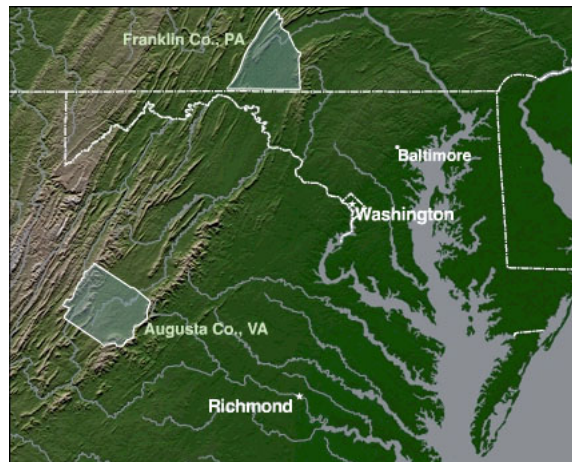# Two American Communities on the Eve of Civil War:

An Experiment in Form and Analysis

Edward L. Ayers and William G. Thomas, III

This article has two goals:

*   to analyze the social, economic, and political structures of two communities on the eve of the American Civil War

*   to use forms of digital scholarship to present historical arguments of enhanced intricacy, depth, and connection

PURPOSE: Overview

This article has two goals, one related to professional historiography and another to professional practice.

Toward the first goal, the article explores American social, economic, and political structures on the eve of Civil War by examining two communities in close detail. Drawing on the large digital archive of the "Valley of the Shadow Project," the article examines multiple dimensions of similarity and difference between a Northern and Southern community. It uses computing technologies to deepen and extend the analysis, placing its findings in the context of the large historiography on the subject.

Second, the article is intended to foster discussion about the best forms of digital scholarship for history. The article presents its argument, evidence, historiographical context, and scholarly commentary as a complex textual, tabular, and graphical representation. Linkages, forward and backward, between and across evidence, narrative, historiography, and commentary provide distinct but related avenues of inquiry.

The article deploys an array of technologies, most importantly and innovatively Extensible Markup Language (XML). As a result of this means of structuring, the findings can be ordered and explored in any sequence, the historiography can be automatically sorted by author, date, or title, and the evidence can be arranged by date, topic, or type. Evidence, historiography, and commentary entries are linked to the places in the analysis where they are invoked.

We have made available several print versions of the article, though that static form sacrifices many of the purposes of this effort.

3

Two American Communities on the Eve of Civil War: An Experiment in Form and Analysis
Edward L. Ayers and William G. Thomas, III

help.

STRATEGIES: of Analysis

The rich historiography on the differences and similarities in the economics and politics of the United States on the eve of the Civil War is contradictory, complex, and inconclusive. Some historians argue for profound, simple, and direct difference, others for confined and heavily mediated difference. Historians who have looked closely for the connections between social structures and party identity have found few consistent indicators.

In the secession crisis, for example, parts of Southern states that "should" have voted one way in fact voted another. Cities, the most modern places in the South and bearing close ties to the North, tended to vote heavily for secession. The richest planting districts, with the largest investment in slaves, often opted for the Union. Mountainous southwestern Virginia voted heavily for leaving the Union while eastern Tennessee, right over the border, voted heavily to stay. Neighboring counties in the Shenandoah Valley voted in widely varying ways, ranging from almost unanimously against secession to unanimously for it.

When we look even closer, inside counties, the complexities multiply yet again. Neighbors disagreed; slaveholders disagreed; political leaders disagreed. They argued bitterly for months as events beyond their control threw them into one new situation after another. They abruptly changed their minds and their arguments more than once.

The same complexity held true in the North as well, where the party system churned in turmoil throughout the 1850s. The Republicans had coalesced only a few years before their triumph of 1860, forged of a diverse and even contradictory anti-southern fusion of old Whigs and old Know-Nothings, newly disaffected Democrats and new voters too young to have voted before. Those white Northerners who hated slavery rather than merely the South joined the Republicans but watched their new allies warily, as well they might. The Republican platform of 1860 denounced John Brown and distanced the new party from abolitionism. Even with the Democrats divided and the South threatening, Democrats won a large proportion of the Northern vote in 1860--as they would in 1864.

Thus, what appears to be a simple process of clashing, antagonistic societies on the national level turns out to be extremely complicated when we look more closely. Where does this all this complexity leave us if we want to understand how the American Civil War came and the role that similarities and differences between North and South made in its coming?

Several strategies seem necessary.

* First, we need to look at both the North and the South in comparison and interaction. Listening only to one side is like listening to half a conversation.
* Second, we need to consider the immediate context in which politics operated in as rigorous and intimate a form as possible. People acted in response to particular choices handed to them by events, not as part of a grand strategy.

* Third, we need to look for patterns that are too complex, intrinsic, and interwoven to see with the naked eye, that can best be seen by close attention to carefully chosen and fully documented places.
* Fourth, we need to examine the middle ground of the United States where loyalties were tested and the networks of family, faith, commerce, and party clashed with intensity.

This article attempts a detailed comparative study of two communities that were deeply alike in things extraneous to slavery but that nevertheless threw themselves into the Civil War with great dedication and loss.

We attempt this project through a microcosmic approach, seeing how both Northern and Southern communities operated on the ground. The two counties that serve as the basis of our study--Augusta in Virginia and Franklin in Pennsylvania--occupy   the eastern border between the North and South. We chose these two counties because we wanted to examine the middle ground in the United States and focus on places that shared climates, soils, settlement periods, ethnic backgrounds of whites, and trading cities. Both counties understood themselves as "valley" counties, places within the Great Valley that cut across much of the eastern United States.

Both Augusta and Franklin claimed productive economies. Augusta with its 27,749 residents, 5,616 of whom were enslaved, stood near the top of any measure of Virginia counties' wealth and development. Franklin, with its 42,216 residents, was rich as well. Augusta ranked first in Virginia in the cash value of farms in 1860, while Franklin ranked 10th in Pennsylvania. Augusta and Franklin were vibrant counties in the great border region that extended from Maryland and Delaware to Indiana and Illinois. They had adjusted their economies, their race relations, their expectations. But they were buffeted by their location at the intersection of networks of power.

The border between North and South stood as a sharp and unrelenting line between slavery and freedom; that border also represented a vast territory crossed by networks of economy, religion, politics, and kinship, stretching from the Atlantic to beyond the Mississippi. The border embraced half of the country's population, much of its slavery, and most of its battlefields. It tipped the balance in key elections and supplied more than its share of soldiers to both the Union and the Confederacy.

These counties embodied many crucial aspects of their larger societies. Augusta was thoroughly enmeshed in slavery, and its white people gave themselves over to the Confederacy for four years with far less dissent than many counties farther south. Franklin, for its part, voted for Abraham Lincoln and supported the Union cause start to finish. By the most important measures of the Civil War era, these counties stand in well for exceedingly large parts of the North and South.

STRATEGIES: of Presentation

Hypertext may be especially well-suited for history. The person generally credited with envisioning hypertext certainly thought so. Vannevar Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development during World War II, wrote in 1945, with some frustration, that "our methods of transmitting and reviewing the results of research are generations old and by now are totally inadequate for their purpose." In a remarkable essay entitled "As We May Think," Bush used the writing of history to suggest the possibilities of the future. He imagined a machine he called the "memex," a complex device of glass, steel, and microfilm, levers, screens, and reels. Bush turned to history to suggest why we needed such a thing, using as his example the question of "why the short Turkish bow was apparently superior to the English long bow in the skirmishes of the Crusades." The answer to such a question inevitably embraced material as well as cultural aspects of society and demanded the employment of several different kinds of information. (Vannevar Bush, "As We May Think")

Bush saw great promise in photography and microfilm, in the copying machine, fax, and numerical computing--all technologies that have in fact played a large role in professional history over the last half century. But he reserved his greatest excitement for something broader, a machine that would mimic the way we think. The human mind, Bush observed, "operates by association. With one item in its grasp, it snaps instantly to the next that is suggested by the association of thoughts, in accordance with some intricate web of trails carried by the cells of the brain." Bush marveled that "the speed of action, the intricacy of trails, the detail of mental pictures, is awe inspiring beyond all else in nature." He wondered whether we could make a machine that worked that way, that could remember the fading trails and weave them into lasting patterns. That is what this article attempts: a language of exposition that works by branching and layers and connections rather than operating only on one plane of exposition.

Janet Murray has written the most useful study of narrative in digital media. She points out that computers emphasize four aspects of information, its qualities that are:

* spatial
* participatory
* procedural
* encyclopedic

This article embodies all four of those characteristics. (Janet Murray, *Hamlet on the Holodeck*)

The historiography and evidence occupy separate **spatial** locations. They stand beside the analysis, independent of it, tied to one another as well as to the narrative, available for exploration on their own terms.

The article is **participatory**, requiring a physical engagement that traditional reading does not. Readers decide which way to pursue the argument; they may go forward in the analysis or into the material to a depth and with a range a print journal does not permit.

The article is **procedural**, requiring of the reader a series of steps to reveal its several layers and many components. One must follow those procedures to follow the intricacy below the level of the analysis.

The article is **encyclopedic** in that it is more fully documented than a journal in print could afford to be. That volume of material offers a deeper connection among documentation, evidence, and analysis than a single plane of fixed text can offer.

The digital article thus engages us in a different kind of reading, a more active kind of reading. Such a reading has some advantages and some disadvantages, especially in the context of current technologies. It appears here as an experiment to help see how its advantages might be emphasized and its disadvantages minimized.

Robert Darnton, long a pioneer in opening historical scholarship to new topics and approaches, wrote an essay in 1999 that contained a brief but tantalizing vision of an electronic work of history. Most of his article, composed while he was president of the American Historical Association, described the pressures pushing toward electronic scholarship, especially the crisis of the monograph. In a few paragraphs he sketched a new kind of scholarly book, one written in layers: a concise narrative at the top, followed by ever-wider components: an expanded narrative, documentation, historiography, pedagogy, and professional commentary. The article received a great deal of attention and Darnton collaborated on a prototype for the *American Historical Review*, published in February 2000, to show what such an entity might look like. (Robert Darnton, "The New Age of the Book")

We have been creating our own version of such scholarship for about a decade with the Valley of the Shadow Project. The effort was created in part to fulfill the same longing eloquently described by Darnton: "Any historian who has done long stints of research knows the frustration over his or her inability to communicate the fathomlessness of the archives and the bottomlessness of the past. If only my reader could have a look inside this box, you say to yourself, at all the letters in it, not just the lines from the letter I am quoting. If only I could follow that trail in my text just as I pursued it through the dossiers, when I felt free to take detours leading away from my main subject. If only I could show how themes crisscross outside my narrative and extend far beyond the boundaries of my book."

We do not differ from Robert Darnton in our purposes for electronic scholarship, but new possibilities have emerged that make it possible to weave together the various parts of electronic scholarship more intimately. Darnton distanced his vision from that of "links to databanks-so-called hyperlinks," which "can amount to little more than an elaborate form of footnoting," a "bloating."

While Darnton points to a real danger of the new medium--mindless,   limitless gathering and presentation of data--we   embrace hyperlinking as one of the key attributes and advantages of digital media. Indeed, the interactions among the various aspects of narrative and documentation seem to us the most exciting aspect of digital scholarship.

As historians, we are most interested in hypertext as a new form of annotation, at which it naturally excels. We see ourselves as part of a continuum of scholarship, picking up some traditions from centuries ago, such as glosses, commentary, and footnotes; some experiments of recent decades, such as social science history and narrative innovation; and some emergent technologies, such as an open and extensible mark-up language that permits a more powerful and flexible kind of linking. We want to combine these tools to create a professional scholarship that is richer, more rigorous, and more useful in some aspects. These technologies will not displace paper-based narrative and analysis, of course, but can extend them in ways we are only just beginning to imagine.

Radical, even revolutionary, changes in the technologies and forms of scholarship in the humanities often build on earlier innovations, starting as extensions to traditional practices. Anthony Grafton has written a fascinating history of annotation that shows how central that practice is to all historical scholarship. He demonstrates that "in the course of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, . . . a long series of debates and discussions among writers, translators, and printers gradually yielded something like the modern system of documentation-even if the process did not then reach, and still has not reached, completion. Across Europe, writers and publishers collaborated more intensively than ever before, trying to make every aspect of the physical presentation of text mirror and guide the reader through its content. A revolution in book design took place, as those concerned with authorship and publication carried out experiments in layout and design, trying to make books physically as well as intellectually accessible." (*Anthony Grafton, "The Footnote: A Curious History"*)

That is much like what is happening now, when powerful currents of innovation are coursing through the worlds of computers, publishing, and libraries. Our goal is for scholars to grasp the opportunities presented by that ferment, just as they did several hundred years ago when they created the forms that still characterize professional history.

While Grafton apparently did not write with electronic scholarship in mind, the following passage sounds like nothing so much as hypertext: "Wise historians know that their craft resembles Penelope's art of weaving: footnotes and text will come together again and again, in ever-changing combinations of patterns and colors. Stability is not to be reached. Nonetheless, the culturally contingent and eminently fallible footnote offers the only guarantee we have that statements about the past derive from identifiable sources. . . . Only the use of footnotes enables historians to make their texts not monologues but conversations, in which modern scholars, their predecessors, and their subjects all take part."

We are trying to amplify and accelerate that process in a new context. Historians already have many elements of fixed hypertext in our scholarship--not only footnotes but also indices, appendices, and tables. Those elements offer readers not only a foundation but also a counterpoint, an accompanying story, a running commentary, even countervailing evidence. We arrange things here so that those complementary structures interact more intimately and dynamically with one another and with the main narrative.

XML, or extensible mark-up language, permits several new practices that people have longed for in HMTL, the limited original language of the World Wide Web. While HTML merely described the appearance of text on the screen, XML describes structures. It allows searches to focus on the role information plays in complex arguments rather than merely on strings of characters. XML enables multiple linking, offering a kind of hypertext truer to the name and spirit of that word: branching, dynamic, multiple connection. Our article in XML is a single file of nearly 24,000 lines of text, not dozens of individual web pages with embedded links to each other. A stylesheet (XSL) governs the presentation and arrangement of the document on the web. The article, then, like a traditional article, is a single structured document and comprises in toto our narrative.

While this first article is a challenge to program, since there is no guide or prototype and since we are trying to include as many elements as possible as a sort of demonstration of the medium's possibilities, the style sheets will serve as models for others who might wish to build such things. We offer here no claim that all historical scholarship might be suitable for this medium, but we expect that scholars will begin to shape their work to the opportunities of hypertext, changing their expectations of presentation, narrative, and authorial control.

Current reading technology is not ideal for a hypertextual history. Right now we have bulky window-like boxes of various sizes that can show pages only sequentially, preventing them from being taken in as a larger whole. The structure of this article tries to compensate for that. We replace readers' characteristic strategies for comprehending the scale, proportion, and structure of an article--otherwise known as scanning or browsing--with a clearer sense of the architecture of the article. We provide navigational guides to compensate for the unavoidably serial qualities of the electronic article. In section titled Analysis, readers will find three different forms of synthesis:

* Findings: offers dozens of discrete statements, as precise as we can devise, about particular analytical questions and associated evidence. Those findings can stand alone as contributions to various long-running debates about various facets of life in the United States on the eve of the Civil War.
* Summary: presents an overview of the historiographic context of the issues associated with the differences and similarities between North and South and synthesizes our findings in relation to that literature.
* Narrative: weaves evidence into sequential stories, one about the election of 1860 and one about secession. In these narratives, quotations from newspapers, diaries, and letters take center stage.

By presenting these different kinds of analysis, we hope to show that each can play a distinct and important role in our understanding--and that each can be enhanced in a digital environment.

Robert Townsend, in a recent article in the *AHA Perspectives*, described tentative efforts to develop an electronic scholarly article. "There are very few cases where the technology has been used to transcend the traditional forms of the journal article," he noted. "Most online publications involve only a few small

audiovisual enhancements or hotlinks, where availability seems to be the criteria for inclusion rather than substantive contribution to the argument or the scholarship." Townsend suggested that creating a new form for scholarship tailored to the digital medium would require "an enormous amount of thought and effort beyond the basic work of research and writing." Such scholarship would need, he argued, to be built expressly for the digital medium from the ground up. That is what we are trying to do here. Robert Townsend, "Lessons Learned: Five Years in Cyberspace")

Despite our ambitions, this article does not confront some of the very real challenges that lie ahead for digital scholarship in history. The process of producing and designing this electronic article has uncovered fertile areas for future development. We see that subsequent efforts might concentrate on:

* how to present narrative more effectively
* how to represent event and change
* how to demonstrate the effects of larger networks on localities
* how to analyze language more precisely.

Our article is offered to the scholarly community as a first step in hopes that we might begin envisioning new forms of scholarship.

ANALYSIS: Narrative

The Election of 1860

The political conventions of 1860 did not create new ideas nor propose new solutions. That was not their purpose. Instead, they offered clarity by reducing indecision, by presenting clear-cut choices to voters. The candidates were now to talk as if their plans held out solutions to the conflict over slavery in the territories. This was not the time to introduce second thoughts or complexities, not the time to listen to opponents or those who claimed to mediate. Rather, this was the time to discover how deep and clear the differences ran.

Within just a few months in 1860 American politics had passed through a deep change. Before the conventions of that year, people had operated within what could be called "normal" politics. Normal politics in the United States had come to be based on fervent competition between two, and only two, parties. It depended on sharing power in Washington, guaranteed by the checks and balances of the various branches of government, by significant representation of the two parties in the House and the Senate, by the familiar ebb and flow of victors and losers in the various offices, by the ability of party leaders to enforce discipline and unity among their ranks, and by the willingness of men from the two parties to cooperate when they could. This system held the increasingly divergent regions of the United States together through decades of expansion, economic boom and bust, nativism and abolitionism.

The sharing of power in Washington depended on the replication of the two-party system throughout every other level of the political order. The men in Congress or even the White House had to be able to lay claim to a constituency who supported them and their actions or they could not expect to be in office long. Ideas, power, patronage, and money traveled up and down the political system, the high and the low giving legitimacy to one another.

This kind of normal politics proved remarkably robust. Even when the Whigs had died the system had healed itself, putting out shoots until the Republican Party proved itself the viable branch. But the fracturing of the summer of 1860 presented normal politics with challenges it could not overcome. That summer saw the birth of fractional politics. The old balances, deals, arrangements, and assumptions could not hold. The same men exercised power with the same language, the same interests, and same techniques they had long used. With four men in the field, however, all the calculations were thrown into disarray. Before, politicians had compromised with men from other places with interests different from their own. But in 1860 such expectations shattered. Some people began to use politics for other means. They spoke and acted to express grievance, to prove their righteousness, to galvanize their followers.

* * *

The election of 1860 would not see politics as usual in Augusta County. The rise of the Republicans and the split of the Democrats confronted Augusta men of that party with a choice between one candidate,

Breckinridge, who stood for the brash Deep South's demands, and another, Douglas, who stood for vacillation and failed compromise. The Constitutional Union Party of Bell, attractive to many old Whigs and Unionists in Augusta, had no party machinery in place. Fractional politics held sway.

Augusta men, to be sure, put on a brave face. The Spectator agreed with other border-state papers that the disruption of 1860 might be just what Southern Unionists needed. With the Democrats committing suicide, perhaps the former Whigs of Virginia would finally have their chance, long overdue, within their own state. "For years and years seventy thousand gentlemen, comprising the pith and flower of the Virginia population, have been virtually disfranchised," the Spectator spat with undisguised class resentment. "Men of wealth, of learning, of influence, of the first order of ability in all things pertaining to public affairs, they have nevertheless had no more lot or part in the State government than if they had lived in China or Timbuctoo." But 1860 offered the chance of a lifetime. "A glorious hour is at hand for the Whigs of Virginia." And what was glorious for Virginia would be glorious for the Union. The great talents of Southern Union men, squandered for the last decade, would finally have a chance to save the entire country, steering it between the detested Republicans and the reviled Democrats. "A noble work, a great work, a task worthy, so unselfish, so unconquerable, so patriotic a band, is to be done."

Fortunately for the Unionists, neither Douglas nor Breckinridge had won the hearts of the men who felt bound to support them; Democratic party officials sighed and newspapers remained subdued. "The wires that once worked so smoothly and effectively are all crossed, tangled, intertwisted," the Spectator noted with satisfaction. Even the "wire workers," Democratic politicians accustomed to moving people like marionettes, "were out-of-sorts, at logger-heads, undecided, stunned, paralyzed. The rank and file of the party are in like hapless condition. The fissure widens hourly--the   breach yawns welcome to the Whigs. On, on gallant gentlemen, the citadel is yours!" (Staunton Spectator, July 17, 1860, p. 2, c. 3)

Those who distrusted Douglas because he seemed to value the North over the South and slavery "should vote for Bell, who is as firm and true a friend of the 'peculiar institution' of the South as any man who was ever born upon its soil or breathed its atmosphere." Bell, from the patrician Whig point of view of Augusta, supported slavery for the right reasons: he believed that slavery possessed "the sacred sanction of the Bible--that   it is religiously, morally, socially, and politically right." Bell also understood that slavery "is the fountain from which springs the vast stream of our national wealth and prosperity--that it is the Midas which converts all it touches to gold." A Southern man did not have to sell out on slavery to support the Union. (Staunton Spectator, July 17, 1860, p. 2 , c. 1)

While the Constitutional Unionists spoke in quiet words of cooperation and optimism, the Democrats raged at one another. The Vindicator supported Stephen Douglas, but the Breckinridge men enjoyed the benefit of the patronage bestowed by President Buchanan. They would have no conciliation and compromise. The Breckinridge men treated Douglas like "fungi to be lopped off from the party organization."

Stephen Douglas came to Augusta in early September. All along the Virginia Central Railroad as it

crossed the Blue Ridge, "groups of men, women and children were assembled at each Depot to catch a glimpse of the great statesman and patriot." "An immense concourse" of three thousand people greeted Douglas as the train station in Staunton, the "largest audience we have ever seen congregated" in the town. The Staunton Artillery escorted Douglas; the unit's captain, John Imboden, took the lead. William H. Harman introduced Douglas, telling him that "To you, sir, all eyes are turned!" The people of the Valley, of Virginia, and of the nation were counting on Douglas to "roll back the swelling tide of sectionalism and fanaticism which threatens to engulf them," to preserve "this magnificent republican edifice reared by our fathers."

Douglas, to repeated cheers, spoke modestly. He declared that "he was not courting votes for the Presidency. If the people would put down the two sectional parties which are threatening the perpetuity of the Union--rebuke   fanaticism both North and South--he   did not care who they made President." Unlike the other men in the field, Douglas had seen all of America and knew what people had in their hearts. He feared for the Union above all else. At the end of his speech, cheers echoing through Staunton, Senator Douglas went by carriage to the home of M. G. Harman, where hundreds of people came to visit and where Turner's Cornet Band serenaded the visitor. After a day of rest, Douglas headed down the Valley to Harrisonburg to spread his warning and plea once more. (Republican Vindicator, September 7, 1860, p. 2, c. 2)

The paper resented Yancey's ignorance of the Valley. He could not understand that Augusta could remain unshaken both in its commitment to slavery and in its ties to the Union. "Mr. Yancey, when down in Alabama, remote from the 'slave depopulated' border State of old Virginia (all bosh--we   have more slaves now than we had ten years ago) can write his disunion manifestoes." Yancey and the Breckinridge Democrats could not wrap their minds around the subtlety of the situation of the Border. Like the Republicans, they thought only in opposites, not in the shifting shades of gray that enveloped the slaveholding Unionist South. (Republican Vindicator, October 5, 1860, p. 2, c. 3)

The Unionists mobilized Augusta. The parties formed clubs in every hamlet, fourteen of them by early October, in Sherando, Churchville, Hamilton's School House, Middlebrook, and Mt. Solon, with Greenville, Midway, Newport, and Craigsville soon joining in. (Spectator, October 9, 1860) They put their tallest men on their highest horses to ride along the Valley Road. (Staunton Spectator, October 2, 1860) They rang bells at every opportunity. They advertised that seats would be provided for ladies at the speeches. They sent children with "Bell and Everett grapes" for the editor. They brought in speakers from other states and counties. They enlisted any local man who could screw up the nerve to stand in front of his neighbors and speak. They printed the name of every man who came to their club meetings.

Though the fall rains had begun, and though the wind whistled down the hollows of the mountains, in October a giant rally in support of the Union swept through Augusta. "To see long processions coming into town simultaneously from every direction, . . . with their banners and bells, marching regularly and 'keeping step to the music of the Union,' was a spectacle worth witnessing, and one which animated and rejoiced every patriotic heart." The people of Augusta came to Staunton in "wagons, six-horse, four-horse and two-horse, they came in carriages, they came in buggies and on horse-back--they

came by hundreds and fifties, they came till the town was filled with the mighty host." In Staunton, hundreds lined the wet wooden sidewalks while watching "the waving of handkerchiefs from the windows of the houses by the fair hands of patriotic, Union-loving ladies." Observers could take away only one lesson from such an outpouring: "The great popular heart of Augusta throbs anxiously for the preservation of the Union, and is willing to spill the last drop of its blood in its defence." (Staunton Spectator, October, 23, 1860, p. 2)

Even as the Unionists worked to get out the vote for Bell and Everett, they tried to soften the blow of what they increasingly feared would come: the election of Lincoln and the Republicans in the North. Be reasonable, they told their fellow Southerners: "Even though Lincoln should be elected, and should be disposed to commit some aggression upon the rights of the South, he could not do it. The Supreme Court is against the theories of his party. The Senate is against them and the Congress will be against them." All the secessionist warnings were nonsense--and, indeed, posed a greater threat than Lincoln himself did. "To break up the Government under these circumstances, simply because Lincoln should be elected, would be adding madness to treason." In fact, "the danger is in the Cotton States, and not in the North. The spirit of prohibition as represented by Lincoln will be impotent for mischief, but the spirit of disunion, as represented by Yancey and other extremists of the South may be potential for indescribable evils." (Staunton Spectator, October 23, 1860, p. 2, c. 4)

People worried privately as well as in public. "As to the election our prospects are gloomy enough," Lucas Thompson wrote John McCue on November 1. "Almost every person I see has despaired of defeating the Black Republican Lincoln." Thompson proclaimed himself more optimistic, though, for "I am Still hopeful of the election of Bell & Everitt or some one of the antirepublican tickets, and if the worst comes and Lincoln is elected their will be neither Secession or disunion." Secession, so often threatened, could not happen because "such a consequence would be of a piece with the Madness & folly of committing suicide for fear of dying." Wait for a truly threatening act, "which I verily believe will not be committed by Lincoln." Hold "to our glorious union as long as possible consistently with honor safety & liberty, for in disunion I can foresee woes innumerable, no remedy for our grievances but rather as aggravation of them all." Disunion would be "the greatest calamity that could befall not only the U S but the cause of free government throughout the world. We shall have a grand whig rally here tomorrow." (Lucas P. Thompson to John H. McCue, November 1, 1860)

And indeed on November 2, the Union men of Augusta traveled through miserable mud and rain to the armory building in Staunton. "Though the weather was so unfavorable that we could not expect persons to leave their homes, yet they came by hundreds from all directions," exulted the Spectator. As before, they came in carriages, in wagons and on horseback--"they came with banners and bells, and made the welkin ring with loud shouts for Bell and Everett. They came to testify their deep devotion to the Union." A long procession, accompanied by Turner's Cornet Band in a wagon drawn by six fine gray horses and bearing banners, "looked like an army of Union-loving men, and would have struck terror to the heart of the bravest disunionist." The banners, many of them bearing the names of their communities, read: "Constitution, Union, and Enforcement of the Laws!" "The Union Bell-Ringers!" and "In Union There is Strength!" One banner, bearing a female touch--"a beautiful wreath encircling

the word 'UNION,' which was painted in the national colors--red, white and blue"--proclaimed that "The Belles Are for Union to a Man!" The parade marched "through the principal streets of the town, in all of which they were greeted with cheers from the men and the waving of handkerchiefs by the ladies." The young women at the Wesleyan Female Institute displayed a banner proclaiming their fidelity to the Union. At the armory "a number of ladies graced the meeting with their presence, and seemed to enjoy the speeches as intensely as the gentlemen."

State Senator Alexander H. H. Stuart, a long-time leader of the Whigs, Americans, and Unionists, spoke for an hour and thirty five minutes. "He delivered an able, clear, and eloquent address, exhibiting a great deal of accurate information upon all the questions discussed. He gave a history of the rise and progress of the slavery agitation between the North and South so clearly and succinctly that no man could fail to understand it." Stuart offered a "withering rebuke of those unworthy sons" of Virginia who would allow her to be "dragged into a common destiny with the disunion States."

Even the Democrats' Vindicator had to admit that the Union rally seemed a great success. "Bells and flags (expense being not a consideration) tossed and dingled, evidencing at least energy was not wanting in the contest." (Republican Vindicator, Nov. 2, 1860; not summarized) The Spectator, glowing with pride, had no doubt that "Those who traveled many miles through the mud and rain were more than compensated for all their toil and trouble." The moral seemed clear: "If the destiny of this country and the fate of the Union were in the control of Augusta, the watchman on the tower of Liberty might confidently exclaim: 'All is well--All is well--the country is safe!'" (Staunton Spectator, Nov. 6, 1860, not summarized)

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While the nation went through the agonies and excitements of the building election, slavery continued to do its work in Augusta. Mixed in with the lengthy and impassioned editorials on politics and constitutionalism were other dramas.

In one of its defenses of slavery during the political crisis, the Spectator bragged on the ability of hard-working slaves to earn extra money--often hundreds of dollars a year--by working overtime. Such payments, the paper proudly noted, are "practiced more or less all over the State. We know it is not uncommon in this region." Indeed, such slaves "like millions in the Southern States, are not only plentifully provided for in every way, but they are saving money to use as they may find best in coming years--and withal they seem as happy as lords." (Staunton Spectator, January 17, 1860, p. 2, c. 2) This exaggerated and romanticized scene held an element of truth: slaveowners were indeed turning toward hiring out and other kinds of payment to slaves as the 1860s began, adapting slavery to changing constraints and opportunities.

At least one Augusta slaveowner thought this process had gone much too far. "Observer" wrote an open letter to Augusta's commonwealth attorneys to protest. "Nothing is more common than to hear our

citizens declaim against the abolitionists. If a stranger comes into our midst who is even suspected of entertaining or inculcating abolition sentiments, the whole community is at once and justly in an uproar." Ironically, "we have among our own people two classes of persons who do more harm to our slave population than all the abolitionists of the North combined." The threat came from "those who stand as nominal masters for negroes, who are really free, and who are permitted to hire themselves out, and go at large at pleasure." Just as dangerous were those whites who, in the guise of friendship to black people, endangered slavery in Augusta by permitting "their slaves to live in independent houses from their owners, to keep house, work for themselves and pay to their owners a portion of their earnings," hiring them out. The real threat to Augusta slavery, in other words, lay among Augusta slaveowners grown lax and comfortable with adaptations of the institution. "Observer" insisted that the "proper authorities," including the grand jury, search out these violations of good order and put an end to the erosion of slavery in Augusta County. (Staunton Spectator, August 7, 1860, p. 2, c. 5)

Slaveholders could turn virtually any episode into evidence of their beneficence. In one especially unlikely train of logic, the Spectator drew a comforting moral from the brutal murder of a slave in another county: "On the morning of the 4th of July last, at 8 o'clock, one of the hottest days of the past Summer, Hudson stripped the woman, naked as she came into the world, tied her to a persimmon tree, and whipped her for three consecutive hours, with occasional intermissions of a few minutes, until he had worn out to stump fifty-two switches, and until the bark of the body of the tree was rubbed smooth and greasy by the attrition of the body of the victim. The ground around the tree for seven or eight feet, though it had been freshly plowed, was trodden hard." Neighbors had heard both the switch and the screams as the master beat his slave to death, but the fellow whites had done nothing. "The poor creature was buried the same afternoon only some ten inches beneath the ground, in a rough box, without any shroud." The jury found Hudson guilty of murder and sentenced him to eighteen years, the maximum sentence and one he was not likely to live out since he was 68 years old.

Then came the moral, as the judge delivered a rebuke biblical in its phrasing and weight: "You have thus committed a great crime against both human and divine law. You have outraged the feelings of the community among whom you lived." The judge named an additional crime Hudson had committed against the white community of the South: "You have enabled their enemies to fan the flame of fanaticism, by charging against them the enormity and cruelty of your hard and unfeeling heart, although that community cordially loathe and condemn cruelty and oppression towards black or white." To the Spectator, the moral seemed clear: "it is one of those cases which thoroughly vindicate the Southern character against the aspersions cast upon us by our enemies at the North. It develops what is as true of us as of any other people on the civilized globe, that we utterly detest and abhor cruelty and barbarity, whether to whites or blacks." They ignored the fact that their legal order tolerated virtually any barbarity by a slaveholder that did not end in death.

Augusta whites, under assault for their inhumanity, eagerly read of "Departure of Emancipated Negroes--Don't Want to Leave." The article told of "a crowd of not less than one thousand negroes assembled on the basin to take leave of the negroes" belonging to an estate in Lynchburg that had freed them. "The whole number set free was forty-four men women and children, but only thirty-seven left,

the balance preferring to remain in servitude in Old Virginia rather than enjoy their freedom elsewhere." Another way to put this, of course, was that former slaves were being driven away from their families and loved ones and that, despite their loss, only seven stayed. But the article dwelt on what it wanted to emphasize: "when the boats started from their wharves, the freed negroes struck up 'Carry me back to Old Virginny,' which was joined in by one and all, and in a tone which indicated plainly that if left to their own free will, they would gladly spend the remainder of their days in servitude in the home of their birth."

The sectional crisis encouraged Virginia leaders to do what they had done in earlier periods of crisis: crack down on free black people, driving them from the state through legal means. While most whites seemed to have no problem with such a strategy, one Augusta man pleaded for sympathy for some black people. He agreed with his white neighbors that the majority of free blacks were "degenerated, degraded creatures, without the least knowledge of virtue or the least awakening of morality." Yet those neighbors would have to admit that "there are some who deserve the approbation and encouragement of every friend of civilization." In fact, he would go so far as to say that some of the free blacks of Augusta "are far better in their personal character and mode of life than the majority of the lower white class, and whom to drive from friends that they love and a country to which they are attached, would be in opposition to every feeling of our better nature." This white Augusta man testified that "within the confines of our own county--aye,   within my own immediate neighborhood--there   are free negroes, who, by their industrious and upright life, have amassed considerable money, and have gained the applause of every good and honest man."

