

# U.S. History Sourcebook

## Advanced



# U.S. History Sourcebook - Advanced

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Rob Lucas, (RobL)  
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# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Advanced - Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Introduction	2
<b>2</b>	<b>Colonial America</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1	Early Maps	5
2.2	Pocahontas	7
2.3	Passenger Lists to the New World	11
2.4	The Puritans	15
2.5	King Philip’s War	17
2.6	The Salem Witch Trials	20
2.7	The First Great Awakening	22
2.8	References	24
<b>3</b>	<b>The Early Republic</b>	<b>25</b>
3.1	Stamp Act	26
3.2	The Battle of Lexington	28
3.3	The Declaration of Independence	31
3.4	Loyalists during the Revolution	36
3.5	Shays’s Rebellion	38
3.6	Federalists and Anti-Federalists	40
3.7	Slavery in the Constitution	43
3.8	Hamilton versus Jefferson	46
3.9	The Louisiana Purchase	49
3.10	Lewis and Clark	51
3.11	References	53
<b>4</b>	<b>Manifest Destiny and the Slavery Question</b>	<b>54</b>
4.1	Trail of Tears	55
4.2	Nat Turner’s Rebellion	58
4.3	Texas Independence	61
4.4	Manifest Destiny	68
4.5	Irish Immigration	72
4.6	John Brown	77
4.7	References	81
<b>5</b>	<b>A Nation Divided: The American Civil War and Reconstruction</b>	<b>82</b>
5.1	Lincoln and Race	83
5.2	The New York City Draft Riots	86
5.3	Emancipation Proclamation	89
5.4	The Political Cartoons of Thomas Nast	93
5.5	Andrew Johnson versus Thaddeus Stevens	96
5.6	Sharecropping	98

5.7	Reconstructions . . . . .	100
5.8	References . . . . .	105
<b>6</b>	<b>The Gilded Age and the Rise of American Power</b>	<b>106</b>
6.1	Buffalo Soldiers . . . . .	107
6.2	Chinese Immigration . . . . .	109
6.3	Friends of the Indian . . . . .	113
6.4	Jacob Riis . . . . .	116
6.5	Populism . . . . .	119
6.6	Electoral College Maps –The Heyday of Populism . . . . .	126
6.7	Pullman Strike . . . . .	128
6.8	USS Maine . . . . .	133
6.9	The Spanish-American War . . . . .	135
6.10	References . . . . .	137
<b>7</b>	<b>The Progressive Era</b>	<b>138</b>
7.1	Japanese Segregation . . . . .	139
7.2	Progressive Social Reformers . . . . .	143
7.3	The Progressives and Corruption . . . . .	146
7.4	Washington and Dubois . . . . .	148
7.5	References . . . . .	151
<b>8</b>	<b>World War I</b>	<b>152</b>
8.1	The Palmer Raids . . . . .	153
8.2	The Espionage and Sedition Acts . . . . .	155
8.3	The League of Nations Debate . . . . .	159
8.4	Prohibition . . . . .	162
8.5	Chicago Race Riots . . . . .	167
8.6	Women’s Suffrage . . . . .	171
8.7	Anti-Suffrage Newspaper in New York . . . . .	173
8.8	References . . . . .	176

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CHAPTER

**1**

# Advanced - Introduction

## Chapter Outline

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**1.1 INTRODUCTION**

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## 1.1 Introduction

This book provides high school U.S. History teachers and students with sets of primary and secondary sources about important topics. Some teachers will use it as a supplement to a traditional textbook. For those looking to leave the textbook behind entirely, it will provide a course with basic structure and continuity, and will reduce the burden of finding new primary sources for each class meeting. However, it is not yet comprehensive enough to meet the coverage requirements of, for example, an Advanced Placement test.

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### Reading Like a Historian

The methods used in this book draw on the latest research in history education, and particularly on the work of Stanford professor Sam Wineburg and the Stanford History Education Group. Wineburg has shown when reading documents, historians consistently engage in several characteristic behaviors that non-historians do not—sourcing, contextualization, corroboration, and close reading.

- Sourcing – When reading a primary document, historians look first to its source information, anticipate its perspective, and consider its trustworthiness. Sourcing questions should be answered after reading the source information and headnote but before reading the document. Who created the document? With what purpose? What was the intended audience? Is the document trustworthy?
- Contextualization – As they read and interpret a document, historians consider the historical context within which it was created. What was going on when this document was created? What were people doing? What did people believe? Why might this document not provide the whole picture?
- Close reading – As they read and interpret a document, historians also try to understand the argument being made within the document and the rhetorical strategies being employed. What is the argument being made in this document? What evidence is presented? What specific words are used?
- Corroboration – After reading multiple documents, historians consider how they relate to each other. Do the sources agree with each other or are they in conflict? Are they reliable? Considering all of the sources available, what can we say about the issues they address?

The texts in this book have been selected to cover important and interesting topics in U.S. history that allow students to practice these reading skills. The book is divided into chapters, each of which covers a historical period (e.g. the Civil War) and contains sections that address specific topics (e.g. the New York City Draft Riots). Each section contains approximately 2-5 documents, which have been selected to be read as a group. Each document is followed by questions for students to answer, most of which correspond to one of the four historical reading skills listed above—sourcing, contextualization, close reading, and corroboration. Some sections include 'section questions' which are more global and address all of the documents in the set.

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### Advanced and Basic Versions

Document-oriented history teachers quickly learn that historic sources often use dated language that challenges some students and stymies others completely. To address this difficulty, the book is available in advanced and basic versions. The advanced book is a straightforward collection of excerpted documents. The basic book, however, requires a bit more explanation. Most documents in the basic version have been modified from the original

text—sometimes radically—to make them more accessible to less proficient readers. Some difficult words have been replaced, while others are underlined and defined below. Complicated syntax has been simplified and sentences rearranged, but we have strived to preserve original meanings. Documents at the beginning of the book are more heavily modified than those at the end, both because older documents are usually more difficult and because students' reading skill is expected to improve as the course progresses. We encourage teachers of the basic book to explain to students that the documents have been modified, to have copies of original documents (i.e. the advanced book) available, and to periodically read aloud or distribute copies of the original documents to convey the flavor of the language, and to make clear exactly what is preserved and lost in modification. The questions that follow each document are identical in both versions.

The documents in this book were selected and modified by Stanford Ph.D. candidate Abby Reisman, as part of her doctoral research, under the supervision of Sam Wineburg. The curriculum was piloted in four San Francisco classrooms during the 2008-2009 school year, and post-tests showed statistically significant gains in both historical reasoning and general reading ability. A short promotional video, which includes interviews with students participating in the San Francisco pilot, is available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wWz08mVUIt8>. Classroom-tested lesson plans for most of the documents in this book are available at , although there may be minor divergences between the sourcebook and lessons. The website also contains document sets extending from 1923 to the present that are not currently included in the sourcebook.

We have chosen to end this book in the year 1923 because documents from before that year belong to the public domain. After that point, the legal doctrine of 'fair use' permits the inclusion of limited excerpts from documents. Additionally, audio and video sources become important. As of this writing, such capacities are just beginning to be supported by CK-12's Flexbook format, and most history education research has focused on the use of text and images. We hope eventually to extend the book's coverage through the rest of the twentieth century.

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## Adding Sections

In the period from colonization to 1923, this sourcebook covers major events, but not all topics are addressed and coverage could be improved. Users of the textbook are invited to submit additional document sets, which we will review for inclusion in the next edition of the book.

New document sets should address topics commonly mentioned in state or AP history standards. The documents selected should not merely address the same topic but should be selected to be read as a group and to facilitate the historical reading behaviors included above. Document sets should include (1) An introductory paragraph to provide background information and frame students' reading, (2) Source information for each document (3) Documents, excerpted as necessary to reach an appropriate length. Documents may include text, images, sounds, or video, but their inclusion in the book must not violate copyright law. Eligible documents include those in the public domain, under a Creative Commons license, or available under legal 'fair use' doctrine. (4) Questions addressing the sources individually and as a group. Most questions should correspond to one of the four historical reading skills described above.

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## To Learn More

A further explanation of the teaching strategies used here can be found at particularly in the introductory video, *Why Historical Thinking Matters* . Much of the research informing this method is available in the book *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, a collection of papers by Sam Wineburg.



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CHAPTER **2**

# Colonial America

## Chapter Outline

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- 2.1 EARLY MAPS**
  - 2.2 POCAHONTAS**
  - 2.3 PASSENGER LISTS TO THE NEW WORLD**
  - 2.4 THE PURITANS**
  - 2.5 KING PHILIP'S WAR**
  - 2.6 THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS**
  - 2.7 THE FIRST GREAT AWAKENING**
  - 2.8 REFERENCES**
-

## 2.1 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 2.1).



FIGURE 2.1



## A Map of Virginia – Edward Williams

Source: *Map of Virginia made by Edward Williams and published in 1651.* (Figure 2.2).



FIGURE 2.2

### 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?

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## 2.2 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 1607 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 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 at Weramocomoco [? On or about 5 January 1608], their Emperor proudly lying upon a Bedstead a foot high, upon ten or twelve Mats , richly hung with many chains of great pearls about his neck , and covered with a great covering of Rahaughcums. At head sat a woman, at his feet another; on each side sitting upon a mat upon the ground, were ranged his chief men on each side of the fire, ten in a rank, and behind them as many young women, each a great chain of white beads over their shoulders, their heads painted in red: and with such a grave and majestic countenance, as draw me into admiration to see such state in a naked savage.*

*He kindly welcomed me with such good words, and great platters of sundry victuals, assuring me his friendship, and my liberty within four days. . . . He asked me the cause of our coming. . . . He demanded why we went further with our boat. . . . He promised to give me corn, venison, or what I wanted to feed us: hatchets and copper we should make him, and none should disturb us.*

*This request I promised to perform: and thus, having with all the kindness he could devise, sought to content me, he sent me home, with 4 men: one that usually carried my gown and knapsack after me, two other loaded with bread, and one to accompany me.*

#### 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 2.3)*

At last they brought him [Smith] to Meronocomoco, where was Powhatan their Emperor. . . . [T]wo great stones



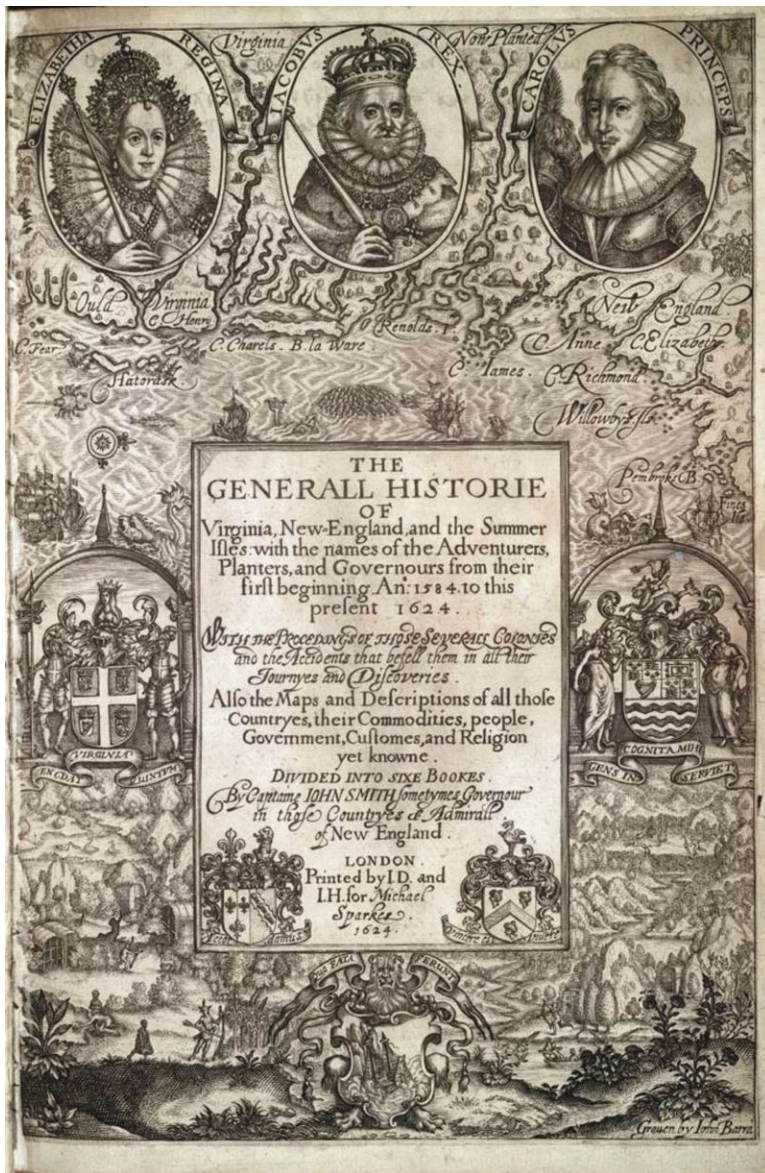


FIGURE 2.3

Title page from Smith's *General History*.

were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could laid hands on him [Smith], dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beat out his brains, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperor was contented he should live. . . .

Two days after, Powhatan having disguised himself in the most fearefullest manner he could, caused Capt. Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods. . . then Powhatan. . . came unto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns, and a grindstone, for which he would give him the Country of Capahowosick, and forever esteem him as his son *Nantaquoud*.

### 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?

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## 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?

---

## 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.

*No one in Smith's day ever expressed doubt about the episode, and many persons who must have known the truth—including John Rolfe, Pocahontas, her sister, and brother-in-law—were in London in 1616 when Smith publicized the story in a letter to the queen. As for the exact nature of the event, it seems probable that Smith was being ritualistically killed. Reborn, he was adopted into the tribe, with Pocahontas as his sponsor. But Smith, of course, did not realize the nature of the initiation ceremony.*

### 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.

*[Pocahontas] first steps onto the stage in 1617, a few months after she and her husband, John Rolfe, arrived in England. A charming, attractive, and exceptionally intelligent young woman, she created a sensation everywhere she went. Not only was she the daughter of a king and the first Indian woman ever to visit the British Isles, but as a convert to Christianity she aroused interest in circles that otherwise would have ignored her.*

*She discussed theology with bishops and with those learned scholars who were engaged in the monumental task of translating the Bible from Hebrew and Greek for King James, who had ordered a new edition published. She proved to the doubting dons of Oxford and Cambridge that she was an independent, stimulating thinker. Her beauty and sweetness endeared her to the court, where Queen Anne became her patroness, and even the sour James unbent and chatted with her by the hour.*

While Pocahontas was enjoying her triumph, a new edition of John [Smith]'s *True Relation* was published. It was substantially the same book that had been printed eight years earlier, and the text was not altered. But there was something new in the form of a series of running footnotes in the section that dealt with his capture by the Chesapeake late in 1607. These notes tell the story, subsequently learned by generation after generation of children, of Pocahontas' courage and heroism. . . . Without making the claim in so many words, he hints that he taught her to speak English and that she acquired her love of the Bible from him. . . .

A longer, more smoothly written version of the story appears in *The General History of Virginia*, which John



completed in 1624 and published in that same year. In it he expands on the theme that she rescued him at the risk of her own life. “Princess Pocahontas hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine,” he declares. “Not only that, but she so prevailed with her father that I was safely conducted to Jamestown.”

**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?

## 2.3 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.

### Passenger List to New England, 1635

Source: *Passenger list from the ship Planter, which sailed from London to Boston in 1635.*(Table 2.1).

#### 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 2.1: Passenger List to New England, 1635**

	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 TUT-			
	TELL			
	MARIE	CHITTWOOD	24	
Shoemaker	THOMAS	OLNEY	35	
	MARIE	OLNEY	30	
	THOMAS	OLNEY	3	
	EPENETUS	OLNEY	1	
	Servants to	GEORGE		
	GIDDINS			
THOMAS	CARTER	25		

**TABLE 2.1:** (continued)

	First Name	Surname	Age
	MICHELL	WILLIAMSON	30
	ELIZABETH	MORRISON	12
A tailor	RICHARD	HARVIE	22
Farmer	FRANCIS	PEBODDY	21
Weaver	WILLIAM	WILCOCKS	34
	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

## Passenger List to Virginia, 1635

Source: *List of passengers on the ship America from London, England to Chesapeake, Virginia.*(Table 2.2).

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 2.2: Passenger List to Virginia**

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
John	Robinson	32
Edmond	Chippis	19

TABLE 2.2: (continued)

First Name	Surname	Age
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
<b>Women</b>		
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.

## 2.4 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.*

*Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity, is to follow the counsel of Micah, to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, we must be knit together, in this work, as one man. We must entertain each other in brotherly affection. We must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of others' necessities. We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience and liberality. We must delight in each other; make others' conditions our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, as members of the same body. So shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.*

*The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. We shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are going. And to shut this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithful servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israel, Deut. 30. "Beloved, there is now set before us life and death, good and evil," in that we are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another, to walk in his ways and to keep his Commandments and his ordinance and his laws, and the articles of our Covenant with Him, that we may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it.*

*But if our hearts shall turn away, so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship other Gods, our pleasure and profits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it. Therefore let us choose life, that we and our seed may live, by obeying His voice and cleaving to Him, for He is our life and our prosperity.*

The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as His own people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways, so that we shall see much more of His wisdom, power, goodness and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "may the Lord make it like that of New England." **For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill.**

### 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.*

*Moreover 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 [11 Sam. 7:10]. . . .*

*The placing of a people in this or that country is from the appointment of the Lord. . .*

*Now, God makes room for a people three ways: First, when He casts out the enemies of a people before them by lawful war with the inhabitants. . . .*

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

*Third, when He makes a country, though not altogether void of inhabitants, yet void in that place where they reside. Where there is a vacant place, there is liberty for the sons of Adam or Noah to come and inhabit, though they neither buy it nor ask their leaves. . . .*

### 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?

---

## 2.5 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.*

[W]e lent a man to Philip, that is he would come to the ferry we would come over to speak with him. About four miles we had to come; thither our messenger come to them; they not aware of it behaved themselves as furious, but suddenly appeased when they understood who he was and what he came for, he called his counsel and agreed to come to us; came himself unarmed, and about 40 of his men armed. Then 5 of us went over, 3 were magistrates. We sat very friendly together. We told him our business was to endeavor that they might not receive or do wrong. They said that was well; they had done no wrong, the English wronged them. We said we knew the English said the Indians wronged them, and the Indians said the English wronged them, but our desire was the quarrel might rightly be decided, in the best way, and not as dogs decided their quarrels. The Indians owned that fighting was the worst way; then they propounded how right might take place. We said, by arbitration. They said that all English agreed against them, and so by arbitration they had had much wrong; many miles square of land so taken from them, for English would have English arbitrators; and once they were persuaded to give in their arms, that thereby jealousy might be removed, and the English having their arms would not deliver them as they had promised, until they consented to pay a 100 pounds. . . .

They said they had been the first in doing good to the English, and the English the first in doing wrong; said when the English first came, their King's father was as a great man, and the English as a little child; he constrained other Indians from wronging the English, and gave them corn and showed them how to plant, and was free to do them any good, and had let them have a 100 times more land than now the King had for his own people. But their King's brother, [Massasoit] when he was King, came miserably to die by being forced to court, as they judge poisoned. 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 or their King, when it pleased the English it was sufficient. Another grievance was, when their King sold land, the English would say, it was more than they agreed to, and a writing must be prove against all them, and some of their Kings had done wrong to sell so much. He left his people none, and some being given to drunkenness the English made them drunk and then cheated them in bargains, but now their Kings were forewarned not for to part with land, for nothing in comparison to the value thereof. Now home the English had owned for King or Queen, they would disinherit, and make another King that

would give or sell them these lands; that now, they had no hopes left to keep any land. Another grievance, the English cattle and horses still increased; that when they removed 30 miles from where English had anything to do, they could not keep their corn from being spoiled, they never being used to fence, and thought when the English bought land of them they would have kept their cattle upon their own land. . . .

### 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.*

*Various are the reports and conjectures of the causes of the present Indian war. Some impute it to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to Christianize those heathen before they were civilized and enjoining them the strict observation of their laws, which, to a people so rude and licentious, hath proved even intolerable, and that the more, for that while the magistrates, for their profit, put the laws severely in execution against the Indians, the people, on the other side, for lucre and gain, entice and provoke the Indians to the breach thereof, especially to drunkenness, to which those people are so generally addicted that they will strip themselves to their skin to have their fill of rum and brandy. . . .*

*Some believe there have been vagrant and Jesuitical priests, who have made it their business, for some years past, to go from Sachem to Sachem, to exasperate the Indians against the English and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America. Others impute the cause to some injuries offered to the Sachem Philip; for he being possessed of a tract of land called Mount Hope. . . some English had a mind to dispossess him thereof, who never wanting one pretence or other to attain their end, complained of injuries done by Philip and his Indians to their stock and cattle, whereupon Philip was often summoned before the magistrate, sometimes imprisoned, and never released but upon parting with a considerable part of his land.*

*But the government of the Massachusetts. . . do declare these are the great evils for which God hath given the heathen commission to rise against them. . . For men wearing long hair and perewigs made of women's hair; for women. . . cutting, curling and laying out the hair. . . For profaneness in the people not frequenting their meetings. . .*

*With many such reasons. . . the English have contributed much to their misfortunes, for they first taught the Indians the use of arms, and admitted them to be present at all their musters and trainings, and showed them how to handle, mend and fix their muskets, and have been furnished with all sorts of arms by permission of the government. . .*

The loss to the English in the several colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to 150,000 l. [pounds sterling] there having been about 1200 houses burned, 8000 head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat, peas and other grain burned. . . and upward of 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?

## 2.6 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.*

*It should next be proved THAT Witchcraft is.*

*The being of such a thing is denied by many that place a great part of their small wit in deriding the stories that are told of it. Their chief argument is that they never saw any witches, therefore there are none. Just as if you or I should say, we never met with any robbers on the road, therefore there never was any padding there. . . .*

*[T]here are especially two demonstrations that evince the being of that infernal mysterious thing. First. We have the testimony of scripture for it. Secondly. We have the testimony of experience for it. . . . Many witches have. . . confessed and shown their deeds. We see those things done that it is impossible any disease or any deceit should procure.*

#### 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.*

*The Examination of Abigail Hobbs, at Salem Village, 19 April, 1692, by John Hawthorn and Jonath. Corwin, Esqs., and Assistants.*

*[Judge:] Abig. Hobbs, you are brought before Authority to answer to sundry acts of witchcraft, committed by you against and upon the bodies of many, of which several persons now accuse you. 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 dogs and many creatures.*

*[Judge:] What dogs do you mean, ordinary dogs?*

*[Abigail Hobbs:] I mean 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? What was his perspective?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, why did the people of Salem believe the girls' accusations?



## 2.7 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.*

*To George Whitefield,*

*It is beyond dispute, that you have sown the pernicious seeds of separation, contention and disorder among us; and by cherishing the separatists, and your injurious insinuations respecting ministers as unacquainted with Christ, you have greatly impeded the success of the gospel, and struck boldly, not only at the peace and good order, but the very being of these churches.—Viewing you in this Light, in faithfulness to Christ, and the souls of my flock; I desire you not to preach in this parish, but rather to hasten to your own charge, if any you have . . . .*

*I have little expectation, that you will pay any regard to what I have wrote; but leaving the event, I choose thus to declare against your services with us, as a dangerous man, and greatly injurious to the interest of the undefiled religion of Jesus Christ. . . .*

*Nathanael Henschman, Pastor of the first Church in Lynn*

*Boston Evening-Post, 15 July 1745*

### 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?
3. Would you add anything from these documents to 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.*

*[O]ne morning all on a Sudden, about 8 or 9 o'clock there came a messenger and said Mr. Whitefield preached at Hartford and Weathersfield yesterday and is to preach at Middletown this morning [October 23, 1740] at ten of the*

*Clock. I was in my field at Work. I dropt my tool that I had in my hand and ran home and run through my house and bade my wife get ready quick to go and hear Mr. Whitefield preach at Middletown, and run to my pasture for my horse with all my might fearing that I should be too late to hear him. I brought my horse home and soon mounted and took my wife up and went forward as fast as I thought the horse could bear. . . .*

*[A]s I came nearer the Road [to Middletown], I heard a noise something like a low rumbling thunder and presently found it was the noise of horses feet coming down the road and this Cloud was a Cloud of dust made by the Horses feet. . . . [A]s I drew nearer it seemed like a steady stream of horses and their riders, scarcely a horse more than his length behind another, all of a lather and foam with sweat, their breath rolling out of their nostrils in the cloud of dust 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 I saw Mr. Whitefield come upon the Scaffold he looked almost angelical, a young, slim slender youth before some thousands of people with a bold undaunted countenance, and my hearing how God was with him everywhere as he came along it solemnized my mind, and put me into a trembling fear before he began to preach; for he looked as if he was clothed with authority from the Great God, and a sweet solemn solemnity sat upon his brow. And my hearing him preach gave me a heart wound; by God's blessing my old foundation was broken up, and I saw that my righteousness would not save me. . . .*

[W]hen we got to the old meeting house there was a great multitude; it was said to be 3 or 4000 of people assembled together, we got off from our horses and shook off the dust, and the ministers were then coming to the meeting house. I turned and looked towards the great river and saw the ferry boats running swift forward and forward bringing over loads of people; the oars rowed nimble and quick, every thing men horses and boats seemed to be struggling for life; the land and banks over the river looked black with people and horses all along the 12 miles. . . .

### 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?

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### Section Question:

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

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## 2.8 References

1. Gerhard Mercator. [VirginiaandMaryland](#). Public Domain
2. . [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%3Blc%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](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%3Blc%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
3. . <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/smith/smith.html>. Public Domain

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**CHAPTER 3****The Early Republic****Chapter Outline**

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- 3.1 STAMP ACT**
  - 3.2 THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON**
  - 3.3 THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**
  - 3.4 LOYALISTS DURING THE REVOLUTION**
  - 3.5 SHAYS'S REBELLION**
  - 3.6 FEDERALISTS AND ANTI-FEDERALISTS**
  - 3.7 SLAVERY IN THE CONSTITUTION**
  - 3.8 HAMILTON VERSUS JEFFERSON**
  - 3.9 THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE**
  - 3.10 LEWIS AND CLARK**
  - 3.11 REFERENCES**
-

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## 3.1 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.*

*To the Inhabitants of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.*

*MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,*

*AWAKE!—Awake, my countrymen, and, by a regular & legal opposition, defeat the designs of those who enslave us and our posterity. . . . [S]hall you, the descendents of Britain, born in a Land of Light, and reared in the Bosom of Liberty—shall you commence cowards, at a time when reason calls so loud for your magnanimity? . . . This is your duty, your burden, your indispensable duty. Ages remote, mortals yet unborn, will bless your generous efforts, and revere the memory of the saviors of their country. . . .*

*Happy, thrice happy should I be, to have it in my power to congratulate my countrymen, on so memorable a deliverance; whilst I left the enemies of truth and liberty to humble themselves in sackcloth and ashes.*

*Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal, 7 October 1765*

I exhort you to instruct your representatives against promoting by any ways of means whatsoever, the operation of this grievous and burdensome law. Acquaint them *fully* with your sentiments of the matter. . . They are clothed with power. . . to be faithful guardians of the liberties of their country. . . .

### 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?

---

### 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.*

*Boston-Gazette Supplement, 27 January 1766*

*From a late London Paper.*

...The occasion of the riotous behavior of the Bostonites is peculiarly remarkable. Had the Parliament taxed their small beer an half penny a quart, the tax would then have been most severely felt. . . and an improper conduct on such an occasion had been less a matter of surprise. . . . But in the present case, *the tax to be levied affects none of the necessaries of life; will never fall upon many of the poor.* . . . Even a very poor person cannot be much hurt by paying a shilling or eighteen pence when he is married, puts his son for apprentice to a trade, or when he makes his will. The tax on newspapers concerns only a very few—the common people don't purchase newspapers. Is it not surprising then that the mob should be so much alarmed by the apprehension of a tax by which they are to be so little affected. . . even before the tax is begun to be levied?

### 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?

---

## 3.2 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 ford up to our middles. After going a few miles we took three of four people who were going off to give intelligence. About 5 miles on this side of a town called Lexington, which lay in our road, 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, keeping prepared against an attack though without intending to attack them. But on our coming near them they fired one or two shots, upon which our men without any orders, rushed in upon them, 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 in the County of Middlesex... do testify and declare, that on the nineteenth of April... about five o'clock in the morning, hearing our drum beat, we proceeded towards the Green, and soon found that a large body of troops were marching towards us. Some of our company were coming to the Green, and others had reached it, at which time, the company began to disperse. While our backs were turned on the British troops, we were fired on by them, 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.

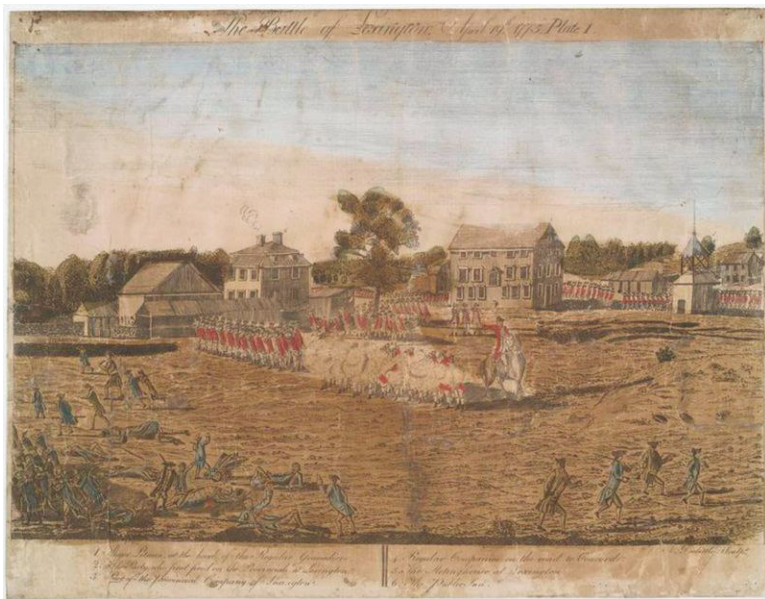
Lexington, April 25, 1775.

### 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 3.1.*



**FIGURE 3.1**

One of four engravings made by Amos Doolittle in 1775

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document created? By whom? For what purpose?
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 19<sup>th</sup> Century American postage stamp. (Figure 3.2)



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FIGURE 3.2

Century American postage stamp.

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### 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?

