

Cscottsy's U.S. History

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Printed: November 15, 2011

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Contents

1 Colonial America	1
1.1 Early Maps	1
1.2 Pocahontas	1
1.3 Passenger Lists to the New World	7
1.4 The Puritans	10
1.5 King Philip’s War	12
1.6 The Salem Witch Trials	13
1.7 The First Great Awakening	15
2 The Early Republic	17
2.1 Stamp Act	17
2.2 The Battle of Lexington	19
2.3 The Declaration of Independence	22
2.4 Loyalists during the Revolution	25
2.5 Shays’s Rebellion	26
2.6 Federalists and Anti-Federalists	28
2.7 Slavery in the Constitution	30
2.8 Hamilton versus Jefferson	33
2.9 The Louisiana Purchase	34
2.10 Lewis and Clark	36
3 Manifest Destiny and the Slavery Question	38
3.1 Trail of Tears	38
3.2 Nat Turner’s Rebellion	40
3.3 Texas Independence	43
3.4 Manifest Destiny	47
3.5 Irish Immigration	50
3.6 John Brown	54

4	A Nation Divided: The American Civil War and Reconstruction	58
4.1	Lincoln and Race	58
4.2	The New York City Draft Riots	61
4.3	Emancipation Proclamation	63
4.4	The Political Cartoons of Thomas Nast	65
4.5	Andrew Johnson vs. Thaddeus Stevens	66
4.6	Sharecropping	69
4.7	Reconstructions	71

Chapter 1

Colonial America

1.1 Early Maps

From the days of Columbus on, explorers and cartographers made maps of the New World. The two maps below were made in 1636 and 1651. For context, recall that the Jamestown colony in Virginia was founded in 1608 and that the Mayflower landed in New England in 1620. Both of these maps show Virginia, but they portray it very differently. Compare the maps, and consider why two maps of the same area would be so different.

Virginia and Maryland – Gerhard Mercator

Source: A map titled Virginia and Maryland, made by Gerhard Mercator and published in 1636. (Figure 1.1).

A Map of Virginia – Edward Williams

Source: Map of Virginia made by Edward Williams and published in 1651. (Figure 1.2).

Questions

1. These maps show the same land, but they were made 15 years apart. In what ways are the two maps different?
2. **Contextualize:** How might attitudes toward Native Americans have changed between 1636 and 1651?

1.2 Pocahontas

In April 1607, colonists from the Virginia Company of London landed in Virginia. They would formally establish the Jamestown Colony there the following year. Among the men was John Smith, a seasoned 27 – year old adventurer. Smith became one of the leaders of the colony, but in December 2007 he was captured by a party of soldiers from the local Powhatan Indian tribe. As the story goes, Smith was set to be executed but was saved from death by Pocahontas, a 12 to 14 year old daughter of the tribe’s chief.

The story has become a significant part of American lore, but there is controversy among historians about whether the events actually happened and what they meant. The documents below include two accounts



Figure 1.1

by John Smith and excerpts by two modern historians. Read them and decide which historian makes the most persuasive interpretation of the historical evidence.

A True Relation – John Smith

Source: Smith's own words, from A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note as hath happened in Virginia Since the First Planting of that Colony, published in 1608.

Arriving in Werowocomoco, the emperor welcomed me with good words and great platters of food. He promised me his friendship and my freedom within four days.... He asked me why we came and why we went further with our boat.... He promised to give me what I wanted and to feed us if we made him hatchets and copper. I promised to do this. And so, with all this kindness, he sent me home.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When?
2. **Close Reading:** According to *A True Relation*, did Pocahontas save John Smith's life?

General History – John Smith

Source: From Smith's later version of the story in General History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles, published in 1624.(Figure 1.3).

Title page from Smith's *General History*.

They brought me to Meronocomoco, where I saw Powhatan, their Emperor. Two great stones were brought before Powhatan. Then I was dragged by many hands, and they laid my head on the stones, ready to beat out my brains. Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter took my head in her arms and laid down her own upon it to save me from death. Then the Emperor said I should live.

Two days later, Powhatan met me and said we were friends. He told me to bring him two guns and a grindstone and he would consider me his son.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? How much time passed between the writing of *A True Relation* and *General History*?
2. **Close Reading:** According to the *General History*, did Pocahontas save John Smith's life?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** How is the story in John Smith's *General History* different then the story he tells in *A True Relation*?
2. Why might John Smith have told the story differently in the two accounts?

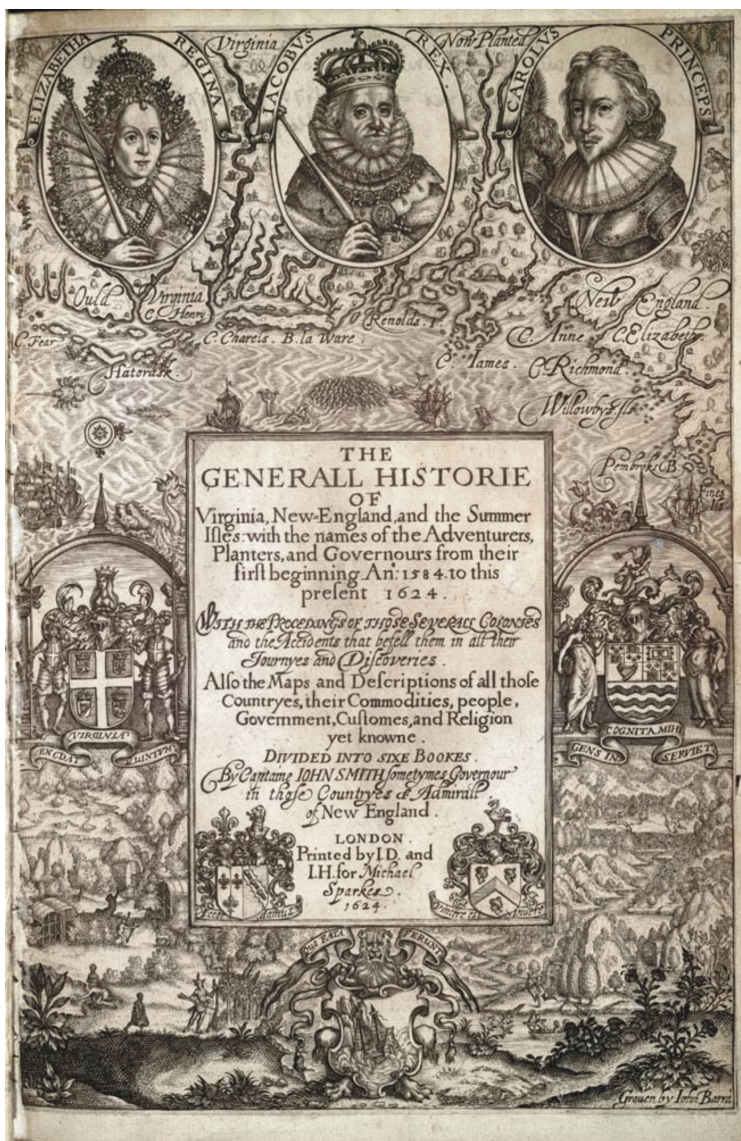


Figure 1.3: Title page from Smith's .

The American Dream of Captain John Smith – J.A. Leo Lemay

Source: Excerpt from *The American Dream of Captain John Smith*, written in 1991 by historian J.A. Leo Lemay.

John Smith had no reason to lie. In all of his other writings he is very accurate and observant. For 250 years after his captivity, no one questioned his story.

The reason the two versions differ is that their purpose is different. In *A True Relation*, Smith didn't want to brag about his adventures, he wanted to inform readers about the land and people of Virginia. In the *General History*, his goal was to promote settlement in Virginia (and added stories might get people interested).

There is no doubt the event happened. Smith may have misunderstood what the whole thing meant. I think it was probably a common ritual for the tribe, where a young woman in the tribe pretends to save a newcomer as a way of welcoming him into the tribe.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Close Reading:** Does Lemay believe that Pocahontas saved John Smith? What evidence does he provide for his argument?

The Great Rogue – Paul Lewis

Source: Excerpt from *The Great Rogue: A Biography of Captain John Smith*, written by the historian Paul Lewis in 1966.

In 1617, Pocahontas became a big media event in London. She was a “princess” (daughter of “king” Powhatan), and the first Indian woman to visit England. Because she converted to Christianity, people high in the church, as well as the King and Queen, paid attention to her.

While all this was going on, John Smith published a new version of *True Relation*, adding footnotes that say that Pocahontas threw herself on Smith to save him. Smith even takes credit for introducing Pocahontas to the English language and the Bible.

Then, in 1624, Smith expands his story in *General History*. He adds details to the story, and says that Pocahontas risked her life to save his.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Close Reading:** Does Lewis believe that Pocahontas saved John Smith? What evidence does he provide to support his argument?

Section Question:

1. **Corroboration:** Which historian do you find more convincing, Lewis or Lemay? Why?

1.3 Passenger Lists to the New World

By the 1630s, Englishmen had settled in two main areas of the new world—New England and Virginia. The two regions were very different—New England was settled by Puritan religious dissidents while Virginian society revolved around growing and selling tobacco. The people living in the two colonies were different, as well.

Each ship that came to the colonies included a list of passengers and some information about them. The following two passenger lists—one for Massachusetts and one for Virginia—provide an indication of the different types of people who came to the two colonies.

Source: Passenger list from the ship Planter, which sailed from London to Boston in 1635.(Table 1.1).

To New England, April 2, 1635

PLANTER of London, Nicholas Trerice, Master. She sailed from London April 1635 and arrived at Boston on Sunday, June 7, 1635.

Table 1.1:

	First Name	Surname	Age	
A tailor	JOSEPH	TUTTELL	39	
	JOAN	TUTTELL	42	
	JOHN	LAWRENCE	17	
Farmer	GEORGE	GIDDINS	25	
	JANE	GIDDINS	20	
A tailor	THOMAS	SAVAGE	27	
	WILLIAM	LAWRENCE	12	
	MARIE	LAWRENCE	9	
	ABIGAIL	TUTTELL	6	
	SYMON	TUTTELL	4	
	SARA	TUTTELL	2	
	JOSEPH	TUTTELL	1	
	JOAN	ANTROBUSS	65	
	MARIE	WRAST	24	
	THO	GREENE	15	
	NATHAN	HEFORD	16	
	Servant to	JOSEPH		
		TUTTELL		
	MARIE	CHITTWOOD	24	
Shoemaker	THOMAS	OLNEY	35	
	MARIE	OLNEY	30	
	THOMAS	OLNEY	3	
	EPENETUS	OLNEY	1	
	Servants to	GEORGE		
	GIDDINS			
	THOMAS	CARTER	25	
	MICHELL	WILLIAMSON	30	
	ELIZABETH	MORRISON	12	
A tailor	RICHARD	HARVIE	22	
Farmer	FRANCIS	PEBODDY	21	
Weaver	WILLIAM	WILCOCKS	34	

Table 1.1: (continued)

	First Name	Surname	Age
	MARGARET	WILCOCKS	24
	JOSEPH	WILCOCKS	2
	ANNE	HARVIE	22
Mason	WILLIAM	BEARDSLEY	30
	MARIE	BEARDSLEY	26
	MARIE	BEARDSLEY	4
	JOHN	BEARDSLEY	2
	JOSEPH	BEARDSLEY	6 mos.
Farmer	ALLIN	PERLEY	27
Shoemaker	WILLIAM	FELLOE	24
Tailor	FRANCIS	BARKER	24

Questions

1. Does Lewis believe that Pocahontas saved John Smith? Why or why not?
2. Which historian do you find more convincing, Lewis or Lemay? Why?

Passenger List to Virginia, 1635

Source: List of passengers on the ship America from London, England to Chesapeake, Virginia.(Table 1.2).

23rd June, 1635. The under-written names are to be transported to Virginia embarked in the America. Willm Barker Mr. pr. cert: from the Minister of the Towne of Bravesend of their conformity to the orders & discipline of the church of England.

Table 1.2:

First Name	Surname	Age
Richard	Sadd	23
Thomas	Wakefield	17
Thomas	Bennett	22
Steven	Read	24
William	Stanbridge	27
Henry	Barker	18
James	Foster	21
Thomas	Talbott	20
Richard	Young	31
Robert	Thomas	20
John	Farepoynt	20
Robert	Askyn	22
Samuell	Awde	24
Miles	Fletcher	27
William	Evans	23
Lawrence	Farebern	23
Mathew	Robinson	24
Richard	Hersey	22

Table 1.2: (continued)

First Name	Surname	Age
John	Robinson	32
Edmond	Chipps	19
Thomas	Pritchard	32
Jonathan	Bronsford	21
William	Cowley	20
John	Shawe	16
Richard	Gummy	21
Bartholomew	Holton	25
John	White	21
Thomas	Chappell	33
Hugh	Fox	24
Davie	Morris	32
Rowland	Cotton	22
William	Thomas	22
John	Yates	20
Richard	Wood	36
Isack	Bull	27
Phillipp	Remmington	29
Radulph	Spraging	37
George	Chaundler	29
Thomas	Johnson	19
George	Brookes	35
Robert	Sabyn	40
Phillipp	Parsons	10
Henry	Parsons	14
John	Eeles	16
Richard	Miller	12
Symon	Richardson	23
Thomas	Boomer	13
George	Dulmare	8
John	Underwood	19
William	Bernard	27
Charles	Wallinger	24
Ryce	Hooe	36
John	Carter	54
Women		
Elizabeth	Remington	20
Dorothy	Standich	22
Suzan	Death	22
Elizabeth	Death	3
Alice	Remmington	26
Dorothie	Baker	18
Elizabeth	Baker	18
Sara	Colebank	20
Mary	Thurrogood	19

Section Questions:

1. Based on these lists, what can you say about the type of people who traveled to each colony?
2. Which ship do you think had more wealthy passengers? Women? Families?

Activity:

Make a chart comparing the passengers aboard the two ships. Look at the lists and determine what information is available about the passengers. Then, using what you know about statistics, think about what statistics would be most valuable to calculate. What percentages or ratios would be interesting to know? Where would it be useful to calculate mean, median, mode or range? Select the statistics that would best help you compare the passenger lists, calculate them, and present them in a chart.

1.4 The Puritans

New England was first settled by Puritans, people from England who believed that the Church of England had become corrupt. Their name comes from their intention to *purify* the Church. The first group of settlers, who came on the Mayflower and founded the Plymouth colony, were called *separatists*. They wanted to leave the Church entirely. A decade later, a second group of Puritans founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but they were less radical. Instead of separating from the Church, they wanted to remain members of the church and purify it from within. The following documents are taken from this second group of settlers. As you read, think about how their beliefs might have influence their actions in New England and helped shape the new colony.

City upon a Hill – John Winthrop

Source: John Winthrop (1588–1649), lawyer and leader of the 1630 migration of English Puritans to Massachusetts Bay Colony, delivered this famous sermon aboard the Arbella to settlers traveling to New England.

The only way to provide for our posterity is to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God. We must be knit together in this work as one man; we must take care of each other with brotherly affection.

We shall be united in the bond of peace, the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among us, so that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness and truth.

We shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall [behave badly] and cause God to withdraw his help from us, we shall [invite] the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us.

Therefore let us choose life, that we, and our [children], may live; by obeying his voice, for he is our life, and our prosperity.

Vocabulary

Posterity future generations

Prosperity wealth

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who kind of person was John Winthrop? Who was he speaking to in this sermon? What do you think was his purpose in giving this sermon?
2. **Contextualization:** What might Winthrop’s audience might have been thinking and feeling as they listened to him on the ship?
3. **Close reading:** What do you think Winthrop means when he says, “We shall be as a City Upon a Hill?”

The Divine Right to Occupy the Land – John Cotton

Source: Puritan leader John Cotton gave the following sermon to members of his congregation who were immigrating to America in 1630. Cotton became a respected and influential clergyman in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The Bible says: “I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more.”

The settling of a people in this or that country is the Lord’s decision.

Now, God makes room for a people in three ways: First, He drives out the heathens before them by waging war on the inhabitants.