To exile these good free blacks "from their native State," driving them into the North, "would be like driving them into a city of the plague or a den of robbers. They would be morally as well as pecuniarily ruined. The state of inferiority in which they are held by our better citizens, and the honorable and honest manner in which they are dealt with, is the secret of their success amongst us. But send them to a free State, and they have no such bulwark to protect them. They are placed upon an equality with the highest, which renders them haughty and indolent." In the kind of logic so prevalent in these years, frank subjugation by the white South was considered "honorable and honest" while even the promise of equality became a curse. "How many a disconsolate wail has come back to us from that land of freedom(?)!" (Republican Vindicator, February 3, 1860, p. 1, c. 7)

While some people worried over such things, others spun dreams of moonlight and dogwoods. Alansa Rounds moved to Augusta from New York in 1859, coming down at the encouragement of her uncle, Jedediah Hotchkiss, the headmaster of Loch Willow Academy in Churchville, where the young Alansa would teach. She fell in love with Augusta and the large and exciting social circle surrounding the academy. Alansa loved to ramble in the countryside, to visit the beautiful country homes of bishops and judges, to get to know the servants at these estates, and to meet young men and women of her age.

In the fall of 1860, Alansa traveled to Augusta's Stribling Springs, where she participated in a tournament staged in emulation of a fabled Middle Ages. " Soul stirring band music echoed and re-echoed through forest and from rocky mountain side," she recalled. "The knights in gay and varied

costume mounted on their restless steeds looked handsome and 'eager for the fray'." The herald "sat his fine charger like a commanding general, as he announced the names of the riders, while one by one, each dashed forward and essayed to cast his spear through the coveted ring in the arch over his head. How hearty and contagious the cheering when the Herald announced the name of the successful knight who had won the honor of dancing with the 'Queen of Love and Beauty' at the coming Ball!" Alansa remembered how she looked: "That night I wore my black and green silk; the fashionable flowing sleeves worn with embroidered lace undersleeves having several strips of pink ribbon run through the meshes lengthwise. At my neck and in my hair were bows of the same becoming color." When the dance started at nine, the procession began: "pretty young girls beautifully gowned, brilliant lights, and gay knights in costume; the Queen in crown and diamonds; the Maids of Honor none the less lovely." The herald, Franklin F. Sterrett, a friend of her uncle's, invited Alansa to stroll with him along the piazza decorated with Chinese lanterns. "I verily believe we were the happiest couple at that Tournament Ball!"

As the fall began to turn to winter in 1860, Alansa and her friends put on charades and tableaux at Loch Willow. The third tableaux one evening was "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Uncle Tom "was personated by the Sterrett's oldest slave, grey headed Uncle Kit Matthews, and Nannie Gooch made the loveliest 'Eva'." Nannie Gooch was the nine year-old daughter of H. M. Gooch, who owned 17 slaves. Alansa greatly enjoyed a cake walk and a "darkey wedding" she saw in Augusta in that winter. "Both were comical, mirthful and hilarious affairs to black and white alike. The refreshments proved 'tip top' and tony and lavishly prepared by these slaves and by them also dispensed to those 'down at the house' as well as all at the 'quarters.'"

Although Alansa Rounds became engaged to Franklin Sterrett in the winter, "fun and social recreations were fast being relegated to the background and fiery political speeches took their places. " North and South "were daily growing more and more embittered and determined."

* * *

The "Wide-Awakes" organized across the North for the 1860 election. A hundred Franklin men joined the local unit and marched at every opportunity. Each Wide-Awake wore a black glazed cap and cape and carried "a neat, convenient torch--a   swinging lamp, on a pole about six feet long." (Franklin Repository and Transcript, September 5, 1860, p. 5, c. 3) The Chambersburg men "erected a nice pole, over an hundred feet high" in front of the Transcript's office. "From the top of the pole floats a small streamer composed of red, white and blue ribbons. About twelve feet from the top there is a pretty blue Streamer with the names of our candidates--LINCOLN, HAMLIN, CURTIN,--thereon, in white letters. Some twelve feet lower down is suspended a handsome national flag." (Franklin Repository and Transcript, September 12, 1860, p. 4, c. 1)

The Democrats, of course, made fun of the Wide Awakes. "Many of them, if we may judge from appearance, will not be able to vote unless they begin at 19," the Spirit laughed. "The Wide Awakes about here consist principally of capes, a small cap, a broom handle with a lamp tied to one, and a

youthful aspirant to citizenship at the other. They spend their evenings in drilling, and learning to carry their torches perpendicular, when their bodies ought to be horizontal." (Chambersburg Valley Spirit (Sept 9, 05, p. 2)) Young Republicans tossed such criticisms aside. Representative Edward McPherson's nephew wrote his uncle that "I have often heard that politics is a very dangerous subject for a 'Young American' to meddle with. If that be true, I am afraid I am pretty far gone. But lest it might lead to evil, I will close this subject by saying 'Hurrah for Lincoln.'" (John B. McPherson to Edward McPherson, Nov 9, 1860)

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As the appeal of the Wide Awakes became clearer, the Democrats stepped up their attacks. The Spirit portrayed the Wide Awakes as a secret society and charged them with disguised abolitionism. The paper imagined the order's initiation ceremony:

Q. Do you believe in a supreme political being?

A. I do; the almighty negro.

Q. What are the chief objects of the Wide Awake Society?

A. To disturb Democratic meetings, and to furnish conductors for the underground railroad.

Q. What is your opinion of the great questions of the day?

A. I believe that Abraham Lincoln was born; that he built a flat-boat, and split three million rails.

Q. If you are admitted a member of this society, do you promise to love the nigger, to cherish him as you would a brother, and cleave unto him through evil as well as good report, and hate the Democrats . . . ?

A. This I solemnly promise to perform, so help me Abraham. The candidate is then invested with cap and cape, somebody gives him a slap on the side of the head, and tells him to be Wide Awake." Chambersburg Valley Spirit, Oct 24, p. 2)

Despite such contemptuous portrayals of their enemies, the Democrats were in trouble. Their meetings, which should have been festive affairs like those of the Republicans, were instead contentious fights over the most fundamental questions: who is our candidate and what does he stand for? One meeting called for the support of Breckinridge; another for Douglas. Both sides spent more time and vitriol denouncing one another than attacking the Republicans.

The Democratic party in Franklin--and throughout Pennsylvania and the North--fell apart in the months between the aborted conventions in June and the election in November. Without the glue of party unity, every kind of self-interest, grudge, and division surfaced while their Republican opponents heckled from the sidelines. "The truth of the matter is simply this--the bone and sinew of the Democratic party are used by their leaders to vote but not think and act for themselves; they use them as the nigger-drivers of the South use their Slaves--they must come when they are called and go when they are bidden. It is to this deep depth of degradation and humiliation that the great Democratic Party has at last fallen." (Franklin Repository and Transcript, September 26, 1860, p. 4, c. 4) The Republicans could barely contain their excitement.

The Spirit, torn between the competing loyalties of its two editors throughout the summer, finally did the unimaginable: the paper publicly changed its allegiance only a month before the election. It renounced Douglas as a maverick from party discipline and adopted Breckinridge as its candidate. Everything turned around party loyalty and solidarity, even if that meant abandoning the candidate the paper itself had championed for months in favor of a candidate for which local Democrats had little affection or trust.

So the Spirit fell into line and supported Breckinridge, but the paper offered scarcely a word about the candidate or what he stood for. The editors' hearts clearly lay with any strategy that would avoid conflict between North and South. From their perspective, they were swallowing their pride and even their principles for a higher purpose. The Democratic paper told the story this way. "For the last five years the air of the North has been surcharged with envenomed assaults upon the South. Every insulting epithet that malignant ingenuity could invent, has been applied to the Southern people." Everyone knew the insults, for they "are seen in every Republican newspaper and they are heard whenever a Republican orator opens his mouth. They can be uttered but for one object, and that object must be to exasperate the South to the point of withdrawing from the Union." The attacks on the South and slavery could only be directed toward the breakup of the Union because the Republicans "know very well that they can never set one single bondman free by all their furious declamation against slavery. They know that fierce denunciation will never induce the people of the Southern States to abolish slavery. They know that Congress cannot abolish it. They know that the Constitution of the United States guarantees the Southern people the peaceable possession of their slaves, and they know that the South will never surrender her constitutional rights."

The Republicans were not only disunionists, but, unlike their Southern counterparts, dishonest disunionists. "They do not preach disunion openly, but they employ every means at their command to drive out the South and throw upon that section the odium of dissolving the Union. They want the damning work done, but they also want to escape the responsibility of doing it." While "the impartial historian" will agree that the secessionist lighted "the funeral pile of the Union" he would also record that it was the Republicans "that built it and placed the blazing torch in his hand." (Chambersburg Valley Spirit, September 12, 1860, p. 4, c.1)

The Republicans did in fact call for Northerners to emulate Southern single-mindedness and unity. "We

should practice a little more after the example of our Southern brethren," the Transcript counselled. "The people should study politics a little closer, and elect men to the Presidency and to seats in Congress who would die rather than wantonly trade off the cherished interests of their constituents." Some rudimentary mathematics showed that the North did not need to knuckle under to the South any longer. "The Free States are entitled to 183 votes in the Electoral College, while the Southern States have but 120. To elect a President by the people, 152 votes are necessary, so that the Free States can elect, and have 31 votes over." The Republicans held it "the duty of the Free States to exert their influence in the Government. Franklin Repository and Transcript, August 8, 1860, p. 4, c. 3)

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With discussions of slavery, justice, and American ideals filling its newspapers in the spring and summer of 1860, both the Democrats and the Republicans of Franklin County used black people for their own partisan purposes. Despite the high-flying rhetoric about justice, neither party displayed any sympathy toward their black neighbors.

Such callousness had a long pedigree among the Democrats. They had long exhibited Northern blacks as examples of what would happen if abolitionists, and now the Republicans, had their way. The Democrats went out of their way to make this point as the election loomed. "We believe it is the custom in Maryland, at Easter time, to allow the negroes the largest liberty," the Valley Spirit noted, when it described a group of black musicians who came into Chambersburg to play a concert. Though the musicians were almost certainly free people, the newspaper talked as if they were enslaved. And though the musicians almost certainly came into Pennsylvania to earn money before a new audience and, as the paper noted, enjoy themselves "among their 'free brethren,' on this side of the line," the paper talked as if they came to aid the proslavery cause. "This Band had the audacity, on this occasion, to come into a free State as if for no other purpose than to show the sympathizers of John Brown, deceased, that their pikes and Sharpe's Rifles were not required to improve their condition, and that all the Republican philanthropy expended on the slave could be more appropriately used in bettering the condition of the free negro in the North." The Spirit felt free to put words in the mouths of these black musicians, who supposedly "returned home to 'bondage,' in the evening train, very well convinced, we have no doubt, that the worst form of Slavery that can possibly exist may be found among the negroes of Pennsylvania." (Chambersburg Valley Spirit, April 11, 1860 p. 5 c.2)

The black people of Franklin clearly had different ideas about slavery and freedom than their white neighbors imagined. As the political heat turned up in August of 1860 black Franklin residents displayed their political allegiances in a quite public way. "It is a custom among the colored folks to celebrate the first of August in commemoration of the emancipation of the Slaves in the British West India Islands," the Spirit blandly noted. Such a demonstration showed a political awareness among black people that Franklin whites never acknowledged, a global perspective on slavery and freedom that stretched far beyond the knowledge of most whites. The celebration brought together black people from towns across Franklin, staging "a grand pic-nic, military parade, and the other fixens of a jollification in such cases made and provided."

The black celebration of abolition might have gone ignored by the Democratic paper--as it had in the past--had the Spirit not seen an aid to its own political purpose in the gathering. The Democrats sought to associate the Republicans with the "bobolition selbration." They charged that the Transcript editors displayed their true loyalties "by hoisting a flag, or rather a rag, tied on a rail, from one of its port-holes, on which is the picture of a Crow with the name of Abe Lincoln underneath. It was a very fit occasion for the Transcript to show its colors and proclaim its abolition principles." (Chambersburg Valley Spirit, August 8, 1860, p. 4, c. 3)

Perhaps the Transcript had indeed put out a flag for the black marchers--though fact, exaggeration, and imagination often blurred on such occasions--but if they had it would have gone against the grain of everything else they said and did. The Transcript responded to the Spirit's charges of Republican pandering to black voters by pointing out that black people could not vote in Pennsylvania because the Democrats had stripped them of the vote. "The sap-heads are too dumb to know that a few years since negroes had the right to vote in Pennsylvania; that they exercised the right, and that they voted the Locofoco ticket. We remember having seen, upon more than one occasion, in this county, certain Locofoco township politicians leading up their 'culled brethren' to the polls and voting them for Jackson, for Van Buren and, generally having them to go 'the whole hog' for the D-e-m-o-c-r-a-c-y." In the eyes of the Republicans, black voters, like immigrant voters, were tools of the Democrats. The Republicans expressed no regret at black disfranchisement. The black people of Franklin were useful in the election of 1860 only as scapegoats and the butt of jokes.

As election day approached, the Democrats and the Republicans sought to mobilize every man in Franklin County. As the summer turned into fall, all the communities within the county staged rallies for one party or the other. Wide Awakes marched and Democrats erected poles to compete with their rivals. Leading speakers traveled to school houses and church to conduct meetings of three, four, or five hours.

Franklin County could claim a central figure in the election of 1860 in their state: Alexander K. McClure. Not only did McClure serve as state senator and own the Chambersburg Repository and Transcript, but he stood as the head of the Republican State Committee during the upcoming election. That job required a young man with great energy, quick political instincts, and boundless ambition, all of which McClure had displayed throughout his adult life. This man, only in his early thirties, occupied a heady job, overseeing a powerful state machine that would play a key role in electing Abraham Lincoln president.

The work grew to a feverish pitch in Franklin. "The time for argument is passed and now comes the time for action," admonished the Transcript. "Attend the polls all day and be vigilant. See that no voter is deceived or imposed upon by Spurious Tickets." (Chambersburg Valley Spirit, October 10, 1860, p. 4) Both parties charged the other with putting out ballots to trick less literate voters: tickets bearing the color or the symbol of the other party, distributing ballots that left off names of opposing candidates, or putting stickers over some names. "Watch them," the parties warned their faithful members, "for they are driven to the wall and will stoop to any thing, however humiliating and degrading." (Chambersburg Valley Spirit, November 7, 1860, p. 1)

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On election day, Tuesday, November 6, the Staunton Spectator published its last issue before the balloting. "This day, which has been looked to for some months with such deep anxiety by all patriots, has now arrived," the Spectator solemnly noted. "This day is pregnant with the fate of our country for weal or for woe." (Staunton Spectator, November 6, 1860, p. 2)

More than three quarters of the eligible voters of Augusta County went to the polling places in their neighborhoods. The parties made sure that every man inclined to vote for their candidate did so, whether that mean giving him a ride in a buggy or stopping by his farm. The polling places, usually a store, church, or school, gathered a few election officials behind a book in which they recorded the votes made by the men who came before them. Curious neighbors stood about. Most men proudly voted a straight ticket unless they held a personal grudge against a candidate. They had seen their party's ticket published in the newspaper every day for weeks, they had heard the speeches. Even if they had not been engaged in all the politicking going on around them, voters could have their memory refreshed by the party men who dispensed drinks and slaps on the back.

Men traveled to Augusta's twenty polling places over the course of the day. More than a thousand men, about a fourth of those in the county, voted in Staunton. The final tally surprised no one. The Unionist John Bell handily defeated the moderate Democrat Stephen Douglas, while John C. Breckinridge was only an afterthought. Bell received 2,553 votes, Douglas 1,094, and Breckinridge 218. More than three hundred men voted in the presidential election of 1860 who had not voted in the gubernatorial election eighteen months earlier. The new voters, perhaps stirred by the momentous issues facing the country or perhaps pushed by energetic party men who would let no voter rest in November 1860, went disproportionately to the Unionists.

The convincing overall victory by Bell concealed many intricacies within Augusta. High Breckinridge precincts hugged the broad middle plain of the county and the eastern border. High Douglas precincts guarded the northern flat region of the county above Staunton. High Bell precincts formed a ring along the westernmost boundary of the county, touching the Allegheny Mountains. The precincts with the highest proportion of slaveholders and the richest farms tended to vote in higher numbers for Breckinridge while Bell predominated in poorer districts, places that had the smallest margin for error. The wealthy Breckinridge precincts may have thought themselves able to withstand the dangers of political unrest while the Bell precincts sought stability above all else.

All in all, very few Augusta or Virginia voters changed parties in 1860. The strongest Whig districts of 1859 remained the strongest Whig districts in 1860; the strongest Democratic districts remained the strongest Democratic districts. Men refused to change their loyalties despite the threatening chaos. They had read the editorials and listened to the speeches; they had talked with their neighbors, wives, and in-laws. They had calculated personal economic gains and losses that might follow the election of one man or another. They noted which candidate seemed most in line with their own religious beliefs.

After all the consideration was done, however, most men would not abandon their party even for a remarkable election such as that of 1860. They might become disgusted by in-fighting and lethargy within their own party, but to change the allegiances of a lifetime and vote for another party altogether was quite rare, even in the strange days of 1860.

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Pennsylvania Republican Senator Simon Cameron, supremely confident in the summer of 1860, had just one sweet anxiety as he wrote Abraham Lincoln of the prospects for the coming election. "I only regret that our opponents are not united." Cameron wanted the satisfaction of defeating "their great man Douglas with all their forces concentrated." As it was, however, Douglas's "friends and those of Breckinridge are now more bitter against each other then they are against us and I fear that often the elections they will try to ascribe their defeat & our victory solely to their divisions." After all the years of watching the Democrats run the country and the state, Cameron longed for a total victory. The best way to keep their defeated foes from whining afterwards was to make Lincoln's "majority a very large one." Simon Cameron wanted to make the victory so overwhelming that it would be clear that he and his man could have defeated even the most unified Democracy. (Simon Cemeron to Abraham Lincoln, Aug. 1, 1860)

More than eight of ten eligible voters came to the polls distributed across the county. The fears of the Valley Spirit came to pass: about 150 Democrats abandoned the party. Furthermore, about a hundred men who had not voted Republican in October decided to join in the triumph in November. Some may have fled from the Democrats, some may have come of age, or some may been especially moved by Abraham Lincoln to vote even though they had not voted before. All in all, 56 percent of Franklin men voted for the Republican presidential candidate. The turnout, the numbers, and the winner in Franklin typified the entire North.

Party strategists might have noticed some interesting patterns as they looked over the district-by-district voting returns. The Republicans did best in the southernmost districts of Franklin, the districts where most of the black population lived. Though the black men themselves could not vote, proximity to African Americans seemed to encourage white men to vote for the party that would halt slavery's expansion. Republicans did well, too, in the towns and richer farming areas, perhaps because they liked the emphasis of the party on economic development. And it appeared that the Germans, perhaps influenced by the visit of Carl Schurz, lined up behind the new party despite the nativism of some of its founders. Finally, the Wide Awakes mobilized young men in a way the Democrats had not. In an election decided by hundreds of votes, a marginal victory in each of these groups would have given the Republicans a crucial edge.

The crucial event of the election of 1860, however, did not occur in Franklin, in Pennsylvania, or even in the North. It had taken place the summer before in Charleston, South Carolina, when the Democrats had destroyed themselves. When the Democrats could not decide on a presidential candidate who could

unite the North and the South they handed the election to the Republicans, a young party, a party assembled from diverse and even divergent materials.

Franklin Republicans and their stalwart paper, McClure's Transcript, gloried in the triumph. "The battle has been fought and the victory won! The spirit of the people rose with the fierceness of the contest!" The Republicans saw the conflict in epic terms: "No struggle, since the formation of our Government, was fraught with such important principles!" The Franklin Republicans saw only good things flowing from their victory. "The future, therefore, looks bright and cheerful. Lincoln's administration will prove the harbinger of better things to come." (Franklin Repository and Transcript, November 14, 1860)

Across the North, as in Franklin County, more than eight out of ten men went to the polls on November 6. Abraham Lincoln won by appealing to men who had been neither Republicans nor Democrats before 1860. Three fourths of those new Republicans were, like Lincoln himself, former Whigs. The rest were split about evenly between men who had been Democrats and those who had been Free Soilers. Lincoln won in part because he made inroads into the Border North, in southern Illinois, southern Indiana, and southern Ohio, where he pulled in 30 to 45 percent of the vote. Lincoln proved especially attractive to men under the age of 25. Those young voters, eligible to cast a ballot for the first time in 1860, found the Republicans tailor-made for them. The Wide Awakes drew these young men to the vigorous new party that promised opportunity in a West filled with white men. (Fogel, 382-6)

Pennsylvania proved key to Lincoln's election. The fusion between Know Nothings and Whigs, nativists and immigrants, old Free Soilers and old Democrats, so delicate at the beginning, could hardly have worked better. More men from Pennsylvania switched to the Republicans than in any other state: over 120,000 of them, 24 percent of the electorate, voted for the party in 1860 though they had not in 1856. Only 12 Pennsylvania counties, 35 fewer than in 1856, went to the Democrats. Such abrupt swings had been almost unheard of in the United States during the fiercely bipartisan political wars over the preceding three decades. It was a product of Pennsylvania's unique mixture of Protestant Germans and nativists, of fervent antislavery men in the northern counties and conservative Union men in the southern counties, of dysfunctional Democrats and shrewd Republicans.

The Republican victory was both impressive and deceptive. On the impressive side, the party won half a million more votes than four years earlier; Lincoln carried every northern state except New Jersey, which he split with Stephen Douglas; he gathered 180 electoral votes, 27 more than necessary to take the election; he would have won in the electoral college even if all his opponents had combined their votes. The Republicans, though, knew the fragility of this stirring victory: if one half of 1 percent of Northern voters in crucial places had voted differently, the election would have been thrown into the House of Representatives, where the Republicans were a minority. Abraham Lincoln, who won less than 40 percent of the popular vote in the country as a whole, would not have been president. (Fogel, 382)

Decades later, Alexander McClure would reflect in his memoirs on the meaning of this election. "A decided political revolution was generally expected in 1860, but none then dreamed that it would mean

anything more than merely halting the extension of the slave power, and liberalizing the policy of the government in the support of free industries against the slave labor of the South," he thought. "Had it been generally believed in 1860 that the election of Lincoln would bring the bloodiest civil war of modern times, and the sudden and complete overthrow of slavery at the point of the bayonet, it is doubtful whether the popular vote of the country would have invited such an appalling entertainment." Voters on both sides profoundly misunderstood and underestimated the other. " The North believed that the South was more bombastic than earnest in the threat of provoking civil war for the protection of slavery, and the South believed that the Northern people were mere money-getters, ready to yield anything rather than accept fratricidal conflict."[385-6]

* * *

The Secession Crisis

The spokesmen for secession had somehow gained a foothold in the birthplace of Washington and Jefferson. In a blistering editorial reprinted far beyond Augusta and Virginia, S. M. Yost of the Vindicator demanded to know "Where Are Our Statesmen?" "In these dark hours of our national existence, when political throes are shaking the fundamental law of the country . . . where is the statesman of Virginia to come forward and open up some way of deliverance? Echo answers, where?" In a biting attack on his own profession, Yost charged that the Virginia press was behaving "with a puerility that is really disgusting." Weak-minded and undistinguished editors had "succeeded, by the aid of a few store-box and pot-house politicians, in raising a storm that utterly bewilders them, and which leaves them without compass or rudder to guide the vessel they have launched. The criminal ignorance or imbecility of the men who have brought about this fearful state of affairs can only properly be atoned for upon the gallows." (Republican Vindicator, November 23, 1860, p. 2, c. 4]) Rather than swinging from a rope, however, the advocates of secession seemed to be gaining influence.

Everyone in the nation waited to see what South Carolina and her neighbors would do. The Unionists of Augusta waited along with everyone else. "I am glad you are proceeding with deliberation," Alex Rives wrote his friend Alexander H. H. Stuart, Augusta's state senator and long-time Unionist. "Great unquiet and apprehension, pervades the Public here. A vague fear distresses us, lest our people should be maddened by occurrences at the South and dragged after the seceding states. I am clear for keeping the State out of that vortex."

Men would say in private what they would not say in public. John Imboden, a lawyer, court clerk, militia leader, and promoter of the railroad coupler invented in Staunton, wrote to his friend John McCue, a prominent and prosperous attorney from Augusta living in the next county to the east. Both men were in their late thirties and both were substantial slaveholders. Imboden and McCue had been Whigs but now spoke in distinctly non-Unionist language. "That the entire South will speedily have to leave the Confederacy under the present Constitution I entertain no doubt whatever," Imboden acknowledged, "but I dont think S. C. has put the issue upon a defensible ground--the mere election of

a President under the Forms of law &c. Hence you have a divided South." Behind every one of these statements lay a whole set of assumptions, of imagined futures. Imboden loved the Union, but he wanted South Carolina to secede; he wanted South Carolina to secede, but he wanted it to wait to secede. This man who had, less than two weeks earlier, professed his love for the Union in the mass meeting in Staunton was already picturing Virginia out of the Union.

John Imboden--elected by the men, rich and poor, in his militia--let himself acknowledge what leading men in Augusta never said in public: slaveholders and non-slaveholders had different interests and different understandings of their interests. "You can't make the great mass of the people--especially the non slaveholders understand the political philosophy of our government, and the nice principles on which the Secessionists are now attempting to act," Imboden confided to his well-educated and well-to-do friend. "And there is great danger of creating a party with sympathies for the incoming administration, here in our midst." The Republicans, Imboden warned, might well establish a foothold in Augusta. Politics had already shifted beneath the feet of the South and no one could say how it might shift again. "The non slaveholder will fight for his section as long as the slaveholder if you can convince him that his political rights are really threatened, as a citizen. But he is not willing to leave his family & offer his life in a struggle which he believes is a mere contest between politicians in the spoils of office--and while he believes that the successful party ought to have the opportunity to develop its policy." As a result of this calculation, Imboden declared himself "opposed to immediate action. I am for preparation now- defence when the equality of my State is actually denied."

Imboden fantasized about a conversation with Abraham Lincoln. "I would say to Lincoln 'You have been elected by the vote of only about one third of the people of the U. States. Your party is revolutionary in its organization, tendencies & aims. No man of your party ought to fill any national office if it can be prevented. We--the conservative 2/3rds of the American people still control the Senate & H. of Reps. of the U. States. We will use our power in those bodies to protect ourselves.'" Imboden thought the motives of Lincoln and the Republicans as clear as could be: "the subjugation of 15 States." Because that intent was obvious, "We therefore declare war upon you & your party as you have declared war upon us. You shall have no tools of yours in office to aid you in your unholy work."

The diseased North could not possibly serve God's purposes. "There, the great substratum of society is corrupt and polluted, sending forth a stream of infidelity, heresy and blasphemy unparalleled in the history of the world." Because the North had no "permanent rule of moral action" that region was "liable to break out in the assertion of some monstrous doctrine of religious and political fanaticism, such as Millerism, Foreurism, Woman's Rightism, &c." And if the North once again demonstrated its undeniable tendency to fragment into these strange heresies, "the respect and confidence of an inferior people could not be commanded." (Republican Vindicator, December 14, 1860, p. 2, c. 3)

The Democrats, of course, saw different meanings in Lincoln's election. "It is the first time in the history of the country that its national head has been elected by a purely sectional vote. What the result of this sectional triumph will be it is not difficult to conjecture. Fifteen States are without a President--they took no part in his election, and refuse their consent to come under an administration founded upon a

sentiment hostile to their social system." The heedless insistence of the Republicans in electing a man adamantly opposed by almost half the states seemed likely to lead to fragmentation of the entire Union. After the fifteen Southern states left, "it will then have to be determined whether the Middle States will consent to remain in association with the New England States, and whether the empire of the Northwest will remain as it is, or set up for itself. Let disintegration once begin, and no man can tell where it will stop." The Democrats saw nothing good coming from Lincoln's election. Despairing, they turned to "He who holds the destiny of nations in His hands and whose high prerogative it is to change curses into blessings." (Valley Spirit, November 14, 1860, p. 4, c. 1)

To hate the Republicans was not to love the fire-eaters. "We are far from justifying the erratic, senseless, ill-digested, childish, peevish, and miserably foolish action of the State of South Carolina," the Vindicator spat. "Of all the farces that have been enacted either in comedy or tragedy, since the Christian era, South Carolina has, in her recent movements, given us the most indisputable. There never has been witnessed such an entire absence of statesmanship, foresight and common sense in the politics of any people, as that she occupies before the world." At the beginning of January 1861, the new nation South Carolina was trying to create existed only in hastily constructed trappings: "Separate from a few palmetto leaves represented on canvas, a pitiful and foresaken asterix, and a large number of brass buttons, ornamented by blue ribbon, there is nothing to indicate her nationality." (Republican Vindicator, January 4, 1860)

The same issue of the Spectator that carried Stuart's appeal for Union also carried a passionate article that discounted such appeals. "The North and the South are two different populations,," wrote "A." "The Union cannot be saved." Pretty language aside, the issue was slavery. "The time for legislation or geographical compromise has passed. The North must agree, by a permanent compact, to recognize property in slaves, and to protect it whenever our common soil extends within the limits of the Constitution." Such a declaration, ignoring everything that had happened in the politics of the nation for the last thirty years, offered the South what it really wanted: complete freedom of conscience and complete freedom of action on slavery.

If "a drop of Southern blood should be shed by a Northern Administration in the effort to force back seceding States into the Union, then be it called secession, or revolution, let her people, as one man determine to make common cause with the oppressed." Demand complete Northern capitulation, in other words, and wage war if the North sought to impose sovereignty. "In sixty days, according to all human foresight, every Southern man will be compelled by circumstances to take a decided stand for or against the South," this anonymous author felt certain. "The middle ground will then be untenable. We must abandon it then forever. It would be more graceful, more becoming, more manly to abandon it now."

The delegates bore familiar names. John Imboden, a 37 year-old attorney with a young wife and four children as well as a flourishing business and seven slaves, was among the first to declare. Imboden was well known to the citizens of Augusta, not only serving as county court clerk but also as a captain in the militia. John Imboden and his younger brother George, also an attorney, were prominent Whigs and Bell

men, but of an unusually fiery sort. Imboden had written private letters to his friend John McCue back in December, dreaming of what he would tell Abraham Lincoln, of the disdain he would direct at the Black Republican president. Becoming a delegate to the state convention would be the next best thing.

William G. Harman was even more prominent than Imboden. Harman, too, was 37, but he and his wife already had seven children. Harman owned the largest hotel in town and one of the largest plantations in the county; he was worth more than a quarter of a million dollars. His 44 slaves represented one of the largest holdings in Augusta and he hired out of a number of those slaves to his neighbors. Augusta contained 46 Harmans and they counted among their number important planters, stock dealers, and attorneys. They were a family to be taken seriously. But they were also Douglas Democrats and they had just lost Augusta the preceding fall.

Augusta people asked John B. Baldwin to come forward. A descendant of a leading Augusta family, Baldwin had excelled at the University of Virginia while still in his teens and become the law partner (and brother-in-law) of Alexander H. H. Stuart in Staunton. Forty years old and married, he and his wife had no children. Though Baldwin owned ten slaves, he possessed less wealth than his position might have suggested. Baldwin gave much of his energy to public service and the local militia, where he served as captain. He had been elected to the Virginia legislature as soon as he had reached the age of eligibility and had been known as an especially fine speaker throughout his adult life. When the moment of crisis descended on Augusta, people naturally listened to hear what he had to say. As one of the strongest Whigs and Union men in Virginia, his opinions could easily be guessed.

People in Augusta knew, too, what George Baylor was likely to say. Baylor, at 55, was older than Imboden, Harman, and Baldwin and wealthier than any of them except Harman. Another attorney, Baylor's $57,000 was impressive, as was his ownership of nine slaves. Augusta held even more Baylors than it did Harmans: 75 men, women, and children collectively owned 81 slaves. George Baylor and his kinsmen were Douglas Democrats. He had served in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1851 and later as a captain in the militia. A prominent Lutheran, Baylor had given the land on which St. John's Church rested in Staunton.

The final man who agreed to run as a delegate to the convention, albeit belatedly after another candidate had dropped out, was Alexander H. H. Stuart. The Vindicator griped that Stuart should give up his seat in the state senate if he became a delegate, but Stuart's great popularity pushed such concerns aside. Everyone knew Stuart, Augusta's most famous man--former cabinet official, former United States Representative, scion of the most prominent family, possessor of a beautiful house and other property worth a hundred thousand dollars. Married to the former Frances Peyton and the father of seven beloved children (though he had recently lost his son Briscoe Baldwin Stuart on a steamship explosion), the 53 year-old Stuart seemed to have everything. His law practice flourished and he had long stood at the head of the strong Opposition party in Augusta. His ten slaves gave him a strong stake in protecting the institution and credibility when he called for the Union--as he did at every opportunity.

The men who traveled throughout Augusta in the cold of late January 1861, putting themselves before the people and debating the future of the county, state, and maybe nation, all fit the profile of what the leading men of Augusta--and   Virginia and the South--looked   like: lawyers, slaveholders, member of prominent families, wealthy and well-connected. Most had gone to the University of Virginia. They had property both in Staunton and in the county. They belonged to the most prominent churches (Stuart to Trinity Episcopal, Harman to First Presbyterian, and Baylor to St. John's Lutheran) and they all invoked God in their cause. None of the candidates were Breckinridge Democrats, but two--Harman   and Baylor--were   Douglas Democrats. Baldwin, Stuart, and Imboden were staunch Whigs. All proclaimed their respect for their fellow candidates, their good friends. They all loved Augusta, they all loved Virginia, and they all loved the Union and the Fathers who had brought it forth. They all detested the Black Republicans and viewed South Carolina with disdain. They all desired peace and they all feared war.

Despite the candidates' similarities, it soon became clear that voters trusted some of these men and not others. The Vindicator foreswore any kind of party allegiance, but obviously preferred Imboden and Harman over the other four candidates. It made sense that the former Douglas paper would support Harman, a leading Douglas man--indeed,   the Little Giant's host during his triumphant visit to Augusta back in the fall, when everything was so different. But why would the Vindicator support John Imboden, an Opposition man?

Imboden's announcement to the people of Augusta revealed why. Of all the candidates, Imboden pulled the fewest punches. Virginia, Imboden reminded his readers and listeners, had always lived up to her constitutional duties, sacrificing her own interests to those of the nation. What had this sacrifice gotten Virginia?: "we this day see her and her institutions condemned and despised by an unprincipled Northern majority of wild political and religious fanatics, whose undisguised purpose it is to destroy all her future prosperity and greatness, by first subjugating her and the other slave States to the uncontrolled domination and power of the North, and finally, under the forms of the Constitution to effect the abolition of slavery and re-enact here the dark drama of St. Domingo." There it was, laid out cold: the Black Republicans were assaulting slavery and exalting black men.