## 3.3 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 3.3*

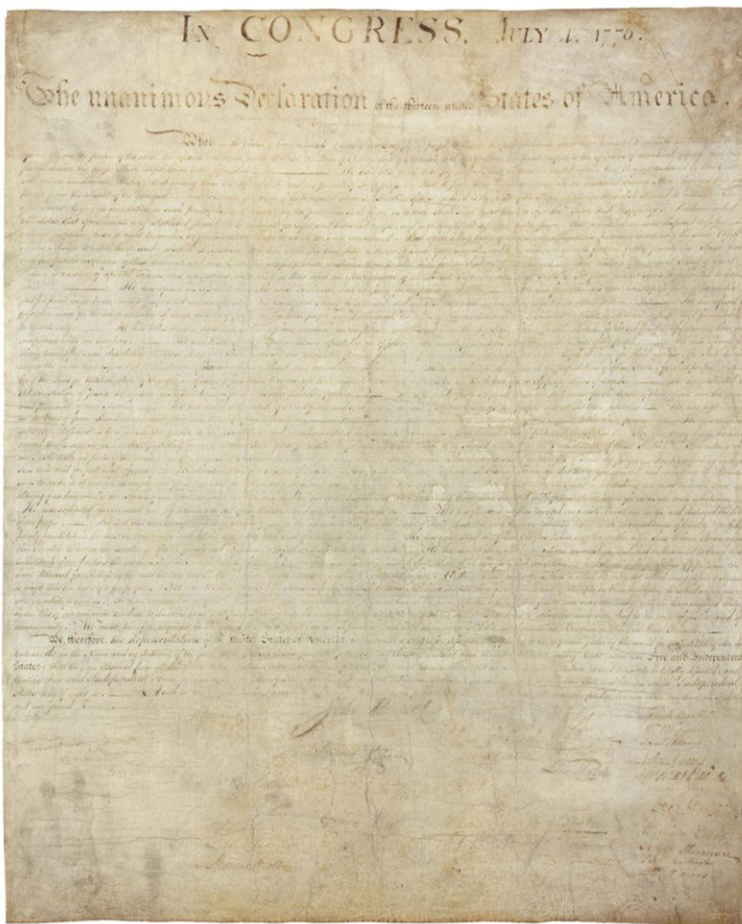


FIGURE 3.3

Declaration of Independence

*When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another; and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.*

*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable 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 of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.*

*He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.*

*He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.*

*He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.*

*He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.*

*He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.*

*He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.*

*He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.*

*He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.*

*He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.*

*He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.*

*He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.*

*He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.*

*He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:*

*For Quartering 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 Inhabitants of these States:*

*For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:*

*For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:*

*For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:*

*For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences*

*For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:*

*For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:*

*For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.*

*He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.*

*He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.*

*He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.*

*He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.*

*He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.*

*In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.*

*Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.*

*We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.*

*[Followed by 56 signatures]*

**IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.**

**The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,**

### **Questions:**

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

1. “We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”



2. “That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”
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 colonists believed they saw emerging from the welter of events during the decade after the Stamp Act a pattern whose meaning was unmistakable. They saw in the measures taken by the British government and in the actions of officials in the colonies something for which their peculiar inheritance of thought had prepared them only too well, something they had long conceived to be a possibility in view of the known tendencies of history and of the present state of affairs in England. They saw about them, with increasing clarity, not merely mistaken, or even evil, policies violating the principles upon which freedom rested, but what appeared to be evidence of nothing less than a deliberate assault launched surreptitiously by plotters against liberty both in England and in America. . . . It was this. . . that was signaled to the colonists after 1763, and it was this above all else that in the end propelled them into Revolution.*

*The colonial writers [believed]. . . that America had from the start been destined to play a special role in history. . . .that the colonies were to 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.” . . . . [T]hey knew that the invasion of the liberties of the people “constitutes a state of war with the people” who may properly 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.

*In Virginia, it seemed clear to the educated gentry that something needed to be done to persuade the lower orders to join the revolutionary cause, to deflect their anger against England. . . . Patrick Henry’s oratory in Virginia pointed a way to relieve class tension between upper and lower classes and form a bond against the British. This was to find language inspiring to all classes, specific enough in its listing of grievances to charge people with anger against the British, vague enough to avoid class conflict among the rebels, and stirring enough to build patriotic feeling for the resistance movement. . . .*

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

**Questions:**

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

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**Section Questions:**

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



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## 3.4 Loyalists during the Revolution

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### 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.*

*To the PRINTER. . . . RUSTICUS.*

*My Friends and Countrymen, . . . .*

*[T]his once desert and howling wilderness has been converted into a flourishing and populous country. . . . But, has this not been owing to the manner in which the colonies have been treated from the beginning? Is it not from the readiness which Great Britain has ever shewn to encourage our industry and protect us from foreign injuries, that we have attained this growth? If so, surely some returns of gratitude, such as becomes a free and liberal people, are justly due for favors received. . . .*

*. . . .The peace and security we have already enjoyed under her [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, patiently avoid all inflammatory publications that, and such as are disrespectful to our most gracious Sovereign, still looking forward with an anxious hope to a happy termination of our present disputes, and a cordial reconciliation with our mother country. . .*

***Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser, 2 January 1775***

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### 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.*

*Brethren, Friends and Fellow Subjects,*

*In case these people [in Massachusetts] should persist in the same steps and spirit, and the other colonies should be so infatuated as to join them which must necessarily terminate in an open rupture with Great-Britain, let us calmly consider how we are prepared for such a contest. I shall not knowingly exaggerate a single circumstance, but represent things as they really are.*

*If we turn our eyes west to that vast tract of country which skirts our back settlements, and where some promise themselves a sanctuary, the case will not be much mended. The Quebec bill cuts off that refuge. By that bill, which I highly disapprove in all respects. . . the province of Canada extends south as far as Carolina, and surrounds all our colonies from thence to Nova Scotia. . . . Every man in Canada is a soldier, and may be commanded on any service, or at any time when government pleases. To that may be added the Indians, whose warriors in Canada and the Six Nations amount at least to FIVE THOUSAND, and who are equally at the beck of government. In the case of a civil war, all these Canadians and Indians would infallibly be let loose on our back-settlements, to scalp, ravage and lay*

*everything waste with fire and sword; so that we should be hemmed in on all sides. . . .*

*Shall we, then, notwithstanding the clearest light and conviction, madly pursue violent measures that would plunge our country into all the horrors of a civil war? Shall we desperately risk our lives, liberties, and property in so unequal a contest, and wantonly drench this happy country with the blood of its inhabitants, when our liberties and property may be effectually secured by prudent, pacific measures?—Forbid it humanity! Forbid it loyalty, reason, and common sense!*

*A NEW-YORK FREEHOLDER.*

*New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury, 19 September 1774*

*To the INHABITANTS of NORTH-AMERICA.*

The naval power of Great-Britain is undoubtedly at this day the greatest in the world. . . . Have we a fleet to look this formidable power in the face, and defend our coasts? no—not one ship. The inevitable consequence then must be, that all our sea-port towns will be taken, and all our trade and commerce destroyed, at the very first shock. As many troops as government pleases may be poured in: and all hopes of foreign succor, even we had any, entirely cut off. Have we disciplined troops to encounter those veterans that are now in America, or that may be sent hereafter?—Not a single regiment. We must leave our farms, our shops and trades, and *begin* to learn the art of war at the very same we are called to practice it, and our ALL is at stake. . . .

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## 3.5 Shays's Rebellion

In 1781, 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.

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### 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.*

*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.*

*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.*

#### 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.

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

### 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?

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## Thomas Jefferson on Shays' Rebellion

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

*The British ministry have so long hired their gazetteers to repeat, and model into every form, lies about our being in anarchy, that the world has at length believed them, the English nation has believed them, the ministers themselves have come to believe them, and what is more wonderful, we have believed them ourselves. Yet where does this anarchy exist? Where did it ever exist, except in the single instance of Massachusetts? And can history produce an instance of rebellion so honorably conducted? I say nothing of its motives. They were founded in ignorance, not wickedness. God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion. . . .*

*What country before, ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion ? And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that this people preserve the spirit of resistance ? Let them take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to 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 convention has been too much impressed by the insurrection of Massachusetts; and on the spur of the moment, they are setting up a kite to keep the hen yard in order.*

### 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?

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## 3.6 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.

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### Federalist Position on Congressional Representation – Alexander Hamilton

Source: Speech by Alexander Hamilton, a Federalist, given on June 21, 1788

*It has been farther, by the gentlemen in opposition [Antifederalists], observed, that a large representation is necessary to understand the interests of the people. This principle is by no means true in the extent to which the gentleman seems to carry it. I would ask, why may not a man understand the interests of thirty [thousand] as well as of twenty?*

*It is a harsh doctrine, that men grow wicked in proportion as they improve and enlighten their minds. Experience has by no means justified us in the supposition, that there is more virtue in one class of men than in another. Look through the rich and the poor of the community; the learned and the ignorant. Where does virtue predominate? The difference indeed consists, not in the quantity but kind of vices, which are incident to the various classes; and here the advantage of character belongs to the wealthy. Their vices are probably more favorable to the prosperity of the state, than those of the indigent; and partake less of moral depravity.*

#### Question:

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

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### 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, possess a knowledge of their circumstances and their wants, sympathize in all their distresses, and be disposed to seek their true interests. . . . [T]he number of representatives should be so large, as that, while it embraces the men of the first class, it should admit those of the middling class of life. I am convinced that this government is so constituted that the representatives will generally be composed of the first class in the community, which I shall distinguish by the name of the natural aristocracy of the country.*

*In every society, men of this [aristocratic] class will command a superior degree of respect; and if the government is so constituted as to admit but few to exercise the powers of it, it will, according to the natural course of things, be in their hands. Men in the middling class, who are qualified as representatives, will not be so anxious to be chosen as those of the first. When the number is so small, the office will be highly elevated and distinguished; the style in which the members live will probably be high; circumstances of this kind will render the place of a representative*

*not a desirable one to sensible, substantial men, who have been used to walk in the plain and frugal paths of life. . . .*

*A substantial yeoman, of sense and discernment, will hardly ever be chosen. From these remarks, it appears that the government will fall into the hands of the few and the great. This will be a government of oppression. . . . The great consider themselves above the common people, entitled to more respect, do not associate with them; they fancy themselves to have a right of preeminence in every thing.*

### Questions:

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

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### Section Question:

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

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### Federalist Position on State/Federal Power – Alexander Hamilton

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

*The [Antifederalist] gentleman says that the operation of the taxes will exclude the states on this ground—that the demands of the community are always equal to its resources; that Congress will find a use for all the money the people can pay. . . .*

*[I]t is unfair to presume that the representatives of the people will be disposed to tyrannize in one government more than in another. If we are convinced that the national legislature will pursue a system of measures unfavorable to the interests of the people, we ought to have no general government at all. . . .*

*While I am making these observations, I cannot but take notice of some expressions which have fallen in the course of the debate. While I am making these observations, I cannot but take notice of some expressions which have fallen in the course of the debate. It has been said that ingenious men may say ingenious things, and that those who are interested in raising the few upon the ruins of the many, may give to every cause an appearance of justice. I know not whether these insinuations allude to the characters of any who are present, or to any of the reasonings in this house. I presume that the gentlemen would not ungenerously impute such motives to those who differ from themselves. I declare I know not any set of men who are to derive peculiar advantages from this Constitution. Were any permanent honors or emoluments to be secured to the families of those who have been active in this cause, there might be some grounds for suspicion. But what reasonable man, for the precarious enjoyment of rank and power, would establish a system which would reduce his nearest friends and his posterity to slavery and ruin? . . . Gentlemen ought not, then, to presume that the advocates of this Constitution are influenced by ambitious views. The suspicion, sir, is unjust; the charge is uncharitable.*

### Question:

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



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## Antifederalist Position on State/Federal Power - Melancton Smith

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

*In a country where a portion of the people live more than twelve hundred miles from the centre, I think that one body cannot possibly legislate for the whole. Can the legislature frame a system of taxation that will operate with uniform advantages? Can they carry any system into execution? Will it not give occasion for an innumerable swarm of officers, to infest our country and consume our substance? People will be subject to impositions which they cannot support, and of which their complaints can never reach the government.*

*Another idea is in my mind, which I think conclusive against a simple government for the United States. It is not possible to collect a set of representatives who are acquainted with all parts of the continent. Can you find men in Georgia who are acquainted with the situation of New Hampshire, who know what taxes will best suit the inhabitants, and how much they are able to bear? Can the best men make laws for the people of whom they are entirely ignorant? Sir, we have no reason to hold our state governments in contempt, or to suppose them incapable of acting wisely. . . . We all agree that a general government is necessary; but it ought not to go so far as to destroy the authority of the members. We shall be unwise to make a new experiment, in so important a matter, without some known and sure grounds to go upon. The state constitutions should be the guardians of our domestic rights and interests, and should be both the support and the check of the federal government.*

### Questions:

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

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### Section Question:

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

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## 3.7 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.

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### 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, violating it's most sacred rights of life liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. this piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. . . .*

### 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?

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### 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, Elseworth, 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.*

*It therefore astonishes me, sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does. . . .*

**Mr. RUTLIDGE:** . . . Religion humanity had nothing to do with this question. . . . The true question at present is whether the Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union. . . . If the Northern states consult their interest, they will not oppose the increase of Slaves which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers.

**Mr. ELSEWORTH:** . . . Let every state import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations 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 clause should be rejected, and that it was wrong to force any thing down, not absolutely necessary, and which any State must disagree to.

**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN:** I agree to this Constitution with all its faults—if they are such—because I think a general government necessary for us. . . . [W]hen you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected?

### 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.*

*Never did the delegates consider eradicating slavery. The Revolutionary rhetoric of freedom and equality had been left behind; Americans in general and the delegates to 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 financial cost of abolition, heavy enough by itself, was made too staggering to bear by the Founding Fathers' racism, an ideological hindrance to antislavery no less important than their sense of priorities and their commitment to property. Here again Jefferson typified the age. As Winthrop Jordan has shown, Jefferson suspected that blacks had greater sexual appetites and lower intellectual faculties than did whites. . . . These suspicions, together with*

*Jefferson's painfully accurate prophecy that free blacks and free whites could not live harmoniously in America for centuries, made him and others tie American emancipation to African colonization.*

**Question:**

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

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## 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, the sentiment there favored its end. Southerners were a good deal more ambivalent, both because they had significantly greater numbers of slaves to deal with and because an end to the peculiar institution had important economic implications... The result was compromise... The framers 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?

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## Section Question:

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

## 3.8 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.*

*Sir:—I have the pleasure of your private letter of the 26th of August. . . . I most sincerely regret the causes of the uneasy sensations you experience. It is my most anxious wish, as far as may depend upon me, to smooth the path of your administration, and to render it prosperous and happy. And if any prospect shall open of healing or terminating the differences which exist, I shall most cheerfully embrace it; though I consider myself as the deeply injured party. . . .*

*I know that I have been an object of uniform opposition from Mr. Jefferson, from the moment of his coming to the city of New York to enter upon his present office. I know from the most authentic sources, that I have been the frequent subject of the most unkind whispers and insinuations from the same quarter. I have long seen a party formed in the Legislature under his auspices, bent upon my subversion. I cannot doubt from the evidence I possess, that the National Gazette was instituted by him for political purposes, and that one leading object of it has been to render me, and all the measures connected with my department, as odious as possible.*

*Nevertheless, I can truly say, that, except explanations to confidential friends, I never directly or indirectly retaliated or countenanced retaliation till very lately. . . .*

*But when I no longer doubted that there was a formed party deliberately bent upon the subversion of measures, which in its consequences would subvert the government; when I saw that the undoing of the funding system in particular (which, whatever may be the original merits of that system, would prostrate the credit and the honor of the nation, and bring the government into contempt with that description of men who are in every society the only firm supporters of government) was an avowed object of the party, and that all possible pains were taken to produce that effect, by rendering it odious to the body of the people, I considered it as a duty to endeavor to resist the torrent, and, as an effectual means to this end, to draw aside the veil from the principal actors. . . .*

*Nevertheless, I pledge my honor to you, sir, that if you shall hereafter form a plan to reunite the members of your administration upon some steady principle of coöperation, I will faithfully concur in executing it during my continuance in office; and I will not directly or indirectly say or do a thing that shall endanger a feud. . . .*

*With the most affectionate and faithful attachment, etc.*

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## 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.*

*To the President of the United States.*

*Monticello Sep 9, 1792.*

*DEAR SIR,—I received on the 2d inst the letter of Aug 2.... I now take the liberty of proceeding to that part of your letter wherein you notice the internal dissensions which have taken place within our government, & their disagreeable effect on it's movements. That such dissensions have taken place is certain, & even among those who are nearest to you in the administration. To no one have they given deeper concern than myself; to no one equal mortification at being myself a part of them. Tho' I take to myself no more than my share of the general observations of your letter, yet I am so desirous ever that you should know the whole truth, & believe no more than the truth, that I am glad to seize every occasion of developing to you whatever I do or think relative to the government....*

*If it has been supposed that I have ever intrigued among the members of the legislatures to defeat the plans of the Secretary of the Treasury, it is contrary to all truth. As I never had the desire to influence the members, so neither had I any other means than my friendships, which I valued too highly to risk by usurpations on their freedom of judgment, & the conscientious pursuit of their own sense of duty. That I have utterly, in my private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the treasury, I acknowledge & avow: and this was not merely a speculative difference. His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty, & was calculated to undermine and demolish the republic....*

*When I came into this office, it was with a resolution to retire from it as soon as I could with decency.... In the meanwhile my main object will be to wind up the business of my office avoiding as much as possible all new enterprise.... I am more desirous to predispose everything for the repose to which I am withdrawing, than expose it to be disturbed by newspaper contests. If these however cannot be avoided altogether, yet a regard for your quiet will be a sufficient motive for my deferring it till I become merely a private citizen, when the propriety or impropriety of what I may say or do may fall on myself alone.... If my own justification, or the interests of the republic shall require it, I reserve to myself the right of then appealing to my country, subscribing my name to whatever I write, & using with freedom & truth the facts & names necessary to place the cause in it's just form before that tribunal.... I will not suffer my retirement to be clouded by the slanders of a man whose history, from the moment at which history can stoop to notice him, is a tissue of machinations against the liberty of the country which has not only received and given him bread, but heaped it's honors on his head.—Still however I repeat the hope that it will not be necessary to make such an appeal. Though little known to the people of America, I believe that, as far as I am known, it is not as an enemy to the republic, nor an intriguer against it, nor a waster of it's revenue, nor prostitute of it to the purposes of corruption, as the American represents me; and I confide that yourself are satisfied that, as to dissensions in the newspapers, not a syllable of them has ever proceeded from me; & that no cabals or intrigues of mine have produced those in the legislature, & I hope I may promise, both to you & myself, that none will receive aliment from me during the short space I have to remain in office, which will find ample employment in closing the present business of the department. In the meantime & ever I am with great and sincere affection & respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.*



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## Section Questions

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?

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## 3.9 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.

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### Purchase of Louisiana – Alexander Hamilton

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

*At length the business of New Orleans has terminated favorably to this country. Instead of being obliged to rely any longer on the force of treaties for a place of deposit, the jurisdiction of the territory is now transferred to our hands and in future the navigation of the Mississippi will be ours unmolested. This, it will be allowed, is an important acquisition, not, indeed, as territory, but as being essential to the peace and prosperity of our Western country, and as opening a free and valuable market to our commercial states. This purchase has been made during the period of Mr. Jefferson's presidency and will, doubtless, give éclat to his administration. Every man, however, possessed of the least candor and reflection will readily acknowledge that the acquisition has been solely owing to a fortuitous concurrence of unforeseen and unexpected circumstances and not to any wise or vigorous measures on the part of the American government. . . .*

*As to the unbounded region west of the Mississippi, it is, with the exception of a very few settlements of Spaniards and Frenchmen bordering on the banks of the river, a wilderness through which wander numerous tribes of Indians. And when we consider the present extent of the United States, and that not one sixteenth part of its territory is yet under occupation, the advantage of the acquisition, as it relates to actual settlement, appears too distant and remote to strike the mind of a sober politician with much force. This, therefore, can only rest in speculation for many years, if not centuries to come, and consequently will not perhaps be allowed very great weight in the account by the majority of readers. But it may be added that should our own citizens, more enterprising than wise, become desirous of settling this country and emigrate thither, it must not only be attended with all the injuries of a too widely dispersed population, but by adding to the great weight of the western part of our territory, must hasten the dismemberment of a large portion of our country or a dissolution of the Government. On the whole, we think it may with candor be said that, whether the possession at this time of any territory west of the river Mississippi will be advantageous, is at best extremely problematical.*

#### 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*

*Congress may admit new States, but can the Executive by treaty admit them, or, what is equivalent, enter into engagements binding Congress to do so? As by the Louisiana Treaty, the ceded territory must be formed into States, & admitted into the Union, is it understood that Congress can annex any condition to their admission? if not, as Slavery is authorized & exists in Louisiana, and the treaty engages to protect the property of the inhabitants, will not the present inequality, arising from the Representation of Slaves, be increased? . . .*

*Timothy Pickering to Rufus King, March 4, 1804*

*I am disgusted with the men who now rule, and with their measures. At some manifestations of their malignancy I am shocked. The cowardly wretch at their head [Jefferson], while like a Parisian revolutionary monster prating about humanity, would feel an infernal pleasure in the utter destruction of his opponents. We have too long witnessed his general turpitude, his cruel removals of faithful officers, and the substitution of corruption and looseness for integrity and worth.*

### Question:

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

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### 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?

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## 3.10 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.

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### 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 Meriwether Lewis esq. Capt. of the 1st regimt. of infantry of the U. S. of A.:*

....

*In all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly & conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey, satisfy them of its innocence, make them acquainted with the position, extent, character, peaceable & commercial dispositions of the U.S. of our wish to be neighborly, friendly & useful to them, & of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums, and the articles of most desireable interchange for them & us....*

*If a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers, on their entering the U.S to have them conveyed to this place at the public expense. If any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, & taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct & take care of them. Such a mission, whether of influential chiefs or of young people, would give some security to your own party. Carry with you some matter of the kinpox; inform those of them with whom you may be, of it'[s] efficacy as a preservative from the small-pox; & instruct & encourage them in the use of it. This may be especially done wherever you winter.*

*Th. Jefferson*

*Pr. U.S. of America*

#### Question:

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

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### 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.*

*Several Indians and squaws came this evening I believe for the purpose of gratifying the passions of our men, Those people appear to view sensuality as a necessary evil, and do not appear to abhor this as crime in the unmarried females....*

**January 5, 1805**

A Buffalo Dance for 3 nights passed in the 1st village, a curious custom the old men arrange themselves in a circle after smoke[ing] a pipe which is handed them by a young man, dress[ed] up for the purpose, the young men who have their wives back of the circle go [each] to one of the old men with a whining tone and request the old man to take his wife (who presents [herself] naked except a robe) and – the girl then takes the old man (who very often can scarcely walk) and leads him to a convenient place for the business, after which they return to the lodge; if the old man (or a white man) returns to the lodge without gratifying the Man his wife, he offers her again and again; it is often the case that after the 2nd time without kissing the husband throws a new robe over the old man, etc. and begs him not to despise him his wife (We sent a man to this Medecine Dance last night, they gave him 4 girls) all this is to cause the buffalo to come near so that they may kill them.

**November 21, 1805****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?

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**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.*

*We were crowded in the lodge with Indians who continued all night and this morning great numbers were around us. The one eyed chief arrived and we gave him a medal of the small size and spoke to the Indians through a Snake boy Shabono and his wife. We informed them who we were, where we were came from & our intentions towards them, which pleased them very much.*

**May 11, 1806****August 17, 1806**

We also took our leave of T. Charbono, his Snake Indian wife and their child who had accompanied us on our route to the pacific ocean in the capacity of interpreter and interpretest. . . I offered to take his little son a beautiful promising child who is 19 months old to which they both himself wife were willing provided the child had been weaned. They observed that in one year the boy would be sufficiently old to leave his mother he would then take him to me if I would be so friendly as to raise the child for him in such a manner as I thought proper, to which I agreed, etc.

**Questions:**

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

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## 3.11 References

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



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CHAPTER

**4**

# Manifest Destiny and the Slavery Question

## Chapter Outline

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- 4.1 TRAIL OF TEARS
  - 4.2 NAT TURNER'S REBELLION
  - 4.3 TEXAS INDEPENDENCE
  - 4.4 MANIFEST DESTINY
  - 4.5 IRISH IMMIGRATION
  - 4.6 JOHN BROWN
  - 4.7 REFERENCES
-

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## 4.1 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.

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### 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.*

*... I consider my countrymen, not as mere animals, and to judge of their happiness by their condition as such, which to be sure is bad enough, but as moral beings, to be affected for better or for worse, by moral circumstances, I say their condition is wretched. Look, my dear sir, around you, and see the progress that vice and immorality have already made!...*

*I have the honor to be, Sir,*

*Your obedient and humble servant,*

*E. BOUDINOT.*

If the dark picture which I have drawn here is a true one, and no candid person will say it is an exaggerated one, can we see a brighter prospect ahead? In another country, and under other circumstances, there is a *better* prospect. Removal, then, is the only remedy—the only *practicable* remedy. By it there *may be* finally a renovation—our people *may* rise from their very ashes to become prosperous and happy, and a credit to our race... I would say to my countrymen, you among the rest, fly from the moral pestilence that will finally destroy our nation.

What is the prospect in reference to *your* [John Ross's] plan of relief, if you are understood at all to have any plan? It is dark and gloomy beyond description. Subject the Cherokees to the laws of the States in their present condition? It matters not how favorable those laws may be, instead of remedying the evil you would only rivet the chains and fasten the manacles of their servitude and degradation. The final destiny of our race, under such circumstances, is too revolting to think of. Its course *must* be downward, until it finally becomes extinct or is merged in another race, more ignoble and more detested. Take my word for it, it is the sure consummation, if you succeed in preventing the removal of your people. The time will come when there will be only here and there those who can be called upon to sign a protest, or to vote against a treaty for their removal—when the few remnants of our once happy and improving nation will be viewed by posterity with curious and gazing interest, as relics of a brave and noble race. Are our people destined to such a catastrophe? Are we to run the race of all our brethren who have gone before us, and of whom hardly any thing is known but their name and perhaps only here and there a solitary being, walking,

“as a ghost over the ashes of his fathers,” to remind a stranger that such a race *once* existed? May God preserve 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?

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## State of the Union speech – Andrew Jackson

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

*The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward, and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged and perhaps made perpetual.*

*Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did or than our children are now doing? . . .*

*Can it be cruel in this Government when, by events which it can not control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions! If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy. . . .*

*Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government toward the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the States and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement.*

It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly 30 years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages. . . .

Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and Philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it, but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race and to tread on the graves of extinct nations excite melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. . . . Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion? . . .

**Questions:**

1. **Close Reading:** Why would he say, “Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines 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?

## 4.2 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 4.1).*

*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]*

*Public curiosity has been on the stretch to understand the origin and progress of this dreadful conspiracy, and the motives which influences its diabolical actors. . . . Every thing connected with this sad affair was wrapt in mystery, until Nat Turner, the leader of this ferocious band, whose name has resounded throughout our widely extended empire, was captured. . . . I determined for the gratification of public curiosity to commit his statements to writing, and publish them, with little or no variation, from his own words.*

*Agreeable to his own appointment, on the evening he was committed to prison, with permission of the jailer, I visited NAT on Tuesday the 1st November, when, without being questioned at all, commenced his narrative in the following words:—*

*SIR,—You have asked me to give a history of the motives which induced me to undertake the late insurrection, as you call it—To do so I must go back to the days of my infancy, and even before I was born. I was thirty-one years of age the 2d of October last, and born the property of Benj. Turner, of this county. In my childhood a circumstance occurred which made an indelible impression on my mind, and laid the ground work of that enthusiasm, which has terminated so fatally to many, both white and black, and for which I am about to atone at the gallows. It is here necessary to relate this circumstance—trifling as it may seem, it was the commencement of that belief which has grown with time, and even now, sir, in this dungeon, helpless and forsaken as I am, I cannot divest myself of. Being at play with other children, when three or four years old, I was telling them something, which my mother overhearing, said it had happened before I was I born—I stuck to my story, however, and related somethings which went, in her opinion, to confirm it—others being called on were greatly astonished, knowing that these things had happened, and caused them to say in my hearing, I surely would be a prophet, as the Lord had shown me things that had happened before my birth. And my father and mother strengthened me in this my first impression, saying in my presence, I was intended for some great purpose, which they had always thought from certain marks on my head and breast—[a parcel of excrescences which I believe are not at all uncommon, particularly among negroes, as I have seen several with the same. In this case he has either cut them off or they have nearly disappeared]—My grandmother, who was very religious, and to whom I was much attached—my master, who belonged to the church, and other religious persons who visited the house, and whom I often saw at prayers, noticing the singularity of my manners, I suppose, and my uncommon intelligence for a child, remarked I had too much sense to be raised, and if I was, I would never be of any service to any one as a slave—To a mind like mine, restless, inquisitive and observant of everything that was passing, it is easy to suppose that religion was the subject to which it would be directed, and although this subject principally occupied my thoughts. . . .*

*He is a complete fanatic, or plays his part most admirably. On other subjects he possesses an uncommon share*

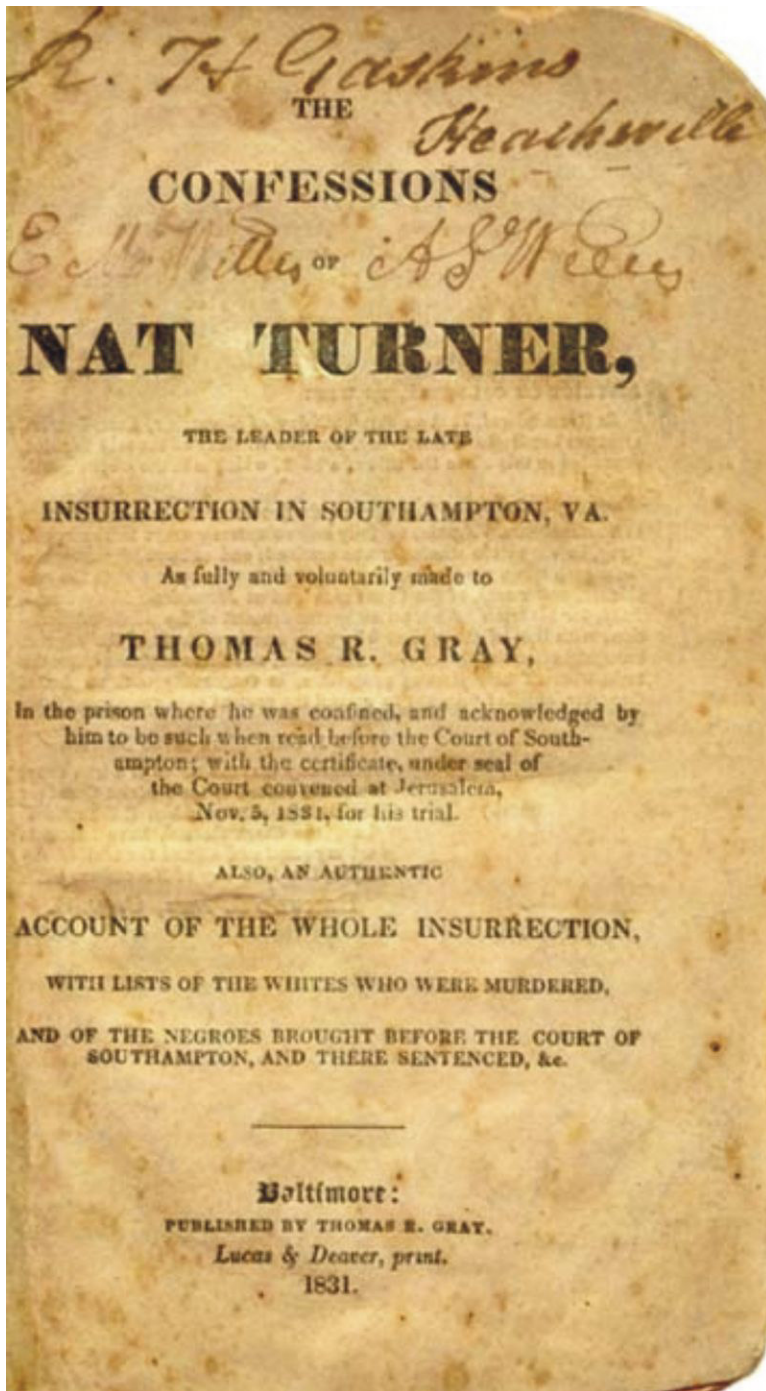


FIGURE 4.1

Cover Page of the Confessions of Nat Turner

*of intelligence, with a mind capable of attaining any thing; but warped and perverted by the influence of arly impressions. He is below the ordinary stature, though strong and active, having the true negro face, every feature of which is strongly marked. I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned hole of the prison. The calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him; clothed with rags and covered with chains; yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man; I looked on him and my blood curdled in my veins.*

[Thomas R. Gray:]



[Nat Turner:]

[Thomas R. Gray:]

### Questions:

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

---

## "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 better all die—die immediately, than live slaves and entail your wretchedness upon your posterity. If you would be free in this generation, here is your only hope. However much you and all of us may desire it, there is not much hope of redemption 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 followed Denmark Veazie [Vesey]. He was goaded to desperation by wrong and injustice. By despotism, his name has been recorded on the list of infamy, and 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?

