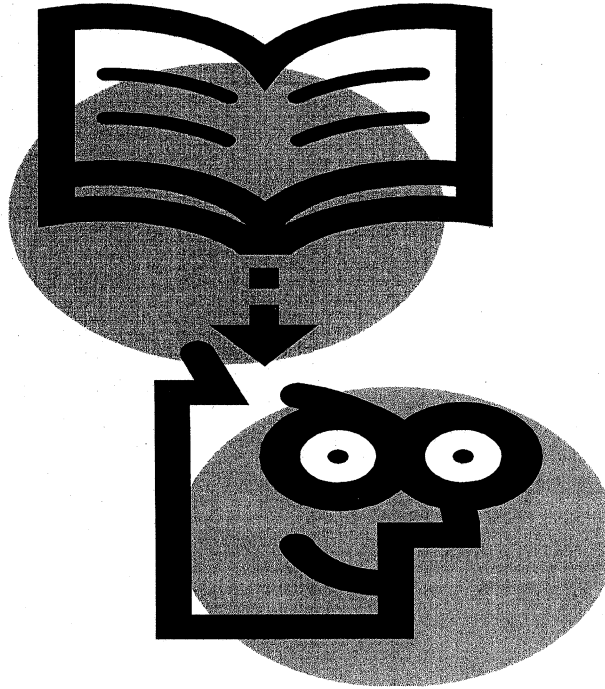


ESSENTIAL LIBRARY



**Edmond Public Schools
District Curriculum**

**Required Reading for Common Core Literacy
in Social Studies:**

U.S. History & Civics

Revised 2014

Royal Proclamation of 1763

Purpose

Whereas We have taken into Consideration the valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace,

We have thought fit to issue this our Royal Proclamation,

And Whereas, We are desirous to testify the bravery of the Officers and Soldiers of our Armies,

We do hereby grant without Fee to such Officers as have served in North America during the late War, and to such Privates the following Quantities of Lands,

To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer--5,000 Acres.

To every Captain--3,000 Acres.

To every Staff Officer,--2,000 Acres.

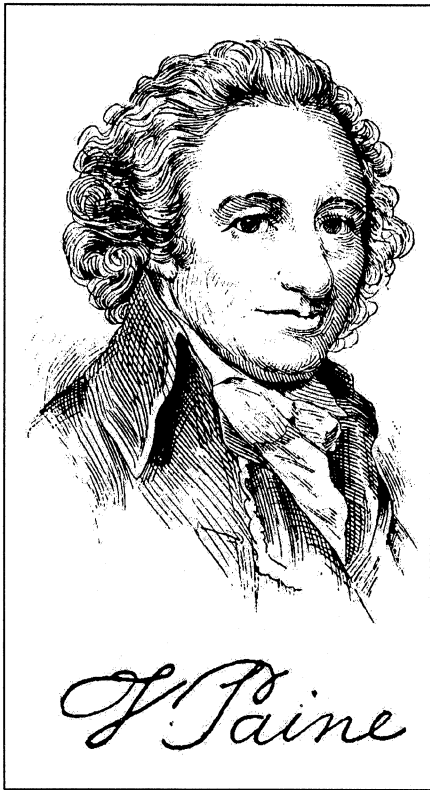
To every Private Man--50 Acres.

And whereas it is just and reasonable for the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes who live under our Protection, should not be disturbed in the Possession of such Territories are reserved to them,

And We do hereby strictly forbid all our loving Subjects from making any Settlements or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved.

Given at our Court at St. James's the 7th Day of October 1763, in the Third Year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING

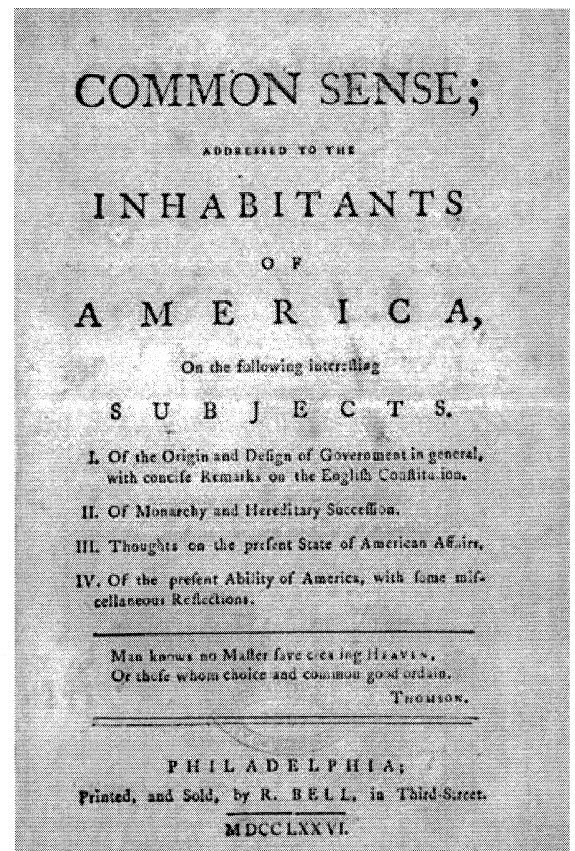


I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connexion with Great Britain, that the same connexion is necessary towards her future happiness. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had anything to do with her. That she has engrossed us and defended the continent at our expence as well as her own is admitted. But, Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, because of her connection with Britain...Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. TIS TIME TO PART.

To CONCLUDE, however strange it may appear to some, nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independence...

These proceedings may at first appear strange and difficult; but, like all other steps which we have already passed over, will in a little time become familiar and agreeable.

Common Sense, 1776 Thomas Paine



Patrick Henry's Stamp Act Resolves

Patrick Henry, at a meeting of the Virginia House of Burgesses, proposed seven resolutions against the Stamp Act. The first five resolutions were adopted and passed by the House of Burgesses, however the fifth was rejected.

Resolves adopted by the House of Burgesses on May 30, 1765:

Resolved, that the first Adventurers and Settlers of His Majesty's Colony brought with them and transmitted to their Posterity and all other His Majesty's Subjects all the priviledges that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the People of Great Britain.

Resolved, that by royal charters, granted by King James the Colonists are declared intituled to all the privileges, liberties & Immunities of natural-born Subjects...born within the Realm of England.

Resolved, that the Taxation of the People by themselves or by Persons chosen by themselves to represent them who...are equally affected by such Taxes... is the distinguishing characteristic of British Freedom and without which the constitution cannot subsist.

Resolved, that His Majesty's People of this Colony have uninterruptedly enjoyed the Right of being thus governed by their own assembly...and that the same hath never been forfeited (given up)...

The following version of the much-debated fifth resolution (which was not adopted) was found with Patrick Henry's will:



Resolved, therefore that the General Assembly of this Colony have the only and sole Right & Power to lay Taxes upon the Inhabitants of this Colony and that every Attempt to vest such Power...has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American Freedom.



William Pitt's Defense of the American Colonies

Among British-America's friends in England during the events that led to the Revolution was William Pitt the Elder, a powerful figure in the House of Commons. A former prime minister, Pitt believed Parliament had authority to legislate for the colonies, but he held the opinion that Parliament could not levy taxes on them.

Pitt rose on January 14, 1766 to "deliver my mind and heart upon the state of America." His address helped secure the Act's repeal.