The Republican attack on slavery, Imboden raged, was driven by the highest kind of hypocrisy and would descend with immediate consequences. "They consider themselves commissioned by the Almighty to deliver the negro race from bondage and make them the equals of white men, though to accomplish this purpose it may be necessary to put arms in their hands and incite them to insurrection and the indiscriminate murder of our wives and children." John Brown's raid showed what the fruits of Republican leadership would be. While Imboden thought the deep South states had "hastily" seceded and were wrong to do so, "of that, however, it was their right to judge and act for themselves. They have gone, and we are left now in the power and at the mercy of this party of the North, who are still with us in the Union." There was no choice: "The day for a time-serving, temporizing policy has passed. This sectional controversy must be settled, and now is the time. If it is not settled, or its settlement placed beyond a doubt before the 4th of March, in my humble judgment no settlement will then ever be possible. Lincoln will attempt the subjugation of the seceding States and then a terrific struggle will

commence." (Republican Vindicator, January 18, 1861)

Strong stuff, and listened to by large crowds, including "not a few ladies," wherever the delegates went. (Republican Vindicator, January 25, 1861, p. 2, c. 1) The Court House in Staunton was "crowded as closely as herrings in a barrel, and a great many were unable to get inside at all." (Staunton Spectator, January 29, 1861) While the Vindicator applauded Imboden and cheered when Harman said almost exactly the same things, the paper expressed disgust when their opponents refused to face the central issue. They "confined themselves mostly to appeals in behalf of the preservation of the Union, without defining any particular policy, except to wait for future developments. They seemed to lose sight of the fact that the Union was already dissolved." The old Union men did not serve the county well by going on sentimentally about their love of Union. "It will not do to sing paeans to the Union and the stars and stripes when the waves of revolution and disunion are surging all around us." (Republican Vindicator, January 25, 1861, p. 2, c. 3)

Everyone knew the election on February 4 would be "the most important which has ever occurred in the whole history of our State," and so "every voter should be sure to be at the polls to record his vote for the candidate of his choice." The Spectator thought the choice clear: "whether we will remain in the Union which has made us a great, free and happy people," or fall into secession and thus "into the bogs of anarchy and the bloody quagmire of civil war!" (Staunton Spectator, January 29, 1860) On the day of the election, Frank Sterrett, the fiance of Alansa Rounds, made an entry in his fiancee's diary: "Election day for State Convention, voted for Baldwin, Stuart and Baylor. Hope I gave judicious votes." In a reference to the love between this young woman from New York girl and this young man from Virginia, Sterrett noted playfully, "If Northern and Southern representatives were as friendly as two of their constituents, the prevailing difficulty could soon be settled!" (Memoir of Alansa Rounds Sterrett, Feb 4)

The three most fervent Union candidates won in a landslide in Augusta. Stuart, Baldwin, and Baylor each took more than three thousand votes; Imboden and Harman won only a few hundred each. Moreover, Augusta voted 3,394 to 263 to demand a chance to approve or reject whatever course the convention decided. The election brought more than eight of ten eligible voters to the polls, nearly as many as in the momentous presidential election four months earlier.

The Vindicator, thoroughly disgusted with the results of the election, no longer evaded the key issue. "Harman and Imboden, the States Rights candidates, are as good Union men as Baldwin, Stuart and Baylor, but because they advocated the policy of prompt and decisive action on the part of Virginia, as the course best calculated to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of our National troubles, they were regarded as dangerous men to the peace of the country." As John Imboden put it privately, "The idea got into the minds of the County that we were immediate secessionists, and it beat us to death." (Crofts, 154; John Imboden to Greenlee Davidson, Feb. 15, 1861)

In the period of enforced waiting in the late winter of 1861, tempers began to boil in Augusta. "When a man at this time deserts the South, and goes over, as the editor of the Spectator has done, bag and

baggage, to the enemies of this section, the Union and their God, it does not become such a man to say aught to the supporters of anybody," a letter from "Augusta" raged in the Vindicator. "I think the times have changed since the Presidential contest. If they have not, I for one have." The language became far bloodier and more threatening than it had been just weeks earlier. "Before I'll bend my knee to Lincoln and Seward, and their Virginia cohorts, I will see this land run in rivers of blood," this anonymous writer told the editor of the Spectator. (Republican Vindicator, February 8, 1861, p. 2, c. 7)

Language became even hotter in private. George Imboden, was, like his brother John, an attorney in Staunton. But he was only 23 and could claim little money and no slaves, but "I can in a few lines tell you where I stand. I am in favor of a united South, first last and all the time. Whether right or wrong, I go with the South. I am anti-disunion and anti coercion, but the union is dissolved and what's the use to shut our eyes to the fact." George acknowledged that slavery lay at the heart of the struggle. Virginia and the states of the Confederacy "have but one and the same destiny, one and the same interest, then what's the use to deny the true state of the case, and fool & cheat the people by singing hozanahs to the union when there is no union! I am called a fire eater disunionist &c &c. but I dont care what they call me. I am going to say what I think and believe and let consequences take care of themselves." (G.W. Imboden to John McCue, February 12, 1864)

Augusta men who had talked so fervently of Union in the presidential election four months earlier now spoke publicly of seceding regardless of what the State Convention might eventually decree. "Honor, freedom, justice, good faith, all are to be crushed under the Juggernaut of abolition villainy," the Democratic paper shouted. "We put it to the farmer, the mechanic, the professional man, to men of every grade of wealth and every occupation, if this deed shall be perpetrated by the Convention with impunity?" The Vindicator claimed to answer for Augusta: "they are not now, and never will be, willing to pass from a state of freedom to a condition of vassalage--to   bend their necks to the yoke of abolition servitude. The Convention cannot consign us to Northern despotism." It did not matter what the old men, the decrepit Whigs, of the Convention might do. "The Convention may delay--the   Convention may jeopardize our safety--the   Convention may put to useless sacrifice many valuable lives, but the people of Virginia, in the strength of that integrity and power and patriotism, high above all Conventions, will force their representatives to strike the blow in behalf of that civil, religious and political liberty which constitutes the chief glory and pride of our beloved Commonwealth." (Republican Vindicator, March 15, 1861, p. 2, c. 4)

The secessionists of the Confederacy, of Virginia, and of Augusta expertly narrowed the range of choices. "The question is not 'Union,' the Vindicator argued. "That is irretrievably, hopelessly broken up. No compromise of right--no   palliation of wrong, or denunciation of its resistance, can restore its fallen columns." Only one question mattered: "where shall we go? With the North or the South?"

Once the secessionists had drawn the boundaries in that way, slavery, the fundamental issue often lost in the layer-upon-layer   of constitutional debate, immediately reasserted itself in the most immediate way. It was no longer a matter of hypothetical slaves in hypothetical territories, but real slaves in Augusta County and Virginia. If we go with the North, "what are we to do with our Negroes?" the Vindicator

asked rhetorically. "Converted into pests and vampyres as they soon must be in such connexion, they will suck out the very lifeblood of the Commonwealth. And there will be no help for us. The North would gloat over our distresses, while the South, in self-defense, would be compelled to close her doors against us. The 'irrepressible conflict' will then be upon us with all its horrors." The next step in the logic was clear: "who will not say, give us war, give us anything, extermination itself, rather than such a consuming life of degradation and ruin?" (Republican Vindicator, March 29, 1861, p. 2, c. 6)

Though the institution of slavery remained sturdy, it depended on a complex and extensive political and economic web to keep slave prices high. Those who read the papers of Augusta carefully might notice signs of what would happen if slavery become suspect as a long-term investment. Joseph Mitchell was selling a prime property, a 418-acre farm, lying 3 miles west of Staunton, bisected by the Virginia Central Railroad. He was also selling "Nine Young and Likely Negroes: "a Woman 33 years of age, who is a good Cook, Ironer and Washer, with a pleasant disposition; a Man 21 years of age, who is a No. one hand; the remainder are from 3 to 14 years old, all stout and well grown. The Negroes are healthy, robust and likely." Such slaves certainly did not sound like "vampyres," but what if their value plummeted overnight? What if they had to be fed and housed but were worth less each year? Would slavery prosper? Would it long endure? (Republican Vindicator, March 29, 1861, p. 3, c. 4)

John Cochran watched the convention with disgust, fearing some deal with the North. If Virginia accepted any such plan, "woe to Virginia this proud old mother of states. For close upon the heals of such a cowardly submission" would follow "a general exodous of the owners of slaves with their slaves, and with the money for their lands in their pockets. Then will come dishonor disgrace and repudiation. Then will this fair land be polluted with the presence of hoards of yankees and other such like vermin." Cochran saw Augusta's Alexander Stuart as one of the worst traitors to Virginia, who, along with his compatriots after the ruin of the Old Dominion, would "lift their heads and glory in the consciousness of having acquired high offices among their colaborers the abolitionists by selling and disgracing their native state." Cochran saw only one way "to avert such dire calamities to the old commonwealth and that is by revolution. Some will say that the remedy is worse than the disease--but sooner would I see this fair land drenched in the blood of contending brothers than to see such a fate as the submissionist are preparing for her accomplished." Cochran was "trusting in 'God and keeping my powder dry.' I intend to make the best fight I can. And I think there are enough of my way of thinking to inaugurate a revolution which will be triumphant." Cochran, like Imboden, saw revolution and civil war within Virginia. While Imboden would move to the Confederacy, Cochran vowed to stay and fight. (J.H. Cochran to his Mother, March 3, 1861)

Stuart had not given up hope for the Northern people. He wanted Virginia to appeal across the border as well, approaching Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. He would "invite them to disconnect themselves from the extreme North and Northwest." Stuart maintained his faith in "business relations, private interests, social ties, the ties of brotherhood, the ties of intermarriage and of communication, in every form and shape in which they can take place." He felt certain that these bonds would "counterbalance this odious fanaticism." A border empire, uniting the reasonable people across the boundary of slavery, might yet save the legacy of their fathers. (Robertson, 188-203)

But Virginia would not wait. The day after Stuart's speech, April 17, the Convention voted to secede, 88 to 55. After the balloting, some delegates changed their votes to lend greater weight to the majority, making it 103 to 46. Augusta's representatives refused to change their votes; the county stood alone in the central Valley in its unanimity against immediate secession. The counties above and below Augusta split their votes, but the rest of the Valley, from near the Maryland border down to the border with Tennessee, threw themselves behind the Confederacy without a dissenting voice.

* * *

Reading of the preponderance of Unionists in Virginia's votes for convention delegates in February 1861, Thaddeus Stevens, congressman and Franklin County iron furnace owner, chuckled: "Well, well, well, old Virginia has tucked her tail between her legs and run, and thus ends the secession farce." Crofts, 153; quoted in Richmond Dispatch, Feb. 9, 1861) The Republicans thought they had stared down the Slave Power, breaking its will and revealing it for the sham it was. Without the enthusiastic support of the Border States, the Cotton States' 10 percent of the nation's white population could not hope to hold out for long.

All across the North, Republicans watched the unfolding events with grim satisfaction, rising blood, and churning anxiety. It was good to watch the arrogant South twist and turn, caught in its own web of intrigue and bluster. It was good to hear the bitter words between the Upper South and Lower South. And, as Thaddeus Stevens put it, it was good to watch the largest slave state ignominiously retreat from its most outrageous threats. But the satisfaction could only run so deep. The fact remained: the Union had already been divided and it might well divide more deeply. Pennsylvania, in particular, had conflicting emotions. The state had been crucial to the Republican victory the preceding fall, its remarkably large swing to the Republicans doing much to cement Lincoln's win. Yet the state's conversion to the Republicans had been recent and opposition to the party remained strong and wide.

Despite the Republicans' triumph the previous fall, nearly half of Pennsylvania voters had not voted for Lincoln or Curtin. The cascade of events in the South over the last few months had not made those Democrats lose their sympathy for their fellow white people across their border. Even the Republicans were divided. A Franklin County man wrote Senator Simon Cameron with his view of things. "All we want to save the Union, is to let the people of the north have a chance to say to the people of the south that they are ready to so amend the constitution as to give the south all the guarantees they ask. There are numerous men in this county who voted for Lincoln, that will vote for any amendment to the constitution (Crittenden, Douglass) or any thing else almost that has a reasonable face." Should there be war, the Democrats could not be counted on. "Will Mr. Curtin and M'Clure undertake to compel the democrats of this state to go south to fight their brethren. They will have a good time in doing it, I fancy." (William Garvin to Simon Cameron, January 24, 1861)

The Democrats did not accept the constitutional theories put forward by the Republicans nor the strategies they pursued to keep the nation together. When the state legislature came into session some

people counseled that Pennsylvania raise a million dollars to supply the soldiers of the state. "What for?," asked the Spirit. "Pennsylvania is not threatened with an attack from any quarter." Moreover, "as a member of the Federal Union she has no right to assail any member of the Confederacy." The mere fact of preparation might bring on the conflict it supposedly sought to avoid. "The moment Pennsylvania commences making military preparations, that moment will the border States take the alarm, and proceed to arm their citizens for defence. Then the revolution will be upon us. Not cornered to the distant cotton States; but right at home, upon our borders." (Valley Spirit, January 2, 1861, p. 4, c. 4)

The Democrats scoffed at the Republicans' portrayal of the South as impoverished and weak. The Republicans "are ever swaggering and boasting of the superiority of the North over the South, and would fain make people believe that the South grows nothing but 'niggers,' that they consume more than they produce and have long ago eaten their masters out of house and lands, and that the South is only kept up by the alms bestowed upon it by the North." (Valley Spirit, January 16, 1861, p. 4, c. 2) Though "there are many sap-heads in the community who really believe all this," many practical men did not. Businessmen staged meetings across Pennsylvania and the Border North to remind people how much they depended on the South.

The Democrats of Franklin held a public meeting in February to discuss "the present fearful crisis in our national affairs." The meeting resolved that "under the Constitution, all the States of the Union are equally sovereign and independent." The Democrats of Franklin stood united behind the Crittenden Compromise, happy to sanction the existence of slavery in perpetuity in exchange for the Union. J. McD. Sharpe, a 29 year-old attorney from Chambersburg who had already amassed $22,000 of property, delivered a long and potent address in which he calculated the costs of the Republicans' election. The speech occupied nearly an entire page of the Spirit. Sharpe could hardly believe what was happening before the eyes of the nation as a result of Lincoln's election. "Three months ago the domain of the United States extended from Maine to Florida, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; now, it stops far short of the gulf of Mexico. Three months ago 'the Stars and Stripes' waived over the forts at Pensacola, over Moultrie and Pinkney in Charleston harbor, an honored ensign, a shield to its friends, but a terror to its foes.--Now,   that glorious banner whose stars have so often risen upon the night of humanity, as a beacon of hope to the oppressed, the world over, is lowered amid the howlings of Southern mobs, and trampled in the dust, with every mark of indignity." Three months ago, "'Hail Columbia' and 'Yankee Doodle,' thrilled with the deepest emotions of patriotism, the hearts of more than thirty millions of people, in thirty three sovereign states; now, these same national ballads are greeted with hisses, and in seven states of the old confederacy, have been banned and proscribed, and banished from their borders, as being the utterances of treason, against the new empire of 'the Confederate States of America.'"

In those Southern states "the heavy tread of artillery, has usurped the swift step of the tradesmen and mechanic. The pomp and circumstance of glorious war, have banished from out their borders, all the arts of peace." The Northern states had been seized with the same "military frenzy. New companies are being formed and armed. The mechanic rushes from his shop, the merchant from his store and the professional man from his office to fill up the ranks. There is a growing thirst for military fame, and an impatience of restraint or delay." Such a portrait contained no exaggeration. "I have drawn no fancy

sketch," Sharpe sighed, "I have deepened no hue, nor have I added a single sombre color, to the melancholy picture."

Sharpe set aside the usual language of political rivals, the manly language of sneer and bluff and sarcasm. Instead, he begged. " I beseech the Republicans, in the name of humanity, in the name of justice, in the name of the fathers of the Republic, in the name of the children that have descended from their loins, in the name of an unborn posterity, in the name of all they hold dear on earth, or hope for in Heaven, to arise from this lethargy, and save the country." The Border States, Sharpe argued, reached out for peace. "Virginia, 'the Mother of Statesmen and of Presidents,'--Virginia,   containing within her borders the grave of Washington--that   Mecca of America," needed only reassurance. With Jackson's Tennessee and Clay's Kentucky holding forth the olive branch as well, dare the North reject them? "If we do, fearful will be our responsibility, for the 'sic semper tyrannis' of Virginia will become the battle-cry of the United South."

Sharpe had no fear that the South would conquer the North. "But could we conquer the South, that is the question?" The American Revolution held out a sobering possibility that the North would not be victorious. "I would remind you, that three millions of raw, badly equipped and poorly armed militia men, in the days of the revolution, trusting in the justice of their cause, during the eight long years, resisted the flower of the British army, and at last, snatched from the lion of England, a the mouth of the cannon, the brightest jewels of the crown." And the South posed a far greater force than the American patriots of the Revolution. "The South is eight millions strong, rich in resources, skilled in the art of war, and fertile in military genius." Even if the North could muster the force necessary to conquer such a vast and well-fortified land, what then? "Commerce destroyed, cities burned to the ground, fields uncultivated, the people debauched, the arts of peace banished, and the fruits of industry relinquished for the more easily acquired spoils of robbery." Moreover, "what would we do with the South, after we had conquered her. Could we hold her in the Union by force? The idea is preposterous." The South simply would never submit. "The men of the South have loved liberty too long and too well, are too much like ourselves, not to prefer to die freemen, rather than to live slaves."

So, what course of action could Sharpe possibly recommend? The Republicans should prove they really meant what they said about preserving slavery where it was; they should accept the Crittenden Compromise. State treasuries in the North should repay slaveholders whose escaped slaves were not returned. But what of the territories, the crucial issue? The Republican argument is "that all the territory now owned by the Government must and shall be devoted to Northern settlement, and shall become the exclusive domicil and possession of the sons of the North to the total exclusion of Southern men, and their property and domestic institutions." As attractive as that prospect seemed to Northerners, it was not fair. "It will scarcely be denied, that the territories are the common property of the whole country," Sharpe argued, "purchased, as they are, with common treasure and common blood, how does the North acquire an exclusive ownership, an exclusive right to populate them?"

Sharpe thought the plan put forward by border Southerners the only honest means of dealing with the territories. Let those territories be divided between the North and the South "by a consentable line; let

slavery be prohibited in all the territory north of it, and recognized as an existing institution, beyond Congressional or Legislative control, in all the territories south of it." This compromise "recognizes the equality of both sections in the Union, and will, without, doing any real harm to the cause of freedom remove that nervous sensibility, which the south very naturally feels about her constitutional rights." Slaveowners would not go into New Mexico; they were free to go there now and only 24 slaves lived in a territory the size of four Pennsylvanias. Self-interest, along with climate and land, would keep slavery out. Law was unnecessary, war even less so. "Dissolve the Union, for a mere abstraction, and the whole civilized world will cry shame on us and our children and our children's children to the latest generation will rise up and curse our memories." (Valley Spirit, February 20, 1861, p. 4, c. 1)

Letters from Chambersburg to Republican Senator Simon Cameron revealed that some Republicans agreed with this sobering prediction and plea. "I can assure you Crittendon's course is the most proper and popular at this time," John Berryhill wrote, "and if you can't compromise, so as to retain Virginia, Maryland Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri in the Union, then let the Southern Fire eaters and rabid abolitionists and uncompromising shall I say, black Republicans, go their own way to distruction for that will be their distruction and I fear of the whole country." Pennsylvania should join "the Middle Portion of the Republic" to create "a separate, Independant, and free country." The "Middle Portion of the Republic" clearly embraced both the Border North and the Border South, a land of moderation and white freedom. (John Berryhill to Simon Cameron, January 11, 1861)

* * *

ANALYSIS: Summary

The nature of the differences between the North and South have been a topic for debate as long as there has been a United States. Since the Civil War, in particular, historians have imagined those differences in a wide variety of ways. Some have argued that slavery made the differences run deep, into the fabric of the culture, economy, and politics of the North and South, into the very personalities of white Northerners and Southerners. Others have argued that slavery exerted a less pervasive influence, leaving the whites on either side of the Mason-Dixon Line far more alike than different, sharing a common language, religion, history, ethnic background, political structure, economic orientation, and fundamental ideas about race.

Each interpretation adopts a frame of reference that reinforces its assumptions. Those who focus on nationwide political parties find similarity, while those who focus on political conflict between North and South find differences. Those who focus on market orientation find common notions of property and profit, while those who focus on labor relations and the role of contract find profound antagonism. Those who focus on the religious beliefs of abolitionists and proslavery advocates find great differences, while those who focus on general doctrine and practice find that Protestants shared fundamental beliefs across the nation.

The arguments have combined and conflated several related arguments. Sometimes, the debate has been over the extent of differences between the societies of the North and the South. Other times, people have disagreed more narrowly, over the difference slavery made as a political issue. Those who focus on fundamental social differences often treat politics merely as a manifestation of those differences; those who focus on politics often take the social differences for granted or rely on the most general kinds of indices of social difference.

The differences between North and South have been understood most often as a question of modernity, the North often portrayed as the embodiment of an emergent modern society based on capitalism, democracy, literacy, reform, gender relations, and industrialization, contrasted to a South stunted in these aspects of development. Other historians, by contrast, emphasize that the white South, by international standards, was quite modern in virtually every way, ranging from the role of print to railroad building, from political engagement to the adoption of technology.

Much of the debate has been framed by the work of Eugene Genovese who has explained the South as a pre-modern, pre-capitalist region where dominant planter elites enveloped society, economy, and politics. "Planter hegemony" set the South apart and explained the inevitable collision with the North in war over slavery. Genovese put the master-slave relationship at the center of his argument about the South, arguing that it determined class and social relations, as well as ideology, law, political expression, and nearly every facet of southern life. The South, according to Genovese, was sharply different from the North, but not so different from other premodern societies in history.

Another axis of debate has turned around the differences among whites North and South. Most of the scholarship has focused on the class structures of North and South, finding in both intense inequalities. One school of interpretation, following the Republican critique of the 1850s, has emphasized the damage slavery did to nonslaveholders, limiting their economic opportunities and political freedom. Another school has emphasized exactly the opposite: the benefits of racial domination to all whites, elevating them psychologically, socially, and politically.

Yet another axis of debate has turned around the politics of sectional conflict. Historians of the North have struggled with the role of slavery in dividing the Whigs, Democrats, Know-Nothings, and Republicans from one another, weighing the divisions over slavery against those of class, religion, ethnicity, and economic orientation. Historians of the South have struggled with the role of slavery in similar ways, trying to discern the way that slavery shaped party orientation and voting from the Jacksonian era through the secession crisis. Thomas Alexander, Joel Sibley, Peyton McCrary and others' studies of party strength in the South found that Southern parties did not divide along class lines or slaveholding and that slavery did not create a different political outlook or process in the region. Some have seen slavery as a central dividing issue while others have been struck by the salience of competing kinds of definition.

Studies of economic development and structures in the North and South have found important areas of overlap, similarity, and divergence in various facets of economic life. Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman's work, as well as Gavin Wright's, portrayed a thriving and prosperous South, not especially different in its fundamental economic patterns from the North. The antebellum South, economic historians concluded after several decades of intense scholarship, was bourgeois at its core, interested more in profit maximization than social hegemony, and startlingly successful.

Periodically, someone has paused in this outpouring of scholarship to offer an overview of current thinking. The *American Historical Review* offered a roundtable on the issue in 1980. There, Edward Pessen asked, "How different from each other were the antebellum North and South?" His answer was: distinctive, yes, but not fundamentally different, especially if one focused on property distribution among whites. In fact, Pessen argued, North and South were not so much different as complementary, joined through mutual benefit in their economies and common social and political structures. He relied on a range of research, most notably Gavin Wright and Lee Soltow's analysis of the basic similarities in wealth distribution and income between the sections. Pessen concluded that the North's and South's similarities might have more to do with the coming of the Civil War than their differences. He pointed to "similarly selfish interests--or perceived interests" rather than to "differences in their cultures and institutions" as the most compelling explanation for the Civil War.

One participant in the forum, Stanley Engerman, noted that much of the scholarship Pessen reviewed examined only either the North or the South. Few works were explicitly comparative, testing the similarities and differences across the sections. Another participant, Thomas Alexander, concluded with a discouraging, if accurate, summary: "there is still little agreement on how all of these [factors] interacted to bring about an intersectional war, nor is there agreement on which of the similarities and

differences are central to understanding antebellum life."

In the twenty years since Pessen's article, the pursuit of this problem has become ever more sophisticated and no less energetic. If the South and North were more similar than different, why did they go to war? Books, articles, and dissertations have appeared devoted directly to this question. Many of these recent works have taken a comparative approach, usually focused on places in the Upper North and Lower South for their tests, comparing Massachusetts and Michigan, say, with South Carolina and Alabama. Such comparisons make sense for many purposes, but they necessarily emphasize difference. Still, as they dug deeper into localities and states, historians kept coming up with fundamental similarities in social institutions, political cultures, and economic structures. John Quist's study of nineteenth-century reformers in Michigan and Alabama, for example, emphasized that in both places reform grew in soil rich with evangelical revivals and growing markets. Quist found deep and striking similarities.

Historians of politics and social life have focused on the complex connections and loyalties of between national parties and individual voters, and they have been especially interested in the upper South and lower North. Michael Holt, Daniel Crofts, and William Shade have compiled the most detailed studies of party formation in the antebellum period for Pennsylvania and Virginia. Their studies suggest several important patterns. First, ethnicity and religious affiliation were important determinants for party identification in this period in both places. Second, party leadership in both places shifted in the 1850s, becoming less differentiated by socioeconomic factors. Third, strong economic growth and prosperity in the 1850s challenged the patterns of party loyalty and allowed party institutions to weaken. Fourth, local issues, such as taxes, schools, and courts were crucial in creating party alignments and in many cases overshadowed the importance of national issues. Finally, all three studies point to the neighborhood or local network as the most important variable in determining how individuals voted and aligned themselves with political parties.

At the local level men divided into parties for reasons so subtle that we can hardly reconstruct them. The most recent and complete study of voting patterns in Virginia, by Daniel Crofts, reveals that residence, slaveholding, and religion--in that order--explained how men voted. The confluence of "family, neighborhood, partisanship, slaveholding, agricultural production, and religious affiliation" depended on local geography, its cultural and social settlement patterns and the natural features around them. This portrayal corresponds with those of other parts of the United States, including Harry Watson's pioneering study of Cumberland County, North Carolina, and a remarkably detailed study of Washington County, Oregon, by Paul Bourke and Donald DeBats. The most recent community-level study, by Glenn Alschuler and Stuart Blumin, examines local political activity and institutions in eight nineteenth-century American communities and found a shockingly low level of participation and political activism in these places. They found that politics occupied a tenuous "space" within the lives of ordinary Americans. Politics, the authors suggested, did not enter everything in American society and life in these years; instead, it competed for the attention of Americans who viewed parties as rude, base, self-aggrandizing institutions, far from the virtuous and altruistic presence in their lives of religion, civic duty, republicanism, and liberalism.

Up close, sweeping assertions about the correspondence between social identity and political identity dissolve and even disappear. This is even the case for the connection between slaveholding and political involvement. From the most general perspective, the war pitted a slave South against a free North; the states with the largest proportion of slaves in their populations seceded first and those with lower proportions seceded later. But when we push below this plane of simple state-level analysis, the picture immediately becomes more complex. Aggregate studies have found no consistent correlation between slaveholding and counties' votes on secession-especially in the Deep South. Yet slavery proved the key in the Upper South states that seceded later. Their reluctance to secede did not grow from a weakened devotion to slavery. Slaveholders led the movement out of the Union and won the most votes in the Upper South where slavery was most entrenched.

Our key precept, however, is this: for an argument about the differences and similarities between North and South to be persuasive, it must embrace the full complexity of the evidence and it must be explicitly comparative. We begin by noting that as useful as earlier comparative studies are, they neglect a large portion of the United States: the borderland that encompassed vast areas of what became the Federal and Confederates sides in the Civil War. Kevin Phillips has argued in a recent book that "Together, the Lower North, Upper South, and Border counted off half of the U. S. states and two-thirds of the population." That may be a bit extravagant, depending on how one does the math, but it is not far wrong if we count, say, all the Northern counties along the Mason-Dixon Line, Ohio River, and Mississippi River in which a significant number of men voted against Lincoln in 1860 and 1864 or if we count all the slave states south of that line that either did not secede or seceded only in April 1861. Only one study, published in 1927, has been devoted to the role of the border in the Civil War. In it political scientist Edward Conrad Smith contended that the border constituted a distinctive and "homogeneous" region of "essential unity," containing nearly five million people. He called the area "The Borderland" and included in it Kentucky, Missouri, western Virginia, southern Illinois, and southern Ohio. The historical geographer D. W. Meinig describes the challenge of mapping the sections very well: "we must surely have something more than a simple map of North and South, of a Mason-Dixon Line (even as a shorthand term), of the Union and the Confederacy as two entities, if we are to have any sense at all of what 'secession' meant in this complicated geopolitical structure during its unprecedented crisis."

But, the "Borderland" can be a misleading term if it implies that the dominant characteristics of region were muted in these places. They were not: slavery remained strong in the Upper South and Northern identity remained strong in the Lower North. Instead, we need to see the networks--commercial, geographic, familial, social, and legal--connecting communities along the Border and how those trans-local networks shaped identity. Their identities were shaped and defined close to home, in their neighborhoods, churches, farmsteads, and businesses.

One of our major arguments is that the differences between North and South, especially the role of slavery, might be understood more clearly by disassembling slave and non-slave societies into their constitutive elements. Our conclusions will only be clear after readers have examined the array of evidence, but we can offer some general points of argument here.

* Slavery worked at every level of American society in 1860, from the most intrinsic and thus invisible to the most self-conscious ideological and political.
* Slavery exerted a more profound difference for being complex, multifaceted, problematic, and unpredictable.
* Material conditions and relations were expressed in oblique, counter-intuitive, and self-defeating political ways, according to an ever-changing situational logic that did not always accord with social logic.

Ideology, though bounded and channeled by social experience, was full of latencies. People on both sides in 1860 were ideologically prepared to act in profoundly different ways, ranging from peace, union, and continued slavery on one hand to secession, war, and emancipation on the other. The social orders of the North and South, free labor and slave, could have created and sustained any of these possibilities. In Augusta men voted overwhelmingly to send committed Unionists, two of them Whigs and one a Democrat, to the secession convention in 1861, and 93 percent of the voters in Augusta demanded that they have a vote to approve or reject whatever the convention decided. Eighty percent of the eligible voters participated in this election. The event was one in a long line that brought Augustans to a set of political choices. These opportunities were not foregone conclusions, since structures did not govern their outcome or even the range of outcomes.
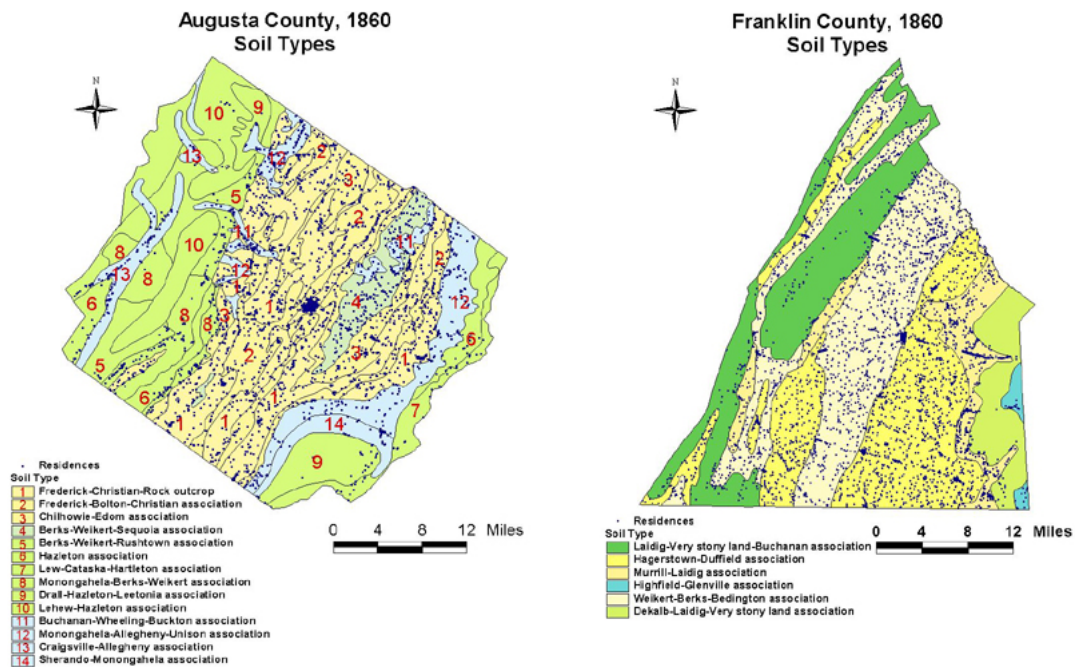
To understand why events followed some possibilities and not others, we must understand the physicality of ideology, its intimate and intricate connection to lived experience, to institutions, events, and daily life, its flux in time. Despite similarity in many aspects of their lives, war came to Americans when politics failed to manage the profound differences.

Economic Structures

Both Augusta and Franklin were prosperous and diversified. Blessed with the advantages of rich soil, abundant water, and seasonable weather, both places grew vast quantities of grain, sustained towns, and depended on railroads that came into their counties. Both generated industry, sustained commercial newspapers and internal trade networks, traded intensely with other cities, and provided similar employment opportunities.

The white class structure did not differ markedly between the Northern and Southern community; similar proportions of propertyless and unskilled whites lived in both places. Non-slaveholders were not pushed onto marginal land in the Southern county, instead sharing equal proportions of the finest land and distributed in the same proportion as slaveholders across the landscape. The same availability of excellent soil characterized the Northern county. Occupations did not differ between the two places and the laboring classes were comprised of the same general age and wealth.

Augusta County, 1860
Soil Types

Franklin County, 1860
Soil Types

· Residences
Soil Type
1 Frederick-Christian-Rock outcrop
2 Frederick-Bolton-Christian association
3 Chilhowie-Edom association
4 Berks-Weikert-Sequoia association
5 Berks-Weikert-Rushtown association
6 Hazleton association
7 Lew-Cataska-Hartleton association
8 Monongahela-Berks-Weikert association
9 Drall-Hazleton-Leetonia association
10 Lehew-Hazleton association
11 Buchanan-Wheeling-Buckton association
12 Monongahela-Allegheny-Unison association
13 Craigsville-Allegheny association
14 Sherando-Monongahela association

· Residences
Soil Type
Laidig-Very stony land-Buchanan association
Hagerstown-Duffield association
Murrill-Laidig association
Highfield-Glenville association
Weikert-Berks-Bedington association
Dekalb-Laidig-Very stony land association

0   4   8   12 Miles

In some significant ways, though, the economic structures of these places differed. In almost every category of wealth, whites were better off in Augusta, for they owned more property and had larger farms than whites in Franklin. Some whites in Augusta accumulated huge fortunes in slaves as personal property. Women in Augusta outpaced their counterparts in Franklin, amassing larger real and personal estates. In addition, free blacks in Augusta obtained a higher level of wealth than black residents in Franklin. In the view of many whites in Augusta, their society was responsible for a higher standard of living, one that benefitted all whites. Slaves, too, according to Augusta's whites, benefitted from these advantages. Slaves, Augusta's whites told each other, were better off in slavery than free, and better off than the free laborers in the North.

