

## An Open Letter to Governor Nathan Deal and Georgia Lawmakers 6/23/2014

Dear Gov. Deal and Georgia Lawmakers,

We contact you today to respectfully call for an end to the State of Georgia's endorsement, promotion, and support of all Confederate holidays, events, and its management of historic sites and monuments related to the Confederacy. We also call for an immediate change to all state roads and highways currently named for Confederate leaders.

We make this reasonable request for the following reasons.

- **These state sponsored activities celebrate and promote a war fought to preserve the institution of slavery and the south's desire to extend this institution into Western territories.**<sup>1</sup> Georgia's own secession statement<sup>2</sup> (attached) attests to this fact, as do the secession statements of other southern states (see links at the end of this document). Scholars in Georgia's own University System also attest to this reality. If you have any doubt we encourage to you to, a) review Georgia's secession proclamation, b) review the secession statements of other Confederate states, c) and/or contact Civil War scholars and historians employed by the University System of Georgia. We would be glad to put you in touch with these scholars.
- **These state sponsored activities celebrate and romanticize a government and leaders driven by the ideology of White supremacy and the belief that White people had been divinely ordained to be superior to and in charge of all other races.** Examples that demonstrate this fact, from various Confederate leaders, are provided at the end of this document.
- **These state sponsored activities celebrate and romanticize a government and leaders who refused to recognize the human and civil rights of women of all races, including but not limited to the right to vote, own property, serve on a jury, etc.**
- **Some of these state sponsored activities pay homage to and glorify men who were instrumental leaders in the terrorist organization known as the Ku Klux Klan during the era of Reconstruction** (e.g. Gen. John Brown Gordon, Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest).
- **These state sponsored activities are paid for by Georgia taxpayers, including approximately 3 million Black citizens, many of whom are the descendants of the very people the Confederacy saw as sub-human and worthy of enslavement.**
- **These state sponsored activities raise serious questions about whether all Georgians can expect equal treatment and representation from lawmakers who participate in celebrating the Confederacy and think it, and the men who led it, are something to be lionized and honored.**
- **These state sponsored activities serve to actively distort the history of the Civil War and minimize the scope and scale of slavery in Georgia and the South.** Few, if any, make any mention of the fact that in 1860 four million people were the

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<sup>1</sup> For an excellent text on this reality, as well as the repackaging of the Civil War by "heritage" organizations after the war, we strongly suggest reading James Loewen and Edward Sebesta's *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader*.

<sup>2</sup> Slavery is referenced in Georgia's secession statement 34 times (no mention is made of taxes or tariffs – issues many heritage organizations argue were key to the Civil War and the state of Georgia's decision to secede from the Union).

“property” of white slave owners throughout southern states. Few, if any, make any mention that at the onset of the Civil War there were at least 462,232<sup>3</sup> slaves in Georgia, a number that had increased by a minimum 10% with each passing decade. Few, if any, make any mention about the systematic brutality and abuse dealt out to enslaved people. Instead of informing the public about any of these realities, these events and sites simply serve as propaganda outlets that; actively erase Georgia’s reliance on and participation in chattel slavery; they romanticize the past; and glorify racist Confederate leaders.

- **These state sponsored activities obstruct social progress and show a general disregard for 3 million Black Georgians.** They do that because they romanticize an era where Black people were mere “property” (see attached Georgia Secession statement) and they fail to provide an accurate history of the scope and scale of slavery in Georgia and/or the ideology of White supremacy. In turn, the omission of both realities serves to glorify a defeated government and its assorted leaders who saw Black people as sub-human and deserving of enslavement and dehumanization.
- **These state sponsored activities obstruct economic development in the state by making Georgia look like it is lost in the 19th century in the eyes of the nation and world.** What serious 21<sup>st</sup> century companies and corporations want to bring jobs to a state where its Government romanticizes and celebrates the brutal era of slavery and white supremacy? Consequently, and in a state where 17% of its total population lives in poverty<sup>4</sup> and where the median income is \$5,000 lower than the national average<sup>5</sup>, romanticizing such a racist and barbaric era hurts Georgians of all races by inhibiting economic development and the creation of lasting, well-paying jobs.
- **Lastly, these state funded activities are a waste of State revenue and Georgia taxpayers’ tax dollars.** Particularly in a time where the state needs to trim its budget, ending these activities will ultimately save the State, and its taxpayers, needed revenue for more worthy endeavors that assist all Georgian and celebrates out diverse populace.

As we make these claims, please know that we are well aware of arguments among some Georgians that these state sponsored activities embody a matter of “heritage not hate.” We take issue with that argument. These state sponsored activities instead embody a matter of “**hate not heritage**” given the points made above. With this in mind, it is time for our state to move into the 21<sup>st</sup> century and put an end to any and all state sponsored celebration, whitewashing, and distortion of this most shameful era.

Furthermore, and given that the term “heritage” is defined as “something transmitted by or acquired from a predecessor” or “something possessed as a result of one’s natural situation or birth” (Merriam and Webster Dictionary), we hope that no lawmakers today “possess” or have “acquired” the beliefs that slavery needed to be preserved and extended or that White people are inherently superior to Black people. We also hope that no lawmakers today regret the fact that the Confederacy lost the Civil War and as a consequence, 4 million humans were freed from that 246 year-old “peculiar institution” known as chattel slavery?

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<sup>3</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, 1860

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, 2010

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Various mythologies exist—known as the “Lost Cause,” “States’ Rights,” and the “War of Northern Aggression” that have been created by various “heritage organizations” like the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans after the Civil War. We hope that none of our lawmakers subscribe to these romanticized mythologies nor use them to justify their endorsement of Confederate symbols, leaders, and culture. According to scholarly historians, these “heritage” organizations, and Georgia Historical Societies, were created shortly after the Civil War, as key propaganda machines whose central missions have been to redefine the purpose and cause of the Civil War (i.e. into a “Lost Cause” and/or “War of Northern Aggression” and/or a war that was about “States’ Rights’ mythology). We will gladly refer you to the scholars and scholarly studies that document this reality.

