U.S. Regents - Unit 3 / Section 1

Nationalism, Territorial Expansion & Economic Growth, 1800 - 1836

Key Questions

- How did the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812, and the Monroe Doctrine strengthen American nationalism?
- Was the Monroe Doctrine a "disguise" for American imperialism?
- In what ways did the market revolution that took place in the early 1800s change life in the United States?
- Did the Supreme Court under John Marshall give too much power to the federal government (at the expense of the states)?
- How did the United States deal with the issue of Indian tribal sovereignty?
- Was the "Age of Andrew Jackson" an age of democracy?

Key People

John Marshall	Eli Whitney	Samuel Slater
Henry Clay	Thomas Jefferson	Lewis & Clark
James Madison	Andrew Jackson	John C. Calhoun

Key Vocabulary / Events

nationalism	Louisiana Purchase	impressment
War of 1812	Monroe Doctrine	market revolution
manufacturing / mill system	The American System	cotton gin
Seneca Falls Convention	Spoils System	nullification
Indian Removal Act	Trail of Tears	Erie Canal

Key Supreme Court Cases

Be able to explain the issue debated in each case, the decision made by the court, and the significance of each decision

- Marbury v. Madison, 1803
- McCullough v. Maryland, 1819
- Gibbons v. Ogden, 1824
- Worcester v. Georgia, 1832

The New American Nation

By Allan Taylor

The leaders of the American Revolution made three great gambles. First, they sought independence from the powerful British Empire, becoming the first colonies in the Americas to revolt and seek independence from their mother empire. Second, they formed a union of thirteen states, which was also unprecedented, for the colonies had long histories of bickering with one another. Third, the revolutionaries committed their new states to a republic, then a radical and risky form of government. In a republic, the people were the sovereign—rejecting the rule of a monarch and aristocrats. Today we take for granted that governments elected by the people can be stable, long lasting, and effective. But the Americans in the new nation were not so sure, given the lessons of history. In 1789, the United States was the only large republic in the world; the others were a handful of small city-states scattered in Europe, and none of the larger republics in the history of the world had lasted very long. Like the ancient republic of Rome, they had collapsed and reverted to some form of tyranny, usually by a military dictator.

Any one of those three gambles was an enormous risk. The miracle was that the revolutionaries pulled off all three of them, winning their war against the British, and securing a generous boundary in the peace treaty of 1783: west to the Mississippi, south to Florida, and north to the Great Lakes, with the Atlantic Ocean as the eastern boundary.

During the mid-1780s, however, the new nation seemed about to collapse as quickly as it had been created. The first constitution of the United States was the Articles of Confederation, adopted in 1781. It proved too weak to control the powerful state governments. Unable directly to tax people, the confederation lacked its own revenue and could not afford an army or a navy, or even to pay the interest on its massive war debt. American Indians defied the confederation, and the Europeans insisted that no republic could endure on such a big geographic scale. . . .

In 1787 alarmed gentlemen gathered in Philadelphia for a constitutional convention meant to shift power away from the states in favor of the nation. After a heated political debate between the Federalists (in favor of the Constitution) and the Antifederalists in state ratification conventions, eleven of the thirteen states ratified the new Constitution in 1787 and 1788. The laggard two would join within the following three years, once promised a bill of rights to amend the Constitution.

Brief and often vague, the US Constitution left much to the interpretation of the leaders who implemented the new government. Today, we celebrate the Constitution as if it put the nation on autopilot to greatness. In fact, the new federal government would rise or fall, become strong or remain weak, depending on the decisions made by the leaders and voters.

In 1789 the new American republic seemed to teeter between future greatness and imminent collapse. Unlike present-day Americans, the leaders of the early republic could not comfort themselves with a long and successful history of free and united government. Although endowed with an immense potential, the United States was then a new and weak country in a world of more powerful empires deeply suspicious of republican government.

The American experiment in independence, union, and republicanism seemed especially unstable because the thirteen states were so different. The commercial states of the North contrasted with the agricultural South, and the new settlements west of the Appalachians feared domination by the old eastern communities of the Atlantic seaboard. Many observers expected the union and republic would eventually but inevitably collapse in some civil war either between the North and South or between the East and West. . . .

The United States in 1790

In 1790 the federal government took the first census of the new country. The census takers found a population of four million people: fewer than the superpowers of the day, for the British had nearly fifteen million people and the French numbered twenty-six million. One-fifth of the Americans (800,000) were African Americans held in slavery. The small US population was dispersed over the eastern third of an entire continent, for the nation stretched 1,000 miles east-to-west, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and about 2,000 miles from Florida, on the south, to the Great Lakes, on the north.

This vast country had only five cities (Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Charleston) that exceeded 10,000 people, and the largest, Philadelphia, had barely 50,000. More than 90 percent of the people lived in the countryside on scattered farms and plantations. Thoroughly agricultural, the nation lacked much manufacturing except for a few small ironworks and many shipyards. Americans exported their surplus farm produce to pay for manufactured goods imported from Britain, which had industrialized. Most American farms barely supported the large families that lived on them. Along the Atlantic coast, the land seemed well cultivated, but in the hilly hinterland the settlements became small and stumpy pockets in a heavily forested land. The settlers slowly cleared away the forest with hand tools: axes, hoes, and shovels.

Because the best-built and largest houses tend to survive (while the typical small houses are torn down or rot away), we imagine that the early Americans led lives of gracious leisure among future antiques. In fact, the large families of the early nation crowded into tiny, unpainted houses of log or clapboard, measuring 18 by 20 feet, with two rooms on the ground floor and a sleeping loft overhead. Few people enjoyed any privacy. Glass windows and stone chimneys were luxuries. Of course, the houses had no electricity, no plumbing, and no heating except for what an open fireplace could provide. Keeping those fires going meant long hours cutting and hauling firewood. Insects swarmed through the doors kept open for ventilation in the warm months. Calls of nature meant a walk to a crude, wooden privy.