Other differences in the distribution of wealth requires closer scrutiny of the geographic locus of wealth in these communities. For example, although household wealth was distributed in the same proportion in each county, wealth's geographic location was different. Augusta's wealth was proportionately greater in its town areas, while Franklin's was greater in its rural areas. Franklin's towns were more densely settled than Augusta's and more populated by lower classes, and Augusta's towns were the preferred locations for the residences of the county's wealthiest planters. Slaves as property boosted the wealth of town dwellers in Augusta, whether those slaves lived in the town or worked on outlying plantations.

Slavery exerted profound effects in the very structures of population and production of Augusta. Slaves worked throughout the entire county, on every type of soil and in every kind of labor. The southern county generated smaller towns and created industries confined to lower levels of processing. Farms that

looked quite similar to their Franklin counterparts in fact devoted their resources to different crop mixes. Slaveowners shifted slaves from agricultural to quasi-industrial work as the seasons changed, with slaves that worked in wheat fields also working in distilleries, forests, and mines. The institution of slavery proved remarkably adaptable, and Augusta whites who did not own slaves hired them in great numbers.

A quiet difference between the communities lay in their approaches to agricultural production, which constituted the basis of the economy in both places. Franklin and Augusta both grew large amounts of wheat, corn, hay, livestock, and other grains. Franklin's commitment to wheat production far exceeded Augusta's, and Franklin's wheat farmers were more productive on average and on a per acre basis than their Augusta counterparts, especially on the best soil. Augusta's corn production far exceeded Franklin's on average and on a per acre basis, and Augusta's farmers were more productive with this crop than Franklin's. The difference was more than one of preference. Corn was undoubtedly the crop that fed slaves in Augusta and neighboring counties. In Franklin wheat was considered the crop of a free labor society. Yet Augusta's white planters increasingly concentrated their slave labor on wheat, producing on the largest plantations a high level of productivity.
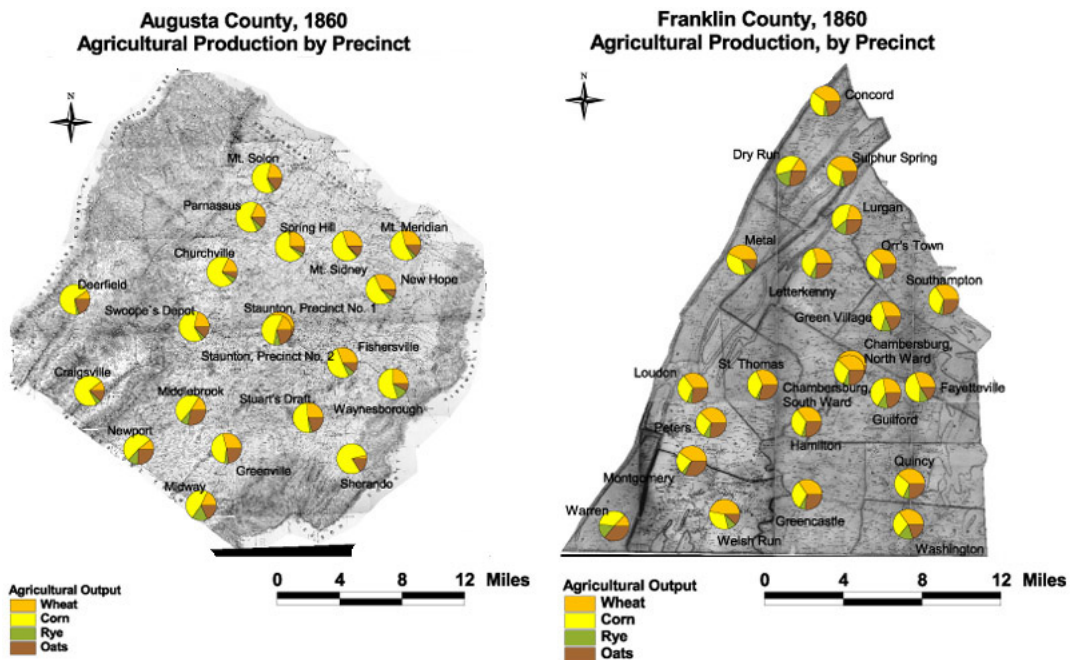

Just as crop choices showed subtle differences, so did both places' investment in manufacturing. Augusta residents used slave labor to create localized agricultural systems and semi-finished manufacturing enterprises that exploited the availability of unskilled labor. Franklin residents, from small farms and skilled workshops, produced high-value goods sold through national and international

markets. Property-owners in both places made efficient use of the resources of labor they commanded. Augusta planters chose to enter the wheat economy and deployed their slave labor across an array of agricultural and industrial tasks. Augusta's handful of skilled artisans eschewed slave labor, while Franklin's numerous artisans made substantial capital investment in the county.

Just as Augusta and Franklin's agricultural production exhibited subtle differences in crop mixes, so too did their infrastructure. While both places were highly networked with infrastructure, Franklin built more miles of major roadway per square mile in the county while Augusta concentrated on the minor roads connecting farms and smaller towns. Augusta's corn crop required local distribution on minor roads and Franklin's wheat required greater access to markets through major roads. Augusta's wheat investment, though, was significant and so was its commitment to the major roads and railroads necessary to move it out of the county. Augusta built major roads when measured on a per capita basis just as energetically and successfully as Franklin.
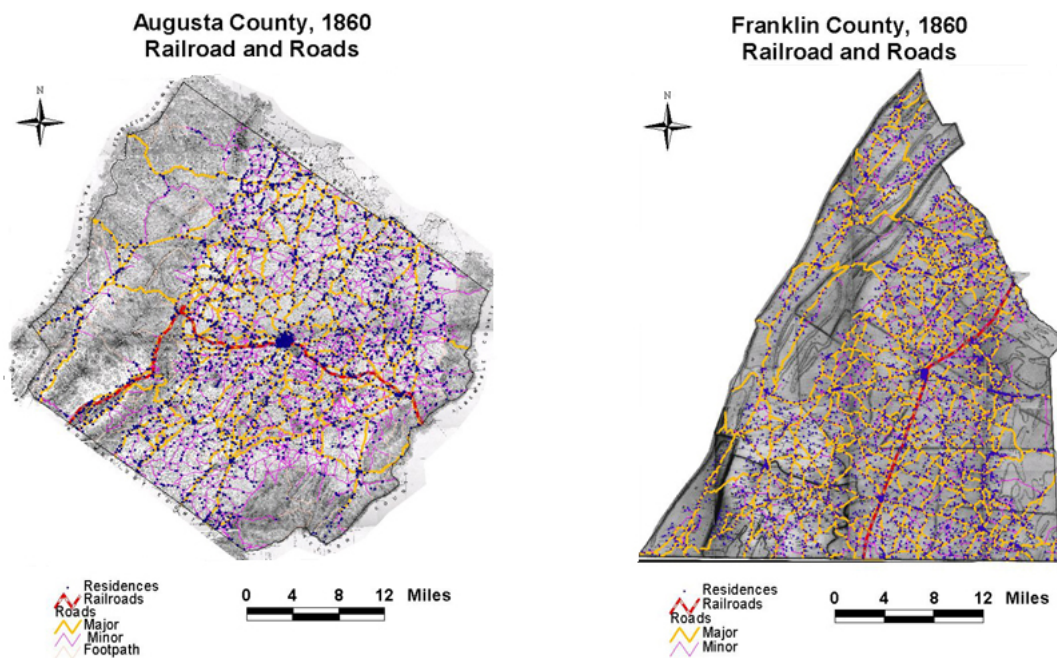
By their own lights, white people in both Franklin and Augusta were highly successful in 1860. Property-holders and businessmen in both places had adjusted their resources to take advantage of the labor, land, transportation, raw materials, and skills available to them. In this respect Augusta and Franklin represented the wide region of the border, stretching from Virginia and Pennsylvania across Ohio and Kentucky. Along the border of slavery southern counties achieved a high cash value of their farms while northern counties secured a higher value per acre on their farms. This pattern held as well for the contiguous neighbors of Augusta and Franklin.

Social Structures

Augusta and Franklin bore many profound similarities in their social structures. Their churches, schools, newspapers, and political parties were clearly variants of the same kinds of institutions. People in both communities drew on the same cultural traditions, found the same topics, trends, and fads fascinating, adopted the same fashions, and read the same books. They eagerly employed the same new technologies. White women found similar opportunities above and below the Mason-Dixon Line. Free black people faced similarly restricted economic opportunities in both places. While both counties had some immigrants, the population of each was heavily native-born. White residents in both places often treated African Americans with disregard and contempt.

Yet slavery had insinuated itself into every facet of life in Augusta. Slavery touched every corner of Augusta, reaching into its mountains, valleys, and hollows. The institution was found at every elevation, on every soil type. The newspapers were filled with the business of slavery and business adapted itself to the opportunities and constraints of bondage.
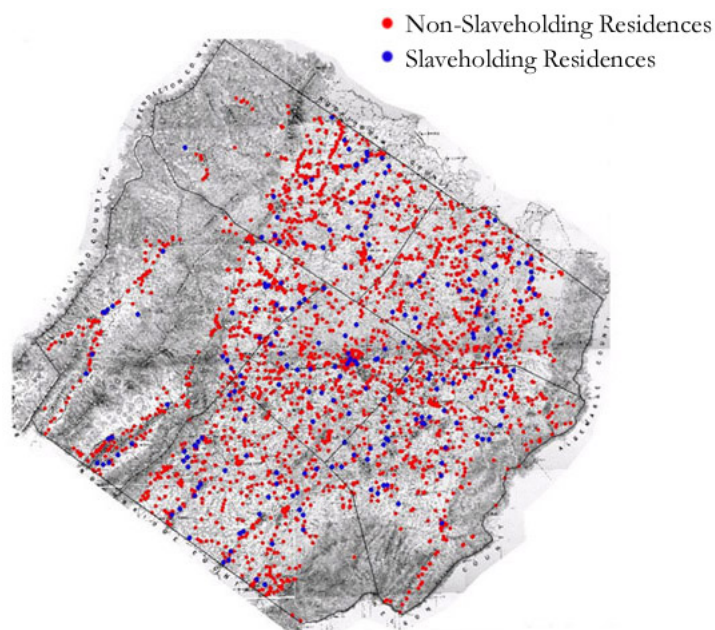
The most startling and observable difference on the ground was the the difference in population density. In the North the average population per square mile was 32 persons. Ninety-five percent of Southern counties had a lower density of white residents than the Northern average. In Franklin County the population density was 55 persons per square mile, while Augusta held just 28 persons per square mile (22 white residents per square mile). Historians have suggested that such a thorough and persistent

difference might account for other sectional differences in economy, social structure, or understanding of political power.

For many contemporaries the difference between North and South was observable and real, visible on the ground in the ways buildings looked, were arranged or cared for, in the ways crops were planted, tended, or harvested, in the ways roads and towns intersected and developed. Northern travelers looked at the relative sparseness of people on the land in the South and viewed it as a lack of progress and energy. The Northerners saw scattered schoolhouses and churches, isolated villages and empty roads. White Southerners, however, thought they lived in places more beautiful and more humane than the crowded rural districts of the North. They argued that their farms, plantations, and towns were just as productive as those of the North, that white people in the South were actually better off than those in the North.

Political Structures

Both Augusta and Franklin maintained vigorous political parties. Residents of both places were linked through networks of party structure, patronage, and interest into national institutions. Party activists in both places used the newspapers to mobilize supporters and disparage opponents. As they chose representatives and party leaders in the months preceding the election of 1860, residents of each place followed patterns established in previous political contests.

The connections between political expression and economic and social life prove far more complicated than aggregate numbers suggest. While we can discern patterns in the detailed numbers and maps,

neither in the North or in the South did the way a man voted simply reflect his material interests, ethnic background, or geographic location. Historians have developed sophisticated techniques for measuring ethnic and religious correlations with voting and party preferences in period from 1830s to the election of 1860. William G. Shade's work on Virginia concludes that the Valley region's political alignments correlated closely with the region's religious 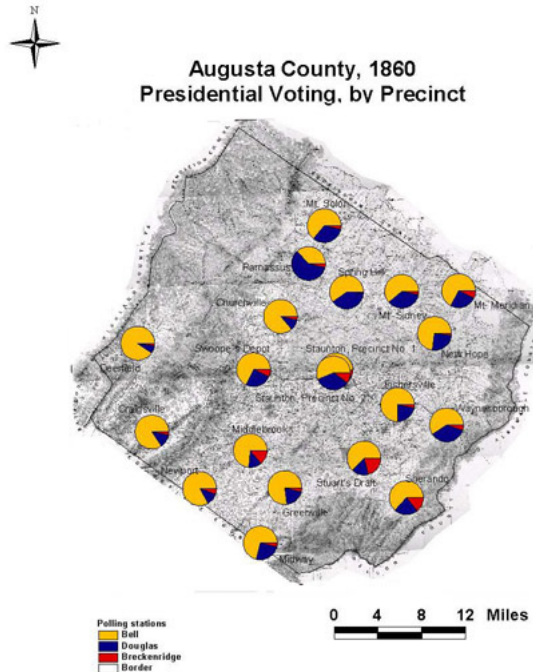and ethnic groupings--Valley Scots-Irish Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Methodists preferred the Whig Party, while German Lutherans, Mennonites, and Reformed found the Democrats attractive. Within Augusta County, however, the geographic location of churches, for example, bore little relationship to voting patterns at the precinct level.

Still, some patterns in Augusta and Franklin's voting in 1860 seem clear. In Franklin Abraham Lincoln won precincts where blacks lived, even though they could not vote. These precincts were also geographically connected, stretching across the urban middle of the county and up its eastern edge, and had a larger proportion of young voters in their twenties and thirties. Franklin's Democrats voted mostly for Breckinridge, following the local party leadership's decision to spurn Stephen Douglas, and they carried precincts far from the urban centers of the county. In Augusta where Constitutional Unionist John Bell easily won, the Democrats secured support in the rural areas most closely linked to large-scale slavery. In the mountains and towns, where Whig sensibilities were predominant, Bell's commitment to slavery and union together represented their interests and they turned out for him.

Franklin County, 1860
Presidential Election

Augusta County, 1860
Presidential Voting, by Precinct
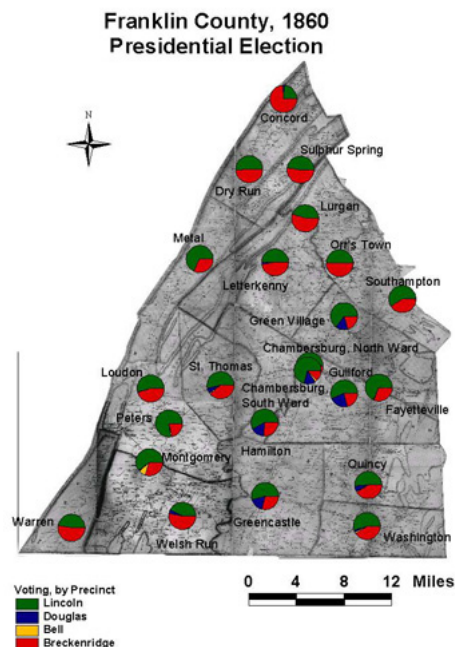
Political events must be understood in the particular flux of time and event, as new situations and calculations confronted voters. The outcomes in Franklin and Augusta were by no means self-evident in 1860. Lincoln's election in Franklin and Bell's in Augusta depended on a cascade of events within the context of each communities' social and economic structures. Both moved toward secession cautiously, with realization that much could be lost. But the larger network of political action framed the choices for Augusta and Franklin residents in 1861. These changes can best be portrayed through a narrative that traces change across time.

Conclusion

Despite these subtleties and complexities, the loyalties that abruptly emerged from the swirl of events proved remarkably strong, both North and South. Augusta residents in 1861 almost overnight switched from staunchly unionist to Confederate loyalists, mobilizing for war with little debate. In Franklin residents eagerly prepared for war as well. Thus, we are confronted with both daunting complexity and seductive simplicity. It is tempting to set the former aside, since the latter triumphed with enormous consequences and because apologists for the Confederacy have seized on the complications as excuses to avoid the central role slavery played. Impatiently brushing aside the complications in favor of some elemental bottom line, however, is a mistake because it misses the fundamental slippage that produced the Civil War.

It was the very overlap, convergence, and certainty of compromise on the border that drove some Northerners and Southerners to believe that they could say anything they wished because the conflict would be worked out, because the other side would back down. It was the very existence of the gray area across the middle third of the nation that led advocates on both sides of extreme action to act with what the whites in the middle saw as recklessness. If we combine the paradoxes, in other words, they cease to be paradoxes. If we embrace the complexity, variance, and range, we can see the process far more clearly than if we try to suppress those very real aspects of the differences between the sections. Slavery drove secession, but the crisis of 1860-1 was a long, uneven process that swept over thousands of communities, following and then effacing the contours of local social order.

Both places saw their arrangements as successful and productive, but ironically, that very success exacerbated sectional tensions. The physical experience of citizens, the arrangements of their institutions, towns, farms, and businesses, differed between Northern and Southern communities in profoundly subtle but meaningful ways. Republicans and Southern Democrats created aggressive political movements that appealed to large numbers of white male citizens by championing their regionally distinct visions of appropriate economic and social strategies and obscuring the complementary nature of the Northern and Southern economic approaches. When faced with the binary choice of separating from the Union or challenging the economic and social systems that had served them so well for so long, most white men South and North made their decision quickly and with conviction. The binary choice posed by Republicans and Southern Democrats washed out the similarities between the North and South and emphasized their contrasting visions of the proper ways to create and manage labor and economic production in the U.S. In defense of those contrasting visions, people from both regions committed themselves to war.

ANALYSIS: Findings

Both counties exhibited elaborate built infrastructures of bridges, railroads, major roads, minor roads, footpaths, and wagon roads.

The dense networks of transportation and communication made these places elaborately connected both internally and externally. Over half of Franklin residents lived within a mile of a town, while residents of Augusta were often a few miles from villages. Major and minor roads criss-crossed both counties.

Augusta's household wealth was slightly more concentrated in its urban areas (within one mile of a town) than in its rural outlying areas, while Franklin's wealth was significantly more concentrated in its rural areas.

Franklin had a much higher proportion of households in its urban areas than Augusta. Its urban households' mean wealth ($4,759) was lower than its rural households' wealth ($7,334), but in Augusta mean urban wealth ($13,777) outpaced rural wealth ($12,006). Many of Augusta's leading citizens lived in town, at the same time owning and managing scattered plantations and businesses across the county. These men, especially those in the professions, probably considered Staunton, or even Waynesboro, a more cultured and connected place where the energy and talent of commerce congregated. In Augusta the smaller villages seem to have produced the same concentrating effect on wealth. In Franklin towns were more crowded and there the median wealth was significantly smaller ($1,400) than the median wealth in the rural areas ($4,300).

Residents of both Augusta and Franklin concentrated their settlement on the best soil.

While 71 percent of Franklin County's land mass (total of 765 square miles) contained soil of high or average suitability, over 95 percent of its residents lived on this soil. In Augusta 63 percent of its total soil contained soil of high or average suitability and 92 percent of its residents lived in these areas.

Slaveowners in Augusta did not monopolize the best soil and crowd out nonslaveholders or small slaveholders.

Non-slaveholding residents in Augusta were just as likely to reside on the very best soil in the county as the largest plantation owners. Of 526 nonslaveholders in our data set, 72 percent of them lived on the best soil in the county. In the group of slaveholders with 11-20 slaves, 76 percent of them also resided on the soil rated most suitable for agriculture.

Slavery was ubiquitous and systemic in Augusta County's economy and society. No town or place in Augusta was without slavery, no person distant from it. Slavery extended into every corner of the county, concentrating in no one area.

In fact, slaveholding shows no statistical relationship to soil type, land elevation, household wealth, farm value, or proximity to geographic features. Eight hundred and eleven whites in Augusta owned 5,616 slaves. They were distributed evenly throughout the county in proportion to overall population density. Slaveowners were just as likely to live in the mountainous regions of western Augusta as they were nonslaveholders, and at every elevation slaveholders lived in the same proportion as nonslaveholders.

In Augusta, almost every group of white people owned property and homes worth more than their counterparts in Franklin.

The difference was most pronounced for personal property. Since slaves constituted an entire category of wealth prohibited in the North, the average farmer in Augusta owned three times as much personal property as the average farmer in Franklin. Slavery seemed responsible, at least in the eyes of whites, for a standard of living that benefitted all whites.

Occupations did not differ markedly between the two counties.

In both places, professionals, merchants, clerks, and proprietors together accounted for one jobholder in ten. About that proportion of women worked for wages. One man in five worked as an artisan in both Augusta and Franklin. The southern county employed a quarter of its working population in farming compared to a fifth in the northern county. In both places, the largest single group of workers were unskilled; about three out of ten fell into this category in Augusta, about four out of ten in Franklin.

The distribution of real property was about equal in the two communities, but personal property distribution diverged significantly because of slavery.

In both counties, the poorest 40 percent of household heads owned nothing. The top 10 percent of the heads of households in Franklin controlled 62 percent of the county's real estate--almost identical to the proportion owned by the top 10 percent in Augusta. The two counties did diverge in one important respect: the richest 10 percent in Franklin owned 57 percent of personal property, while, due to the value of slaves, the richest 10 percent in Augusta owned 70 percent of all personal wealth. In Franklin, personal property amounted to less than a third of the value of real estate. In Augusta, by contrast, personal property, mostly held in slaves, added up to $10.1 million, nearly three quarters of the $13.8 million of farmland, town lots, and hotels in the prosperous county.

Black citizens in both counties lived on the margin, with free blacks in Augusta negotiating a tenuous place in a slave society.

Like their counterparts throughout the United States, the free blacks of Augusta County held the jobs of lowest status and lowest pay. The men mostly worked as day laborers, the women as washerwomen and domestics. But some women became seamstresses and some men became coopers, carpenters, shoe

makers, and blacksmiths. Despite their hard work, only 14 of the 586 free black people in Augusta owned a house or land worth at least one hundred dollars. The personal possessions of the great majority were measured in tens of dollars. Of Augusta's total free black population, 25 percent worked either as an unskilled laborer or domestic worker, 3 percent were artisans, and fewer than 1 percent were farmers. In Franklin the proportion was similar--28 percent were unskilled and domestic workers, 2 percent artisans, and almost none were farmers. In Franklin three blacks listed themselves in the census as professionals or merchants, while in Augusta no blacks rose to this class or occupation.

In Franklin blacks lived clustered in towns and segregated from whites, while in Augusta free blacks lived both in Staunton and in the county, usually intermixed with whites.

In Franklin County most black families lived in the southern and easternmost portions of the county, clustered in a band running south of Chambersburg and just north and east of the county seat into Southampton Township. Few blacks lived across much of the northern and western sections of the county. In Chambersburg this pattern persisted, as black families overwhelmingly congregated in the South Ward--439 blacks lived in the South Ward while just 84 lived elsewhere in Chambersburg. The largest concentration of black citizens lived in Montgomery Township and Mercersburg, just a few miles from the Maryland line. Taken together, blacks in the South Ward of Chambersburg and Montgomery Township constituted over half of all black residents in Franklin. Two townships in Franklin--St. Thomas and Mont Alto--had no black residents, while seven had at most one or two black families.

Women headed a roughly comparable number of households in both counties (just less than 2 percent of households), but in Augusta they were more likely to own real estate and hold personal property.

Women headed 781 families in Franklin and 361 in Augusta. The average age of female household heads in both places was almost the same--52 years old--and indicated that many were widowed. In both places a similar proportion of women heading households were white, about 92 percent. A higher percentage of Franklin women heads of household listed their occupation as "farmer," nearly four times the number in Augusta. A higher percentage of Augusta women listed a female occupation, such as sewing or washing, than their counterparts in Franklin. Yet, in Augusta women heads of households possessed on average over $3,500 in real estate and over $1,400 in personal property. In Franklin, by contrast, women heads of households owned on average just over $2,600 in real property and just $400 in personal property.

Both Augusta and Franklin contained well-developed commercial establishments, though their concentration differed.

Overall, Franklin's per capita number of commercial establishments was higher than Augusta's by 50 percent--for every 49 persons in Franklin there was one business, in Augusta the ratio was 75 to one.

Augusta, however, possessed a higher concentration of mills and mines, nearly double the per capita number of Franklin's.

Slave labor was integral to Augusta's industries--woolen mills, distilleries, flour mills, lumber mills, and iron foundries--while skilled white artisans were small in number and scale and virtually free of slave labor.

Nearly all of the largest slaveholders in Augusta owned industrial enterprises. The manufacturing census shows that most of these large businesses employed just one or two white wage workers to run, for example, a flour mill or saw mill. When the owners listed in the manufacturing census are cross-checked with the slave-owner schedule, the connections between slave labor and these industries becomes clear. In distilleries 13 out of 18 business owners were slaveholders, in the flour mills 24 out of 43, in lumber 5 out of 7, in sawmills 12 out of 19, in iron foundries 4 out of 4. Many of these slaveholders owned over 10 slaves and probably deployed them in a range of work throughout their holdings, from farm to mill. White artisans in Augusta, on the other hand, owned almost no slaves. Just 3 of 16 blacksmiths owned slaves (each of the three owned two slaves), while 1 of 5 carriage makers, none of the five carriage makers or the five coopers owned any slaves.

Augusta used slave labor to boost its low-capital, high-labor industries while Franklin concentrated on high-skilled industries.

The manufacturing census reveals striking similarity in the relative percentage of the costs of raw materials and labor in the value of products produced in the counties by manufacturing establishments. Sixty-six percent of the value of products in both places was the cost of raw materials, while 14 percent of the value was the cost of labor. Capital investment by industry in Augusta and Franklin revealed a distinct difference--Augusta concentrated its capital investment in low-skill industries, such as lumber mills, iron foundries, and distilleries, where slave labor could be exploited to advantage, while Franklin concentrated on investment in skilled artisanal industries, such as leather goods and tinning.

The Chambersburg newspapers sold a greater range of products than their counterparts in Staunton, and businesses there faced greater competition as well.

Tin, iron, appliances, shoes, leather goods, pharmaceuticals, and farming machinery were all sold in the Chambersburg papers regularly, while in Staunton of these only pharmaceuticals were regularly advertised. The character of these advertisements called attention to fashion, style, and culture in centers abroad, including London and European cities. Businesses and individuals took out a large number of advertisements in Chambersburg and Staunton newspapers. There were approximately 200 advertisements in a typical issue of the Southern paper and over 300 in a typical issue of the Northern paper. A typical issue's advertisements in Franklin contained 80 percent ads from Franklin establishments, 10 percent from Philadelphia, 3 percent New York, and 2 % Baltimore. In Augusta, the pattern was somewhat similar: 70 percent from Augusta businesses, 14 percent from Richmond, 6

percent from Baltimore, and one or two ads from New York. Augusta's ads, then, show more diversity from the region's larger cities and possibly indicate greater dependence on outside producers. When the ads are broken down by type of business, the difference between Augusta and Franklin becomes more significant. In the ironware business, for example, half (5 out of 10) of an Augusta issue's ads were from businesses in Richmond, while only 1 out of 25 ironware ads in Franklin's issues was from out of the county.

Franklin and Augusta were both central places for the surrounding counties, and their per capita investment in manufacturing was similar to other counties in the Border region.

Border counties from Virginia west to Ohio (61 counties) averaged $37.90 manufacturing capital per free person. Slaveholding counties along the border averaged $27.43 of capital investment per person while nonslaveholding counties averaged slightly higher ($29.92). The border region, then, included a range of counties with investment in manufacturing.

Augusta and Franklin were broadly representative of the border region and the counties contiguous to them in their average farm value and land value by acre.

The differences between Augusta and Franklin are also evident along the Border in sixty-one counties and between the surrounding, contiguous counties to Augusta and Franklin. In both comparisons, the slaveholding Southern counties maintained a lower value per acre and a higher cash value of farms. This consistent pattern marked one of the defining differences between Northern and Southern communities.

On a per capita basis, Augusta farmers grew far more corn than Franklin farmers and the corn-wheat mix served as one visible difference between not only Augusta and Franklin farmers, but, as important, between slaveholders and nonslaveholders within Augusta.

Franklin farmers grew only half the value of the Augusta corn corp; instead, they concentrated on wheat. Their crop mix was on average 37 percent wheat, 34 percent corn, 7 percent rye, and 23 percent oats. In Augusta on average farmers devoted 59 percent of the crop production to corn, and 25 percent to wheat, 14 percent to oats, and 5 percent to rye. In both Augusta and Franklin the higher the farm value the more concentrated the farm became in wheat and the less it concentrated (almost bushel for bushel) in corn. Soil type, too. played a role as those farmers in the best soil were more relatively concentrated in wheat than in corn, and visa versa. In Augusta while slaveholders and nonslaveholders differed only slightly (less than 2 percent in their crop mix ratios), slaveholders managed to more than double the average value (dollars) in wheat and corn production of nonslaveholders.

The richest farm households in Augusta have a high correlation with relatively high wheat production and low corn production. Slavery on the largest farms enabled a significant jump in both productivity and the value of crops.

In the lowest two categories of household wealth, 44 percent devoted their farms to high levels of corn production, while in the highest two categories of household wealth 41 percent placed their farms in high levels of wheat production. Of 135 farms in high corn production, 36 percent owned slaves and on these farms the mean number of slaves was almost 2. Poorer and middling corn farmers had access to slave labor; a significant percentage owned slaves and many could hire them. Their crops were sold directly to staple-crop slaveholders in Augusta and other parts of the Valley and Virginia.

Elaborate communication networks extended from, into, and within both communities.

Newspapers brought much of the information to local communities and helped create and sustain the networks. Typically, these papers were weeklies with four or eight page formats. In Augusta, two papers competed for advertisers and subscribers--the Whig-oriented Staunton Spectator and the Democratic Staunton Republican Vindicator. The Whig paper reprinted twice as many articles from Southern newspapers as did the Democratic paper and drew most of them from Richmond.

Staunton papers bore visual and textual markings of slavery, as they regularly contained ads for runaway slaves, slave agents, slave sales, and all manner of guns and pistols and things military.

The woodcut of a runaway slave with a stick and sack slung over the shoulder marked nearly every issue of each paper in Augusta County, a recurrent symbol of slave resistance. Agents brokered the sale, hire, movement, and delivery of human chattel, much as they facilitated similar dealings in cattle and other property. Indeed, many "general agents" in Staunton offered a range of services: "Thomas J. Bagby, General Agent, For Hiring Negroes, Renting Houses, and Collecting Claims." (Spectator, Jan. 31, 1860) The Augusta paper carried many advertisements for guns. "Revolvers, pistols of all kinds--Adams, Allens, and Colt's Revolvers," proclaimed a Baltimore "Sportsman Warehouse." A surplus military goods store in Baltimore advertised for English, German, and French epaulets, insignia, swords, and guns, probably to support the active local militia which in turn supported the institution of slavery.

Newspapers in both Augusta and Franklin championed agricultural production as the means to future wealth and prosperity.

In Augusta the Democratic newspaper called the farmer "our primary capitalist" and asserted that when the farmer prospers "all the other attendants upon trade and commerce flourish with him." In Franklin the Democratic paper emphasized the bulging corn crop and the crop's rise in the 1850s as a major export for the county. The Republican paper largely ignored the growth in corn production in the county and instead boasted of the county's wheat production, proudly pointing out that Franklin in the 1850 census ranked sixth nationally in total wheat production. The paper observed that Washington County, Maryland, Franklin's slave-holding counterpart just south of the Mason Dixon line, ranked seventh, a result of "her position--her contiguity to free soil and good company." The Republican editor's explanation might have been wishful thinking, as slavery in Maryland, just as in Augusta, was increasingly turned to wheat production, an array of low-skill manufactures, and highly productive corn

crops.

With the telegraph linking these communities to larger cities, newspaper editors in both communities turned primarily to New York for information.

Editors reprinted far more information from New York papers than from any other source, including Philadelphia or Richmond. Eighteen city newspapers provided copy to editors in Chambersburg and Staunton. The Whig paper in Staunton and the Democratic paper in Chambersburg led their counterparts in reprinting material from other cities both Northern and Southern. The Chambersburg Democratic paper, the Valley Spirit, was the most aggressive reprinter, pulling stories from a wide network of Democratic papers in the North and South. When not using material from New York, Staunton editors turned almost exclusively to the Upper South for material, virtually ignoring Lower South editors.

White people in Augusta rarely discussed slavery openly and for the most part only did so under provocation when they hoped to defend their institution.

Newspapers in Augusta both Democratic and Whig told their readers about free blacks who reenslaved themselves, committed petty crimes, and ran off with white women. Slaves mutilated themselves rather than be sold and were on rare occasions whipped to death. Just as rarely, paternalistic whites publicly venerated aged blacks as beloved and admired.

Franklin County's papers spent more ink--almost all of it negative--on its nearly two thousand free blacks than Augusta did on its five thousand slaves.

The Valley Spirit, Franklin's Democratic paper, considered blacks better off in slavery than in the North. The paper regularly ran stories of blacks in the South who reenslaved themselves rather than remain freed and lascivious reports of white women eloping with black men. The Democratic paper was also deeply concerned about the presence of black voters in the North, reporting on the Ohio elections in November 1860 that the black vote carried the day for Lincoln and that 14,000 blacks voted in Ohio despite constitutional bars. The paper concluded that "Ohio is thus ruled not by white men, but by negroes." In Pennsylvania, the Democrats estimated that blacks made $15,000 in financial contributions to the Republicans for Lincoln's election--"it must have been funny," the Valley Spirit editors sneered, "to see Forney . . . soliciting money from the niggers for the Republican cause."

Franklin was more only slightly more churched than Augusta. Its denominations were more concentrated in the German traditions, but Augusta's churches were larger and more expensive.

Churches were important social institutions in both counties. Augusta was home to 54 churches and Franklin 92, according to the 1860 U.S. Census. Augusta had one church for every 513 persons, while Franklin had one for every 458. Churches in Augusta could accommodate 65 percent of the county's

total population (82 percent of its white population), while Franklin's churches could hold 80 percent of the county's population. The value of church property compared favorably, as both counties invested almost $4 per capita in their churches. In Augusta 49 percent of residents and in Franklin 55 percent of residents lived within one mile of a church. No citizen of either place was farther than 5 1/2 miles from a church. Augustans were concentrated in Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist congregations, and they built large, expensive churches. In Franklin these denominations were less substantial than the Lutherans, German Reformed, and Mennonites.

The white literacy rates and educational opportunities of both places were relatively high, but substantially better in Franklin.