Second, He gives a foreign people favor in the eyes of any native people to come and sit down with them.

Third, He makes a country empty of inhabitants where the people will live. Where there is an empty place, the sons of Adam and Noah are free to come and live there, and they neither need to buy it nor ask permission.

Vocabulary

Heathen a term used at this time to describe anyone uncivilized and who did not believe in God

Appoint assign; decide on

Inhabitants people who live in a certain place

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who was John Cotton? Who was he speaking to in this sermon? Why is he speaking about settling in a new land?
2. **Contextualization:** In this sermon, who are the ‘inhabitants’ in the new land? Who are the ‘foreign people?’
3. **Close reading:** What does Cotton say that God will do for the foreign people when they arrive in the new land?

Section Question:

1. **Corroboration:** Considering information from both Winthrop’s sermon and Cotton’s speech, were the Puritans selfish or selfless? What is the evidence for your answer?

1.5 King Philip's War

By 1675, the European settlers in New England had lived in relative peace with the Native Americans for nearly 40 years. However, during this period, the settlers gradually encroached on native lands. Between 1600 and 1675, the Native American population of New England decreased from 150,000 to 10,000, while the English population grew to 50,000. Some Englishmen worked to convert the remaining natives to Christianity, translating the bible into their languages and establishing so-called "praying towns" in which the Indians began to adopt a European way of life.

In 1675, an Indian sachem (chief) named Metacom united many tribes of the region into a military alliance, and a bloody war broke out between Indians and settlers. Metacom had been given the English name 'Philip' and the war became known to the settlers and to history as 'King Philip's War.' The causes of the war are disputed. The following documents show two perspectives on why the war began.

King Philip's Complaints – John Easton

Source: John Easton, Attorney General of the Rhode Island colony, met King Philip in June of 1675 in an effort to negotiate a settlement. Easton recorded Philip's complaints. However, Easton was unable to prevent a war, and the fighting broke out the following month.

King Philip agreed to come to us; came himself unarmed, and about 40 of his men armed. Then 5 of us went over. We sat very friendly together. We told him our business. They said that was well; they had done no wrong, the English wronged them. We said that both sides thought the other side wronged them, but our desire was to avoid war. The Indians agreed that fighting was the worst way; then they asked how Right might take Place. We said, by negotiation. They said that they lost many square miles of land through negotiation.

They said they had been the first in doing Good to the English, and the English were the first in doing wrong. They said when the English first came, their King's Father was as a great Man, he prevented other Indians from wronging the English, and gave them Corn and showed them how to plant, and let them have a 100 times more land than now the Indian King had for his own people.

And another grievance was, if 20 of their honest Indians testified that a Englishman had done them wrong, it was as nothing; and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian, when it pleased the English it was sufficient.

Another Grievance was, the English made them drunk and then cheated them in Bargains; that now, they had no Hopes left to keep any Land.

Another Grievance, the English cattle and horses still increased and kept spoiling their corn. They thought when the English bought Land of them they would have kept their cattle upon their own Land, but the English didn't use a fence.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? Is it fair to say the document represents King Philip's perspective?
2. **Contextualization:** What was happening in New England that led to the meeting between King Philip and Easton?
3. **Close Reading:** List three complaints that the Native Americans made to John Easton.

King Philip's War – Edward Randolph

Source: The English government sent Edward Randolph to New England to report on the causes for the wars with the Native Americans. He wrote this report in 1685.

There are many different theories for what caused the present Indian war. Some blame the people of Boston for trying to Christianize the Indians before they were civilized and forcing them the strict observation of their laws, which, to a people so rude and uncivilized, has proved unbearable.

Some believe there have been Catholic priests, who have made it their business, for some years past, to turn the Indians against the English and to promise supplies from France.

Others blame the Indian leader, King Philip. Some English tried to get his land and brought him to court and sometimes imprisoned him, and always took another little piece of his land.

But the Puritan government of the Massachusetts thinks that God has allowed the Indians to rise against them. The Puritans believe it is punishment for men wearing long hair and wigs made of women's hair; for women cutting, curling and laying out the hair. For people not going to town meetings.

The English have contributed much to their misfortunes, for they first taught the Indians the use of arms, and let them attend trainings, and showed them how to handle and fix their muskets.

The loss to the English in the several colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to 150,000 pounds. About 1200 houses have been burned, 8000 head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat and other grain burned, and over 3000 Indians, men, women, and children destroyed.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written and by whom? Does that make it more or less trustworthy?
2. **Close Reading:** What were the causes of King Philip's War, according to Edward Randolph?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** On what points do the two documents agree? On what points do they conflict?
2. **Corroboration:** Where the documents conflict, which one do you find more trustworthy? Why?
3. **Corroboration:** Considering both documents, what were the causes of King Phillip's War?

1.6 The Salem Witch Trials

During the winter of 1691-92, girls in the Salem Village, Massachusetts began complaining of a strange illness. They described feeling sharp pains and the sensation of being choked. The first girl to feel the effects was Betty Parris, daughter of Salem's minister, Samuel Parris. The second was his niece, Abigail Williams. Reverend Parris believed the sickness was the result of witchcraft.

The girls accused three women of being witches, including the Parris family's Indian slave, Tituba. Tituba confessed to being a witch and accused more women. The parade of accusations continued until 20 women had been convicted of witchcraft and executed, and 100 more were in prison. Why did the girls make these

accusations, and why did so many people believe them? The documents below provide clues to Salem's beliefs about witchcraft and about the context in which the events took place.

Discourse on Witchcraft – Cotton Mather

Source: Excerpt from a 1688 speech by Cotton Mather, a leader of the Puritans. Mather argues for the existence of witchcraft.

I will prove that Witchcraft exists. Those who deny it exists argue that they never saw any witches, therefore there are none. That would be as if you or I said: We never met any robbers, therefore there are none.

I have two pieces of evidence that witchcraft exists: First, the Scripture mentions witchcraft. Secondly, many people have experienced the horrors of witchcraft.

Witchcraft is a most monstrous and horrid evil. Witchcraft denies all that is *Holy*, and *Just* and *Good*. Witchcraft is siding with *Hell* against *Heaven* and *Earth*.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? What was his perspective?
2. **Close Reading:** Judging from this document, why might the people of Salem have believed the girls' accusations?

Testimony of Abigail Hobbs

Source: The testimony of a teenager accused of witchcraft, Abigail Hobbs, on April 19, 1692.

Judge: Abigail Hobbs, you are brought before Authority to answer to various acts of witchcraft. What say you? Are you guilty, or not? Speak the truth.

Abigail Hobbs: I will speak the truth. I have seen sights and been scared. I have been very wicked. I hope I shall be better, if God will help me.

Judge: What sights did you see?

Abigail Hobbs: I have seen the Devil.

Judge: How often, many times?

Abigail Hobbs: But once.

Judge: What would he have you do?

Abigail Hobbs: Why, he would have me be a witch.

Judge: Would he have you make a covenant with him?

Abigail Hobbs: Yes.

Question:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, why did the people of Salem believe the girls' accusations?

1.7 The First Great Awakening

Religion was an important factor in the American colonies from their very beginnings, but in the 1740s, the colonies were swept by a religious movement called the First Great Awakening. The most popular preacher of the period, George Whitefield, traveled across the country holding revival meetings attended by thousands. Nathan Cole's account below shows how intense the movement was. Nathanael Henschman's letter to Whitefield shows that some traditional ministers did not welcome the revival.

Letter to George Winfield – Nathanael Henschman

Source: Nathanael Henschman was a minister in Lynn, Massachusetts. He blamed Whitefield for breaking up all of New England's churches. This document is a letter to the newspaper in which he addresses Whitefield.

Boston Evening-Post, July 15, 1745

To George Whitefield,

You have sown the harmful seeds of separation and disorder among us. By supporting the new churches, by claiming that our Ministers are unacquainted with Christ, you have stopped the spread of the Gospel, and hurt the Peace and good Order. You have hurt the very being of our Churches.

I ask you not to preach in this parish...

I do not expect that you will pay attention to what I have written, but I still choose to declare that you are a dangerous man, harmful to the religion of Jesus Christ.

Nathanael Henschman, Pastor of the first Church in Lynn

Questions:

Opening Up the Textbook: Before answering these questions, students should read an account of the Great Awakening from a typical textbook.

1. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at the time this document was written?
2. Using this document, what can we say about the Great Awakening that goes beyond the textbook account?

Testimony of Nathan Cole

Source: Nathan Cole was a farmer from Middletown, Connecticut, who heard George Whitfield preach in 1740. The experience convinced Cole to find salvation and become born-again.

When I heard that Mr. Whitefield was coming to preach in Middletown, I was in my field at work. I dropped my tool and ran home to my wife and told her to hurry. My wife and I rode my horse as fast as I thought the horse could bear ...

When we neared Middletown, I heard a noise like a low rumbling thunder and soon saw it was the noise of horses' feet. As I came closer it seemed like a steady stream of horses and their riders, all of a lather and foam with sweat, their breath rolling out of their nostrils with every

jump; every horse seemed to go with all his might to carry his rider to hear news from heaven for the saving of souls, it made me tremble to see the sight, how the world was in a struggle.

When we got to the meeting house there were 3 or 4000 people assembled. I turned and looked back and the land and banks of the river looked black with people and horses all along the 12 miles.

When I saw Mr. Whitfield he looked almost angelic; a young, slim, slender, youth. And hearing how God was with him everywhere put me into a trembling fear. I saw that my righteousness would not save me...

Questions:

Opening Up the Textbook: Before answering these questions, students should read an account of the Great Awakening from a typical textbook.

1. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at the time this document was written?
2. Using this document, what can we say about the Great Awakening that goes beyond the textbook account?

Section Question:

1. Would you add anything from these documents to the textbook account?

Image Sources

- (1) <http://www.lunacommons.org/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~2760~4390001:A-mapp-of-Virginia-discovered-to-ye?trs=1&mi=0&qvq=q%3AA+mapp+of+Virginia+discovered+to+ye+Falls%3B1c%3AAMICO%7E1%7E1%2CBardBar%7E1%7E1%2CChineseArt-ENG%7E1%7E1%2CCORNELL%7E3%7E1%2CCORNELL%7E9%7E1%2CESTATE%7E2%7E1%2CHOOVER%7E1%7E1%2CJCB%7E1%7E1%2CLTUHSS%7E20%7E20%2CMOAC%7E100%7E1%2CPRATTPRT%7E12%7E12%2CPRATTPRT%7E13%7E13%2CPRATTPRT%7E21%7E21%2CPRATTPRT%7E9%7E9%2CRUMSEY%7E8%7E1%2CRUMSEY%7E9%7E1%2CStanford%7E6%7E1>. Public Domain.
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Chapter 2

The Early Republic

2.1 Stamp Act

In March 1765, the British Parliament passed the Stamp Act, a tax on newspapers and all other printed materials in the American colonies. The British argued that the tax was needed to pay off debts that they had incurred while protecting the American colonists during the French and Indian War. The British thought that it was fair for the Americans to pay higher taxes. The Americans disagreed. Read the documents below and try to determine why the Americans were upset about the Stamp Act.

Boston Editorial

Source: This letter appeared as an editorial in a Boston newspaper on October 7, 1765. The author is unknown.

Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal, 7 October 1765

My Dear Countrymen,

AWAKE! Awake, my Countrymen and defeat those who want to enslave us. Do not be cowards. You were born in Britain, the Land of Light, and you were raised in America, the Land of Liberty. It is your duty to fight this tax. Future generations will bless your efforts and honor the memory of the saviors of their country.

I urge you to tell your representatives that you do not support this terrible and burdensome law. Let them know what you think. They should act as guardians of the liberty of their country.

I look forward to congratulating you on delivering us from the enemies of truth and liberty.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? For what purpose? What was the audience?
2. **Contextualization:** What was going on at the time the document was written? What were people doing? What did people believe?

John Hughes Letter

Source: The following letter was written by John Hughes, Stamp Distributor in Philadelphia, to his bosses in London. The Stamp Act was passed in March 1765 and went into effect November 1765.

Philadelphia January 13th 1766.

My Lords,

The colonists have been insulting His Majesty, saying that the Stamp Act was unconstitutional, and oppressive.

Many believe that the Stamp Act is only being used to enrage the people, & at the same time, to conceal other plans.

It is apparent to many people here, that the Presbyterians, who are very numerous in America, are at the head of these riots. They are opposed to Kings and some begin to cry out,--No King but King Jesus. The leaders, and the Clergy, fill every newspaper with inflammatory pieces, so that the minds of the common people are kept in a continual ferment.... No one dares write anything that would calm the people down. Doing so would put the writer's life and fortune in danger.

I am convinced the Presbyterians intend nothing less than the throwing off their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, & forming a Republican Empire, in America, & being Lords and Masters themselves.

I am daily Threatened, by Verbal Messages, and Anonymous Letters, with a Mob of several Thousand People, from the Jerseys, New York, and New England.

I conclude with praying, that the Almighty may secure the allegiance of America to the Crown of Britain, by destroying the seeds of rebellion, and by punishing the ringleaders of these riots.

I am, My Lords, Your most Obedient & Most Humble Servant,

John Hughes

Vocabulary

Compels forces

Inflammatory Arousing angry or violent feelings

Ferment agitation or excitement, typically leading to violence

Presbyterians a major religion formed during the Great Awakening

Allegiance loyalty

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this and what is his job? Does he side with England or with the colonists? How do you know?
2. **Contextualization:** Based on his account, what is happening in America in 1766? How has the Stamp Act affected the author personally? Provide evidence from the document to support your answer.

3. Do you believe this account? Give one reason why you would trust his account, and one reason why you might not.

London Newspaper Letter

Source: The following letter was written in a London newspaper. It shows that the British could not understand why the people of Boston were so upset about the Stamp Act.

From a London paper, January 27, 1766

The riotous behavior of the people in Boston is remarkable. I would have been less surprised by their behavior if we had taxed their beer, because everyone drinks beer. But the Stamp Act is a tax on none of the necessities of life. It does not affect the poor. And even a poor person can afford this little amount of money. The tax on newspapers only affects the rich—common people do not purchase newspapers. Isn't it surprising, then, that the mob in Boston has begun to riot against this tax even before it has officially gone into effect?

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What newspaper does this come from? What would you predict the author's perspective will be on the Stamp Act? Was this written before or after the Stamp Act went into effect?
2. **Contextualization:** What happened in Boston? Why is the author surprised? Who reads the newspapers, according to the author?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Where do the documents agree and where do they conflict?
2. **Corroboration:** Was the Stamp Act fair? How were the colonists treated by the British?
3. **Corroboration:** How did the colonists feel about their treatment?

2.2 The Battle of Lexington

After the passage of the Stamp Act, tensions between the colonists and the British government continued to rise, and the colonists began to organize militias. On April 19, 1775, British troops marched from Boston to the nearby towns Lexington and Concord to arrest the militia's leaders, John Hancock and Sam Adams, and to confiscate their weapons. The militias learned in advanced that the British were coming, and about 70 militiamen, also called minutemen, assembled before dawn on the central green of the town of Lexington. As dawn was breaking, a shot rang out which set off the first battle of the American Revolution. But who fired the shot? The historical sources disagree. Read the documents below and attempt to determine which side fired first. Then analyze the two paintings of the battle and decide which is a more accurate representation of the battle.

A sample exploration of these documents can be viewed in the video at <http://historicalthinkingmatters.org/why/>.

Diary of John Barker

Source: Entry for April 19th, 1775, from the diary of Lieutenant John Barker, an officer in the British army.

19th. At 2 o'clock we began our march by wading through a very long stream up to our middles. About 5 miles away from a town called Lexington, we heard there were some hundreds of people collected together intending to oppose us. At 5 o'clock we arrived there and saw a number of people, I believe between 200 and 300, formed in a common in the middle of the town. We still continued advancing, prepared for an attack though without intending to attack them. As we came near them, they fired one or two shots, upon which our men without any orders, fired and put them to flight. We then formed on the Common, but with some difficulty, the men were so wild they could hear no orders; we waited a considerable time there, and at length proceeded on our way to Concord.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Contextualization:** Imagine the scene. What might the soldiers have been thinking?
3. **Close Reading:** According to this document, which side fired first?

