian English. They look poor but, heads held high, carry themselves with dignity and defensiveness. These were the first Scots-Irish immigrants in America, ancestors of many American citizens and a heavy influence on culture throughout the nation. What we see today in the form of camouflage hats, bearded male faces, Daisy Duke shorts and 4x4 trucks began on the cool misty British Isles, the northernmost sections of England, northeastern Ireland and western Scotland to be precise. Four British Folkways in America, discusses these people in exhaustive detail. The Scots-Irish were country dwellers, but historians disagree about the dominant economic class. A few were of the gentry class, a group that would later play important roles in the shaping and governance of the future United States. Andrew Jackson -- practical, fearsome, often cruel but a man of the people -- is the archetype of this group. Whether moderately wealthy, dirt poor, or somewhere in the middle, one thing was certain -- the Scots-Irish were defiant in the face of authority and fiercely proud. As Fischer writes, "their pride was a source of irritation to their English neighbors, who could not understand what they had to feel proud about. What other sentiment is listed among the seven deadly sins while also applauded during acceptance speeches? But still, pride is a complex feeling and sources of pride are sometimes difficult to trace. I say this as a descendent and member of Scots-Irish culture. Though the blood of many other peoples flow through my veins, the dominant culture of my birth place and current residence is decidedly Scots-Irish. As the son of an Ozarkian -- with moonshine running, bootlegging relatives and the whole bit -- growing up in rural western Arkansas, no one in my family on either side ever had much money. I grew up lower middle-class in a small town full of folks mostly the same. There are no titans of industry or politicians beyond the local in my bloodlines. Yet we were always proud of who we were. Personal pride came from my lineage. I was proud to be the son of Johnny Sr. Between those six people immediately preceding me in the bloodline are zero college degrees, no political power and very little money. But they were all "good people" in the community -- hard workers, helpful neighbors and solid if not spectacular citizens. There was family honor and pride in that. And even now, as a relatively cool headed middle-aged man, woe to the person disrespecting my family or its good name. I take it personally. Only recently did I ask myself why. Pride is a dichotomous emotion. One form, also known as hubris, is an inflated ego and delusions of grandeur. The other form, though still an inwardly directed emotion, is a sense of satisfaction and contentment in who you are as a person and even as a culture. Claims of innate pride aside, nurture is the obvious culprit. Contrary to country songs, T-shirts, ball caps and even geography, no one is born Scots-Irish, country, hillbilly, redneck or even Southern by the grace of God. My thoughts on the flag run counter to the majority here in deep-red western Arkansas. I have no illusions about what it stands for. Thompson, to its service as the symbol of choice for so many white supremacy groups today, the message is clear. The banner of people claiming superiority over another people deserves no reverence or honor. Interestingly, Confederate flags are more popular in western Arkansas today than they were during the Civil War when the region was split between Union and Confederate volunteers and sympathizers. Western Arkansas was far from unified in its allegiance to either side. This makes the current

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wave of rebel pride a bit puzzling. Western Arkansas, specifically the mountainous regions, have long been home to folks that want to be left alone. Independence is the common thread, independence from government and independence from the market. Early Ozark homesteaders were subsistence farmers. Consumer economies mere whispers of an idea from far away parts of the country. Almost everything was hand to mouth with only a portion of summer corn as the exception. This existence was common throughout rural areas of the country, particularly the Southern highlands and swamps, the marginal lands settled by people from Ulster, the Scottish highlands and border regions of Britain that made their way to Philadelphia in late summer and autumn of 1763. From there, they took to the hills of Pennsylvania, down through Appalachia and eventually into the central highlands of Missouri and Arkansas before reaching into western territories. The culture accompanying them spread beyond the hills and poured over the backwoods and backwater of frontier and agrarian regions across America. It soaked the rural South -- those Southerners too poor for ownership of plantations and slaves -- to the bone. It was the culture of a people that always seemed to settle in the wildest and poorest lands, taming the wilderness, surviving by wits and will and owning a suspicion of those in power forged from centuries of standing against various landlords and crowns. They stood tall, though often in homespun clothing, with fierce pride smoldering in their eyes. It was and is a warrior culture. What we see today from flag waving, cap wearing, pickup driving folks is not Southern. The swell of pride that to the outsider seems misplaced is the result of a culture that has always done things the hard way. The Quaker portrayal of the Scots-Irish as poor overall was inaccurate. Rough around the edges is a better description. Of course racism constitutes some appeal of the flag to some of its supporters, but many cries for recognition of heritage are sincere in their claims. For the majority of Southerners today, the Confederate battle flag has absolutely nothing to do with hate. It is about pride in ancestors overcoming obstacle after obstacle with little fanfare, living solid if not spectacular lives in support of community and family. The history behind that star covered Southern cross distorts the cries of pride not prejudice. The culture draped itself in an evil symbol and that has led to the identity crisis you see today. Blame selective history teachings and a yearning for acknowledgment. For most us, it is not a culture of racism and treason. But it is a culture sorely in need of a better symbol. Do you have information you want to share with HuffPost?