Gentlemen, Sir,

Americans have spoken their sentiments against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime.

America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Parliament should be ashamed of taxing a people without their consent. The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated?

But I desire to know, when were they made slaves.

On this ground, on the Stamp Act, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

The Americans have not acted in all things with temper.

But they have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice.

The Stamp Act must be repealed immediately. At the same time, let the authority of this country over the colonies be asserted - except that of taking money out of their pockets without their consent.

Mr. President, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do opinions of a very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve.

The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery.

Mr. President, it is natural for a man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth. For my part, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it. I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience.

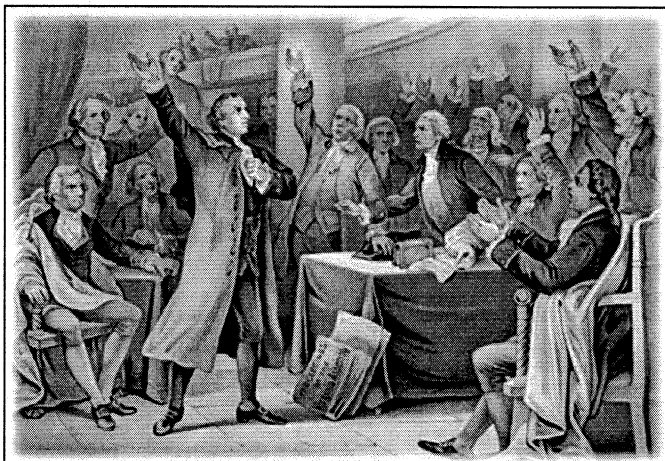
I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past... Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the instruments of war. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? ...They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British Ministry have been so long forging.

..Let us not deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned...Our petitions have produced additional violence and insult.

There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free; we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight!!

They tell us, sir...that we are weak, unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty and in such a country as that which we possess are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. ...There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable -- and let it come!! I repeat it, sir, let it come!!! Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?



"Forbid it, Almighty God -- I know not what course others may take; but as for me -- give me liberty or give me death!"

Patrick Henry, 23 March 1775

The Boston Massacre

Boston Gazette and Country Journal, March 12, 1770.

On the evening of Monday, several soldiers of the 29th Regiment were seen parading the streets with their drawn cutlasses and bayonets, abusing and wounding numbers of the inhabitants.

A few minutes after nine o'clock four youths, named Edward Archbald, William Merchant, Francis Archbald, and John Leech, came down Cornhill together, and passing the narrow alley leading to Murray's barrack was a soldier brandishing a broad sword of an uncommon size; the soldier turned round and struck Archbald on the arm. The noise brought people together; In less than a minute ten or twelve of them came out with drawn cutlasses, clubs, and bayonets and set upon the unarmed boys and young folk, finding the inequality of their equipment, dispersed.

On hearing the noise, one Samuel Atwood came up to see what was the matter; and entering the alley from dock square, heard the latter part of the combat; and when the boys had dispersed he met the ten or twelve soldiers aforesaid rushing down the alley towards the square and asked them if they intended to murder people? They answered Yes,!

With that one of them struck Mr. Atwood with a club which was repeated by another...Thirty or forty persons, mostly lads, being by this means gathered in King Street, Capt. Preston with a party of men with charged bayonets, crying, make way!



...On this, the Captain commanded them to fire; and more snow balls coming, he again said, fire, be the consequence what it will! One soldier then fired, and a townsman struck him over the hands with such force that he dropped his firelock...However, the soldiers continued the fire successively till seven or eight or, as some say, eleven guns were discharged.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of BOSTON, duly warned and assembled in Faneuil-Hall according to Law, on Friday the 20th of November, 1772; then and there to receive and act upon the Report of a Committee appointed at a former Meeting on the 2d of the same Month, and such other Things as might properly come under the Consideration of the Town.

The Honorable JOHN HANCOCK, Esq;

Being unanimously chosen Moderator,

The Chairman of said Committee acquainted him that he was ready to make Report, and read the same as follows.

THE Committee appointed by the Town the second Instant "to state the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects: to communicate and publish the same.

BOSTON COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE

Document known as

The "BOSTON PAMPHLET"

I. *The Rights of the Colonists*

II. *Violations of Those Rights*

III. *A Letter of Correspondence*

1772

The Committee, appointed by the Town...to communicate and publish to the several Towns in this province and to the World, the Sense of this Town, with the Infringements and Violations that have been made.

I. Natural Rights of the Colonists as Men.

Among the natural Rights of the Colonists are these: First, a Right to *Life*; secondly, to *Liberty*; thirdly, to *Property*; together with the Right to support and defend them in the best Manner they can. Those are commonly called the first Law of Nature...When Men enter into Society, it is by voluntary Consent and they have a Right to demand such Conditions as a *Compact*...

...Government was instituted for the purposes of common Defense...Governors have no Right to seek and take what they please; instead of being honorable Servants of the Society, they would soon become Absolute Masters, Despots, and Tyrants. In short...the Right to Freedom being the Gift of GOD ALMIGHTY, it is not in the Power of Man to voluntarily become a Slave.

III. The Rights of the Colonists as Subjects of England.

All Persons born in the British American Colonies are, by the Laws of GOD and Nature, and by the Law of England...declared to be entitled to all the natural and inseparable Rights, Liberties and Privileges of Subjects born in Great Britain...

Can it be said with any Truth and Justice that this Continent...has the least Voice, Vote, or Influence in the Decisions of the British Parliament? . . . The Colonists have been branded with the odious names of Traitors and Rebels, only for complaining of their Grievances. How long such Treatment will be borne?

(Olive Branch Petition)

Approved by the Continental Congress on July 5, 1775

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty:

MOST EXCELLENT SOVERIEIGN: We your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies...in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies... entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our Mother Country and these colonies...produced benefits so remarkably important that the envy of other Nations were excited...There was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissensions...

At the conclusion therefore of the late war, your loyal colonists having contributed to its success...doubted not that they should be permitted to share in the blessings of peace of victory and conquest... We shall decline the describing of the irksome practices of your Majesty's ministers...that have from time to time been dealt out...Your Majesty's ministers have compelled us to arm in our own defence.

We think ourselves required by obligations to Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow subjects and to ourselves, to use all the means in our power...for stopping the further effusion of blood and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British Empire.

Attached to your Majesty's government with all the devotion that can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty that we desire the former harmony be restored...

We therefore beseech...that your Majesty direct measures be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects.

JOHN HANCOCK

JOHN LANGDON,
THOMAS CUSHING, *New-Hampshire*
SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE, *Massachusetts*
STEPHEN HOPKINS,
SAMUEL WARD,
ELIPHALET DYER, *Rhode-Island*
ROGER SHERMAN,
SILAS DEANE, *Connecticut*
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
JAMES DUANE,
JOHN ALSOP,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
JOHN JAY,
ROBERT LIVINGSTON, JR.,
LEWIS MORRIS,

WILLIAM FLOYD,
HENRY WISNER, *New-York*
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
JOHN DE HART,
RICHARD SMITH, *New-Jersey*
JOHN DICKINSON,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
GEORGE ROSS,
JAMES WILSON,
CHARLES HUMPHREYS,
EDWARD BIDDLE, *Pennsylvania*
CAESAR RODNEY,
THOMAS MCKEAN,
GEORGE READ, *Delaware Counties*
MATTHEW TILGHMAN,
THOMAS JOHNSON, JR.,
WILLIAM PACA,

SAMUEL CHASE,
THOMAS STONE, *Maryland*
PATRICK HENRY, JR.,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
EDMUND PENDLETON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Virginia*
WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES, *North-Carolina*
HENRY MIDDLETON,
THOMAS LYNCH,
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
EDWARD RUTLEDGE, *South-Carolina*

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America

(Paragraph 1.) 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.