Account of the Battle of Lexington – Nathaniel Mullikan

Source: Sworn by 34 minutemen on April 25 before three Justices of the Peace.

We Nathaniel Mulliken, Philip Russell, (Followed by the names of 32 other men present on Lexington Green on April 19, 1775)... All of lawful age, and inhabitants of Lexington... do testify and declare, that on the nineteenth of April, about five o'clock in the morning, we proceeded towards the Green, and saw a large body of troops marching towards us. Some of our men were coming to the Green, and others had reached it, at which time, they began to disperse. While our backs were turned on the British troops, they fired on us, and a number of our men were instantly killed and wounded, not a gun was fired by any person in our company on the British soldiers to our knowledge before they fired on us, and continued firing until we had all made our escape.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? Do you trust it more or less than a diary entry? When was this written? Whose side does this document represent?
2. **Close reading:** What is the significance of the phrase “to our knowledge?”
3. **Corroboration:** Where do Barker’s and Mullikan’s accounts disagree? Are there any facts that both accounts agree on?

Battle of Lexington Engraving - Amos Doolittle

Source: One of four engravings made by Amos Doolittle in 1775. Doolittle was an engraver and silversmith from Connecticut who visited the site of the battle and interviewed participants and witnesses.(Figure 2.1.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document created? By whom? For what purpose?



Figure 2.1: One of four engravings made by Amos Doolittle in 1775

2. Which figures in this image are British? Which figures are American? How can you tell?
3. Look closely at the image. Which side appears to be firing first?

Terrence Blachaux Painting

Source: A painting made by Terrence Blachaux in 1859, which was used in a 19th Century American postage stamp. (Figure 2.2)



Figure 2.2: Century American postage stamp.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this image created? By whom? For what purpose?
2. According to this image, who fired first?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Which of the first two texts seems more reliable—Mullikan or Barker? Why might they differ?
2. **Corroboration:** Which of the images probably presents a more accurate representation of the Battle of Lexington?
3. Why might the creator of the other image have wanted to portray the battle differently?

2.3 The Declaration of Independence

Declaration of Independence

Source: The Declaration of Independence is a statement approved by representatives of the 13 colonies. The representatives, called the Continental Congress, met in Philadelphia. The Declaration was adopted on July 4, 1776.(Figure 2.3

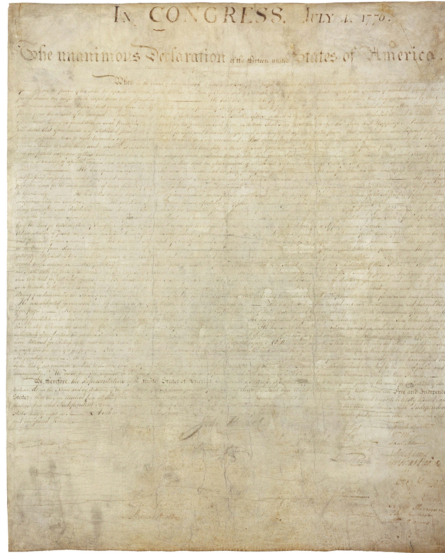


Figure 2.3: Declaration of Independence

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government.

The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated abuses intended to establish tyranny over the colonies. To prove this, let facts be submitted:

(1 & 2) He has refused to pass, and forbidden his governors to pass, important and necessary laws.

(3 & 4) He has insisted that certain large districts give up their right to representation; in other districts, he has insisted that the legislature meet in uncomfortable, and distant places, so that they won't oppose him.

(5 & 6) He has broken up certain legislatures that opposed him, and refused to let others be elected.

(8 & 9) He has refused to establish courts of justice, and has made judges dependent on him for their jobs and salaries.

(10) He has sent swarms of British officers to harass our people and eat our food.

(11 & 12) He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures; he has tried to make the military independent of, and superior to, the local, civil power.

(14 & 15) For keeping large bodies of armed troops among us; For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the colonists;

(16) For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

(17) For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

(18) For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

(21) For abolishing our most valuable laws, and fundamentally changing the forms of our governments;

(23 & 24) He is waging war against us; He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

(27) He has started fights among us and has also forced us to live near merciless Indian savages, who only destroy all ages, sexes, and conditions.

(28) He has ignored all of our humble efforts to address these problems.

Vocabulary

self-evident obvious

endowed given

inalienable cannot be taken away

to secure to get

instituted established

deriving getting

consent agreement

Questions

For questions 1 and 2, restate the indicated paragraph in your own words.

1. We believe in these obvious truths: that all men are created equal, that they....
2. In order to protect these rights, governments are set up. These governments get their powers from....
3. **Close Reading:** Do these grievances seem to be things that upset rich people, or both rich and poor?
4. Do you think these complaints would give people reason to go to war and possibly die? Why or why not?

The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution – Bernard Bailyn

Source: Excerpt from a book by historian Bernard Bailyn. The book, published in 1967, is called The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.

The Declaration of Independence represents the colonists' deepest fears and beliefs. The colonists believed they saw a clear pattern in the events that followed 1763. They believed they saw an evil and deliberate conspiracy to crush liberty in America. They saw evidence of this conspiracy in the Stamp Act and in the Coercive Acts.

They also believed that America was destined to play a special role in history. They believed that America would become "the foundation of a great and mighty empire, the largest the world ever saw to be founded on such principles of liberty and freedom, both civil and religious." The colonists believed that England was trying to enslave them, and that they should use "all the power which God has given them" to protect themselves.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What does Bailyn think the Declaration of Independence represents? What evidence does he use to support his claims?

A People's History of the United States - Howard Zinn

Source: Excerpt from A People's History of the United States, which was published in 1980 by historian Howard Zinn.

It seemed clear to the educated, upper-class colonists that something needed to be done to persuade the lower class to join the revolutionary cause, to direct their anger against England. The solution was to find language inspiring to all classes, specific enough in its listing of grievances to fill people with anger against the British, vague enough to avoid class conflict, and stirring enough to build patriotic feelings.

Everything the Declaration of Independence was about – popular control over governments, the right of rebellion and revolution, fury at political tyranny, economic burdens, and military attacks – was well suited to unite large numbers of colonists and persuade even those who had grievances against one another to turn against England.

Some Americans were clearly omitted from those united by the Declaration of Independence: Indians, black slaves, and women.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What does Zinn think the Declaration of Independence represents? What evidence does he use to support his claims?

Section Questions:

1. Which historian, Bailyn or Zinn, do you find more convincing? Why?

2.4 Loyalists during the Revolution

Loyalist Letter – Anonymous

Source: The following letter was written by an anonymous Loyalist under the pseudonym ‘Rusticus’. Printed in a Pennsylvania newspaper, it lists all the advantages of being British.

Pennsylvania Packet January 2, 1775

My Friends and Countrymen,

This howling wilderness has been converted into a flourishing and populous country. But, is this not due to the way in which the colonies have been treated from the beginning? Isn't our growth a result of Great Britain's willingness to encourage our industry and protect us from foreign countries? If so, surely some degree of gratitude, such as becomes a free and liberal people, would be appropriate.

The peace and security we have already enjoyed under Great Britain's protection, before the mistaken system of taxation took place, must make us look back with regret to those happy days whose loss we mourn, and which every rational man must consider as the golden age of America.

Let us then, my friends and countrymen, be patient and avoid all inflammatory publications that are disrespectful to our most gracious Sovereign. Let us look forward to a happy termination of our present disputes, and a cordial reconciliation with our mother country.

Rusticus

Vocabulary

Flourishing rapidly growing

Rational reasonable

Inflammatory arousing violent feelings

Cordial warm and friendly

Reconciliation existing in harmony

Loyalist Letter – Charles Inglis

Source: The following letter was written by Reverend Charles Inglis, an Anglican minister. He was trying to sway colonists not to follow the Patriot leaders who were leading Americans into war.

New York Gazette September 19, 1774

To the Inhabitants of North America:

Brethren, Friends and Fellow Subjects,

In case these people in Massachusetts succeed in convincing other colonies to break from Great Britain, let us calmly consider how prepared we are for such a war. I will not exaggerate, but represent things as they really are.

The naval power of Great Britain is the greatest in the world. Do we have a fleet to look this power in the face and defend our coasts? No—not one ship. The inevitable consequence then must be, that all our seaport towns will be taken and all our trade and commerce destroyed. Have we disciplined troops to encounter those British soldiers that are now in America, or that may be sent here?—Not a single regiment. We will need to leave our farms, our shops, our trades and *begin* to learn the art of war at the very same time we are called to practice it. And EVERYTHING will be at stake.

If we turn our eyes west to our back-country the situation is no better. Every man in Canada is a soldier, and may be commanded whenever government pleases. Then, add the Indians, whose warriors in Canada and the Six Nations amount to at least FIVE THOUSAND. In the case of our civil war with Britain, all these Canadians and Indians would be let loose on our back-settlements, to scalp, ravage and lay everything to waste.

Shall we, then, madly pursue violent measures that will plunge our country into all the horrors of a civil war? Shall we desperately risk our lives, liberties and property and recklessly drench this happy country with the blood of its inhabitants? —Forbid it humanity! Forbid it loyalty, reason and common sense!

A New York Freeholder (landowner)

2.5 Shays's Rebellion

In 1881, the colonies adopted the Articles of Confederation—a document that bound them into the United States of America. Since the colonists were fighting to free themselves from monarchical rule, they created a very weak central government. Under the Articles of Confederation, the federal government could not tax, could not make laws that would be binding in all 13 states, had no executive branch, and could not raise a national army.

Shays's Rebellion was a violent protest held by farmers in western Massachusetts. You will learn more about it by reading the first document below, an excerpt from a recent U.S. History textbook. According to the textbook, Shays's Rebellion made Americans realize that they needed a stronger government. As you read that documents that follow, try to understand the connection between Shays's Rebellion and the Articles of Confederation and then determine whether all Americans drew the same lessons from the Rebellion.

Shays's Rebellion – The American Vision

Source: An account of Shays's Rebellion excerpted from The American Vision, a high school U.S. History textbook published in 2003.

Shay's Rebellion

The property owners' fears seemed justified when a full-scale rebellion, known as **Shays's Rebellion**, erupted in Massachusetts in 1786. The rebellion started when the government of Massachusetts decided to raise taxes instead of issuing paper money to pay off its debts. The taxes fell most heavily on farmers, particularly poor farmers in the western part of the state. As the recession grew worse, many found it impossible to pay their taxes as well as their mortgages and other debts. Those who could not pay often faced the loss of their farms.

Angry at the legislature's indifference to their plight, in late August 1786, farmers in western Massachusetts rebelled. They closed down several county courthouses to prevent farm foreclosures, and then marched on the state supreme court. At this point, Daniel Shays, a former

captain in the Continental Army who was now a bankrupt farmer, emerged as one of the rebellion's leaders.

In January 1787, Shays and about 1,200 farmers headed to a state arsenal intending to seize weapons before marching on Boston. In response, the governor sent more than 4,000 volunteers under the command of General Benjamin Lincoln to defend the arsenal. Before they arrived, Shays attacked, and the militia defending the arsenal opened fire. Four farmers died in the fighting. The rest scattered. The next day Lincoln's troops arrived and ended the rebellion. The fears the rebellion had raised, however, were harder to disperse.

A Call for Change

People with greater income and social status tended to see the rebellion, as well as inflation and an unstable currency, as signs that the republic itself was at risk. They feared that as state legislatures became more democratic and responsive to poor people, they would weaken property rights and vote to take property from the wealthy. As General Henry Knox, a close aide to George Washington, concluded: "What is to afford our security against the violence of lawless men? Our government must be braced, changed, or altered to secure our lives and property."

These concerns were an important reason why many people, including merchants, artisans, and creditors, began to argue for a stronger central government, and several members of the Confederation Congress called on the states to correct "such defects as may be discovered to exist" in the present government. The confederation's failure to deal with conditions that might lead to rebellion, as well as the problems with trade and diplomacy, only added fuel to their argument.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, how was Shays's rebellion related to the Articles of Confederation?
3. **Close Reading:** According to this document, how did people respond to Shays's Rebellion?

Thomas Jefferson on Shays' Rebellion

Source: Thomas Jefferson was in France during Shays' Rebellion, but he wrote a letter to a friend about it.

Paris, November 13, 1787

The British have so long hired their newspapers to repeat every form lies about our being in anarchy, that the world has at length believed them, and we have believed them ourselves. Yet where does this anarchy exist? Where did it ever exist, except in the single instance of Shays' rebellion? God forbid we should ever be 20 years without such a rebellion.

What country before ever existed without a rebellion? And what country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let the people take arms. The remedy is to present them with the facts, pardon and pacify them.

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure. Our Constitutional Convention has [made too much of Shays' rebellion]: and in the spur of the moment [I believe they are over-reacting].

Vocabulary

Anarchy chaos; confusion and disorder

Remedy cure

Pardon forgive

Pacify calm down

Manure fertilizer

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What else do you know about his views on a strong central government?
2. **Contextualization:** According to Jefferson, have the colonies been peaceful or chaotic? Support your answer with evidence from the document.
3. **Close Reading:** What does Jefferson mean when he says “The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants?”

Section Questions

1. **Opening Up the Textbook:** How does this document challenge or expand the information you read in the textbook?

2.6 Federalists and Anti-Federalists

In 1787, the states sent delegates to the Constitutional Convention, where they debated and wrote the new Constitution. Two camps developed—*Federalists* who favored a strong central government and *Anti-Federalists*, who favored a weak one. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, were strongest among Northerners, city dwellers, and merchants. The Anti-Federalists, including Thomas Jefferson, included more Southerners and farmers. The documents below show the Federalist and Anti-Federalist positions on Congressional representation and the impact of the new Constitution upon the states.

Federalist Position on Congressional Representation – Alexander Hamilton

Source: Speech by Alexander Hamilton, June 21, 1788

The Antifederalists seem to think that a pure democracy would be the perfect government. Experience has shown that this idea is false. The ancient democracies of Greece were characterized by tyranny and run by mobs.

The Antifederalists also argue that a large representation is necessary to understand the interests of the people. This is not true. Why can't someone understand thirty [thousand] people as well as he understands twenty people?

The new constitution does not make a rich man more eligible for an elected office than a poor person. I also think it's dangerous to assume that men become more wicked as they gain wealth and education. Look at all the people in a community, the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant. Which group has higher moral standards? Both groups engage in immoral or wicked behavior. But it would seem to me that the wealthy overall have the advantage. Their immoral behavior often benefits the general wealth of the country, and it's less wicked and sinful.

Question:

1. What type of Congressional representation did the federalists prefer? Why?

Anti-Federalist Position on Representation in Congress – Melancton Smith

Source: Speech by Melancton Smith, delivered June 21, 1788.

Representatives should be a true picture of the people. They should understand their circumstances and their troubles. Therefore, the number of representatives should be so large that both rich and poor people will choose to be representatives.

If the number of representatives is small, the position will be too competitive. Ordinary people will not attempt to run for office. A middle-class yeoman (farmer) will never be chosen. So, the government will fall into the hands of the few and the rich. This will be a government of oppression.

The rich consider themselves above the common people, entitled to more respect. They believe they have the right to get anything they want.

Questions:

1. What kind of Congressional representation did the Anti-Federalists favor? Why?

Section Question:

1. Which argument do you find more convincing, Federalist or Anti-Federalist?

Federalist Position on State/Federal Power – Alexander Hamilton

Source: Speech given by Alexander Hamilton, June 28, 1788

The Antifederalists argue that the federal government should not be allowed to tax the people because it will take everything it can get.

It is unfair to presume that the representatives of the people will be tyrants in the federal government, but not in the state government. If we are convinced that the federal government will pass laws that go against the interests of the people, then we should have no federal government at all. But if we unite, we can accomplish great things.

I must finally say that I resent the implication that I am only interested in rank and power. What reasonable man would establish a system that would reduce his friends and children to slavery and ruin?