## 4.3 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 28<sup>th</sup> 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.*

*A number of men of good character and patriotic ff ] are desirous of emigrating from the United States into the Mexican Territory on th[e] South Side of the Colorado of the Mississippi. Their object is to form a colo[ny] of Agriculturists. This tract of terr[it]ory? ] at present [is] inhabited by the Ca[ ] and other Indians and the prese[n]ce of] such a colony would materially chec[k] their depredations. Should they go to this point they will conform to your language and political Institutions. they would defend your territory; and be a powe[r]ful au]iliary TORN [ ] their agent from [ ] [ ]. He and the other Colonists would remove immediately with their families if they can obtain a grant of lands to settle and I think they would be of vast service to yourself individually and to the nation of Mexico I have the honor to be with sentiments of high respect*

*Your most obedt Servt*

*E.W.Ripley (rubric)*

*New Orleans Au[gust ??] 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.*

*No faith can be placed in the Anglo-American colonists because they are continually demonstrating that they absolutely refuse to be subordinate, unless they find it convenient to what they want anyway, all of which I believe*

will be very detrimental to us for them to be our neighbors if we do not in time, clip the wings of their audacity by stationing a strong detachment in each new settlement which will enforce the laws and jurisdiction of a Mexican magistrate which should be placed in each of them, since under their own colonists as judges, they do nothing more than practice their own laws which they have practiced since they were born, forgetting the ones they have sworn to obey, these being the laws of our Supreme Government.

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 4.2).

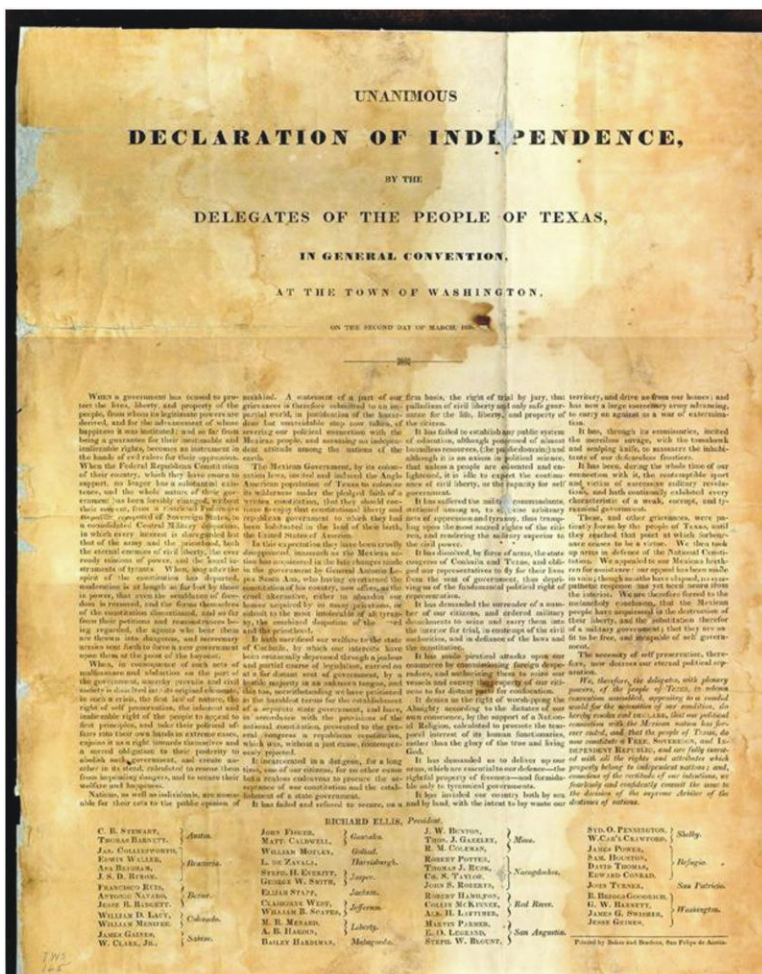


FIGURE 4.2 Printed broadside version of the Texas Declaration of Independence

*The Unanimous**Declaration of Independence**made by the**Delegates of the People of Texas**in General Convention**at the town of Washington**on the 2nd day of March 1836.*

*When a government has ceased to protect the lives, liberty and property of the people, from whom its legitimate powers are derived, and for the advancement of whose happiness it was instituted, and so far from being a guarantee for the enjoyment of those inestimable and inalienable rights, becomes an instrument in the hands of evil rulers for their oppression.*

*When the Federal Republican Constitution of their country, which they have sworn to support, no longer has a substantial existence, and the whole nature of their government has been forcibly changed, without their consent, from a restricted federative republic, composed of sovereign states, to a consolidated central military despotism, in which every interest is disregarded but that of the army and the priesthood, both the eternal enemies of civil liberty, the everready minions of power, and the usual instruments of tyrants.*

*When, long after the spirit of the constitution has departed, moderation is at length so far lost by those in power, that even the semblance of freedom is removed, and the forms themselves of the constitution discontinued, and so far from their petitions and remonstrances being regarded, the agents who bear them are thrown into dungeons, and mercenary armies sent forth to force a new government upon them at the point of the bayonet.*

*When, in consequence of such acts of malfeasance and abdication on the part of the government, anarchy prevails, and civil society is dissolved into its original elements. In such a crisis, the first law of nature, the right of self-preservation, the inherent and inalienable rights of the people to appeal to first principles, and take their political affairs into their own hands in extreme cases, enjoins it as a right towards themselves, and a sacred obligation to their posterity, to abolish such government, and create another in its stead, calculated to rescue them from impending dangers, and to secure their future welfare and happiness.*

*Nations, as well as individuals, are amenable for their acts to the public opinion of mankind. A statement of a part of our grievances is therefore submitted to an impartial world, in justification of the hazardous but unavoidable step now taken, of severing our political connection with the Mexican people, and assuming an independent attitude among the nations of the earth.*

*The Mexican government, by its colonization laws, invited and induced the Anglo-American population of Texas to colonize its wilderness under the pledged faith of a written constitution, that they should continue to enjoy that constitutional liberty and republican government to which they had been habituated in the land of their birth, the United States of America.*

*In this expectation they have been cruelly disappointed, inasmuch as the Mexican nation has acquiesced in the late changes made in the government by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who having overturned the constitution of his country, now offers us the cruel alternative, either to abandon our homes, acquired by so many privations, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny, the combined despotism of the sword and the priesthood.*

*It has sacrificed our welfare to the state of Coahuila, by which our interests have been continually depressed through a jealous and partial course of legislation, carried on at a far distant seat of government, by a hostile majority, in an unknown tongue, and this too, notwithstanding we have petitioned in the humblest terms for the establishment of a separate state government, and have, in accordance with the provisions of the national constitution, presented to the general Congress a republican constitution, which was, without just cause, contemptuously rejected.*

*It incarcerated in a dungeon, for a long time, one of our citizens, for no other cause but a zealous endeavor to procure the acceptance of our constitution, and the establishment of a state government.*

*It has failed and refused to secure, on a firm basis, the right of trial by jury, that palladium of civil liberty, and only safe guarantee for the life, liberty, and property of the citizen.*

*It has failed to establish any public system of education, although possessed of almost boundless resources, (the public domain,) and although it is an axiom in political science, that unless a people are educated and enlightened, it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty, or the capacity for self government.*

*It has suffered the military commandants, stationed among us, to exercise arbitrary acts of oppression and tyranny, thus trampling upon the most sacred rights of the citizens, and rendering the military superior to the civil power.*

*It has dissolved, by force of arms, the state Congress of Coahuila and Texas, and obliged our representatives to fly for their lives from the seat of government, thus depriving us of the fundamental political right of representation.*

*It has demanded the surrender of a number of our citizens, and ordered military detachments to seize and carry them into the Interior for trial, in contempt of the civil authorities, and in defiance of the laws and the constitution.*

*It has made piratical attacks upon our commerce, by commissioning foreign desperadoes, and authorizing them to seize our vessels, and convey the property of our citizens to far distant ports for confiscation.*

*It denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty according to the dictates of our own conscience, by the support of a national religion, calculated to promote the temporal interest of its human functionaries, rather than the glory of the true and living God.*

*It has demanded us to deliver up our arms, which are essential to our defence, the rightful property of freemen, and formidable only to tyrannical governments.*

*It has invaded our country both by sea and by land, with intent to lay waste our territory, and drive us from our homes; and has now a large mercenary army advancing, to carry on against us a war of extermination.*

*It has, through its emissaries, incited the merciless savage, with the tomahawk and scalping knife, to massacre the inhabitants of our defenseless frontiers.*

*It hath been, during the whole time of our connection with it, the contemptible sport and victim of successive military revolutions, and hath continually exhibited every characteristic of a weak, corrupt, and tyrannical government.*

*These, and other grievances, were patiently borne by the people of Texas, untill they reached that point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue. We then took up arms in defence of the national constitution. We appealed to our Mexican brethren for assistance. Our appeal has been made in vain. Though months have elapsed, no sympathetic response has yet been heard from the Interior. We are, therefore, forced to the melancholy conclusion, that the Mexican people have acquiesced in the destruction of their liberty, and the substitution there for of a military government; that they are unfit to be free, and incapable of self government.*

*The necessity of self-preservation, therefore, now decrees our eternal political separation.*

*We, therefore, the delegates with plenary powers of the people of Texas, in solemn convention assembled, appealing to a candid world for the necessities of our condition, 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, and are fully invested with all the rights and attributes which properly belong to independent nations; and, conscious of the rectitude of our intentions, we fearlessly and confidently commit the issue to the decision of the Supreme arbiter of the destinies of nations.*

*Richard Ellis, President*

*of the Convention and Delegate*

*from Red River.*

*[Followed by 59 signatures]*



**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.*

*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.*

*Comrades in arms: These remains which we have had the honor of carrying on our shoulders are the ones of the brave heroes who died in the Alamo. Yes, my friends, they preferred a thousand deaths rather than surrender or serve the yoke of the tyrant. What a brilliant example. Worthy indeed of being recorded in the pages of history. The genius of liberty seems to be witnessing from its high throne, from whence with praising look points out the deed saying: "Here you have your brothers, Travis, Bowie, Crockett and a few others whose valor, places them in the number of my heroes.—The worthy remains of our venerable companions bearing witness, I ask you to tell the world, Texas shall be free and independent or we shall perish with glory in battle.*

**Original Spanish:**

**English Translation:**

**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 4.3).*

*But the prime cause, and the real objects of this war, are not distinctly understood by a large portion of the honest, disinterested, and well-meaning citizens of the United States. Their means of obtaining correct information upon*



THE  
**WAR IN TEXAS;**  
 A  
 REVIEW OF FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES,  
 SHOWING THAT  
 THIS CONTEST IS THE RESULT  
 OF A LONG PREMEDITATED  
**CRUSADE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT,**  
 SET ON FOOT BY  
*Slaveholders, Land Speculators, &c.*  
 WITH THE VIEW OF  
 RE-ESTABLISHING, EXTENDING, AND PERPETUATING  
 THE SYSTEM OF  
**SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE**  
 IN THE  
 REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

---

BY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

---

PHILADELPHIA:  
 PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,  
 BY MERRIHEW AND GUNN,  
 No. 7, Carters' Alley.  
 .....  
 1836.

FIGURE 4.3

*the subject have been necessarily limited;—and many of them have been deceived and misled, by the misrepresentations of those concerned in it, and especially by hireling writers for the newspaper press. They have been induced to believe that the inhabitants of Texas were engaged in a legitimate contest for the maintenance of the sacred principles of Liberty, and the natural, inalienable Rights of Man:—whereas, the motives of its instigators, and their chief incentives to action, have been from the commencement, of a directly opposite character and tendency. It is susceptible of the clearest demonstration that the immediate cause and the leading object of this contest originated in a settled design, among the slaveholders of this country, (with land speculators and slave traders) to wrest 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 therein; 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?

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**Section Question:**

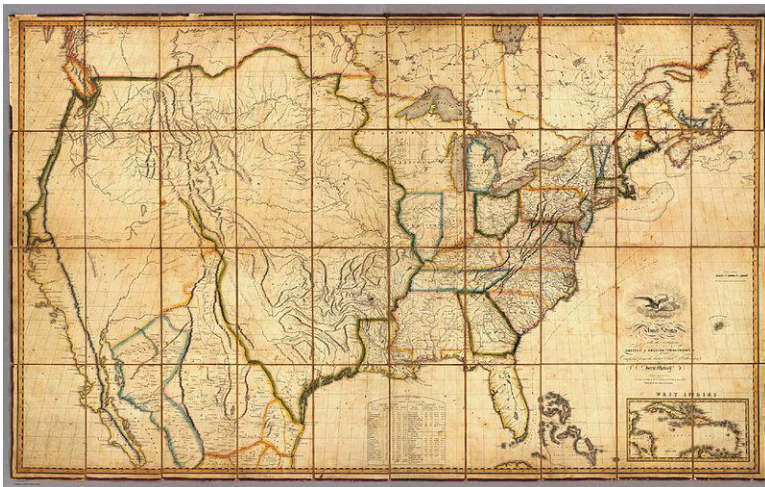
1. **Corroboration:** Based on all five documents, do you think that the Texans were justified in declaring independence?

## 4.4 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 below).*



**FIGURE 4.4**

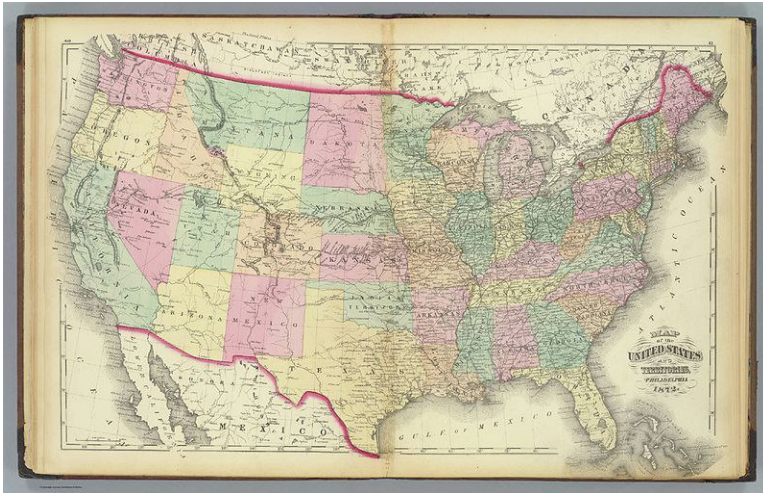
A map of the United States made by John Melish in 1816

### 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 4.5).*

#### Section Questions:

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

**FIGURE 4.5**

Map of the United States made by Ormado Willis Gray

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 4.6).

**FIGURE 4.6**

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.

*The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity. . . .*

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfilment of our mission – to the entire development of the principle of our organization – freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature’s eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man – the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be *the great nation* of futurity?

### 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 now time for the opposition to the Annexation of Texas to cease, all further agitation of the waters of bitterness and strife, at least in connexion with this question, –even though it may perhaps be required of us as a necessary condition of the freedom of our institutions, that we must live on for ever in a state of unpausing struggle and excitement upon some subject of party division or other. But, in regard to Texas, enough has now been given to party. It is time for the common duty of Patriotism to the Country to succeed;–or if this claim will not be recognized, it is at least time for common sense to acquiesce with decent grace in the inevitable and the irrevocable.*

*Texas is now ours. Already, before these words are written, her Convention has undoubtedly ratified the acceptance, by her Congress, of our proffered invitation into the Union; and made the requisite changes in her already republican form of constitution to adapt it to its future federal relations. Her star and her stripe may already be said to have*



*taken their place in the glorious blazon of our common nationality; and the sweep of our eagle's wing already includes within its circuit the wide extent of her fair and fertile land. She is no longer to us a mere geographical space—a certain combination of coast, plain, mountain, valley, forest and stream. She is no longer to us a mere country on the map. . . .*

*Why, were other reasoning wanting, in favor of now elevating this question of the reception of Texas into the Union, out of the lower region of our past party dissensions, up to its proper level of a high and broad nationality, it surely is to be found, found abundantly, in the manner in which other nations have undertaken to intrude themselves into it, between us and the proper parties to the case, in a spirit of hostile interference against us, for the avowed object of 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. . . .*

### 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?



---

## 4.5 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 19<sup>th</sup> century.

---

### Black vs. Irish - Thomas Nast

Source: A cartoon drawn by Thomas Nast for the cover of *Harper's Weekly*, December 7, 1876.(Figure 4.7).

#### 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 4.8).

#### 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?

---

### 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.

Providence, July 22, 1854

—UNCLE SAM

**THINGS WHICH ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND ALL TRUE ROMAN CATHOLICS HATE**

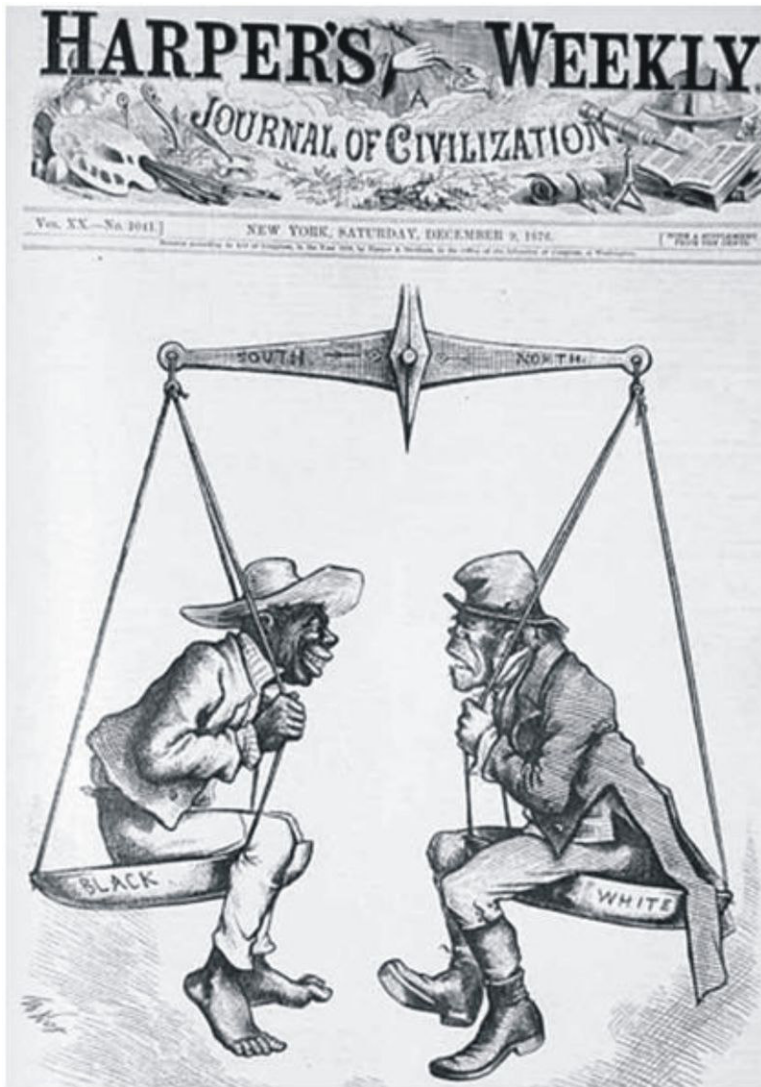


FIGURE 4.7

1. They HATE our Republic, and are trying to overthrow it.
2. They HATE the American *Eagle*, and it offends them beyond endurance to see it worn as an ornament by Americans.
3. They HATE our *Flag*, as it manifest by their grossly insulting it.
4. They HATE the liberty of conscience.
5. They HATE the liberty of the Press.
6. They HATE the liberty of speech.
7. They HATE our Common School system.
8. They HATE the Bible, and would blot it out of existence *if* they could!
9. The *Priests* HATE married life, and yet by *them is fulfilled* the Scripture, to wit: 'more are the children of the desolate, than the children of the married wife.'
10. They HATE Protestants, and are sworn to *exterminate* them from our country and the earth.
11. They HATE the name of WASHINGTON, because he was a *Republican* and Protestant.
12. They HATE all rulers that do not swear allegiance to the Pope of Rome.
13. They HATE to be *ruled* by *Americans*, and say 'WE WILL NOT BE RULED BY THEM!'
14. They HATE to support their own paupers and they are left to be supported by the tax paying Americans.
15. They HATE, above all, the '*Know-Nothings*,' who are determined to rid this country from their accursed power.



**FIGURE 4.8**

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

**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 4.9).



**W. COLE, No. 8 Ann-st.**

**GROCERY CART AND HARNESS FOR SA**  
**G**—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 13 years of age, able to w  
 No Irish need apply. **CLUFF & TUNIS, No. 270 W**  
**ington-st., corner of Myrtle-av., Brooklyn.**

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

FIGURE 4.9

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

*GROCERY CART AND HARNESS FOR SA*  
*excellent saddle horse ; can be ridden by a lady. Also,*  
*No Irish need apply. CLUFF & TUNIS, No. 270 W*  
*ington-st., corner of Myrtle-av., Brooklyn.*

**Original Transcript:**

—In good order, and one chestnut horse, 3 years old  
 young man wanted, from 16 to 13 years of age, able to w

**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-American workers also suffered an association with servile labor by virtue of their heralded, and at least sometimes practiced, use as substitutes for slaves within 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 pursuits. Frederick Law Olmsted's widely circulated accounts of the South quoted more than one Southerner who explained the use of Irish labor on the ground that 'niggers are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies are knocked overboard. . . nobody loses anything.'*

*Irish youths were also likely to be found in the depleted ranks of indentured servants from the early national period through the Civil War. In that position they were sometimes called 'Irish slaves' and more frequently 'bound boys'. The degraded status of apprentices was sometimes little distinguishable from indenture by the 1840s and was likewise increasingly an Irish preserve. In New York City, Irish women comprised 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?

## 4.6 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 Pottawatomie 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. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. 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.*

*I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case)—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—and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.*

*This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to “remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.” I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done—as I have always freely admitted I have done—in behalf of His despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends 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 enactments—I submit; so let it be done!*

*Let me say one word further.*

*I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated that from the first what was my*



*intention and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.*

*Let me say also a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part of them at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.*

*Now I have done.*

### 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 a beginning in his work would soon be made, and that before going forward he wanted to see me. . . .*

*We. . . sat down among the rocks and talked over the enterprise which was about to be undertaken. The taking of Harper's Ferry, of which Captain Brown had merely hinted before, was now declared as his settled purpose, and he wanted to know what I thought of it. I at once opposed the measure with all the arguments at my command. To me, such a measure would be fatal to running off slaves, as was the original plan, and fatal to all engaged in doing so. It would be an attack upon the Federal Government, and would array the whole country against us. Captain Brown did most of the talking on the other side of the question. He did not at all object to rousing the nation; it seemed to him that something startling was just what the nation needed. He had completely renounced his old plan, and 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 to his standard. . . . Of course, I was no match for him in such matters, 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.

*Dear Captain Brown: Though personally unknown to you, you will recognize in my name an earnest friend of Kansas, when circumstances made that Territory the battle-ground between the antagonistic principles of slavery and freedom, which politicians so vainly strive to reconcile in the government of the United States.*

*Believing in peace principles, 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 reverence you for the humanity which tempered your zeal. I sympathize with you in your cruel bereavement, 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. I have asked permission of Governor Wise to do so. If the request is not granted, I cherish the hope that these few words may at least reach your hands, and afford you some little solace. May you be strengthened by the conviction that no honest man ever sheds blood for freedom in vain, however much he may be mistaken in his efforts. 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 4.10).

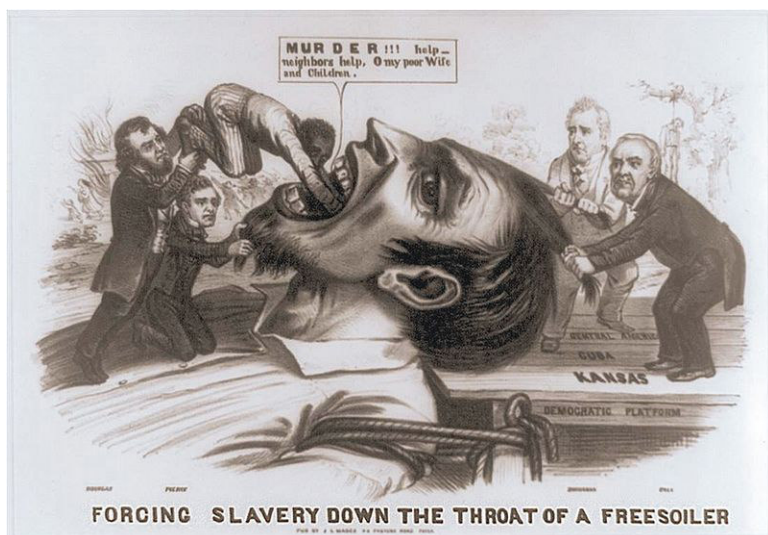


FIGURE 4.10

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CHAPTER **5** **A Nation Divided: The American Civil War and Reconstruction**

**Chapter Outline**

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- 5.1 LINCOLN AND RACE
  - 5.2 THE NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS
  - 5.3 EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
  - 5.4 THE POLITICAL CARTOONS OF THOMAS NAST
  - 5.5 ANDREW JOHNSON VERSUS THADDEUS STEVENS
  - 5.6 SHARECROPPING
  - 5.7 RECONSTRUCTIONS
  - 5.8 REFERENCES
-

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## 5.1 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.*

*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 adjudge 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 on the white basis. I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians, and other inferior races.*

*Mr. Lincoln, following the example and lead of all the little Abolition orators who go around and lecture in the basements of schools and churches, reads from the Declaration of Independence that all men were created equal, and then asks how can you deprive a negro of that equality which God and the Declaration of Independence award to him? He and they maintain that negro equality is guaranteed by the laws of God, and that it is asserted in the Declaration of Independence. If they think so, of course they have a right to say so, and so vote. I do not question Mr. Lincoln's conscientious belief that the negro was made his equal, and hence is his brother; but for my own part, I do not regard the negro as my equal, and positively deny that he is my brother or any kin to me whatever.*

*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.*

#### 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, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in*



*my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, 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 I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated 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 with Judge Douglas he 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, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.*

### 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.*

*Your sincere friend,*

*A. LINCOLN.*

*My Friend:* Having resolved to write to some other’s family, and not having the express permission of any one of them to do so, I had some little difficulty in determining which to inflict the task of reading what I feel must be a most dull and silly letter; when I remembered that you and I were something of cronies while I was at Farmington and that while there I was under the necessity of shutting you up in a room to prevent your committing an assault and battery upon me, I decided that you should be the devoted one. . . . By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman 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 clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this was fastened to the main chain by a shorter one, at a convenient distance from the others, so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trotline. 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, where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One whose offense for which he had been sold was an over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually, and the others danced, sang, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that “God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb,” or in other words, that he renders the worst of human conditions tolerable while he permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable. . . .

### 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, and we shall be compelled to atone for our sin towards them through all time.*

*Our Heavenly Father has made us to rule, and the negroes to serve, and if we, through a pretended sympathy, or a false philanthropy, right in the face of all common sense and reason, set aside his holy arrangements for the good of mankind and his own glory, and tamper with his laws, we shall be overthrown and eternally degraded, and perhaps made subjects of some other civilized nation. This will be our doom as sure as God lives. Then, will you persevere in such foolery, right in the face of truth and righteousness, with your heaven-daring schemes of wickedness, that will as assuredly overthrow this great and glorious Union as the scheme shall be adopted, or bring about the extermination of the whole negro race in this country? The laws of nature and nature's God prohibit the mixing of the two colors into one blood, which ends that plan. Colonization in their native land of all the negroes would be so nearly impracticable, that it will never be done, and no other spot on this green earth will do for them. It would be the height of cruelty and barbarism to send them anywhere else. If they could all be colonized on the coast of Africa, they would fall back into heathenism and barbarism in less than fifty years. . . .*

### 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?

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## 5.2 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 of ALBRO LYONS, No. 20 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.