(Paragraph 2.) 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.

(Paragraph 3.) 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.

(Paragraph 4.) 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.

Line 4.1 He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

Line 4.2 He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance...

Line 4.3 He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people...

Line 4.4 He has sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance...

Line 4.5 He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures...

Line 4.6 For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us...

Line 4.7 For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world...

Line 4.8 For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent...

Line 4.9 For depriving us in many cases, of the benefit of Trial by Jury...

Line 4.10 He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people...

Line 4.11 He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages...

Line 4.12 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...

(Paragraph 5.) 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.

New Hampshire: Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts: John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island: Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery

Connecticut: Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott

New York: William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris

New Jersey: Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark

Pennsylvania: Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross

Delaware: Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean

Maryland: Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Virginia: George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton

North Carolina: William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn

South Carolina: Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton

Georgia: Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton

The word *treatise* means “essay” or “article.” In 1690, an English philosopher named John Locke published *Two Treatises of Government*. Locke was a writer during the Age of Enlightenment, a time when many people began to use reason and observation to address human problems. Locke believed that governments existed to protect the natural rights of the people they governed. Thomas Jefferson drew on Locke’s ideas when he drafted the Declaration of Independence, and the Framers of the Constitution based the structure of government on ideas proposed by Locke and other Enlightenment thinkers.

◆ As you read the excerpt in your textbook, think about the ways in which Locke has influenced our notions of government. Then, complete the chart below by rewriting key passages from *Two Treatises of Government* in your own words. When you have finished, answer the question that follows on a separate sheet of paper.

Two Treatises of Government

Passage	In Your Words
“[T]he power of the society or legislative constituted by them [its law-making bodies] can never be supposed to extend farther than the common good.”	
“[W]hoever has the legislative or supreme power of any commonwealth is bound to govern by established standing laws, promulgated [published] and known to the people, and not made by extemporary [random] decrees. . . .”	
“The reason why men enter into society, is the preservation of their property . . .”	
“. . . there may be laws made and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the members of the society . . .”	
“Whensoever therefore the legislative [power] shall transgress [break] this fundamental rule of society . . . by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends. . . .”	
“. . . and it [power] devolves [passes] to the people who have a right to resume their original liberty, and, by the establishment of a new legislative (such as they think fit), provide for their own safety and security . . .”	

**The Slaves' Appeal to General Gage
A Group of Slaves in Massachusetts**

Using the same theory of the natural rights of men asserted by the Founding Fathers, a group of slaves in Massachusetts sent the following appeal for freedom to Thomas Gage, the royal governor of the colony. This appeal was presented in 1774.

The Petition of a Grate Number of Blacks of this Province who by divine permission are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of a free and Christian Country Humbly Shewing That your Petitioners apprehind we have in common with all other men a naturel right to our freedoms without Being depriv'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn Pepel and have never forfeited this Blessing by aney compact or agreement whatever.

But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest frinds and our tender Parents from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land. Thus we are deprived of every thing that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable, the endearing ties of husband and wife we are strangers to for we are no longer man and wife than our masters or mistresses thinkes proper marred or onmarred.

Our children are also taken from us by force and sent maney miles from us wear we seldom or ever see them again there to be made slaves of for Life which sumtimes is vere short by Reson of Being dragged from their mothers Breest Thus our Lives are imbittered to us on these accounts....

We therfor beg your Excellency will give this its deer weight and consideration and that you will accordingly cause an act of the legislative to be passed that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our children...

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny is not easily conquered; What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right not only to TAX... but to BIND us in slavery.

Not a man lives on the continent but fully believes that a separation must some time or other finally take place... I am as confident as I am that God governs the world, that America will never be happy till she gets clear of foreign dominion.

America did not, nor does not want force; we were unwilling to raise an army, and trusted our cause to the defence of a well-meaning militia. A summer's experience has now taught us better...I call not upon a few, but upon all- lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope could survive, that a country came forth... It matters not where you live or what rank of life you hold, I love the man that can smile in trouble. He whose heart is firm will pursue his principles unto death...

Thomas Paine, The Crisis



Thomas Paine

GLORIOUS NEWS.

PROVIDENCE, ⁿOctober 25, 1781.

Three o'Clock, P. M.

THIS MOMENT an EXPRESS arrived at his Honour the Deputy-Governor's, from Col. Christopher Olney, Commandant on Rhode-Island, announcing the important Intelligence of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his Army, an Account of which was printed This Morning at Newport, and is as follows, viz.

Newport, October 25, 1781.

YESTERDAY afternoon arrived in this Harbour Capt. Lovett, of the Schooner Adventure, from York-River, in Cheapeake-Bay (which he left the 20th Instant) and brought us the glorious News of the Surrender of Lord CORNWALLIS and his Army Prisoners of War to the allied Army, under the Command of our illustrious General, and the French Fleet, under the Command of his Excellency the Count de GRASSE.

A Cessation of Arms took Place on Thursday the 18th Instant, in Consequence of Proposals from Lord Cornwallis for a Capitulation. His Lordship proposed a Cessation of Twenty-four Hours, but Two only were granted by His Excellency General WASHINGTON. The Articles were completed the same Day, and the next Day the allied Army took Possession of York-Town.

By this glorious Conquest, NINE THOUSAND of the Enemy, including Seamen, fell into our Hands, with an immense Quantity of Warlike Stores, a forty Gun Ship, a Frigate, an armed Vessel, and about One Hundred Sail of Transports.

The Federalist, No. 10

James Madison wrote several articles supporting ratification of the Constitution for a New York newspaper. In the excerpt below, Madison argues for the idea of a federal republic.

By a faction, I understand a number of citizens...who are united and actuated by some common impulse...adverse to the rights of other citizens...The inference to which we are brought is that the causes of faction cannot be removed and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its *effects*...

A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place...promises the cure for which we are seeking...

The two great points of difference between a democracy and a republic are: first, the delegation of the government, in the latter, to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; secondly, the greater number of citizens, and greater sphere of country, over which the latter may be extended.

The effect of the first difference is...to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations...

The Federalist No. 51

Independent Journal
Wednesday, February 6, 1788
[James Madison]

To the People of the State of New York:

TO WHAT shall we finally resort for maintaining the necessary partition of power among the several departments? ...I will hazard a few general observations which may perhaps place it in a clearer light and enable us to form a more correct judgment of the structure of the government planned by the convention.