Though the nearly universal literacy ascribed to both places by the census taker seems unlikely, whites in both Augusta and Franklin enjoyed standards of literacy high by international standards. Franklin County maintained a school system of much greater reach than its Augusta counterpart, which relied more on private schools and academies rather than public schools. Elite white Southerners had ample educational opportunities, but their poorer neighbors had less of a chance of getting schooling than their northern peers. In Augusta in 1850 only 745 pupils attended 23 public schools, and these schools received just $1,423 in public funding, none of it from taxation. In Franklin nearly all children were enrolled in free public schools paid for with taxation. Taxpayers contributed $19,764 to fund 177 public schools in the county, and over 8,500 students were enrolled in them. Even Augusta's private academies were less substantial than Franklin's, where 174 students attended them and over $3,500 were paid in tuition. Augusta could claim just 226 students in private schools and $210 in private school funding through endowments.

In Franklin and Augusta men who listed their occupation as a laborer or day laborer often did not own any property or wealth at all. In Franklin these workers were more likely to have accumulated at least some property.

The average age of Augusta's farm laborers was 34, while Franklin's was 24. For both day laborers and laborers it was the reverse--Franklin's was 35 and Augusta's younger (29 and 27 respectively). On average Franklin and Augusta laborers held similar real and personal wealth, but on average a higher proportion of Franklin's male laborers held real and personal estate than their Augusta counterparts. For example, 6 percent of Augusta's day laborers and laborers held real estate of any worth, while 20 to 24 percent of Franklin's held at least some real estate wealth. The pattern was similar for personal property holdings. In Franklin 60 to 65 percent of day laborers and laborers held at least some personal property, while in Augusta between 38 and 44 percent owned personal property.

Slaves did most of the physical labor in Augusta. They were hired out to non-slaveholding farmers, railroad companies, and other businesses.

The practice of slave hiring was widespread in Augusta County. In 1860 370 entries in the slave owners

census schedule recorded employers, listing 570 slaves hired out in the year (out of 5,616 total slaves or 10 percent). The average number hired out to a given employer was one slave. A railroad corporation or a business sometimes hired out more--the   highest number employed in Augusta in 1860 was 22. Employers who hired slaves were diverse--small   planters, women heads of households, heirs of estates, trustees, businesses, and corporations. The Virginia Central Railroad hired slaves from twelve different slaveholders. The Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institute and the Western Lunatic Asylum in Staunton also hired dozens of slaves from various owners. A wide range of individuals hired slaves, including both other slaveholders and nonslaveholders.

Both Chambersburg and Staunton served as the central places of their counties, but the towns differed in size, layout, and commercial development.

Chambersburg claimed one hundred blocks, laid out in a grid pattern, and over 4,700 residents. The county seat held 11 percent of the county population. The town was built around a square, known locally as "The Diamond," that was intersected by the two major streets of the town, Front and Market. Its imposing courthouse stood on the Diamond, and 32 of the 37 attorneys in the county lived and practiced in Chambersburg. The town claimed 15 of 63 physicians and 39 of the 144 merchants, far out of proportion to the town's share of the county population. Staunton, by contrast, held 13 percent of the county's white population, but was laid but in no particular order. Large sections of the town were developed in blocks but not in ways that connected them to the already developed sections of town. Instead, Staunton was built on a series of promontories, from which large houses and institutions might hold prominence. The courthouse was just one of several major institutions in Staunton, including the Western Lunatic Asylum, the Augusta Female Seminary, and the Wesleyan Female Institute. The town held 40 of 101 merchants in Augusta, 14 of 57 physicians, 7 of 27 ministers, and 5 of the 11 attorneys.

Franklin and Augusta exhibited different spatial organization, with a more organized and commercial approach in Franklin and a settlement in Augusta that followed the contours of soil and land more closely.

Franklin possessed a larger number of second-tier towns than Augusta. Few towns appeared in Augusta outside of the county seat of Staunton. Instead, the county had numerous clusters of settlement that have place names associated with them and a few non-residential institutions, places that might be labeled "villages." In Augusta, 57 percent of residents lived more than a mile from a town or village, while in Franklin only 45 percent lived that far away. In Augusta town development followed geographic features, as residences clustered around a sulphur spring, a mountain gap, or a creek. These clusters of residences usually surrounded either a mill, church, or school and were not arranged on a gridded layout. In Franklin, by contrast, gridded streets were common.

The visible differences that slavery made in the arrangement of the landscape were apparent to many observers, but Northerners and Southerners interpreted them differently. Northerners focused on land value per acre and Southerners on the dollar value of their crops.

Travelers to the South commented on the differences they saw in the density of population and town development and attributed them to slavery. The Reverend Abraham Essick, who had come from Franklin County but ministered for several years in the Valley of Virginia, noted the difference the border made when he traveled back home. "During my visit to Pennsylvania I was deeply impressed by the contrast between the general appearance of the country and this. Naturally they are similar, both lying in the same valley, and presenting many of the same characteristics. But in Virginia the farms are large and the population sparse. The differences in cultivation, productiveness, and the general indications of thrift, are immensely in favor of Pennsylvania. It is usual to account for this on the grounds of Slavery."

In Augusta, Whig party activists were more likely to own slaves and to own bigger and more valuable farms than their Democratic counterparts.

Fifty percent of Augusta Whigs activists, as identified in the newspapers, owned slaves and the great majority of them held farms valued over $7,500. Although some Democrats, notably William A. Harman and George Baylor, owned slaves in large numbers, Democratic activists worked smaller farms and two-thirds of them were nonslaveholders. Democratic activists were more likely to reside in towns (50 percent of them lived within 1 mile of a town while 35 percent of Whig activists lived within one mile of a town). Democratic activists still maintained significant household wealth, as more than half of them possessed over $22,000 in wealth.

In Franklin, Democratic and Republican activists were strikingly similar in their relative household wealth, farm size, and farm values.

Democratic party activists, identified in the newspapers, were more prevalent than Republicans, 57 percent to 43 percent respectively. Neither had an advantage in wealth, farm value, farm size, or proximity to town. Almost 74 percent of both Democrats and Republicans lived within 1 mile of a town.

In Franklin, Democratic and Republican activists had different occupational and social profiles, with the Republicans appearing more "respectable."

Republicans activists had a higher proportion of farmers (26 percent) and professionals (28 percent) in their ranks than Democrats. Democratic activists conversely had a higher proportion of laborers (10 percent), artisans (29 percent), and businessmen (19.5 percent) in their ranks than did Republicans. The average age of Democratic activists was slightly lower at thirty-nine years old than the Republicans' forty-three years. Republican activists had a higher percentage of household heads, while Democratic activists included a higher percentage of boarders.

In Augusta, Democratic and Whig activists had different occupational and social profiles, with the Whigs appearing more "respectable."

Democratic activists had a higher proportion of artisans (28 percent) and businessmen in their ranks than Democrats, while Whigs had a much higher proportion of farmers in their ranks (60 percent) and no artisans. Whig activists were more uniformly head of their households, and less likely to be boarders than Democratic activists. The average age of the Democrats (44) was slightly older than Whigs (42). In the professions and businesses, lawyers and merchants were evenly split among the parties, but physicians were uniformly Whigs.

Leading men in both Augusta and Franklin, all lawyers, connected the communities to national affairs.

Alexander H. H. Stuart in Augusta and Alexander K. McClure in Franklin navigated the national political network and tried to swing their constituents in their communities toward their views. In 1836 Stuart, a successful lawyer in Staunton, entered politics. He was elected a delegate in the Virginia state legislature and was reelected until 1839, when he stepped down. Stuart considered himself from the Clay wing of the Jacksonian Democratic-Republican party and he began to identify his interests in the new Whig party. He ran for Congress in 1840 as a Whig and was elected, serving one term. Stuart was elected a presidential elector in both 1844 and 1848 for the Clay and Taylor tickets respectively. In 1850 President Millard Fillmore appointed Stuart secretary of the interior. Stuart continued to work in electoral politics and served as a member of the convention of 1856 which nominated Fillmore for the presidency. Stuart reentered Virginia electoral politics as a candidate for the State Senate. He ran on the Whig Party principles and won, serving from 1857 to 1861.

In the first half of 1860 Republican editors in Franklin's Repository and Transcript attacked slavery as a violation of nature that stole from the workingman the fruits of his labor; they focused mainly on slavery as a corrosive agent on the position of free labor.

While the Republicans in Franklin condemned slavery as a social ill and immoral, they paid more attention to the ways the institution threatened the position of white working men in 1860. Containment of slavery was necessary, they argued, because slavery was such an aggressive, insidious threat that it would find its way into new and unexpected places. The result, they contended, would be stagnation and ruin for the average white working man.

In the first half of 1860 Democratic editors in Franklin County emphasized slavery's compatibility with the Northern economy and society and Northern complicity in the South's institution.

Editors of the Valley Spirit denied that slavery was a political question. Republicans, they argued, were responsible for injecting the slavery question into politics purely to advance their partisan ends. Slavery, they suggested, made Northerners more wealthy and secure, since business in Pennsylvania depended on Southern products produced with slave labor.

In the heat of the campaign of 1860 both Franklin Democrats and Republicans shifted their

emphasis on slavery.

Democratic editors became more vitriolic and defensive of the institution while Republicans subtly stressed their moderate position on the issue, repeating that Republicans had no intention of tampering with slavery where it already existed. The Republicans tempered their ideological argument that slavery debased free labor wherever it existed and instead began to counter the Democratic accusations of politicizing the issue. They argued that Democrats, not Republicans, politicized slavery; their candidates, Republicans insisted, would not take radical measures but instead move only to stop the spread of slavery into the territories. Democratic editors responded with heightened rhetoric about the issue, labeling Republicans irresponsible abolitionists.

Augusta's Whig Party emphasized that slavery was safer within the Union than without and that in the 1860 election slavery had become needlessly politicized.

The editors of the Staunton Spectator considered both the Republican and Democratic parties increasingly sectional and secessionist. They argued that only a new party dedicated to Union could prevent the country from falling into internecine warfare and at the same time protect slavery. Whigs in Augusta were concerned about "whether the peace of the country and the Union itself must be sacrificed to abstract theories." They wanted slavery as a political issue removed from the debate--"The   only way we know of is to agree to disagree upon questions of really no practical importance. If let alone, the question of slavery in the Territories will settle itself to the satisfaction of all reasonable and patriotic men in both sections of the Republic."

Augusta's Democratic Party emphasized that slavery was the country's economic engine of success. Democratic editors contended that slavery was protected in the territories by the Dred Scot decision, and defended Stephen Douglas to the end as the best candidate to defeat Lincoln.

For Democratic editors in Augusta slavery was the basis for economic growth not only in the South but also in the North and in England, where cotton textile workers depended on the productivity of the South. Democrats could hardly comprehend why the Methodist Episcopal General Conference in 1860 would call slavery "evil" and get involved in what they considered a "purely political" matter. Democrats disliked any consideration of slavery as an abstraction. "We have, as we contend and the compromisers acknowledge," the Vindicator editor proclaimed, "the same abstract right to protection for our slave property in the territories which we have to protection for our lives, liberty and property here in Virginia." The issue was property, Democrats insisted, and the right of slaveholders to control and manipulate their property.

In Augusta clusters of contiguous precincts gave their support in the 1860 presidential election in similar patterns.

Precincts with high Breckinridge, Bell, and Douglas support were connected. High Breckinridge

precincts hugged the broad middle plain of the county and the eastern border. High Douglas precincts guarded the northern flat region of the county above Staunton. High Bell precincts formed a ring along the westernmost boundary of the county, touching the Allegheny Mountains. Differences in slaveholding, agricultural production, and wealth differentiated these clusters of precincts.

Whigs accounted for the most visible party activists in Augusta County, but activists in both parties exerted significant influence.

In high Douglas precincts identified Whig activists outnumbered the Democrats 7-3, a margin of 2.3 to 1. In high Breckinridge precincts Whig activists outnumbered Democrats 4 to 1, and in high Bell precincts they outnumbered Democrats 6.5 to 1. The presence of party activists and their activities in these precincts was directly connected to the distribution of wealth and slaveholding in these places.

Precincts in Augusta that supported Breckinridge at a high level in 1860 represented the extremes of wealth, as the wealthiest and the poorest precincts drew more support for Breckinridge than any other precincts.

These precincts--Middlebrook, Stuart's Draft and Sherando--supported Breckinridge at a level three times higher than in the county as a whole. Middlebrook and Stuart's Draft had household wealth and farm value well above the county average, while Sherando's was the lowest in the county. Identified Whig party activists in these precincts outnumbered Democrats by a ratio of 4 to 1. These places, especially in Middlebrook and Stuart's Draft, considered themselves secure enough to demand more in the political arena, to withstand change in order to secure future rights and opportunities. These self-confident places represented the strongest pro-Southern, pro-slavery areas in the county. Sherando shared a broad contiguous relationship with Stuart's Draft, its closest center of commercial activity.

Although Bell won Augusta, those precincts with high Bell support had average household wealth and farm value well below county averages. For these marginal places a vote for Bell represented a safe course, the least change.

Deerfield, Churchville, and Craigsville precincts supported Bell at 87 percent while the county went for Bell at 66 percent. All three places occupied the western reaches of the county, where most slaveowners had fewer than 5 slaves and where many farms occupied higher elevations. Here, support for Bell and unionism represented a decision for continued opportunity and growth that slavery offered within the context of the union. Old line Whigs in the county consistently argued that slavery was safer in the union than if the South tried to secede. In these precincts, where identified Whig party activists outnumbered Democrats by a margin of 6.5 to 1, nearly double the margin of the county as a whole, voters apparently agreed that slavery was safer with Bell than either of the Democratic candidates.

In Franklin County, John Breckinridge won a majority in 6 precincts, most of them in the far northern and western belt of the county, where few blacks lived and farmers planted corn not

wheat.

Precincts that went for Breckinridge were significantly poorer than either the precincts that Lincoln won or those that were closely contested. Breckinridge precincts had an average household wealth and farm value below the county average and their farms tended to grow relatively more corn and less wheat that the county average. Breckinridge's highest level of support came in the Concord precinct where the average household wealth was about $3,500 and average farm value just $2,050. The county average in Franklin for household wealth was about $5,800 and for farm value $7,300. Farms in the Breckinridge precincts, such as Lurgan and Concord, planted far more corn, nearly 40 percent of their total crop and far less wheat, just 18 percent of their total crop mix, than either the county average or the Lincoln districts. These districts had significantly fewer black residents; at least two of them were all white townships.

Lincoln won sixteen precincts in Franklin, ten of them by margins greater than 55 percent, with support mainly from the urban center of the county and places with the highest numbers of black residents--even   though black men could not vote in Pennsylvania.

Lincoln's precincts had a different age profile than Breckinridge's. They included households with a greater proportion of voters (men over 21) in their twenties and thirties. They also included households with a slightly lower average age of the head of household. Lincoln's support in Franklin probably came from the younger voters and places with younger household heads.

HISTORIOGRAPHY: Entries

Espen Aarseth, *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997)

Excerpt

"A cybertext is a machine for the production of variety of expression. . . . The study of cybertexts reveals the misprision of the spacio-dynamic metaphors of narrative theory, because ergodic literature incarnates these models in a way linear text narratives do not." (4)

"Cybertext, then, is not a 'new,' 'revolutionary' form of text with capabilities only made possible through the invention of the digital computer. Neither is it a radical break with old-fashioned textuality, although it would be easy to make it appear so. Cybertext is a perspective on all forms of textuality, a way to expand the scope of literary studies to include phenomena that today are perceived as outside of, or marginalized by, the field of literature--or even in opposition to it, for (as I make clear later) purely extraneous reasons." (18)

Synopsis

Aarseth argues that cybertexts constitute a wide range of texts from ancient to modern and digital. The digital technologies represent only an extension of a kind of literature, ergodic literature that requires physical acts on the part of the reader.

Thomas B. Alexander, "Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective: A Discussion" *American Historical Review* 85, (1980):1150-1154.

Excerpt

"Professor Pessen has long held that wealth is the best single indicator of social class and of power, that wealth in the antebellum United States was very badly distributed, that highly undesirable class distinctions were embedded in the system, and that an image of extensive economic and social mobility is unjustified." (1151)

"The problem of rural intergenerational mobility, either associated with or apart from geographical mobility, moreover, has hardly been touched and may be beyond reach. And, for the substantial proportion of rural nonfarm population for whom real income is elusive, we just do not yet have adequate evidence that wealth was 'the surest sign of social, as well as of economic, position' (page 1130), unless only great wealth is meant."

(1151)

Synopsis

Alexander criticized the secondary sources on which Pessen rested his argument, and considered these sources too limited, focused more on town than rural life. Alexander pointed specifically to population density as a key difference between the sections, one that needed explanation and elaboration.

Relationship

Alexander's criticism focused on Pessen's summary of the literature of wealth distribution by Gavin Wright and Lee Soltow. We find in Augusta and Franklin a similar distribution of wealth, a finding that confirms Pessen's view and supports Wright's and Soltow's analysis wealth and income. Our findings also support Alexander's argument that population density created divergent social structures.

Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000)

Excerpt

"Voting in antebellum America was not so simple an act after all, and high voter turnout, as all the foregoing evidence tells us, did not necessarily indicate a widespread and deep engagement in politics on the part of the American people. What it may more powerfully indicate, indeed, is the extraordinary achievement of American political parties in mobilizing voters, some of whom were ignorant of, uninterested in, skeptical about, or even averse to political affairs. . . . Where we differ from most interpretations is in the relationship between the parties and the American electorate. The parties, we argue, developed their elaborate structures and techniques for nominating candidates, devising platforms, conducting campaigns, and maximizing election-day turnout, not from the political passions of a uniformly engaged citizenry, but in response to the very variations of engagement we have been describing." (79)

Synopsis

Altschuler and Blumin examine parties and the political process in the nineteenth century and look intensively at eight communities in the pre-Civil War period. Their study concentrates on how the parties tried to shape the political process and on the level and nature of party activism within these communities. They find that at the local level party

politics did not divide the leaders of either commercial ventures or social institutions. They find a shockingly low level of both participation and political activism in these places, and they argue that politics occupied a tenuous "space" within the lives of ordinary Americans, not at all a secure or persistent space. Politics, they suggest, did not enter everything in American society and life in these years. Instead, it competed for the attention of Americans who viewed parties as rude, base, self-aggrandizing institutions, far from the virtuous and altruistic presence in their lives of religion, civic duty, republicanism, and liberalism. Altschuler and Blumin consider these competing arenas "constellations" within the lived experiences of Americans. They consider slavery a "peculiar issue," a special force operating from outside the political parties system to upset it and rejuvenate it at the same time.

Relationship

Altschuler and Blumin are concerned primarily with explaining Americans engagement with the political process at the local level. We agree that politics only represented one sphere of Americans' lives and that many other parts of their lives competed with politics for attention and action. We also agree with Altschuler and Blumin that parties extended the machinery of a national and regional network into the local communities. We emphasize, though, the social logic of slavery and its comparative difference, while they see slavery as an issue that developed outside of the political arena and was brought into it. We emphasize instead the way differences in the social logic of communities, in the lived experiences of Americans, led to deep division over slavery as a politcal issue. They identify party activists in much the same way as we do--they scour the newspapers of their communities for names and build a list of identified activists.

Edward L. Ayers, "Worrying About the Civil War," *Moral Problems in American Life: New Perspectives on Cultural History*, Ed. Karen Halttunen and Lewis Perry (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Excerpt

"There are, of course, scholarly dissenters from this standard interpretation. Historians such as David Potter, J. Mills Thornton,Michael Holt, William Gienapp, and William Freehling have questioned the political narrative that makes the conflict over slavery seem relatively straightforward, in either the North or the South. Their regions are marked by strong countercurrents, compromises, and possibilities for alignments other than those that brought on the war. Other historians have argued that African Americans did more to free themselves than Abraham Lincoln ever did. In the eyes of Leon Litwack, Ira Berlin, Barbara Fields, and others, the focus on white Northern soldiers and civilians gives undue credit to reluctant friends of freedom. Without the desperate efforts by slaves

to free themselves, they argue, the Union cause would have remained a cause for Union alone. It was anonymous African Americans who forced the hands of Union generals, who forced them to take a stand on slavery, who forced them to recognize that only by ending slavery could the North win the war. Assuming an implicit and intrinsic push toward freedom on the part of the North, these historians warn, gives that society far too much moral credit."

"They [Ken Burns and James McPherson] both dramatize the ways that antislavery, progress, war, and national identity intertwined at the time of the Civil War so that each element became inseparable from the other. Slavery stands as the antithesis of progress, shattering nation and creating war; war is the means by which antislavery spreads and deepens; the turn against slavery during the war recreates national identity; the new nation is freed for a more fully shared kind of progress. This story has become common sense to Americans: emancipation, war, nation, and progress all seem part of one story, the same story."

Synopsis

Ayers traces the course of Civil War historiography and the lack of recent debate over its meaning and causation. He suggests that a standard interpretation in popular American culture emerged around the work of James McPherson, Ken Burns, and Michael Shaara. Ayers offers alternative approaches to the war and its causation, especially to the "modernization" thesis at the heart of the current standard interpretation.

Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss, *A Deplorable Scarcity: The Failure of Industrialization in the Slave Economy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981)

Excerpt

"To the extent that theoretical or applied economic analysis can imply something about the subtleties of human behavior, this study suggests that southerners indeed were different from their Yankee brethren. But it need not imply, as generations of scholars have claimed, that they were irrational beings or that theirs was a precapitalist economy mired in an ignorant devotion to slave agriculture. . . Their differences were a matter of degree, of speed of response and adjustment." (163)

Synopsis

Bateman and Weiss seek to explain the lack of southern manufacturing and industry on

the eve of the Civil War. They conclude that southern manufacturing was not entirely backward or lacking in capital formation, but that planters and slaveholders did not participate in industrial enterprises at a high rate, despite the high returns that manufacturing produced for investors. They argue that southerners were "exceptionally adverse to risk, were not knowledgeable about the benefits of diversification, failed to alter their expectations in the light of accumulating evidence on the greater profitability of manufacturing, or attached unagreeably high social costs to industrial diversification." (161)

Relationship

Bateman and Weiss adopt methods similar to ours for examining the linkages between slaveholders and industrial enterprises. We agree with Bateman and Weiss that southern industry was far from backward or lacking in capital formation, but we find no evidence to support the idea that southern leaders were adverse to risk or that they perceived a social stigma to investing in industries. In our study the most successful planters were also engaged in related low-skill industries, such as distilling or lumbering.

Lloyd Benson, "Planters and Hoosiers: The Development of Sectional Society in Antebellum Indiana and Mississippi", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1990.

Excerpt

"Without slavery the North became differentiated and complex in the ways that the South could not. The North's highly populated countryside could support a tight mesh of factories, canals, and railroads not possible in the South." (22)

"The most crucial economic differences between Indiana and Mississippi were not as much a consequence of ideology as of structural circumstances. Not a lack of entrepreneurial values, but a slavery-induced limitation on the local market size prevented Mississippi from becoming a commercial, urban, and middle class society as did Indiana." (187)

Synopsis

Benson's study describes the Southern community as more localized, atomized, and locally uniform than the Northern community and he posits a localitic culture in the South compared to an institutional, structural culture in the North. One important difference between the two places was their relative ability to sustain businesses within its local communities. Benson points to extensive landholding in the Southern

communities and the consequences of consistent out-migration. Slavery, he suggests, determined the difference between these communities in ways more structural than ideological.

Bradley G. Bond, *Political Culture in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995).

Excerpt

"[Andrew] Jackson, who at once represented success in the market economy and the independent man at the frontier, embodied the contradictions of the social ethic. Mississippians' apotheosis of him signaled their refusal to recognize the inherent conflict between their myths and the realities of life in the Deep South. Their concept of political and economic liberty, based as it was on the perpetuation of African-American slavery, allowed them to obfuscate the incongruence between their ideals and reality and to create in the process a sense of cultural homogeneity among whites as a means of assuring political and economic liberty." (12)

Synopsis

Bond analyzes the political culture of Mississippi from 1830 to the turn of the century. His objective is to "examine over a broad period of time white southerners' social ethic, a collection of ideas, at times contradictory about the nature of a good republic and good citizenship." (7) He argues that the social ethic, as imagined by white southern males, and reflected in their ideas of liberty and virtue, informed the state's political culture. Despite great social and economic changes from 1830 to 1900, anxieties about creating white cultural dominance and maintaining African Americans' status as non-citizens prompted Mississippians to disguise all other concerns in a "veil of race." The state's evolution from frontier to a part of late nineteenth century capitalism did not change the social ethic's race-conscious foundation of the social ethic.

Paul Bourke and Donald Debats, *Washington County: Politics and Community in Antebellum America* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995)

Excerpt

"First, we emphasize the nature of institutional rules for voting in the traditional electorate, and second, we stress the bearing that individual-level information can have on wider questions of popular engagement in past political life." (6)

"In these and many other ways that we explore in this study, the individual-level information available in the poll books of Washington County has enabled us to refine the picture of the traditional electorate derived from aggregate returns. We are able to take account of the fact that system-wide cues at the top of the ticket produced higher turnouts; that socio-economic differences served chiefly to distinguish voters from nonvoters; that socioeconomic, cultural, and demographic factors separated partisan leaders but that these distinctions fell away in the wider electorate. None of this gives us warrant for generalizing about the policy issues that engaged state legislatures and the Congress; it does, however, help us to develop a sharper sense of the culture of those to whom policy cues were directed." (15)

"Somewhat to the edge of the world of intense ideological commitment defined by the regular partisans, was the mass of people--more concerned, we may surmise, with ordinary life, prone from time to time to abstain from the big choices, to abandon party, and even to join the opposition. What determined which of these diverging actions they would take or the degree to which they would align themselves completely with the visible partisans cannot be known for particular individuals in any but a few random cases. But what may be recovered of the culture in which these people lived suggests that the physical and social networks to which they belonged provided the essential settings in which their choices about everything else, including politics and public affairs, were made." (322)

Synopsis

Using a statistical program called RISK, Bourke and Debats try to piece together the salient variables that affected individual voting in a antebellum Oregon community. They find a subtle, modest, and perhaps mysterious connection between partisan choice and general social indicators, such as wealth, region of birth, marital standing, length of residency, age, occupation, and religious adherence. They also find that variables added together formed no coherent picture of partisan voting and socio-economic position. These variables "wash out" in the general electorate, and Bourke and Debats assert that consistent participation in the electoral process characterized those who had a stake in the community, for the most part the wealthy. The groupings of partisanship, then, were more spatial than social, as clusters of family and neighbors committed to partisan men around them.

Relationship

We cannot address the issue of permanence and mobility in this study of 1860, but the Valley project's archive indicates that wealth, status, and longtime residency coalesced into political authority. We have not tested for family structures and neighborhood

partisanship, as Bourke and Debats did, but we do find spatial partisanship in both counties. Bourke and Debats also find that political affiliation was a part of a larger cultural and social matrix, "one experience among many that defined the lives of people who resided in a particular locality." (275) We agree with Bourke and Debats that the physical and social networks of the community set the context of its choices in public affairs.

Charles Brooks, "The Social and Cultural Dynamics of Soldiering in Hood's Texas Brigade,"*Journal of Southern History*, (August 2001): 535-572.

Excerpt

"It seems probable that, despite the unequal distribution of power in the antebellum South, the class dynamic joining and separating planters and yeoman farmers, slaveholders and nonslaveholders, urban professionals and plain folk, was more fluid, contingent, interactive, and multi-directional than the long-standing debate concerning wealth and power in the Old South has allowed." (572)

Synopsis

Brooks' article uses wartime evidence of enlisted soldiers in the Texas Brigade and their relationships with officers to argue that the yeoman and slaveholders in the Old South had a relationship of give and take. Brooks finds that in the Texas Brigade represented Texas antebellum society. Of the original privates, 26 percent were poor (real and personal wealth less than $500), 67 percent were middle class (wealth of $500 to $19,900), and 7 percent were wealthy (above $20,000). He also finds that the proportion of slaveholders to nonslaveholders in the Texas Brigade mirrored the society at large--73 percent of families in Texas were nonslaveholders, and those slaveowners with less than ten slaves were the vast majority of slaveholders (71 percent). Officers were almost uniformly from the professional classes of lawyers, physicians, educators, and merchants.

Relationship

We agree with Brooks' characterization of the antebellum Southern society as fluid and contingent. Brooks, though, seems to project backward into the antebellum period his findings of enlisted men's agency and the power they wielded within the army. While our study does not examine the attitudes and actions of enlisted men during the war, it does measure the fluidity of society in Augusta County and the political expression of voters in 1860. We do not find persuasive evidence to suggest that the lower and middle class men

of the county had disproportionate power in relationship to the leading citizens. We emphasize instead the importance of trans-local networks in shaping men's relationships with the leading citizens. We find these networks in both the Northern and Southern community, acting to set the boundaries of agency in ways that gave direction to the power relationships in the communities.

Vernon O. Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985)

Excerpt

"By examining variations in family culture and structure, both black and white, free and slave, this study attempts to specify which elements in those variations are race specific and which derive from the general social and cultural environment that affected whites and Afro-Americans equally. In My Father's House searches for the origins of the prejudices and stereotypes of southern black and white families and explores what difference family and community made in the course of events in nineteenth-century Edgefield." (13)

Synopsis

Burton's detailed study of Edgefield, South Carolina, examines family, religious, class, and social structures to understand the differences and similarities between blacks and whites in the nineteenth-century community. Burton finds that the main difference was between the "town-dwelling black family and all the rest, black and white." Burton locates family patterns in the context of political power, pointing out that as black Republicans were defeated at the end of Reconstruction, for example, the incidence of female-headed black families increased in the towns. Black men, he points out, continued their patriarchal authority in the rural areas. Exclusion from nonagricultural employment, then, not legacies of slavery or Africa, according to Burton, kept men from heading households in these urban places.

Relationship

Burton's finding (48) that rich and poor whites lived in proximity to one another corresponds to our Southern county. Burton's emphasis in his study is on social structures--especially   family and kinship--and   how it changes over time, not on the Civil War, politics, or the relationship between structures and events. Our study concentrates, instead, on the social and economic logic of the communities by which they would align themselves in the flow of events. Edgefield's proportion of slaveowners in

1860 was nearly double that of Augusta, though the distribution of slaves and slaveownership in Augusta was more concentrated in the smaller slaveholders (less than 10 slaves). Despite these distinctions, Burton's study of Edgefield's family and social structures corresponds to ours of Augusta, though there were many important differences. Edgefield was bigger than Augusta in 1860 and had a majority black population. But both places cultivated industries, were organized around small towns and villages with a county seat of roughly the same size, built elaborate road and railroad infrastructures, nourished a growing professional class, harbored steep inequities in wealth distribution, devoted most of their resources to agriculture, and practiced widespread slavery.

Vannevar Bush, "As We May Think" *Atlantic Monthly*, (July, 1945)

Excerpt

"Consider a future device for individual use, which is a sort of mechanized private file and library. It needs a name, and to coin one at random, ``memex'' will do. A memex is a device in which an individual stores all his books, records, and communications, and which is mechanized so that it may be consulted with exceeding speed and flexibility. It is an enlarged intimate supplement to his memory.

It consists of a desk, and while it can presumably be operated from a distance, it is primarily the piece of furniture at which he works. On the top are slanting translucent screens, on which material can be projected for convenient reading. There is a keyboard, and sets of buttons and levers. Otherwise it looks like an ordinary desk.

In one end is the stored material. The matter of bulk is well taken care of by improved microfilm. Only a small part of the interior of the memex is devoted to storage, the rest to mechanism. Yet if the user inserted 5000 pages of material a day it would take him hundreds of years to fill the repository, so he can be profligate and enter material freely.

Most of the memex contents are purchased on microfilm ready for insertion. Books of all sorts, pictures, current periodicals, newspapers, are thus obtained and dropped into place. Business correspondence takes the same path. And there is provision for direct entry. On the top of the memex is a transparent platen. On this are placed longhand notes, photographs, memoranda, all sort of things. When one is in place, the depression of a lever causes it to be photographed onto the next blank space in a section of the memex film, dry photography being employed."

"The owner of the memex, let us say, is interested in the origin and properties of the bow and arrow. Specifically he is studying why the short Turkish bow was apparently superior

to the English long bow in the skirmishes of the Crusades. He has dozens of possibly pertinent books and articles in his memex. First he runs through an encyclopedia, finds an interesting but sketchy article, leaves it projected. Next, in a history, he finds another pertinent item, and ties the two together. Thus he goes, building a trail of many items. Occasionally he inserts a comment of his own, either linking it into the main trail or joining it by a side trail to a particular item. When it becomes evident that the elastic properties of available materials had a great deal to do with the bow, he branches off on a side trail which takes him through textbooks on elasticity and tables of physical constants. He inserts a page of longhand analysis of his own. Thus he builds a trail of his interest through the maze of materials available to him. . . . And his trails do not fade."

Synopsis

Bush sought to chart the future of physics and science in the post-war, post-atomic age. He directed the science community to examine the development of new computing technologies and machines which would enhance human memory, science, and the humanities.

Randolph B. Campbell, "Planters and Plain Folk: Harrison County, Texas, as a Test Case, 1850-1860, " *Journal of Southern History* XL (No. 3), (1974): 369-398.

Excerpt

"This study of antebellum society in microcosm supports the planter-dominance rather than the yeoman-democracy view of the Old South. There were more landholding farmers and nonslaveholding farmers in 1860 than in 1850 in Harrison County, but there were also many more slaveholding planters. And the position of small farmers and nonslaveholders relative to large operators and slaveholders declined in every category of agricultural wealth and production during the 1850s. . . . Overall, there is certainly more empirical evidence of an economy dominated by planters than for one of rough equality among yeoman farmers. The question of political democracy is more complex, but there too the evidence points toward planter domination and a monopoly of leadership by the wealthy." (391-92)

Synopsis

Campbell argues against the yeoman-democracy thesis of Frank L. Owsley and his students that a large middle class operated "typical" Southern farms and that these smaller farmers (often nonslaveholders) owned comparable land in quality and size to slaveholders. Campbell's evidence from a county study in Texas suggests that in the

1850s planters did move to dominate the best land and "pushed out" nonslaveholding smaller farmers. Campell uses U. S. census data, linking individuals and households across agriculture, population, and slaveholding schedules. Campbell points out that even small producers of corn declined in their position relative to the planters of Harrison County in the 1850s.

Relationship

The debate between the Owsley school emphasizing "plain folk democracy" and the Genovese interpretation stressing "planter hegemony" may have run its course. Drew Gilpin Faust's 1987 review of the literature in *Interpreting Southern History* suggests that such arguments might be an "anachronistic oversimplification." We do not find in Augusta the planter dominance of the best soil that Campbell sees in Harrison County, Texas; however, we do not compare 1850 and 1860 to measure this change over time. We both find political domination of the leadership by the wealthy.

Daniel W. Crofts, *Old Southampton: Politics and Society in a Virginia County, 1834-1869* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia,1992).