*A man named JOHN MATZEL was shot and instantly killed. It is reported that he was one of the leaders of the mob, and that the ball which pierced his heart came from a revolver in the hands of one of the officers of the law. He was in the act of entering the clothing-store at the time he met his death.*

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

At a late hour on Tuesday night the mob, number 4,000 or 5,000, made an attack upon the clothing-store of Messrs. BROOKS BROTHERS, in Catharine-street, corner of Cherry. Sergeant FINNEY, of the Third Precinct, while in the discharge of his duty in endeavoring to protect the property of this establishment, 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 was subsequently conveyed to the Station-house, where his wounds were dressed. He is very severely injured, and no hopes are entertained of his recovery. Officer DANIEL FIELDS, of the same Precinct, was knocked down and brutally beaten about the head and face at the same time.

**Question:**

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

---

**“The Popular Tumult” – New York Herald**

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

*The throng in the Fourth ward, after having caused a general exodus of negroes, turned their attention to the Chinese who delight to reside in that precinct. The Celestials [Chinese] had been found guilty of being united to white wives, and their headquarters were sacked. The John Chinamen escaped, but in some instances their inconstant consorts have not followed them.*

**Excerpt from****THE POPULAR TUMULT.****Positive Suspension of the Draft.****THE CITY YESTERDAY.**

*New York Herald*, Wednesday, July 16, 1863

**RAID ON THE CHINESE QUARTERS.****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

*Sated with blood, the rioters now turned their attention to plunder. A drug-store close by where Colonel O’Brien lay was completely riddled by them, the doors and windows being smashed in with clubs and stones. Women hovered upon the skirts of the crowd, and received the articles as they were thrown or handed from the store. One fellow rushed out with a closely-packed valise, 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 with seals, 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 near by, and read out portions of one of the letters amidst the jeers of her ribald companions. Another passed me waving in triumph a large parchment manuscript of many pages.*

**SACKING OF A DRUG-STORE**

**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* ]

We devote a considerable portion of our space this week to illustrations of the disgraceful and infamous Riot which took place in this city last week. On page 493 will be found a picture of the *burning of the colored orphan asylum*, by which exploit the rioters, on Monday 13<sup>th</sup>, inaugurated their sway. This outrage is thus described in the Times:

The Orphan Asylum for Colored Children was visited by the mob about four o'clock. This Institution is situated on Fifth Avenue, and the building, with the grounds and gardens adjoining, extended from Forty-third to Forty-fourth Street. 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 garret. 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. The building was a large four-story one, with two wings of three stories each.

**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. With whose perspective do you sympathize with MOST? Irish? African Americans? Store-owners? Chinese? Explain your answer.

## 5.3 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 1<sup>st</sup>, 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 5.1).

*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 no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.”*

*“That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.”*

*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 in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:*

*Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth[)], and which excepted parts, are for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.*

*And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves*



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 no act or acts to refuse such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.”

“That the Executive will, on the first day

*within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.*

*And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; 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 of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.*

*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.*

*In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.*

*Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.*

*By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN*

*WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.*

**By the President of the United States of America:**

### 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?
2. 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.
3. **Close Reading:** Why do you think he calls the act a “military necessity” and “invoke the considerate judgment of mankind” in the last section?

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## From The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass – Frederick Douglass

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

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

*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.*

It was when General Grant was fighting his way through the Wilderness to Richmond... that President Lincoln did me the honor to invite me to the Executive Mansion for a conference on the situation... The main subject on which he wished to confer with me was as to the means most desirable to be employed outside the army to induce the slaves in the rebel states to come within the federal lines. The increasing opposition to the war, in the North, and the mad cry against it, because it was being made an abolition war, alarmed Mr. Lincoln, and made him apprehensive that a peace might be forced upon him which would leave still in slavery all who had not come within our lines. What he wanted was to make his proclamation as effective as possible in the event of such a peace. He said, in a regretful tone, ‘The slaves are not coming so rapidly and so numerously to us as I had hoped.’ I replied that the slaveholders

knew how to keep such things from their slaves, and probably very few knew of his proclamation. ‘Well,’ he said, ‘I want you to set about devising some means of making them acquainted with it, and for bringing them into our lines.’ He spoke with great earnestness and much solicitude. . . . He said he was being accused of protracting the war beyond its legitimate object and of failing to make peace when he might have done so to advantage. He was afraid of what might come of all these complaints, but was persuaded that no solid and lasting peace could come short of absolute submission on the part of the rebels, and he was not for giving them rest by futile conferences with unauthorized persons, at Niagara Falls, or elsewhere. He saw the danger of premature peace, and, like a thoughtful and sagacious man as he was, wished to provide means of rendering such consummation as harmless as possible. I was the more impressed by this benevolent consideration because he before said, in answer to the peace clamor, that his object was to *save the Union*, and to do so 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 undertake the organizing of a band of scouts, composed of colored men, whose business should be. . . to go into the rebel states, beyond the lines of our armies, and carry the news of emancipation, and urge the slaves to come within our boundaries. . . .

### Questions:

1. **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?
2. **Contextualization:** According to Douglass, what was happening in the North in 1863?
3. **Close Reading:** According to Douglass, what was Lincoln concerned about?
4. **Close Reading:** What is Douglass’s conclusion about Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation?

---

## 5.4 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 5.2).

#### 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 5.3).

#### Questions:

1. Describe the African Americans in this cartoon. Is this a positive or a negative image? Explain.
2. What is Liberty trying to do?
3. What is the message of this cartoon? How does it differ from the message of Cartoon #1?

---

### 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?



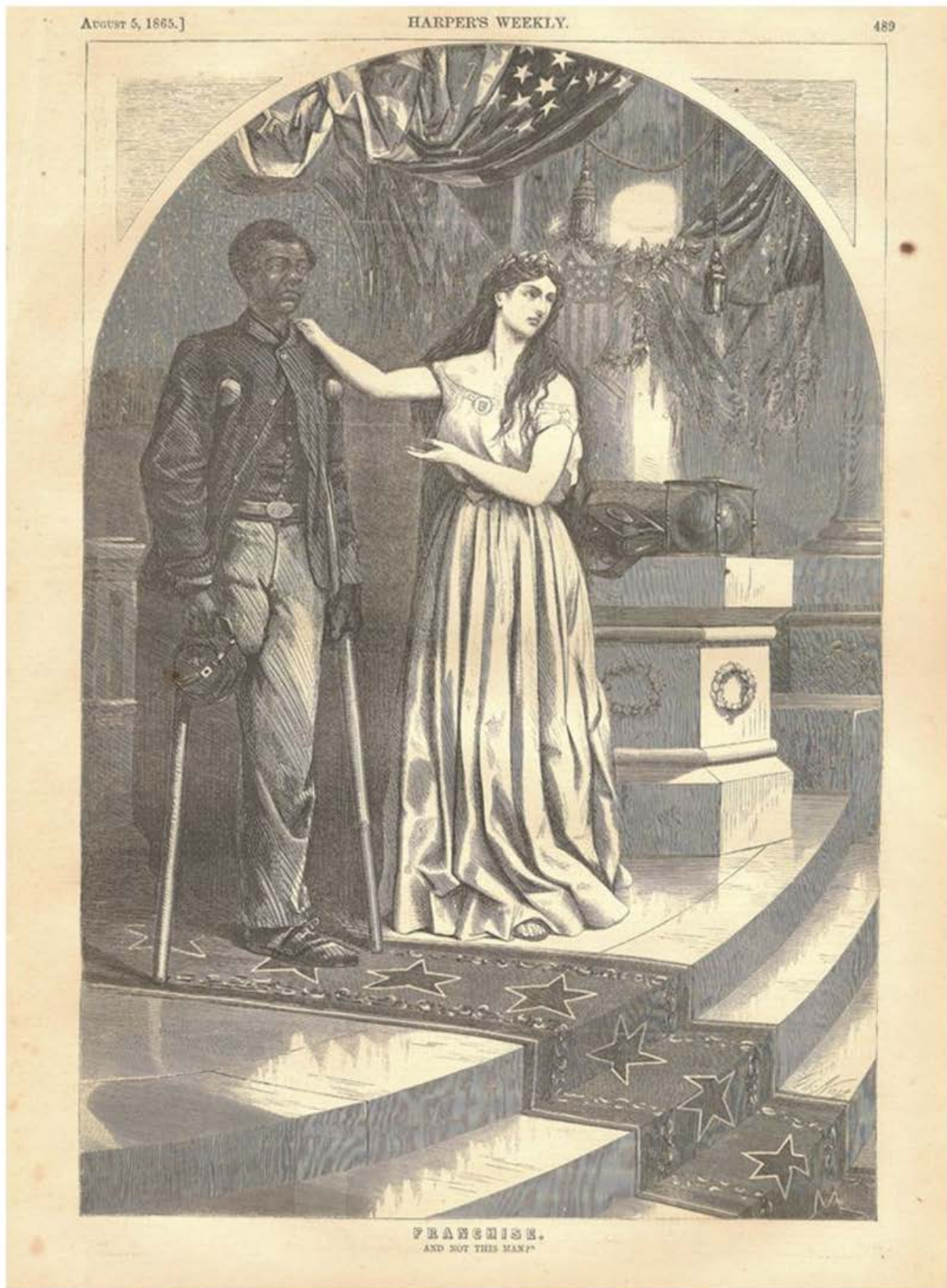


FIGURE 5.2

FRANCHISE. AND NOT THIS MAN?



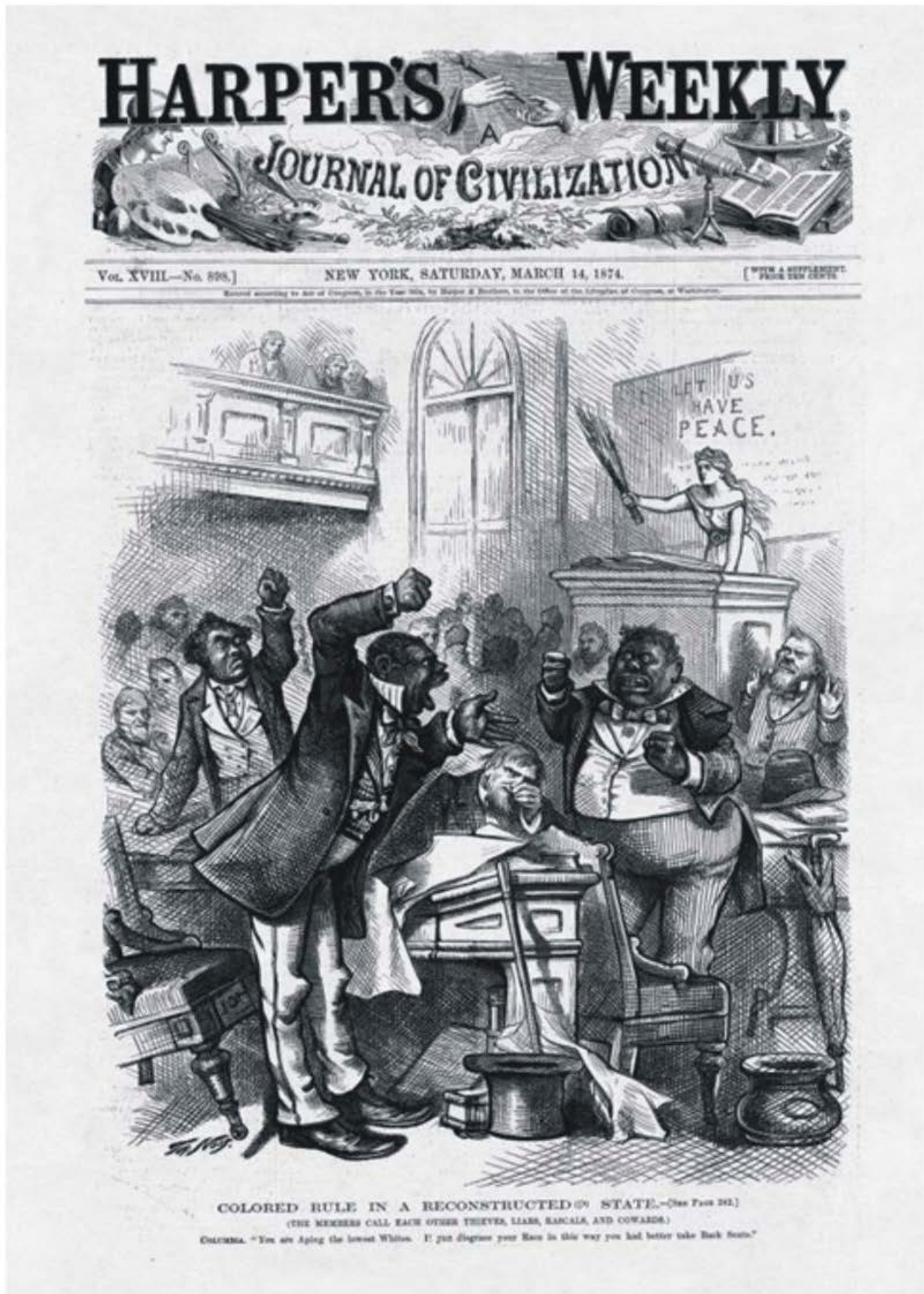


FIGURE 5.3

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."



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## 5.5 Andrew Johnson versus 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.*

Before the rebellion there were 4,000,000 called colored persons held as slaves by about 340,000 people living in the South. That is, 340,000 slave owners paid expenses, bought land, and worked the negroes, and at the expiration of the year when cotton, tobacco, and rice were gathered and sold, after all paying expenses, these slave owners put the money in their pockets- [slight interruption]-your attention-they put the property in their pocket. In many instances there was no profit, and many came out in debt. Well that is the way things stood before the rebellion. The rebellion commenced and the slaves were turned loose. . . .

Now to the Freedmen's Bureau. What was it? Four million slaves were emancipated and given an equal chance and fair start to make their own support-to work and produce; and having worked and produced, to have their own property and apply it to their own support. But the Freedmen's Bureau comes and says we must take charge of these 4,000,000 slaves. The bureau comes along and proposes, at an expense of a fraction less than \$12,000,000 a year, to take charge of these slaves. You had already expended \$3,000,000,000 to set them free and give them a fair opportunity to take care of themselves -then these gentlemen, who are such great friends of the people, tell us they must be taxed \$12,000,000 to sustain the Freedmen's Bureau.

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### 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 purpose and object of the bill - the general intent which pervades it from beginning to end - is to change the entire structure and character of the State governments and to compel them by force to the adoption of organic laws and regulations which they are unwilling to accept if left to themselves. The negroes have not asked for the privilege of voting; the vast majority of them have no idea what it means. . . . Without pausing here to consider the policy or impolicy of Africanizing the southern part of our territory, I would simply ask the attention of Congress to that manifest, well-known, and universally acknowledged rule of constitutional law which declares that the Federal Government has no jurisdiction, authority, or power to regulate such subjects for any State. To force the right of suffrage out of the hands of the white people and into the hands of the negroes is an arbitrary violation of this principle.*

---

## Speech to Congress - Thaddeus Stevens Speech

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

*The cause of the war was slavery. We have liberated the slaves. It is our duty to protect them, and provide for them while they are unable to provide for themselves. . . .*

*Four million persons have just been freed from a condition of dependence, wholly unacquainted with business transactions, kept systematically in ignorance of all their rights and of the common elements of education, without which none of any race are competent to earn an honest living, to guard against the frauds which will always be practiced on the ignorant, or to judge of the most judicious manner of applying their labor. But few of them are mechanics, and none of them skilled manufacturers. They must necessarily, therefore, be the servants and victims of others unless they are made in some measure independent of their wiser neighbors. . . . Make them independent of their old masters, so that they may not be compelled to work for them upon unfair terms, which can only be done by giving them a small tract of land to cultivate for themselves, and you remove all this danger.*

The fourth section [of the bill under debate] provides first that out of the lands thus confiscated each liberated slave who is a male adult, or head of a family, shall have assigned to him a homestead of forty acres of land, (with \$100 to build a dwelling,) which shall be held for them by trustees during their pupilage. . . .

---

## 5.6 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 5.4).*



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FIGURE 5.4

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#### 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.*

*[N]o cotton must be planted by croppers in their home patches. . . . No cropper is to work off the plantation when there is any work to be done on the land he has rented, or when his work is needed by me or other croppers. . . .*

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

*Nothing to be sold from their crops, nor fodder nor corn to be carried out of the fields until my rent is all paid, and all amounts they owe me and for which I am responsible are paid in full. . . .*

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

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

To every one applying to rent land upon shares, the following conditions must be read, and agreed to. To every 30 and 35 acres, I agree to furnish the team, plow, and farming implements, except cotton planters, and I do not agree to furnish a cart to every cropper. The croppers are to have half of the cotton, corn, and fodder (and peas and pumpkins and potatoes if any are planted) if the following conditions are complied with, but-if not-they are to have only two-fifths (2/5). . . .

For every mule or horse furnished by me there must be 1000 good sized rails. . . hauled, and the fence repaired as far as they will go, the fence to be torn down and put up from the bottom if I so direct. All croppers to haul rails and work on fence whenever I may order. Rails to be split when I may say. . . . The rails must be split and the fence repaired before corn is planted. . . .

### 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.

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## 5.7 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.

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### The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments

*Source: The 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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 below).*

#### AMENDMENT 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.*

#### AMENDMENT XIV

##### Section 1.

*All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction 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 the privileges or immunities 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.*

##### Section 2.

*Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.*

##### Section 3.

*No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or*



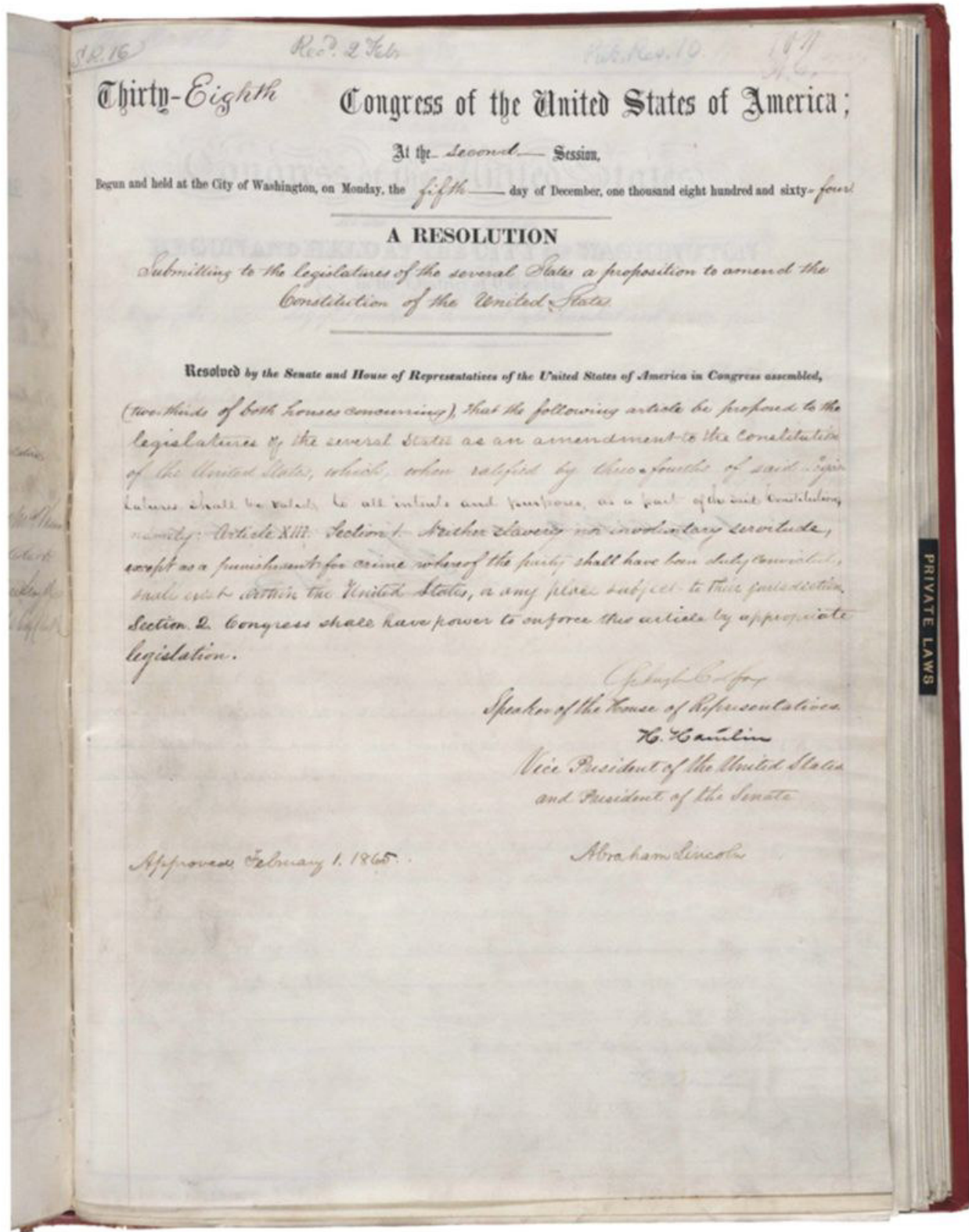


FIGURE 5.5



*rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.*

*Section 4.*

*The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.*

*Section 5.*

*The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.*

*Fortieth Congress of the United States of America;*

*At the third Session, Begun and held at the city of Washington, on Monday, the seventh day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.*

The 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment

**13<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1865)**

*Passed by Congress January 31, 1865. Ratified December 6, 1865.*

**14<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1868)**

**15<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1870)**

**A Resolution** Proposing an amendment to 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 legislature 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 as part of the Constitution, namely:

**Article XV.**

**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—

**Section 2.** The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

**Questions:**

1. Sourcing: When were the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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.*

*No negro or freedmen shall be allowed to come within the limits of the town of Opelousas without special permission from his employers. . . . Whoever shall violate this provision shall suffer imprisonment and two days work on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town under any circumstances. . . . No negro or freedman shall reside within the limits of the town. . .*

*who is not in the regular service of some white person or former owner... No public meetings or congregations of negroes or freedmen shall be allowed within the limits of the town... No negro or freedman shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim to congregations of colored people without a special permission from the mayor or president of the board of police... No freedman... shall be allowed to carry firearms, or any kind of weapons... No freedman shall sell, barter, or exchange any article of merchandise within the limits of Opelousas without permission in writing from his employer.*

*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.”*

---

## Henry Adams Statement

*Source: Excerpt from Senate Report 693, 46<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 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 Keachie, De Soto Parish. 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. One of them who knew me told the others, “Let Henry alone for he is a hard-working nigger and a good nigger.” They left me and I then went on to Shreveport. I seen 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, “where was the boss?” She says, “Now, the boss; now, the boss! You should say ‘master’ and ‘mistress’ – and shall or leave. We will not have no nigger here on our place who cannot say ‘mistress’ and ‘master.’ You all are not free yet and will not be until Congress sits, and you shall call every white lady ‘missus’ and every white man ‘master.’”*

*During the same week the madame takin’ a stick and beat one of the young colored girls, who was about fifteen years of age and who is my sister, and split her back. The boss came next day and take this same girl (my sister) and whipped her nearly to death, but in the contracts he was to hit no one any more. After the whipping a large number of young colored people taken a notion to leave. On the 18th of September I and eleven men and boys left that place and started for Shreveport. I had my horse along. My brother was riding him, and all of our things was packed on him. Out come about forty armed men (white) and shot at us and takin’ my horse. Said they were going to kill ever’ nigger 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*

*Many of the negroes in some localities, common plantation negroes, and day laborers in the towns and villages, were supporting little schools themselves. Everywhere, I found among them a disposition to get their children into schools, if possible. I had occasion very frequently to notice that porters in stores and laboring men about cotton warehouses, and cart-drivers on the streets, had spelling-books with them, and were studying them during the time they were not occupied with their work. Go into the outskirts of any large town, and walk among the negro habitations, and you will see the children, and in many instances grown negroes, sitting in the sun alongside their cabins studying.*

*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.*

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## 5.8 References

1. . [The Emancipation Proclamation](#). Public Domain
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5. . <http://ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=40>. Public Domain

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CHAPTER **6**

# The Gilded Age and the Rise of American Power

## Chapter Outline

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- 6.1 BUFFALO SOLDIERS
  - 6.2 CHINESE IMMIGRATION
  - 6.3 FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
  - 6.4 JACOB RIIS
  - 6.5 POPULISM
  - 6.6 ELECTORAL COLLEGE MAPS –THE HEYDAY OF POPULISM
  - 6.7 PULLMAN STRIKE
  - 6.8 USS MAINE
  - 6.9 THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
  - 6.10 REFERENCES
-

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## 6.1 Buffalo Soldiers

The Buffalo Soldiers were members of the U.S. Army's 10<sup>th</sup> Cavalry—a regiment of African-American soldiers organized in 1866. The term eventually came to apply to four regiments of cavalry and two of infantry. The Buffalo Soldiers participated in the Spanish-American War in Cuba, including the famous charge up San Juan Hill led by future president Teddy Roosevelt. Below you will find two accounts of the Buffalo Soldiers in the Spanish-American war, one by Roosevelt and one published in the magazine *The Atlantic Monthly*. As you read, try to determine whether the Buffalo Soldiers were respected by their white compatriots.

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### The Rough Riders - Teddy Roosevelt

Source: Excerpt from Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, 1905. The book is an account of the Rough Riders' battles.

*None of the white regulars or Rough Riders showed the slightest sign of weakening; but under the strain the colored infantrymen (who had none of their officers) began to get a little uneasy and to drift to the rear, either helping wounded men, or saying that they wished to find their own regiments. This I could not allow, as it was depleting my line, so I jumped up, and walking a few yards to the rear, drew my revolver, halted the retreating soldiers, and called out to them that I appreciated the gallantry with which they had fought and would be sorry to hurt them, but that I should shoot the first man who, on any pretence whatever, went to the rear. My own men had all sat up and were watching my movements with utmost interest; so was Captain Howze. I ended my statement to the colored soldiers by saying: "Now, I shall be very sorry to hurt you, and you don't know whether or not I will keep my word, but my men can tell you that I always do;" whereupon my cow-punchers, hunters, and miners solemnly nodded their heads and commented in chorus, exactly as if in a comic opera, "He always does; he always does!"*

*This was the end of the trouble, for the "smoked Yankees"—as the Spaniards called the colored soldiers—flashed their white teeth at one another, as they broke into broad grins, and I had no more trouble with them, they seeming to accept me as one of their own officers. The colored cavalry-men had already so accepted me; in return, the Rough Riders, although for the most part Southwesterners, who have a strong color prejudice, grew to accept them with hearty good-will as comrades, and were entirely willing, in their own phrase, "to drink out of the same canteen." Where all the regular officers did so well, it is hard to draw any distinction; but in the cavalry division a peculiar meed of praise should be given to the officers of the Ninth and Tenth for their work, and under their leadership the colored troops did as well as any soldiers could possibly do.*

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Why would Teddy Roosevelt write an account of the Battle of San Juan Hill? What do you think his main purpose was?
2. **Close Reading:** Does Roosevelt present African American troops as equal to white troops? Explain your answer.
3. Based on all that you have read, what were white attitudes towards the African American soldiers who fought in the Battle of San Juan Hill?



---

## “The Negro in the Regular Army” – from *The Atlantic Monthly*

Source: Excerpt from Oswald G. Villard, “The Negro in the Regular Army,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1903. *The Atlantic Monthly* was a literary magazine published in Boston that was founded in 1857.

*It was not until the battle of Santiago, however, that the bulk of the American people realized that the standing army comprised regiments composed wholly of black men. Up to that time only one company of colored soldiers had served at a post east of the Mississippi. Even Major, later Brigadier-General, Guy V. Henry’s gallop to the rescue of the Seventh Cavalry on December 30, 1890, with four troops of the Ninth Cavalry, attracted but little attention. This feat was the more remarkable because Major Henry’s command had just completed a march of more than one hundred miles in twenty-four hours. But in the battle at Santiago, the four colored regiments won praise from all sides, particularly for their advance upon Kettle Hill, in which the Rough Riders also figured. From the very beginning of the movement of the army after its landing, the negro troops were in the front of the fighting, and contributed largely to the successful result. Although they suffered heavy losses, especially in officers, the men fought with the same gallantry they had displayed on the plains, as is attested by the honors awarded. In every company there were instances of personal gallantry. The first sergeants especially lived up to the responsibilities placed upon them. The color sergeant of the Tenth Cavalry, Adam Houston, bore to the front not only his own flags, but those of the Third Cavalry when the latter’s color sergeant was shot down. In several emergencies where troops or companies lost their white officers, the senior sergeants took command and handled their men in a faultless manner, notably in the Tenth Cavalry.*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who do you think read this magazine? What do you think the magazine’s white readers thought about African Americans? Why?
2. **Close Reading:** How does the magazine describe the fighting of African Americans in Cuba?

## 6.2 Chinese Immigration

Beginning around 1850, thousands of Chinese immigrants came to the West Coast of the United States to mine for gold and work building America's transcontinental railroad. But over the next few decades, attitudes toward the Chinese soured. They were not allowed to give testimony in court or become naturalized citizens, and the state of California passed a law against interracial marriage. The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882, specifically prohibited Chinese immigration. As you read the documents below, try to understand why the American Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act.

### “The Chinese Must Go”

Source: The page below comes from a play called “The Chinese Must Go:” A Farce in Four Acts by Henry Grimm, published in San Francisco, 1879. In just the first page, you will be able to see many of the common stereotypes of Chinese immigrants in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Figure 6.1).

Image:

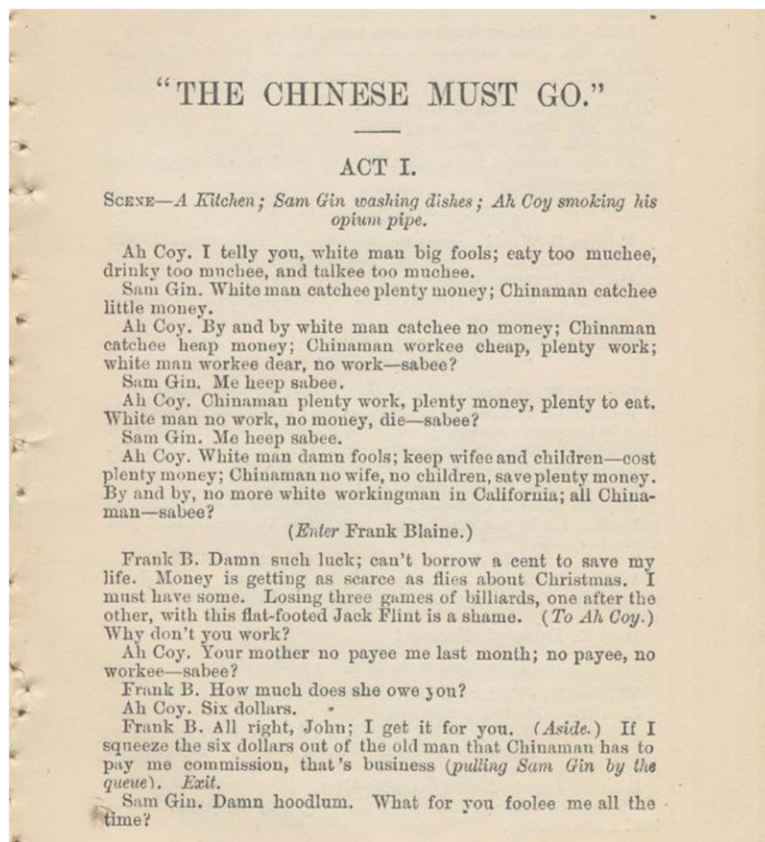


FIGURE 6.1

“THE CHINESE MUST GO”

ACT I.