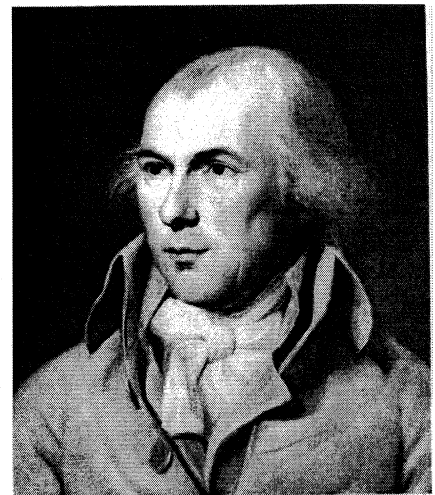
Separate and distinct powers of government...is essential to the preservation of liberty...It is equally evident that the members of each department should be as little dependent as possible on those of the others... Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. It may be a reflection on human nature that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government.

But what is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, no controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.

In republican government, the legislative authority necessarily predominates. The remedy for this is to divide the legislature into different branches; and to render them as little connected with each other...

There are, moreover, two considerations particularly applicable to the federal system of America...First, in a single republic, all the power surrendered by the people is submitted to the administration of a single government; the usurpations are guarded against by a division of the government into distinct and separate departments...Hence a double security arises to the rights of the people. The different governments will control each other.

PUBLIUS



GEORGE MASON'S NOTES

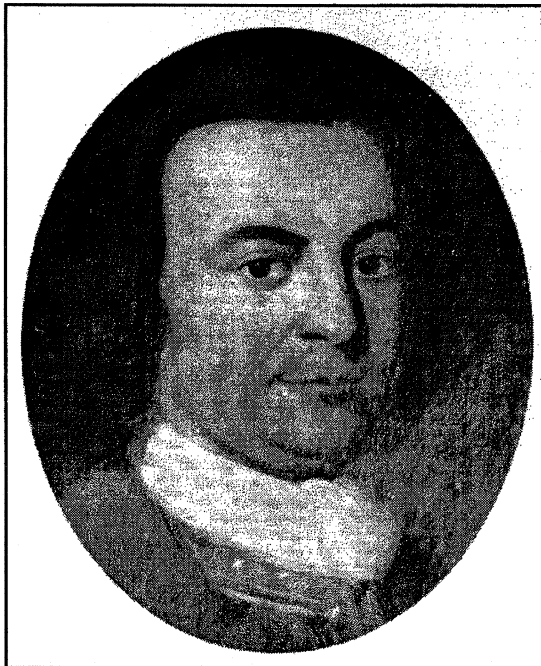
Philadelphia, September 16, 1787:

There is no Declaration of Rights, and the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitution of the several States, the Declarations of Rights in the separate States are no security. Nor are the people secured even in the enjoyment of the benefit of the common law.

... Under their own construction of the general clause, at the end of the enumerated powers, the Congress may grant monopolies in trade and commerce, constitute new crimes, inflict unusual and severe punishments, and extend their powers as far as they shall think proper; so that the State legislatures have no security for the powers now presumed to remain to them, or the people for their rights.

There is no declaration of any kind, for preserving the liberty of the press, or the trial by jury in civil causes; nor against the danger of standing armies in time of peace.

... This government will set out a moderate aristocracy: it is at present impossible to foresee whether it will, in its operation, produce a monarchy, or a corrupt, tyrannical aristocracy; it will most probably vibrate some years between the two, and then terminate in the one or the other.



Rutland, ed., *The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1792*, 3:991-993.

George Mason, Virginia (1725-1792). *Dictionary of American Portraits*. Dover Publications, 1967.

MAYFLOWER COMPACT

IN The Name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honor of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid; And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience. In WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth and of Scotland, the fifty-fourth. **Anno Domini, 1620.**

*John Alden
Isaac Allerton
John Allerton
John Billington
William Bradford
William Brewster
Richard Britteridge
Peter Brown
John Carver
James Chilton
Richard Clarke
Francis Cooke
John Craxton
Edward Doten
Francis Eaton
Thomas English
Moses Fletcher
Edward Fuller
Samuel Fuller
Richard Gardiner
John Goodman
Stephen Hopkins*

*John Howland
Edward Leister
Edmund Margeson
Christopher Martin
William Mullins
Digery Priest
John Ridgdale
Thomas Rogers
George Soule
Miles Standish
Edward Tilly
John Tilly
Thomas Tinker
John Turner
Richard Warren
William White
Thomas Williams
Edward Winslow
Gilbert Winslow*

Farewell Address

Friends and Citizens,

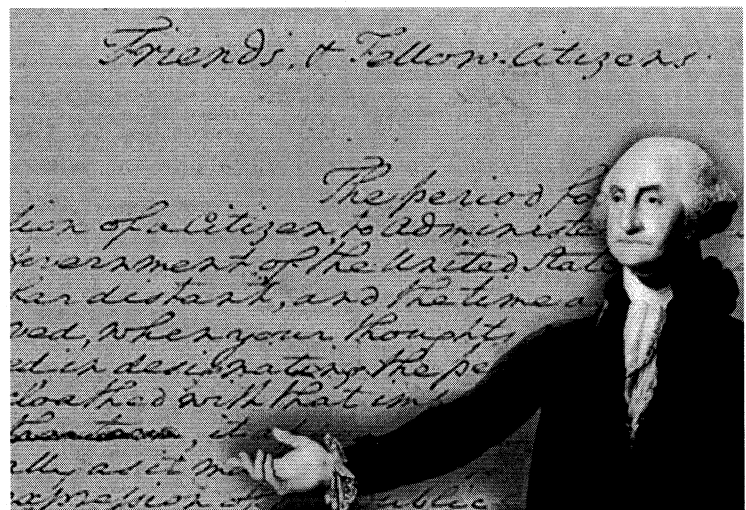
In looking forward to the moment to terminate the career of my public life. Let it always be remembered ...that your Union may be perpetual--that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained--that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and Virtue--that the happiness of the people of these States, under liberty, may be made complete.

Observe good faith & justice towards all Nations. Cultivate peace & harmony with all-- It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, great Nation to give to mankind the example of a People always guided by justice.

Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost...

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations, is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible.

Go: Washington, 1796

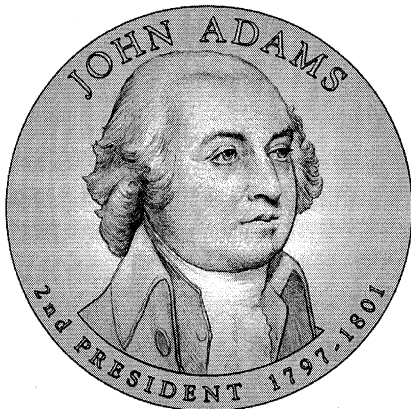


The Sedition Act of July 14, 1798

An Act in addition to the act, entitled "An act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States. "

SEC. I Be it enacted . . . , That if any persons shall unlawfully combine or conspire together, with intent to oppose any measure of the government of the United States, or to impede the operation of any law of the United States...shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment during a term not less than six months nor exceeding five years;

SEC. 2. That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish... any false, scandalous and malicious writing against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States... then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.