By law, a married woman was a “femme covert,” which meant subordination to her husband, who owned any property that she brought into the marriage. Married women could not sue or be sued in the courts. They could not draft wills, make contracts, or buy and sell property. If they earned any wage, the money legally belonged to their husbands. Even if a husband absconded for a time, his wife remained bound by coverture, and so he could claim any business she conducted or money she earned during his absence. . . .

The Contentious Issue of Slavery

In 1776, slavery was legal and present in every state, but far more slaves lived in the South, where they had become essential to the plantation economy. Raising tobacco, rice, and indigo depended on slave labor. Cotton joined that list after 1793, when Eli Whitney invented his cotton gin, which improved ten-fold over hand labor the pace of removing seed husks from the cotton balls. Thereafter cotton cultivation and slavery expanded rapidly in tandem across the South.

The Revolution led some leaders, including Jefferson, Madison, and Washington, to discern the hypocrisy of preaching liberty while practicing slavery, but they felt stymied by the economic importance and political popularity of slavery to most white southerners. The founders recognized that the southern states would accept no union without at least implicit protections for slavery—a position embraced by the federal Constitution. Congress did bar slavery in the Northwest Territory (north of the Ohio River), but allowed it in the Southwest Territory. Congress also abolished the importation of slaves from abroad, but did not do so until 1807. The federal government did nothing to stem the much larger interstate trade in slaves and had no authority to abolish slavery in the states.

The federal impotence on slavery left the issue to the states. During the 1780s and 1790s, the northern states gradually began to abolish slavery. State court decisions freed the slaves in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, but most of the northern states eliminated slavery gradually and by legislative enactment. For example, in 1799 New York stipulated that freedom would come to slaves once a woman reached twenty-five years and a man twenty-eight years.

It was relatively easy to abolish slavery in the northern states, where slaves comprised only 5 percent of the population. But slaves accounted for 40 percent of the southern population. No southern state would emancipate the slaves for fear that abolition would damage the plantation economy and that free blacks would seek revenge for their long sufferings under slavery. Thomas Jefferson insisted, “We have a wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale and self-preservation on the other.”. . . .

The Northwest Territories and the American Indians

American Indian nations resisted the expansion of the United States. Although relatively few—about 70,000 in the territory between the Great Lakes, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Mississippi—the Natives were skilled at the guerrilla warfare of the frontier. . . .

Indian resistance threatened the fiscal solvency of the new United States, which needed to sell western lands to raise revenue. Since speculators would not buy land where it was too dangerous for settlers to live, the United States also needed to defeat the Indians to impress the western settlers. If the federal troops failed, the settlers might reject the union as irrelevant and try to govern themselves or submit to the Spanish or British. If the national leadership could wage and win the western war, however, they could turn the West into the republic’s greatest asset rather than its worst menace.

After suffering heavy defeats in 1790 and 1791, the US Army routed the American Indians at Fallen Timbers, Ohio, in 1794. . . . The United States acquired two-thirds of Ohio and the right to establish forts in the rest of the western country. Meanwhile the British agreed in the Jay Treaty of 1794 to surrender their forts within the American line. The transfer came during the summer of 1796 and further strengthened the American hold over the western country.

In 1795, the Americans also negotiated a favorable deal with the Spanish. Fearing a British attack on New Orleans, the Spanish suddenly sought improved relations with the United States and allowed Americans to export their goods through New Orleans without paying any duties. The Spanish also withdrew from their forts within the American boundary line. As trade down the Mississippi to New Orleans boomed, more settlers moved west to exploit the fertile lands. Federal land sales soared, generating revenues for the federal government. . . .

Rather than treat the western territories as colonies, the United States steadily integrated them into the union as new states admitted as the equals of the original states. During the 1780s Congress had adopted two ordinances to regulate the process. The Northwest Ordinance of 1785 set up the ground rules for settling the land. . . . The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 established rules for making western territories into future states. Once a federal territory reached 60,000 people, it could hold a convention to frame a state constitution. If approved by Congress, the territory became a state, a status achieved by Ohio in 1803. Many more western states would follow.

Source: https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/essays/new-nation-1783%E2%80%931815

Questions

Directions: Please answer the following questions on a sheet of notebook paper.

1. Why does the author believe that the American Revolution was a great gamble?

2. What does the 1790 census reveal about life in America at that time? How did the United States "measure-up" to the superpowers of the day?

3. Based on the information in the reading, what made slavery such a contentious issue in the United States?

4. Why was land in the western territories so important for the financial and territorial stability/unity of the United States?

America the Newcomer:
Claiming the Louisiana Purchase

by Elliott West

The Lewis and Clark expedition is rightly considered one of the great American stories. In May of 1804 Meriwether Lewis and William Clark set off by keelboat up the Missouri River with thirty-one men, the "Corps of Discovery," on an expedition authorized by Congress at the request of Thomas Jefferson. President Jefferson had instructed the two men, commissioned army captains, to ascend the Missouri to its source, then find the most accessible route across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. They were also to open peaceful relations with Native peoples, explore the possibilities of trade, and gather scientific information and examples of western flora and fauna. After a near-violent brush with the Teton Sioux (Lakota) and the expedition's only death, probably from appendicitis, the Corps spent a frigid winter in a log fort they built at the villages of the Mandan and Hidatsa, near present-day Bismarck, North Dakota. During their stay they hired a trapper, Toussaint Charbonneau, and his Shoshoni wife, Sacagawea, as interpreters and guides. In April 1805 they resumed their ascent of the Missouri.