Excerpt

The data "suggest that the interconnected influences of family, neighborhood, partisanship, slaveholding, agricultural production, and religious affiliation combined to generate markedly different responses within a single county during the great crisis of 1860-61."(186)

Synopsis

Crofts analyzes individual voting returns for Southampton County from the 1840s thorough the election of 1860 and the secession votes in 1861. Crofts finds that the most salient determinate for voting seemed to be geographical location. Crofts' analysis divides the county into two halves--one upper section, where whites outnumbered slaves and were generally small and medium landholders, voted Whig by a two-to-one majority, and the other lower section, where slaves and free blacks outnumbered whites and whites were either big landholders or landless workers, voted strongly Democratic. Neighborhoods with sharp wealth skew tended to be strongly Democratic, while those with a more even smallholding demographic tended to be Whig. According to Crofts, the 1860 presidential election vote in Southampton followed a pattern established for years, but the secession voting created a much more polarized electorate. Secession, he argues, increased the division between the uppper and lower county and the highest polarization

ever between slaveholders and nonslaveholders.

Relationship

We do not find the kind of clear division in Augusta that Crofts found for Southampton--one section of the county committed to growth and Whiggery, another largely planter dominated and Democratic. Crofts' geographic argument accounts mainly for the division he sees between upper and lower Southampton, while ours systematically tests for the salience of a variety of geographic variables. We found a strong presence for slavery across Augusta unlike Crofts for Southampton. On the other hand, we do see in 1860 voting patterns that the areas of concentrated Democratic voting were also ones with high levels of slaveholding and wealth.

Robert Darnton, "The New Age of the Book" *New York Review of Books*, (March 19, 1999).

Excerpt

"In the case of history, a discipline where the crisis in scholarly publishing is particularly acute, the attraction of an e-book should be especially appealing. Any historian who has done long stints of research knows the frustration over his or her inability to communicate the fathomlessness of the archives and the bottomlessness of the past. If only my reader could have a look inside this box, you say to yourself, at all the letters in it, not just the lines from the letter I am quoting. If only I could follow that trail in my text just as I pursued it through the dossiers, when I felt free to take detours leading away from my main subject. If only I could show how themes crisscross outside my narrative and extend far beyond the boundaries of my book. Not that books should be exempt from the imperative of trimming a narrative down to a graceful shape. But instead of using an argument to close a case, they could open up new ways of making sense of the evidence, new possibilities of making available the raw material embedded in the story, a new consciousness of the complexities involved in construing the past."

"I am not advocating the sheer accumulation of data, or arguing for links to databanks--so-called hyperlinks. These can amount to little more than an elaborate form of footnoting. Instead of bloating the electronic book, I think it possible to structure it in layers arranged like a pyramid. The top layer could be a concise account of the subject, available perhaps in paperback. The next layer could contain expanded versions of different aspects of the argument, not arranged sequentially as in a narrative, but rather as self-contained units that feed into the topmost story. The third layer could be composed of documentation, possibly of different kinds, each set off by interpretative essays. A fourth layer might be theoretical or historiographical, with selections from previous

scholarship and discussions of them. A fifth layer could be pedagogic, consisting of suggestions for classroom discussion and a model syllabus. And a sixth layer could contain readers' reports, exchanges between the author and the editor, and letters from readers, who could provide a growing corpus of commentary as the book made its way through different groups of readers."

Synopsis

Darnton's essay calls for a new form of historical scholarship that electronic publishing might make possible.

Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001)

Excerpt

"In setting out to explain secession to their fellow Southerners, the commissioners have explained a very great deal to us as well. By illuminating so clearly the racial content of the secession persuasion, the commissioners would seem to have laid to rest, once and for all, any notion that slavery had nothing to do with the coming of the Civil War. To put it quite simply, slavery and race were absolutely critical elements in the coming of the war." (81)

Synopsis

Dew uses the speeches of the secession commissioners to examine the reasons these Southern secessionists gave for secession. Not surprisingly, these men emphasized in their speeches that Republican victory meant racial equality, racial amalgamation, and race war. Dew's narrative is aimed mainly at those who think slavery was not a causative factor in the coming of the war (relying instead on explanations such as states' rights). This book shows just how openly the secession commissioners linked slavery with the reasons for secession.

Relationship

Dew's book differs from our article in several important respects. Mainly, his book examines the rhetoric of the secession commissioners but not how it is received in Virginia. Our article explores the fundamental social logic by which some of that rhetoric might resonate with Augusta residents and Virginians generally and why much of it did not. Secession, in our view, had little to do with fears of race war or even slavery as a

racial system; instead, we emphasize that secession stemmed from the categorization of widespread but subtle social and economic differences into a binary political expression.

Carville Earle, "A Staple Interpretation of Slavery and Free Labor" *Geographical Review* LXVIII (1978):52-65.

Excerpt

"Slavery was headed to the North in the wake of a corn economy." (52)

Synopsis

Earle argues that slavery was economically effective only when applied to staple crops such as cotton and tobacco. He distinguishes between the intensive need to attend to these staple crops and other crops such as wheat which demanded intense bursts of attendance for short durations. Slavery was efficient for the former and wage workers for the latter. Earle traces the change in agricultural production in the Eastern Shore of Maryland in the eighteenth century from tobacco to wheat and in the Lower Midwest in the nineteenth century from wheat to corn. Earle characterizes corn as a crop requiring fairly intense cultivation and as easily adaptable to the efficiencies of slave labor. He argues that in the Lower Midwest the transition to corn brought with it pressure to use slave labor in these border states and made the region a key battleground over slavery in the 1850s.

Relationship

We agree with Earle that slavery was used across a range of crops, especially corn. While wheat required fewer man hours and was not as efficiently produced with slave labor, its production was only part of a larger economy in Augusta. Earle's calculation of slavery's utility in wheat production does correspond to our findings. We found that the most successful Augusta plantations were slave-based and concentrated in relatively higher wheat production, but that wheat production on average in Augusta was not nearly as productive as in Franklin. In corn production, a more labor intensive crop, Augusta's farmers, both slaveholders and nonslaveholders, were far more productive than their Franklin counterparts.

Stanley L. Engerman, "Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective: A Discussion" *American Historical Review* 85,(1980):1154-1160.

Excerpt

"However similar the motivations of planter capitalists and industrial capitalists, however efficiently each section followed its comparative advantage, and however rapidly both sections were growing economically, one section included a slave-based agriculture and the other had, in addition to a commercial agriculture based on family farms, a developing industrial sector based upon wage labor. One section was more influenced by planter-slaveowners, the other more by merchant and industrial capitalists. These features affected the structure of society and led, for example (as Pessen notes), to certain restrictions on what was politically acceptable. Thus, beneath the structural similarities and some important similarities in motivation, behavior, and belief, there remained key differences, in desired policies and in the sources of wealth. These differences, even with some basic similarities in belief and behavior, in conjunction with the importance of attitudes toward race and slavery, had obvious implications for national political and social life." (1159)

Synopsis

Engerman disagrees with Edward Pessen's conclusion that the South and North were more similar than different and that their similarities had as much to do with the coming of the Civil War as their differences. Engerman argues that Pessen discounts the role of slavery played in establishing baseline differences between the sections that became the crucial determinants in the coming of the war.

Relationship

Engerman notes that the trend in scholarship (agreeing with Pessen) has been toward less emphasis on differences between the sections and more on the South's similarity, especially in the area of economics. Engerman, though, points out that much of the scholarship to that point was not comparative but instead based on separate analysis of only one of the sections. Engerman argues that only comparative analysis will enable more definitive answers to the question of difference and similarity between North and South on the eve of the Civil War.

Drew Gilpin Faust, "The Peculiar South Revisited: White Society, Culture, and Politics in the Antebellum Period, 1800-1860 " *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographical Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham*, **ed. John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen,(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987):78-120.**

Excerpt

"Within such a framework of knowledge, the effort rigidly to classify the South as either

'distinctive' or 'American' as 'traditional' or 'modern' is perhaps becoming an anachronistic oversimplification--especially   as our expanding understanding of the North has shown it to have been far less uniformly progressive and advanced than historians once thought. . . Within such a seamless web of influences, it becomes difficult to identify an obvious center." (117-118)

Synopsis

Faust summarizes the literature on the South's distinctiveness, concluding that new work should emphasize the complexity of social and economic structures in both the North and the South. Faust also calls for a theoretical framework that embraces the divergent explanations of Genovese, Wright, Wyatt-Brown and others.

Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989)

Excerpt

"What were the conditions that permitted the economic arguments against slavery to become so much more effective in the mid-1850s than they had been in the 1830s or 1840s? The question is puzzling since the period 1843-1857, during which the economic critique of slavery rose to preeminence, is often portrayed as one of vigorous economic expansion and general prosperity. . . . One part of the free U.S. population failed to share in this prosperity. These were the non-farm manual workers, especially those in the North, and especially the native-born skilled males." (354-55)

Synopsis

Fogel's book builds and extends his earlier work with Stanley Engerman in *Time on the Cross*. The book addresses many of the criticisms of their controversial work and more directly addresses the moral problem of slavery in American history. But Fogel's key argument in the development of the Republican Party and its successful national campaign in 1860 focuses on the "hidden depression" among Northern non-farm manual workers in the 1850s. He argues that these men represented about a quarter of the North's electorate and that they suffered from competition from immigrants, depressed wages, and declines in real income. At the same time, Fogel points out, prices for wheat, corn, and meats rose in the period on demand from shortages in Europe, making the non-farm worker poorer. He estimated the average decline in real income between 1848 and 1855 at 25 to 50 percent, and compares it to the economic misfortune in the Great Depression. These workers made up the key vote in the Republican column in 1860 and they were

particularly receptive to Republican claims about the smothering role of the South and slavery in their present and future economic development.

Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970

Excerpt

"When I speak of the Republican ideology, therefore, I am dealing with the party's perception of what American society, both North and South, was like in the 1850s, and its view of what the nation's future ought to be." (5)

"The irrepressible conflict view is also weak when it centers on the moral issue of slavery, particularly in view of the distaste of the majority of northerners for the Negro and the widespread hostility toward abolitionists. Moral opposition to slavery was certainly one aspect of the Republican ideology, but by no means the only one, and to explain Republicans' actions on simple moral grounds is to miss the full richness of their ideology. And the revisionists can be criticized for denying altogether the urgency of the moral issue, and for drastically underestimating the social and economic differences and conflicts that divided North and South." (5)

"At the center of the Republican ideology was the notion of 'free labor.' This concept involved not merely an attitude toward work but a justification of ante-bellum northern society, and it led northern Republicans to an extensive critique of southern society, which appeared both different from and inferior to their own. Republicans believed in the existence of a conspiratorial 'Slave Power' which had seized control of the federal government and was attempting to pervert the Constitution for its own purposes. Two profoundly different and antagonistic civilizations, Republicans thus believed, had developed within the nation, and were competing for control of the political system." (9-10)

Synopsis

Foner's book argues that the Republican Party's ideology centered on the concept of "free labor" and that "the creation and articulation of an ideology which blended personal and sectional interest with morality so perfectly that it became the most potent political force in the nation." (309) Foner treats ideology as pervasive, a systemtic feature of nineteenth-century politics. By examining the way Republican ideology posed a threat to the very foundations of Southern society and economy, Foner suggests, we can see the root causes of the Civil War. Free labor, Foner contends, was so important to Republicans because it defined the right of white, laboring, productive citizens to enter the market with their skills, an ideology in direct confrontation with slavery. Free labor

ideology helped bring conservatives closer to radicals in the party, as over time they came to see free labor linked inextricably to free soil and free men.

Eric Foner, "The Causes of the American Civil War: Recent Interpretations and New Directions,"*Civil War History* 20 (September, 1974): 197-214.

Excerpt

"While rightly rejecting the economic determinism of progressive historians, the new political historians seem to be in danger of substituting a religious or cultural determinism of their own. Indeed, the interpretive framework of the new school is strikingly similar to that of the progressives. Both pose a sharp distinction between 'real' and 'unreal' issues, both put thousands of persons in the quasi-conspiratorial position of concealing their real intentions, and both take an extremely limited view of individual motivation. . . . But the new interpretation leaves a yawning gap between political processes and the outbreak of war." (200-01)

Synopsis

Foner gives an overview of the major schools of interpretation on the causes of the Civil War--"the new political history" and the "modernization thesis." Where new political historians, according to Foner, substitute religion and ethnicity for class determinism, modernization historians reduce the conflict to an "industrial" or "modern" (usually ill-defined) North versus an agricultural or "pre-modern" South. Foner suggests that both approaches do not sufficiently address the social history of North and South. He argues that little is known about the rank-and-file Republicans, Democrats, Northerners, and Southerners, about the everyday citizens and their relationship to politics. Foner emphasizes that American society as a whole was highly competitive and individualistic, and that any explanation of the Civil War must combine social and political approaches, taking account of how social and economic structures affected political ones and how events occurred in the wider context of these structures.

William W. Freehling*The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Excerpt

"With slavery swiftly concentrating southward and slowly fading northward, different social attitudes and political priorities developed." (182-3)

Synopsis

Freehling's essays in this volume emphasize the geographic split in the South between the Lower South, the Middle South, and the Border South. He defines the Middle South as Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas, and the Border South as Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. Freehling considers slavery in the nineteenth century increasingly unviable in the Middle and Border regions, arguing that slaves were being sold to the Lower South in what he calls a "slave drain." (181)

Relationship

We disagree with Freehling's general thesis of Middle South slippage in its commitment to slavery and his geographical determinism. Instead, we emphasize slavery's adaptability in Virginia and the way social and economic institutions took shape around it.

William E. Gienapp, "The Crisis of American Democracy: The Politcal System and the Coming of the American Civil War" *Why The Civil War Came*, (New York: Oxford University Press,1996):81-124.

Excerpt

"The American political system was particularly vulnerable to sectional strains and tensions. One reason was the institutional structure of American politics. The Civil War occurred within a particular political institutional framework that, while it did not make the war inevitable, was essential to the coming of the war." (84)

"There was nothing inevitable, however, about the rise of the Republican party. Another set of events in the 1850s might have led to a different outcome, and thus the historian must analyze these developments from the perspective of the time, with due allowance for chance and contingency, rather than reasoning backward from the war's beginning in 1861. The Republican party's growing strength did not foreclose the possibility of avoiding war, but it significantly narrowed the range of options and limited the ability of political moderates to defuse the slavery issue in national politics."

Synopsis

Gienapp points to elements in the U.S. Constitution which created opportunities to destabilize the American political system. The lack of clarity on the right of secession, the size of states, the creation of the electoral college, the four year term for the President, and the voting practices of antebellum states combined in a way that produced a political

realignment in the 1850s and helped make possible a civil war in the 1860s.

Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Harvard University Press, 1997)

Excerpt

"Historians continued to believe in the moral and literary virtue of a clear, instructive narrative, but also cherished a newer desire for critical discussion of the sources." (220)

"Wise historians know that their craft resembles Penelope's art of weaving: footnotes and text will come together again and again, in ever-changing combinations of patterns and colors. Stability is not to be reached. Nonetheless, the culturally contingent and eminently fallible footnote offers the only guarantee we have that statements about the past derive from identifiable sources.... Only the use of footnotes enables historians to make their texts not monologues but conversations, in which modern scholars, their predecessors, and their subjects all take part." (223)

"Sadly, the footnote's rise to the status of standard scholarly tool has been accompanied -- in many cases -- by its stylistic decline to a list of highly abbreviated archival citations." (228)

"Only the use of footnotes enables historians to make their texts not monologues but conversations, in which modern scholars, their predecessors, and their subjects all take part." (234)

Synopsis

Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972).

Excerpt

"Not always linked directly to all human activity in this area, cotton was the main force behind its culture and economy. It enriched the planter, impoverished the soil, made big farmers out of little ones and planters out of farmers. . . . Finally, it sustained the institution of slavery, making it a central element of the regional society and economy." (19)

"It is obvious that a description of the South as having been either 'self-sufficient' or 'dependent upon the West for food' would be unrealistic. From North Carolina to Louisiana, a number of agricultural 'regions' existed with each solving its problem of food supply as its situation, resources, and predilections permitted. In this respect the South differed little from other large sections of the country. But there is no justification for seeing the antebellum South as an area of such concentration on staple export agricultural production that it had to import most, or even much, of its food. As a region, it was, despite the exceptions noted, largely feeding itself." (235)

Synopsis

Hilliard examined the U.S. Census agricultural schedules for the South and built estimates of Southern patterns of consumption to test whether the region was so specialized in staple crops that it was not self-sufficient. Hilliard found that landholding size was not as significant as location in determining the mix or ratio of staple crop and corn in the South. He found that the heaviest corn production areas were in the hill country and that internal markets allowed corn grown in these regions to support intense cotton agriculture elsewhere. Hilliard estimated that Southern corn producers did not achieve the yields of their counterparts in the Northwest, but on a per capita basis produced a relatively high volume.

Michael F. Holt, *Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848-1860.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

Excerpt

"Recently, however, historians have begun to point out that politics often involves the whole fabric of human interrelationships and that political alignments are frequently shaped by local social and economic factors which do not appear in formal national or state party platforms. What is needed to discover and evaluate the importances of these factors, they persuasively argue, is a more comprehensive 'social analysis' of political history." (2)

"By 1860 the leadership of the opposing parties had also changed considerably from that of the Whigs and Democrats in in the late 1840s. . . . the Republican and Democratic leaders by 1860 came from much more similar backgrounds. . . . [they] tended to come from the same socioeconomic groups . . . Republicans continued to be almost exclusively Protestants while a large proportion of Democrats were Catholics. . . Aside from this notable difference in religious background, however, the leaders of the two parties were remarkably alike." (291)

"In many ways then the votes for and against Lincoln in 1860 did not result from a single campaign but represented the continuation of a division which had occurred earlier." (302)

Synopsis

Holt examines the politics of the city of Pittsburgh and places it in the larger context of Pennsylvania and national party politics in the antebellum era. Holt argues that as the demographic profile of voters, especially the ethnoreligious profile, changed in the 1850s the political parties resembled each other and converged. In the beginning of the second party system Holt finds distinct differences between the Whigs and Democrats. Whigs were more likely to be middle and working class, native born, Protestant, and led by much wealthier leaders than the Democrats. Whig leaders were more connected to the business enterprises of Pittsburgh while Democrats were more likely to be lawyers and other professionals. In this climate, he argues, in Pennsylvania the Republicans did not make a direct attack on slavery or its extension as a moral issue, but instead attacked the idea of slavery as a labor ideology--that it might eventually weaken the position of white working men in a free wage society. Holt finds that in Pennsylvania the tariff issue was not as important to voters as historians have assumed, and that Pennsylvania prosperity in the late 1850s helped make the tariff less crucial in the election. Instead, Holt asserts that local issues explain the ways voters aligned in the state and national election--in Pittsburgh the railroad tax issue divided the electorate in ways more powerful that the extension of slavery issue.

Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Excerpt

"To a large but not exclusive extent, therefore, explaining the Whig party's expiration requires explaining the shifting relationships after 1844 between the forces of interparty conflict and intraparty division. The diminution of the first and exacerbation of the second together did alienate Whig voters, provoke their defection, and thereby contribute to the problem of 'not enough people.'" (954)

"Sectional division was not the only thing that destroyed the Whig party and drove it to its grave. But the death of the Whig party clearly contributed to the outbreak of the war, if only by clearing the way for and, in the form of essential northern Whig converts, aiding the rise of the Republican party as the major opponent of Democrats in American political life." (981)

"For over thirty years, the accepted interpretation of the war's coming in the academy has been that it resulted from basic social, economic, and ideological differences between the sections deriving from the presence of African-American slavery in the South and its absence from the North. In its cruder--and more common--formulation, the 'forces' that caused the war were self-generating and operated toward their inevitable conclusion almost without the need of human agency. And most certainly, this argument goes, specific political leaders cannot be held accountable for the war since the sectional conflict producing it involved mass public opinion and sensibilities growing out of different economic and social systems, not something as epiphenomenal as politics." (982)

Synopsis

Holt meticulously tracks the rise and fall of the Whig party at the national, state, and local levels. Holt wants to explain how the Whig party could so completely disintegrate in the 1850s. His analysis concentrates on the party structures in the localities and states, where Holt finds the party suffered from weak interparty conflict and strong intraparty divisions.

Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra, ed. *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000)

Excerpt

"Wheat organized economic life as well as social experience. It shaped directly the lives of those who produced it and indirectly the well-being of virtually every resident of the valley. Commercial wheat production served as the main catalyst for the growth of towns and for the establishment of commercial linkages with other regions."

Synopsis

Koons and Hofstra's edited collection of essays examines the 19th century economic, social, religious, and cultural experience of residents in the Great Valley of Virginia. They argue that the valley was dominated by wheat production, but they point out that wheat achieved its greatest predominance in the post-Civil War period. They suggest that the Valley constituted a regional "middle country," a place to pass through rather than to settle. They point out that slavery was readily adaptable to the mixed economy of the region, and they argue that it may have prevented the economy from growing in the antebellum period. The essays in this volume describe the settlement patterns and architectural practices of the region, finding that the Valley wealthy did not build large

houses or elaborate estates on the model of the Tidewater planters. Instead, while they held slaves and practiced a dynamic commercial agriculture and mixed industry, they did not replicate the hierarchy or culture of the tobacco region. J. Susanne Simmons and Nancy Sorrells essay, "Slave Hire and the Development of Slavery in Augusta County, Virginia," documents the widespread practice of slave hiring throughout the agricultural economy of Augusta, calling such practices "the cornerstone" of the rural economy in Augusta.

Relationship

The essays in this book provide one of the closest examinations of the 19th century Valley of Virginia we have. We agree that slave hiring was widespread in Augusta and that slavery was well-established in the region. We agree also that wheat was a primary crop in the region in the 1850s and that wheat was never a monoculture in Valley.

J. Morgan Kousser, "The Irrepressible Repressible Conflict,"*Reviews in American History* 21 (1993):207-212.

Excerpt

"American historians keep wanting the Civil War not to have happened, the slavery issue not to have been intractable, keep wanting to deny the centrality of racial problems to our history, to downplay the facts that many whites positively enjoyed racial discrimination and profited from it while many others genuinely hated it and sacrificed to end it." (207)

"Revisionism is partly a matter of how fine-grained one's picture is. Focus on broad demographic and economic developments--different rates of immigration to North and South, westward expansion, the growth of the slave population, and the glowing prospects of the slave-based economy--and the class between a potentially politically powerful North and a thriving, expansionist slavocracy seems unavoidable. Focus on how to explain the failure of four state delegations to be represented at the Whig nominating convention in 1839, and chance looms large. Begin a political history in 1819 and end in 1861, and one must face up to the deep sectional split over slavery. Begin in 1852 and end in 1856, and a welter of swirling, unsettled issues and alignments cloud the image." (210)

Synopsis

Kousser reviews Michael F. Holt's collection of essays in *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln*. Kousser considers

Holt a revisionist on the causation of the American Civil War and points out that many explanations of causation depend on when a study starts and the width of the focus. Kousser is convinced that revisionist historians of the Civil War have avoided facing the importance of slavery and race in the causation of the war, instead preferring to substitute a range of explanations--the   fears of whites that they would be enslaved, the ethnocultural tensions between parties, the politics of Abraham Lincoln and the sectional Republicans and their attempt to create a national party in 1864 around issues not as divisive as slavery, and the importance of republicanism to both North and South in the crisis.

John D. Majewski, *A House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia Before the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Excerpt

"Slavery also discouraged the development of towns, thus putting an additional brake on the growth of consumer demand. Because slaveholders had an economic incentive to keep their workers busy all year around, many plantations were often diversified enterprises that grew their own food, employed their own carpenters, and owned their own mills. Smaller farmers needing such services often turned to their wealthier neighbors to hire out a skilled artisan or utilize the plantation's blacksmith. Virginia towns, therefore, had relatively little to do with the day-to-day   operations of a plantation outside of marketing its crops." (160)

"Fertile soils, dense networks of family farms, thriving towns, and close proximity to booming urban markets all helped make Cumberland a showcase for northern agriculture. Travelers frequently commented on the beauty of the small, neat farms and well-kept countryside." (43)

"Virginia and Pennsylvania, I conclude, became a house divided because of the Old Dominion's failure to develop a large commercial city . . . A major aim of this book is to explain how Philadelphia launched itself into a cycle of self-reinforcing growth." (3)

Synopsis

Majewski's quantitative study compares Virginia and Pennsylvania, looking especially at a county in each state--Cumberland,   Pennsylvania, and Albemarle, Virginia. His purpose is to "understand the roots of regional divergence" and he finds them in economic structures of the two places and how economic policies shaped the trajectories of growth and development. He is particularly interested in the growth of Philadelphia and its effect on the hinterland surrounding it. Part of Majewski's purpose is to "isolate the impact of slavery" (3) on the course of economic development. Majewski concludes

that Virginia's low population density was the "Achilles' heel" of its economy and that slavery was to blame for this weakness. Farmers, planters, and slaves spread across the countryside could not develop the necessary consumer demand for self-reinforcing growth that compared to Pennsylvania's towns and major city--Philadelphia.(128)

Relationship

Majewski's emphasis on population density and the generally forward-looking ideology of Virginia corresponds with our own interpretation. Majewski's concern is to explain why Virginia with all of its capital and investment failed to develop the "a true central place" that could accelerate industrial growth. Ours is to explain the social logic of communities in Pennsylvania and Virginia that would allow political expression to result in the conflict and crisis of secession. Majewski's counties are both contiguous to our counties and his data on density, wealth, farm values, industrial concentration, and capital investment compare closely with ours. We differ with Majewski's emphasis on slavery as a hindrance to economic growth and a suffocating system.

James M. McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Knopf, 1982).

Excerpt

"Although speeches and editorials in the upper South bristled with references to rights, liberty, state sovereignty, honor, resistance to coercion, and identity with southern brothers, such rhetoric could not conceal the fundamental issue of slavery. The following table shows the correlation between slaveholding and support for secession in the Virginia and Tennessee conventions . . . The popular vote in secession referendums illustrated the point even more graphically . . . The upper South, like the lower, went to war to defend the freedom of white men to own slaves and to take them into the territories as they saw fit, lest these white me be enslaved by Black Republicans who threatened to deprive them of these liberties." (283-84)

"Heavy investment in social overhead capital, which transforms a localized subsistence economy into a nationally integrated market economy; rapid increases in output per capita, resulting from technological innovation and the shift from labor-intensive toward capital-intensive production; the accelerated growth of the industrial sector compared with other sectors of the economy; rapid urbanization, made possible by an increase in agricultural productivity that enables farmers to feed the growing cities; an expansion of education, literacy, and mass communications; a value system that emphasizes change rather than tradition; an evolution from the traditional, rural, village-oriented system of personal and kinship ties, in which status is 'ascriptive' (inherited), toward a fluid,

cosmopolitan, impersonal, and pluralistic society, in which status is achieved by merit." (13)

Synopsis

McPherson's book synthesizes historical scholarship on the Civil War and Reconstruction around the idea of "modernization." He builds his argument around several main points: that the war and Reconstruction were stages in America's progressive "modernization," that New England was the engine of "modern" development in economy, society, culture, and intellectual life, and that the Republican Party was the driving force behind the idea of "modernization." Modernization, according to McPherson, was effectively a value system associated with the Protestant work ethic, associated most especially with New England Presbyterians, Quakers, Congregationalists, and Unitarians. McPherson suggests that some Americans did not easily swallow the idea of modernization; resisters to modernization, he points out, were Catholics and Southerners. Considered broadly, McPherson's North and South were distinct regions on divergent tracks of development.

Relationship

We disagree sharply with McPherson's New England-centric approach to the problem of the coming of the war, the development of the Republican Party, and the character of the Southern and Northern societies and economies. McPherson's list of different Northern and Southern paths of development on page 13, of course, is encompassing enough to describe patterns of development we find in Augusta and Franklin, but McPherson's analysis offers no gradations. His approach is built around fundamental and far-reaching differences between the sections. Our findings indicate a much finer level of gradation, in which strong similarities also characterized each place.

Peyton McCrary, Clark Miller, and Dale Baum, "Class and Party in the Secession Crisis: Voting Behavior in the Deep South, 1856-1861," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (Winder, 1978):

Excerpt

"Our results destroy any hope for a clear-cut class division in the voting alignments of these states. At best we can point to slight variations in the sorts of counties that voted for each ticket. The most significant differences in social background were those which separated the Breckinridge and Bell constituencies." (450)

"Our search yielded little clear-cut evidence of class alignments in voting behavior on

the brink of the Civil War. Even with the inclusion of ethnocultural variables, which often explained as much as economic factors, our socioeconomic models were never able to account for as much of the variation in the vote as party identification alone." (456)

Synopsis

The authors examine voting in both state and national elections and the secession elections to determine whether there was strong continuity between the Breckinridge vote and votes for immediate secession and whether voter turnout played a role in secession with Unionists staying home. The authors use multiple ecological regression to estimate the differences in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The authors find realignment a commonality in all three states, but one that depended more on previous party preference than on class in determining who voted for secession.

Janet Murray, *Hamlet on the Holodeck: The Future of Narrative in Cyberspace* (New York: Free Press, 1997)

Excerpt

"Like every human medium of communication, digital media have been developed to perform tasks that were too difficult to do without them. Hypertext and simulations, the two most promising formats for digital narrative, were both invented after World War II as a way of mastering the complexity of an expanding knowledge base. . . . The earliest vision of hypertext reflects the classic American quest--a charting of the wilderness, an imposition of order over chaos, and the mastery of vast resources for concrete, practical purposes." (90-91)

Synopsis

Murray's book explores how narrative and narrative forms have changed in the electronic medium. She examines various electronic narratives, from games to simulations and other forms of cybernarrative. Murray emphasizes the importance of four characteristics of electronic narratives--spatial, participatory, procedural, and encyclopedic.

William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, *The Web of Progress: Private Values and Public Styles in Boston and Charleston, 1828-1843* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)

Excerpt

"Behind all the calculations and statistics, the counting of bales and the totaling of horsepower, the assessment of resources and the evaluation of experience lay critical differences in values. Share the same plans for urban growth they might. But the business ethic which shaped Boston's dedication to achieving that growth was central to her entire culture, which it was only peripheral in Charleston." (219)

Synopsis

William and Jane Pease develop a wide array of data drawn from censuses, city directories, newspapers, church records, and municipal records to compare Boston and Charleston in the antebellum period. They are most concerned with class structures and the activities and social structures of the elite leading the cities. They conclude that significant differences characterized these places. First, they find that Boston was a city of greater human capital, taking full advantage of resources and free labor to energize and develop a dynamic capitalism. Second, they find that Charleston languished in the satisfaction of slavery's social benefits to white elites, no matter that its profitability suffered on worn out soil and in depressed cotton and rice markets. The Peases describe an aggressively industrial North, where the ambitious sorts of men had set aside agrarian values and agricultural profits.

The differences the Peases find between these cities generally fit a larger framework of Yankee dynamism and Southern languor in society and economy. Boston's Unitarian establishment, for example, the Peases' claim, set a tone of liberalism that "encouraged innovative responses to new economic forces without at the same time threatening social or political stability," while Charleston's Episcopalians and main-line Presbyterians "reinforced traditional values" that "limited the city's ability to seize and exploit new opportunities." (137)

Relationship

The comparison between North and South of these cities offers an excellent basis for beginning to examine differences and similarities. The Peases study also offers an excellent appendix on methods and data analysis. In many ways, it seems, the Peases study sets out to find differences and finds them, then attributes them to slavery and differing attitudes toward modernization. Our study examines some of these same questions but within the context of geographical relationships and finds that the differences are not the ones that the Peases identified. We see little difference in elite views of modernization and we find a dynamic developmental view in the Southern county. We also see a vibrant agricultural Northern community where the connections between commercial agriculture and skilled industrial development make the Northern economic and social logic distinctly different from the South's.

Edward Pessen, "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South"
American Historical Review 85 (1980):1119-1149.

Excerpt

"Southern whites, rural and urban, lived as did Northerners--in   a stratified society marked by great inequalities in status, material condition, and opportunity." (1136)

"The burden of recent research is that small social and economic elites exercised a degree of control over the most important institutions in the antebellum North that bears close resemblance to the great power attributed to the great planter-slaveowners by William E. Dodd a half century ago and by Eugene D. Genovese more recently." (1142)

"Far from being in any sense members of a colony or dependency on the North, the Southern upper classes enjoyed close ties with the Northern capitalists who were, in a sense, their business partners. The South was an integral component of a wealthy and dynamic national economy, no part of which conformed perfectly to a textbook definition of pure capitalism." (1147)

"That they were drawn into the most terrible of all American wars may have been due, as is often the case when great powers fight, as much to their similarities as to their differences. The war owed more, I believe, to the inevitably opposed but similarly selfish interests--or   perceived interests--of   North and South than to the differences in their cultures and institutions." (1146)

"For all of their distinctiveness, the Old South and North were complementary elements in an American society that was everywhere primarily rural, capitalistic, materialistic, and socially stratified, racially, ethnically, and religiously heterogeneous, and stridently chauvinistic and expansionist--a   society whose practice fell far short of, when it was not totally in conflict with, its lofty theory." (1149)

Synopsis

Pessen brings together a wide array of scholarship in this sweeping essay on whether the North and South were so different on the eve of the Civil War. He divides his analysis into three parts: economy, social structure, and politics and power. In the section on economy Pessen argues that the regions were more complementary than opposed. Pessen carefully avoids explaining "away" rather than explaining Southern industrial activity, pointing out that the South's high per capita rates of industrial growth depended entirely on the fact of low white population. Pessen argues that social structures in the North and

South were similar in wealth distribution, vertical mobility rates, and lifestyles and fashions. Though similar, Pessen points out, the sections "were not carbon copies of one another." The chief difference--slavery. In politics and political power Pessen summarizes a range of quantitative studies of voting patterns and finds that in both sections leadership was conferred on successful wealthy men and that parties were pragmatic engines of economic and social promotion. Even in the 1850s national parties remained cohesive on all issues except those directly related to slavery and its expansion; moreover, he points out, most issues of concern were local. On a whole range of indicators, Pessen summarizes literature that "appears to overturn the traditional view of a distinctive antebellum South."

Pessen considers the low density of population a possible product of difference between the sections, not at all a historical accident. Pessen suggests that striking similarities in the sections do not erase their visible differences, and that these differences, especially those rooted in the social and daily life of communities, might have been decisive in overcoming the ties of similarity and complementary.

Relationship

We agree with Pessen's comparative approach, of course, and with his assertion that similarities are just as likely to cause friction and civil war as are overt differences. Augusta and Franklin are examples of the expansionist and successful, rural and capitalistic American society of 1860 that Pessen suggests prevailed. We emphasize too that because of their success these places make excellent places to search for the causes of the conflict.