No reasonable man would want to establish a government that is unfriendly to the liberty of the people. Do not assume, gentlemen, that the advocates of this Constitution are motivated by their ambition. It is an unjust and uncharitable view.

Question:

1. Did the Federalists want the states or the Federal government to have more power? Why?

Antifederalist Position on State/Federal Power - Melancton Smith

Source: Speech given by Melancton Smith on June 27, 1788.

In a country where most people live more than twelve hundred miles from the center, I don't think one [government] body can legislate for the whole. Can such a government design a system of taxation that will be beneficial for everyone?

Won't such a centralized taxation system lead to swarms of officers, infesting our country and taking our money? People will be taxed beyond their means, and their complaints will never reach the government.

It is not possible to find a set of representatives who are familiar with all parts of the continent. Can you find men in Georgia who know what's happening in New Hampshire, who know what taxes will best suit its inhabitants, and how much they can afford? Can the best men make laws for the people they know nothing about?

We have no reason to eliminate our state governments, or think they are incapable of acting wisely. Our state governments should be the guardians of our rights and interests.

Questions:

1. Did the Anti-Federalists want the states or the Federal government to have more power? Why?

Section Question:

1. Whose arguments do you find more convincing, the Federalists or Anti-Federalists?

2.7 Slavery in the Constitution

The Declaration of Independence included a list of grievances against King George. Thomas Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration included a grievance condemning slavery and blaming the King for introducing it into the Americas. That grievance was deleted before the final version was adopted, but the Declaration did include the phrase "all men are created equal."

In spite of this, the Constitution allowed slavery to continue. The documents below include Jefferson's slavery grievance and statements from several framers of the Constitution explaining their decision not to abolish slavery. As you read, think about why slavery persisted in the Constitution, despite the fact that the Declaration declared all men equal.

Slavery Grievance – Jefferson

Source: Thomas Jefferson was born to a slave-owning family and he himself owned slaves. As chairman of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson wrote a paragraph condemning slavery in his first draft of the Declaration. He included this paragraph in his list of complaints against King George III. Before the final version of the Declaration was adopted, this paragraph was deleted.

King George III has waged cruel war against human Nature itself. He has taken away the most sacred rights of Life and Liberty from a distant people who never offended him. He did this by captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere if they did not die a miserable death in their transportation to this new world. These disgraceful practices are the Warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain.

He has stopped every attempt to prohibit or to restrain the disgusting business of slavery. He is determined to keep open a market where men are bought and sold.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this passage written? By whom?
2. **Close Reading:** How does Jefferson describe slavery? Who does he blame for the continuation of the slave trade?
3. **Close Reading:** Why do you think Jefferson italicizes the word ‘Christian’ at the end of the first paragraph?
4. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time? Why do you think that Thomas Jefferson included a paragraph about slavery when he first wrote the Declaration of Independence? Why do you think it was removed?

Constitutional Convention – Statements on Slavery

Source: Statements from the Constitutional Convention, which was held in Philadelphia in 1787. Representatives from the 13 colonies gathered at the Constitutional Convention to write the new constitution. These are some of their comments about the issue of slavery. The comments of Rutledge, Elsworth, and Williamson are taken from notes made by James Madison. The comment by Franklin is taken from a published speech he delivered in Philadelphia just before the Constitutional Convention.

Mr. RUTLIDGE: Religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question. The true question at present is whether the Southern states shall or shall not be a part of the Union. If the Northern states think about their interest, they will not oppose the increase of slaves because they will profit by selling the goods that slaves produce.

Mr. ELSEWORTH: Let every state do what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are decisions belonging to the states themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole.

Mr. WILLIAMSON: Southern states could not be members of the Union if the slave trade ended. It is wrong to force any thing that is not absolutely necessary, and which any state must disagree to.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: I agree to this Constitution with all its faults because I think a federal [national] government necessary for us. When you assemble a large group of men, you will inevitably find that they will disagree with each other about their local interests, and their selfish views. We have to accept some of these disagreements in order to build a national government.

Questions:

1. Did each of these men consider slavery to be immoral? What other issues do they believe to be more important than slavery?

A Necessary Evil? – John P. Kaminski

Source: Excerpt from A Necessary Evil?, a book written by historian John Kaminski and published in 1995.

The men at the Constitutional Convention never considered getting rid of slavery. The Revolutionary talk of freedom and equality had been left behind; Americans in general and the men at the Convention in particular wanted a united, well-ordered, and prosperous society in which private property—including slave property—would be secure.

Question:

1. According to Kaminski, why didn't the authors of the Constitution abolish slavery?

The Founding Fathers and Slavery – William Freehling

Source: Excerpt from The Founding Fathers and Slavery, a book written by historian William Freehling and published in 1987.

The Founding Fathers' racism [was] a barrier to antislavery. Here again Jefferson typified the age. Jefferson suspected that blacks had greater sexual appetites and lower intellectual abilities than did whites. These suspicions, together with Jefferson's fear that free blacks and free whites could not live harmoniously in America, made him and others think that the only way Africans could be free was if they were sent back to Africa.

Question:

1. According to Freehling, why didn't the authors of the Constitution abolish slavery?

The Law of American Slavery – Kermit Hall

Source: Excerpt from The Law of American Slavery, a book written by historian Kermit Hall and published in 1987.

Slavery hung over the Philadelphia Convention, threatening to divide northern and southern delegates. Even though slavery existed by law in some of the northern states in 1787, most people there favored its end. Southerners were more unsure about whether to end slavery, both because they had significantly greater numbers of slaves to deal with and because an end to [slavery] had important economic implications. The result was compromise. The Founding Fathers were more determined to fashion a new nation than they were to bring an end to slavery.

Question:

1. According to Hall, why didn't the authors of the Constitution abolish slavery?

Section Question:

1. Based on the information from the primary sources above, which of the historians' explanations do you find most convincing? Why?

2.8 Hamilton versus Jefferson

Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson were two of the most important political leaders of the young United States. Hamilton had been George Washington's aide-de-camp during the Revolutionary War and was a leading advocate for a strong central government during the Constitutional Convention. The *Federalist Papers*, which he wrote along with James Madison and John Jay, are the most extended and influential defense of the U.S. Constitution. Thomas Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence and an influential leader of the other political faction, the Anti-Federalists. Hamilton was a New Yorker and an advocate for merchants and city-dwellers. Jefferson came from rural Virginia and envisioned the United States as a nation of farmers. Despite their disagreements, President Washington brought both men into his cabinet, Hamilton as Secretary of Treasury and Jefferson as Secretary of State. The letters below show one of their squabbles. As you read, note phrases that show each man's personality.

Letter to George Washington - Alexander Hamilton

Source: This letter was written by Alexander Hamilton to President George Washington on September 9, 1792. Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's administration.

Philadelphia,

September 9, 1792

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of August 26th. I sincerely regret that you have been made to feel uneasy in your administration. I will do anything to smooth the path of your administration, and heal the differences, though I consider myself the deeply injured party.

I *know* that I have been an object of total opposition from Mr. Jefferson. I *know* from the most authentic sources, that I have been the frequent subject of most unkind whispers by him. I have watched a party form in the Legislature, with the single purpose of opposing me. I believe, from all the evidence I possess, that the *National Gazette* [a newspaper] was instituted by Jefferson for political purposes, with its main purpose to oppose me and my department.

Nevertheless, I can truly say that, besides explanations to confidential friends, I never directly or indirectly responded to these attacks, until very recently.

But when I saw that they were determined to oppose the banking system, which would ruin the credit and honor of the Nation, I considered it my duty to resist their outrageous behavior.

Nevertheless, I pledge my honor to you Sir, that if you shall form a plan to reunite the members of your administration, I will faithfully cooperate. And I will not directly or indirectly say or do a thing to cause a fight.

With the most affectionate and faithful attachment, etc.

Letter to George Washington - Thomas Jefferson

Source: This letter was written by Thomas Jefferson to President George Washington on September 9, 1792. Jefferson was Secretary of State in Washington's administration.

DEAR SIR,

I received your letter of August 23rd. You note that there have been internal tensions in your administration. These tensions are of great concern to me. I wish that you should know the whole truth.

I have never tried to convince members of the legislature to defeat the plans of the Secretary of Treasury. I value too highly my friendships with them to . I admit that I have, in private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of Treasury. However, this is because his system stands against liberty, and is designed to undermine and demolish the republic.

I would like for these tensions to fade away, and my respect for you is enough motivation to wait to express my thoughts until I am again a private citizen. At that point, however, I reserve the right to write about the issues that concern the republic.

I will not let my retirement be ruined by the lies of a man who history—if history stoops to notice him—will remember a person who worked to destroy liberty. –Still, I repeat that I hope I will not have to write such a thing.

I trust that you know that I am not an enemy to the republic, nor a waster of the country's money, nor a traitor, as Hamilton has written about me.

In the meantime & ever I am with great and sincere affection & respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

Section Questions:

Use both the Hamilton and Jefferson letters to answer the following questions.

Using BOTH letters by Hamilton and Jefferson, answer the questions below:

1. **Sourcing:** When were these letters written? What do you predict they will say?
2. **Context:** Why are both Hamilton and Jefferson writing to George Washington? Based on both of these letters, what seems to have been happening in George Washington's administration? How can you tell?
3. **Close reading:** Which letter is angrier? What specific words and phrases support your claim?
4. What do the letters indicate about each man's personality? What specific quotations support your claim?
5. **Corroboration:** Who do you believe "started" the fight? Based on what they wrote, whom do you trust more: Hamilton or Jefferson? Why?

2.9 The Louisiana Purchase

In 1803, the United States purchased an area of land from France called Louisiana. The land stretched from the Mississippi river to present-day Montana and covered some 828,000 square miles. France had originally explored the land, but ceded it to Spain in 1763. In 1801, with Napoleon's France conquering much of Europe, Spain returned Louisiana to France. The United States felt threatened by the possibility of a Napoleonic colony in North America. President Jefferson sent diplomats to France to attempt to

buy New Orleans and West Florida. In need of money to finance its other wars, France sold the whole of Louisiana to the U.S. for \$15 million dollars.

The Louisiana Purchase doubled the land area of the United States, but not all Americans supported Jefferson's decision. Read the following documents to learn why Jefferson's Federalist rivals opposed the Louisiana Purchase.

“Purchase of Louisiana” – Alexander Hamilton

Source: “Purchase of Louisiana” an editorial written by Alexander Hamilton for the New York Evening Post, July 1803.

The purchase of New Orleans is essential to the peace and prosperity of our Western country, and opens a free and valuable market to our commercial states. This purchase will probably make it seem like Mr. Jefferson is brilliant. Any man, however, who possesses any amount of intelligence, will easily see that the purchase is the result of lucky coincidences and unexpected circumstances and not the result of any wise or thoughtful actions on the part of Jefferson's administration. As to the vast region west of the Mississippi, it is a wilderness with numerous tribes of Indians. And when we consider the present territory of the United States, and that not one-sixteenth is yet under occupation, the possibility that this new purchase will be a place of actual settlement seems unlikely. If our own citizens do eventually settle this new land, it would weaken our country and central government. On the whole, we can honestly say that this purchase is at best extremely problematic.

Question:

1. **Close Reading:** Based on this document, why did Federalists oppose the Louisiana Purchase?

Letters – Rufus King and Thomas Pickering

Source: The following two letters are written between two Federalists. Rufus King was a Senator from New York and Thomas Pickering was a Senator from Massachusetts.

Rufus King to Timothy Pickering, November 4, 1803

According to the Constitution, Congress may admit new states. But can the President sign treaties forcing Congress to do so? According to the Louisiana Treaty, the territory must be formed into states and admitted into the Union. Will Congress be allowed to set any rules for their admission? Since slavery is legal and exists in Louisiana, and the treaty states that we must protect the property of the inhabitants, won't we be forced to admit the new states as slave states? Doing so will worsen the problem of unequal representation from slave and free states.

Timothy Pickering to Rufus King. March 4, 1804

I am disgusted with the men who now rule us. The coward at the head [Jefferson] is like a French revolutionary. While he talks about humanity, he enjoys the utter destruction of his opponents. We have too long witnessed his general wickedness—his cruel removals of faithful officers and the substitution of corruption and immorality for honesty.

Question:

1. **Close Reading:** Based on these documents, why did Federalists oppose the Louisiana Purchase?

Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Where do the documents agree? Where do they conflict?
2. **Corroboration:** Based on all of the documents, what can you say about why the Federalists opposed the Louisiana Purchase?

2.10 Lewis and Clark

After the purchase of the Louisiana from the French, President Thomas Jefferson dispatched a team of explorers, led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, to explore the newly acquired territory. Lewis, Clark, and the rest of their team left in 1803, returned in 1805, and kept extensive records of their journey. Read the documents below to determine how the party interacted with the Native Americans they met.

Letter to Meriwether Lewis – Thomas Jefferson

Source: The passage below is from a letter written by Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis on June 20, 1803. The letter gives detailed instructions on how Lewis and Clark should treat Native Americans.

To Captain Meriwether Lewis,

In all your interactions with the natives, treat them in the most friendly and peaceful manner. Assure them that the purpose of your journey is innocent, that the U.S. wishes to be neighborly, friendly, and useful to them. Tell them we wish to trade peacefully with them, and find out what articles would be most desirable for both of us to trade.

If a few of their chiefs wish to visit us, arrange such a visit for them. If any of them wish to have some of their young people schooled by us and taught things that might be useful to them, we will receive, instruct and take care of them....Carry with you some smallpox medicine and explain to them how to use it and encourage them to use it, especially in the winter.

Thomas Jefferson

Pr. U.S. of America

Questions:

1. How did Jefferson want Lewis and Clark to treat the Native Americans they meet?

Diary Entries of William Clark

Source: All the men on the journey kept diaries about their experiences. Below are two entries from William Clark's diary. The first describes the ritual of the "Buffalo Dance" among the Mandan Indians. The second entry describes setting up camp near The Dalles Indians in present day Oregon.

January 5, 1805

The old men arrange themselves in a circle... the young men have their wives back of the circle... the Girl then takes the Old man (who very often can scarcely walk) and leads him to a Convenient place for the business... We sent a man to this Buffalo Dance last night, and they gave him 4 girls.

November 21, 1805

An old woman & wife to a Chief came and made a Camp near ours. She brought with her 6 young women I believe for the purpose of gratifying the passions of the men of our party.

Questions:

1. According to Clark, what happens at the Buffalo Dance?
2. According to these diary entries, what is one way that Lewis and Clark's men interacted with the Native American tribes they met?

Diary Entries on Sacagawea - William Clark

Source: Many people have heard the name of Sacagawea, the Native American woman who (with her husband and newborn baby) accompanied Lewis and Clark on their journey and served as a translator. Below are Clark's diary entries about Sacagawea.

May 11, 1806

The tribe surrounded us in the lodge. When the chief arrived, we gave him a small medal and spoke to the Indians through Sacagawea. We informed them who we were, where we were came from, and our friendly intentions towards them, which pleased them very much.

August 17, 1806

We said goodbye to our interpreters (Shabono and his wife, Sacagawea), who accompanied us on our route to the Pacific Ocean.

I offered to take his little son, a beautiful, promising child who is 19 months old. They agreed and said that in one year the boy would be sufficiently old to leave his mother and he would then take him to me. I agreed to raise the child as my own, in such a manner as I thought proper.

Questions:

1. Based on these two passages, how would you describe the relationship between Sacagawea's family and Lewis and Clark?

Image Sources

- (1) <http://images.nypl.org/?id=54426&t=w>. Public Domain.
- (2) *The Declaration of Independence*. Public Domain.
- (3) . Public Domain.

Chapter 3

Manifest Destiny and the Slavery Question

3.1 Trail of Tears

As Americans settled new land in the southeast, politicians discussed what to do with the Indian tribes they encountered. Some advocated *civilizing* them—converting them to Christianity and a European-American way of life. Others, including President Andrew Jackson, favored forcible *removal* of the Indians to lands in the west. Removal won out.