Now they were in country previously unknown to white outsiders. Paddling canoes and dodging grizzly bears (the first seen by white Americans), the Corps made their way to the Missouri headwaters in the northern Rockies. The first American Indians they met were Shoshonis led, astonishingly, by Sacagawea's brother, Cameahwait, whom she had not seen since the Blackfeet had captured her as a young girl. Lewis and Clark acquired horses from them, as well as the advice they used to cross the mountains that proved a far more difficult barrier than they had expected. After descending the Columbia River, they spent a miserable second winter near its mouth, then retraced their outward journey. Lewis and three others had a brief fight with the Blackfeet that left two warriors dead during a detour up the Marias River, a northern tributary of the Missouri. It was the expedition's only violent clash with American Indians. The rest of the journey was uneventful, and in September 1806, the Corps reached St. Louis, twenty-seven months after leaving it.

The expedition's grip on the popular imagination is understandable. It features adventures and trials, close calls and improbable coincidences, exotic encounters and fascinating personalities. To tell its tale we have the superb journals of Lewis and Clark and a few of their fellow travelers. The very power of the story, however, is a shortcoming. Its high drama tempts us to see it as a mythic confrontation with a wilderness untrodden and untouched by a world outside, a land where history had not truly begun. That appeal is especially strong among Americans drawn to an episode that seems to give them a special claim to the land traversed by the captains, and beyond it to the West at large.

In fact, far from setting history in motion, Lewis and Clark were stepping into the middle of developments that had been gathering strength for generations, and as they did they introduced new influences, those of the young nation that a few generations later would dominate the land to the Pacific. When seen in context, the story of the Corps of Discovery becomes a revelation of the West at a moment of accelerating change.

As they moved up the Missouri, for instance, Lewis and Clark were tapping into an ancient and recently invigorated system of trade. The Mandan villages where they spent their first winter were a major transition point of commerce up and down the Missouri and overland to Canada and the southern plains. For a quarter century before the expedition, French and British traders had brought in goods ranging from firearms and copper bells to peppermint candy and corduroy trousers. Some of the horses the Corps acquired in the Rockies had been branded as colts in Spanish New Mexico. As they proceeded the captains found evidence of foreign presence—trade goods among peoples of the Columbia basin and, during their winter on the Pacific coast, a young woman with a British trader's name, "J. Bowmon," tattooed on her arm. As new players in an old trade, the Americans complicated an already complex arrangement. They were welcomed by groups like the Mandan, Shoshoni, and Nez Perce who were eager for fresh sources of goods, especially firearms. Groups that dominated the current system, on the other hand, were in no mood for competition. It was probably no coincidence that the captains' most hostile reception was from the Teton Sioux, who controlled the cross-plains trade routes, and the Blackfeet, Britain's prime partners.

The Blackfeet's European connections are a reminder that the United States was only one of several outside powers looking covetously at the West. Jefferson knew well, in fact, that he was entering quite late into an imperial contest for the region. The immediate goad for organizing the expedition was a book by the British explorer Alexander Mackenzie, whose journey across Canada was the first continental crossing by a non-Indian. When Mackenzie recommended that England plant settlements in the Pacific Northwest, where Russians also had already had a vigorous trading presence, Jefferson decided he had to act. Closer to home, Spain and France had long vied for the allegiance of peoples on the Great Plains. An Indian delegation from Kansas and Missouri had once visited the French court, performing dances at the Paris opera and demonstrating riding skills in the royal woods. This was in 1724, eighty years before Lewis and Clark. . . .

The Louisiana Purchase instantly intensified America's rivalry with one European power in particular—Spain. Jefferson thought the Missouri would open onto easy access to Spanish settlements in New Mexico (he was wrong). Spanish leaders feared that American settlers would wash across the Mississippi and threaten those settlements (they were right). The Spanish naturally saw the expedition as a challenge to their northern frontier. New Mexican authorities sent no fewer than four military units on failed efforts to arrest Lewis and Clark. . . .

Lewis and Clark's reports from the West quickly drew interest from what was arguably the biggest business in the Atlantic World—the fur trade. The demand for beaver hats in Europe and America had depleted the animal population in the eastern woodlands, and descriptions of country teeming with beavers sent freelance trappers into the West almost immediately. . . .

American "mountain men" fanned out across the West, trapping and searching for untapped beaver populations and gathering at annual rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains to exchange the year's results for goods brought by wagon from St. Louis. Ranging widely across the region made them profit-driven explorers. Far more than Lewis and Clark and other government expeditions, mountain men filled in what had been empty spaces on the map of the far West.

Like Lewis and Clark, mountain men are often portrayed as mythic figures, in their case as men turning their backs on their society in pursuit of life in the wild. Wild some of them could be. In their buckskins and long hair most were certainly wild-looking. As workers in a global enterprise, however, they were harbingers of economic change, and they were some of the most effective agents in opening the region to the nation that had birthed them.

The changes at work in 1804, as the Corps of Discovery poled its way up the Missouri, still rippled through the region, but the youthful American republic was as a result in a far stronger position in its competition with its European rivals. Control of the West, however, remained with those whose land it had been for millennia.

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Source: https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/age-jefferson-and-madison/essays/america-newcomer-claiming-louisiana-purchase

Questions

Directions: Please answer the questions below on a sheet of notebook paper.

1. What does Elliott West mean when he writes this about the Lewis and Clark expedition, "*Its high drama tempts us to see it as a mythic confrontation with a wilderness untrodden and untouched by a world outside, a land where history had not truly begun"?*

2. What evidence does Elliott West provide to demonstrate that the lands that the United States obtained in the Louisiana Purchase was not "empty" - that it was, in fact, a region in which many peoples/nations were living and competing to control?