Virginia Resolves	Kentucky Resolves
<p>RESOLVED, That the General Assembly of Virginia, doth express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of this State, against every aggression either foreign or domestic...</p> <p>That this assembly declares an attachment to the Union of the States...it is their duty to oppose every infraction of those principles.</p> <p>That this Assembly doth also express its deep regret that a spirit has been manifested by the federal government to enlarge its powers to transform the present republican system of the United States into an absolute monarchy.</p> <p>That the General Assembly doth protest against the alarming infractions of the Constitution in the "Alien and Sedition Acts" passed by Congress;</p> <p>That this state expressly declares that among other essential rights the Liberty of Conscience and of the Press cannot be cancelled, abridged, or restrained by any authority of the United States."</p> <p>That the good people of this commonwealth... doth appeal to the other states in declaring that the acts are unconstitutional.</p> <p><i>Agreed to by the Senate, December 24, 1798.</i></p>	<p>The representatives of the good people... Faithful to the true principles of the union and anxious to escape the fangs of despotism are</p> <p>RESOLVED, That this commonwealth considers the federal union for the purposes conducive to the liberty and happiness of the several states:</p> <p>That it does now declare its attachment to the Union will be among the last to seek its dissolution:</p> <p>That the several states...being sovereign and independent, have the right to nullification of federal acts...</p> <p>That this commonwealth does declare that the alien and sedition laws are violations of the Constitution.</p> <p>And finally...this commonwealth does now enter against them its SOLEMN PROTEST.</p> <p><i>Approved December 3rd, 1799.</i></p>

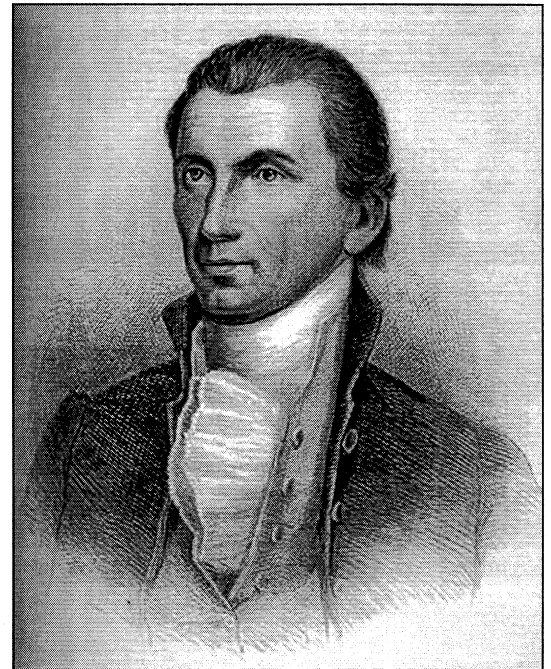
President Monroe's seventh annual message to Congress, December 2, 1823

. . . (Based upon the) principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, the American continents by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . .

Of events in that quarter of the globe (Europe) with which we have so much commerce and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers...we have never taken any part, nor does our policy do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we make preparation for our defense.

With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected... We owe it, therefore, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere... Governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality and shall continue to adhere...

It is impossible that the powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness... It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in hope that other powers will pursue the same course. . . .



Viewpoints

In the 1830s, Senators John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts were the most prominent spokesmen for sectionalism and nationalism, respectively. Webster avidly defended the supremacy of the federal government and the U.S. Constitution, and Calhoun asserted the inviolable rights of the states. In 1833, Calhoun delivered a speech defending the southern way of life and criticizing the federal government for overreaching its powers. More than 40 members of Congress from 12 southern states signed his statement. In 1830, Webster debated the issue of state versus national sovereignty with South Carolina Senator Robert Hayne. ♦ *As you read the viewpoints below, consider the justifications and reasoning behind each senator's statements. Then, on a separate sheet of paper, answer the questions that follow.*

Speech, January 26, 1830, by Massachusetts Senator Daniel Webster

"This government, Sir, . . . is not the creature of State legislatures; nay, . . . the people brought it into existence, established it, and have hitherto supported it, for the very purpose, amongst others, of imposing certain salutary restraints on State sovereignties. . . . Sir, the very chief end, the main design, for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a government that should not be obliged to act through State agency. . . . [The Constitution declares] that *"the Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land. . . ."* . . . No State law is to be valid which comes in conflict with the Constitution, or any law of the United States passed in pursuance of it."

Speech, 1833, by South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun

"Slavery is a domestic institution. It belongs to the States, each for itself to decide, whether it shall be established or not; and if it be established, whether it should be abolished or not. . . . [W]e hold that the Federal Government has no right to extend or restrict slavery, no more than to establish or abolish it; nor has it any right whatever to distinguish between the domestic institutions of one State, or section, and another, in order to favor one and discourage the other. . . . It is not for [the North] nor for the Federal Government to determine, whether our domestic institution is good or bad; or whether it should be repressed or preserved. It belongs to us, and us only, to decide such questions.

HORRID MASSACRE IN VIRGINIA.



Account of Turner's Rebellion, Richmond Enquirer, 30 August 1831

The oldest inhabitants of our county have never experienced such a distressing time, as we have had since Sunday night last. The negroes have massacred from 50 to 75 women and children. A fanatic preacher by the name of Nat Turner, who had been taught to read and write and permitted to go about preaching in the country, was at the bottom of this. They had 15 others to join them. And prevailed upon about 20 others

to cooperate in the scheme of massacre... With knives and axes-knocking on the head, or cutting the throats of their victims, they went from house to house, pausing their murderous career about 12 o'clock on Monday. Not a white person escaped at all the houses they visited except two. One was a little child about 7 or 8 years of age, who crept up a chimney; and the other was Mrs. Barrow, whose husband was murdered in his cotton patch. It is said that from 40 to 50 blacks were in jail, some of whom were known to be concerned with the murders, and others suspected. The courts will discriminate the innocent from the guilty. It is believed that all the brigands were slaves and most, if not all these, the property of kind and indulgent masters. Nat, the ringleader, who calls himself General, pretends to be a Baptist preacher and declares to his comrades that he is commissioned by Jesus Christ and proceeds under His inspired directions. The story of his having been killed at the bridge is ungrounded. However, it is believed he cannot escape.

After his capture and arrest on October 30, 1831, Nat Turner was imprisoned in the Southampton County Jail, where he was interviewed by Thomas R. Gray, a physician. Out of that interview came his "Confession."

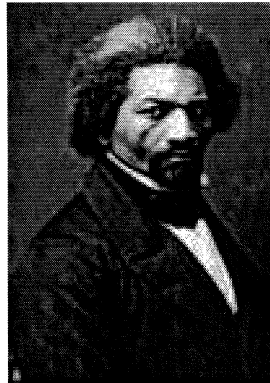
"By this time and hearing the Scriptures, I was struck with that particular passage which says, 'Seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all things shall be added unto you.' I reflected much on this passage, and prayed daily for light on this subject... About this time I was placed under an overseer, from whom I ran away, but I returned...The reason of my return was that the Spirit appeared to me and said that I should return to the service of my earthly master. And about this time I had a vision- I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, the thunder rolled in the heavens, and blood flowed in streams. And I heard a voice saying, 'Such you are called to see; and let it come rough or smooth, you must surely bear it.' And now the Holy Ghost had revealed itself to me, for as the blood of Christ had been shed on this earth, and had ascended to heaven for the salvation of sinners...it was plain to me that the great day of judgment was at hand...I should arise and prepare myself and slay my enemies with their own weapons.