Ah Coy. *I telly you, white man big fools; eaty too muchee, drinky too muchee, and talkee too muchee.*

Sam Gin. *White man catchee plenty money; Chinaman catchee little money.*

Ah Coy. *By and by white man catchee no money; Chinaman catchee heap money; Chinaman workee cheap, plenty work; white man workee dear, no work–sabee?*

Sam Gin. *He heep sabee.*

Ah Coy. *Chinaman plenty work, plenty money, plenty to eat. White man no work, no money, die–sabee?*

Sam Gin. *Me heep sabee.*

Ah Coy. *White man damn fools; keep wifee and children–cost plenty money; Chinaman no wife, no children, save plenty money. By and by, no more white workingman in California; all Chinaman–sabee?*

Ah Coy. *Your mother no payee me last month; no payee, no workee–sabee?*

Frank B. *How much does she owe you?*

Ah Coy. *Six dollars.*

Sam Gin. *Damn hoodlum. What for you foolee me all the time?*

*SCENE—A Kitchen; Sam Gin washing dishes; Ah Coy smoking his opium pipe.*

*(Enter Frank Blaine.)*

Frank B. *Damn such luck; can't borrow a cent to save my life. Money is getting as scarce as flies about Christmas. I must have some. Losing three games of billiards, one after the other, with this flat-footed Jack Flint is a shame. (To Ah Coy.) Why don't you work?*

Frank B. *All right, John; I get it for you. (Aside.) If I squeeze the six dollars out of the old man that Chinaman has to pay me commission, that's business (pulling Sam Gin by the queue). Exit.*

### Question:

1. If this document were your ONLY piece of evidence, how would you answer the question: 'Why did Americans pass the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act?'

---

## The Chinese Question – Nast

*Source: The cartoon was drawn by Thomas Nast for Harper's Weekly, a Northern magazine. In this cartoon, we see Columbia, the feminine symbol of the United States, protecting a Chinese man against a gang of Irish and German thugs. At the bottom it says "Hands off-Gentlemen! America means fair play for all men." (Figure 6.2).*

### Question:

1. If this document were your ONLY piece of evidence, how would you answer the question: 'Why did Americans pass the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act?'

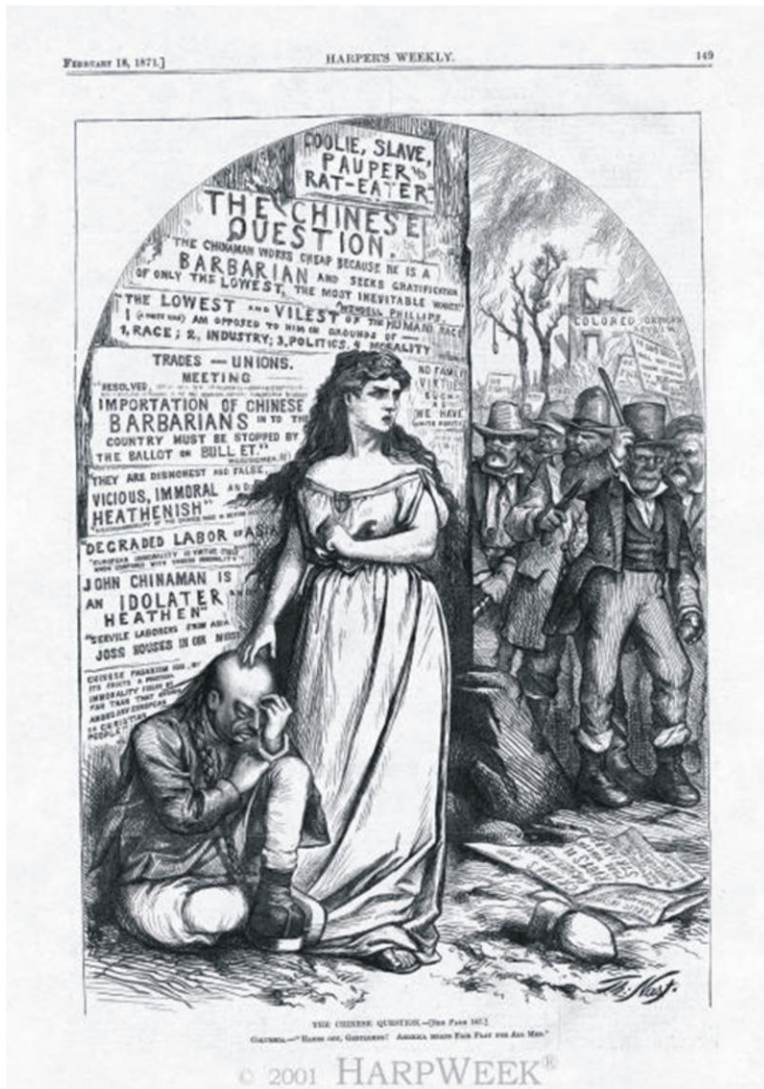


FIGURE 6.2

“Hands off-Gentlemen! America means fair play for all men.”

## Workingmen of San Francisco

Source: “An Address From the Workingmen of San Francisco to Their Brothers Throughout the Pacific Coast.” An excerpt from a speech to the workingmen of San Francisco on August 16, 1888.

*We have met here in San Francisco to-night to raise our voice to you in warning of a great danger that seems to us imminent, and threatens our almost utter destruction as a prosperous community; and we beg of each and every citizen of the State, without distinction of political party, depending on their own labor for the support of themselves and families, to hear us and to take time to examine with the utmost care the reasons and the facts we will give for believing a great danger to be now confronting us. . . .*

*The danger is, that while we have been sleeping in fancied security, believing that the tide of Mongolian immigration to our State had been checked and was in a fair way to be entirely stopped, our opponents, the pro-China wealthy men of the land, have been wide-awake and have succeeded in reviving the importation of this servile slave-labor to almost its former proportions. So that, now, hundreds and thousands of Mongolians are every week flocking into our State. . . .*

*To-day every avenue to labor, of every sort, is crowded with Chinese slave labor worse than it was eight years ago. The boot, shoe, and cigar industries are almost entirely in their hands. In the manufacture of men's overalls and women's and children's underwear they run over three thousand sewing machines night and day. They monopolize nearly all the farming done to supply the market with all sorts of vegetables. This state of things brings about a terrible competition between our own people, who must live, if they live at all, in accord with American civilization, and the labor of a people, who live like what in fact they are, degraded serfs under masters who hold them in slavery. We should all understand that this state of things cannot be much longer endured.*

**Question:**

1. If this document were your ONLY piece of evidence, how would you answer the question: 'Why did Americans pass the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act?'



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## 6.3 Friends of the Indian

Some Americans tried to remove Native Americans from their land, but others wanted to help “civilize” them. One group founded to accomplish this, the Friends of the Indian, opened schools to educate and Europeanize the Indians. As you read these documents, think about whether members of the group were truly “friends” to the Indians they helped. Were they well-intentioned? Did their work make the Indians better off?

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### Diaries of Alice Fletcher

*Source: Alice Fletcher was an ethnologist (someone who studies and compares the language, religion, customs, and culture of groups of people). In the 1880s she lived among a number of Native American tribes to learn about their customs. She became a founder of the “Friends of the Indians.” In the diary entries below, she writes about her experiences on the Sioux Reservation in 1881.*

*Wednesday A.M. Rainy again and we cant get on. Buffalo-chip is a Medicine man, has little positive humor, rather sober and dignified. A queer childish consciousness. He wears the scalp lock. This morning he took a stick and with queer mumblings, he raised it to and fro. This was to gain better weather. It is a strange thing to sit opposite and witness veritable, heathen performances. One realizes the power and gift of spiritual life by the blessed Lord. I needed to see all this to realize the verity of “I am the way, the truth and the life”. The darkness and paucity of their mental life is pitiful. Wajapa who is free and blithe in comparison.*

*This A.M. I have been teaching Wajapa more arithmetic, addition by object lessons in plums, trying to make the figures a verity to him. One feels so sorry for them, so longs to broaden and deepen and brighten their life.*

*An old Indian sat there and when we came in, said, “How you do?” and extended his hand. Quite polite to give his sole English.*

*White Thunder was on the bed. He was not very cordial toward me, I thought. We all sat on chairs. He brought out his papers, the Treaty concerning the Ponca Band, the list of articles to be issued at the Rosebud Agency for 1881 and 1882. I copied this in Book II - Several other Indians there, two young men and an old man. Swift Bear came in and stayed.*

*While we sat there, White Thunder’s wife began to cook. She made bread and baked it, wretched stuff, heavy and poor. Coffee and some sort of stripped and dried meat boiled with pork. A cloth was put on the floor between White Thunder’s bed and the stove and the meal served on china plates and cups and saucers. At the back of the chief’s bed was a bed spread on the floor, back of this was stored the various packs all covered with beads, I think four or five of them. There were trunks and valises and bags.*

*The girl wore a blanket most of the time. The mother wore the usual dress, calico, red. She was painted, bright red cheeks, her hair part being red. A young comely girl came in, brought in meat and looked bright and pleasing. This was the wife’s younger sister, had been at Carlisle school. She is about eighteen years old.*

*I understand that White Thunder wants to marry this girl as his second wife. She declines. It is rather startling and unpleasant to contemplate this woman’s future. I hope she will hold out. After the meal, White Thunder began his speech. It seemed to me that the speech lacked in cordiality. He wanted to know what we were here for, why Mr. T. &c. Mr. T. said he heard they had been to Washington and signed a paper and that he feared there would be trouble, and he had come to see about it, &c.*

*He constantly said there were women by the sea who had the interest of the Indians at heart and one had come here,*



*this woman, my friend.*

*White Thunder made no acknowledgement. Mr. T. made long speech, all he had done, &c. &c. After all had talked, Swift Bear made a most courteous speech. I ventured to speak and plainly set forth their need. I said that I wanted to say something because I had their good at heart. I had heard that this summer many of the children were coming home from the eastern schools. These children can all speak English and understand figures. Now what I propose may seem very strange and hard and it will be difficult, it is, that the chiefs and the leading men, will spend a part of every day with some of the children and learn the meaning and use of figures and master as much English as possible. If they can learn but little, that little will help them to protect themselves against the white men who wish to cheat them,*

*Swift Bear received this with interest. White Thunder did not say a word. This visit was rather uninteresting. I felt the influence of the man to be less single and noble, in some ways.*

*There are two parties, one old chiefs, one to adopt civilization. Sitting Bull has thrown away the old ways and desires to make his way toward civilization. He knows how he came from the [ ? ] and took root from the [ ? ] Wants for the sake of the women, to turn away. The game gone, wants to walk in the way of work. For themselves, they can't change but for their children and the future they want to change their life.*

**October 5, 1881**

**October 15, 1881**

A pair of paddles lay on a few nails like brackets. Don't know what they are. A doll, French, was dressed with a necklace, whereon 10 cent pieces were strung. She was put in one of the baby hoods. This is a long bag open at one side. The back is a plain strip the sides joined to it, at the top a little ornamental flap. Sometimes the end is trimmed with little brass sleigh bells - these about the baby's face. The baby is laid in there and carried in the mother's arms. The doll belonged to her daughter, a girl of ten or twelve. She had her hair in braids with beads at the end a tassel of brass beads.

**October 27, 1881**

Called on Sitting Bull Oct. 27, 1881, about 12.30 P.M. He received me with much state, sitting at the left of his tent, an inner tent covering being between him and the outside tent cover. Some 13 of his men came in, several old ones. He spoke in a low tone with much deliberation. He was apparently quite in earnest. The tone of his speech has been, I think, affected by the conversation of Buffalo- chip and Wajapa. He gave me his autograph. Sitting Bull and 12 or 13 names.

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What is her perspective? Who is the audience?
2. **Contextualization:** How does Alice Fletcher see the world? What was happening to Native Americans at this time?
3. Do you trust the document? Why or why not?

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### “School Days of an Indian Girl” – Zitkala-Sa

*Source: The excerpt below was written by Zitkala-Sa, or Red Bird, a Sioux from a reservation in South Dakota. (Her English name was Gertrude Simmons Bonnin). She describes her experiences at age 8 in a school for Native Americans. She ultimately attended college and then began a lifetime of work to improve the lives of Native Americans. The excerpt below was published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1900.*

...Late in the morning, my friend Judewin gave me a terrible warning. Judewin knew a few words of English, and she had overheard the paleface woman talk about cutting our long, heavy hair. Our mothers had taught us that only unskilled warriors who were captured had their hair shingled by the enemy. Among our people, short hair was worn by mourners, and shingled hair by cowards!

We discussed our fate some moments, and when Judewin said, "We have to submit, because they are strong," I rebelled.

"No, I will not submit! I will struggle first!" I answered.

I watched my chance, and when no one noticed I disappeared. I crept up the stairs as quietly as I could in my squeaking shoes, – my moccasins had been exchanged for shoes. Along the hall I passed, without knowing whither I was going. Turning aside to an open door, I found a large room with three white beds in it. The windows were covered with dark green curtains, which made the room very dim. Thankful that no one was there, I directed my steps toward the corner farthest from the door. On my hands and knees I crawled under the bed, and cuddled myself in the dark corner.

From my hiding place I peered out, shuddering with fear whenever I heard footsteps near by. Though in the hall loud voices were calling my name, and I knew that even Judewin was searching for me, I did not open my mouth to answer. Then the steps were quickened and the voices became excited. The sounds came nearer and nearer. Women and girls entered the room. I held my breath, and watched them open closet doors and peep behind large trunks. Some one threw up the curtains, and the room was filled with sudden light. What caused them to stoop and look under the bed I do not know. I remember being dragged out, though I resisted by kicking and scratching wildly. In spite of myself, I was carried downstairs and tied fast in a chair.

I cried aloud, shaking my head all the while until I felt the cold blades of the scissors against my neck, and heard them gnaw off one of my thick braids. Then I lost my spirit. Since the day I was taken from my mother I had suffered extreme indignities. People had stared at me. I had been tossed about in the air like a wooden puppet. And now my long hair was shingled like a coward's! In my anguish I moaned for my mother, but no one came to comfort me. Not a soul reasoned quietly with me, as my own mother used to do; for now I was only one of many little animals driven by a herder.

### Question:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What was their audience? How trustworthy is it?

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### Section Question:

1. Based on both documents, were the Friends of the Indian well-intentioned? Were they truly "friends of the Indian?"

## 6.4 Jacob Riis

### How the Other Half Lives – Jacob Riis

*Source: Excerpts from Jacob Riis’s book How the Other Half Lives, 1890. Jacob Riis was a “muckraker” who photographed poverty in New York City’s slums in the 1880s. Riis tried to improve the conditions for the poor by making richer people aware of how the poor lived.*

*The Italian comes in at the bottom, and in the generation that came over the sea he stays there. In the slums he is welcomed as a tenant who “makes less trouble” than the contentious Irishman or the order-loving German, that is to say: is content to live in a pig-sty and submits to robbery at the hands of the rent-collector without murmur. . . .*

*Ordinarily he is easily enough governed by authority—always excepting Sunday, when he settles down to a game of cards and lets loose all his bad passions. Like the Chinese, the Italian is a born gambler. His soul is in the game from the moment the cards are on the table, and very frequently his knife is in it too before the game is ended. Every member of the family, from the youngest to the oldest, bears a hand, shut in the qualmy rooms, where meals are cooked and clothing washed and dried besides, the livelong day. It is not unusual to find a dozen persons—men, women, and children—at work in a single small room.*

*Red and yellow are the holiday colors of Chinatown as of the Bend, but they do not lend brightness in Mott Street as around the corner in Mulberry. Rather, they seem to descend to the level of the general dulness, and glower at you from doors and windows, from the telegraph pole that is the official organ of Chinatown and from the store signs, with blank, unmeaning stare, suggesting nothing, asking no questions, and answering none. Fifth Avenue is not duller on a rainy day than Mott Street to one in search of excitement. Whatever is on foot goes on behind closed doors. Stealth and secretiveness are as much part of the Chinaman in New York as the cat-like tread of his felt shoes. His business, as his domestic life, shuns the light, less because there is anything to conceal than because that is the way of the man. Perhaps the attitude of American civilization toward the stranger, whom it invited in, has taught him that way. At any rate, the very doorways of his offices and shops are fenced off by queer, forbidding partitions suggestive of a continual state of siege. The stranger who enters through the crooked approach is received with sudden silence, a sullen stare, and an angry “Vat you vant?” that breathes annoyance and distrust.*

*Penury and poverty are wedded everywhere to dirt and disease, and Jewtown is no exception. It could not well be otherwise in such crowds, considering especially their low intellectual status. The managers of the Eastern Dispensary, which is in the very heart of their district, told the whole story when they said: “The diseases these people suffer from are not due to intemperance or immorality, but to ignorance, want of suitable food, and the foul air in which they live and work.” The homes of the Hebrew quarter are its workshops also. . . . Every member of the family, from the youngest to the oldest, bears a hand, shut in the qualmy rooms, where meals are cooked and clothing washed and dried besides, the livelong day. It is not unusual to find a dozen persons—men, women, and children—at work in a single small room. . . . It has happened more than once that a child recovering from small-pox, and in the most contagious stage of the disease, has been found crawling among heaps of half-finished clothing that the next day would be offered for sale on the counter of a Broadway store.*

#### **The Italian in New York**

#### **Chinatown**

#### **Jewtown**

*Source: Riis’s caption for this image is “Growler Gang in Session (Robbing a Lush).”(Figure 6.3).*



FIGURE 6.3

“Growler Gang in Session (Robbing a Lush).”

Source: Riis’s caption for the following photo was “Street Arabs in Sleeping Quarters.” It was taken at some time during the 1880s and included in *How the Other Half Lives*.(Figure 6.4).



FIGURE 6.4

“Street Arabs in Sleeping Quarters”

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## Section Questions:

Use both the text and photographs to answer these questions.

1. **Sourcing:** Who created these documents? What was his purpose in writing? Who do you think was his audience?
2. Do the photographs look natural to you or posed?
3. **Close Reading:** What is Riis's attitude toward the people he writes about? Cite specific phrases to support your answer.
4. Is there a contradiction between Riis's purpose in writing and his view of ethnic communities? Explain why or why not.



## 6.5 Populism

In the decades following the Civil War, the prices of agricultural crops fell and life became very hard for farmers in the American West, who struggled to make a living. They established a series of organizations to represent their interests, including The Grange in 1867 and the Farmers' Alliance in 1876. The most successful organization, founded in 1892 was the Populist Party, a political group intended to promote farmer-friendly legislation. The Populists gained adherents in the South in addition to the West and nominated competitive presidential candidates in 1892 and 1896. However, the party failed to appeal to urban working people and never achieved a majority. As the new century dawned, the Populist Party weakened and eventually disbanded. The documents below show the range of motivations behind Populism, including temperance, economic distress, and racism.

### Speech to the Women's Christian Temperance Union - Mary Elizabeth Lease, 1890

*Source: Speech by Mary Elizabeth Lease to the Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1890. Lease became politically involved as a speaker for the rights of workers and farmers. She had powerful voice and charismatic speaking style. The Women's Christian Temperance Union was a women's movement against alcohol.*

*The mightiest movement the world has known in two thousand years... is sending out the gladdest message to oppressed humanity that the world has heard since John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness that the world's Redeemer was coming to relieve the world's misery...*

*I overheard yesterday morning at the hotel breakfast table a conversation between two gentlemen in regard to Ingalls. "I consider his defeat," said the first speaker, "to be a national calamity." "Your reasons," said the second. "Why, he is such a brilliantly smart man," he replied. "True," said the other; "but he must needs be a smart man to be the consummate rascal he has proven himself to be." And I thought as I heard the remarks, "Our opinion is also shared by men." You wonder, perhaps, at the zeal and enthusiasm of the Western women in this reform movement. Let me tell you why they are interested. Turn to your old school-maps and books of a quarter of a century ago, and you will find that what is now the teeming and fruitful West was then known as the Treeless Plain, the Great American Desert. To this sterile and remote region, infested by savage beasts and still more savage men, the women of the New England States, the women of the cultured East, came with husbands, sons and brothers to help them build up a home upon the broad and vernal prairies of the West. We came with the roses of health on our cheek, the light of hope in our eyes, the fires of youth and hope burning in our hearts. We left the old familiar paths, the associations of home and the friends of childhood. We left schools and churches—all that made life dear—and turned our faces toward the setting sun. We endured hardships, dangers and privations; hours of loneliness, fear and sorrow; our little babes were born upon these wide, unsheltered prairies; and there, upon the sweeping prairies beneath the cedar trees our hands have planted to mark the sacred place, our little ones lie buried. We toiled in the cabin and in the field; we planted trees and orchards; we helped our loved ones to make the prairie blossom as the rose. The neat cottage took the place of the sod shanty, the log-cabin and the humble dug-out.*

*No more millionaires, and no more paupers; no more gold kings, silver kings and oil kings, and no more little waifs of humanity starving for a crust of bread. No more gaunt faced, hollow-eyed girls in the factories, and no more little boys reared in poverty and crime for the penitentiaries and the gallows. But we shall have the golden age of which Isaiah sang and the prophets have so long foretold; when the farmers shall be prosperous and happy, dwelling under their own vine and fig tree; when the laborer shall have that for which he toils; when occupancy and use shall be the only title to land, and every one shall obey the divine injunction, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."*



*When men shall be just and generous, little less than gods, and women shall be just and charitable toward each other, little less than angels; when we shall have not a government of the people by capitalists, but a government of the people, by the people.*

*Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.*

Yet, after all our years of toil and privation, dangers and hardships upon the Western frontier, monopoly is taking our homes from us by an infamous system of mortgage foreclosure, the most infamous that has ever disgraced the statutes of a civilized nation. It, takes from us at the rate of five hundred a month the homes that represent the best years of our life, our toil, our hopes, our happiness. How did it happen? The government, at the bid of Wall Street, repudiated its contracts with the people; the circulating medium was contracted in the interest of Shylock from \$54 per capita to less than \$8 per capita; or, as Senator [Preston] Plumb [of Kansas] tells us, “Our debts were increased, while the means to pay them was decreased;” or as grand Senator [William Morris] Stewart [of Nevada] puts it, “For twenty years the market value of the dollar has gone up and the market value of labor has gone down, till to-day the American laborer, in bitterness and wrath, asks which is the worst—the black slavery that has gone or the white slavery that has come?” . . .

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? Who was the intended audience?
2. **Contextualization:** What was happening for farmers at the time this document was written? To what extent were women involved in politics at this time?
3. **Close reading:** How did Lease want to make her audience feel? What specific passages show this?

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## Cross of Gold - William Jennings Bryan

*Source: Speech delivered by William Jennings Bryan at the Democratic National Convention in July 1896. It is considered one of the most famous speeches in American history. The passage below is an excerpt.*

*A 1925 recording of Bryan reading the speech is available at <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5354/>.*

*The merchant at the crossroads store is as much a businessman as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a businessman as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain. . . .*

*We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen. . . .*

*It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came.*

*We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them!. . . .*

*You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country. . . .*

*Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.*

**Questions:**

1. **Sourcing:** Where is Bryan speaking? What is the purpose of his speech?
2. **Context:** Based on the speech, how do you think farmers and workers were feeling about business and industry? Find a quote to support your answer.
3. **Close reading:** What is the main point of his speech?
4. **Close reading:** What makes the speech so powerful? Pick the line that you think is most powerful and explain your choice.

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**Section Questions:**

1. How are Bryan's speech and Lease's speech similar? How are they different?
2. Why do you think speakers like Lease and Bryan were so popular with farmers in the 1890s?

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**A White Man's Day – Raleigh News and Observer**

*Source: The following article appeared in the Democratic newspaper, News and Observer, on October 21, 1898.(Figure 6.1).*

*The article describes a speech by Democratic Senator Ben Tillman who was convincing the large crowd to vote Democratic in the upcoming election.*

**Image:**

*...Senator Tillman spoke for an hour and a half. There has been no speaker here since Vance who so moved the multitude. Several times he was about to conclude, but the crowd insisted that he go on. They would have heard him as long as he could speak. He has a very remarkable manner. He is altogether out of the common. His thoughts come clear and logical; he has a ringing voice and imperious gesture; his sentences are well constructed; his illustrations striking and picturesque and bearing the flavor of wholesome country life; his delivery deliberate in the main, but running into great rapidity of utterance at the climaxes.*

*He said he had never before heard of a State in such a condition of political chaos as North Carolina at the time. In his own State of South Carolina the blacks outnumbered the whites as three to two; whereas in North Carolina there were but half as many blacks as there were whites. In the face of these facts he could not conceive of anything short of idiocy on the part of the whites why they did not use their large majority to prevent negro domination at the very outset. It if were not idiocy, and he knew that the people of North Carolina were far removed from that, then the conclusion was inevitable that the trusted servants of the two wings of what was once Vance's Democracy, namely the Democrats and the Populists, must have been faithless to their duty. They should have found a way to unite at all hazards, in the face of the dreadful reality of negro domination, and in order to prevent the exposure to the world of their noble commonwealth in the pitiable way which the exigencies of the present moment have forced. He blamed both Democrats and Populists for their continued division, but made a telling appeal to the Populists to waive all question of who was to blame for the failure to co-operate, and to re unite with the majority party of the anti Republicans. When they had restored white rule, they would have ample time to settle their factional differences. By taking his advice the Populists would re-inforce the silver wing of the Democracy and help keep the goldbugs from influencing Democratic party policy....*

*The speaker apologized for having to say such plain things about his hospitable entertainers, but he was invited to come as an expert to diagnose the disease of the North Carolina patient and his task would be useless if he failed to use the surgeon's knife unflinchingly. But the multitude assured him that that was precisely what they wanted him to do, and they yelled with delight at every cut into the sore of machine politics. It was evidently an audience of sound*

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## A WHITE MAN'S DAY.

---

Eight to Ten Thousand People Out.

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TILLMAN MAKES A GREAT SPEECH FOR  
DEMOCRACY

---

Yesterday was a great day for Fayetteville and all this Cape Fear country. It was the occasion of the speaking in behalf of the restoration of white rule in North Carolina by Senator Ben R. Tillman, the Liberator of South Carolina.

Instead of the beautiful October weather which we had been having, the weather changed on Thursday night. It began to rain about 1 o'clock. Friday morning opened with a down-pour and there were showers during the most of the day. It is certain that many thousands of those who live some distance from the country railway stations were deterred from starting out in such weather, the rain being at its worst about the time the most of them would have to start from their homes. But notwithstanding this there was a greater crowd in Fayetteville and at the speaking than the old town has seen since the centennial of '89.

The number has been variously estimated at from seven to ten thousand. Many of the multitude who lined the streets and filled the windows en route were not able to attend the speaking.

122 The great outpouring of the people under such adverse circumstances is

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FIGURE 6.5

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*minded and sound hearted citizens, bent on hearing advice from the leading political doctor of our day and section. If there were any present whose toes were trod on, they have discreetly kept quiet.*

### A WHITE MAN'S DAY.

#### Eight to Ten Thousand People Out.

#### TILLMAN MAKES A GREAT SPEECH FOR DEMOCRACY

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What party does Tillman represent?
2. **Sourcing:** Who is he trying to convince to vote Democratic?
3. **Close Reading:** What are two things that Tillman promises will happen if the Democrats win?

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### How Long Will This Last? – Raleigh News and Observer

Source: The following political cartoon appeared in the Democratic newspaper, *News and Observer*, on August 13, 1898. (Figure 6.6).



**FIGURE 6.6**

Pant leg is labeled, "THE NEGRO." Figure being stepped upon is labeled, "WHITE MAN." "A SERIOUS QUESTION –HOW LONG WILL THIS LAST?"

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### Populist Speech - Gov. Daniel Russell

Source: The following speech was published in a Populist newspaper on October 26, 1898. In this speech, Republican Governor Russell declares that he wants the election to be peaceful. (Figure 6.7).

... WHEREAS, it has been made known to me, by the public press, by numerous letters, by the oral statements of divers citizens of the State and by formal written statements, that the political canvass, now going forward, has been made the occasion and pretext for bringing about conditions of lawlessness in certain counties in this State, such, for example, as Richmond and Robeson Counties. . . .



## PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States secures to every State in this Union a republican form of government, protection from invasion and freedom from domestic violence; and,

WHEREAS, The Constitution of North Carolina guarantees to all the people of the State the inherent right to fully regulate their own internal government; to peaceably assemble for the purpose of consulting for their common good; to hold peaceable and quiet elections; and to discharge and exercise in an orderly and quiet way, the manifold duties and privileges of good citizenship; and,

WHEREAS, The Constitution of this State, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, forbid that any citizen shall be deprived or restrained of his liberty, but upon indictment for, and conviction of crime; and,

WHEREAS, It is ordained in the same Constitution and laws of this State that the writs for the protection of the citizen, and the processes of the courts for the protection of society, shall never be suspended, neither by usurping Executives nor by turbulent mobs, using the weapons of intimidation and violence; and,

WHEREAS, It has been made known to me, by the public press, by numerous letters, by the oral statements of divers citizens of the State and by formal written statements, that the political canvass, now going forward, has been made the occasion and pretext for bringing about conditions of lawlessness in certain counties in this State, such, for example, as Richmond and Robeson Counties; and,

WHEREAS, It has been made known to me in such a direct and reliable way, that I cannot doubt its truthfulness, that certain counties lying along the southern border of this State have been actually invaded by certain armed and lawless men from another

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FIGURE 6.7

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*Now, therefore, I, Daniel L. Russell, Governor of the State of North Carolina, in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of said State, and by virtue of authority vested in me by said Constitution and laws, do issue this my proclamation, commending all ill-disposed persons whether of this or that political party, to immediately desist from all unlawful practices and all turbulent conduct, and to use all lawful efforts to preserve the peace; and to secure to all the people the quiet enjoyment of all their rights of free citizenship. . . .*

*And I do further commend and require that all persons who may have entered this State from other states, in pursuance of any unlawful purpose instantly to disperse and leave this State upon pain of being arrested and dealt with according to law.*

**Questions:**

1. Governor Russell says that there's been violence. What party do you think is behind the violence?
2. Who do you think is being attacked? Why would those people be attacked?
3. Do you think this speech had any effect on the violence? Why or why not?