3. What role did the European desire for beaver hats have on developments in the Louisiana Territory?

4. What were "mountain men"? What role did these men have in exploration and settlement of the Louisiana Territory?

The Embargo of 1807

In a desperate attempt to avert war, the United States imposed an embargo on foreign trade. Jefferson regarded the embargo as an idealistic experiment--a moral alternative to war. He believed that economic coercion would convince Britain and France to respect America's neutral rights.

The embargo was an unpopular and costly failure. It hurt the American economy far more than the British or French, and resulted in widespread smuggling. Exports fell from $108 million in 1807 to just $22 million in 1808. Farm prices fell sharply. Shippers also suffered. Harbors filled with idle ships and nearly 30,000 sailors found themselves jobless.

Jefferson believed that Americans would cooperate with the embargo out of a sense of patriotism. Instead, smuggling flourished, particularly through Canada. To enforce the embargo, Jefferson took steps that infringed on his most cherished principles: individual liberties and opposition to a strong central government. He mobilized the army and navy to enforce the blockade, and declared the Lake Champlain region of New York, along the Canadian border, in a state of insurrection.

Pressure to abandon the embargo mounted, and early in 1809, just 3 days before Jefferson left office, Congress repealed the embargo. In effect for 15 months, the embargo exacted no political concessions from either France or Britain. But it had produced economic hardship, evasion of the law, and political dissension at home. Upset by the failure of his policies, the 65-year-old Jefferson looked forward to his retirement: "Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power." The problem of defending American rights on the high seas now fell to Jefferson's hand-picked successor, James Madison. In 1809, Congress replaced the failed embargo with the Non-Intercourse Act, which reopened trade with all nations except Britain and France. Then in 1810, Congress replaced the Non-Intercourse Act with a new measure, Macon's Bill No. 2. This policy reopened trade with France and Britain. It stated, however, that if either Britain or France agreed to respect America's neutral rights, the United States would immediately stop trade with the other nation.

Napoleon seized on this new policy in an effort to entangle the United States in his war with Britain. He announced a repeal of all French restrictions on American trade. Even though France continued to seize American ships and cargoes, President Madison snapped at the bait. In early 1811, he cut off trade with Britain and recalled the American minister.

For 19 months, the British went without American trade. Food shortages, mounting unemployment, and increasing inventories of unsold manufactured goods finally convinced Britain to end their restrictions on American trade. But the decision came too late. On June 1, 1812, President Madison asked Congress for a declaration of war. A divided House and Senate concurred. The House voted to declare war on Britain by a vote of 79 to 49; the Senate by a vote of 19 to 13.

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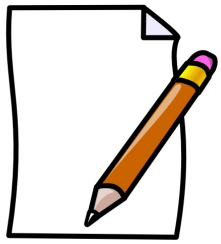
Class Notes



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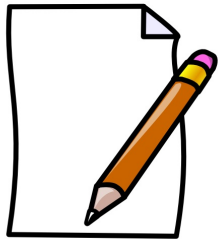


Lowell Mill Girls and the factory system, 1840

Lowell, Massachusetts, named in honor of Francis Cabot Lowell, was founded in the early 1820s as a planned town for the manufacture of textiles. It introduced a new system of integrated manufacturing to the United States and established new patterns of employment and urban development that were soon replicated around New England and elsewhere.

By 1840, the factories in Lowell employed at some estimates more than 8,000 textile workers, commonly known as mill girls or factory girls. These "operatives"—so-called because they operated the looms and other machinery—were primarily women and children from farming backgrounds.

The Lowell mills were the first hint of the industrial revolution to come in the United States, and with their success came two different views of the factories. For many of the mill girls, employment brought a sense of freedom. Unlike most young women of that era, they were free from parental authority, were able to earn their own money, and had broader educational opportunities. Many observers saw this challenge to the traditional roles of women as a threat to the American way of life. Others criticized the entire wage-labor factory system as a form of slavery and actively condemned and campaigned against the harsh working conditions and long hours and the increasing divisions between workers and factory owners.

The Transcendentalist reformer Orestes Brownson first published "The Laboring Classes" in his journal, the *Boston Quarterly Review*, in July 1840. It is an attack on the entire wage system but particularly focuses on how factory jobs affect the mill girls: "'She has worked in a Factory,'" Brownson argues, "is almost enough to damn to infamy the most worthy and virtuous girl." In response, "A Factory Girl" published a defense of the mill girls in the December 1840 issue of the *Lowell Offering*, a journal of articles, fiction, and poetry written by and for the Lowell factory operatives. The author was probably Harriet Jane Farley, a mill girl who eventually became editor of the *Lowell Offering*.

Excerpts

Orestes Brownson, *The Laboring Classes: An Article from the Boston Quarterly Review*, Boston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1840.

The operatives are well dressed, and we are told, well paid. They are said to be healthy, contented, and happy. This is the fair side of the picture . . . There is a dark side, moral as well as physical. Of the common operatives, few, if any, by their wages, acquire a competence . . . the great mass wear out their health, spirits, and morals, without becoming one whit better off than when they commenced labor. The bills of mortality in these factory villages are not striking, we

admit, for the poor girls when they can toil no longer go home to die. The average life, working life we mean, of the girls that come to Lowell, for instance, from Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, we have been assured, is only about three years. What becomes of them then? Few of them ever marry; fewer still ever return to their native places with reputations unimpaired. "She has worked in a Factory," is almost enough to damn to infamy the most worthy and virtuous girl.