Some tribes signed treaties to leave, others fought and were defeated. The Cherokee tribe, however, was removed by an illegitimate treaty. In 1833 several Cherokee, who did not represent the tribe as a whole, signed the Treaty of New Echota, agreeing to vacate the land. Other members of the tribe signed a petition protesting that they had not authorized the men to negotiate—but Congress ignored their requests. By 1838 only 2,000 Cherokee had left and 16,000 remained. The U.S. government sent in 7,000 troops to force the Cherokee to walk to their new territory in Oklahoma. During this march, which became known as the Trail of Tears, 4,000 Cherokee died of cold, starvation, and disease.

Letter - Elias Boudinot

Source: The following letter was written in 1837 by Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee who supported the Treaty of New Echota. The letter is to John Ross, the leader of the opposition. For many years, Boudinot opposed Georgia's attempt to take Cherokee land. But by 1833, he decided that it would be best to sign a treaty supporting removal.

Look at our people! They are wretched! Look, my dear sir, around you, and see the progress that vice and immorality have already made! See the misery!

If the darker picture which I have described here is a true one, can we see a brighter possibility ahead? In another country, and under other circumstances, there is a *better* prospect. Removal, then, is the only remedy, the only *practical* remedy. Our people may finally rise from their very ashes, to become prosperous and happy, and a credit to our race. I would say to my countrymen, fly from your life here that is destroying our nation.

What is *your* (John Ross) plan of relief? It is dark and gloomy beyond description. You want the Cherokee to live according the laws of Georgia, no matter how unfair they are? Instead of

fix the evil, you would tie our people down in the chains of slavery. The final destiny of our race, under such circumstances is too revolting to think of. Take my word, it is the sure end of our race if you succeed in preventing the removal of your people. There will come a time when there will be few of us left as reminders of this brave and noble race. May God protect us from such a destiny.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What was life like for the Cherokee in Georgia, according to Boudinot?
2. **Close Reading:** What does Boudinot hope will happen if the Cherokees move west?
3. **Close Reading:** Why does Boudinot think John Ross is wrong about opposing the Treaty of New Echota?

State of the Union speech – Andrew Jackson

Source: Andrew Jackson, State of the Union speech. December 6, 1830.

It gives me great pleasure to announce to Congress that the Government's benevolent policy of Indian removal has almost been achieved.

We have wept over the fate of the natives of this country, as one by one many tribes have disappeared from the earth. However, we must accept this the way we accept when an older generation dies and makes room for the younger.... We would not want to see this continent restored to the condition in which our forefathers found it. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and occupied by a few thousand savages to our great Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, decorated with art and industry, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?

The United States will pay to send the natives to a land where they may live longer and possibly survive as a people. No doubt it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but how is this different from what our ancestors did and what our children are doing now?

Can it be cruel when this Government offers to purchase the Indian's land, give him new and extensive territory, pay the expense of his removal, and support him for the first year in his new home? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of moving West under such conditions!

The policy of the Government towards the red man is not only liberal, but generous. The Indian is unwilling to follow the laws of the States and mingle with the population. To save him from utter annihilation, the Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** Why would he say, "We have wept over the fate of the natives of this country," if he supports Indian Removal?
2. **Close Reading:** Why does Jackson think the United States was better in 1830 than in 1609?
3. **Close Reading:** Why does Jackson think his policy is kind and generous? Do you agree?

3.2 Nat Turner’s Rebellion

In 1831, a Virginia slave named Nat Turner assembled an “army” of slaves and led a rebellion that killed 55 white men, women, and children. Turner was tried, convicted, and hanged. Read the documents below and try to determine what kind of person Nat Turner was—a hero or a lunatic?

Confessions of Nat Turner – Thomas R. Gray

Source: These confessions were narrated to lawyer Thomas R. Gray in prison where Nat Turner was held after his capture on October 30, 1831. His confessions were published on November 5, 1831 for his trial.(Figure 3.1).

The Confessions of Nat Turner: The Leader of the Late Insurrections in Southampton, Va. As Fully and Voluntarily Made to Thomas R. Gray, in the Prison Where He Was Confined, Nov. 5, 1831, For His Trial.

[To the Public]

Thomas R. Gray: Public curiosity has tried to understand Nat Turner’s motives behind his diabolical actions.... Everything connected with the rebellion was wrapped in mystery, until Nat Turner the leader of the violent and savage band, was captured.... I was determined to end public curiosity and write down Nat Turner’s statements, and publish them, with little or no change, from his own words.

Nathaniel Turner:

As I child, I knew I surely would be a prophet, as the Lord had showed me visions of things that had happened before my birth. My father and mother said I was intended for some great purpose. I was a child of uncommon intelligence and I knew I was never meant to be a slave. To a mind like mine, restless, curious and observant of every thing that was happening, religion became the subject that occupied all of my thoughts.

Thomas R. Gray: Nat Turner is a complete fanatic. The calm way he spoke of his late actions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him. I looked on him and my blood curdled in my veins.

Vocabulary

diabolical evil, like the devil

prophet a person God chose to protect and lead people

fanatic intense dedication to an idea

fiend monster, demon, devil

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When and where was it published? What kind of publication is it?

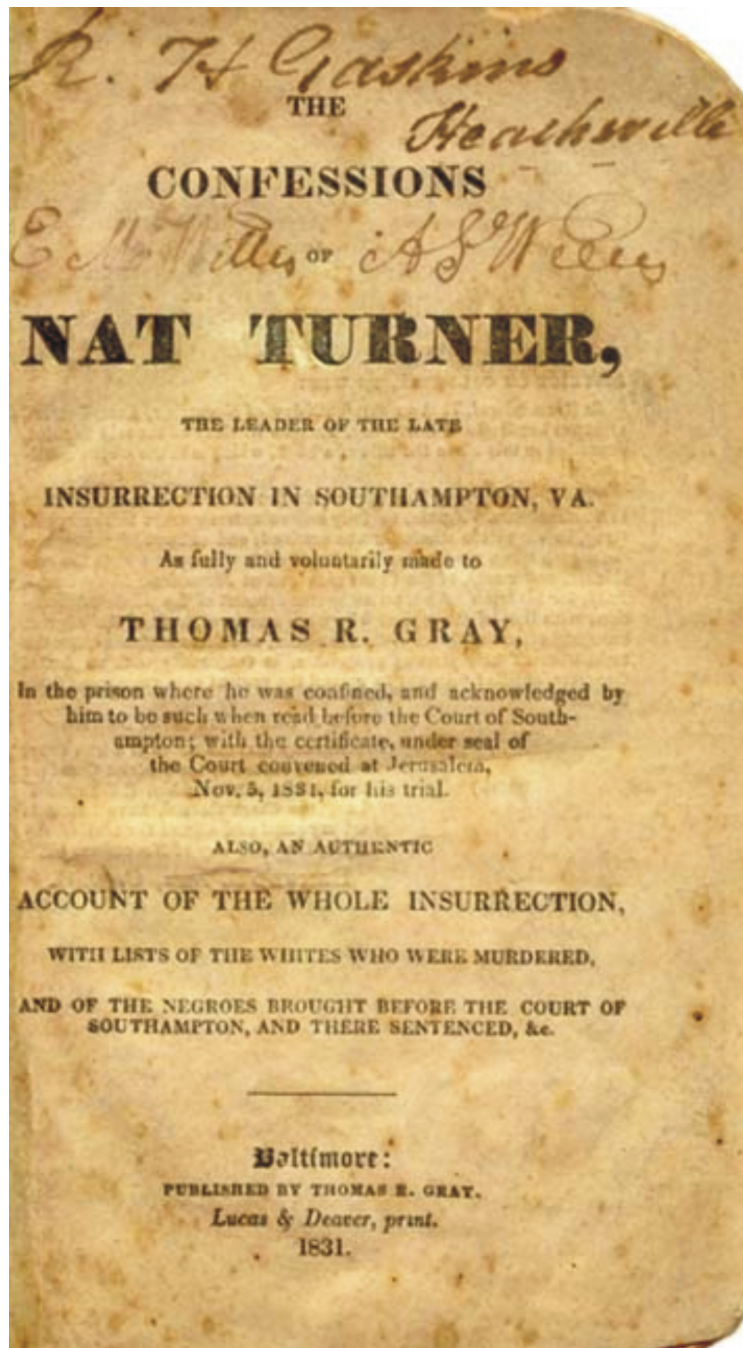


Figure 3.1: Cover Page of the

2. **Close Reading:** Describe Nat Turner according to himself.
3. **Close Reading:** Describe Nat Turner according to Gray’s introduction and conclusion notes.
4. **Corroboration:** Is there a contradiction between Turner and Gray’s description? How and why?
5. **Sourcing:** Is this a trustworthy source? Does this account of Turner’s character seem believable? Explain.

“The Southampton Tragedy” – The Richmond Enquirer

Source: Editor. “The Southampton Tragedy.” The Richmond Enquirer. Virginia, 27 September 1831.

I am led to believe, from all that I can learn, that Nat Turner has been planning his mischief and disruption for quite some time. After pretending to be inspired to rebel by God, he made his announcement of rebellion to the Blacks. He has used every means in his power, to gain control over the minds of the slaves. A dreamer of dreams and a would-be Prophet, he used all the arts familiar to such pretenders, to trick, confuse and overwhelm the slave’s minds.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When and where was it published? What kind of publication is it?
2. **Sourcing:** Who is the author of his article speaking to? How do you know this? How does his audience affect what he says and how he says it?
3. **Contextualization/Close Reading:** According to the author of this article, what kind of person is Nat Turner? Think about when this article was written: How might its publication date affect how the author represents Turner? Refer to your timeline if necessary.
4. **Sourcing:** Is this a trustworthy source? Explain.

An Address to the Slaves of the United States – Garnet

Source: Speech delivered by Henry Highland Garnet at the National Negro Convention of 1843 held in Buffalo, New York. The convention drew 70 delegates including leaders like Frederick Douglass.

You had far better all die—*die immediately*, than live slaves, and throw your misery upon your children. However much you and all of us may desire it, there is not much hope of freedom without the shedding of blood. If you must bleed, let it all come at once—rather *die freemen, than live to be slaves*.

The patriotic Nathaniel Turner was driven to desperation by the wrong and injustice of slavery. By force, his name has been recorded on the list of dishonor, but future generations will remember him among the noble and brave.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? How long after the Turner rebellion was this document written?
2. **Sourcing:** Who is the author of this document speaking to? How does his audience affect what he says and how he says it?
3. **Close Reading:** According to the author of this speech, what kind of person is Nat Turner? What proof does he provide to illustrate that Turner is this type of person?

4. **Contextualization:** Why does this author think of Nat Turner in this way? Think about when this article was written: How does the author's historical context shape how he thinks of and represents Turner?
5. **Sourcing:** Is this interpretation of Turner trustworthy? Why or why not?

3.3 Texas Independence

Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1821 and adopted a Constitution in 1824. Through the 1820s and 1830s, Americans moved into the Mexican territory promising to uphold the Mexican Constitution. In 1833 General Santa Anna took control of the Mexican government and imposed a new constitution. A war followed, with General Santa Anna's supporters fighting against the supporters of the old constitution and the Texan immigrants from the United States. In 1836, the American Texans went a step farther and declared independence from Mexico. The Texans won the war and became an independent nation, which was soon admitted into the U.S.A. as the 28th state. Read the documents below and try to determine why Texans declared their independence from Mexico.

Letter – E.W. Ripley

Source: The letter below is written by an American to the Mexican government in 1823, asking for permission to settle in Mexico.

Dear Sir,

A number of men of good character wish to move onto Mexican territory, south of the Colorado. Their object is to form a farming colony. This piece of land is now inhabited by Indians and such a colony would check their attacks. These men promise to learn your language and follow your laws. They will defend your territory. These Americans would move immediately with their families if they can obtain a grant to settle the land. I think they would be of great service to yourself individually and to the nation of Mexico. I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

E.W.Ripley

New Orleans, August 1823

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

Letter – Rafael Manchola

Source: The letter below was written by Rafael Antonio Manchola, a Tejano (Mexican living in Texas). He wrote this letter about the Anglo-Americans in 1826 to a military commander.

We cannot trust the Anglo-American colonists because they are continually demonstrating that they refuse to follow our laws, unless it is convenient for them. We will have many problems if

we do not stop their disrespectful behavior by stationing soldiers and a Mexican judge in each settlement. They have been using their own colonists as judges and practicing their own laws, forgetting that they swore to obey the laws of Mexico.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

Texas Declaration of Independence

Source: *The Texas Declaration of Independence, issued March 2, 1836. The image shown below is a printed version published shortly after the handwritten version was signed.* (Figure 3.2).

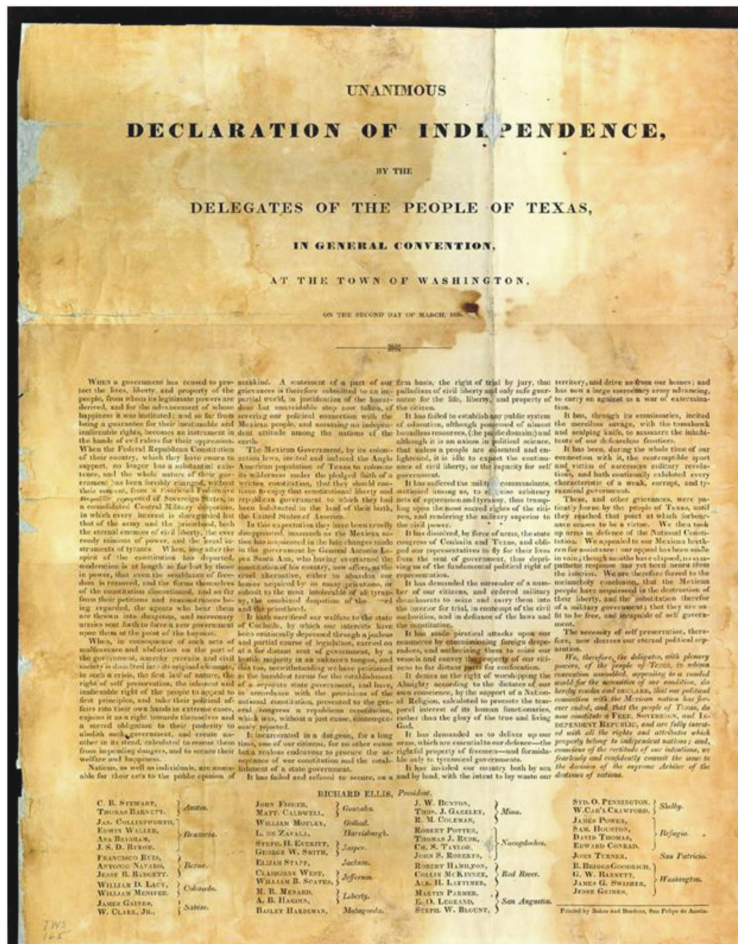


Figure 3.2: Printed broadside version of the Texas Declaration of Independence

When a government has ceased to protect the lives, liberty and property of the people... it is the right of the people to abolish such government, and create another one that will secure their future welfare and happiness.

General Santa Anna, has overturned the constitution of his country, and now offers us the cruel option either to abandon our homes, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny.

The Mexican government has failed to establish any public system of education...

It denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty as we want to...

It has demanded that we give up our arms, which are essential to our defense...

It has invaded our country both by sea and by land, with intent to lay waste our territory, and drive us from our homes...

It has encouraged the merciless Indians to massacre the inhabitants of our defenseless frontiers....

We, therefore, do hereby resolve and declare, that our political connection with the Mexican nation has forever ended, and that the people of Texas do now constitute a free, Sovereign, and independent republic...

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

Alamo Defenders' Burial Speech - Juan Seguin

Source: Colonel Juan Seguin's Alamo Defenders' Burial Speech, April 4, 1837. Seguin was a Mexican who supported the Texas Revolution and fought with the American settlers against General Santa Anna. The speech below was given at the burial of the men who died at the Alamo.