Born into slavery and raised on a plantation in Maryland, Frederick Douglass escaped to the north and freedom at the age of 20. After his escape, Douglass became an active abolitionist and a popular speaker against slavery. He published an autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, in 1845. Popular in the North and in Europe, the work helped draw attention to the moral problems caused by slavery, which Douglass believed dehumanized both master and slave. ♦ *Read the excerpt, thinking about how an author can persuade readers to accept his or her point of view. Then, on a separate sheet of paper, answer the questions that follow.*

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave

I was seldom whipped by my old master, and suffered little from any thing else than hunger and cold. I suffered much from hunger, but much more from cold. In the hottest summer and coldest winter, I was kept almost naked—no shoes, no stockings, no jacket, no trousers, nothing on but a coarse tow linen shirt, reaching only to my knees. I had no bed. I must have perished with cold, but that, the coldest nights, I used to steal a bag which was used for carrying corn to the mill. I would crawl into this bag, and there sleep on the cold, damp, clay floor, with my head in and feet



Frederick Douglass, The Granger Collection, New York

out. My feet have been so cracked with the frost, that the pen with which I am writing might be laid in the gashes.

We were not regularly allowed. Our food was coarse corn meal boiled. This was called *mush*. It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set down upon the ground. The children were then called, like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and devour the mush; some with oyster-shells, others with pieces of shingle, some with naked hands, and none with spoons.

He that ate fastest got most; he that was strongest secured the best place; and few left the trough satisfied.

The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one 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 that impel them to such a course.

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, 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...Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled. 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 taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given...giving all power into his hands.

...if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, 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 the United States.

Primary author Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Well, children, where there is so much racket there must be something out of kilter. I think that 'twixt the Negroes of the south and the women of the North, all talking about rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all this here talking about?

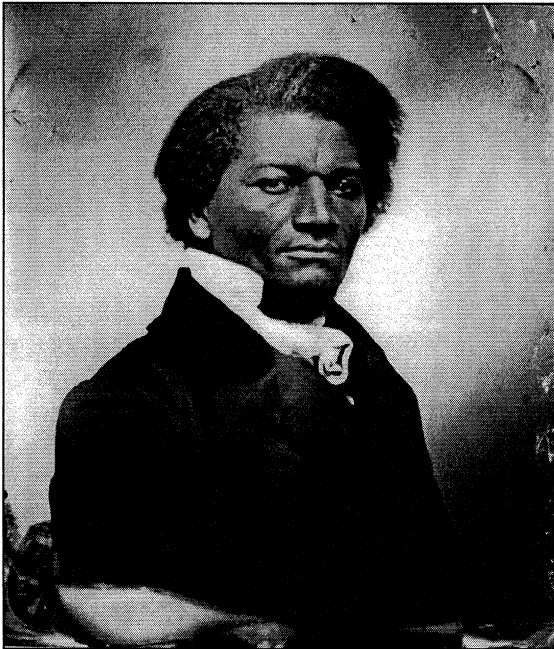
That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mudpuddles or gives me any best place? And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen them most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me? And ain't I a woman?

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again?



Obliged to you for hearing me,
and now old Sojourner hasn't got
anything move to say.

Sojourner Truth, 1850



Fellow Citizens –

The blessings in which you this day rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. This Fourth of July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn...

Fellow-citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are to-day rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. I do not hesitate to declare, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July.

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? In answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all the other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham...your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.

1852 Fourth of July, Frederick Douglass

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Speech
To the American Anti-slavery Society, 1860
The Liberator, May 18, 1860

The mission of this Radical Anti-Slavery Movement is not to the African slave alone, but to the slaves of sex, as well. In settling the question of the negro's rights, we find out the exact limits of our own, for rights never clash where no individual in a community is denied his rights.

To you, white man, the world throws wide her gates; the way is clear to wealth, to fame, to glory, to the high places of honor and trust, but the black man and the woman are born to shame. The badge of degradation is the skin and the sex. But in deciding what rights blacks should have, we find out the rights we should have. As long as each person is treated fairly then we can be confident everyone will also be well treated.

Herein is woman more fully identified with the slave. She early learns the misfortune of being born an heir to womanhood. For while the man is born to do whatever he can, for the woman and the negro there is no such privilege. Just because their skin is black color or because they happen to be women lots of people are not even allowed to try for the most important jobs. Because women are not allowed to try for the jobs that earn the greatest fame or money, we women can understand how slaves feel. Because women know what it is like to have their freedom limited, they can understand how slaves feel. Men cannot understand the problems of slaves as easily as women can.

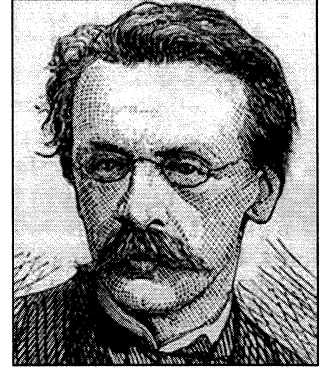


This is the only organization in the world where the rights of women are recognized. The anti-slavery movement is not just fighting for the freedom of slaves, it is fighting for all people whose rights are limited by customs. We rejoice that someday the prejudice which has until now hurt even the greatest minds of the earth will be no more.

John L. O'Sullivan on *Manifest Destiny*

Excerpted from "The Great Nation of Futurity", 1839

The American people, having derived their origin from many other nations and the Declaration of Independence being based on the principle of human equality...our national birth was the beginning of a new history... and so, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity (*the future*). America is destined for better deeds.



We are entering on untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds and with a clear conscience... We are the nation of human progress and who can set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us...We proclaim to the millions of other lands, that the powers of aristocracy and monarchy shall not prevail against us.

The boundless future will be the era of American greatness...The nation is destined to manifest (*show*) to mankind the divine principles of equality, the law of brotherhood of peace and good will amongst men.

Yes, we are the nation of progress...We must go onward to the fulfilment of our mission... All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the salvation of man...For this blessed mission has America been chosen and her high example shall smite (*strike down*) the tyranny of kings... Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?

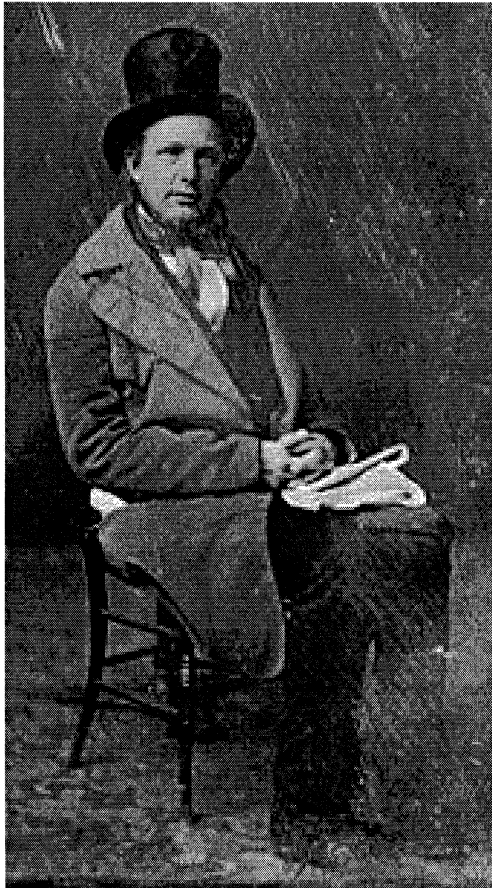


To R. L. Sanderson, correspondent

New York, Nov. 15, 1871.