A Factory Girl, "Factory Girls," *Lowell Offering*, December 1840

Whom has Mr. Brownson slandered? . . . girls who generally come from quiet country homes, where their minds and manners have been formed under the eyes of the worthy sons of the Pilgrims, and their virtuous partners, and who return again to become the wives of the free intelligent yeomanry of New England and the mothers of quite a proportion of our future republicans. Think, for a moment, how many of the next generation are to spring from mothers doomed to infamy! . . . It has been asserted that to put ourselves under the influence and restraints of corporate bodies, is contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and to that love of independence which we ought to cherish. . . . We are under restraints, but they are voluntarily assumed; and we are at liberty to withdraw from them, whenever they become galling or irksome. Neither have I ever discovered that any restraints were imposed upon us but those which were necessary for the peace and comfort of the whole, and for the promotion of the design for which we are collected, namely, to get money, as much of it and as fast as we can; and it is because our toil is so unremitting, that the wages of factory girls are higher than those of females engaged in most other occupations. It is these wages which, in spite of toil, restraint, discomfort, and prejudice, have drawn so many worthy, virtuous, intelligent, and well-educated girls to Lowell, and other factories; and it is the wages which are in great degree to decide the characters of the factory girls as a class. . . . Mr. Brownson may rail as much as he pleases against the real injustice of capitalists against operatives, and we will bid him *God speed*, if he will but keep truth and common sense upon his side. Still, the avails of factory labor are now greater than those of many domestics, seamstresses, and school-teachers; and strange would it be, if in money-loving New England, one of the most lucrative female employments should be rejected because it is toilsome, or because some people are prejudiced against it. Yankee girls have too much *independence* for *that*. . . . And now, if Mr. Brownson is a *man*, he will endeavor to retrieve the injury he has done; . . . though he will find error, ignorance, and folly among us, (and where would he find them not?) yet he would not see worthy and virtuous girls consigned to infamy, because they work in a factory.

Source: https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/age-jackson/resources/lowell-mill-girls-and-factory-system-1840

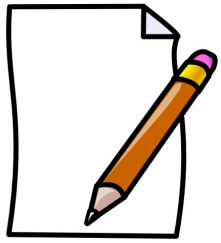
Questions

1. Describe the conditions in America around 1840 that encouraged young women to seek employment outside of their home.

2. List and explain three reasons Orestes Brownson used to oppose the employment of women as factory "operatives."

3. Identify an argument from the "Lowell Offering" and explain how it countered the position of Orestes Brownson.

Class Notes



Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s *(Excerpts)*

Mary Hershberger, *The Journal of American History*, June 1999

President Jackson's proposed legislation to move the Southeast Indians across the Mississippi was not new. The heart of Indian land policy had always been nothing less than massive Indian land cessions to white markets, and treaties were the preferred weapons of transfer. . . . Between 1802 and 1819, federal treaties with southern Indians transferred 20 million acres of land to white settlers, a greater expansion of the territory open to slaveholding than the Missouri Compromise had provided. By 1819 only 5 million acres of land were left to the Cherokee and when they refused to cede any more land, Georgia officials called on the federal government to remove the Indians by force, if necessary. For years the federal government resisted those demands, but Jackson's election brought, for the first time, an executive who wholeheartedly favored such removal.

President Jackson offered two rationales for Indian removal: one, that having an independent Indian nation residing within the borders of any state was an intolerable situation, and two, that for their own survival southeastern Indians had to move across the Mississippi away from white encroachment. Jackson and other removal proponents insisted that should southern Indians remain east of the Mississippi, they would shortly become "extinct" as whites steadily invaded their land and destroyed Indian life and culture. Moving the Indians west, Jackson argued, would solve both of those difficulties and preserve the Indians. Critics pointed out that the removal solution conveniently increased vast and valuable acreage for white settlers and that land transfer was the real goal, humanitarian concerns to halt Indian "extinction" notwithstanding.

Andrew Jackson's pursuit of Indian removal took by surprise many Americans who had believed that under presidents James Monroe and John Quincy Adams the federal government's Indian policy was becoming more rather than less, beneficent [charitable / generous]. The dismay aroused by President Jackson's position was followed by shock at the speed with which Georgia legislators moved to reap the benefits of his election. Indian removal by force, if necessary, simultaneously dispossessed [deprived] Indians and increased demand for slave labor in the seized territory. As such, it involved the political issues of the day that roiled American politics most: relations with Indians, relations with Africans, states' rights, and the potential growth of the system of slave labor.

That American reform organizations . . . organized a powerful challenge to Jackson's removal goals was not coincidental. As a proposed federal action, Indian removal symbolized to them a rupture in the national fabric, a triumph of the market values . . . that placed a monetary value on everything and encouraged human exploitation for commercial gain. "*How long shall it be that a Christian people . . . shall stand balancing the considerations of profit and loss on a*

national question of justice and benevolence?" asked the young theological student George Cheever in response to Andrew Jackson's removal bill. Benevolence involved a search for the general good . . . a willingness to sacrifice for the benefit of those in need. Indian removal appeared to Cheever the direct opposite - an unrestrained striving for individual gain at the expense of the less fortunate. . . .

Opponents of removal believed that Americans had made an implicit promise to the Indians: If they adopted European agricultural practices, they would be granted the same rights and privileges as white settlers. The Cherokees' success in mastering European techniques and cultures, along with the enormity of the Cherokee removal, the organized and articulate opposition of the Cherokee themselves, and the fact that removal would open vast new areas to the slave labor system, made this case appear unique to anti-removalists. Each time that the state of Georgia wrested new land concessions from the Cherokee or demanded federal aid in forcing their removal, protests increased.