Original Spanish:

Compañeros de armas: Estos restos que hemos tenido el honor de conducir en nuestros hombros son los de los valientes héroes que murieron en el Alamo. Sí mis amigos, ellos prefirieron morir mil veces a servir el yugo del tirano. Que ejemplo tan brillante, digno de anotarse en las páginas de la historia. El genio de la libertad parece estar viendo en su elevado trono de donde con semblante halagueño nos señala diciendo: "Ahí tenéis a vuestros hermanos, Travis, Bowie, Crockett y otros varios a quienes su valor coloca en el número de mis héroes.—Yo os pido a que poniendo por testigo a los venerables restos de nuestros dignos compañeros digamos al mundo entero. Texas será libre, independiente o pereceremos con gloria en los combates.

English Translation:

"Companions in Arms!! These remains which we have the honor of carrying on our shoulders are those of the brave heroes who died in the Alamo. Yes, my friends, they preferred to die a thousand times rather than submit themselves to the tyrant's yoke. Yes, soldiers and fellow citizens, these are the worthy beings who, by the twists of fate, delivered their bodies to the ferocity of their enemies. I invite you to declare to the entire world, "Texas shall be free and independent or we shall perish in glorious combat."

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?

2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.
3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

The War In Texas - Benjamin Lundy

Source: Benjamin Lundy became active in the antislavery movement in the 1820s. He organized abolitionist societies, lectured extensively, and contributed to many abolitionist publications. He wrote this pamphlet called The War in Texas in 1836. Lundy argued that the Texas revolution was a slaveholders' plot to take Texas from Mexico and to add slave territory to the United States. (Figure 3.3).

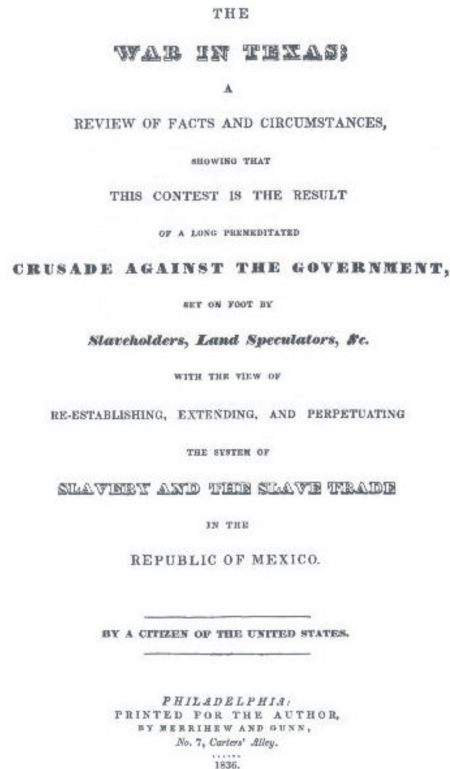


Figure 3.3

We have been asked to believe that the inhabitants of Texas have been fighting to maintain the sacred principles of Liberty, and the natural, inalienable Rights of Man:—whereas, their motives have been exactly the opposite. The immediate cause and main goal of this war—led by the slaveholders of this country, (with land speculators and slave traders)—has been to grab the large and valuable territory of Texas from the Mexican Republic, in order to re-establish the SYSTEM OF SLAVERY; to open a vast and profitable SLAVEMARKET; and, ultimately, to annex it to the United States.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? Were they Mexican or American? When did they write it?
2. **Close Reading:** Does this document present a positive or negative view of the American settlers in Texas? Provide a quote to support your claim.

3. **Sourcing:** Do you trust the perspective of this document? Why or not?

Section Question:

1. **Corroboration:** Based on all five documents, do you think that the Texans were justified in declaring independence?

3.4 Manifest Destiny

Even while the United States were crowded along the Atlantic coast, Americans developed the idea that the nation was destined to stretch across the continent. This idea was called ‘Manifest Destiny.’ Examine the images below, read the two texts by Joseph O’Sullivan, and try to determine why many Americans supported Westward expansion.

Map of the United States with the contiguous British & Spanish Possessions by John Melish (1816)

Source: A map of the United States made by John Melish in 1816. According to the David Rumsey Collection, this is “the first large scale detailed map made in the U.S. that showed the entire country from the Atlantic to the Pacific.”(Figure ??).



Figure 3.4: A map of the United States made by John Melish in 1816

Map of the United States – Ormando Gray (1872)

Source: Map of the United States made by Ormando Willis Gray, published in Philadelphia in 1872. (Figure 3.5).

Section Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was Melish’s map made?
2. **Contextualization:** What territory was part of the United States at that point?

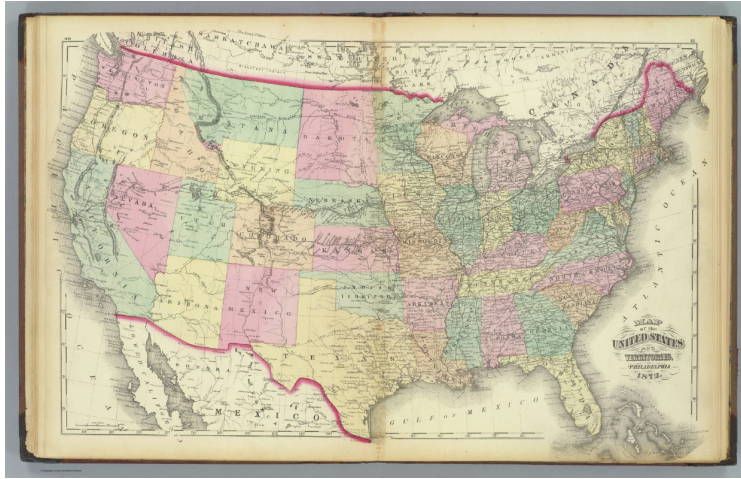


Figure 3.5: Map of the United States made by Orlando Willis Gray

3. **Close Reading:** Compare Melish's map to Gray's 1872 map. What land did Melish include, even though it was not part of the United States?
4. Why would Melish draw a map that included land that was not yet a part of the United States in 1816?

American Progress – John Gast

Source: John Gast painted *American Progress* 1872 to represent the spirit of Manifest Destiny. This image is of a chromolithograph made around 1873 by George A. Croffut, based on Gast's painting. (Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6: This image is of a chromolithograph made around 1873 by George A. Croffut

Questions:

1. What do you think the woman in this painting represents? How is this symbolized in the painting?

The Great Nation of Futurity – John O’Sullivan

Source: An article by John O’Sullivan called “The Great Nation of Futurity,” from The United States Democratic Review in 1839. John O’Sullivan was a writer and editor of a well-known newspaper around the time of the Mexican-American war. Most people give him the credit for coining the term “Manifest Destiny.” As you read the quotes below, try to figure out what he thinks of America.

Our national birth (and the Declaration of Independence) was the beginning of a new history, which separates us from the past and connects us only with the future...

We are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Our future history will be to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man – the undeniable truth and goodness of God. America has been chosen for this mission among all the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth. Her high example shall put an end to the tyranny of kings, and carry the happy news of peace and good will to millions who now endure an existence hardly better than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of the future?

Vocabulary

Enfranchisement the right to vote

Tyranny cruel and oppressive government

Endure suffer through

Questions:

1. What does John O’Sullivan think America stands for?
2. What, according to John O’Sullivan, is America’s mission?

Annexation – John O’Sullivan

Source: An article by John O’Sullivan, “Annexation,” from the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 1845.

It is time now for all opposition to annexation of Texas to stop...

Texas is now ours. She is no longer to us a mere geographical space. She is no longer to us a mere country on the map...

The time has come for everyone to stop treating Texas as an alien, and to stop thwarting our policy and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.

Vocabulary

Thwarting opposing

Hampering slowing down

Allotted given

Providence God

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What do you think John O’Sullivan means by the following phrase: “*our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions*”?

Section Question:

1. Based on all of these documents, how did Americans feel about expanding westward?

3.5 Irish Immigration

In the 1840s, a disease killed most of the potato plants in Ireland, leaving the Irish without enough food to eat. To escape the so-called Irish Potato Famine, many Irish immigrated to the United States. Once there, however, they faced strong anti-Irish discrimination. The Irish had long been oppressed and looked down on by neighboring Britain, and many Americans were of British ancestry. Most Irish were Catholic, and most Americans were Protestants with a strong anti-Catholic prejudice. Most Irish were poor and entered American life at the bottom of the social ladder. Today, it seems obvious that people of Irish descent are racially ‘white,’ but this was not so clear to the people of the 1840s. Examine the following documents and try to determine whether the Irish were considered ‘white’ in the 19th century.

Black vs. Irish - Thomas Nast

Source: A cartoon drawn by Thomas Nast for the cover of *Harper’s Weekly*, December 7, 1876.(Figure 3.7).

Questions:

1. The man in the “white” scale is supposed to be Irish. What is the message of this cartoon?
2. Thomas Nast, the cartoonist, drew for *Harper’s Weekly*. Based on this cartoon, what sort of people do you think read *Harper’s Weekly*?

Cartoon in a Newspaper, 1883

Source: Political cartoon published in *Puck* humor magazine on May 9, 1883.(Figure 3.8).

Questions:

1. The angry woman in the cartoon is supposed to be Irish. Describe what she looks like and how she’s acting.
2. Based on this cartoon, what job do you think many Irish women had in the 1880s? What were some stereotypes about Irish women?



Figure 3.7



Figure 3.8: THE IRISH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THAT WE ARE ALL FAMILIAR WITH.

Excerpt from *The Know-Nothing and American Crusader* – July 29, 1854

Source: An item that ran in *The Know-Nothing and American Crusader*, a nativist, anti-Catholic newspaper published in Boston.

THINGS WHICH ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND ALL TRUE ROMAN CATHOLICS HATE

Providence, July 22, 1854

1. They HATE our Republic, and are trying to overthrow it.
2. They HATE our *Flag*, and they grossly insulting it.
3. They HATE the liberty of the Press.
4. They HATE the liberty of speech.
5. They HATE our Public School system.
6. They HATE the Bible, and would blot it out of existence *if* they could!
7. They HATE Protestants, and are sworn to *exterminate* them from our country and the earth.
8. They HATE all *rulers* that do not swear allegiance to the Pope of Rome.
9. They HATE to be *ruled* by *Americans*, and say ‘WE WILL NOT BE RULED BY THEM!’
10. They HATE to support their own paupers and they are left to be supported by the tax paying Americans.
11. They HATE, above all, the ‘*Know-Nothings*’, who are determined to rid this country from their cursed power.

—UNCLE SAM

Questions:

1. Why did the ‘Know-Nothings’ hate the Catholics so much?
2. According to the ‘Know-Nothings’ could the Irish ever be true Americans? Why or why not?

New York Times Advertisement, 1854

Source: An advertisement that ran in the *New York Times* on March 25, 1854.(Figure 3.9).



W. COLE, No. 8 Ann-st.

GROCERY CART AND HARNESS FOR SALE—In good order, and one chestnut horse, 8 years old excellent saddle horse; can be ridden by a lady. Also, young man wanted, from 16 to 18 years of age, able to work. No Irish need apply. CLUFF & TUNIS, No. 270 Washington-st., corner of Myrtle-av., Brooklyn.

BILLIARD TABLE FOR SALE—Of Leona manufacture; been used about nine months. Also, fixtures of a Bar-room. Inquire on the premises. No.

Figure 3.9: Jensen, Richard. “No Irish Need Apply: A Myth of Victimization.” *Journal of Social History* 36.2 (2002) 405-429

Modified Transcript:**GROCERY CART AND HARNESS FOR SALE**

They are in good condition.

One chestnut horse, 3 years old, is also for sale. Excellent saddle horse; can be ridden by a lady.

Also, young man wanted, from 16 to 13 years of age, able to work. No Irish need apply.

CLUFF & TUNIS, No. 270 Washington St., corner of Myrtle Ave., Brooklyn.

Questions:

1. What does the advertisement mean when it says: “No Irish need apply?”
2. Based on this advertisement, how do you think the Irish were treated when they looked for jobs? Why might this be the case?

Wages of Whiteness – David Roediger

Source: Excerpt from the book Wages of Whiteness, written by historian David R. Roediger and published in 1991.

Irish-Americans were sometimes used as substitutes for slaves in the South. Gangs of Irish immigrants worked ditching and draining plantations, building levees and sometimes clearing land because of the danger of death to valuable slave property (and, as one account put it, to mules) in such work. One Southerner explained the use of Irish labor as follows: ‘n—s are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies (Irish) are knocked overboard... nobody loses anything.’

Irish youths were likely to be indentured servants from the early 1800s through the Civil War. In that position they were sometimes called ‘Irish slaves’ and more frequently ‘bound boys.’ In New York City, Irish women made up the largest group of prostitutes, or as they were sometimes called in the 1850s, ‘white slaves.’

Questions:

1. Why were Irish used to do difficult labor in the South?
2. Based on this document, do you think the Irish were treated like slaves?

3.6 John Brown

As the movement to abolish slavery grew, Southern states became concerned that the addition of new free states would put slaveholding states in a minority and might ultimately lead to the abolition of slavery. In the Compromise of 1850, the people of the Nebraska Territory were given the right to vote on whether or not slavery would be legal. Advocates of both sides moved to Nebraska in order to vote, and violence erupted between them. In response to an episode of pro-slavery violence, abolitionist John Brown killed 5 pro-slavery settlers in the Pottowatomie Creek Massacre.

He then went to Virginia, where he plotted the seizure of an arsenal of weapons, which he planned to distribute to slave to help them rebel. Before they could carry out his plan, John Brown and his men were

arrested, tried, and hanged. This event energized abolitionists and horrified Southerners, and helped lead the United States down the path to war.

President Lincoln called John Brown a “misguided fanatic.” Read the documents below and decide whether you agree with Lincoln. Was Brown a fanatic or a hero?

Speech to the Court – John Brown

Source: John Brown's last speech, given to the court at his trial. November 2, 1859.

I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted – the design on my part to free the slaves. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection (revolt).

I have another objection: had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends—either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class— it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

I believe that to have done what I have done—on behalf of God's despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life to further the end of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust acts— I say: so let it be done!

Vocabulary

Forfeit give up

Questions:

1. **Contextualization:** John Brown delivered this speech on the last day of his trial, after hearing the jury pronounce him ‘guilty.’ He knew he would be sentenced to die. Given that context, what does this speech say about him as a person?
2. Based on this document, do you think John Brown was a “misguided fanatic?” Why or why not?

Last Meeting Between Frederick Douglass and John Brown

Source: In this passage, Frederick Douglass describes his last meeting with John Brown, about three weeks before the raid on Harper's Ferry. This account was published by Douglass in 1881 in The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass.

About three weeks before the raid on Harper's Ferry, John Brown wrote to me, informing me that before going forward he wanted to see me...

We sat down and talked over his plan to take over Harper's Ferry. I at once opposed the measure with all the arguments at my command. To me such a measure would be fatal to the work of the helping slaves escape [Underground Railroad]. It would be an attack upon the Federal government, and would turn the whole country against us.

Captain John Brown did not at all object to upsetting the nation; it seemed to him that something shocking was just what the nation needed. He thought that the capture of Harper's Ferry would serve as notice to the slaves that their friends had come, and as a trumpet to rally them.

Of course I was no match for him, but I told him, and these were my words, that all his arguments, and all his descriptions of the place, convinced me that he was going into a perfect steel-trap, and that once in he would never get out alive.

Questions:

1. **Close Reading:** What are two reasons why Douglass opposed John Brown's plan to raid Harper's Ferry?
2. **Sourcing:** Douglass' account is written in 1881, twenty-two years after the raid. Do you trust his account? Why or why not?
3. Based on this document, do you think John Brown was a "misguided fanatic?" Why or why not?

Letter to John Brown in Prison

Source: The letter below was written to John Brown while he was in prison, awaiting trial.

Wayland [Mass.], October 26, 1859.

Massachusetts, Oct 26th, 1859

Dear Capt Brown,

You do not know me, but I have supported your struggles in Kansas, when that Territory became the battle-ground between slavery and freedom.