In accordance with the First Amendment, “heritage organizations” have the right to believe in, and promote, any mythology or propaganda they like, even if it distorts and sanitizes history and celebrates a government that sought to preserve and extend slavery, as well as the ideology of White supremacy. We understand and support their right to free speech, even if it veils truth and distorts historical fact. However, **the State of Georgia should not endorse and be involved in supporting these distortions of history. Furthermore, the use of Georgians’ tax dollars, particularly the tax dollars of African Americans and forward thinking Georgians of all races, for these activities is immoral and a prime example of institutionalized racism. This activity, and the State’s participation and marketing of a distorted, racist history, must stop. We call on you to do that today.**

As for what to do with existing monuments, historic sites, road signs, and symbols the State of Georgia currently markets and manages, allow us to offer a couple of solutions that will both end these unjust State sanctioned practices and satisfy private heritage organizations.

- **Since there are a variety of organizations who are invested in preserving the various mythologies of the Civil War and who seek to lionize racist Confederate leaders, the state can give existing monuments (free of charge) to these organizations as long as they incur all costs for the removal and relocation of said monuments to their own private properties.**
- **Historic properties and sites that honor Confederate leaders can be purchased by these same heritage organizations at current market value. Otherwise, they should be put on the public market for sale.**
- **As for highway and road signs, we suggest the State simply sell them to interested heritage organizations for what these signs cost to produce.**

In closing, we understand that our demands may seem to be a large undertaking given the State’s long, entrenched, and institutionalized tradition of celebrating racist Confederate culture and Confederate leaders. Nevertheless, Georgia started this journey when it removed the Confederate flag as part of its state flag in 2003. Now GA needs to take additional steps along this journey.

Nonetheless, just as ending the institution of chattel slavery must have seemed overwhelming to Southern whites in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was accomplished, so this can be too. Ending slavery was worth every effort and was the right thing to do. Furthermore, correcting the state-endorsed inaccuracies of the Confederacy and instead celebrating an

inclusive history is worth all the effort it will take (and is the right thing to do). Future generations of Georgians will remember this moment as a turning point in our history.

Governor Deal, we also understand that our demands will require great moral and political fortitude on the behalf of all Georgia lawmakers. We encourage you to muster the necessary courage you will need to make these changes and know that you will have our complete support, and the support of all forward thinking, justice loving Georgians. Know that your decision and acts in this matter will also go far to determine how you and Georgia lawmakers will be remembered in history, as either visionary women and men who were justice-loving, or as people who worked to maintain a tradition of distorting, romanticizing, and promoting a horrific period in this state's history. We look forward to witnessing you demonstrate to the state and nation that you are not people who are lost in some racist past but individuals who honestly acknowledge Georgia's past transgressions, have learned from them, and are ready to move forward in the creation of a state that honors and respects all of its citizens.

Please know that we will also be reaching out to assorted corporations, businesses, non-profits, civic, and religious organizations within the state and across the nation to build support for these changes. We will also be in communication with the United State Department of Justice and the White House regarding our concerns about the capacity of elected officials' who promote these activities to represent the rights and interest of all Georgians.

We thank you for your time and attention in this matter. We also thank you for being courageous enough to do the moral and just thing.



Mark Patrick George, PhD  
Mary Turner Project Coordinator  
(229) 234-2856



Rev. Floyd Rose  
Presidents Lowndes SCLC  
(229) 444-1938

**Georgia's Declaration of Secession, January 29, 1861**  
(Slavery referenced 34 times, taxes 0, tariffs 0)

The people of Georgia having dissolved their political connection with the Government of the United States of America, present to their confederates and the world **the causes which have led to the separation**. For the last ten years we have had numerous and serious causes of complaint against our **non-slave-holding** confederate States with reference to the subject of African **slavery**. They have endeavored to weaken our security, to disturb our domestic peace and tranquility, and persistently refused to comply with their express constitutional obligations to us in reference to that property, and by the use of their power in the Federal Government have striven to deprive us of an equal enjoyment of the common Territories of the Republic. This hostile policy of our confederates has been pursued with every circumstance of aggravation which could arouse the passions and excite the hatred of our people, and has placed the two sections of the Union for many years past in the condition of virtual civil war. Our people, still attached to the Union from habit and national traditions, and averse to change, hoped that time, reason, and argument would bring, if not redress, at least exemption from further insults, injuries, and dangers. Recent events have fully dissipated all such hopes and demonstrated the necessity of separation. Our Northern confederates, after a full and calm hearing of all the facts, after a fair warning of our purpose not to submit to the rule of the authors of all these wrongs and injuries, have by a large majority committed the Government of the United States into their hands. The people of Georgia, after an equally full and fair and deliberate hearing of the case, have declared with equal firmness that they shall not rule over them. A brief history of the rise, progress, and policy of **anti-slavery** and the political organization into whose hands the administration of the Federal Government has been committed will fully justify the pronounced verdict of the people of Georgia. The party of Lincoln, called the Republican party, under its present name and organization, is of recent origin. It is admitted to be an **anti-slavery** party. While it attracts to itself by its creed the scattered advocates of exploded political heresies, of condemned theories in political economy, the advocates of commercial restrictions, of protection, of special privileges, of waste and corruption in the administration of Government, **anti-slavery is its mission and its purpose**. By **anti-slavery** it is made a power in the state. The question of **slavery** was the great difficulty in the way of the formation of the Constitution. While the subordination and the political and social inequality of the African race was fully conceded by all, it was plainly apparent that **slavery** would soon disappear from what are now the **non-slave-holding** States of the original thirteen. The opposition to **slavery** was then, as now, general in those States and the Constitution was made with direct reference to that fact. But a distinct abolition party was not formed in the United States for more than half a century after the Government went into operation. The main reason was that the North, even if united, could not control both branches of the Legislature during any portion of that time. Therefore such an organization must have resulted either in utter failure or in the total overthrow of the Government. The material prosperity of the North was greatly dependent on the Federal Government; that of the South not at all. In the first years of the Republic the navigating, commercial, and manufacturing interests of the North began to seek profit and aggrandizement at the expense of the agricultural interests. Even the owners of fishing smacks sought and obtained bounties for pursuing their own business (which yet continue), and \$500,000 is now paid them annually out of the Treasury. The navigating interests begged for protection against foreign shipbuilders and against competition in the coasting trade. Congress granted both requests, and by prohibitory acts gave an absolute monopoly of this business to each of their interests, which they enjoy without diminution to this day. Not