When Georgia surveyors marked out Cherokee lands for distribution to white farmers in 1829, religious periodicals attacked state officials. . . . The *Missionary Herald* declared that Georgia state officials were engaged in a massive land grab and told its readers that "now is the time when every Christian . . . and every patriot in the United States ought to be exerting themselves to save a persecuted and defenseless people from ruin." The *Hamilton* [Ohio] *Intelligencer* asserted that the Indians were "the living monuments to the white man's wrongs."

As the campaign against removal spread, Jeremiah Evarts [wrote] . . . a legal treatise known as *The "William Penn" Essays*. The essays offered detailed information on the past treaties between the Southeast Indians and the United States that had established the Indians as legal possessors of their remaining lands. Everest argued eloquently that forced removal would constitute a grave legal breach and his appeal for justice found a ready audience. The mass public bought, read, and discussed the Penn essays, which were reprinted in more than a hundred newspapers and published as pamphlets that blanketed the country. . . .

Popular opposition to Jackson's removal bill overwhelmed traditional forms of political participation. The massive outpouring of pamphlets and petitions itself was unprecedented. The demand for Jeremiah Evarts's Penn essays was so great that they were more widely distributed and read in the summer of 1829 than any political pamphlet since Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. Not only did men send an unprecedented number of petitions, women began to draw up and circulate their own petitions opposing removal, the first time that they did so on a national political issue. Ultimately, some opponents of removal went to prison rather than comply with Georgia's removal laws. The political crisis that the . . . activism created resulted in two Supreme Court decisions against the administration's position on removal - decisions than an embattled and defiant president ignored.

To defeat removal, Catharine Beecher initiated the first national petition drive by women. . . The Ladies' Circular, as it came to be called, addressed itself first to "benevolent ladies of the United States" and urged them to combine piety and politics by using both "prayers and exertions [hard work] to avert the calamity of removal." It depicted the Indians of the United

States as “saviors” of the Europeans in times past, supplying their necessities in crucial periods and, by now, as “fitted by native talents” as any other American for intellectual and refined pursuits. Legal treaties guaranteed the southern Indians their lands, the circular argued, and Beecher inserted parts of past treaties to prove the point. The claims that Georgia made on the Cherokee rose primarily from acquisitive [greedy], not legal, motives, the circular said. . . .

The result of their petition efforts, Beecher wrote, “exceeded our most sanguine [confident] expectations.” Women who received the petitions called public meetings against removal where they drew up their own petitions for signatures, and they set out to enlist friends and neighbors in the campaign. The petition campaign spurred other political activities; some women organized the Ladies Association for Supplicating Justice and Mercy Toward the Indians, which met regularly to send anti removal petitions to Congress. Petitions signed by hundreds of women began pouring into Congress, a feat that many newspapers noted with astonishment. The largest single petition came from Pittsburgh, where 670 women signed and sent it to the Senate. . . .

Opposition to the removal bill made its passage more difficult than Jackson had envisioned. The Senate passed the bill by a vote of 28 to 19 on April 24, 1830. The House margin on May 26 was narrower: 102 to 97. Southern representatives, their numbers swelled by the three-fifths clause, voted heavily in favor of the bill; representatives from the rest of the country voted two to one against it. . . .

The Cherokees immediately appealed to the Supreme Court to strike down Geogria’s attempt to legislate for them. Spirited public meetings continued, petitions poured once again into Congress, and periodicals carried lengthy articles defending Cherokee rights. In March 1831, in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court concurred [agreed] that the laws of Georgia could have no force over the Cherokee, who were protected by federal treaties that gave them full rights to their lands. Though the Court also acknowledged that the legal status of the Cherokee placed them outside its jurisdiction, opponents of removal were cheered by its endorsement of their position. The president remained determined to coerce Indian removal, and he responded by defiantly withdrawing federal troops from Georgia, leaving no buffer between the Cherokee and the state, which moved immediately to force the Indians out. . . .

The Supreme Court’s decision, *Worcester v. Georgia*, came down in early 1832, ruling that, based on previous treaties, the Cherokee nation was a “distinct community” over which the laws of Georgia were null and void. . . . The court’s decision granted the opponents of the removal bill one brief euphoric moment of victory. . . . But it soon became clear that the ruling would never be enforced.

The deep divisions over removal touched even the vice president’s family. Martin Van Buren recalled that his own niece, whom he admired, fierce denounced him for his role in removal. During the 1832 election season, when he was a guest in her house, she told him sharply that she earnestly hoped that he and Jackson would lose the election because “such a result ought to follow such acts!” Though the Indians were finally removed, Van Buren wrote, it was a hard struggle because opponents of Indian removal received what he called a “full and unfair

measure of cooperation" from "the Press, the Courts of law and last, tho' far from the least in power and influence, the Church." . . .

Anti-removalists failed to defeat the removal bill, but the experience provided reform women with political skills valuable in subsequent antislavery and woman suffrage campaigns. Writing anti-removal petitions and gathering signatures for them required attention to legal details and skill in defining public issues in compelling and persuasive language. Petitioning provided women with a means of measuring support in their communities, opportunities to educate other women on issues, and a sense of achieving concrete results. . . .

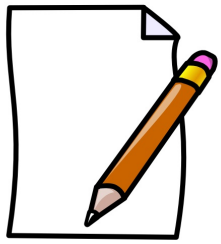
Historical explanations for the remarkable surge of new abolitionism after 1830 have usually centered on three factors: the abolitionists' sense of social displacement, their ethical commitment to the oppressed, or their religious beliefs. Some of the most prominent abolitionist leaders also drew explicit parallels between their opposition to Indian removal and their opposition to [African] colonization. . . . When [President] Jackson brought in federal government troops to help George dispossess Indians . . . [William Lloyd] Garrison declared that "we are a nation of tyrants, and the bent of our legislation is oppressive. God of heaven! When shall equity prevail on the earth and the rights of thy creatures be protected from domestic invasion?" . . . .