Believing in peace, I cannot sympathize with the method you chose to advance the cause of freedom. But I honor your generous intentions, I admire your courage, moral and physical, I respect you for your humanity, I sympathize with your cruel loss, your sufferings and your wrongs. In brief, I love you and bless you.

Thousands of hearts are throbbing with sympathy as warm as mine. I think of you night and day, bleeding in prison, surrounded by hostile faces, sustained only by trust in God, and your own strong heart. I long to nurse you, to speak to you sisterly words of sympathy and consolation. May God sustain you, and carry you through whatsoever may be in store for you!

Yours with heartfelt respect, sympathy, and affection.

L. Maria Child.

Questions:

1. Do you find this document surprising? Why or why not?
2. Based on this document, do you think John Brown was a "misguided fanatic?" Why or why not?

Political Cartoon – Forcing Slavery Down the Throat of a Freesoiler

Source: A political cartoon drawn and published by John L. Magee in 1856 in Philadelphia. The large, bearded figure represents a "freesoiler" who opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories such

as Kansas. The four smaller figures represent Democratic politicians. Democratic presidential nominee James Buchanan and senator Lewis Cass are restraining the freesoiler by the hair while Senator Stephen Douglas and President Franklin Pierce force a slave into his mouth.(Figure 3.10).

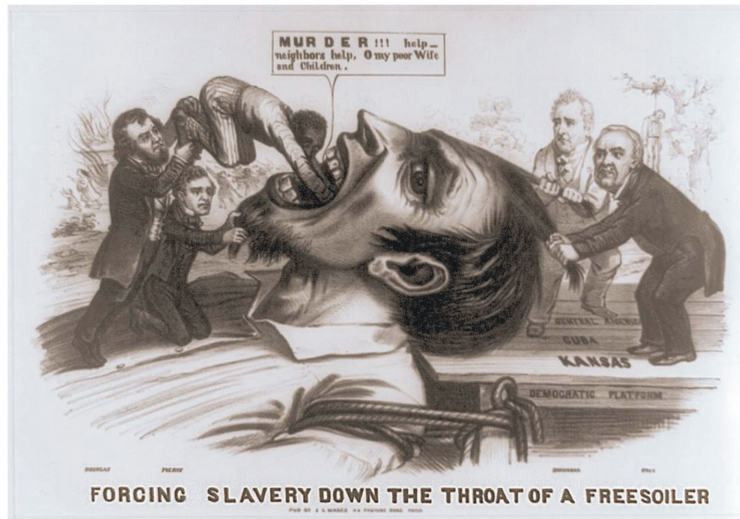


Figure 3.10

Image Sources

- (1) <http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/republic/declare-01.html>. Public Domain.
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- (10) *Cover Page of the Confessions of Nat Turner*. Public Domain.

Chapter 4

A Nation Divided: The American Civil War and Reconstruction

4.1 Lincoln and Race

Abraham Lincoln is remembered as the President who emancipated the slaves, but he also made statements about Blacks that are offensive to modern readers. Read the documents below and decide—was Lincoln racist? Consider the context in which each statement was made.

Lincoln-Douglas Debate – Stephen A. Douglas

Source: An excerpt from Stephen A. Douglas's argument in the first Lincoln-Douglas debate at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858.

In 1858, Abraham Lincoln ran against Stephen A. Douglas for a seat in the U.S. Senate. The two engaged in a series of seven public debates, which attracted national attention. Although Lincoln lost the election, he became widely known for his views on slavery.

If you desire Negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into the State and settle with the White man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to judge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the Negro. For one, I am opposed to Negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made... by White men, for the benefit of White men and their posterity forever...

Mr. Lincoln believes that the Negro was born his equal and yours, and that he was endowed with equality by the Almighty, and that no human law can deprive him of these rights.

Vocabulary

Posterity future generations

Questions:

1. What are two things that Douglas warns will happen if Lincoln is elected?
2. Based on this document, what do you think Douglas's views were on African Americans?

Lincoln-Douglas Debate – Abraham Lincoln

Source: From Abraham Lincoln's reply to Stephen A. Douglas at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858.

I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgment will probably forever forbid their living together in perfect equality, and... I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but there is no reason in the world why the Negro is not entitled to all the natural rights in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the White man. I agree that the Negro is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread... which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of every living man.

Vocabulary

Entitled to have a right

Endowment ability

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Try to picture an outdoor debate in 1858. These debates lasted 3 hours with each candidate speaking non-stop for at least an hour. Do you completely trust what either candidate will say in this setting? Why or why not?
2. **Close Reading:** Carefully read Lincoln's response to Douglas. On what points is Lincoln willing to agree with Douglas? On what points does he differ from Douglas?

Letter to Mary Speed – Abraham Lincoln

Source: Abraham Lincoln, writing in a letter to Mary Speed, a personal friend, September 27, 1841.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., September 27, 1841.

MISS MARY SPEED, Louisville, Ky.

...Today, on board a boat, I saw a gentleman who had purchased twelve Negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron chain was around the left wrist of each so that the Negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them, from their wives and children, and going into

perpetual slavery... yet amid all these distressing circumstances ... they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One, whose offense for which he had been sold was over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually; and the others danced, sung, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that “God renders the worst of human conditions tolerable...”

Your sincere friend,

A. LINCOLN.

Vocabulary

Renders makes

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** This document is a personal letter from Lincoln to a friend. Does that make you trust the document? Why or why not?
2. What amazes Lincoln about the scene he sees on the boat?

Pictures of Slavery and Anti-Slavery – John Bell Robinson

Source: From Pictures of Slavery and Anti-Slavery: Advantages of Negro Slavery and the Benefits of Negro Freedom Morally, Socially, and Politically Considered by John Bell Robinson, a White pro-slavery spokesperson, Pennsylvania, 1863.

God himself has made them for usefulness as slaves, and requires us to employ them as such, and if we betray our trust, and throw them off on their own resources, we reconvert them into barbarians.

Our Heavenly Father has made us to *rule*, and the Negroes to serve, and if we... set aside his holy arrangements... and tamper with his laws, we shall be overthrown and eternally degraded, and perhaps made subjects of some other civilized nation... Colonization in their native land of all the Negroes would be so nearly impracticable, that it will never be done... If they could all be colonized on the coast of Africa, they would fall back into heathenism and barbarism in less than fifty years.

Vocabulary

Tamper interfere

Degraded disrespected

Heathenism not having a religion

Barbarism not having culture or civilization

Question:

1. How do Lincoln's views on slavery compare with John Bell Robinson?
2. Considering all four documents, was Lincoln racist? How do you support your conclusion?

4.2 The New York City Draft Riots

The Union imposed a military draft, in which men between the ages of 18 and 35 were required to join the army. The penalty for disobeying the law was a \$300 fine. Many wealthy people were willing to pay that fine rather than risk their lives in the army, so they essentially bought their way out of the draft. Poorer people had no such option, and considered the policy unfair. In 1863, Irishmen in New York City rioted in protest. As you read the following documents, think about how each one portrays the protesters. What parties do they describe most sympathetically? What parties do *you* find most sympathetic?

The Reign of the Rabble – New York Times

Source: Excerpts from "The Reign of the Rabble," New York Times, Wednesday, July 15, 1863.

The colored boarding house on Vandewater Street, was attacked by the rioters about 6 1/2 o'clock P.M., the doors broken open and the windows entirely demolished; nine of the inmates were injured.

About the same time THOMAS JOHNSON, a colored man, had one of his arms broken by jumping from the third story window of a house No. 62 Roosevelt-street, while the house was on fire. He was rescued from the rioters by the police and was taken to the station-house.

MARY WILLIAMS, a colored woman, 24 years old, while being pursued by the infuriated mob, jumped from a window of No. 74 Roosevelt-street to the pavement, and was terribly injured – the building was then on fire. She was taken to Bellevue Hospital.

Question:

1. According to this document, what did rioters do during the Draft Riots of 1863?

Facts and Incidents of the Riot – New York Times

Source: Excerpt from "Facts and Incidents of the Riot," New York Times, July 16, 1863.

At a late hour on Tuesday night the mob, number 4,000 or 5,000, made an attack upon the clothing-store of BROOKS BROTHERS. Sergeant FINNEY was knocked down, beaten on the head and body with clubs, and afterward shot in the hand by a pistol by one of the rioters. He is very severely injured, and no hopes are entertained of his recovery....

Looting seems to have been the sole object with the rioters in their attack upon the store. The fine ready-made clothing was tempting. Fortunately, the Police and the employees of the establishment successfully stopped the invaders before much property had been stolen. Three or four persons, whose names could not be confirmed, lost their lives at this place, and many others were badly injured.

“The Popular Tumult” – New York Herald

Source: Excerpt from “The Popular Tumult.” *New York Herald*, Wednesday, July 16, 1863.

THE POPULAR TUMULT

The crowd in one neighborhood turned their attention to the Chinese who live there. The Celestials [Chinese] had been found guilty of being united to white wives, and their headquarters were destroyed. The Chinamen escaped, but in some instances their wives have not followed them.

Question:

1. According to this document, what did rioters do during the Draft Riots of 1863?

The Riots at New York

Source: “The Riots at New York,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 1, 1863

SACKING OF A DRUG-STORE

Sated with blood, the rioters now turned their attention to looting. A drug-store close by was destroyed, the doors and windows being smashed in with clubs and stones. One fellow rushed out with a closely-packed suitcase, which he opened in the street. The clothes and other things contained in it were eagerly seized and contended for by boys and women standing around. There were a number of letters in it, and some documents, which were probably of value to the owner; but these were savagely torn and trampled under foot by the disappointed plunderers. A woman sat upon the steps nearby, and read out parts of one of the letters to the cheers of her lowly companions.

Question:

1. According to this document, what did rioters do during the Draft Riots of 1863?

The Riots at New York

Source: “The Riots at New York,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 1, 1863

[BURNING OF THE COLORED ORPHAN ASYLUM]

The Orphan Asylum for Colored Children was visited by the mob about four o’clock. Hundreds, and perhaps thousands of the rioters, the majority of whom were women and children, entered the premises, and in the most excited and violent manner they ransacked and plundered the building from cellar to attic. The building was located in the most pleasant and healthy portion of the city. It was purely a charitable institution. In it there are on an average 600 or 800 homeless colored orphans.

Question:

1. According to this document, what did rioters do during the Draft Riots of 1863?

Section Questions:

1. All of these documents appeared in New York's major newspapers at the time. What types of people do you think read these newspapers? Do these newspapers seem sympathetic to the rioters? Explain.
2. Find 2 quotes to support your claim that the newspaper were or were not sympathetic to the rioters.
3. Find 2 quotes to support your claim that the newspaper were or were not sympathetic to the rioters.

4.3 Emancipation Proclamation

From the beginning of the Civil War, Lincoln insisted that the goal was to preserve the union, not to free the slaves. In part, he took this position to retain the loyalty of the four Border States, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. As the war progressed, the Confederacy used slave labor to supply their cause—for example, to build fortifications or work in factories—and Lincoln changed his policy. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued the first part of the Emancipation Proclamation, which stated that in any state that had not returned to the union by the following January 1st, the slaves would be declared free. Then, on January 1, 1863, he issued the document below, following through on his promise. As you read, try to determine why Lincoln freed the slaves. Out of a sincere opposition to slavery? As a strategic move to help win the war and preserve the Union?

The Emancipation Proclamation

Source: The Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863(Figure 4.1).

On the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State in rebellion against the United States, shall be forever free...

Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States... do order and designate [appoint] the following States as being in rebellion:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia.

And I hereby call upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons will be received into the armed service of the United States.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Questions:

1. The Civil War ended in 1865. According to the Emancipation Proclamation, why did Lincoln decide to free the slaves before the war had even ended?

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do us and or acts to refrain such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day

- Lincoln lists many of states but leaves out the following four slave states: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri. These states had slaves but were not part of the Confederacy (they were not fighting against the Union). What happened to the slaves in these states? You may use your outside sources to answer this question.
- Close Reading:** Why do you think he calls the act a “military necessity” and “invoke the considerate judgment of mankind” in the last section?

From The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass – Frederick Douglass

Source: Excerpt from *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 1881.

In mid-1863, after the Emancipation Proclamation had been announced, President Lincoln called Frederick Douglass to the White House to speak with him. Douglass recounts the event here in his autobiography.

President Lincoln did me the honor to invite me to discuss the best way to induce (persuade) the slaves in the rebel states to escape. Lincoln was alarmed about the increasing opposition to the war in the North, and the mad cry against it being an abolition war. Lincoln worried that an early peace might be forced upon him which would leave all those who had not escaped in slavery.

I was impressed by this kind consideration because before he had said that his goal was to save the Union, with or without slavery. What he said on this day showed a deeper moral conviction against slavery than I had ever seen before in anything spoken or written by him. I listened with the deepest interest and profoundest satisfaction, and, at his suggestion, agreed to organize men who would go into the rebel states, and carry the news of emancipation, and urge the slaves to come within our boundaries....

I refer to this conversation because I think that, on Mr. Lincoln’s part, it is evidence that the proclamation, so far at least as he was concerned, was not passed merely as a ‘necessity.’

Questions:

- Sourcing:** When did Douglass write this document? When did the meeting and the Emancipation take place? How might that affect Douglass’s memory of Lincoln and his evaluation of the Emancipation Proclamation?
- Contextualization:** According to Douglass, what was happening in the North in 1863?
- Close Reading:** According to Douglass, what was Lincoln concerned about?
- Close Reading:** What is Douglass’s conclusion about Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation?

4.4 The Political Cartoons of Thomas Nast

Thomas Nast is perhaps the most famous political cartoonist in American history. He worked for the New York-based weekly magazine *Harper’s Weekly*. Nast and *Harper’s* supported the North in the Civil War, taking a liberal and somewhat elitist Republican position. Both of the cartoons below feature a white female character called ‘Liberty’—a common symbol of the period. What does the symbol remind you of? Note the dates of the cartoons and the similarities and differences between them.

Franchise – Thomas Nast

Source: A political cartoon drawn by Nast in 1865.(Figure 4.2).

Vocabulary

franchise The right to vote

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who drew these cartoons? What magazine were his cartoons published in? What do you know about this magazine?
2. **Contextualization:** When were the two cartoons drawn? What do you know about this time period?
3. **Sourcing:** Think back to the differences between Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans. Before looking at the cartoons, do you predict this cartoonist would be in favor of Radical Reconstruction? Why or why not?
4. Describe the African American man in this cartoon. Why do you think he's on crutches?
5. What is Liberty asking for?
6. What is the message of this cartoon?

Colored Rule in a Reconstructed (?) State - Nast

Source: A political cartoon drawn by Nast in 1874.(Figure 4.3).

Section Questions:

1. In what ways are these cartoons similar?
2. In what ways are these cartoons different?
3. Why might the cartoons have different messages?
4. What do these cartoons tell us about the how the North felt about freedmen during Reconstruction?

4.5 Andrew Johnson vs. Thaddeus Stevens

After Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, he was succeeded as president by Andrew Johnson, a Tennessean who sympathized with the South. During debates over Reconstruction—how to treat the freed slaves and rebuild the South—a group of Radical Republicans in Congress thought Johnson was too kind to the South. Read the following speeches from Andrew Johnson and Senator Thaddeus Stevens and consider which plan was more likely to be successful.

Cleveland, Ohio Speech – Andrew Johnson

Source: This campaign speech was delivered on September 3, 1866 in Cleveland, Ohio. Johnson was trying to get people to support his ideas, but he was booed by the crowd of Radical Republicans.



FRANCHISE.
AND NOT THIS MAN?

Figure 4.2: FRANCHISE. AND NOT THIS MAN?