content with these great and unjust advantages, they have sought to throw the legitimate burden of their business as much as possible upon the public; they have succeeded in throwing the cost of light-houses, buoys, and the maintenance of their seamen upon the Treasury, and the Government now pays above \$2,000,000 annually for the support of these objects. These interests, in connection with the commercial and manufacturing classes, have also succeeded, by means of subventions to mail steamers and the reduction in postage, in relieving their business from the payment of about \$7,000,000 annually, throwing it upon the public Treasury under the name of postal deficiency. The manufacturing interests entered into the same struggle early, and has clamored steadily for Government bounties and special favors. This interest was confined mainly to the Eastern and Middle **non-slave-holding** States. Wielding these great States it held great power and influence, and its demands were in full proportion to its power. The manufacturers and miners wisely based their demands upon special facts and reasons rather than upon general principles, and thereby mollified much of the opposition of the opposing interest. They pleaded in their favor the infancy of their business in this country, the scarcity of labor and capital, the hostile legislation of other countries toward them, the great necessity of their fabrics in the time of war, and the necessity of high duties to pay the debt incurred in our war for independence. These reasons prevailed, and they received for many years enormous bounties by the general acquiescence of the whole country.

But when these reasons ceased they were no less clamorous for Government protection, but their clamors were less heeded-- the country had put the principle of protection upon trial and condemned it. After having enjoyed protection to the extent of from 15 to 200 per cent upon their entire business for above thirty years, the act of 1846 was passed. It avoided sudden change, but the principle was settled, and free trade, low duties, and economy in public expenditures was the verdict of the American people. The South and the Northwestern States sustained this policy. There was but small hope of its reversal; upon the direct issue, none at all.

All these classes saw this and felt it and cast about for new allies. The **anti-slavery** sentiment of the North offered the best chance for success. An **anti-slavery** party must necessarily look to the North alone for support, but a united North was now strong enough to control the Government in all of its departments, and a sectional party was therefore determined upon. Time and issues upon **slavery** were necessary to its completion and final triumph. The feeling of **anti-slavery**, which it was well known was very general among the people of the North, had been long dormant or passive; it needed only a question to arouse it into aggressive activity. This question was before us. We had acquired a large territory by successful war with Mexico; Congress had to govern it; how, in relation to **slavery**, was the question then demanding solution. This state of facts gave form and shape to the **anti-slavery** sentiment throughout the North and the conflict began. Northern **anti-slavery** men of all parties asserted the right to exclude **slavery** from the territory by Congressional legislation and demanded the prompt and efficient exercise of this power to that end. This insulting and unconstitutional demand was met with great moderation and firmness by the South. We had shed our blood and paid our money for its acquisition; we demanded a division of it on the line of the Missouri restriction or an equal participation in the whole of it. These propositions were refused, the agitation became general, and the public danger was great. The case of the South was impregnable. The price of the acquisition was the blood and treasure of both sections-- of all, and, therefore, it belonged to all upon the principles of equity and justice.

The Constitution delegated no power to Congress to excluded either party from its free enjoyment; therefore our right was good under the Constitution. Our rights were further fortified by the practice of the Government from the beginning. **Slavery** was forbidden in the country northwest of the Ohio River by what is called the ordinance of 1787. That ordinance was adopted under the old confederation and by the assent of Virginia, who owned and ceded the country, and therefore this case must stand on its own special circumstances. The Government of the United States claimed territory by virtue of the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain, acquired territory by cession from Georgia and North Carolina, by treaty from France, and by treaty from Spain. These acquisitions largely exceeded the original limits of the Republic. In all of these acquisitions the policy of the Government was uniform. It opened them to the settlement of all the citizens of all the States of the Union. They emigrated thither with their property of every kind (including **slaves**). All were equally protected by public authority in their persons and property until the inhabitants became sufficiently numerous and otherwise capable of bearing the burdens and performing the duties of self-government, when they were admitted into the Union upon equal terms with the other States, with whatever republican constitution they might adopt for themselves.

Under this equally just and beneficent policy law and order, stability and progress, peace and prosperity marked every step of the progress of these new communities until they entered as great and prosperous commonwealths into the sisterhood of American States. In 1820 the North endeavored to overturn this wise and successful policy and demanded that the State of Missouri should not be admitted into the Union unless she first **prohibited slavery** within her limits by her constitution. After a bitter and protracted struggle the North was defeated in her special object, but her policy and position led to the adoption of a section in the law for the admission of Missouri, **prohibiting slavery** in all that portion of the territory acquired from France lying North of 36 [degrees] 30 [minutes] north latitude and outside of Missouri. The venerable Madison at the time of its adoption declared it unconstitutional. Mr. Jefferson condemned the restriction and foresaw its consequences and predicted that it would result in the dissolution of the Union. His prediction is now history. The North demanded the application of the principle of **prohibition of slavery** to all of the territory acquired from Mexico and all other parts of the public domain then and in all future time. It was the announcement of her purpose to appropriate to herself all the public domain then owned and thereafter to be acquired by the United States. The claim itself was less arrogant and insulting than the reason with which she supported it. That reason was her fixed purpose to limit, restrain, and finally **abolish slavery** in the States where it exists. The South with great unanimity declared her purpose to resist the principle of prohibition to the last extremity. This particular question, in connection with a series of questions affecting the same subject, was finally disposed of by the defeat of prohibitory legislation.

The Presidential election of 1852 resulted in the total overthrow of the advocates of restriction and their party friends. Immediately after this result the **anti-slavery** portion of the defeated party resolved to unite all the elements in the North **opposed to slavery** and to stake their future political fortunes upon their **hostility to slavery** everywhere. This is the party to whom the people of the North have committed the Government. They raised their standard in 1856 and were barely defeated. They entered the Presidential contest again in 1860 and succeeded.

**The prohibition of slavery in the Territories, hostility to it everywhere, the equality of the black and white races, disregard of all constitutional guarantees in its favor, were boldly proclaimed by its leaders and applauded by its followers.**

With these principles on their banners and these utterances on their lips the majority of the people of the North demand that we shall receive them as our rulers.