George Cheever, the student at Andover Seminary who led the anti removal campaign there, well expressed the passion that anti-removalists carried with them into radical abolition. "The passage of the Indian bill has disgraced us as a people, has wounded our national honor, and exposed us to the merited reproach [reprimand] of all civilized communities in the world," he concluded when the bill was passed. . . .

Protesting Indian removal encouraged anti-removalists to challenge slavery directly. The antislavery upsurge of the early 1830s benefitted from the deep disappointment of anti-removalists who vowed not to repeat that process by removing Africans through colonization policies, and to defeat the Democratic Party - the party of removal - on slavery. The Indian Removal Act made abolitionists bolder in acting against slavery and more determined to achieve their goals.

Whether Andrew Jackson's presidency fostered an increase in democratic participation may be debated, but credit for an enlarged democracy may accrue to him by default, for his determination to carry out Indian removal generated the deepest political movement that the country had yet witnessed. It also ushered in a new age of popular politics that saw energized anti-removalists transfer their techniques of removal protest to the struggle against slavery: massive and continuous pamphleting and petitioning by both women and men, persistent reports in periodicals that sought to present slavery from the perspective of the slave, and a willingness to challenge laws that they believed were deeply unjust.

Class Notes



The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, two American activists in the movement to abolish slavery called together the first conference to address Women's rights and issues in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Part of the reason for doing so had been that Mott had been refused permission to speak at the world anti-slavery convention in London, even though she had been an official delegate. Applying the analysis of human freedom developed in the Abolitionist movement, Stanton and others began the public career of modern feminist analysis.

The Declaration of Sentiments

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. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown 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 duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. 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.

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 withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men--both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

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

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master--the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women--the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, 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. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

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

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

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 usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

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 the United States.

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U.S. Regents - Unit 3 / Section 2

Sectionalism, Slavery, States' Rights, Secession and Civil War, 1800 - 1865

As the nation expanded, long-standing sectional tensions, especially over slavery, resulted in political and constitutional crises that culminated in the Civil War.
(NYS US History Framework 11.3, b & c)

Key Questions

- Was the concept of *Manifest Destiny* good for the United States?
- Should states have the right to choose which federal laws to follow?
- Were abolitionists responsible reformers or irresponsible agitators?
- Was the Civil War inevitable? Was slavery the primary cause of the Civil War?
- Why did the North win the Civil War? Why did the South loose?
- Was the Civil War worth its costs?
- Does Abraham Lincoln deserve to be called the "Great Emancipator"?

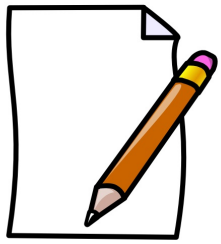
Key People

Sojourner Truth
Frederick Douglass
Harriet Beecher Stowe
William Lloyd Garrison
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
the Grimke' sisters
Lucretia Mott
John C. Calhoun
Roger Taney
John Brown
Abraham Lincoln
Jefferson Davis
Robert E. Lee
Ulysses S. Grant
John Wilkes Booth

Key Vocabulary / Events

Manifest Destiny
Missouri Compromise
Nat Turner's Rebellion
States' Rights
Nullification
Kentucky & Virginia Resolutions
Seneca Falls Convention
Abolition Movement
Underground Railroad
Texas statehood
Mexican-American War
Compromise of 1850
Fugitive Slave Law
Kansas-Nebraska Act
popular sovereignty
Dred Scott v Sanford
secede / secession
Fort Sumter
Battle of Bull Run
Emancipation Proclamation
Battle of Gettysburg
Gettysburg Address
Appomattox
13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments

Class Notes



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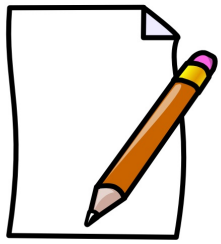


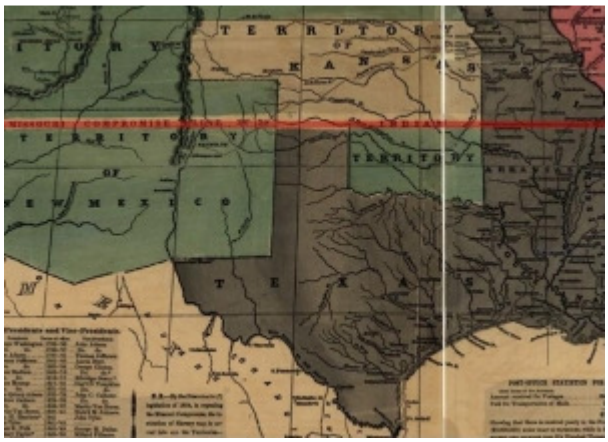
Trigger Events of the Civil War

Decades of Division

The Civil War was the culmination of a series of confrontations concerning the institution of slavery.

Article source:
http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/civil-war-overview/triggerevents.html

1820 | The Missouri Compromise



This 1856 map shows the line (outlined in red) established by the Missouri Compromise. (Library of Congress)

In the growth years following the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, Congress was compelled to establish a policy to guide the expansion of slavery into the new western territory. Missouri's application for statehood as a slave state sparked a bitter national debate. In addition to the deeper moral issue posed by the growth of slavery, the addition of pro-slavery Missouri legislators would give the pro-slavery faction a Congressional majority.