Kevin Phillips, *The Cousins' Wars : Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999)

Excerpt

"Pennsylvania was the northern 'parent'--and Virginia the southern one--that together nurtured much of the Border." (446)

"In looking at the Upper South and Border and what the war meant for these regions, it is hard to avoid the sweeping assessment: that the U.S. Civil War was another great watershed in which the victory went to a zealous, skilled, and destiny-minded minority--the principal cadre of which just happened to be descended from the intense and grasping Puritan and Yankee minority that had also been the largest single force in the two previous cousins' wars. The defeat of southern culture, agriculture, and politics

did not end at the borders of the former Confederacy." (456)

"Religious denominationalism, as much as economics or ideology, drove the great transatlantic political currents that ultimately ended slavery, maintained the United States as one nation, and inhibited the British government, despite its huge textile industry, from aiding the embattled cotton states. . . Those great currents, the two nations' Protestant belief systems, were surprisingly similar. In the United States, especially in Greater New England, the Second Great Awakening bred an evangelical politics of social and moral intervention that coalesced into the Republican Party and underpinned the election of Abraham Lincoln, for all that he wisely softened the neo-Puritan message. . . . In both nations, nineteenth-century selectoral politics still strongly reflected religion and denominationalism." (390)

Synopsis

Phillips takes a broad perspective on ethnicity, politics, and culture in the American Revolution, War of 1812, and American Civil War. He calls these the "cousins' wars" because he sees them as three related events in the English-Atlantic world, all of them related by lineage to England's own Civil War and the religious strife that accompanied it. Phillips' analysis of the Civil War's causes focuses on geography and agriculture. He argues that the divisions between North and South were primarily religious--Puritan Yankee New England and Episcopalian, Methodist South. The great Border region was divided by history and settlement, a region of mixed loyalties where in 1860-61 the decisive loyalties were worked out. Phillips' account of the war's origins is explicitly cultural, and his account of political expression follows in this vein.

John W. Quist, *Restless Visionaries: The Social Roots of Antebellum Reform in Alabama and Michigan* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998.

Excerpt

"While it is undoubtedly true that some white southerners feared that any reform more radical than temperance was too closely linked to abolition and were thus unreceptive or hostile to it, it is also true that the greater intellectual ferment in Washtenaw County--rather   than merely a deeper conservatism in Tuscaloosa County - partly accounts for the counties' different receptions to these two radical causes . . . . Despite their important differences, the similarities between Washtenaw and Tuscaloosa Counties with respect to antebellum reform are also important. During the antebellum years, more people participated in or in some way encountered temperance and evangelical benevolence than Fourierism, women's rights, and even abolitionism. In both counties, proponents of benevolence not only desired to provide people with the means to

salvation; they also endeavored to transform the morals of Americans and to remove the barriers that they believed created social problems, hindered the development of human potential, and ultimately stood in the way of economic progress. Temperance devotees also promoted similar goals. These two reforms, as well as abolition, were advanced by individuals who identified closely--though   at times elusively--with   the growth of American towns and cities, education, and the market economy." (470)

Synopsis

Quist's study looks at how deep and extensive the antebellum reform climate penetrated into the lives of most Americans. He argues that a study of reform during this time must assess how "most Americans observed and experienced it - that is, as it functioned in the village and the countryside." (4) Quist examines two counties--Tuscaloosa,   Alabama and Washtenaw, Michigan--and   reveals that the residents of both counties embraced the antebellum reform impulse. Quist's study challenges the historiographical tendency to see the South, with its cotton based plantation economy, as an increasingly distinctive region opposed to the North's free labor economy, becuase he finds just as vibrant a reform movement there as in his Northern community. In both places, Quist finds, market forces helped sustain and energize reform movements. Quist argues that the differences in the counties' reform movements resulted from the "greater intellectual ferment in Washtenaw County . . . rather than merely a deeper conservatism in Tuscaloosa County" and that this partly accounts for the counties' different receptions to reform. (479) Quist's study emphasizes the similarities between these places and their reform histories. Slavery plays out differently, however, as a reform issue, and Quist notes that its effect in the Southern community was unifying, while its effect in the Northern community was fracturing.

Alexander F. Robertson, *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart* (Richmond, VA: The Willian Byrd Press, Inc., 1925).

Excerpt

"Sir, fanaticism is a great evil, and I would avoid contact with it as i would a plague; but business relations, private interests, social ties, the thies of brotherhood, the ties of ntermarriage and of communication, in every form and shape in which they can take place, must to a great extent countergalance this odious fanaticism; and in severing those political ties I would seek to withdraw these States from their allegiance to the Federal Government. I would seek to induce them to become part and parcel of our new government. I would seek to have a tier of friendly States between the slaveholding States and the States of the extreme North and Northwest. by pursuing this policy we would, I believe, ultimately effect a reconstruction of the Union upon such terms as we would dictate." (201)

Synopsis

This work is a biography of Alexander H.H. Stuart.

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

Excerpt

"While the most detailed study of the Virginia Democratic Republicans insisted that ethnicity and religion did not influence voting, the analysis of both polling place 'neighborhoods' and individual voters shows ethnoreligious factors to have been crucial determinants of partisan identification for a significant number of voters. The importance of neighborhoods clustered around churches with a community core of kinship networks can hardly be exaggerated." (11)

"The Old Dominion lagged as a genteel republic in the age of the common man." (264)

"Party allegiance had no effect on the way delegates voted on apportionment. Instead, delegates from east and west stood fast on the opposite sides of the issues. The final division on representation could have been no less partisan or more sharply sectional." (281)

"The conflict over secession pitted a party dominated by slaveholders against one representing men with no direct stake in the peculiar institution and divided the electorate in a sectional fashion that had previously been associated with the question of constitutional reform." (291)

Synopsis

Shade argues that Virginia in the 1850s became more "democratic" and that neither the Whigs nor the Democrats were sectional parties within the state. The Whigs were not, he argues, the "party of the West," nor were the Democrats the party of the Tidewater. Shade contradicts older interpretations that stressed the geographic split in Virginia--that the non-slaveholding Germans of the Valley and the small independent farmers in the counties of the southwest typified Democrats or that large slaveholders in the east and nascent manufacturers in salt, iron, and woolens in the west were Whigs. Instead, Shade asserts that Whigs prevailed in towns and in town-dominated counties and that Democrats did better in agricultural areas where large planters were clustered. Shade finds the ethnoreligious explanation for party formation most persuasive. Neighborhood,

church, and family ties, he finds, determined party allegiance. The state changed dramatically in the 1850s as fewer than half of Virginia white men became farmers and the power of the planters among the social elite declined significantly. The change in leadership was equally dramatic, Shade finds. Lawyers rise and planters declined in the state representation at the constitutional conventions. Shade considers this growth and development the crucial factor for explaining Virginia's movement toward secession. The election of 1860, he argues, in Virginia resembled the same patterns already established in earlier elections, patterns that were completely swept away in the six months before the 1861 constitutional convention that voted to secede. The elections for constitutional convention delegates for the first time set non-slaveholding unionists against slaveholding secessionists.

Relationship

Our data remain inconclusive on Shade's argument that the Valley counties were dominated by religious and ethnic political alignments. Shade finds that Scots-Irish--Presbyterian   and Anglican--Valley   residents supported the Whig Party and the Know-Nothings, while the Germans--Mennonite,   Lutheran, and German Reformed--residents   voted Democratic. We agree with Shade that political affiliations were determined by ethnic and religious identity in the Valley, though our analysis of Augusta County does not show a direct correlation. We suggest that there may have been more difference between counties and less within counties on the ethnic and religious correlation with political expression.

Edward Conrad Smith, *The Borderland in the Civil War* (New York: McMillan Company, 1927)

Excerpt

"The Civil War has usually been described as a conflict between two wholly distinct sections, abruptly divided by state boundary lines. It grew out of the controversy over slavery, it is said, and was waged on the one side by slaveholders and their misguided neighbors, while on the other side the people of the North fought to emancipate the slaves and maintain the Union. Such a view, though a natural one, gives an incorrect impression of the character of the struggle. In the first place, the boundary between the sections, throughout most of its course was artificial. . . . In the second place, there was in the beginning, and there existed during the whole course of the war, a middle section in which the question of slavery was unimportant compared with other issues. . . . This great homogeneous section, extending almost the whole width of the country, had it in its power to determine the outcome of the Civil War. Its white population was nearly as great at that of the eleven seceded States." (1-2)

"Viewing the results of the election in the Borderland as a whole, two facts stand out with great distinctness. The first was the relatively slight change that took place in the former party alignments, which indicates in itself that the issue of union or separatism was not popularly regarded as the chief one of the campaign. The second was the conservative attitude of the voters. In practically every section of the Borderland they expressed their preferences for Douglas or Bell, the two candidates who emphasized in their appeals for support the necessity of continuing the policies of compromise and conciliation in settling sectional differences." (75)

Synopsis

Smith argues that the Borderland constituted a distinct and homogeneous region of approximately 5 million white people. The region had interests with both the North and the South but was more cohesive and united within than with either section. Smith suggests that slavery as an issue remained unimportant in the Borderland until the secession crisis when the issue of slavery was ripped from its normal context as just one of a cluster of issues. Parts of the Borderland, he argues, "were [geographically] different without being disunited." Smith also argues that white people of the Borderland were "much less attached to slavery than those of the South." (31)

Relationship

We find Smith's interest in the Borderland as a distinct region compelling. Smith's work discusses climate, natural geography, transportation, markets, and ethnicity. We do not support Smith's argument that slavery was of "slight importance" in the region, that slave labor was "utterly unsuited" to wheat production and "out of the question" for corn.

Robert B. Townsend, "Lessons Learned: Five Years in Cyberspace" *Perspectives* 39, 2001):3-5.

Excerpt

"It is now clear that these sorts of publications require an enormous amount of thought and effort beyond the basic work of research and writing. The process of creating historical scholarship that is truly intended for the electronic medium requires reconceptualizing the materials from the ground up to take full advantage of the electronic medium." (4)

Synopsis

Townsend describes the high costs and potentially high benefits of electronic scholarship and suggests that historians consider new forms for journal articles and monographs. He considers many of the digital publications to be little more than minor adaptations of the traditional print forms and calls for a scholarship that takes full advantage of the digital technologies.

Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1986)

Excerpt

"What sort of an economic class did the slaveholders comprise, and what sort of an economy did they bequeath to the postbellum South? The key to both of these questions is a basic difference between investment in slaves on the one hand, and investment in land and most forms of industrial capital on the other: slaves were movable, the other forms of investment were not. . . This simple distinction had a pervasive influence on economic life, affecting population growth, private investment patterns, farming practices, mineral exploration, and political coalitions. Slavery generated a weaker and looser connection between property holders and the land they occupied." (17)

Synopsis

Wright's book draws a distinct difference between the economic development of the South and the North in the antebellum period. Wright examines the structures of economic growth--town development, railroads, agricultural practices, and manufacturing and mining. Wright points out that the average slaveholder held almost two-thirds of his total wealth in slaves (19) and he explains how slavery's legacies extended into the post Civil War period. Wright argues that slaveholders placed little wealth or value on land, a practice that set them apart from the North were intensive land value growth was the norm. Slaveholders, according to Wright, were "land killers" whose disregard for the land and the low value associated with land led them to adopt wasteful agricultural practices that led to severe soil erosion.

Relationship

We agree with Wright's emphasis on land value as an important sign of the difference slavery made, but most of Wright's evidence comes from the Cotton South. In our study it does not appear that slaveholders adopted a wasteful extensive agricultural production. Instead, we find that Augusta's agricultural enterprises were highly productive even on the worst soil in the county.

APPENDICES: GIS

Development of a GIS Database For Augusta Co., Virginia, and Franklin Co., Pennsylvania, 1860-1870:

Overview, Outline, and Detailed Discussion of Procedures For Data Automation

Aaron Sheehan-Dean and Scott Crocker, September 2000-November 2001

Steve Thompson and Ariel Lambert, June 1999-August 1999

Overview

The Geographic Information System (GIS) data bases created for Augusta County, Va. and Franklin County, Pa. are based upon mid-nineteenth century maps produced in each county. In 1870, Jedediah Hotchkiss, an Augusta County resident and Confederate Cartographer, published a detailed map of the county derived in large measure from surveys he conducted during the Civil War. Like the Hotchkiss map, the Franklin map, created by D.H. Davidson, shows the location of commercial establishments and residential locations for over 4,000 households. In addition to showing major and minor roads as well as rivers, streams, and smaller water courses, the maps are significant in that they show the locations of over 2,000 named structures. Although mills (flouring, saw, and paper),churches, schools, mines, and a variety of manufacturing establishments (black smithies, potteries, forges) are shown on the maps, the vast majority of named structures are private residences with the name corresponding either to the property's owner or inhabitant. Viewed alone, the maps are capable of providing many insights into the physical and cultural geography of Augusta and Franklin Counties during the Civil War period. The major goal of this project, however, is to use the maps as a basis for projecting detailed Census records (population, Agricultural, manufacturing, and slaveholding) of the county for 1860 and 1870 into space. The abundant family names provided by the maps provide the key which enables us to link Census records to inhabited space.

Photographing of the Maps

Augusta

The original Hotchkiss map was photographed by Special Collections in Alderman library. In its published form, the map consists of twenty-four paper sections (referred to as "quads" by the photographer)arranged in six rows each of which is comprised of four sections and all of which are affixed to a single canvas backing. So that the map could be easily folded, ca. 1/2 inch spaces were left between individual map sections. The Special Collections photographer shot the map in twenty-one sections, with each photograph corresponding to a 1:1 reproduction of a section/quad of the original map. The map sections were numbered quad01 through quad24 by the photographer, beginning in the upper left-hand corner of the map and proceeding from left to right and from top to bottom. Thus, the

quads were numbered as follows:
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

The upper left (NW), upper right (NE), and lower right (SE) quads (numbers 01, 04, and 24) where not photographed as the margins of the county map did not extend into these sections. A map of the city of Staunton drawn at a smaller scale occupies the lower left hand corner of the map (quads 17, 18, 21,and 22). The twenty-one photographed sections were delivered to the VCDH as full color TIFF images, each one about 17 MB in size.

Franklin

The original Franklin map consists of twelve paper sections arranged in three rows and four columns. For scanning purposes, the sections were numbered sequentially beginning in the upper left-hand corner of the map and proceeding from left to right and from top to bottom, as one would read a manuscript. However, because the map sections were larger than the scanning bed, each section was scanned in halves. The top half was saved with the letter "a" appended onto the section number and the letter "b" was appended onto the section number when naming the bottom half. For example, the top half of section 1 was saved as 1a, and the bottom half saved as 1b. Some overlap was left between the two halves in order to facilitate the edge-matching process later. All twelve map sections were scanned in this fashion and the resulting twenty-four images were cropped as closely as possible to the borders of individual map sections and saved as color Tiffs.

Constructing a single digital image of the Maps

Augusta

A single image file comprising the whole of the county was "stitched together" in Photoshop. Individual quads were first aligned and their margins cropped as closely to the borders of individual map sections as possible. Quads were then edge-matched one to another, first in "blocks" defined by four contiguous map sections. These first-order recombinations were labeled `block01' through `block06.' Block01 was comprised of quads02, 05, and 06; block02 of quads03, 07, and 08; block03 of quads09, 10, 13, and 14; block04 of quads11, 12, 15, and 16; block05 of quads17, 18, 21, and 22; and block06 of quads19, 20, and 23. The six blocks were thus arrayed as follows:
01 02 03 04 05 06

The six blocks were saved both as full color, compressed TIFF images (block01-06.tif) and as black and white, uncompressed TIFs (block01b-06b.tif). The final stage of combining the six blocks into a single image required, for reasons of file size, that the blocks be converted to black and white while the geo-registration and rectification of the resultant image (see below) required an uncompressed TIF image.

The final stage entailed edge-matching and joining the six blocks into a single black and white image file. This image file, named "augmap," was saved in both compressed (augmap.tif) and uncompressed (augmap2.tif) formats. The insert of Staunton wholly contained in block05 was clipped and saved as the uncompressed "stntn.tif."

Edge-matching and joining of the quads and blocks was a tedious and not wholly perfectible process as both the paper and the canvas backing are very elastic and individual sections of the map appear to have been variably stretched and distorted over the past 130 years. In addition, the edges of the paper sections were often frayed and worn so that less than perfect matches often could not be achieved.

Franklin

A single image file was made by "stitching together" the twenty-four individual images in Photoshop. The complimentary halves (a and b) were first combined by decreasing the opacity of one half and overlaying it on the other half. The top and/or bottom images were slightly rotated as necessary to compensate for any errors in the scanning process, and features such as text labels, roads, and rivers were then used to align the two halves. The opacity was then changed back to 100% and the image was flattened and saved according to the appropriate section number. For example, images 1a and 1b were combined and saved as 1.tif. The sections were then edge-matched to each other, although this was somewhat more difficult than matching the halves (a and b) since there was no overlap between sections. Once the sections had been combined to create a single large image, the image was cropped just outside of the county boundary to create a composite map of Franklin County. The town insets were also cropped out and saved individually. The results were saved as uncompressed gray scale TIFs so that they could be properly geo-referenced.

Geo-referencing and rectification of the digital images

Augusta

Assigning real-world coordinate values to the individual pixels of the augmap2.tif image, known as "geo-referencing" was carried out in Arc/Info using the Arc commands REGISTER and RECTIFY. Before this process could begin, however, it was necessary to obtain stable control points from a source that has already been geo-referenced. These control points should be features such as buildings, bridges, and road intersections that can be found on both the target (franklin) map and the geo-referenced source, and that are known to be in the same location on both the target and the source. For example, an old church that has been in the same location for hundreds of years would be a good control points. Within REGISTER, links were initially made to county boundary and hydrology vector line coverages from the U.S. Census (Tiger/Line data) and reasonable results were obtained. Better results were achieved by establishing links between the Augusta Co. image and georeferenced TIF files of 1:24000 scale USGS quadrangle maps (Digital Raster Graphics (DRGs), as numerous stable points such as churches, road intersections, etc. could be located on both target (Hotchkiss) and source (USGS) maps.

Perfect geo-referencing of the Hotchkiss image was not possible due to various factors. First, as mentioned, the original paper map appears to have been stretched and distorted significantly. Second, distortions were undoubtedly compounded both during photography and subsequent editing, edge-matching, and joining of map sections and blocks. Third, the cartographic precision of the original Hotchkiss map appears to be less than that of modern maps of the county. This is particularly notable along the northwestern and southeastern borders of the county, both of which lie in mountainous terrain. The most significant departures in the actual contours of the county's boundary between the Hotchkiss map and modern maps occur at the southwestern and southeastern corners of the county.

Approximately twenty links were established between the DRG source images and the Hotchkiss image and included a number of points along the county's boundary and throughout the internal area of the county. Links were added and deleted until the RMS error of all links was less than 500 meters. Lower average RMS errors could not be achieved despite much experimentation. In the main, then, points on the geo-referenced Hotchkiss image (as indicated by there x,y coordinates) lie no more than 500 meters from their "actual" locations and often times are significantly closer.

The RECTIFIED Hotchkiss image file is labeled "augmap2r.tif" (with corresponding `world file' "augmap2r.tfw), and it is this rectified image that was used as a background for all subsequent digitizing of vector data.

Franklin

Assigning real-world coordinate values to the individual pixels of the franklin.tif image, known as "geo-referencing" was carried out in Arc/Info using the Arc commands REGISTER and RECTIFY. Numerous control points could be located on scanned 1:24000 scale USGS topographic quadrangles known as Digital Raster Graphics, and these DRGs were used as the source from which the control points were digitized. During the registration process, approximately twenty links were established between the Franklin image and the control points taken from the DRG source images. These included a number of points along the county's boundary and throughout the internal area of the county. Links were added and deleted until the RMS error of all links was less than 50 meters, meaning that a given point on the geo-referenced Franklin image lies an average of 50 meters from its actual location. Numerous factors prevented a lower RMS error from being achieved, the most significant of which was probably errors in relative distances between points on the Franklin map resulting from the scanning and edge-matching process.

The rectified Franklin image file is labeled franklinrec.tif and is accompanied by a corresponding world file franklinrec.tfw. This rectified image was used as a background for all subsequent digitization of vector data.

Creating Digital Vector Coverages from the Geo-Referenced Image

A series of digital vector coverages were produced using the rectified raster images of the two county maps. All digitizing was carried out within the ArcEdit module of Arc/Info. Features were traced from the rectified image, with the resultant digital "coverages" being in the same real-world coordinate system as the source image. All the Franklin digitization was done in the Albers projection and the coverages were subsequently reprojected into the UTM coordinate system to match the work done earlier on Augusta County.

Line Coverages

Augusta

Three county-wide line coverages have been digitized, one detailing hydrology (stream1870), one roadways (roads1870), and one the railroad (rail1870). Line features representing water courses in the hydrology coverage have all been coded (within a field name "RANK" added to the arc attribute table (aat) of the coverage so that all streams are classified into one of three types (major, lesser, and minor). Stream length was the criterion upon which this classification was based (>12000 m = Rank 1/major, 6000 - 12000 m = Rank 2/lesser, and 6000m = Rank 3/minor). A second field named "NAME" was also added to the aat of the hydrology coverage to contain stream names as they appear on the Hotchkiss map.

Digitized roadways have also been classified according to a tripartite scheme. Within the aat of the roads coverage a field named "RD_TYPE" was added to contain this information. Roads classed as type 1 are considered "major roads" and are represented by double solid lines on the Hotchkiss map. Type 2 roads are "minor" and are represented by single solid lines on the original map. Finally, type 3 roads or "paths" are those routes shown by single dashed lines by Hotchkiss. As with the hydrology coverage a RD_NAME field was also added to the aat to contain road names, though most of these features are not named on the original map.

Since the county had only one railroad, this coverage did not require additional coding by class.

Franklin

Three county-wide line coverages were digitized, one detailing hydrology (Rivers), one roadways (Roads), and one railroads (Railroads). A field named Rank was added to the arc attribute table (AAT) of the Rivers coverage and contains a code that classifies the streams and rivers as either major, lesser, or minor based on stream length. A stream that was longer than 12,000 meters was coded as Rank 1/major, lengths of 6,000 to 12,000 meters were assigned Rank 2/lesser, and streams less than 6,000 meters long were given Rank 3/minor. A second field named Name was also added to the AAT of the Rivers coverage to contain stream names as they appear on the Franklin map.

Digitized roadways were classified as major (1) or minor (2) in a field named Rd_type in the AAT of the Roads coverage. Major roads are represented by double solid lines on the original map, while minor roads are represented by single solid lines. There were no distinguishable paths (coded as Rd_type 3 on the roads coverage digitized from the Augusta map) on the Franklin County map. As with the Rivers coverage, an Rd_name field was also added to the AAT to contain road names, although most of these features are not named on the original map.

Since the county had only one railroad, this coverage did not require additional coding by class.

Polygon Coverages

Augusta

The most basic polygon coverage digitized represents the boundaries of Augusta County. This coverage is named "bord1870".

The boundaries of six electoral districts plus Staunton are portrayed on the Hotchkiss map and these have been digitized into a single county-wide coverage named "dist1870." A single field named "DISTRICT" was added to this coverage's polygon attribute table (pat) to contain the name of each district polygon.

A coverage named Soils was digitized from a general soil map of Augusta County produced by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service in 1974. Before digitizing, the soils map was registered to the Border coverage digitized from the Augusta map using the procedure described in the geo-referencing section above. The county Border coverage was also used as the border of the Soils coverage to ensure that the Soils coverage would overlay properly with the other digitized data. A Code field was added to the polygon attribute table (PAT) of the Soils coverage and contains the numerical code (1-14) associated with each color in the legend of the original map. The Type field was also added to contain the actual name of the soil type (association) that corresponds with each color and code in the legend.

* The historical maps we used as the basis for the GIS we constructed for each county did not include any information on soil type or productivity. By incorporating soil type into our GIS, we would be able to compare residents of both counties against one another, as well as help isolate the difference slavery might have made in Augusta. Lacking reliable historic soil type or quality maps, we decided to use current U.S. Geologic Survey soil association maps for each county. The Augusta Soil Survey included suitability ranking for crops; we applied these when we created new variables within the GIS/Census database ranking the soils by their suitability for agriculture. We relied upon the expertise of the Augusta County Cooperative Extension Agent, Tom Stanley, for help in interpreting the suitability of different soil associations. Drawing on the Virginia Nutrient Management Standards and Criteria, produced by the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Tom provided us soil suitability

rankings, by crop, for the different soil types in Augusta.County Soil Survey.

We identified polling stations for Augusta from newspaper reports following the 1860 presidential election. The reports listed voting returns by party for each polling station. We created a .dbf file for each county with this data, adding variables that calculated the percentage of the total vote given to each candidate. In the GIS, we created new coverages for the polling stations (20 in Augusta). All of the Augusta polling stations were located in towns. Though we did not know the exact location of the station, we digitized a single point as close to the town center as possible since voting probably occurred at some prominent, centrally location in each place. We then created Thiessen polygons around each polling station, in essence, recreating the voting precincts. We could then aggregate household socio-economic and demographic data by precinct in order to have a profile of the districts that supported each candidate in the 1860 election.

The final polygon coverage represents elevation. This coverage was not digitized, but instead was created from USGS Digital Elevation Models (DEMs) using the capabilities of both Arc/Info and ArcView. In order to fully cover the entire county, all DEMs containing any part of the county were merged using the Grid command MOSAIC. The GRIDCLIP command was then issued in Grid (not Arc) to clip the merged DEM using the county's Border coverage to obtain a single large grid in the shape of Franklin County. This grid was then reclassified as follows using ArcView's Spatial Analyst extension:
1 = less than 226 meters
2 = 227-331
3 = 332-435
4 = 436-540
5 = 541-644
6 = greater than 645 meters

The reclassified grid was then converted to a shapefile. This process created a polygon for every cell in the original grid, and allowed the Gridcode field (containing values 1-6, as described above) to be carried over from the reclassified grid cells and assigned to each polygon. ArcView's Geoprocessing Wizard was then used to dissolve the polygons based on the Gridcode attribute, so that all polygons having the same Gridcode value were grouped together in a single polygon. Finally, Arc's SHAPEARC command was used to convert the shapefile to the Elevation coverage while keeping the Gridcode attribute as a field in the PAT of the newly created polygon coverage.

Franklin

The most basic polygon coverage digitized represents the boundary of Franklin County and is named Border.

The boundaries of the fifteen electoral districts are portrayed on the Franklin map and these have been digitized into a county-wide coverage named Districts.

A coverage named Soils was digitized from a general soil map of Franklin County produced by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service in 1974. Before digitizing, the soils map was registered to the Border coverage digitized from the Franklin map using the procedure described in the geo-referencing section above. The county Border coverage was also used as the border of the Soils coverage to ensure that the Soils coverage would overlay properly with the other digitized data. A Code field was added to the polygon attribute table (PAT) of the Soils coverage and contains the numerical code (1-6) associated with each color in the legend of the original map. The Type field was also added to contain the actual name of the soil type (association) that corresponds with each color and code in the legend.

The historical maps we used as the basis for the GIS we constructed for each county did not include any information on soil type or productivity. By incorporating soil type into our GIS, we would be able to compare residents of both counties against one another, as well as help isolate the difference slavery might have made in Augusta. Lacking any historic soil type or quality maps, we decided to use current U.S. Geologic Survey soil association maps for each county. For Franklin County, we contacted Scott Metzger at the County's Natural Resources Conservation Service, who provided us with the most recent Soil Survey of the county. The Franklin Soil Survey included suitability ranking for crops; we applied these when we created new variables within the GIS/Census database ranking the soils by their suitability for agriculture.

We identified polling stations for Franklin from newspaper reports following the 1860 presidential election. The reports listed voting returns by party for each polling station. We created a .dbf file for each county with this data, adding variables that calculated the percentage of the total vote given to each candidate. In the GIS, we created new coverages for the polling stations (23 in Franklin). All of the Augusta polling stations were located in towns. Though we did not know the exact location of the station, we digitized a single point as close to the town center as possible since voting probably occurred at some prominent, centrally location in each place. For Franklin, eleven of the twenty-three polling stations were identified only the township name within which it lay. This required us to use more discretion in identifying the location of the polling station. We placed the point representing the polling station for these eleven places in the center of the largest town within the township. We then created Thiessen polygons around each polling station, in essence, recreating the voting precincts. We could then aggregate household socio-economic and demographic data by precinct in order to have a profile of the districts that supported each candidate in the 1860 election.

The final polygon coverage represents elevation. This coverage was not digitized, but instead was created from USGS Digital Elevation Models (DEMs) using the capabilities of both Arc/Info and ArcView. In order to fully cover the entire county, all DEMs containing any part of the county were merged using the Grid command MOSAIC. The GRIDCLIP command was then issued in Grid (not Arc) to clip the merged DEM using the county's Border coverage to obtain a single large grid in the shape of Franklin County. This grid was then reclassified as follows using ArcView's Spatial Analyst extension:
1 = less than 226 meters
2 = 227-331

3 = 332-435
4 = 436-540
5 = 541-644
6 = greater than 645 meters

The reclassified grid was then converted to a shapefile. This process created a polygon for every cell in the original grid, and allowed the Gridcode field (containing values 1-6, as described above) to be carried over from the reclassified grid cells and assigned to each polygon. ArcView's Geoprocessing Wizard was then used to dissolve the polygons based on the Gridcode attribute, so that all polygons having the same Gridcode value were grouped together in a single polygon. Finally, Arc's SHAPEARC command was used to convert the shapefile to the Elevation coverage while keeping the Gridcode attribute as a field in the PAT of the newly created polygon coverage.

Point Coverages

Augusta

The heart of this project entails the digitization of point coverages from the Hotchkiss image that record the locations of all named (and unnamed) structures and establishments that appear on the map. It is through the establishment of links between map names and census names that a fully spatially referenced statistical database was generated.

All point features on the map were digitized and assigned a unique identifier that was used to join/relate the gis point coverages to a series of data files containing information regarding matches between points on the Hotchkiss map and records contained in the 1860 population, agricultural, and slave holding censuses. The initial task of matching map points to census records was carried out by VCDH staff prior to the initiation of this gis data base. The compilers of this spread sheet worked systematically by election district, proceeding typically from point to point along roadways, recording named points along with general locational information (toponym and reference within a grid that was superimposed over the map) and indicating whether the point could be matched to a record in any of the three censuses (pop, agric., and slave).

Within ArcEdit, adding point features to a coverage entails the software automatically adding a unique "user-id" to each feature. The user-id field is the fourth field in the coverage's point attribute table and is generated automatically. The name of this field is always -id and should not be confused with the third pat field named #. By default, ArcEdit calculates user-ids sequentially, beginning with "1" each time a new coverage is created. The user-ids of added features that are later deleted are NOT reused, again by default. The assignment of user-ids, however, can be controlled by the digitizer; the start number as well as interval of a sequence, for example, can be specified. User-ids can also be changed for individual points or a series of points using the CALCULATE command. In this project, digitizing and thus the assignment of a series of user-ids to point features follows exactly the record sequence of the Excel files (and therefore the MAP-IDs contained there). Essentially, digitizing moves from point to

point in the same sequence followed by the compilers of the Excel files. In addition to the automatic assignment of a user-id to each point digitized, the digitizer also fills a value in the added field named "PNT_TYPE." This allowed us to identify all the buildings represented on the map by type (eg: residence, commercial, public) as well as by their specific owner or use.

Because of the extremely repetitive nature of point digitizing (there are approximately 1000 points to be digitized within each of the 6 electoral districts) this process has been automated and is now being carried out with the use of an AML script named "points.aml" This aml, of course, cannot automatically correct entry errors which must be corrected manually outside of the script. Once all named points contained with the Excel file for a given district have been digitized, points.aml can be used to add and assign point types to any additional locations (usually unnamed) within the district. This entails adding, typically, several hundred additional points to those contained in the Excel file. Assignment of user-ids to these points can take place irrespective of sequence. Once the last point within a district has been digitized, the next number in the id sequence can be used to define the first user/map-id to be used in the next district to be digitized.

An additional points coverage that was created represented town centers (Towns). This coverage was used for a simple proximity analysis and also aided in the creation of a polling stations coverage that served as points from which Thiessen polygons were generated (see Polygon Coverages section).

We used the newspapers to confirm the location of railroad depots based on what we could determine using the maps by themselves. Franklin County had only two depots; one in Chambersburg and one in Greencastle. Augusta had five: Waynesborough, Fishersville, Staunton, Swoope's Depot, and Craigsville.

Franklin

The heart of this project entails the digitization of a Points coverage from the Franklin image that records the locations of all structures and establishments that appear on the map. It is through the establishment of links between map names and census names that a fully spatially referenced statistical database could be generated.

All point features on the original map were digitized and assigned a unique identifier that can be used to join/relate the GIS Points coverage to a series of data files containing information from the 1860 population, agricultural, and slave holding censuses. The digitization of point features began in the northwestern corner of the map and proceeded from west to east and north to south, following a grid that was overlaid on the map. To join the Points coverage to the data file containing information on census records, unique identifiers were created in both the GIS and Excel files that link each point with a corresponding Excel record. IDs were assigned sequentially to each record in the Excel file beginning with the number 1. Corresponding Ids were then added in the point attribute table (PAT) of the Points coverage by creating a Map-id field. This field was coded for each point by assigning it the number

associated with its corresponding record in the Excel file. In this project, digitizing and thus the assignment of a series of Map-ids to point features follows exactly the record sequence of the Excel file (and therefore the MAP-IDs contained there). Essentially, digitizing moves from point to point in the same sequence followed by the compilers of the Excel file.

After all of the point features had been digitized and coded, it was discovered that several hundred labeled points on the Franklin map did not have corresponding records in the Excel spreadsheet that had served as a guide for the digitization process. These records had to be added to the spreadsheet and then digitized as an addition to the Points coverage. Therefore, the Map-ids of these points are out of order when compared to the left to right, top to bottom sequence of the other points. What is important, however, is that the Map-ids assigned to these points are still unique and therefore relate to the proper record in the Excel spreadsheet. In addition to assigning a unique Map-id to each digitized point, the digitizer also entered a value in the field Pnt_type, which was created in order to contain numerical codes for all point types such as residences, schools, churches, etc. This allowed us to identify all the buildings represented on the map by type (eg: residence, commercial, public) as well as by their specific owner or use. Once every point had been digitized and coded with unique Map-ids and Pnt-types, the Excel spreadsheet was joined to the PAT of the Points coverage as described later. It was then fairly simple to select out certain Pnt-types such as residences, churches, and schools for use in further analyses.

An additional points coverage that was created represented town centers (Towns). This coverage was used for a simple proximity analysis and also aided in the creation of a polling stations coverage that served as points from which Thiessen polygons were generated (see Polygon Coverages section).

We used the newspapers to confirm the location of railroad depots based on what we could determine using the maps by themselves. Franklin County had only two depots; one in Chambersburg and one in Greencastle.