**The prohibition of slavery in the Territories is the cardinal principle of this organization.**

For forty years this question has been considered and debated in the halls of Congress, before the people, by the press, and before the tribunals of justice. The majority of the people of the North in 1860 decided it in their own favor. We refuse to submit to that judgment, and in vindication of our refusal we offer the Constitution of our country and point to the total absence of any express power to exclude us. We offer the practice of our Government for the first thirty years of its existence in complete refutation of the position that any such power is either necessary or proper to the execution of any other power in relation to the Territories. We offer the judgment of a large minority of the people of the North, amounting to more than one-third, who united with the unanimous voice of the South against this usurpation; and, finally, we offer the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest judicial tribunal of our country, in our favor. This evidence ought to be conclusive that we have never surrendered this right. The conduct of our adversaries admonishes us that if we had surrendered it, it is time to resume it.

The faithless conduct of our adversaries is not confined to such acts as might aggrandize themselves or their section of the Union. They are content if they can only injure us. The Constitution declares that persons charged with crimes in one State and fleeing to another shall be delivered up on the demand of the executive authority of the State from which they may flee, to be tried in the jurisdiction where the crime was committed. It would appear difficult to employ language freer from ambiguity, yet for above twenty years the **non-slave-holding** States generally have wholly refused to deliver up to us persons charged with crimes affecting **slave** property. Our confederates, with punic faith, shield and give sanctuary to all criminals who seek to deprive us of this property or who use it to destroy us. This clause of the Constitution has no other sanction than their good faith; that is withheld from us; we are remediless in the Union; out of it we are remitted to the laws of nations.

A similar provision of the Constitution requires them to surrender fugitives from labor. This provision and the one last referred to were our main inducements for confederating with the Northern States. Without them it is historically true that we would have rejected the Constitution. In the fourth year of the Republic Congress passed a law to give full vigor and efficiency to this important provision. This act depended to a considerable degree upon the local magistrates in the several States for its efficiency. The **non-slave-holding States** generally repealed all laws intended to aid the execution of that act, and imposed penalties upon those citizens whose loyalty to the Constitution and their oaths might induce them to discharge their duty. Congress then passed the act of 1850, providing for the complete execution of this duty by Federal officers. This law, which their own bad faith rendered absolutely indispensable for the protection of constitutional rights, was instantly met with ferocious revilings and all conceivable modes of hostility. The Supreme Court unanimously,



and their own local courts with equal unanimity (with the single and temporary exception of the supreme court of Wisconsin), sustained its constitutionality in all of its provisions. Yet it stands today a dead letter for all practicable purposes in every **non-slave-holding** State in the Union. We have their covenants, we have their oaths to keep and observe it, but the unfortunate claimant, even accompanied by a Federal officer with the mandate of the highest judicial authority in his hands, is everywhere met with fraud, with force, and with legislative enactments to elude, to resist, and defeat him. Claimants are murdered with impunity; officers of the law are beaten by frantic mobs instigated by inflammatory appeals from persons holding the highest public employment in these States, and supported by legislation in conflict with the clearest provisions of the Constitution, and even the ordinary principles of humanity. In several of our confederate States a citizen cannot travel the highway with his servant who may voluntarily accompany him, without being declared by law a felon and being subjected to infamous punishments. It is difficult to perceive how we could suffer more by the hostility than by the fraternity of such brethren.

The public law of civilized nations requires every State to restrain its citizens or subjects from committing acts injurious to the peace and security of any other State and from attempting to excite insurrection, or to lessen the security, or to disturb the tranquility of their neighbors, and our Constitution wisely gives Congress the power to punish all offenses against the laws of nations.

These are sound and just principles which have received the approbation of just men in all countries and all centuries; but they are wholly disregarded by the people of the Northern States, and the Federal Government is impotent to maintain them. For twenty years past the abolitionists and their allies in the Northern States have been engaged in constant efforts to subvert our institutions and to excite insurrection and servile war among us. They have sent emissaries among us for the accomplishment of these purposes. Some of these efforts have received the public sanction of a majority of the leading men of the Republican party in the national councils, the same men who are now proposed as our rulers. These efforts have in one instance led to the actual invasion of one of the **slave-holding States**, and those of the murderers and incendiaries who escaped public justice by flight have found fraternal protection among our Northern confederates.

These are the same men who say the Union shall be preserved.

Such are the opinions and such are the practices of the Republican party, who have been called by their own votes to administer the Federal Government under the Constitution of the United States. We know their treachery; we know the shallow pretenses under which they daily disregard its plainest obligations. If we submit to them it will be our fault and not theirs. The people of Georgia have ever been willing to stand by this bargain, this contract; they have never sought to evade any of its obligations; they have never hitherto sought to establish any new government; they have struggled to maintain the ancient right of themselves and the human race through and by that Constitution. But they know the value of parchment rights in treacherous hands, and therefore they refuse to commit their own to the rulers whom the North offers us. Why? Because by **their declared principles and policy they have outlawed \$3,000,000,000 of our property in the common territories of the Union; put it under the ban of the Republic in the States where it exists and out of the protection of Federal law everywhere; because they give sanctuary to thieves and**

**incendiaries who assail it to the whole extent of their power, in spite of their most solemn obligations and covenants; because their avowed purpose is to subvert our society and subject us not only to the loss of our property** but the destruction of ourselves, our wives, and our children, and the desolation of our homes, our altars, and our firesides. To avoid these evils we resume the powers which our fathers delegated to the Government of the United States, and henceforth will seek new safeguards for our liberty, equality, security, and tranquility.

## **A Few Examples of Confederate Leaders' Thoughts on Slavery and White Supremacy**

(More are available on request and web links to cited documents are provided)

### **Jefferson Davis<sup>6</sup> (President of the Confederacy and Slave Owner)**

In his speech *On the Subject of Slavery in the Territories*, February 13 & 14, 1850, Davis stated that.....

***A large part of the non-slaveholding States have declared war against the institution of slavery. They have announced that it shall not be extended, and with that annunciation have coupled the declaration that it is a stain upon the Republic - that it is a moral blot which should be obliterated.***

In his *Speech at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall*, October 11, 1858, when speaking about the Northerners arguing slavery was a sin Davis stated that.....