## 6.6 Electoral College Maps –The Heyday of Populism

Source: Modern maps of the state-by-state Electoral College vote in 1892 and 1896, taken from Wikipedia. In 1892, Harrison was the Republican candidate, Cleveland was the Democrat, and Weaver was the Populist. In 1896, McKinley ran as the Republican and won. William Jennings Bryan was originally the Democratic candidate. The Populist party also endorsed Bryan, after he agreed to support their main economic issue, a dollar backed by silver rather than gold. The “Cross of Gold Speech,” excerpted above, shows Bryan’s appeal to the populists, but the issue can be confusing. To learn more, please consult a textbook. (Figure 6.8). (Figure 6.9).

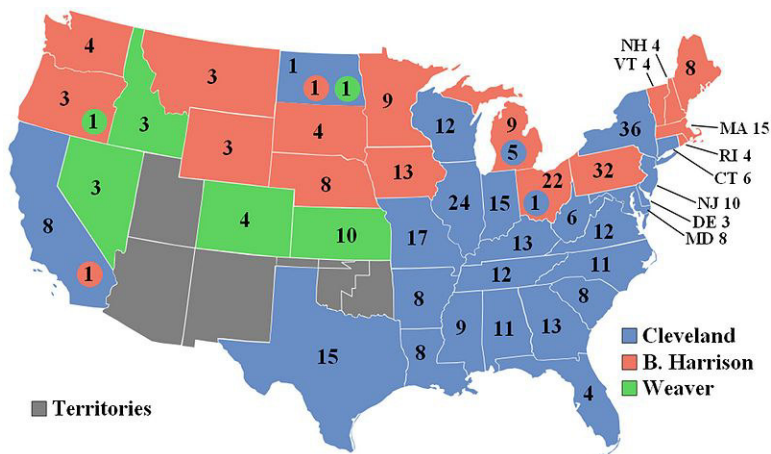


FIGURE 6.8

1892 Electoral College Vote

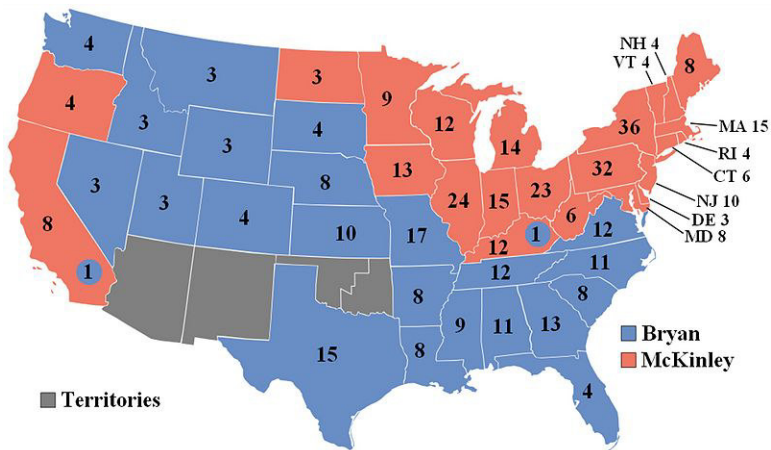


FIGURE 6.9

1896 Electoral College Vote

### Questions:

1. In 1892, what region of the country was most strongly Populist? Why do you think that was?
2. In 1892, what region of the country was mostly Democratic? What region was mostly Republican?

3. What regions of the country tended to vote Democratic in 1896? What might those regions have had in common?
4. How did the electoral map change between 1892 and 1896? What happened to the states that had voted for Weaver's Populist ticket in 1892? What states switched from Democratic to Republican? Which states switched in the other direction?

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## 6.7 Pullman Strike

The Pullman Palace Car Company manufactured luxurious sleeper cars for trains. The company's built a whole town, Pullman, Illinois, to house its factories. Workers were forced to live there, to pay fixed rents, and to shop at company-run stores. In the 1893 recession, Pullman lowered the wages it paid workers but not the prices it charged them. In protest, the workers went on strike. To support their cause, the Eugene V. Debs' American Railway Union called a boycott of all Pullman cars, clogging railyards. Eventually, a federal court ordered the ARU to end its boycott, and the strike ended.

The strike was highly controversial. As you read the following newspaper articles from the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Times*, try to determine which paper supported the business owners and which one favored the strikers. The documents are paired—the first two show the newspapers' differing coverage as the strike began; the second two show coverage of the beginning of the boycott, and so on.

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### Chicago Times, May 12, 1894

*Source: The following two articles were written the day after the strike began. One article is from the Chicago Times, and the other is from the Chicago Tribune.*

*The terms upon which the men insist before returning to work are the restoration of the wage scale of 1893, time and one-half for overtime, and no discrimination against any of those who have taken a prominent part in the strike.*

*The position of the company is that no increase in wages is possible under the present conditions. . . . The position of the men is that they are receiving less than a living wage, to which they are entitled. . . . President George M. Pullman told the committee that the company was doing business at a loss even at the reduced wages paid the men and offered to show his books in support of his assertion.*

#### **PULLMAN MEN OUT**

#### **Nearly 4,000 Throw Down Their Tools and Quit**

#### **Refuse to Work Till Wrongs are Righted**

#### **Firing Three Men Starts It**

Almost the entire force of men employed in the Pullman shops went out on strike yesterday. Out of the 4,800 men and women employed in the various departments there were probably not over 800 at work at 6 o'clock last evening. The immediate cause of the strike was the discharge or laying off of three men in the iron machine shop. The real but remote cause is the question of wages over which the men have long been dissatisfied and on account of which they had practically resolved to strike a month ago.

The strike of yesterday was ordered by a committee of forty-six representing every department at the Pullman works. This committee was in session all night Thursday night, and finally came to the conclusion to order a strike 4:30 o'clock yesterday morning. The vote stood 42 in favor of a strike and 4 against.

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### Chicago Tribune, May 12, 1894

*Mr. Pullman said last night he could not tell when work would be resumed.*

*The American Railway Union, which has been proselyting for a week among the workmen, announces that it will support the strikers. Just exactly how, Vice-President Howard would not say. He intimated, however, that the trainmen on the railways on which are organized branches of the union might refuse to handle any of the Pullman rolling stock. It is not believed, however, that such action will be taken and it is equally impossible to see how the union can otherwise aid the strikers.*

## **PULLMAN MEN OUT**

### **LAY OFFS THE CAUSE**

#### **Committeemen Laid Off and Their Comrades Act**

Two thousand employees in the Pullman car works struck yesterday, leaving 800 others at their posts. This was not enough to keep the works going, so a notice was posted on the big gates at 6 o'clock saying: "These shops closed until further notice."

The walk-out was a complete surprise to the officials. . . . Mr. Pullman had offered to allow the men the privilege of examining the books of the company to verify his statement that the works were running at a loss. When the men quit work at 6 o'clock Thursday evening none of them had any idea of striking. But the Grievance Committee of Forty-six held a session at the Dewdrop Saloon in Kensington until 4:30 o'clock in the morning. At that time a ballot was taken which resulted: 42 to 4 in favor of the strike. A second ballot was unanimous. So a messenger was sent to the freight car builders to order them to stop, and all seventy-five walked out of the big gate. One department at a time, the men went out so that by 10 o'clock 1500 men were out. Thirteen hundred and fifty men kept at work until noon, but only 800 came back after lunch.

Included among the strikers were 400 girls from the laundry, sewing-rooms, and other departments. In the afternoon, everyone—men, women, and children—put on their best clothes and assembled on the ball grounds. They stood in groups or rolled around in the grass, making no demonstration and acting in a subdued manner.

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## **Chicago Times, June 28, 1894**

*All the western half of the United States has begun to feel the paralysis of the American Railway Union's boycott of Pullman. From the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast, from the Canadian to the Mexican line, there is scarcely a railway that has not been gripped by the boycott. At every important division point in the west, southwest, and northwest, there are trains blockaded because the American Railway Union men will not run them with Pullman cars attached and the railway managers will not allow them to run otherwise. Some roads are absolutely and utterly blockaded, others feel the embargo slightly yet, but it grows in strength with every hour. It is spreading eastward from Chicago, too. No man can tell what the end will be. . . . This is the end of the second day. This, when so far the American Railway Union has done little beyond ordering the withdrawal of switching crews, switch tenders, and towermen. By tomorrow, they promise that all conductors, engineers and firemen on freight and passenger trains will join in the strike and then, well, nobody can tell.*

*General Manager Ainsley of the Wisconsin Central notified his men that unless they go to work today he will supply their places with nonunion men. Then there may be trouble. . . .*

*The six o'clock train on the Great Western started out with two Pullman sleepers and one Pullman diner. It ran about two car lengths. The conductor rang the bell, the train stopped, the whole crew got down and cut off those three cars. This with a squad of policemen standing by and the company's officials looking on. The train pulled out without the Pullmans. It was the most decisive thing the boycotters have done yet.*

*Source: The following two articles were written on the third day of the national railway boycott.*

## **NOT A WHEEL TURNS IN THE WEST**

### **Complete Shutdown of All Roads in the Territory Beyond the Missouri River**

## Chicago Center of Eastern Trouble

### It May Be the Biggest Tie-Up in All History

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#### Chicago Tribune, June 26, 1894

*The American Railway Union became aggressive yesterday in its efforts to force a settlement between Mr. Pullman and his striking employees. By calling out their switchmen, it threw down the gauntlet to the Erie, Grand Trunk, Monon, Eastern Illinois, Northern Pacific, Wisconsin Central, Chicago Great Western, Baltimore and Ohio, Pan-Handle, and Santa Fe railroads. It continued the warfare commenced the night before against the Illinois Central and continued it so successfully that the road had to abandon its suburban service at 9 o'clock. Its freight service was at a standstill all day and the same is practically true of other roads. In no case, however, did the strikers prevent the departure of any regular passenger trains from Chicago. . . .*

*Debs's master stroke, however, occurred at midnight, when every employee on the Santa Fe belonging to the American Railway Union was ordered out. Whether the men will obey the mandate will be learned today.*

#### **DEBS IS A DICTATOR**

##### **His Warfare on the Railroads is Waged Effectively**

So far no marked violence has been attempted. Two hundred policemen put in the day in various railroad yards, but their services were not needed. Chief Brennan says he has 2,000 men who can be massed at any point inside of an hour.

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#### Chicago Times July 7, 1894

*Source: The following two articles were written after federal troops had been in Chicago for three days.*

*Despite the presence of United States troops and the mobilization of five regiments of state militia, despite threats of martial law and total extermination of the strikers by bullet, the great strike inaugurated by the American Railway Union holds three-fourths of the roads running out of Chicago in its strong fetters, and last night traffic was more fully paralyzed than at any time since the inception of the tie-up. . . . With the exception of an occasional car or two moved by the aid of the military, not a wheel is turning. . . .*

*In the southwest section of the city all railroad property is considered fair game for the attack of the mob. Apparently the police of this district think so, too, for they stand by and appear indifferent to the annihilation of property. Wholesale destruction by incendiarism yesterday succeeded to the train wrecking of the day previous. . . . Nothing pertaining to the railroads seems sacred to the crowd. A splendid new towerhouse, which operates the Pan-Handle's intricate interlocking switches. . . was only spared yesterday through the efforts of a party of striking tower operators of the railroad. . . . The strikers saw there was danger of the fire spreading from a burning toolhouse nearby, a plank walk connecting the two. They tore this sidewalk up and thus saved the towerhouse. . . .*

*If the soldiers are sent to the southwest section of the city, bloodshed and perhaps death will follow today, for this is the most lawless element in the city, as is shown by their riotous work yesterday. But the perpetrators are not American Railway Union men. The people engaged in this outrageous work of destruction are not strikers, most of them are not even grown men. The persons who set the fires yesterday are young hoodlum. . . . The setting fire to the cars yesterday was done openly where anyone could see it and when the slightest effort would have resulted in the apprehension of the guilty ones, but no such effort was made. The firemen were overwhelmed with the work of attending to a dozen different fires and could not, and the police on the scene apparently didn't care to or would not make arrests. . . . At six o'clock, the police had not a single prisoner.*

**MEN NOT AWED BY SOLDIERS****MOST OF THE ROADS AT A STANDSTILL****Railway Union is Confident of Winning Against Armed Capital**

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**Chicago Tribune July 7, 1894**

*They started early in the afternoon. . . . They were done by 10 o'clock; at that hour they had a roaring wall of fire down the tracks. . . . The flames of their kindling reddened the southwestern sky so that the whole city could know they were at work.*

*This work the rioters did calmly and systematically. They seemed to work with a deliberate plan. There was none of the wild howlings and ravings that marked their work of the night before.*

**YARDS FIRE SWEEP****Hundreds of Freight Cars, Loaded and Empty, Burn****Rioters Prevent Firemen from Saving the Property**

From Brighton Park to Sixty-first street the yards of the Pan-Handle road were last night put to the torch by the rioters. Between 600 and 700 freight cars have been destroyed, many of them loaded. Miles and miles of costly track are in a snarled tangle of heat-twisted rails. Not less than \$750,000—possibly a while \$1,000,000 of property—has been sacrificed to the caprice of a mob of drunken Anarchists and rebels. That is the record of the night's work by the Debs strikers in the Stock-Yards District.

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**Chicago Times, July 15, 1894**

*Source: The two following articles were written as the strike was coming to an end. On July 10, Debs and other American Railway officers were arrested for violating a court order. They were held for several hours until posting \$10,000 bail.*

*President Debs then told the men that the situation was more favorable than it had been at any time since the men were called out. He said that telegrams from twenty-five points west of the Mississippi showed that the roads were completely tied up. . . . "I cannot stop now that defiance has been flung in our teeth by the General Managers' Association. I propose to work harder than ever and teach a lesson to those bigoted idiots. . . . The managers refuse to treat for peace. They say war to the end, and yet the law does not send them to jail. The law seems to be against us. . . . but if the law makes it a crime to advise your men against the encroachments of capital by all the gods united I will rot in jail. . . .*

*"There are men who have returned to their work, but they are traitors. . . . We are better without them. Let them range themselves on the other side and we can then close up ranks and see where we stand. We must unite as strong as iron, but let us be peaceable in this contest. Bloodshed is unwarranted and will not win. It is not by blood that we want to win."*

**DEBS SURE HE CAN WIN****Says the Battle is But Begun**

More than 1,000 railroad men held an enthusiastic meeting at Uhlich's hall yesterday afternoon, the speakers being President Debs and Vice-President Howard.



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## Chicago Tribune, July 15, 1894

*Like the last flicker of a candle that is almost burned out is the “war to the knife” defiance hurled yesterday by Eugene V. Debs in the face of the railroad managers of Chicago. Deserted by the men who answered his first calls for help, denounced by many who followed his banner of revolt only to lose their positions. . . with the very*

*Fabric of the American Railway Union falling upon his head and the support on which he stood slipping rapidly from under his feet, he declared that the strike was “on and would be fought to a successful issue.”*

*The value of Mr. Debs’ utterances at this stage of the game are shown conclusively by comparing threats and assertions he made yesterday. . . with the condition of affairs last night. . . . “The Northwestern will not be turning a wheel tonight,” said Mr. Debs. At midnight not a wheel on the Northwestern had failed to turn. The Northwestern people are inclined to look upon Mr. Debs’ declaration as a huge joke. . . . And so it was on the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, which, according to Debs, was to suffer the same fate as the Northwestern. The officials of the road regard his threats with derision.*

### **WITH A DULL THUD**

#### **The Strike Collapses with Wonderful Rapidity**

#### **DEBS’ WILD ASSERTIONS**

#### **He is Still Defiant While His “Union” Crumbles About Him**

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### **Section Questions:**

1. What events does each entry focus on? How do the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Times* differ in the details they emphasize?
2. What specific words does each newspaper use to describe the strikers?
3. Which newspaper do you think was more supportive of the workers? Which newspaper was more supportive of Pullman?

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## 6.8 USS Maine

On February 15, 1898, an explosion in Cuba's Havana Harbor sunk the ship the *U.S.S. Maine*. Of 354 people onboard, 266 died. It is unclear what caused the explosion, or whether it occurred on the ship or near it, but Cuba was a colony of Spain, and sensationalistic American newspapers blamed Spain for the attack. Amid popular calls to "Remember the *Maine*," the U.S. declared war on Spain. The Spanish-American war, in which the U.S. won Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, marked the emergence of America as a leading world power. As you read the documents below, try to determine what really happened to the *Maine*, thinking carefully about what kind of evidence each source uses to support its argument.

Additional background information can be found in the video at <http://historicalthinkingmatters.org/spanishamericanwar/>.

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### New York Journal and Advertiser

*Source: Excerpt from New York Journal and Advertiser, February 17, 1898. Purchased by William Randolph Hearst in 1895, the Journal published investigative and human interest stories that used a highly emotional writing style and included banner headlines and graphic images.*

*Mine or a Sunken Torpedo Believed to Have Been the Weapon Used Against the American Man-Of-War—Officer and Men tell Thrilling Stories of Being Blown into the Air Amid a Mass of Shattered Steel and Exploding Shells—Survivors Brought to Key West Scou[t] the Idea of Accident—Spanish Officials Protest Too Much—Our Cabinet orders a Searching Inquiry—Journal Sends Divers to Havana to Report Upon the Condition of the Wreck. Was the Vessel Anchored Over a Mine?*

*The suspicion that the Maine was deliberately blown up grows stronger every hour. Not a single fact to the contrary has been produced. . . .*

#### **DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEMY**

**Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident.**

**The Journal Offers \$50,000 Reward for the Conviction of the Criminals Who Sent 258 American Sailors to Their Death. Naval Officers Unanimous That the Ship Was Destroyed on Purpose.**

#### **NAVAL OFFICERS THINK THE MAINE WAS DESTROYED BY A SPANISH MINE.**

George Eugene Bryson, the Journal's special correspondent at Havana, cables that it is the secret opinion of many Spaniards in the Cuban capital, that the *Maine* was destroyed and 258 men killed by means of marine mine or fixed torpedo. This is the opinion of several American naval authorities. The Spaniards, it is believed, arranged to have the *Maine* anchored over one of the harbor mines. Wires connected the mines with a . . . magazine, and it is thought the explosion was caused by sending an electric current through the wire. If this can be proven, the brutal nature of the Spaniards will be shown by the fact that they waited to spring the mine after all the men had retired for the night. The Maltese cross in the picture shows where the mine may have been fired.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt says he is convinced that the destruction of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor was not an accident. The Journal offers a reward of \$50,000 for exclusive evidence that will convict the person, persons or government criminally responsible for the [destruction] of the American battleship and the death of 258 of its crew.

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## Maine's Hull Will Decide - New York Times

Source: *New York Times*, February 17, 1898.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16 – After a day of intense excitement at the Navy Department and elsewhere, growing out of the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor last night, the situation at sundown, after the exchange of a number of cablegrams between Washington and Havana, can be summed up in the words of Secretary Long, who when asked as he was about to depart for the day whether he had reason to suspect that the disaster was the work of the enemy, replied: “I do not. In that I am influenced by the fact that Capt. Sigsbee has not yet reported to the Navy Department on the cause. He is evidently waiting to write a full report. So long as he does not express himself, I certainly cannot. I should think from the indications, however, that there was an accident – that the magazine exploded. How that came about I do not know. For the present, at least, no other warship will be sent to Havana.”

Capt. Schuley, who has had experience with such large and complicated machines of war as the *New York*, did not entertain the idea that the ship had been destroyed by design. He had found that with frequent and very careful inspection fire would sometimes be generated in the coal bunkers, and he told of such a fire on board of the *New York* close to the magazine, and so hot that the heat had blistered the steel partition between the fire and the ammunition before the bunkers and magazine were flooded. He was not prepared to believe that the Spanish or Cubans in Havana were supplied with either the information or the appliances necessary to enable them to make so complete a work of demolition, while the *Maine* was under guard. . .

Established in 1851, the *New York Times* provided investigative coverage of local New York issues and events, as well as national and international news.

### MAINE'S HULL WILL DECIDE

**Divers to Find Whether the Force of the Explosion Was from the Exterior or Interior.**

**SHE WAS AFLOAT FOR AN HOUR**

**Spontaneous Combustion in Coal Bunkers a Frequent Peril to the Magazines of Warships – Hard to Blow Up the Magazine.**

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of newspaper was this article published in? How does this influence its trustworthiness?
2. If you had read this article in 1898, what would you believe caused the *Maine* explosion? What evidence for this conclusion does the article provide?

---

### Section Questions:

1. Which of the two articles is more believable? Cite specific examples from the text to support your claim.

## 6.9 The Spanish-American War

The sinking of the U.S.S. Maine may have provided an immediate justification for war with Spain, but other events in America and the world can be thought of as causes of the war. Considering the documents below alongside those you have already read, what caused the Spanish-American war?

### Reconcentration Camps – Fitzhugh Lee

*Source: Excerpt from unsigned enclosure included with telegram sent by Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. Consul-General in Cuba, November 27, 1897. Havana, Cuba.*

*SIR:*

*[W]e will relate to you what we saw with our own eyes:*

*Four hundred and sixty women and children thrown on the ground, heaped pell-mell as animals, some in a dying condition, others sick and others dead, without the slightest cleanliness, nor the least help. . . .*

*The circumstances are the following: complete accumulation of bodies dead and alive, so that it was impossible to take one step without walking over them; the greatest want of cleanliness, want of light, air, and water; the food lacking in quality and quantity what was necessary to sustain life. . . .*

*By the late 1800s, the Spanish were losing control of their colony, Cuba. Concerned about guerilla warfare in the countryside, they moved rural Cubans to “reconcentration” camps where the Spanish claimed they would be better able to protect them. However, people around the world saw newspaper reports that described horrible conditions in the camps for the Cuban people, who were called “reconcentrados.” This account was sent to Washington, D.C., by Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. Consul- General in Havana, who said its author was “a man of integrity and character.” A consul-general is a government official living in a foreign city whose job is to protect U.S. citizens and promote trade. He would make periodic reports to his superiors in the U.S. Dept. of State.*

Among the many deaths we witnessed there was one scene impossible to forget. There is still alive the only living witness, a young girl of 18 years, whom we found seemingly lifeless on the ground; on her right-hand side was the body of a young mother, cold and rigid, but with her young child still alive clinging to her dead breast; on her left-hand side was also the corpse of a dead woman holding her son in a dead embrace. . . .

From all this we deduct that the number of deaths among the reconcentrados has amounted to 77 percent.

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who was Fitzhugh Lee and why did he write this report?
2. **Close Reading:** Notice Lee’s graphic descriptions of living conditions. How do these details affect you as you read? Why might these descriptions be so detailed?
3. **Contextualizing:** If they could have seen this letter, how do you think people in the U.S. in 1897 might have reacted to this description of the reconcentration camps?

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## March of the Flag – Albert Beveridge

*Source: Excerpt from Albert J. Beveridge's Senate campaign speech, September 16, 1898. Beveridge gave this speech while he was campaigning to become a senator for Indiana. The speech helped him win the election and made him one of the leading advocates of American expansion.*

*Fellow citizens, — it is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world. . . . It is a mighty people that he has planted on this soil. . . . It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon his chosen people;. . . a history of soldiers who carried the flag across the blazing deserts and through the ranks of hostile mountains, even to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century. . . .*

*. . . William McKinley is continuing the policy that Jefferson began. . . .*

*The Opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. I answer, We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. . . .*

*They ask us how we will govern these new possessions. I answer:. . . If England can govern foreign lands, so can America. If Germany can govern foreign lands, so can America. If they can supervise protectorates, so can America. . . .*

*What does all this mean for every one of us? It means opportunity for all the glorious young manhood of the republic—the most virile, ambitious, impatient, militant manhood the world has ever seen. It means that the resources and the commerce of these immensely rich dominions will be increased. . . .*

*It means new employment and better wages for every laboring man in the Union. . . .*

*Ah! as our commerce spreads, the flag of liberty will circle the globe. . . . And, as their thunders salute the flag, benighted peoples will know that the voice of Liberty is speaking, at last, for them; that civilization is dawning, at last, for them—Liberty and Civilization, those children of Christ's gospel. . . .*

*Fellow Americans, we are God's chosen people. . . .*

*In Cuba, alone, there are 15,000,000 acres of forest unacquainted with the axe. There are exhaustless mines of iron. . . . There are millions of acres yet unexplored. . . .*

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## 6.10 References

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3. . “Growler Gang in Session (Robbing a Lush)”. Public Domain
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CHAPTER **7**

# The Progressive Era

## Chapter Outline

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- 7.1 JAPANESE SEGREGATION
  - 7.2 PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL REFORMERS
  - 7.3 THE PROGRESSIVES AND CORRUPTION
  - 7.4 WASHINGTON AND DUBOIS
  - 7.5 REFERENCES
-

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## 7.1 Japanese Segregation

By 1906, Chinese people had been immigrating to San Francisco for decades, but Japanese immigrants were few and had arrived only recently. In 1906 the San Francisco Board of Education ordered Japanese students to attend Chinese schools. President Theodore Roosevelt opposed this decision and attempted to have the decision reversed. It was unusual for the president to intervene in such a local issue.

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### Public Speech – Theodore Roosevelt

Source: Public speech by Roosevelt, December 1905.

*The California Legislature would have had an entire right to protest as emphatically as possible against the admission of Japanese laborers, for their very frugality, abstemiousness and clannishness make them formidable to our laboring class, and you may not know that they have begun to offer a serious problem in Hawaii—all the more serious because they keep an entirely distinct alien mass. Moreover, I understand that the Japanese themselves do not permit any foreigners to own land in Japan, and where they draw one kind of sharp line against us they have no right whatever to object to our drawing another kind of line against them. . . . I would not have objected at all to the California Legislature passing a resolution, courteous and proper in its terms, which would really have achieved the object they were after.*

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. Do you trust what Roosevelt says in this document?

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### Letter to Friend – Theodore Roosevelt

Source: Letter from Roosevelt to a friend on May 6, 1905, in which he criticizes the California Legislature's recent move to restrict immigration from Japan.

*The California Legislature would have had an entire right to protest as emphatically as possible against the admission of Japanese laborers, for their very frugality, abstemiousness and clannishness make them formidable to our laboring class, and you may not know that they have begun to offer a serious problem in Hawaii—all the more serious because they keep an entirely distinct alien mass. Moreover, I understand that the Japanese themselves do not permit any foreigners to own land in Japan, and where they draw one kind of sharp line against us they have no right whatever to object to our drawing another kind of line against them. . . . I would not have objected at all to the California Legislature passing a resolution, courteous and proper in its terms, which would really have achieved the object they were after.*

**Questions:**

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. Do you trust what Roosevelt says in this document?

---

**Message to Congress – Theodore Roosevelt**

Source: Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, December 4, 1906.

*But here and there a most unworthy feeling has manifested itself toward the Japanese—the feeling that has been shown in shutting them out from the common schools in San Francisco, and in mutterings against them in one or two other places, because of their efficiency as workers. To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity. . . .*

*The mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless to make defense against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this Government it would never venture to perform or permit the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to protect the offending city or the offending community lies in the hands of the United States Government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation. . . .”*

**Questions:**

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. Do you trust what Roosevelt says in this document?

---

**Roosevelt Letter to Secretary Metcalf**

Source: Letter from Roosevelt to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Victor Metcalf, who went to San Francisco to investigate the Japanese segregation crisis, November 27, 1906.

*The White House*

*Washington, Nov 27, 1906*

*My Dear Secretary Metcalf:*

*. . . I had a talk with the Japanese Ambassador before I left for Panama; read him what I was to say in my annual message, which evidently pleased him very much; and then told him that in my judgment the only way to prevent constant friction between the United States and Japan was to keep the movement of the citizens of each country into the other restricted as far as possible to students, travelers, business men and the like; that inasmuch as no American laboring men were trying to get into Japan, what was necessary was to prevent all immigration of Japanese laboring men—that is, of the coolie class—into the United States. . . . He assented cordially to this view and said that he had always been against permitting Japanese coolies to go to America or to Hawaii. Of course, the great difficulty in getting the Japanese to take this view is the irritation caused by the San Francisco action. I hope that my message will smooth over their feelings. . . .*

*Sincerely yours,*

**THEODORE ROOSEVELT**

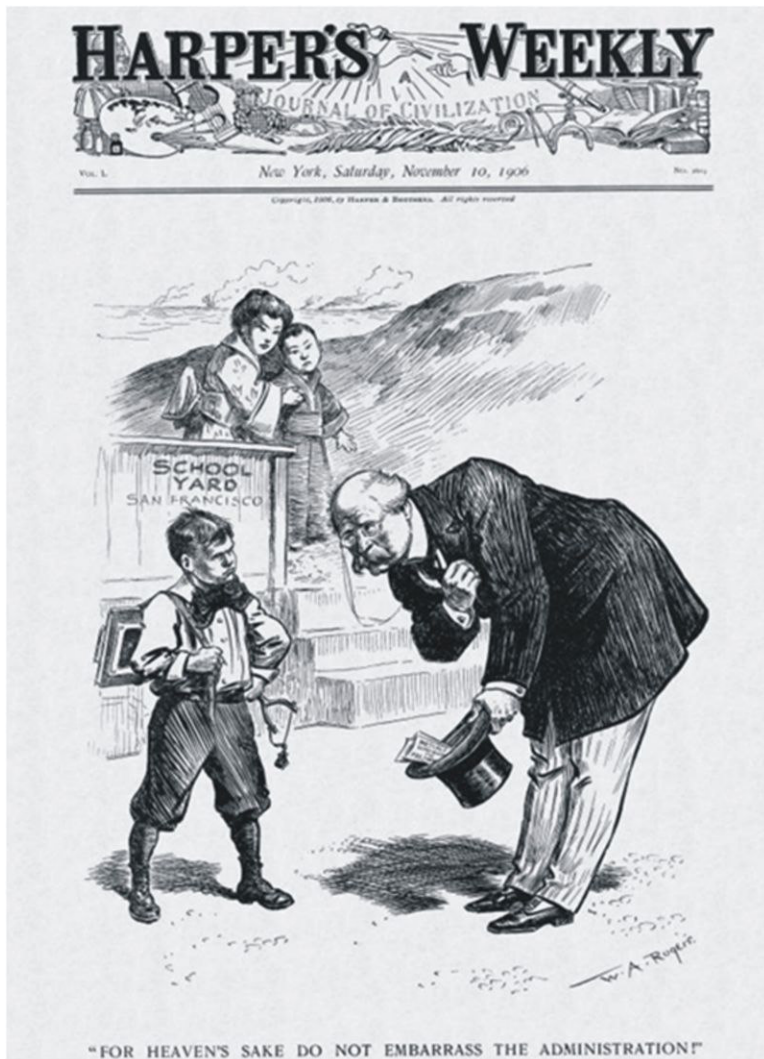
**Questions:**

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. Do you trust what Roosevelt says in this document?