Dear Sir:

So many people ask me what they shall do; so few tell me what they can do. Yet this is the pivot wherein all must turn. I believe that each of us, who has his place to make, should go where men are wanted... Of course, I say to all who are in want of work, Go West!



But what can you do? Can you chop? Can you plow? Can you mow? Can you cut up Indian corn? I reckon not. In the west it is hard to find such work as you have been accustomed to. The conditions of living are very rude there.

On the whole I say, stay where you are; do as well as you can; and devote every spare hour to making yourself familiar with the conditions required for out-door industry in a new country. Having mastered these, gather up your family and Go West!

Yours,

Horace Greeley*

**Horace Greeley arrived in New York City in 1831 with only twenty-five dollars in his pocket. He spent a few years working as a type-setter and printer before founding the New York Tribune in 1841, a newspaper that preached reform, women's rights, organization of labor, and abolitionism.*

**Most historians believe that Horace Greeley did not coin the phrase, "Go West, young man" but merely popularized it through many of his editorials published as early as the 1840s.*

From Lincoln's Cooper Union Address

27 February 1860

...If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws and constitutions against it, are themselves wrong, and should be silenced, and swept away. If it is right, we cannot object to its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot insist upon its extension – its enlargement. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition, but, thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view? In view of our moral and political responsibilities, can we do this?

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, but we can, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly. Let us be diverted by some middle ground between the right and the wrong.

Neither let us be frightened by menaces of destruction to the Government. LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT, AND IN THAT FAITH, LET US, TO THE END, DARE TO DO OUR DUTY AS WE UNDERSTAND IT.

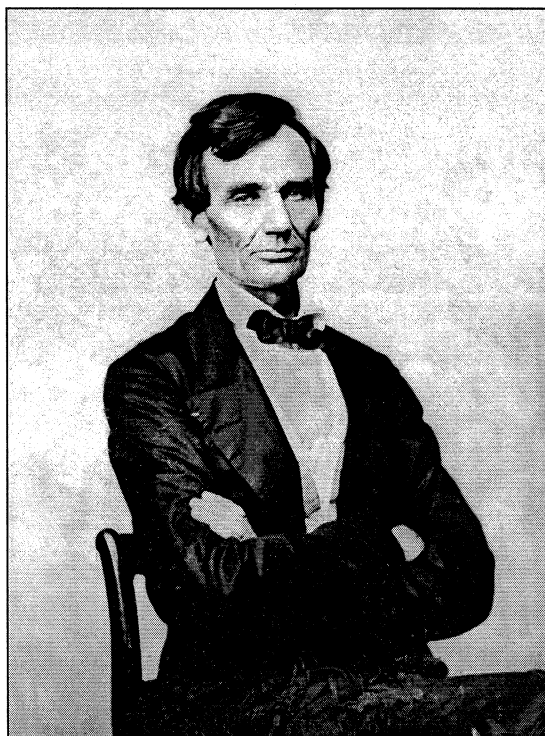
Letter to Horace Greeley
22 August 1862

... As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing" as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored; the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do *not* believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do *more* whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have her stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty; and I intent no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men every where could be free. Yours,

—Library of America, Vol 2, 357-58



Dred Scott v. Sandford, 1857

***** Background of the Case *****

John Emerson, a United States Army surgeon, took enslaved African Dred Scott to live at military posts in Illinois, a free state in 1834, and then to posts in the territory of Upper Louisiana (now Minnesota), where slavery had been forbidden by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In 1838 Emerson and Scott returned to Missouri.

In 1846 Scott won a suit for his freedom against Emerson's widow in a Missouri court. Scott claimed that by having lived in free territory, he had earned his freedom. This ruling was overturned, however, by Missouri's Supreme Court. Aided by various antislavery interests, Scott then started a new suit in a federal district court against Mrs. Emerson's brother, John Sandford of New York, who had been acting as his sister's agent. Since the case was a dispute between people who live in two different states, it could be heard in a federal court. When the federal court ruled that Scott was still a slave, he appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

Constitutional Issues *****

The Constitution left questions such as the legal rights of slaves for later lawmakers to solve. In 1850 Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law, which stated that a slave was property and which required escaped slaves to be returned to their holders. Opponents of the law unsuccessfully challenged its legality before the Supreme Court.

The first major issue was whether Dred Scott—an African American—qualified as a citizen of the United States and was, therefore, entitled to sue in a federal court. The second issue concerned whether Scott had gained his freedom by moving to a free territory or state. The third issue focused on the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which banned slavery north of the southern boundary of Missouri (except for Missouri itself). Scott had lived in the non-slavery region. Did Congress have the power to prohibit slavery in the territories and to make the prohibition a condition of admission to the Union?

***** The Supreme Court's Decision *****

The Court's decision was written by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, although each justice wrote his own opinion, with only one justice concurring with Taney in every respect. Two justices dissented.

Taney's first ruling was that former Africans, "whether emancipated or not," did not qualify as United States citizens. Taney held that only those who were state citizens when the Union was formed became federal citizens. Even though a state may emancipate a slave, give him the right to vote, and admit him to state citizenship, Taney said, none of these actions gave a slave automatic federal citizenship. The right to grant federal citizenship belonged exclusively to Congress. Taney concluded that Scott was not, and never had become, a citizen of the United States, and was not, therefore, entitled to sue in a federal court.

Taney next examined the question of whether Scott had gained his freedom when he entered the Upper Louisiana Territory. The Chief Justice attacked the Missouri Compromise as an unconstitutional exercise of congressional authority. Congress cannot forbid a state or a territory from making slavery legal. Taney explained that as long as slavery is authorized by the Constitution, Congress cannot alter the right of a person to own slaves or any other kind of property. In viewing the Missouri Compromise as unconstitutional, the Court determined that Scott's status did not change when he entered free territory. The Court held that Scott had been a slave in Illinois and had returned to Missouri as a slave. On his return to Missouri, he became subject to Missouri law alone. Taney ordered the suit dismissed for lack of jurisdiction.

***** **Dissenting Opinion** *****

Justice Benjamin R. Curtis dissented. Curtis noted that free African Americans were among those who had voted to ratify the Constitution in a number of states. Nothing in the Constitution stripped these free African Americans of their citizenship. Curtis maintained that "under the Constitution of the United States, every free person born on the soil of a State, who is a citizen of that State, who is a citizen of that State by force of its Constitution or laws, is also a citizen of the United States"

The Court's decision is one example of judicial power being exercised in favor of racial segregation. It is also the first time that a major federal law was ruled unconstitutional.

Address of John Brown

Sentence of Death

November 2, 1859

I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say.