***.... servitude is the only agency through which Christianity has reached that degraded race, the only means by which they have been civilized and elevated.***

In his *Message to the Confederate Congress about Ratification of the Constitution*, April 29, 1861, Jefferson shared some of his thoughts on slavery when he stated that .....

***..... [slaves] had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts but with careful religious instruction. Under the supervision of a superior race their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their own condition,...***

In *The Papers of Jefferson Davis: 1856--1860*, Davis stated that.....

***We recognize the fact of the inferiority stamped upon that race of men by the Creator, and from the cradle to the grave, our Government, as a civil institution, marks that inferiority.***

and that....

***African slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a moral, a social, and a political blessing.***

***We recognize the negro as God and God's Book and God's Laws, in nature, tell us to recognize him - our inferior, fitted expressly for servitude... You cannot transform the negro into anything one-tenth as useful or as good as what slavery enables them to be.***

In his *Reply to Senator William H. Seward* in the Senate Chamber, Feb. 29, 1860, Davis stated that .....

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<sup>6</sup> Currently the State of Georgia manages the Jefferson Davis Historic Site in Fitzgerald and Georgia has named a highway in his honor (State Highway 32).

***The condition of slavery with us is, in a word, Mr. President, nothing but the form of civil government instituted for a class of people not fit to govern themselves. It is exactly what in every State exists in some form or other. It is just that kind of control which is extended in every northern State over its convicts, its lunatics, its minors, its apprentices. It is but a form of civil government for those who by their nature are not fit to govern themselves. We recognize the fact of the inferiority stamped upon that race of men by the Creator, and from the cradle to the grave, our Government, as a civil institution, marks that inferiority.***

In his *Farewell to the U.S. Senate*, January 21, 1861, Davis stated.....

***.....the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races. That Declaration is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were declaring their independence; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born—to use the language of Mr. Jefferson—booted and spurred, to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal—meaning the men of the political community; that there was no divine right to rule; that no man inherited the right to govern; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families; but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body politic. These were the great principles they announced; these were the purposes for which they made their declaration; these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else, how happened it that among the items of arraignment against George III was that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do, to stir up insurrection among our slaves? Had the Declaration announced that the negroes were free and equal, how was the prince to be arraigned for raising up insurrection among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the colonies to sever their connection with the mother-country? When our Constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable; for there we find provision made for that very class of persons as property; they were not put upon the equality of footing with white men— not even upon that of paupers and convicts; but, so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste, only to be represented in the numerical proportion of three-fifths. So stands the compact which binds us together.***

In his *Message to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States* in Montgomery on April 29, 1861 and in reference to the fact that the slave population had swelled to 4 million in 1860, Davis stated that.....

***In moral and social condition they had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts but with careful religion instruction. Under the supervision of a superior race their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their condition,....***

Even after the Civil War, Davis continued to purport that slavery was a just institution. In his work *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881 Vol. I) Davis stated that.....

***As a mere historical fact, we have seen that African servitude among us —confessedly the mildest and most humane of all institutions to which the name “slavery” has ever been***

*applied—existed in all the original states, and that it was recognized and protected in the fourth article of the Constitution. (p.78)*

Later in this text he states that.....

***Had these Africans been a cruelly oppressed people, relentlessly struggling to be freed from their bonds, would their masters have dared to leave them, as was done, and would they have remained as they did, continuing their usual duties, or could the proclamation of emancipation have been put on the plea of a military necessity, if the fact had been that the negroes were forced to serve, and desired only an opportunity to rise against their masters? (p.303)***

Concerning the enlistment of Blacks into the Union Army.....

*The forefathers of these negro soldiers .....were born the slaves of barbarian masters, untaught in all the useful arts and occupations, reared in heathen darkness, and, sold by heathen masters, there were transferred to shores enlightened by the rays of Christianity. There, put to servitude, **they were trained in the gentle arts of peace and order and civilization; they increased from a few unprofitable savages to millions of Christian laborers. Their servile instincts rendered them contented with their lot, and their patient toil blessed the land of their abode with unmeasurable riches. Their strong local and personal attachment secured faithful service to those to whom their service or labor was due. A strong mutual affection was the natural result of this life-long relation, a feeling best if not only understood by those who have grown from childhood under its influence. Never the happier dependence of labor and capital on each other. The tempter came, like the serpent in Eden, and decoyed them with the magic word of "freedom."** (Vol. II 193)*

In respect to Blacks having the right to vote during Reconstruction, Davis stated that.....

***The most cruel blow that was ever struck a helpless and defenseless people was the action of the general government in placing in the hands of an ignorant, illiterate and irresponsible race of people, the ballot of a free man, giving them the same rights and privileges under the general government as were exercised by their former masters.***

Enfranchisement of Blacks was an.....

***ever present eating, cankerous sore [because the Black person] is not susceptible of higher education, he is not susceptible of higher moral culture.***

**Alexander Stephens<sup>7</sup> (The Vice President of the Confederacy and Slave Owner)**

In his speech regarding *The Bill to Admit Kansas as a State Under the Topeka Constitution* (June 28, 1856) he stated that .....

***Is African slavery, as it exists in the South, either a violation of the laws of nature, the laws of nations, or the laws of God? I maintain that it is not. It has been recognized by the laws of nations from time immemorial.....***

***The negro is inferior to the white man; nature has made him so; observation and history, from the remotest times, establish the fact; and all attempts to make the inferior equal to the superior is but an effort to reverse the decrees of the Creator, who has made all things as we find them, according to the counsels of his own will. The Ethiopian can no more change his nature or his skin than the leopard his spots. Do what you will, a negro is a negro, and he will remain a negro still. In the social and political system of the South the negro is assigned to that subordinate position for which he is fitted by the laws of nature. Our system of civilization is founded in strict conformity to these laws. Order and subordination, according to the natural fitness of things, is the principle upon which the whole fabric of our southern institutions rests.***

So.....