HARPER'S WEEKLY

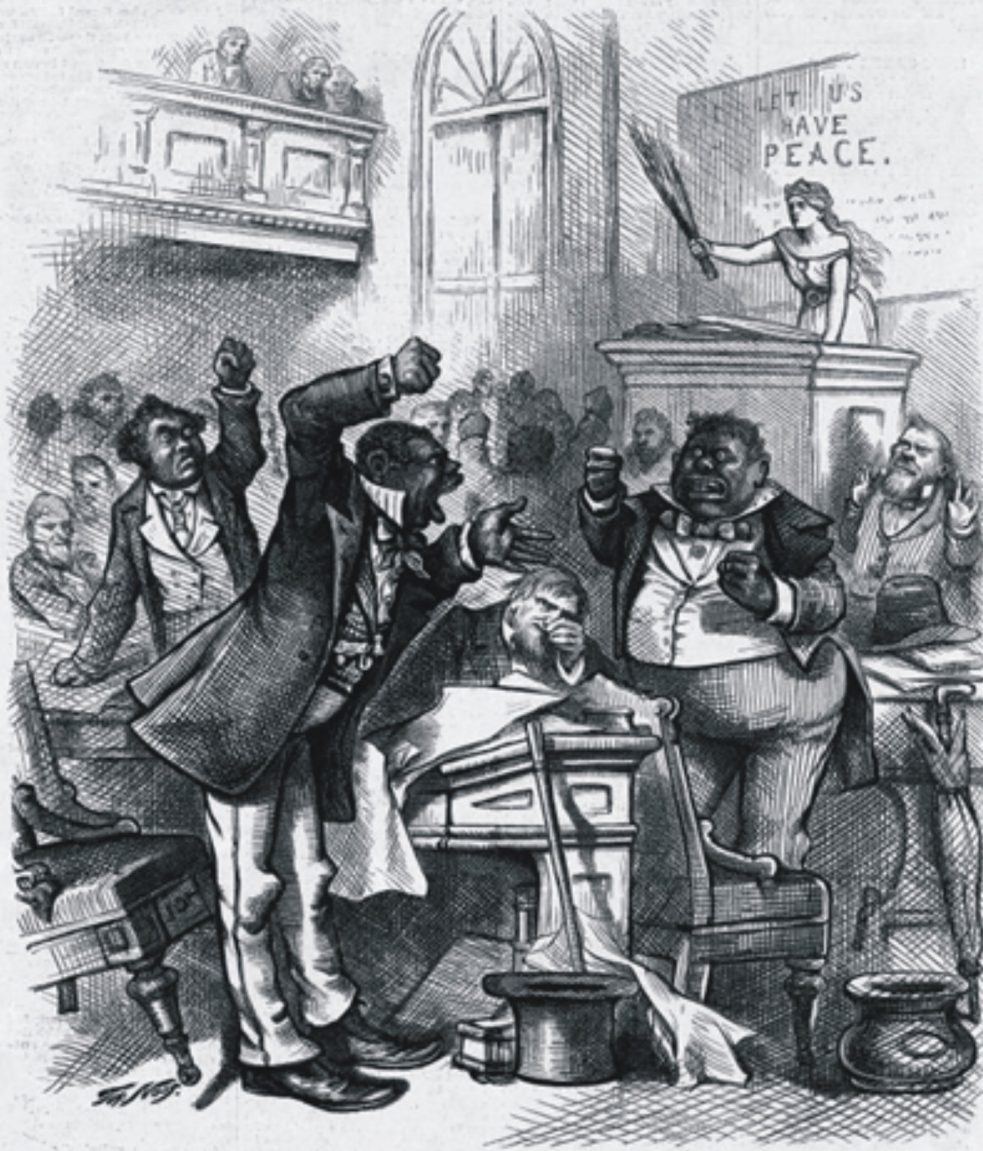
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

Vol. XVIII—No. 598.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1874.

[WITH A SUPPLEMENT.]

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the Year 1853, by Harper & Brothers, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.



COLORED RULE IN A RECONSTRUCTED STATE.—(See Page 242.)

(THE MEMBERS CALL EACH OTHER THIEVES, LIARS, RASCALS, AND COWARDS.)

COLUMBIA. "You are Aping the lowest Whites. If you disgrace your Race in this way you had better take Back Seats."

Figure 4.3: Columbia. (The members call each other thieves, liars, rascals, and cowards.) "You are Aping the lowest Whites. If you disgrace your Race in this way you had better take Back Seats."

Before the Civil War there were 4,000,000 black people held as slaves by about 340,000 people living in the South. That is, 340,000 slave owners paid all the living expenses of the slaves. Then, the war began and the slaves were freed.

Now we come to the [Radical Republicans]. And what do they want? To spend \$12,000,000 a year to build schools and find jobs for these freed slaves. We have already spent \$3,000,000,000 to set them free and give them a fair chance to take care of themselves -then these [Radical Republicans] ask for \$12,000,000 to help them.

Veto of the First Reconstruction Act – Andrew Johnson

Source: This speech was delivered to the United States Congress on March 2, 1867 by Andrew Johnson after he vetoed the First Reconstruction Act, a plan by the Radical Republicans that would have given freedmen the right to vote.

The Radical Republicans also want to force the South to give blacks the right to vote. The blacks have not asked for the right to vote; most of them have no idea what it means. The Southern states should not be forced to do anything they don't want to do. To force the right to vote out of the hands of the white people and into the hands of the blacks is against the law.

Speech to Congress - Thaddeus Stevens Speech

Source: This speech was delivered to the United States Congress on March 19, 1867.

Freed slaves should have the right to vote. The Southern states should be ruled by the Army until they learn how to accept blacks as their equals.

The cause of the war was slavery. We have freed the slaves. It is our responsibility to protect them, and help them until they are able to provide for themselves.

I propose that each freed slave who is a male adult, or the head of a family, will receive forty acres of land, (with \$100 to build a house).

Four million people have just been freed from slavery. They have no education, have never worked for money, and don't know about their rights. Unless they become independent, they will have to once again become the servants of their old masters.

We must make the freed slaves independent so that their old masters can't force them to work unfairly. This can only be done by giving them a small plot of land to farm.

4.6 Sharecropping

After the Civil War, America debated how to handle the millions of freed slaves. The eventual outcome was a system of sharecropping, in which plantation owners retained possession of their land and allowed freedmen to farm small parts of it. In return, the landowner received a percentage of the crop. The documents below include a photograph of sharecroppers and a sharecropping contract. As you examine them, compare the sharecropping system to the Radical Republican's plan to give each freedman "40 acres and a mule." Which would be better for the freed slaves? Which would be better for the landowners? Which would be fairer?

Black Sharecroppers Picking Cotton in Georgia

Source: *Black sharecroppers picking cotton in Georgia, photograph by T.W. Ingersoll, 1898. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.* (Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4

Question:

1. Describe what you see in this picture. What is this a picture of? Why do you think that?

A Sharecropping Contract: 1882

Source: *A sharecropping contract from 1882, from the collection of Grimes Family Papers held in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.*

To everyone renting land, the following conditions must be agreed to:

For every 30 acres of land (rented by sharecroppers), I will provide a mule team, plow, and farming tools. The sharecroppers can have half of the cotton, corn, peas, pumpkins, and potatoes they grow if the following conditions are followed, but—if not—they are to have only two-fifths.

For every mule or horse furnished by me there must be 1000 good sized rails (logs) hauled, and the fence repaired if I so direct. All sharecroppers must haul rails (logs) and work on the fence whenever I may order. The wood must be split and the fence repaired before corn is planted. No cotton must be planted by sharecroppers on their home patches of land. No sharecropper is to work off the plantation when there is any work for them to do for me.

Every sharecropper must be responsible for all farming gear placed in his hands, and if not returned must be paid for unless it is worn out by use.

Nothing can be sold from their (sharecroppers') crops until my rent is all paid, and all amounts they owe me are paid in full.

I am to gin & pack all of the cotton and charge every sharecropper an eighteenth of his part, the cropper to furnish his part of the bagging, ties, & twine.

The sale of every sharecropper's part of the cotton to be made by me when and where I choose to sell, and after taking all they owe me.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When and where was this contract written?
2. What did the sharecropper have to do in order to use the plantation owner's land, farming tools, and mules?
3. Do you think this is a fair contract? Why or Why not?
4. **Close Reading:** What parts of this contract do you think caused the sharecroppers to be in debt to plantation owners?
5. Does this contract seem more or less extreme than the impression you had of sharecropping after you read the textbook? Explain.

4.7 Reconstructions

You have examined cartoons by Thomas Nast about Reconstruction, and you have read about both the post-war debate about the freedmen and the sharecropping system that replaced slavery. This section adds the text of the three Constitutional amendments passed after the war, an example of a discriminatory local 'Black Code' from Louisiana, and two more eyewitness accounts about the condition of Reconstruction-era African Americans. Use these documents and others you have read to decide whether Blacks were really free during this period in American history.

The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments

Source: The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution are sometimes called the "Reconstruction Amendments." They were passed in order to abolish slavery and to establish the rights of former slaves.(Figure ??).

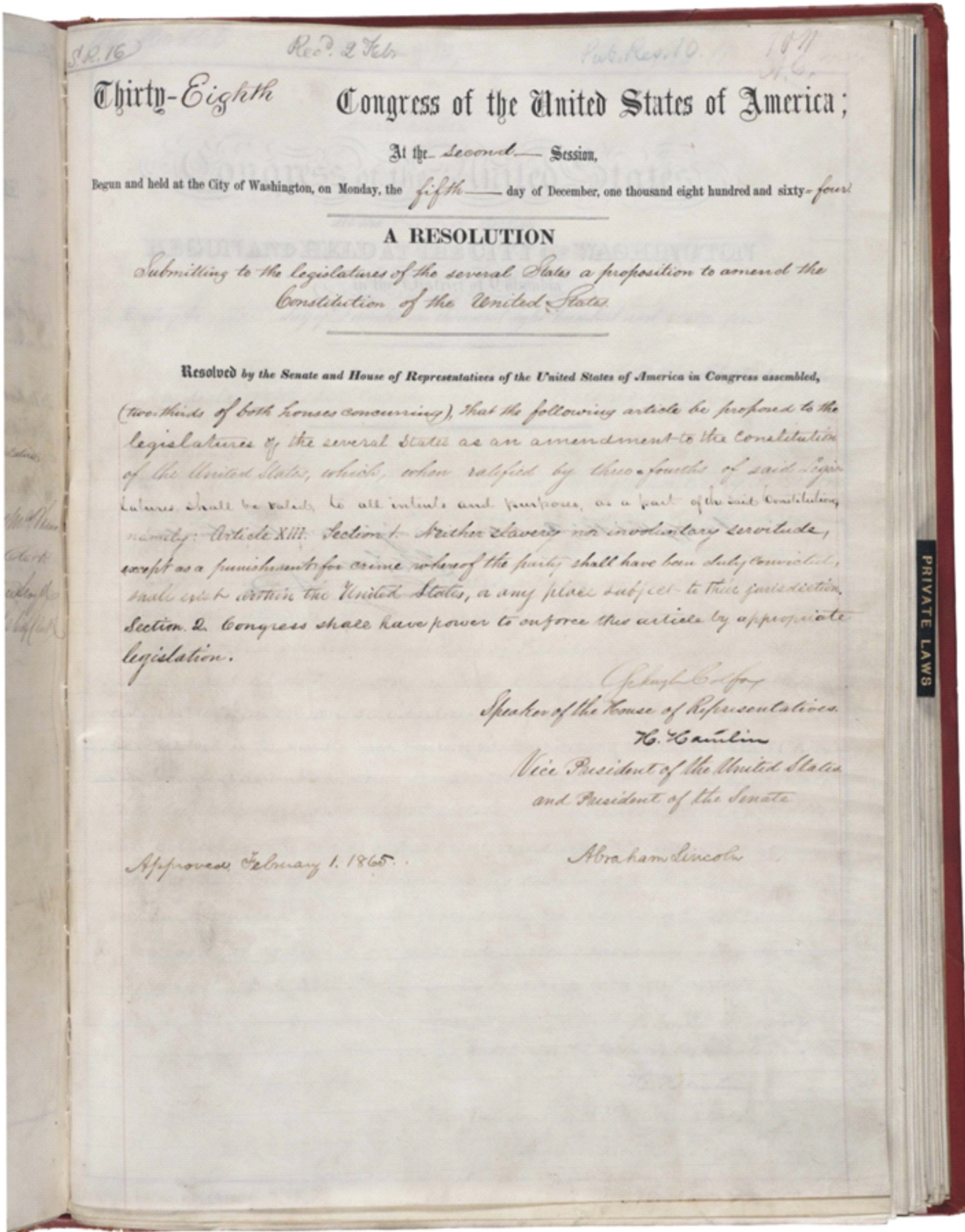
Image:

The 13th Amendment

13th Amendment: 1865

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime where of the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

14th Amendment: 1868



S.R. 16 *Rec. 2 Febr* *Pub. Res. 10* *1864*
Thirty-Eighth Congress of the United States of America;

At the *Second* Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington, on Monday, the *fifth* day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four

A RESOLUTION

Submitting to the legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

(two-thirds of both houses concurring), that the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, to-wit: Article XIII. Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Stephen A. Crawford
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
W. G. Sullivan
Vice President of the United States
and President of the Senate.

Approved February 1, 1865.

Abraham Lincoln

PRIVATE LAWS

Figure 4.5

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction (laws) thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge (limit) the privileges or immunities (rights) of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

15th Amendment: 1870

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When were the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments passed?
2. **Contextualization:** What was going on in the United States at this time?
3. **Close Reading:** What rights did the amendments guarantee for American citizens?

Black Codes

Source: An example of “Black Codes,” from laws passed in Opelousas, Louisiana immediately after the Civil War.

In the years following the Civil War—throughout the South—state, city, and town governments passed laws to restrict the rights of free African-American men and women. These laws were often called “Black Codes.”

No negro or freedmen shall be allowed to come within the limits of the town of Opelousas without special permission from his employers... Whoever breaks this law will go to jail and work for two days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house in town under any circumstances. No negro or freedman shall live within the town who does not work for some white person or former owner. No public meetings of negroes or freedmen shall be allowed within the town. No freedman shall be allowed to carry firearms, or any kind of weapons. No freedman shall sell or exchange any article of merchandise within the limits of Opelousas without permission in writing from his employer.

Henry Adams Statement

Source: Excerpt from Senate Report 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session (1880). Former slave Henry Adams made this statement before the U.S. government in 1880 about the early days of his freedom after the Civil War.

In September I asked the boss to let me go to the city of Shreveport. He said, “All right, when will you come back?” I told him “next week.” He said, “You had better carry a pass.” I said, “I will see whether I am free by going without a pass.”

I met four white men about six miles south of town. One of them asked me who I belonged to. I told him no one. So him and two others struck me with a stick and told me they were going

to kill me and every other Negro who told them that they did not belong to anyone. They left me and I then went on to Shreveport. I saw over twelve colored men and women, beat, shot and hung between there and Shreveport.

Sunday I went back home. The boss was not at home. I asked the madame (the boss's wife), "where was the boss?" She said, "You should say 'master'. You all are not free... and you shall call every white lady 'missus' and every white man 'master.'"

During the same week the madame took a stick and beat one of the young colored girls, who was about fifteen years of age. The boss came the next day and whipped the same girl nearly to death...After the whipping a large number of young colored people decided to leave that place for Shreveport. (On our way), out came about forty armed white men and shot at us and took my horse. They said they were going to kill everyone they found leaving their masters.

Report by a Northern White Man

Source: Sydney Andrews, a Northern white man, quoted in the Joint Report on Reconstruction, 1866

In 1865 the United States government created the Freedmen's Bureau to help former slaves in Southern states. The Freedmen's Bureau helped people by providing medical supplies, health care and establishing schools. The creation of schools for former slaves was an important part of Reconstruction. Before the Civil War, Southern states outlawed the teaching of reading and writing to slaves.

Many of the negroes...common plantation negroes, and workers in the towns and villages, were supporting little schools themselves. Everywhere I found them hoping to get their children into schools. I often noticed that workers in stores and men working in warehouses, and cart drivers on the streets, had spelling books with them, and were studying them during the time they were not working. Go outside any large town in the south, and you will see children and in many cases grown negroes, sitting in the sun alongside their cabins studying.

Image Sources

- (1) <http://cartoons.osu.edu/nast/images/franchise100.jpg>. Public Domain.
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