---

**Do Not Embarrass the Administration - Political Cartoon**

*Source: This cartoon was published in Harper's Weekly, a New York-based magazine, in November 1906. It shows Secretary of Commerce and Labor Metcalf speaking to a young schoolboy, who represents San Francisco. (Figure 7.1).*



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FIGURE 7.1

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**Questions:**

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you think the intended audience was?
3. How does this source information influence your interpretation of the document?

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**Section Question:**

1. Based on the documents provided, why did President Roosevelt intervene in Japanese segregation? Support your answer with specific evidence from the documents.

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## 7.2 Progressive Social Reformers

Beginning around 1870, a Christian movement called the Social Gospel sought to apply the teachings of Jesus in the urban condition, helping immigrants and the poor and fighting vices such as alcoholism. Organizations such as the Salvation Army and the YMCA were formed as a part of this movement. One offshoot of the Social Gospel was the settlement house movement, in which well-educated white Christian women established houses in poor urban areas, from which they worked to educate the poor and help them out of poverty. The most famous such effort, Hull House, was established on the south side of Chicago by Jane Addams. As you read the documents about Hull House below, think about the attitude that advocates of the Social Gospel held toward the people they tried to help.

---

### The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets

*Source: Excerpt from Jane Addams, The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets, 1909. As more and more young immigrants moved from farms in the country to urban areas, dance halls became a popular form of recreation. Many progressive reformers found these dance halls to be inappropriate and pushed to create alternative forms of entertainment for youth, like amusement parks.*

*“One Sunday night at twelve o’clock I had occasion to go into a large public dance hall. As I was standing by the rail looking for the girl I had come to find, a young man approached me and quite simply asked me to introduce him to some “nice girl,” saying that he did not know any one there. On my replying that a public dance hall was not the best place in which to look for a nice girl, he said: “But I don’t know any other place where there is a chance to meet any kind of a girl. I’m awfully lonesome since I came to Chicago.” And then he added rather defiantly: “Some nice girls do come here! It’s one of the best halls in town.” . . .*

*The public dance halls filled with frivolous and irresponsible young people in a feverish search for pleasure, are but a sorry substitute for the old dances on the village green in which all of the older people of the village participated. Chaperonage was not then a social duty but natural and inevitable, and the whole courtship period was guarded by the conventions and restraint which were taken as a matter of course and had developed through years of publicity and simple propriety. . . .*

*Let us know the modern city in its weakness and wickedness, and then seek to rectify and purify it until it shall be free at least from the grosser temptations which now beset the young people who are living in its tenement houses and working in its factories.”*

---

### “Dance Halls” – Louise de Koven Bowen

*Source: Excerpts from an article by a Progressive social reformer, Louise de Koven Bowen, called “Dance Halls,” published in June 1911.*

*The dances are short—four to five minutes; the intermissions are long—fifteen to twenty minutes; thus ample opportunity is given for drinking. . . .*

*In these same halls obscene language is permitted, and even the girls among the habitues carry on indecent conversation, using much profanity, while the less sophisticated girls stand around listening, scandalized but fascinated. . . .*



A city ordinance should be enacted covering the following points:

... 2. All dance halls should be made to comply with the regulations of the Building and Fire Departments so as to insure proper sanitation and adequate fire protection. By this means many small and poorly built halls would be forced out of business because they could not pass inspection.

3. The sale of liquors in dance halls or in buildings connected with them should be prohibited. . . .

7. No immoral dancing or familiarity should be tolerated.

8. People under the influence of liquor or known prostitutes should not be permitted in dance halls. . . .

11. There should be an inspector of dance halls who should have in his department a corps of assistants who would regularly inspect the dance halls and make reports concerning them to him weekly.

Many of the halls are poorly lighted—172 belong to this class. There is very little protection in case of fire. . . .

---

## Passage from *Twenty Years at Hull-house*

Source: Excerpt from Jane Addams' book, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, (1910). This passage comes from a chapter called "Immigrants and Their Children."

*[A]n Italian girl who has had lessons in cooking at the public school will help her mother to connect the entire family with American food and household habits. That the mother has never baked bread in Italy—only mixed it in her own house and then taken it out to the village oven—makes all the more valuable her daughter's understanding of the complicated cooking stove. The same thing is true of the girl who learns to sew in the public school, and more than anything else, perhaps, of the girl who receives the first simple instruction in the care of little children—that skillful care which every tenement-house baby requires if he is to be pulled through his second summer. . . .*

*Thus through civic instruction in the public schools, the Italian woman slowly became urbanized in the sense in which the word was used by her own Latin ancestors, and thus the habits of her entire family were modified. The public schools in the immigrant colonies deserve all the praise as Americanizing agencies which can be bestowed upon them, and there is little doubt that the fast-changing curriculum in the direction of the vacation-school experiments will react more directly upon such households.*

---

## I Came a Stranger: The Story of a Hull-House Girl

Source: The document below was written by Hilda Satt Polacheck in the 1950s, in her book *I Came a Stranger: The Story of a Hull-House Girl*. She tells about her memories of Hull House from 1896.

*Several days before Christmas 1896 one of my Irish playmates suggested that I go with her to a Christmas party at Hull-House. . . .*

*I then asked her if there would be any Jewish children at the party. She assured me that there had been Jewish children at the parties every year and that no one was ever hurt. . . .*

*The thought began to percolate through my head that things might be different in America. In Poland it had not been safe for Jewish children to be on the streets on Christmas. . . .*

*The children of the Hull-House Music School then sang some songs, that I later found out were called "Christmas carols." I shall never forget the caressing sweetness of those childish voices. All feelings of religious intolerance and bigotry faded. I could not connect this beautiful party with any hatred or superstition that existed among the people*

of Poland.

*As I look back, I know that I became a staunch American at this party. I was with children who had been brought here from all over the world. I was with children who had been brought here from all over the world. The fathers and mothers, like my father and mother, had come in search of a free and happy life. And we were all having a good time at a party, as the guests of an American, Jane Addams.*

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### Section Questions:

1. How do you think immigrants viewed progressive reformers like Jane Addams? As genuinely helpful? As overly judgmental? Provide three pieces of evidence from the documents in support of your argument.

---

## 7.3 The Progressives and Corruption

In addition to poverty and social vices, the progressives worked against corruption. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and beyond, many cities were run by political 'machines,' which traded political favors and government contracts for votes and money. The heads of these machines were called 'bosses.' The machine in New York City was called Tammany Hall, and the most famous boss was Boss Tweed.

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### The Shame of Cities - Lincoln Steffens

Source: Excerpt from a book by muckraker Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of Cities*, published in 1904.

*Now, the typical American citizen is the business man. . . . The commercial spirit is the spirit of profit, not patriotism; of credit, not honor; of individual gain, not national prosperity; of trade and dickering, not principle. "My business is sacred," says the business man in his heart. "Whatever prospers my business, is good; it must be. Whatever hinders it, is wrong; it must be. A bribe is bad, that is, it is a bad thing to take; but it is not so bad to give one, not if it is necessary to my business."*

*And it's all a moral weakness; a weakness right where we think we are strongest. Oh, we are good—on Sunday, and we are "fearfully patriotic" on the Fourth of July. But the bribe we pay to the janitor to prefer our interests to the landlord's, is the little brother of the bribe passed to the alderman to sell a city street, and the father of the air-brake stock assigned to the president of a railroad to have this life-saving invention adopted on his road.*

*New advances in printing technology during the 1890's made magazines and other publications inexpensive to print. Magazines became available to a broader middle-class audience. Lincoln Steffens was well known for writing magazine articles about child labor, prisons, religion and political machines.*

We are responsible, not our leaders, since we follow them. We *let* them divert our loyalty from the United States to some "party"; we *let* them boss the party and turn our municipal democracies into autocracies and our republican nation into a plutocracy. We cheat our government and we let our leaders loot it, and we let them wheedle and bribe our sovereignty from us. . . . [W]e are content to let them pass also bad laws, giving away public property in exchange.

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this document? What was the intended audience?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time in history?
3. **Contextualization:** Why might this document not give you the whole picture?
4. **Close Reading:** What was the author trying to convince the reader of? What words does he use to do so?

---

### "On the Shame of Cities" – George Plunkitt

Source: Excerpt from a talk by George Plunkitt, a political boss in New York City. The talk was called "On the Shame of Cities," recorded in 1905. (*Graft* is another word for corruption and bribes). In this talk, Plunkitt responds to Lincoln Steffens's book, *The Shame of the Cities*.

*I've been readin' a book by Lincoln Steffens on *The Shame of The Cities*. Steffens means well but, like all reformers, he don't know how to make distinctions. He can't see no difference between honest graft and dishonest graft and, consequent, he gets things all mixed up. . . . For instance, I ain't no looter. The looter hogs it. I never hogged. I made my pile in politics, but, at the same time, I served the organization and got more big improvements for New York City than any other livin' man. . . .*

*Steffens made one good point in his book. He said he found that Philadelphia, ruled almost entirely by Americans, was more corrupt than New York, where the Irish do almost all the governin'. I could have told him that before he did any investigatin' if he had come to me. The Irish was born to rule, and they're the honestest people in the world. Show me the Irishman who would steal a roof off an almhouse! He don't exist. Of course, if an Irishman had the political pull and the roof was much worn, he might get the city authorities to put on a new one and get the contract for it himself, and buy the old roof at a bargain – but that's honest graft. . . .*

*One reason why the Irishman is more honest in politics than many Sons of the Revolution is that he is grateful to the country and the city that gave him protection and prosperity when he was driven by oppression from the Emerald Isle. . . . His one thought is to serve the city which gave him a home. He has this thought even before he lands in New York, for his friends here often have a good place in one of the city departments picked out for him while he is still in the old country. Is it any wonder that he has a tender spot in his heart for old New York when he is on its salary list the mornin' after he lands?*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this document? What was the intended audience?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time in history?
3. **Contextualization:** Why might this document not give you the whole picture?
4. **Close Reading:** What was the author trying to convince the reader of? What words does he use to do so?

---

### Section Questions:

1. What do Steffens and Plunkitt disagree about? Who do you find more persuasive? Why?
2. How do you think Steffens would respond to Plunkitt's arguments?

---

## 7.4 Washington and Dubois

After Reconstruction and during the Jim Crow era, two African-American leaders emerged with very different ideas of how African-Americans could improve their place in society. Read the documents below and try to discern the differences. How would followers of each man live their lives?

---

### Atlanta Compromise Speech - Booker T. Washington

*Source: Excerpt from Booker T. Washington's 'Atlanta Compromise' speech, 1895 Booker T. Washington was born a slave in 1856 and was nine years old when slavery ended. He became the principal of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, a school designed to teach blacks industrial skills. Washington was a skillful politician and speaker, and he won the support of whites in the North and South who donated money to the school. On September 18, 1895, Booker T. Washington spoke before a mostly white audience in Atlanta.*

*Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.*

*A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are"— cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded. . . .*

*Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. . . . No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top.*

*To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested. . . . As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.*

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this document?

2. **Sourcing:** What was his job?
3. **Sourcing:** Who was the audience?
4. **Sourcing:** What might have been his purpose in writing it?
5. **Contextualization:** What else was going on

---

## The Souls of Black Folk - W.E.B. DuBois

Source: A book by W.E.B. DuBois called The Souls of Black Folk.

*Easily the most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876 is the ascendancy of Mr. Booker T. Washington. It began at the time when war memories and ideals were rapidly passing; a day of astonishing commercial development was dawning; a sense of doubt and hesitation overtook the freedmen's sons,—then it was that his leading began. Mr. Washington came, with a simple definite programme, at the psychological moment when the nation was a little ashamed of having bestowed so much sentiment on Negroes [during Reconstruction], and was concentrating its energies on Dollars. . . .*

*Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. . . . Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. . . .*

*In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things,—*

*First, political power,*

*Second, insistence on civil rights,*

*Third, higher education of Negro youth, and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, and accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:*

*His doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro's shoulders and stand aside as critical and rather pessimistic spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the nation, and the hands of none of us are clean if we bend not our energies to righting these great wrongs.*

*The most influential public critique of Booker T. Washington came in 1903 when black leader and intellectual W.E.B. DuBois published an essay in his book, The Souls of Black Folk. DuBois rejected Washington's message and instead called for political power, insistence on civil rights, and the higher education of Negro youth. DuBois was born and raised a free man in Massachusetts and was the first African American to earn a PhD from Harvard.*

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.
2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.
3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this?
2. **Sourcing:** When was it written?
3. **Sourcing:** What do you expect DuBois will say?
4. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time?
5. **Contextualization:** Based on this document, what do you think African-Americans might have been feeling?
6. **Close Reading:** What is DuBois's criticism of Washington?



7. **Close Reading:** In your opinion, what is the most powerful phrase in Dubois's critique?
- 

### Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Taken together, what do these two documents tell you about American race relations around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

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## 7.5 References

1. . <http://www.harpweek.com/09Cartoon/BrowseByDateCartoon.asp?Month=November&Date=10>. Public Domain

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CHAPTER **8**

# World War I

## Chapter Outline

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- 8.1 THE PALMER RAIDS
  - 8.2 THE ESPIONAGE AND SEDITION ACTS
  - 8.3 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS DEBATE
  - 8.4 PROHIBITION
  - 8.5 CHICAGO RACE RIOTS
  - 8.6 WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
  - 8.7 ANTI-SUFFRAGE NEWSPAPER IN NEW YORK
  - 8.8 REFERENCES
-

## 8.1 The Palmer Raids

In 1917, a revolution toppled Russia's Czar, and replaced him with a communist government. Also, immediately after World War One, the country experienced high inflation, high unemployment, and a number of labor strikes. Against this backdrop, the United States began arresting and deporting anyone suspected of "radical" thinking (e.g., Communism, socialism, anarchism, pro-labor). These arrests became known as the "Palmer Raids" after the Attorney General of the United States, A. Mitchell Palmer.

### The Case Against the "Reds" – A. Mitchell Palmer

Source: Excerpt from an essay written by A. Mitchell Palmer called "The Case Against the 'Reds,'" 1920.

*Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order a year ago. It was eating its way into the homes of the American workmen, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society. . . .*

*The whole purpose of communism appears to be a mass formation of the criminals of the world to overthrow the decencies of private life, to usurp property that they have not earned, to disrupt the present order of life regardless of health, sex or religious rights. By a literature that promises the wildest dreams of such low aspirations, that can occur to only the criminal minds, communism distorts our social law. . . .*

*It has been impossible in so short a space to review the entire menace of the internal revolution in this country as I know it, but this may serve to arouse the American citizen to its reality, its danger, and the great need of united effort to stamp it out, under our feet, if needs be. It is being done. The Department of Justice will pursue the attack of these "Reds" upon the Government of the United States with vigilance, and no alien, advocating the overthrow of existing law and order in this country, shall escape arrest and prompt deportation. . . .*

My information showed that communism in this country was an organization of thousands of aliens who were direct allies of Trotzky. Aliens of the same misshapen caste of mind and indecencies of character, and it showed that they were making the same glittering promises of lawlessness, of criminal autocracy to Americans, that they had made to the Russian peasants. How the Department of Justice discovered upwards of 60,000 of these organized agitators of the Trotzky doctrine in the United States is the confidential information upon which the Government is now sweeping the nation clean of such alien filth. . . .

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What is his perspective?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you predict he will say?
3. **Close reading:** Palmer says, "Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order a year ago." What is he referring to? How do these words make the reader feel?
4. **Close Reading:** How does Palmer describe Communism? Why does he think it's dangerous?

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## Deportation Statement – Emma Goldman

*Source: Excerpt from the statement Emma Goldman gave at her deportation hearings. Goldman was an anarchist and socialist who sympathized with the working poor. She was deported during the Palmer Raids.*

*At the very outset of this hearing I wish to register my protest against these star chamber proceedings, whose very spirit is nothing less than a revival of the ancient days of the Spanish Inquisition or the more recently defunct Third Degree system of Czarist Russia. . . .*

*Today so-called aliens are deported, tomorrow native Americans will be banished. Already some patrioteers are suggesting that native American sons to whom Democracy is not a sham but a sacred ideal should be exiled. . . .*

*The free expression of the hopes and aspirations of a people is the greatest and only safety in a sane society. In truth, it is such free expression and discussion alone that can point the most beneficial path for human progress and development. But the object of deportations and of the Anti-Anarchist law, as of all similar repressive measures, is the very opposite. It is to stifle the voice of the people, to muzzle every aspiration of labor. That is the real and terrible menace of the star chamber proceedings and of the tendency of exiling and banishing everyone who does not fit into the scheme of things our industrial lords are so eager to perpetuate.*

*Emma Goldman*

*New York, October 27, 1919*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? What is her perspective?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you predict she will say?
3. **Close Reading:** According to Goldman, what is the goal of the Palmer raids? What is wrong with them?
4. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time?

---

### Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Considering both of these documents, why did Palmer arrest thousands of people and deport hundreds between 1919-1920?

## 8.2 The Espionage and Sedition Acts

During World War One, the U.S. Congress passed several laws, the Espionage and Sedition Acts, that criminalized certain acts deemed threatening to the war effort. Some people thought these laws unconstitutionally restricted free speech, while others thought they were necessary. The documents below include Wikipedia articles on the Espionage and Sedition Acts and an excerpt from a famous court case in which the Acts were challenged. The document set concludes with a speech by the socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. After giving the speech, Debs was prosecuted under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. After reading all of the documents, decide whether you think Debs was guilty.

### Wikipedia on the Espionage Act

*Source: Excerpt from the Wikipedia articles on the Espionage Act.*

*The Espionage Act of 1917 was a United States federal law passed shortly after entering World War I, on June 15, 1917, which made it a crime for a person:*

*Thus, while “espionage” is usually defined as a clandestine activity of getting secret information and passing it on to the enemy, the law vastly extended the meaning of the term to include also the openly carried expressing of political opinions, without revealing any secret, and by persons who had no connection with the enemy - as long as the expressing of such opinions was construed as helping the enemy.*

*The legislation was passed at the urging of President Woodrow Wilson, who feared any widespread dissent in time of war, thinking that it constituted a real threat to an American victory.*

- To convey information with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the armed forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies. This was punishable by death or by imprisonment for not more than 30 years.
- To convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies and whoever when the United States is at war, to cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or to willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States. This was punishable by a maximum \$USD 10,000 fine (almost \$170,000 in today’s dollars) and 20 years in prison.

*Source: Excerpt from the Wikipedia article on the Sedition Act [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sedition\\_Act\\_of\\_1918](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sedition_Act_of_1918).*

*The Sedition Act of 1918 (May 16, 1918) was an amendment to the Espionage Act of 1917 passed at the urging of President Woodrow Wilson, who was concerned that dissent, in time of war, was a significant threat to morale. The passing of this act forbade Americans to use “disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language” about the United States government, flag, or armed forces during war. The act also allowed the Postmaster General to deny mail delivery to dissenters of government policy during wartime.*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Where did these documents come from? What do you know about this source?



2. **Sourcing:** How reliable do you consider these documents?
3. How could you corroborate the information from these documents?

---

## Schenck v. United States – Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.

*Source: Excerpt from a Supreme Court decision in the case of Schenck v. United States, written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. Schenck was a socialist who opposed the draft in World War I and passed out pamphlets comparing it to slavery. He was prosecuted under the Sedition Act and appealed his case to the Supreme Court, arguing that his pamphlet activity was protected by the 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment, under freedom of speech. In the decision below, the Supreme Court decided that Schenck was guilty, and that during wartime, the government may limit freedom of speech.*

*The character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting “Fire!” in a theatre and causing a panic. . . .*

*The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. . . .*

*When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.*

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## 1918 Speech – Eugene V. Debs

*Source: Eugene Debs delivered the following speech in June 1918. He visited three Socialists who were in prison for opposing the draft, and then spoke, across the street from the jail, for two hours. The excerpt below is only a small segment of a much longer speech.*

*To speak for labor; to plead the cause of the men and women and children who toil to serve the working class, has always been to me a high privilege; a duty of love.*

*I have just returned from a visit over yonder (pointing to the workhouse) where three of our most loyal comrades are paying the penalty for their devotion to the cause of the working class. They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world. . . .*

*Every solitary one of these aristocratic conspirators and would-be murderers claims to be an arch-patriot; every one of them insists that the war is being waged to make the world safe for democracy. What humbug! What rot! What false pretense! These autocrats, these tyrants, these red-handed robbers and murderers, the “patriots,” while the men who have the courage to stand face to face with them, speak the truth, and fight for their exploited victims—they are the disloyalists and traitors. If this be true, I want to take my place side by side with the traitors in this fight. . . .*

*Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder. In the Middle Ages when the feudal lords who inhabited the castles whose towers may still be seen along the Rhine concluded to enlarge their domains, to increase their power, their prestige and their wealth they declared war upon one another. But they themselves did not go to war any more than the modern feudal lords, the barons of Wall Street go to war. The feudal barons of the Middle Ages, the economic predecessors of the capitalists of our day, declared all wars. And their miserable serfs fought all the battles. The poor, ignorant serfs had been taught to revere their masters; to believe that when their masters*

*declared war upon one another; it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another and to cut one another's throats for the profit and glory of the lords and barons who held them in contempt. And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives. . . .*

*They have always taught and trained you to believe it to be your patriotic duty to go to war and to have yourselves slaughtered at their command. But in all the history of the world you, the people, have never had a voice in declaring war, and strange as it certainly appears, no war by any nation in any age has ever been declared by the people.*

*Yours not to reason why;*

*Yours but to do and die.*

*That is their motto and we object on the part of the awakening workers of this nation. If war is right let it be declared by the people. You who have your lives to lose, you certainly above all others have the right to decide the momentous issue of war or peace. . . .*

*It is the minorities who have made the history of this world. It is the few who have had the courage to take their places at the front; who have been true enough to themselves to speak the truth that was in them; who have dared oppose the established order of things; who have espoused the cause of the suffering, struggling poor; who have upheld without regard to personal consequences the cause of freedom and righteousness.*

*They are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not their but your patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches.*

*In passing I suggest that we stop a moment to think about the term "landlord." "LANDLORD!" Lord of the Land! The lord of the land is indeed a superpatriot. This lord who practically owns the earth tells you that we are fighting this war to make the world safe for democracy—he who shuts out all humanity from his private domain; he who profiteers at the expense of the people who have been slain and mutilated by multiplied thousands, under pretense of being the great American patriot. It is he, this identical patriot who is in fact the archenemy of the people; it is he that you need to wipe from power. It is he who is a far greater menace to your liberty and your well-being than the Prussian Junkers on the other side of the Atlantic ocean.*

*Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. We are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and re-create them as free and humanizing institutions. The world is daily changing before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of socialism is rising. It is our duty to build the new nation and the free republic. We need industrial and social builders. We Socialists are the builders of the beautiful world that is to be. We are all pledged to do our part. We are inviting—aye challenging you this afternoon in the name of your own manhood and womanhood to join us and do your part.*

*In due time the hour will strike and this great cause triumphant—the greatest in history—will proclaim the emancipation of the working class and the brotherhood of all mankind.*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What type of document is this? When was it written?
2. **Sourcing:** Who is the audience?
3. **Contextualization:** What was happening in the United States and Europe at this time?
4. **Contextualization:** Imagine what the scene might have looked like as Debs delivered this speech. Describe it in a few sentences.
5. **Close Reading:** What is Debs' main message? What does he try to convince his audience?

### Section Questions

1. **Corroboration:** Considering all of these documents, do you think Debs was guilty of violating the Espionage

and Sedition Acts? Why?

2. Do you agree with the Espionage and Sedition Acts? Should the government be able to limit free speech during wartime?

## 8.3 The League of Nations Debate

After the end of World War I, in January 1919, the Allied Powers met at the Paris Peace Conference to decide on the terms of the treaty that would be presented to the defeated Central Powers. The Allies also created the League of Nations, an inter-governmental organization charged with peacefully resolving disputes between nations, promoting disarmament, and protecting human rights.

After the Paris Peace Conference, President Woodrow Wilson returned to the U.S. and tried to persuade Congress to ratify the treaty and join the League of Nations. The first document below is a speech given by Wilson in support of the League. The second is a speech by Republican senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who opposed the league.

### League of Nations Speech – Woodrow Wilson

*Source: Speech given by President Woodrow Wilson in Pueblo Colorado, September 25, 1919. Wilson toured the country to rally popular support for the treaty of Paris and the League of Nations.*

*Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens: It is with great pleasure that I find myself in Pueblo, and I feel it a compliment that I should be permitted to be the first speaker in this beautiful hall. One of the advantages of this hall, as I look about, is that you are not too far away from me, because there is nothing so reassuring to men who are trying to express the public sentiment as getting into real personal contact with their fellow citizens. . . .*

*The chief pleasure of my trip has been that it has nothing to do with my personal fortunes, that it has nothing to do with my personal reputation, that it has nothing to do with anything except the great principles uttered by Americans of all sorts and of all parties which we are now trying to realize at this crisis in the affairs of the world. But there have been unpleasant impressions as well as pleasant impressions, my fellow citizens, as I have crossed the continent. I have perceived more and more that men have been busy creating an absolutely false impression of what the treaty of peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations contain and mean. . . . Don't think of this treaty so much as merely a settlement with Germany. It is that. It is a very severe settlement with Germany, but there is not anything in it that she did not earn [applause]. . . . But the treaty is so much more than that. It is not merely a settlement with Germany; it is a readjustment of those great injustices which underlay the whole structure of European and Asiatic societies. Of course this is only the first of several treaties. They are constructed under the same plan. . . . But at the front of this great treaty is put the Covenant of the League of Nations. It will be at the front of the Austrian treaty and the Hungarian treaty and the Bulgarian treaty and the treaty with Turkey. Every one of them will contain the Covenant of the League of Nations, because you cannot work any of them without the Covenant of the League of Nations. Unless you get united, concerted purpose and power of the great governments of the world behind this settlement, it will fall down like a house of cards. There is only one power behind the liberation of mankind, and that is the power of mankind. It is the power of the united moral forces of the world. And in the covenant of the League of Nations the moral forces of the world are mobilized. . . . But all the nations that have power that can be mobilized are going to be members of the League, including the United States. And what do they unite for? They enter into solemn promise to one another that they will never use their power against one another for aggression; that they will never impair the territorial integrity of a neighbor; that they will never interfere with the political independence of a neighbor; that they will abide by the principle that great populations are entitled to determine their own destiny; and that they will not interfere with that destiny; and that no matter what differences arise amongst them, they will never resort to war without first having done one or other of two things—either submitting the matter of controversy to arbitration, in which case they agree to abide by the result without question, or having submitted it to the consideration of the Council of the League of Nations, laying before the Council all the facts, agreeing that the Council can publish the*

*documents and facts to the whole world. In other words, they consent, no matter what happens, to submit every matter of difference between them to the judgment of mankind. And, just so certainly as they do that, my fellow citizens, war will be in the far background, war will be pushed out of the foreground of terror in which it has kept the world generation after generation, and men will know that there will be a calm time of deliberate counsel. . . . I believe that we will see the truth, eye to eye and face to face. There is one thing that the American people always rise to and extend their hand to, and that is the truth of justice and of liberty and peace. We have accepted the truth and we are going to be led by it, and it is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world has never dreamed of before.*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who is giving this speech? When?
2. **Sourcing:** What do you predict he will say?
3. **Contextualization:** What else was going on at this time?
4. **Close Reading:** What word would you use to describe the tone of this speech? Provide a quote to support your answer.
5. **Close Reading:** What do you think is Wilson's strongest argument for the League of Nations?

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## League of Nations Speech – Henry Cabot Lodge

*Source: A speech given by Henry Cabot Lodge in Washington, D.C. on August 12, 1919. Cabot Lodge was a ferocious Republican opponent of the Democrat President Woodrow Wilson. Deeply suspicious of any attempt to unnecessarily involve the U.S. in international political matters Cabot Lodge campaigned against U.S. participation in the League of Nations. Cabot Lodge's viewpoint eventually won and the U.S. never joined the League.*

*Mr. President:*

*[T]he first step to world service is the maintenance of the United States. . . . You may call me selfish if you will, conservative or reactionary, or use any other harsh adjective you see fit to apply, but an American I was born, an American I have remained all my life. I can never be anything else but an American, and I must think of the United States first. . . .*

*I have never had but one allegiance - I cannot divide it now. I have loved but one flag and I cannot share that devotion and give affection to the mongrel banner invented for a league. Internationalism, illustrated by the Bolshevik and by the men to whom all countries are alike provided they can make money out of them, is to me repulsive.*

*. . . .The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her power for good and endanger her very existence. Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come as in the years that have gone. . . .*

*We hear much of visions and I trust we shall continue to have visions and dream dreams of a fairer future for the race. But visions are one thing and visionaries are another, and the mechanical appliances of the rhetorician designed to give a picture of a present which does not exist and of a future which no man can predict are as unreal and short-lived as the steam or canvas clouds, the angels suspended on wires and the artificial lights of the stage. . . .*

*No doubt many excellent and patriotic people see a coming fulfilment of noble ideals in the words 'league for peace.' We all respect and share these aspirations and desires, but some of us see no hope, but rather defeat, for them in this murky covenant. For we, too, have our ideals, even if we differ from those who have tried to establish a monopoly of idealism.*

*Our ideal is to make her ever stronger and better and finer, because in that way alone, as we believe, can she be of the greatest service to the world's peace and to the welfare of mankind.*

**Questions:**

1. **Sourcing:** Who is giving this speech? When?
  2. **Sourcing:** What do you predict he will say?
  3. **Close Reading:** What word would you use to describe the tone of this speech? Provide a quote to support your answer.
  4. **Close Reading:** What do you think is Lodge's strongest argument against the League of Nations?
- 

**Section Question:**

1. **Corroboration:** Based on both documents, why do you think Henry Cabot Lodge won this debate? Provide quotations to support your answer.



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## 8.4 Prohibition

Since the founding of the republic, some Americans advocated temperance—limits on the consumption of alcohol. Temperance organizations formed and then unified into the American Temperance Union in 1833. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the cause morphed into the Prohibition movement, which had the support of diverse constituencies including Progressives, many southerners and women, pietist Protestant denominations (for example, Methodists), and the Ku Klux Klan. The 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution passed in 1919, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcohol. It was repealed in 1933. The documents below include the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment, several prohibitionist posters, and an article from the New York Times. Read these documents to find out what problems some people saw in society and why they favored Prohibition.