***Let no man, then, say that African slavery as it exists in the South, incorporated in, and sanctioned by the constitution of the United States, is in violation of either the laws of nations, the laws of nature, or the laws of God!***

In his *Speech Before the Virginia Secession Convention*, April 23, 1861, Stephens shared more about his understanding of “the negro.”

***The great truth, I repeat, upon which our system rests, is the inferiority of the African. The enemies of our institutions ignore this truth. They set out with the assumption that the races are equal; that the negro is equal to the white man. If their premises were correct, their conclusions would be legitimate. But their premises being false, their conclusions are false also.***

From *The Corner-Stone of the Southern Confederacy* delivered at the Atheneum, Savannah, March 22, 1861 and in reference to Thomas Jefferson, Stephens stated that.....

***The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. He continues to state..... Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it; when the "storm came and the wind blew, it fell."***

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<sup>7</sup> Currently the State of Georgia manages the A.H. Stephens Historic Site in Crawford, Georgia.

***Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man. That slavery subordination to the superior race—is his natural and moral condition.***

*This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.*

Later in this same speech he stated that.....

***They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. If their premise were correct, their conclusion would be logical and just; but their premise being wrong, their whole argument fails..... They were attempting to make things equal which the Creator had made unequal.....***

Later he stated that....

***Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. The negro by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system.***

Stephens continues to say that.....

***.....we know that it is best not only for the superior, but for the inferior race that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of His ordinances or to question them. For His own purposes He has made one race to differ from another, as He has made " one star to differ from another in glory.***

### Robert Toombs<sup>8</sup>, Senator and Slave Owner

From his speech on *Invasion of the States*<sup>9</sup> (given on the U.S. Senate floor January 24, 1860) Toombs stated that.....

*We are virtually in civil war, and these are the causes of it. It is known and felt on this floor. I feel and know that a large body of these Senators are enemies of my country. I know they and their associates have used the power which has been placed in their hands by many of the States, to assail and destroy the institutions of these confederate States. I know that under color of the liberty of speech, even in these Halls, day by day, and year after year, **they have thundered their denunciations against slavery and slave- holders, against confederates and their institutions, and thus seek to apply the torch to our homesteads, and to desolate our land with servile and internecine war.***

In his speech to the Georgia Legislature, Nov. 13, 1860 Toombs shared that.....

*Since the promotion of Mr. Lincoln's party, all of them speak with one voice, and speak trumpet-tongued **their fixed purpose to outlaw four thousand millions of our property in the Territories, and to put it under the ban of the empire in the States where it exists. They declare their purpose to war against slavery until there shall not be a slave in America, and until the African is elevated to a social and political equality with the white man. Lincoln indorses them and their principles, and in his own speeches declares the conflict irrepressible and enduring, until slavery is everywhere abolished.***

From his speech on *The Crisis*<sup>10</sup> (given on the Georgia Legislature floor December 7, 1860)

*Those who tell you that the Territorial question is an abstraction, that you can never colonize another Territory without the African slave trade, are both deaf and blind to the history of the last sixty years. All just reasoning, all past history, condemn this fallacy. The North understand it better – they have told us for twenty years that their object was to pen up slavery within its present limits – surround it with a border of free States, and like the scorpion surrounded by fire, they will make its sting itself to death. ....**they declare slavery shall not go into the Territories. They took up arms to drive it out of Kansas.....***

Later in this speech Toombs stated that.....

*For twenty years this party has, by abolition societies, by publications made by them, by the public press, through the pulpit and their own legislative halls, and every effort – by reproaches, by abuse, by vilification, by slander – to disturb our security, our tranquility – to excite discontent between the different classes of our people, and **to excite our slaves to insurrection.** No nation in the world would submit to such conduct from any other nation.*

***Their main purpose of all of their hostility to slavery, is its final and total abolition. His (Lincoln) declare it; their acts prove it...***

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<sup>8</sup> The State of Georgia maintains the Robert Toombs House Historic Site in Washington, Georgia

<sup>9</sup> In the speech Toombs references slavery 67 times, taxes 0 times, tariffs 1 time.

<sup>10</sup> In this speech Toombs references slavery 67 times, taxes 0 times, tariffs 1 time.



**Henry Benning<sup>11</sup> (Senator and namesake of Fort Benning)**

In his *Address to the Virginia Assembly*<sup>12</sup>, February 14, 1861 and effort to convince Virginia to join the Confederacy, Benning made the following comments.....

***What was the reason that induced Georgia to take the step of secession? That reason may be summed up in one single proposition. It was a conviction; a deep conviction on the part of Georgia, that a separation from the North was the only thing that could prevent the abolition of her slavery. This conviction was the main cause.***

..... ***the North hates slavery.*** And I use the expression, *the North hates slavery*, designedly. *Hate is the feeling, and it is the whole North that bears it.*

[Lincoln's] .....***hatred of slavery equals that of any abolitionist***, and, therefore, that it equals that of Sumner or John Brown. The latter is that his action against slavery is not to be restrained by the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States. If you can find any degree of hatred greater than that, I should like to see it.

....*The Republican party, then, is the permanent, dominant party at the North, and it is vain to think that you can put it down. It being true that the Republican party hates slavery, and that it is to be the permanent, dominant party at the North; and the majority, when permanent, being equivalent to the whole, it follows that, practically, the Republican party is the North, and, therefore, that practically the whole North hates slaver.....Can you trust them? Even they say that slavery is a moral, social and political evil.*

.....***in the past the North has, at every instant, invariably exerted against slavery, all the power which it had at that instant.*** The question merely was what was the amount of power it had to exert against it. They abolished slavery in that magnificent empire which you presented to the North; they abolished slavery in every Northern State, one after another; they abolished slavery in all the territory above the line of 36. 30', which comprised about one million square miles. They have endeavored to put the Wilmot Proviso upon all the other territories of the Union, and they succeeded in putting it upon the territories of Oregon and Washington. They have taken from slavery all the conquests of the Mexican war, and appropriated them to anti-slavery; and if one of our fugitives escapes into the States, they do all they can to make a free man of him; they maltreat his pursuers, and sometimes murder them. They make raids into your States with a view to raise insurrection, to destroy and murder indiscriminately all classes, ages and sexes, and when the perpetrators are caught and brought to punishment, half the North go into mourning. If some of the perpetrators escape, they are shielded by the authorities of Northern States—not by an irrepressible mob, but by the regularly organized authorities..... ***that if in the past the North has done this, it will in the future abolish slavery, if it shall acquire the power to do so.***

.... *The North is acquiring that power by two processes, one of which is operating with great rapidity — that process is by the admission of new States. **The public territory is capable of***

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<sup>11</sup> Benning presided over the Georgia Secession Convention in Milledgeville and helped draft Georgia's secession statement.