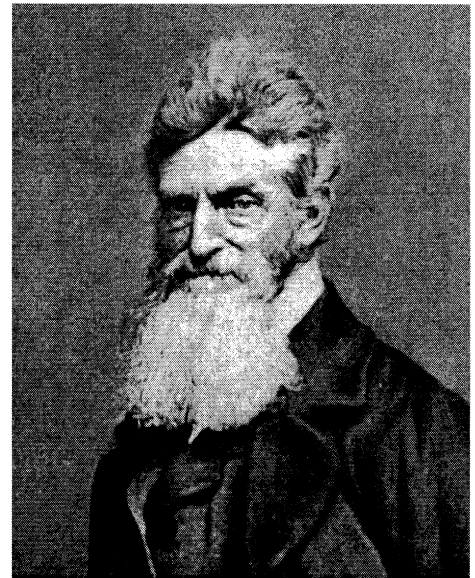
In the first place, I deny everything but what I have already admitted to free slaves. I intended to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took Slaves without snapping of a gun, moving them in Canada. I desired to have done the same thing again on a much larger scale. That was all I intended . I never intended murder or treason or the destruction of property or to incite slaves to rebellion.

I have another objection that I should suffer such a penalty...Had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right. Every man in this Court would have deemed it an act worthy a reward rather than a punishment.

This Court acknowledged the validity of the law of God...It teaches me to "Remember them that are in bonds." I endeavored to act up to that instruction...I have done no wrong. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle with the blood of millions in this slave country, whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say, LET IT BE DONE...

Now, I have done.

John Brown



We have devoted a large portion of our publication of the well-intentioned but sadly misguided effort of Capt. John Brown at Harper's Ferry to liberate the slaves in Virginia, and ultimately throughout the South...

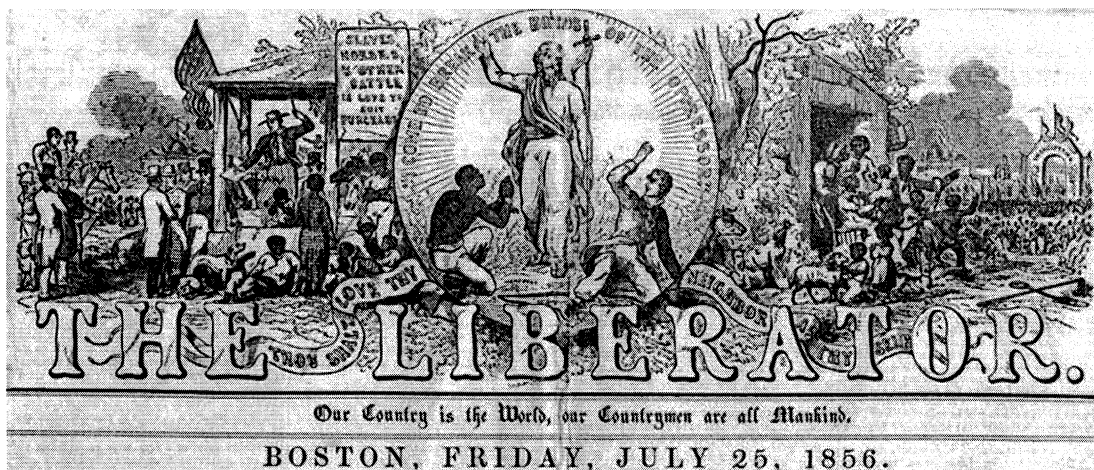
As to Capt. Brown, all who know him personally are united in the conviction that a more honest, truthful, brave man, however misguided or unfortunate, does not exist; that he possesses a deeply religious nature, and that he sincerely believes himself to have been raised up by God to deliver the oppressed in this country as did Moses to the deliverance of the captive Israelites... And that when he affirms that he had no other motive for his conduct at Harper's Ferry except to break the chains of the oppressed, he speaks the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

If he shall be put to death, he will die as a martyr to his sympathy for a suffering race, and in defense of the inalienable rights of man, and will therefore deserve to be held in honorable remembrance by all those who glory in the deeds... Read his replies in court; where shall a more undaunted spirit be found?

Courts, judges can inflict no brand of shame. For, by the logic of Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill, and by the principles enforced by this nation in its boasted Declaration of Independence, Capt. Brown was a hero, struggling against fearful odds, not for his own advantage, but to redeem others from a horrible bondage... And by the same logic and the same principles, every slave-holder has forfeited his right to live...

It will be a losing day for all Slaveholders when John Brown and his associates are brought to the gallows. It will be sowing seed for a harvest of retribution. Their blood will cry from the ground and that cry will be responded by tens of thousands.

William Lloyd Garrison, *The Tragedy at Harper's Ferry*,
The Liberator, December 28, 1859



Confederate States of America - Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union

The people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, on the 26th day of April, A.D., 1852, declared that the frequent violations of the Constitution of the United States by the Federal Government and its encroachments upon the reserved rights of the States fully justified this State in withdrawing from the Federal Union... And now the State of South Carolina...deems it due to herself, to the remaining United States of America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the immediate causes which have led to this act....

...An increasing hostility on the part of the non-slaveholding States to the institution of slavery has led to a disregard of their obligations and the laws of the General Government have ceased to effect the objects of the Constitution...The compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States and the consequence follows that South Carolina is released from her obligation.

The ends for which the Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a Federal Government, in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized...

We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States...have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery... they have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes...

A geographical line has been drawn across the Union and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery...He has declared that "Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free." The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

We, therefore, the People of South Carolina...appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America, is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world as a separate and independent State, with 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.

Adopted December 24, 1860

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

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...in rebellion against the United States, shall be forever free; and the Government of the United States, including the military authority, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons...

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 government of the United States and as a necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion... do enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense...

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.

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

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.



Gettysburg Address

Abraham Lincoln



OVERVIEW

The Battle of Gettysburg in July 1863, resulted in nearly 23,000 Union casualties and between 25,000 and 28,000 Confederate casualties. Northerners built a cemetery at Gettysburg to honor the dead. It was dedicated on November 19, 1863. President Abraham Lincoln's brief words of consecration made clear the Union's cause in the war.

GUIDED READING As you read, consider the following questions:

- Why does Lincoln claim at the end of this speech that the Union's representative form of government is being threatened?
 - How does Lincoln use the different meanings of the word "dedication" in this speech?
-

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

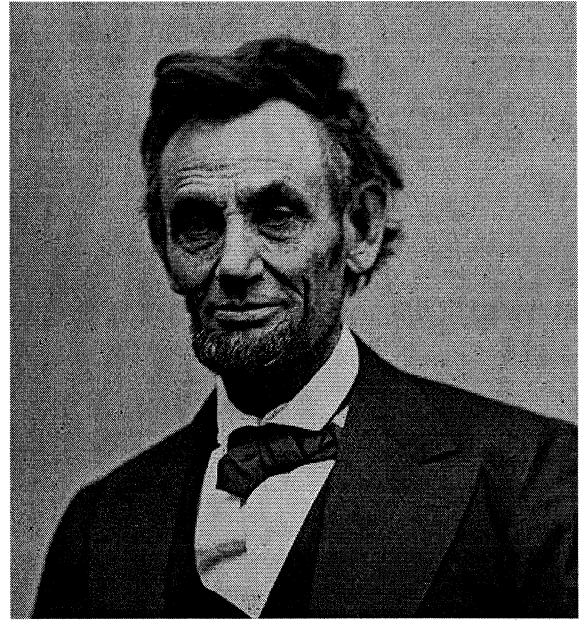
Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln's

Second Inaugural Address

MARCH 4, 1865



Fellow Countrymen,

...On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it - all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war -- seeking to dissolve the Union...

Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained...Each looked for an easier triumph... Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other...The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes.

...Fondly do we hope --ferverently do we pray - that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword...so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan - to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.