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### The 18th Amendment

*Source: The United States Constitution.*

*Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.*

*Section 2. The Congress and all of the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*

*Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.*

*The US Senate passed the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment on December 18, 1917. It was ratified on January 16, 1919, after 36 states approved it. The 18th Amendment, and the enforcement laws accompanying it, established Prohibition of alcohol in the United States. Several states already had Prohibition laws before this amendment. It was eventually repealed by the 21<sup>st</sup> Amendment on December 5, 1933. It is the only amendment that has ever been completely repealed.*

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### Prohibition and Health

*Source: Read at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Temperance Council, Washington D.C., September 20, 1920. The National Temperance Council was created in 1913 to work for Prohibition. (Figure 8.1).*

#### *PROHIBITION AND HEALTH*

*Alcohol poisons and kills; Abstinence and Prohibition save lives and safeguard health. . . .*

*The decision of science, the final opinion of our nation after a hundred years of education upon the subject, was thus stated by Dr. S. S. Goldwater, formerly Health Commissioner of New York City.*

*“It is believed that the diminution of the consumption of alcohol by the community would mean less tuberculosis, less poverty, less dependency, less pressure on our hospitals, asylums and jails.”*

. . . .

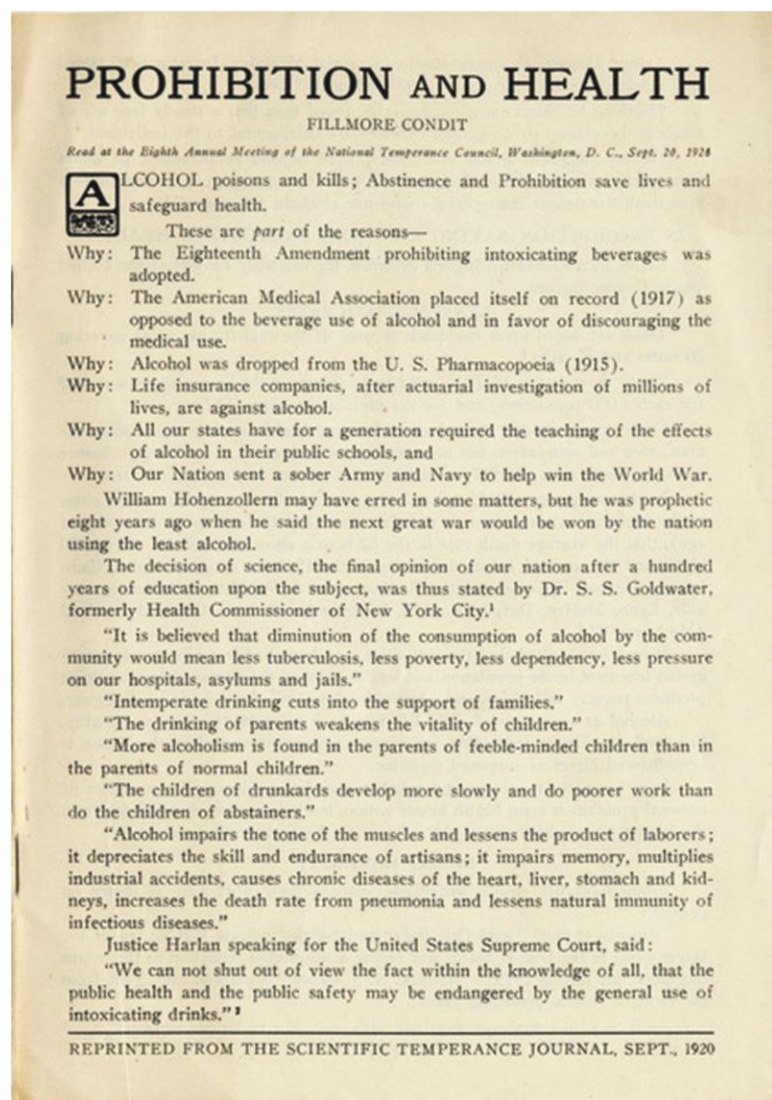


FIGURE 8.1

*"Alcohol impairs the tone of the muscles and lessens the product of laborers; it depreciates the skill and endurance of artisans; it impairs memory, multiplies industrial accidents, causes chronic diseases of the heart, liver, stomach and kidney, increases the death rate from pneumonia and lessens natural immunity to infectious diseases."*

*Justice Harlan speaking for the United States Supreme Court, said:*

*"We cannot shut out of view the fact within the knowledge of all, that the public health and the public safety may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks."*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document written? Was this before or after the passage of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment?
2. **Sourcing:** Why might the National Temperance Council still meet in 1920? What do you predict they will say?
3. **Close Reading:** What does the National Temperance Council claim is caused by alcohol? Do you find these claims convincing?

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## “Hooch Murder” Bill – New York Times

Source: *The New York Times*, November 14, 1922.

William H. Anderson, State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, in a statement yesterday announced that the organization would sponsor at the upcoming Legislature a measure which, he said would be known as the “Hooch Murder” bill, providing that any one selling anything purported to be drinkable alcoholic liquor that resulted in the death of the person or persons drinking it might be tried for murder and punished accordingly. Commenting on the measure, Mr. Anderson said:

“This bill is intended for whoever it may hit, but is especially directed at the unscrupulous foreigner, usually an alien, who has largely stopped killing with the stiletto from hate or with a gun for hire, and has gone into the preparation and indiscriminate peddling of poison for profit.”

....

### ‘HOOCH MURDER’ BILL DRAFTED BY ANDERSON

**Anti-Saloon Head Aims to Reach Those Whose Drinks Cause Death.**

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document written? Was this before or after the passage of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment?
2. **Close Reading:** What is the “Hooch Murder Bill”?
3. **Close Reading:** Based on this document, who is the Anti-Saloon League blaming for the sale of alcohol during Prohibition? Why do you think they’re singling out this group?

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## Alcohol and Degeneracy

Source: Poster published in 1913 by the Scientific Temperance and American Issue Publishing Company.(Figure 8.2).

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## Children in Misery

Source: Poster published in 1913 by the Scientific Temperance Federation and American Issue Publishing Company.(Figure 8.3).

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When were these posters made? Was that before or after the passage of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment?
2. **Sourcing:** Who published these posters? What was their perspective?
3. **Close Reading:** According to these posters, what are two reasons why Prohibition is a good idea?
4. **Close Reading:** Look at the words used in Document C. These were considered “scientific” categories. What does that tell you about science at this time?
5. **Context:** Using these posters, explain some of the beliefs about children that were common in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Do you think these beliefs are silly or reasonable? Explain.

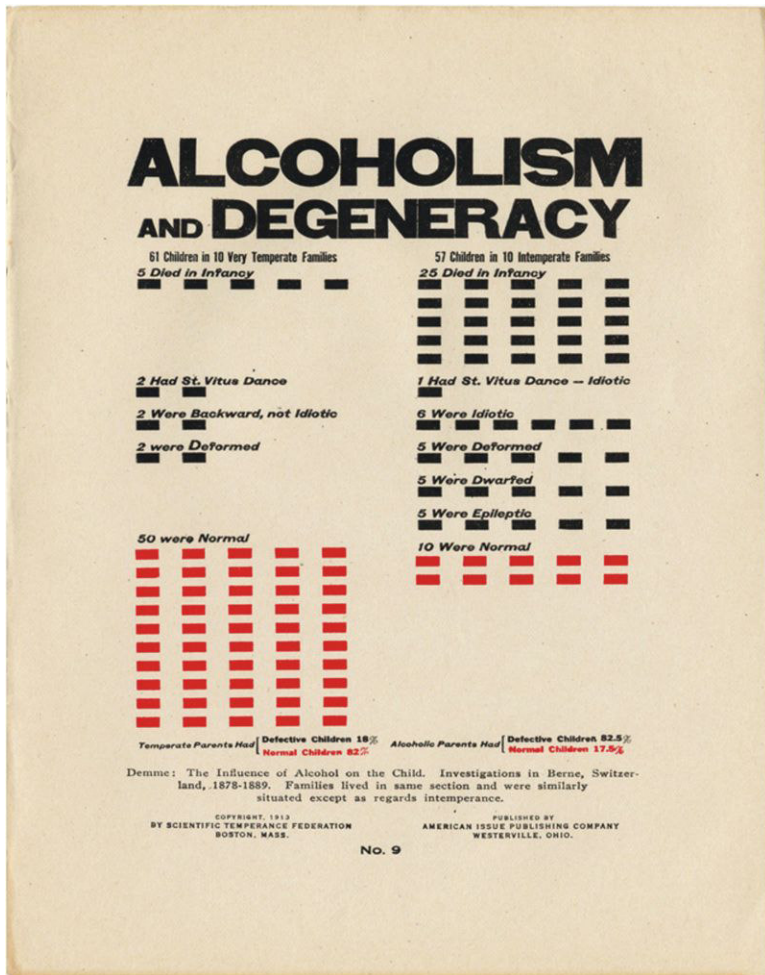


FIGURE 8.2

### Section Question:

1. People who supported Prohibition thought it would solve a lot of society's problems. Use the documents to explain what problems they saw in society and why they thought Prohibition would solve these problems.



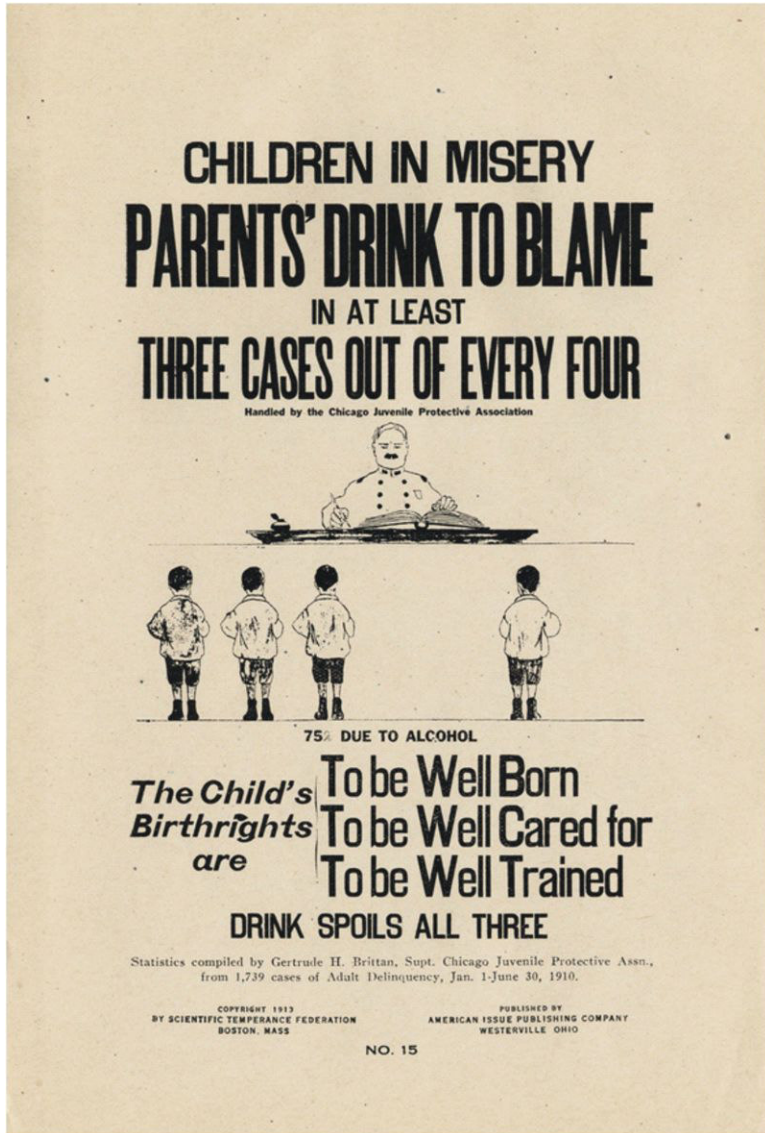


FIGURE 8.3

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## 8.5 Chicago Race Riots

The textbook excerpt below provides introductory information about the Chicago Race Riots of 1919. Read that and then the documents that follow, thinking about what the textbook leaves out. According to each document, what caused the riots?

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### American Vision Excerpt

*Source: The 2006 edition of The American Vision, a high school textbook.*

In the summer of 1919, over 20 race riots broke out across the nation. The worst violence occurred in Chicago. On a hot July day, African Americans went to a whites-only beach. Both sides began throwing stones at each other. Whites also threw stones at an African American teenager swimming near the beach to prevent him from coming ashore, and he drowned. A full-scale riot then erupted in the city. Angry African Americans attacked white neighborhoods while whites attacked African American neighborhoods. The riots lasted for several days. In the end, 38 people died—15 white and 23 black—and over 500 were injured.

#### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it created? For what audience?
2. **Sourcing:** How trustworthy do you find this document?
3. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

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### From Slavery to Freedom - John Hope Franklin

*Source: A work of history by John Hope Franklin called From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans. This is from the Eighth Edition, published in 1987, but the book was first published in 1947. Franklin is a United States historian and past president of the Organization of American Historians and the American Historical Association. More than three million copies of From Freedom to Slavery have been sold. In 1995, Franklin was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.*

The most serious racial outbreak occurred in Chicago late in July of the so-called Red Summer. . . . The riot that began on July 27 had its immediate origin in an altercation at Lake Michigan beach. A young African American swimming offshore had drifted into water that was customarily used by whites. White swimmers commanded him to return to his part of the beach, and some threw stones at him. When the young man went down and drowned, blacks declared that he had been murdered. . . . Distorted rumors circulated among blacks and whites concerning the incident and the subsequent events at the beach. Mobs sprang up in various parts of the city, and during the night there was sporadic fighting. In the next afternoon, white bystanders meddled with blacks as they went home from work. Some were pulled off streetcars and whipped. . . . On the South Side a group of young blacks stabbed an old Italian peddler to death, and a white laundry operator was also stabbed to death. . . . When authorities counted the casualties, the tally sheet gave the results of a miniature war. Thirty-eight people had been killed, including 15 whites and 23 blacks; of the 537 people injured, 178 were white and 342 were black. There is no record of the racial



identity of the remaining 17. More than 1,000 families, mostly black, were homeless as a result of to the burnings and general destruction of property.

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** What kind of document is this? When was it created? For what audience?
2. **Sourcing:** How trustworthy do you find this document?
3. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?
4. **Corroboration:** Compare this historian’s account to the textbook account above. How are they the same? Where do they differ? Which one is more trustworthy?

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## The Causes of the Chicago Race Riot – Walter White

*Source: From “The Causes of the Chicago Race Riot,” by Walter White, October 1919. This article was published in The Crisis, an African-American newspaper. The author was a leader of the NAACP, an organization devoted to protecting African-American rights.*

*In a number of cases during the period from January, 1918, to August, 1919, there were bombings of colored homes and houses occupied by Negroes outside of the “Black Belt.” During this period no less than twenty bombings took place, yet only two persons have been arrested and neither of the two has been convicted, both cases being continued.*

Since 1915 the colored population of Chicago has more than doubled, increasing in four years from a little over 50,000 to what is now estimated to be between 125,000 and 150,000. Most of them lived in the area bounded by the railroad on the west, 30th Street on the north, 40th Street on the south and Ellis Avenue on east. Already overcrowded, this so-called “Black Belt” could not possibly hold the doubled colored population. One cannot put ten gallons of water in a five-gallon pail. Although many Negroes had been living in “white” neighborhoods, the increased exodus from the old areas created an hysterical group of persons who formed “Property Owners’ Associations” for the purpose of keeping intact white neighborhoods. . . .

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? For what audience?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

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## The Race Riots and their Remedies – W.S. Scarborough

*Source: “Race Riots and Their Remedy” by W.S. Scarborough, from The Independent, an African-American newspaper. It is talking about black soldiers who served in World War One in Europe. More than 350,000 African Americans served in World War One, which ended in 1919.(Figure 8.4).*

*The spirit of the negro who went across the seas—who was in action, and who went “over the top”—is by no means the spirit of the negro before the war. He is altogether a new man, with new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations and new desires. He will not quietly submit to former conditions without a vigorous protest, and we should not ask him to do so. It is a new negro that we have with us now. . . .*

*This act [of making negroes into soldiers] transformed these men into new creatures—citizens of another type.*

# Race Riots and Their Remedy

By W. S. Scarborough, D.D.  
President of Wilberforce University

**T**HERE is but one remedy for race riots, and that is, justice—a willingness to accord to every man his rights—civil and political. This is the only solution of the vexed question called race prejudice, which is at the bottom of all the race troubles in all sections of our country.

Riots at all times are to be deplored and rioters themselves punished; and nothing I say in this article must be construed as an apology for lawlessness or crime.

The negro is the unfortunate victim in all these outbreaks — unfortunate because of his color, and unfortunate because the odds are against him, and because few people, nowadays, seem to think that he has rights that other men are bound to respect. This is the situation as we face it today.

The spirit of the negro who went across the seas—who was in action, and who went “over the top”—is by no means the spirit of the negro before the war. He is altogether a new man, with new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations and new desires. He will not quietly submit to former conditions without a vigorous protest, and we should not ask him to do so. It is a new negro that we have with us now, and may we not hope also that we have new white men? The war has revolutionized the entire world. It has changed our mode of thinking and our mode of action. New peoples with new thoughts must come to the front now.

When that horde of crude, unlettered and uncultured negroes was brought from the South—drafted against their will—disfranchised and representing nothing—when they were thrust into the cantonment to be converted into soldiers, little did the War Department think that it was creating a new race problem that would have to be dealt with later. This act transformed these men into new creatures—citizens of another type—that which they could not get in times of peace, came to them in times of war. I verily believe that it was providential. Many of these returning soldiers will not go South, but those who do so will demand a change in the treatment of their race.

It was rather unfortunate that the greatest of all wars—the World War—should have found the South in the saddle. It was an opportunity for that section and it made the most of it, so far as the black man is concerned.

The policy of the Administration has been against the black man. The avowed purpose of the Federal au-



A graduate of Oberlin College, Dr. Scarborough has devoted the greater part of his life to the education of his race, being professor of Greek at Wilberforce before he became president

thorities, from the beginning of the war till its close, was to make the negro feel that he is a negro and must occupy a negro's place. This spirit was taken by the white men in uniform across the seas, where every effort was used to have the Allied people understand that the negro had no standing on this side of the Atlantic.

If the negro had not been sent to camp—if he had not been trained in common with the white soldier; if he had not gone across the seas, and if he had not gone “over the top,” and made good; and if he had not expected better treatment on his return to his native land at the hands of those who drafted him and sent him to the trenches, I am sure that he would not be so exasperated over the situation.

He feels the injustice keenly. The negro officers and men now returning have but one story to tell, and they tell it with bitterness and in tears. Yet there is no redress, there is nothing that the negro can do, but wait. He dares not—he must not take the law into his own hands. That is anarchy and leads to riots and lawlessness. The higher and better classes of colored people, like the higher and better classes of white people, are not in sympathy with mob law or anything that is destructive of good government.

The war is now over, the negro soldier has returned. Note his treatment on the railroads, all of which are under Government control. Many of these men in going to their homes with laurels of victory won in their country's defense are not permitted to ride in other than the Jim-crow cars. Many of them have been assaulted and thrown off the cars by Government officials—withstanding their record across seas—simply because of their color. Many of them have not only suffered in this way, but have met death, because they sought better treatment. This is a terrible chapter in our American life, and only the negro's love for good government prevents serious trouble.

The negro is law-abiding and only occasionally shows a retaliatory spirit. Will not the American white people come halfway—put aside their prejudices and play fair with this people that has done so much to help win this war? Negroes are not rioters, but can be made so. It is a heavy burden they carry. They ask no favors, but simply a man's chance in the race of life, and an opportunity to develop the powers that God has given them.

Xenia, Ohio

223

FIGURE 8.4

“Race Riots and Their Remedy”

## Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? For what audience?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

## Packers' Force Cut by 15,000 – Chicago Tribune

*Source: Article from the Chicago Tribune, the main newspaper in Chicago, April 12, 1919. Many people in Chicago worked at meat-packing factories, where they prepared meat to be shipped around the country. These factories were also called “stockyards.”*

*Outsiders who contemplate dropping in on Chicago to take a “job at the yards” will not find the “welcome” sign out awaiting them.*

*Further augmenting the dropping of new help and women employés who took up labors during the war period is the*

*promise of the packing concerns to return every employé who enlisted in the armed forces to “as good or better” a job than he held when he donned the uniform. Men are now returning in increasingly large numbers and none are being turned away.*

*“No discrimination is being shown in the reducing of our forces,” an official of one of the packing companies said, in discussing reports that southern colored men, put to work during the war shortage of help, were being discharged. “It is a case of the survival of the fittest, the best man staying on the job. It is a fact that the southern Negro cannot compete with the northerner.*

### **PACKERS’ FORCE CUT BY 15,000; NO COLOR LINE**

#### **Report of Discrimination Brings Tribute To Negroes.**

It became known yesterday that since the signing of the armistice the force of workers in Packingtown has dropped by nearly 15,000. This is due both to a big drop in war orders and also that the meat packing business is “seasonable” and an “off season” is now at hand.

#### **Questions:**

1. **Sourcing:** Who wrote this document? When? For what audience?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

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#### **Section Question:**

1. Considering all of the documents provided, what caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919?

## 8.6 Women's Suffrage

The section below includes documents from the women's suffrage movement, both for and against. The Declaration of Sentiments, from 1848, is the first classic statement from the American Women's Rights movement. The following two documents are texts from anti-suffragists. The set concludes with a photograph of a participant in a pro-suffrage rally. As you examine these documents, attempt to determine why some people supported the Women's Suffrage movement while others opposed it.

### The Declaration of Sentiments

*Source: The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, two American activists in the movement to abolish slavery organized the first conference to address Women's rights and issues in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The Declaration of the Seneca Falls Convention was signed by sixty-eight women and thirty-two men.*

*We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women 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, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government. . . .*

*The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.*

*He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.*

*He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.*

*He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.*

*He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.*

*He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.*

*He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.*

*Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation, - in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of these United States.*

### Questions:

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

2. **Contextualization:** What else was happening at this time? How would you expect people to react to the Declaration of Sentiments?
3. **Close Reading:** What other document is the Declaration of Sentiments modeled upon? Cite specific words and phrases that are similar between the two documents.
4. **Close Reading:** Why might the authors of the Declaration of Sentiments have chosen to model their writing on this other document?

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## Molly Elliot Seawell, *The Ladies' Battle*

*Source: Excerpt from Molly Elliot Seawell's The Ladies' Battle, published in 1911. Seawell was an anti-suffragist from Virginia.*

*It has often been pointed out that women could not, with justice, ask to legislate upon matters of war and peace, as no woman can do military duty; but this point may be extended much further. No woman can have any practical knowledge of shipping and navigation, of the work of trainmen on railways, of mining, or of many other subjects of the highest importance. Their legislation, therefore, would not probably be intelligent, and the laws they devised for the betterment of sailors, trainmen, miners, etc., might be highly objectionable to the very persons they sought to benefit. If obedience should be refused to these laws, who is to enforce them? The men? Is it likely they will? And if the effort should be made, what stupendous disorders would occur! The entire execution of the law would be in the hands of men, backed up by an irresponsible electorate which could not lift a finger to apprehend or punish a criminal. And if all the dangers and difficulties of executing the law lay upon men, what right have women to make the law?*

....

*But that woman suffrage tends to divorce, is plain to all who know anything of men and women. Political differences in families, between brothers, for example, who vote on differing sides, do not promote harmony. How much more inharmonious must be political differences between a husband and wife, each of whom has a vote which may be used as a weapon against the other? What is likely to be the state of that family, when the husband votes one ticket, and the wife votes another?*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this document? When?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was happening at this time?
3. **Contextualization:** Consider the date of this document, compared to the date of the Declaration of Sentiments and the dates of the abolition movement. How would you expect people reading this document in 1911 to react?
4. **Close Reading:** What is Seawell's argument? What words and evidence does she use to support her argument? Cite specific quotations.



## 8.7 Anti-Suffrage Newspaper in New York

Source: Article from an anti-suffrage newspaper, *The Woman's Protest Against Woman's Suffrage*, published in New York by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in October 1912.

*It is the Suffragists whose ideal is the kitchenless house fed from a mechanical institutional centre. The main proportion of Suffragist writing and speaking is on this pots and pans pattern, simply a denunciation of housekeeping as degrading. It is the Suffragist theory that the woman's sphere in life should be the same as the man's that has condemned her to share with him what is so hideous a misfit in the miscalled education of our industrial classes, whose girls are all taught as if destined for literary rather than manual occupations, as if the National funds were collected to compel the training of a surplus of cheap short-hand typists for the office, and to compel a lack of expert housewives in the home. It is the Suffragists who are destroying the wholesome personal element in female life, by their doctrine of degradation in the washing of pots and pans for husband, father and son, while they demand the vote, and opportunity to serve the State, the husbands, fathers, and sons of other people, with what? What service? An abstract service of legislation and administration, they reply: in fact all that barren "social service" which can be performed without the sweating of the brow, the soiling of a finger! Is it not clear how this hideous feminism is sapping our vitality as a nation? Is it too much to say that it is at the root of half the unhealth and disease of which to-day's unrest is symptomatic?*

*There are many wealthy women who have espoused Suffragism, and who, to promote it, do daily a very dangerous thing in preaching to working women that housework is degrading. And dangerous as is that direct denunciation of housework universal among Suffragists, of which the Woman's Labor League president's pots and pans speech is typical, there is another way inculcating contempt for it, which is even more dangerous because more insidious and less direct. An example of the insidious way in which the mischief is spread is shown in a letter to the Times of December 21 last, advocating the suffrage for women. It was written by a lady from the standpoint of the leisured and cultured classes, as she expressly said. "We more fortunate women," she wrote, plead for the franchise, not for our own sake, but for the sake of the working women (whose "round of toil" she stigmatized as "drudgery"), because "it shall bring them at once something at least of the respect and consideration which form the basis upon which we more fortunate women build our lives."*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document written? By whom? What do you predict the document will say?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, why did anti-suffragists oppose suffrage? Cite specific passages.

### Rep. John A. Moon Speech

Source: Representative John A. Moon of Tennessee, speech in House of Representatives, January 10, 1918, on the issue of the woman suffrage amendment.

*It has been insisted that the real-purpose of this amendment is the basis for political legislation that will ultimately deprive the Southern States of representation in part in Congress and their force in national affairs. . . .*

*In those Southern States where the colored population outnumbers the white to double the number of ignorant voters by giving the colored woman the right to vote would produce a condition that would be absolutely intolerable. We*



*owe something to the wishes and the sentiments of the people of our sister States struggling to maintain law and order and white supremacy. . . .*

*We are engaged now in a great foreign war. It is not the proper time to change the whole electoral system. . . Patriotism, in my judgment, forbids the injection of this issue into national politics at this time.*

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** When was this document written? By whom? What do you predict the document will say?
2. **Close Reading:** According to this document, why did anti-suffragists oppose suffrage? Cite specific passages.

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## Kaiser Wilson Poster

Source: Photograph of Suffragist Virginia Arnold posing with banner at a 1917 protest organized by the National Woman's Party.(Figure 8.5).

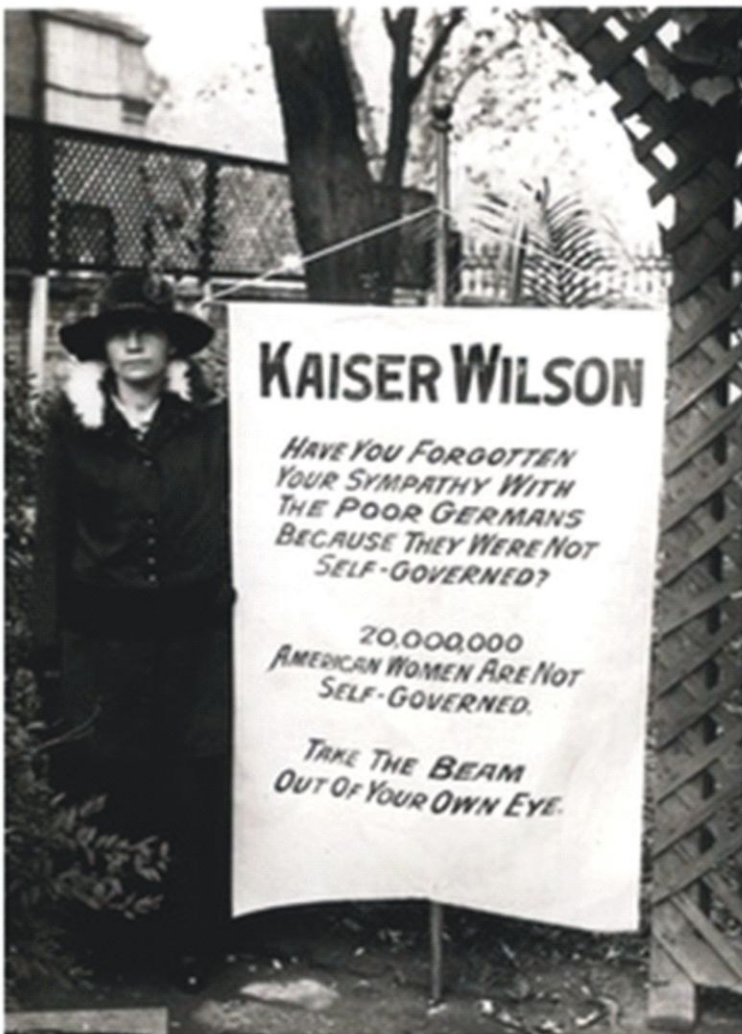


FIGURE 8.5

*Kaiser Wilson*

*Have you forgotten*

*Your Sympathy With*

*The Poor Germans*

*Because They Were Not*

*Self-Governed?*

*American Woman Are Not*

*Self-Governed.*

*Take the Beam*

*Out Of Your Own Eye.*

20,000,000

### Questions:

1. **Sourcing:** Who created this sign? When? Who took the photograph?
2. **Contextualization:** What else was going on in the world at this time?
3. **Close Reading:** Who is the sign maker calling “Kaiser Wilson?” What is the sign maker’s argument? How would the words on the sign make an American in 1917 feel?
4. **Close Reading:** Do you recognize the allusion made in the last sentence on the sign? Would a person living in 1917 be likely to recognize it? Would this be effective in persuading people to support suffrage?

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### Section Questions:

1. **Corroboration:** Considering all of the documents in this section, why did some people oppose suffrage?

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## 8.8 References

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