<sup>12</sup> In this address Benning referenced slavery 80 times, taxes 3 times, and tariffs 7 times.

**forming from twenty to thirty States of larger size than the average of the States now in the Union. This territory has now become Northern territory, and every State that comes into the Union will be a free State. We may rest assured, sir, that that is a fixed fact. The events in Kansas should satisfy every one of the truth of this. The other process is that by which some of our own slave States are becoming free States. In some of the slave States the slave population is actually on the decrease, and, I believe that in all of them it is relatively to the white population on the decrease. The census shows that slaves are decreasing in Delaware and Maryland; and that in the other States in the same parallel, the relative state of the decrease and increase is against the slave population. It is not wonderful that this should be so. The anti-slavery feeling has become so great at the North that the owners of slave property in these States have a presentiment that it is a doomed institution, and the instincts of self-interest impel them to get rid of doomed property. The consequence is, that slavery will go down lower and lower—until it gets to the bottom—the Cotton States.**

**What else could be expected.....**

**..... When it shall have reached the bottom, the time will have come when the North will have the power to amend the Constitution. And then she will amend it and abolish slavery.**

In addition to saying why the South must secede, Benning also offers a number of predictions about what will happen if slavery is abolished.

**....By the time that such abolition comes, the black race in those States will be double of the white. Consequently as the majority, it will then go into political power; and those States will have black governors, black judges, black legislators, black juries, black witnesses—everything black. Is it to be supposed that the white race will stand that?**

**.....and it is probable that the white race, being superior in every respect, may at first push the other back.**

**..... The consequence will be that our men will be all exterminated or expelled to wander as vagabonds over a hostile earth, and as for our women, their fate will be too horrible to contemplate even in fancy.**

**This is the meaning of abolition as it concerns the white race in the Cotton States.**

**But this is not all. The white race having been exterminated the land will go into the exclusive possession of the black, and will, in consequence, rapidly pass into the condition of St. Domingo, and become a howling wilderness. The North, looking on, will say to itself, this ought not to be, and mindful of its ancient principle, it will declare that this goodly land and the fullness thereof are the Lord's, and he made it not for these black heathen.....And then they will take possession of it and exterminate the blacks. Thus the end will be that the Yankee will walk our soil as sole lord, having exterminated both us and our slaves.**

On the problem of addressing the “evil” that Northern states don’t enforce the fugitive slave laws and return escaped slaves to the southern states, Toombs shares....

*Joining us is the best attainable remedy for the fugitive slave evil. All that is left to us, as a remedy for that evil, is, it seems to me, this: **to produce on this side of the line between us and the North, a state of things that will make it extremely difficult for a slave to cross that line without being intercepted; and on the other side of the line a state of things that will render the condition of any slave who may succeed in crossing it so uncomfortable, that he will, of his own accord, return to his master. Statutes—constitutional provisions, even—for the return of fugitives, are vain, so long as there is an overwhelming public opinion at the North in favor of protecting the fugitive, and maltreating his master, in spite of law and Constitution. Masters will not even pursue their slaves in the face of the peril.***

Later in the speech and in reference to control of, and restrictions on expanding slavery into, recently secured Western territories Toombs states that.....

*.....separation is the best, if not the only remedy, for the territory evil. **If you stay in the Union you will never get a single foot of the public land.** The Homestead policy with Squatter Sovereignty, or else with the Wilmot Proviso, aided if need be, by Emigrant Aid Societies and Sharp's rifles, will give all of the public lands to the North. In the face of these dangers, **no slave will ever enter any of the public territory.***

*Even if in a panic the North were to agree to divide with you the territory, giving you all below a named line, you would practically get nothing. **Slavery would be afraid of the North,** notwithstanding its promises, and it would shrink from encountering the perils of a residence in any territory. **In the Union, then, the territories are wholly lost to you. But suppose you leave the Union and join us, to be followed, as you soon will be, by the other Border Slave States, will not your chances for your share of the public lands be greatly increased? I think so. If all the slave States act in concert and demand of the North their part of the public lands, the demand will be conceded because the demand will be just, and will be one made by a power able to enforce it. And when you have in this way obtained your part of the lands, it will be yours indeed—for it will be wholly in your own power.***

**John B. Gordon<sup>13</sup> (Confederate General, Slave Owner, Leader in KKK During Reconstruction)**

In his *Address Delivered Before the Thalian & Phi Delta Societies of Oglethorpe University* on June 18, 1860, Gordon stated.....

***African slavery is the Mightiest Engine in the universe for the civilization, elevation and refinement of mankind—the surest guarantee of the continuance of liberty among ourselves. Then let us do our duty, protect our liberties, and leave the consequences with God, who alone can control them.***

Later he in this speech he elaborates to say....

***.....so far from admitting that negro slavery is an evil and an institution of tyranny, take the position, everywhere, that it is morally, socially, and politically right—and that it is, in truth, the hand-maid of civil liberty. Let these ideas become, as they will, universal among the Southern people and the powers of the world cannot remove from its firm basis, or prevent the progress of this Heaven-blessed institution.***

In his speech “To the Colored People” of Charleston, South Carolina, September 11, 1868, Brown stated that....

***I was opposed to your freedom. We were all opposed to your freedom. Now that’s honest, isn’t it? And why was this so? I’ll tell you. We did not do this because we were your enemies but because we had bought you and paid our money for you.***

He continues to state that.....

***....But if you attempt to inaugurate a war of races you will be exterminated. The Saxon race was never created by Almighty God to be ruled by the African. These are truths.***

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<sup>13</sup> John Brown Gordon currently has a statue in his honor on the lawn of the State Capital. In addition to serving as a general in the Confederacy he was an instrumental leader in the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction.