Checking and Cleaning Census Match Excel Files

Once all points within the counties have been successfully digitized, the next step is to join the data records contained in the corresponding Excel file to the coverage's point attribute table. Before this is carried out, however, the Excel file MUST BE checked and cleaned of any erroneous or ambiguous entries.

Occasionally, transcription or spelling errors are encountered in the Excel file during the process of digitizing and these should be corrected. Very occasionally, Excel file records may be encountered for which no clear point on the map can be found (and thus digitized). In this case, the Excel file record can be deleted (not deleting the file record will have no consequence upon the gis data base as lacking a match to the ids in the point attribute table, the Excel record will not be imported - as long as the digitizer did not assign this user-id to another point). A more serious problem arises in the case in which

a single point feature on the map may have been assigned (erroneously) two or more records by the compilers of the Excel file containing references to Census record matches (and thus multiple map-ids will have been assigned to such single points. In this one of the records (and its map-id)must be deleted from the Excel file before it is joined to the coverage's point attribute table.

Much of the labor and time required in cleaning the Excel files results from the fact that the compilers of the file frequently matched multiple point features with a single census record. That is, multiple point features on the maps share references to a single, unique Census Page#/Family# (Pop. Cen.) or Page#/Line# (Ag. Cen.). This is a case of a "many to one" match and may have happened for various reasons.

One common cause is that multiple features on the map often actually are labeled with identical names and, thus, appear to be owned by a single individual. For instance, many points exist on the Hotchkiss map that are labeled with the possessive form of an individual's name (i.e. "A. Crawford's). Invariably, however, there will be one point in this spatial cluster that is not labeled in the possessive.

Although the interpretation cannot be verified, our working assumption is that points labeled with a possessive represent properties of the named while points not labeled possessively indicate place of residence of the named. The compilers of the Census Match files, however, ignoring those cases labeled in the possessive, typically assigned all points with the same name,to the same individual (unique record) in the Census records. While some, perhaps even all of the features labeled with a possessive may be dwellings owned by the individual indicated, they need not be. That such points represent barns, outbuildings, or other agricultural or manufacturing installations cannot be ruled out without more information. Even if these features are residences, however, it is important that they be associated with the the Census data related to their OCCUPANTS RATHER THAN THEIR OWNERS.

If the task of reconstructing the routes of Census takers and of infilling more point to record matches is profitable, it may be possible to associate some of these points with Census households as families that rent their residences can be detected in the Population Census as they have zero Real Estate wealth.

Many-to-one matches also appear to have other causes. It may also be the case, quite understandably, that multiple individuals within the county shared the same first and last names, and thus the possibility exists that the compilers of the files of matches to the Census records will have matched inadvertently more than one person/dwelling to the same Census data record. Such cases can only be resolved, if at all, by examination of the Page/Family Numbers of nearby matches.

Cases have also been encountered (with the 1860 Census Records) in which points on the map indicated as belonging to individuals sharing a common family name but having different first(and middle) names/initials (e.g. A. Crawford and T. Crawford) have been matched to the same unique Page#/Family# or Line#. The only explanation for this situation seems to be the time lag between the recording of the 1860 Census and the drawing of the 1870 Hotchkiss map. That is, in 1860 A.Crawford

and T.Crawford were listed as belonging to the same family because they were sons of the same father and lived with him under the same roof, but by 1870 the father had died and his estate had been divided among his heirs whose names were recorded by Hotchkiss. The difficulty here becomes that of deciding which point (if any) of those matched to the Census record should be retained as the most probably residence of the family's head of household in 1860.

All cases of "many to one" matches are problematic and MUST BE rectified at this point. If not, the process of joining data tables (.pat and Excel file) will simply join the first occurrence of an ID in the .pat with its first occurrence in the Census Match data file - and this is dependent simply upon the (arbitrary) order of the records in these two data files. EACH DIGITIZED POINT ON THE MAP (EACH USER-ID) CAN BE MATCHED TO ONLY ONE UNIQUE RECORD IN EACH OF THE CENSUSES. LIKEWISE, A UNIQUE CENSUS RECORD CAN BE MATCHED TO ONLY ONE POINT IN SPACE. To match a single Census record entry to more than one point on the map will result in the replication of statistical census data in any aggregation of this data above the level of the household. In other words, not resolving cases of one-to-many   matches will result in individuals being counted more than once whenever statistical data is aggregated/summarized at higher order spatial scales.

As most replications of unique census records with the Excel matching files probably are based upon the replication of names (either intentionally or due to a multiplicity of W. Smiths, for example) in the map, a means of checking for them is to sort the Excel files (but not before Map-ids have been established) alphabetically on last names. The file can then be studied for duplicate last names and duplicate matches to single census records. The information on matches to census records should be removed from all records except that one deemed most likely to represent the primary residence of the individual in question. It is also possible, however, that census records are duplicated in the Match files because of transcription/typographical errors (either in the original documents or in subsequent versions. A more complete check, then, entails sorting the files by page# and fam#/line# for each of the three censuses and checking for additional duplicated matches. This sorting and checking procedure should follow a sort based on Last Name, First Name however.

Prior to importation of the Census Match Excel files into Arc/Info, it is imperative that all potentially confusing characters be removed from or replaced in the Excel files prior to importation into Arc/Info. Commas, since they will be used as field delimiters (see below) must be replaced with colons (:). Forward slashes (/) should be replaced with underscores (_), and single right quotations (') with single left quotations (`). The fields containing page, line, and family number information that match records to census records must contain only numerical data although characters can be contained within the original composite fields in which this information was initially recorded. Thus, remove all "M"s, "N"s, "/" and any other character information from these fields (PopCen60Page, PopCen60Fam, AgCen60Page, AgCen60Row, SlvCen60Row). Occasionally these fields may contain references to more than one census record. When this occurs, all but one of these references must be removed (though this information should be retained in another field (Orig, or Name fields).

At this point, it also makes sense to add the unique MAP-ID associated with each point in the GIS coverage to its corresponding Page#/Dwelling# record in the aggregated Census Data base. Adding MAP-IDs directly into the Census data bases allows these files to be sorted on this field, thus providing an additional necessary check to make sure that individual records in the Census data bases have been matched to ONE AND ONLY ONE point on the map. (see above regarding many-to-one matches).

Please see DEVELOPMENT OF A DIGITAL CENSUS DATABASE FOR AUGUSTA CO., VIRGINIA, AND FRANKLIN CO., PENNSYLVANIA, 1860-1870 for a full explanation of the methodology and creation instructions for the SPSS data file that was joined to the GIS.

Importing Data files and Joining with Arc/Info Point Attribute Tables (.pat)

Once the Excel file has been checked and cleaned for any erroneous data, the file can be prepared for importing into the GIS. There are several ways to do this. The Excel file can be saved in comma delimited text format (.csv). Arc/Info can read ascii text files with, by default, comma delimiters. The corrected file should be so saved and ftp'ed to the vdhc/augusta/data directory on ptolemy (sending the file as ascii rather than binary data will prevent record delimiter characters (^M) from appearing at the end of each record of the text file). Once on ptolemy, the .csv file should be inspected (use the UNIX command "more ". Before importation, the first line of the comma delimited text file (containing field names) must be deleted. In xedit, with the cursor positioned at the beginning of a line will delete the line in its entirety. If extraneous characters exist in the text file (such as the record delimiters ^M mentioned above), these also must be removed. Such characters are best removed using the vi text editor.

Alternatively, the Excel file can be saved in dBase format and joined to the GIS through ArcInfo using the DBASEINFO command.

The simplest method is to save the Excel file in dBase format (which also makes data analysis in SPSS much easier), and join the file to the data attribute table of the relevant shape file in ArcView. If you save the shape file, with new data attached as a coverage, the join will be made permanent. The resulting coverage can be resaved back into a shape file for easier manipulation within ArcView.

Towns

The towns are singled out for treatment here because on both maps several of the larger towns were drawn as insets on the main county map. A discussion of how we handled this for each county follows.

Augusta

Within Augusta, we had a blow-up map indicating household residences and commercial and public buildings for only the county seat of Staunton. The remainder of the towns had their residences and

other buildings noted on the general map. Compiling data for Staunton and then digitizing the city's points involved a process similar to the one explained in Checking and Cleaning Census Match Excel Files, which was used to complete the digitization of each of the county's electoral districts. However, the VCDH staff was forced to manipulate this process in order to accommodate Staunton's unique circumstances. Before reading the following explanation of these changes, be sure to study the procedures that were used to compile data for and then digitize the rest of the county.

Staunton, located in the Beverley District, exists on the Hotchkiss map in two forms: on the "augmap2r.tif" image and in more detail as an insert which was clipped and saved as "stntn.tif." To include points within the insert, "stntn.tif" was georeferenced and rectified, resulting in "stntnbr.tif." Inevitably, the two images did not fit perfectly. That is, when "stntnbr.tif" was drawn over the larger map, the various line coverages (streams, roads, and railroads) did not follow perfectly the features on the insert. To remedy this, the digitizer edited the coverages.

Compiling an Excel file for Staunton was difficult and time-consuming. Prior to the initiation of the data base, VCDH staff produced an Excel spread sheet for Staunton by cross-referencing census and tax record information. The file, called "Stcynew.xls," included the following information for all of the city's tax payers: last name, first name, other, population census information, agricultural census information, slaveowner census information, acres, rods, poles, residence, estate, lot number, building value, lot and building value, tax amount, city tax amount, and notes. While the "aumap.xls" file maintained the record order in which points were entered, the "Stcynew.xls" file did not. It was therefore impossible to locate names on the map simply by following the list of names in the file. The "Stcynew" file also included a number of names that did not exist on the map and could therefore not be included in the final Excel file.

A second source of information for Staunton was the Staunton Fire Insurance Depositions. Compiled between 1850 and 1860 by "The Mutual Assurance Society Against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia," the depositions include the following information: policy number, policy holder's name, location of building, bordering homes or businesses, occupant's name, building value, total value of the policy, and a description of the one or more buildings included in the policy. Company agents also drew sketches of individual insured buildings. Thus, each of the policies is linked on the Valley site to a preliminary drawing of the buildings on that block. These sketches and their associated policy information allowed the project's staff to associate names (and various information) with points that were not labeled on the Hotchkiss map.

The first step in compiling Staunton's data was to scan the "stntnbr.tif" image for labels and produce a list of these names. These names were then cross-referenced with the "Stcynew.xls" in order to determine whether or not tax record information was available. The tax records use a coding system for the locations of buildings which includes: N for New "Town," O for "Old Town," B for "Beverley Addition," S for "Staunton," and OL for "Outlying." This coding system also includes numbers that refer to tax grid blocks. An image of Staunton's tax grid can be accessed through the Valley's insurance deposition index. The image is called taxgrid.tif." The coding system used in the "Stcynew.xls" file

made it possible to determine which tax record was associated with which building. Unfortunately, the tax grid does not include areas classified as "Staunton" or "Outlying." Thus, it was impossible to associate a tax record with a name that appears more than once on the map in either of these areas.

Cross-referencing labeled points with the tax record information produced a list of 226 points. Some of these names were successfully associated with tax record data, while others were not. Points were often clustered near a label. In these cases, it was assumed that all of the points within a lot (which is contained within a polygon on the Hotchkiss map) belonged to the person whose label appeared in that lot. Each of these points was then linked to its appropriate census record information (population, agricultural, and/or slaveowner), if possible. Because only one point can be associated with each census record (see Checking and Cleaning Census Match Excel Files), one of the points within a lot was matched to its occupant's census record while the rest of the points were classified as the property of that person.

The city of Staunton raised a number of issues for the VCDH staff concerning occupancy versus ownership. The staff used the following reasoning in determining how to be consistent and accurate with regard to data compilation:

*   Labels outside of the city most likely refer to the property's owner. But, because we have no information regarding the occupancy of each of these properties, it was assumed that the owner was also the occupant. Thus, census information is associated with this occupant/owner and his or her name appears under the "Last Name" and "First Name." Note: Although there is a category for "Owner's Last Name" and Owner's First Name," the name is not repeated under these headings.
*   Within the city of Staunton, tax records and insurance depositions have allowed the staff to determine in certain instances if a building is occupied by one individual, but owned by another. In these cases, two names appear. The "Last Name" and "First Name" refer to the occupant, while the "Owner's Last Name" and "Owner's First Name" refer to the owner. Again, census information is associated with the occupant. These points are unique in that tax record and insurance deposition data indicate not how much the occupant pays, but how much the owner pays. The VCDH staff does not view this as an inconsistency within the data base because, most importantly, the information associated with these records gives the audience a better understanding of the building, its value, its physical qualities, etc.

After cross-referencing and inputting tax record and census data, the spread sheet compiler accessed the Staunton Fire Insurance Depositions on the web and added appropriate information to the list of 226 labeled points. Information relating to the insurance depositions includes: policy number, building, location, bordering properties, building value, total policy value, building type, year, and description.

At this point, an Excel file existed which included 226 points as well as their census, tax record, and/or insurance deposition information. In order to digitize these points, however, it was necessary to create a field for the "Map ID" and fill this field with a series of unique numbers. The first "Map ID" for the

"pntsstan" coverage was 2037, because the last point in the "pntsbev" coverage was 2036. Although the Excel file for Staunton was not complete at this point, the VCDH staff went ahead and began the digitizing process in Arcedit. The "pntsstan" coverage was created and the "pntsstan-id" field was added to the "pntsstan.pat." The digitizer then added the 226 points to the coverage, making sure that each point was given the appropriate "pntsstan-id."

The next phase of the Staunton project was to associate unlabeled points on the map with information from the census records, tax records and insurance depositions. The tax grid and the preliminary drawings of blocks available on the insurance deposition page allowed the VCDH staff to relate names and other information with points that Hotchkiss failed to label. The process for this phase of the project was reversed. Instead of compiling the data and then digitizing the points, the VCDH staff began by adding the points to the "pntsstan" coverage in Arcedit using the next number in the sequence of "pntsstan-id" values. At the same time that the digitizer was adding the points to the "pntsstan" coverage, she recorded each "pntsstan-id" on the hard copy of the GIF images next to the appropriate building. After over 50 unlabeled points were digitized, these points were added to the Excel file with their respective data. The "Map ID" for point corresponded with the "pntsstan-id" that was recorded on the GIF images during the digitization process.

After inputting this data into the Excel file, it was necessary to return to Arcedit and "CALC" point types for each of the digitized points. To determine the point type for points that had been associated with insurance depositions, the digitizer referred to the "MASbuildtype" in the Excel file. Many of these points were classified as both a dwelling and a business. Thus, a "pnt_type" for "Residence and Business" (or 46) was added to the "points.aml" list. When necessary, other point types were added to this same list. Throughout the rest of the county, points labeled with a first and/or last name are classified as "residences." The same rule has been used in Staunton.

Next, the digitizer returned to Arcedit. At this point, two types of points remained undigitized. First, there were numerous unlabeled points that had not been associated with data and therefore did not require a place in the Excel file. These points were digitized and their point types were classified as "unknown" (or 99). Throughout the rest of the county, points like these (unlabeled and unassociated with data) were given the classification of "residence" (or 1) due to the high likelihood that these points were indeed residences. In the Staunton area, where businesses existed in greater numbers, this assumption could not be made.

Finally, the last points that required digitization were the churches, mills, factories, cemeteries, etc. That is, points that were labeled, but not by a first and/or last name. These points were coded according to their "l_name" (or label) and "pnt_type," using the "CALC" command. After all of these points were digitized, the "pntsstan" coverage included 1014 records.

Franklin

Unlike Staunton, the inset map of Chambersburg (Franklin's County seat), did not contain labeled residences. Without knowing the precise location of individual households within the city, but having census information on approximately 1200 city residents, we were left with the problem of deciding how, or whether, to digitize these residences. Ultimately, we decided that we had to include Chambersburg residents, even if their locations within the town borders itself were arbitrary, because they comprised a crucial part of the county. Consequently, the location of all the residences within the city of Chambersburg are arbitrary, and do not represent any historical relation between the household named and the location it was given. For the purposes of the analyses we conducted, identifying the location of a household to the correct block was not necessary. The finest grained analysis we completed was determining urban v. rural settlement ratios, using buffers drawn at 1-mile radii around the towns of each county. Since all the residences within Chambersburg fell within this definition, not having their precise location did not effect the outcome.

For the remaining Franklin towns we were able to digitize the residences with the same degree of accuracy as we did for all county residences. The town inset maps that accompany the main Franklin map include names for almost all features in each town. On the accompanying map, corresponding unlabeled points can be found. By cross-referencing the two maps, we were able to accurately identify almost all of the town residents for the rest of Franklin County.

GIS Analysis

Once the census dataset was connected to the related features on the GIS, we began our analysis. We used the GIS to add data calibrating the geographical and spatial relations between points on the map (private residences as well as public institutions and commercial establishments, roads, railroads, etc.) and natural features (rivers, elevation, soil type, etc.). These were done through the creation of buffers around points or line features (a standard GIS approach) or, in the case of polygon items (as with the digital elevation models or the soil type coverages), through assigning variables denoting location inside or outside specific polygons. For both Augusta and Franklin we added the following variables to the Census database: proximity to the railroad and railroad depots; proximity to a major road; proximity to a church; proximity to a school; proximity to a town (all with 1 mile buffers around the relevant points or lines); elevation; soil type; and voting precinct.

We created buffers around many of the features in both counties using the ArcView create buffers command. We drew 1 mile-radius circles around: schools, churches, towns, roads, railroads, and railroad depots and a five mile-radius buffer around railroad depots. All the residences were coded based on their inclusion or exclusion within these buffers. Residences were coded "1" if they fell within the buffer and a "0" if they were outside.

In order to calculate the distance between objects within each of the counties, we used ArcInfo's pointdistance command. We were interested in determining how far residences were from specific features, in a more exact manner than creating buffers allowed us to determine. The pointsdistance

command uses an input file (in this case the residence coverage for each county) and a place to calculate the distance to (in this case, Chambersburg and Staunton, the county seats) and produces a single value for each point in the input coverage. These values can then be averaged to determine the average distance between each residence the county centers. We used the this to analyze the degree of dispersal in each county.

Projection Data

The Franklin coverages and images were initially in the following projection:
Projection: Albers
Datum: NAD83
Units: Meters
X-shift: 0
Y-shift: 0
1st standard parallel: 40
2nd standard parallel: 42
Central Meridian: -78
Latitude of Origin: 39
False Easting: 0 Meters
False Northing: 0 Meters

They were reprojected to bring them in line with the Augusta projection, which is as follows:
Projection: UTM
Zone: 17
Datum: NAD27
Units: Meters

APPENDICES: Statistics

**Methodology For Creating and Analyzing a Census/GIS Database For Augusta Co.,
Virginia, and Franklin Co., Pennsylvania, 1860-1870:**

**Overview, Outline, and Detailed Discussion of Plans and Procedures For Data
Automation**

Aaron Sheehan-Dean, November 2001

Overview

The foundation of the Census/GIS database for the Valley of the Shadow project was the 1860 U.S. Census. We utilized records from the Population, Agriculture, Manufacturing and Slaveholder schedules for both counties (though the latter only applies to Augusta). All of the aggregate information used in the article is drawn from analysis of the census files, imported into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The most challenging part of the process involved aggregating the individual census information by household so that it could be linked into the GIS and then exported back into SPSS for additional analysis. A lengthy syntax was written to accomplish this task (more below).

Importing the Census files into SPSS

Virginia Center for Digital History (VCDH) staff, over the course of several years, entered the full 1860 U.S. Census into an Access database, which receives queries on the Valley of the Shadow website. An early, and important, step toward making meaningful analysis of Augusta data possible, was linking the slaveholder census with the agricultural schedule. We did this by joining households according to name, using the location of households as one of the checks to ensure that we linked the correct households across the two census schedules.

The census files were initially entered into a Microsoft Excel file. This file can be saved in database (.dbf) format and read by SPSS, which is the application we used to perform all of our statistical analysis. The Excel files were cleaned of all non-numerical data, saved in .dbf format and reopened in SPSS, where they were saved as .sav files. At this point, the census files consisted of individual names, variables identifying where that person was found in the census (for example, the Population census includes a family number, dwelling number and a page number for each entry), and whatever specific information was recorded for that individual in the original census report.

Aggregate census data by household

Since our maps for both counties identified residences by household name, we needed to aggregate the census data by households. In constructing the GIS for each county, we created a unique "map-id"

number for each household connected to its residence on the map. Since last names, and even first name-last name combinations, are repeated so often in both censuses, we used the map-id number as the basis for aggregating households.

For Franklin, the 42,360 individuals needed to be aggregated into 7,709 families. For Augusta, 21,784 individuals needed to be aggregated into 3,740 families. This step required us to write an extensive SPSS syntax script expressly for our project. We also wrote a syntax aggregating households within the agricultural census. The population census syntax language is given below, with a small sample of how households were listed (there was one line of syntax for each residence in the GIS; 2800 for Augusta and 5000 for Franklin).
SAMPLE SYNTAX:

```
get file="g:\Ecai\SPSS Files\franklinspss\frankpopcen.sav".
missing values all ().
numeric age2.
compute count=1.
variable labels age2 "Age Group".
value labels age2
1 "0 -  4 years old"
2 "5 -  9 years old"
3 "10 -  14 years old"
4 "15 -  19 years old"
5 "20 -  24 years old"
6 "25 -  29 years old"
7 "30 -  39 years old"
8 "40 -  49 years old"
9 "50 -  59 years old"
10 "60 -  69 years old"
11 "70 -  79 years old"
12 "80 or more years old".
if age <5 age2 =1.
if age >4 and age <10 age2=2.
if age >9 and age <15 age2=3.
if age >14 and age <20 age2=4.
if age >19 and age <25 age2=5.
if age >24 and age <30 age2=6.
if age >29 and age <40 age2=7.
if age >39 and age <50 age2=8.
if age >49 and age <60 age2=9.
if age >59 and age <70 age2=10.
if age >69 and age <80 age2=11.
if age >79 age2=12.
execute.
numeric female.
```

```
numeric male.
if (sex eq 0) female=1.
if (sex eq 1) male=1.
execute.
numeric w1.
numeric w2.
numeric w3.
numeric w4.
numeric w5.
numeric w6.
numeric w7.
numeric w8.
numeric w9.
numeric w10.
numeric w11.
numeric w12.
numeric b1.
numeric b2.
numeric b3.
numeric b4.
numeric b5.
numeric b6.
numeric b7.
numeric b8.
numeric b9.
numeric b10.
numeric b11.
numeric b12.
numeric m1.
numeric m2.
numeric m3.
numeric m4.
numeric m5.
numeric m6.
numeric m7.
numeric m8.
numeric m9.
numeric m10.
numeric m11.
numeric m12.
execute.
variable labels
w1 "White 0-4  years old"
w2 "White 5-9  years old"
```

w3 "White 10-14 years old"
w4 "White 15-19 years old"
w5 "White 20-24 years old"
w6 "White 25-29 years old"
w7 "White 30-39 years old"
w8 "White 40-49 years old"
w9 "White 50-59 years old"
w10 "White 60-69 years old"
w11 "White 70-79 years old"
w12 "White 80 or more years old"
b1 "Black 0-4 years old"
b2 "Black 5-9 years old"
b3 "Black 10-14 years old"
b4 "Black 15-19 years old"
b5 "Black 20-24 years old"
b6 "Black 25-29 years old"
b7 "Black 30-39 years old"
b8 "Black 40-49 years old"
b9 "Black 50-59 years old"
b10 "Black 60-69 years old"
b11 "Black 70-79 years old"
b12 "Black 80 or more years old"
m1 "Mulatto 0-4 years old"
m2 "Mulatto 5-9 years old"
m3 "Mulatto 10-14 years old"
m4 "Mulatto 15-19 years old"
m5 "Mulatto 20-24 years old"
m6 "Mulatto 25-29 years old"
m7 "Mulatto 30-39 years old"
m8 "Mulatto 40-49 years old"
m9 "Mulatto 50-59 years old"
m10 "Mulatto 60-69 years old"
m11 "Mulatto 70-79 years old"
m12 "Mulatto 80 or more years old".
execute.
if (age2 = 1 and color eq 1) w1 = 1.
if (age2 = 1 and color eq 2) b1 = 1.
if (age2 = 1 and color eq 3) m1 = 1.
if (age2 = 2 and color eq 1) w2 = 1.
if (age2 = 2 and color eq 2) b2 = 1.
if (age2 = 2 and color eq 3) m2 = 1.
if (age2 = 3 and color eq 1) w3 = 1.
if (age2 = 3 and color eq 2) b3 = 1.
if (age2 = 3 and color eq 3) m3 = 1.

```
if (age2 = 4 and color eq 1) w4 = 1.
if (age2 = 4 and color eq 2) b4 = 1.
if (age2 = 4 and color eq 3) m4 = 1.
if (age2 = 5 and color eq 1) w5 = 1.
if (age2 = 5 and color eq 2) b5 = 1.
if (age2 = 5 and color eq 3) m5 = 1.
if (age2 = 6 and color eq 1) w6 = 1.
if (age2 = 6 and color eq 2) b6 = 1.
if (age2 = 6 and color eq 3) m6 = 1.
if (age2 = 7 and color eq 1) w7 = 1.
if (age2 = 7 and color eq 2) b7 = 1.
if (age2 = 7 and color eq 3) m7 = 1.
if (age2 = 8 and color eq 1) w8 = 1.
if (age2 = 8 and color eq 2) b8 = 1.
if (age2 = 8 and color eq 3) m8 = 1.
if (age2 = 9 and color eq 1) w9 = 1.
if (age2 = 9 and color eq 2) b9 = 1.
if (age2 = 9 and color eq 3) m9 = 1.
if (age2 = 10 and color eq 1) w10 = 1.
if (age2 = 10 and color eq 2) b10 = 1.
if (age2 = 10 and color eq 3) m10 = 1.
if (age2 = 11 and color eq 1) w11 = 1.
if (age2 = 11 and color eq 2) b11 = 1.
if (age2 = 11 and color eq 3) m11 = 1.
if (age2 = 12 and color eq 1) w12 = 1.
if (age2 = 12 and color eq 2) b12 = 1.
if (age2 = 12 and color eq 3) m12 = 1.
execute.
numeric id.
if (township eq "Antrim" and family = 1185 and dwelling = 1196) id = 1998.
if (township eq "Antrim" and family = 1222 and dwelling = 1235) id = 3265.
...
if (township eq "Chambersburg" and family = 1571) id = 5705.
if (township eq "Chambersburg" and family = 1572) id = 4555.
execute.
select if (id > 0).
sort cases by id.
execute.
variable labels
realest "Real Estate Value"
perest "Personal Estate Value"
count "Number in Household".
execute.
AGGREGATE
```

```
/OUTFILE="g:\Ecai\SPSS Files\franklinspss\franklin.sav"
/BREAK=id
/realest = SUM(realest) /perest = SUM(perest)
/w1 = SUM(w1) /w2 = SUM(w2)
/w3 = SUM(w3) /w4 = SUM(w4) /w5 = SUM(w5) /w6 = SUM(w6) /w7 = SUM(w7)
/w8 = SUM(w8) /w9 = SUM(w9) /w10 = SUM(w10) /w11 = SUM(w11)
/w12 = SUM(w12) /b1 = SUM(b1) /b2 = SUM(b2) /b3 = SUM(b3) /b4 = SUM(b4)
/b5 = SUM(b5) /b6 = SUM(b6) /b7 = SUM(b7) /b8 = SUM(b8)
/b9 = SUM(b9) /b10 = SUM(b10) /b11 = SUM(b11) /b12 = SUM(b12)
/m1 = SUM(m1) /m2 = SUM(m2) /m3 = SUM(m3)
/m4 = SUM(m4) /m5 = SUM(m5) /m6 = SUM(m6)
/m7 = SUM(m7) /m8 = SUM(m8) /m9 = SUM(m9) /m10 = SUM(m10)
/m11 = SUM(m11) /m12 = SUM(m12) /count = SUM(count)
/female = SUM(female) /male = SUM(male).
execute.
```

Writing a syntax of this length and with this much repetition demanded shortcuts. We used the Excel file made for creating the GIS and wrote each line of script into an Excel spreadsheet which had been stripped down to location, page number, number on page, and map-id numbers. The map-id numbers were the essential piece, since the script would combine information about all residents according to the map-id they shared. The file was copied out of Excel and pasted into Microsoft Word, in order to create sentence structure that SPSS would recognize. The "find and replace" command is an excellent tool for reshaping the sentence back into an acceptable format for SPSS.

The other aggregating function that we needed to perform with the census material was combining the information from the population and agriculture censuses into one SPSS file. Since we had aggregated individual data by households using the map-id numbers, we could quite easily merge variables from these two separate files using the SPSS "merge files" command and relying on the map-id as the key variable.

Categorizing data for analysis

In order to link the household census data to the GIS, and indeed, in order to perform any meaningful analysis of the data itself, we needed to organize much of the material around new variables. For the Population census, the most important aggregating was on wealth. Accordingly, we combined real estate wealth and personal property wealth into one new variable called "household wealth."

We chose to use quintile divisions for most of the household and farm wealth analysis. We chose this because it reflects the distribution of wealth within each county rather than using arbitrary lines around which to group households. Using the "frequency" command in SPSS, we were able to obtain quintile breakdowns for variables like household wealth, farm value, farm size, etc. These frequency values were then used as the demarcation points for creating new variables (using the SPSS "transform into new variable" command) with households organized into quintile cohorts.

For slaveholding in Augusta County, we did not use quintiles to create slaveholder categories. Rather, we relied upon prevailing methods in the literature, combined with an awareness of slavery's presence in the county. Although the county as a whole had the same number of slaveholders as the average Southern county in 1860 (25%), Augusta residents held smaller numbers of slaves than many in Virginia's Piedmont (the fertile counties immediately to the west) or in the Deep South cotton belt. Our subdivisions for slaveholders were as follows: 0, 1, 2-5, 6-10, 11-20, 21-30, 31+. We also coded households as either slaveholders or non-slaveholders in order to facilitate a broader comparison of the two groups.

A final aspect of census data preparation was unrelated to the household aggregation and grouping but followed many of the same procedures. In order to analyze the political landscape of each place, we culled all personal names that appeared in any of the four newspapers for the two counties for the years 1860 and 1861. These lists were brought into Microsoft Word, where they were scanned for relevance to political activity. The majority of names that appeared in the newspaper came from jury rolls but in both places, the newspapers made many reports of political meetings, particularly around the 1860 presidential election. An Excel spreadsheet for each county was created with the following variables: name, party identity, candidate, date of mention, location. We then cross-referenced these lists against the GIS residence list, using names and then locations (when available) to link individuals and their party identities. Since these people appeared, often more than once, at party events, we have classified them as "political activists."

For Franklin party, we grouped the Republican, People's and Union parties under the Republican label in our analysis. The People's party was the label used by Republicans throughout much of Pennsylvania. The Union party was more properly a "fusion" party, comprised of Republicans and some Democrats. Since the Democrats attack the Union party in their literature, we treated them as Republicans as well. We analyzed the socio-economic backgrounds of these activists using standard quantitative methods. After creating the original file (matched GIS names with the census), we went back to the census and drew out age, occupation, and household as well. We grouped occupations into five categories: farmer, laborer, artisan, professional and business (coded 1-5 ascending). For rank in household, we assumed that men above age 18 with jobs who were ranked as fourth or higher in their households were probably boarders. The majority of those we identified in this way were in the 40s and 50s and almost certainly living alone in a rooming house.

Importing data into the Geographic Information System (GIS) and exporting from GIS with added variables

Once the Census data files for each county had been aggregated by household, matched with the appropriate map-id (from the digitizing during the creation of the GIS) and new variables facilitating analysis had been added, the resulting files were joined to the respective GIS systems for Franklin and Augusta. * See the GIS_Procedures page for a more detailed discussion of how the GIS was created and how we conducted the spatial and geographic analysis of the households.

We used the GIS to add data calibrating the geographical and spatial relations between points on the map (private residences as well as public institutions and commercial establishments, roads, railroads, etc.) and natural features (rivers, elevation, soil type, etc.). These were done through the creation of buffers around points or line features (a standard GIS approach) or, in the case of polygon items (as with the digital elevation models or the soil type coverages), through assigning variables denoting location inside specific polygons. For both Augusta and Franklin we added the following variables to the Census database: proximity to the railroad and railroad depots; proximity to a major road; proximity to a church; proximity to a school; proximity to a town (all with 1 mile buffers around the relevant points or lines); elevation; soil type; and voting precinct.

Although Arc software comes with its own statistical analysis software, we chose to use SPSS for the subsequent analysis of the Census/GIS dataset. From ArcView, we exported the table for the residence coverage (which included all the new geographic variable information). ArcView will only export tables in .dbf format. These can be opened in SPSS and then converted to .sav files, the standard format for SPSS data analysis. Once converted, the resulting SPSS files need to be double checked to make sure that value labels were maintained as they were initially entered before importing the dataset into the GIS. This step is important since correct value labels are essential to performing accurate statistical analysis of the material.

During the course of analyzing the GIS/Census dataset, we continued to add variables as new queries occurred to us. The new tables generated within the GIS as a result of these queries could be exported and the new variables added to the existing SPSS files through the "merge variables" command in SPSS.

Analysis

All of the quantitative analysis we performed on the dataset was done using standard statistical procedures, such as frequencies, cross-tabs, correlations and regressions. For subsequent analyses, we needed to aggregate variables or create new ones. Below is a discussion of new variables created using SPSS.

Crop production: In order to ascertain levels of crop production we recoded the wheat and corn as a percent of total grain by running frequencies and taking three equal groups. Those breaks were used in recoding to create three groups with low, middle and high investment in wheat and corn production.

Crop value: We assigned per bushel values for corn and wheat based on newspaper advertisements placed by merchants seeking to buy these crops from farmers, in each county. For both counties we looked at advertisements in both spring and fall. For Augusta County, we obtained our values from ads in the *Staunton Spectator* placed by merchants from Richmond and Staunton and for Franklin County, we obtained our values from ads in the *Chambersburg Valley Spirit* place by merchants from Philadelphis and Chambersburg. Once we had obtained a base value for each crop, we could compute total crop values and per acre production, in dollars, for all those households for which we had

Agricultural Census information.

Property-owning: In the SPSS files for the full pop censuses, we have a "missing value" for entries below 1. Running a simple frequency on real estate values (sorted by rank in household) turns up a sizable number of "missing" data that is not included in the frequency table. We decided that the missing data should be zero. The vast majority of missing cases in both counties are ones where someone has personal property and no real estate wealth.

Age Cohorts: We elaborated the census household matches to include information on the age of the head of the household and the ages of those men in the household who were at or above voting age. We then averaged these ages (including the head and excluding the head) to obtain an average age for all eligible voters in each household. We used these figures to compare those precincts that gave proportionally higher levels of support to each of the candidates.

APPENDICES: XML/XSL

This section is currently under development. It will be in place as soon as possible.

Thank you for your patience!