**Robert E. Lee<sup>14</sup> (Commander of Confederate Forces and Slave Owner)**

In addition to refusing to free slave his wife's inherited from her father upon his death (as her father decreed in his will), in a letter to his wife on December 27, 1856, Lee states that.....

*In this enlightened age, there are few I believe, but what will acknowledge, that slavery as an institution, is a moral & political evil in any Country. It is useless to expatiate on its disadvantages. **I think it however a greater evil to the white man than to the black race, & while my feelings are strongly enlisted in behalf of the latter, my sympathies are more strong for the former** (the white man). **The blacks are immeasurably better off here than in Africa, morally, socially & physically. The painful discipline they are undergoing, is necessary for their instruction as a race, & I hope will prepare & lead them to better things.** How long their subjugation may be necessary is known & ordered by a wise Merciful Providence.*

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<sup>14</sup> Lee was forced to free his father-in-law's slaves after losing the case in court.

## Web Links to Assorted State Secession Statements

**SOUTH CAROLINA:** *Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of the South Carolina from the Federal Union*

\* **Slavery Referenced 29 times, Taxes 23, Tariffs 0**

(<https://archive.org/details/addressofpeopleo00sout>)

**MISSISSIPPI:** *A Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of Mississippi from the Federal Union and the Ordinance of Secession.*

\* **Slavery Referenced 7 times, Taxes 0, Tariffs 0**

(<https://archive.org/details/addresssettingfo01miss>)

**GEORGIA:** *Declaration of Secession, January 19, 1861*

\* **Slavery referenced 36 times, Taxes 0, Tariffs 0**

([http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/csa\\_geosec.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_geosec.asp))

Notes from *The Convention of the People of Georgia* held in Milledgeville and Savannah in 1861. January 16 1981,

(<https://ia700404.us.archive.org/2/items/journalofpublics00geor/journalofpublics00geor.pdf>)

**TEXAS:** *A Declaration of the Causes which Impel the State of Texas to Secede from the Federal Union (2/2/1861)*

\* **Slavery mentioned 21 times, taxes 0, tariffs 0**

(<https://archive.org/details/declarationofcau00texas>)

## Web Links for Cited Comments by Confederate Leaders

Jefferson Davis' *On the Subject of Slavery in the Territories* (February 13 and 14, 1850)

<https://archive.org/details/speechofmrdavis00lcdavi>

Jefferson Davis' *Speech at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, October 11, 1858*

<https://archive.org/details/speechesofhonjef00davia>

Jefferson Davis' *Message to the Confederate Congress about Ratification of the Constitution, April 29, 1861*

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/csa\\_m042961.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_m042961.asp)

*The Papers of Jefferson Davis: 1856--1860*

<http://books.google.com/books?id=7j1rLgwgO-4C&printsec=frontcover-v=onepage&q&f=false>

Jefferson Davis' *Reply to William H. Seward, U.S. Senate, February 29, 1860*

<https://jeffersondavis.rice.edu/Content.aspx?id=82>

Jefferson Davis' *Farewell Address, Senate Chamber, U.S. Capitol, January 21, 1861*

<https://jeffersondavis.rice.edu/Content.aspx?id=87>

Jefferson Davis' *Message to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States in Montgomery, April 29, 1861*

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/csa\\_m042961.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_m042961.asp)

Jefferson Davis' *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. (Vol. 1, 1881)  
<https://archive.org/details/riseandfallconf04davigooq>

Jefferson Davis' *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. (Vol. 2, 1881)  
<https://archive.org/details/riseandfallconf01davigooq>

Alexander Stephens' *The Bill to Admit Kansas as a State Under the Topeka Constitution*,  
June 28, 1856  
[http://vtext.valdosta.edu:8080/jspui/bitstream/10428/1238/1/sps\\_stephens-1856-access.pdf](http://vtext.valdosta.edu:8080/jspui/bitstream/10428/1238/1/sps_stephens-1856-access.pdf)

Alexander Stephens' *Speech before the Virginia Secession Convention*, April 23, 1861  
<http://www.ucs.louisiana.edu/~ras2777/amgov/stephens.html>

Alexander Stephens' *The Corner-Stone of the Southern Confederacy*, March 22, 1861  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1861stephens.asp>

Henry Benning's *Address to the Virginia Assembly*, February 14, 1861.  
[http://cdm.bostonathenaeum.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16057coll14/id/90577#img\\_view\\_container](http://cdm.bostonathenaeum.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16057coll14/id/90577#img_view_container)

Robert Toombs' *Invasion of the States*, speech in the U.S. Senate, January 24, 1861  
<https://archive.org/details/invasionofstates4554toom>

Robert Toombs' *The Crisis*, speech before the Georgia Legislature, Dec. 7, 1861  
<https://archive.org/details/speechhonrobert00toomgoog>

John Brown Gordons' *Progress of Civil Liberty. Address Delivered Before the Thalian & Phi Delta Societies of Olgethorpe University*, June 18, 1860  
[http://books.google.com/books?id=-wtlx9Rv0IEC&pg=PA13&dq=John+B+Gordon,+Progress+of+Civil+Liberty.+Address+Delivered+Before+the+Thalian+%26+Phi+Delta+Societies+of+Oglethorpe+University&hl=en&sa=X&ei=idqFU\\_yFjDJsQT2w4DgDA&ved=0CC0Q6AEwAA-h](http://books.google.com/books?id=-wtlx9Rv0IEC&pg=PA13&dq=John+B+Gordon,+Progress+of+Civil+Liberty.+Address+Delivered+Before+the+Thalian+%26+Phi+Delta+Societies+of+Oglethorpe+University&hl=en&sa=X&ei=idqFU_yFjDJsQT2w4DgDA&ved=0CC0Q6AEwAA-h)

John Brown Gordons' speech *To the Colored People of Charleston, South Carolina*,  
September 11, 1868  
<http://books.google.com/books?id=QWKzf8j2yPoC&pg=PA257&dq=John+B+Gordon,+to+the+colored+people&hl=en&sa=X&ei=PNUFU9ZmlKGxBKXRgMgB&ved=0CC0Q6AEwAA-v=onepage&q=John+B+Gordon,+to+the+colored+people&f=false>