Ultimately, Congress reached a series of agreements that became known as the Missouri Compromise. Missouri was admitted as a slave state and Maine was admitted as a free state, preserving the Congressional balance. A line was also drawn through the unincorporated western territories along the $36^{0}30$ parallel, dividing north and south as free and slave.

Thomas Jefferson, upon hearing of this deal,

"considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed indeed for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper."

1831 | Nat Turner's Rebellion

Nat Turner interpreted two solar eclipses as instructions from God to begin his rebellion. (Library of Congress)

In August of 1831, a slave named Nat Turner incited an uprising that spread through several plantations in southern Virginia. Turner and approximately seventy cohorts killed around sixty white people. The deployment of militia infantry and artillery suppressed the rebellion after two days of terror.

Fifty-five slaves, including Turner, were tried and executed for their role in the insurrection. Nearly two hundred more were lynched by frenzied mobs. Although small-scale slave uprisings were fairly common in the American South, Nat Turner's rebellion was the bloodiest.

Virginia lawmakers reacted to the crisis by rolling back what few civil rights slaves and free black people possessed at the time. Education was prohibited and the right to assemble was severely limited.

1846 - 1850 | The Wilmot Proviso

The Wilmot Proviso was a piece of legislation proposed by David Wilmot (D-FS-R PA) at the close of the Mexican-American War. If passed, the Proviso would have outlawed slavery in territory acquired by the United States as a result of the war, which included most of the Southwest and extended all the way to California.

Wilmot spent two years fighting for his plan. He offered it as a rider on existing bills, introduced it to Congress on its own, and even tried to attach it to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. All attempts failed. Nevertheless, the intensity of the debate surrounding the Proviso prompted the first serious discussions of secession.

1850 | The Compromise of 1850

With national relations soured by the debate over the Wilmot Proviso, senators Henry Clay and Stephen Douglas managed to broker a shaky accord with the Compromise of 1850. The compromise prevented further territorial expansion of slavery while strengthening the Fugitive Slave Act, a law which compelled Northerners to seize and return escaped slaves to the South.

While the agreement succeeded in postponing outright hostilities between the North and South, it did little to address, and in some ways even reinforced, the structural disparity that divided the United States. The new Fugitive Slave Act, by forcing non-slaveholders to participate in the institution, also led to increased polarization among centrist citizens.

1852 | *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Harriet Beecher Stowe's fictional exploration of slave life was a cultural sensation. Northerners felt as if their eyes had been opened to the horrors of slavery, while Southerners protested that Stowe's work was slanderous.

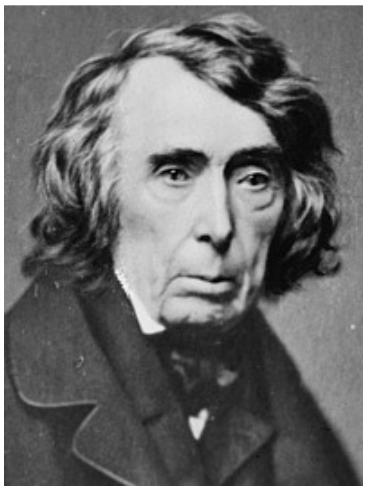
Uncle Tom's Cabin was the second-best-selling book in America in the 19th century, second only to the Bible. Its popularity brought the issue of slavery to life for those few who remained unmoved after decades of legislative conflict and widened the division between North and South.

1854 - 1861 | Bleeding Kansas

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, narrowly passed while Congressmen brandished weapons and uttered death threats in the House chambers, overturned parts of the Missouri Compromise by allowing the settlers in the two territories to determine whether or not to permit slavery by a popular vote.

Pro- and anti-slavery agitators flocked to Kansas, hoping to shift the decision by sheer weight of numbers. The two factions struggled for five years with sporadic outbreaks of bloodshed that claimed fifty-six lives. Although both territories eventually ratified anti-slavery constitutions, the violence shocked and troubled the nation.

1857 | Dred Scott v. Sanford



Chief Justice Roger Taney proclaimed blacks "so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." (Library of Congress)

Dred Scott was a Virginia slave who tried to sue for his freedom in court. The case eventually rose to the level of the Supreme Court, where the justices found that, as a slave, Dred Scott was a piece of property that had none of the legal rights or recognitions afforded to a human being.

The Dred Scott Decision threatened to entirely recast the political landscape that had thus far managed to prevent civil war. The classification of slaves as mere property made the federal government's authority to regulate the institution much more ambiguous.

Southerners renewed their challenges to the agreed-upon territorial limitations on slavery and polarization intensified.

1859 | John Brown's Raid

John Brown's stature grew in the months and years following his death. (Kansas Historical Society)

John Brown cut his teeth as a killer as an anti-slavery "Jayhawker" during Bleeding Kansas. In mid-October of 1859, the crusading abolitionist organized a small band of white allies and free blacks and raided a government arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. He hoped to seize weapons and distribute them to Southern slaves in order to spark a wracking series of slave uprisings.

Although Brown captured the arsenal, he was quickly surrounded and forced to surrender by soldiers under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee. He was tried for treason and, upon his execution, became a martyr for the abolitionist cause. Southerners, on the other hand, began to militarize in preparation for future raids.

1860 | Abraham Lincoln's Election

Abraham Lincoln was elected by a considerable margin in 1860 despite not being included on many Southern ballots. As a Republican, his party's anti-slavery outlook struck fear into many Southerners.

On December 20, 1860, a little over a month after the polls closed, South Carolina seceded from the Union. Six more states followed by the spring of 1861.

1861 | The Battle of Fort Sumter

Abraham Lincoln's skillful strategy forced the South to fire the first shot of the Civil War at the Battle of Fort Sumter. (Library of Congress)

With secession, several federal forts, including Fort Sumter in South Carolina, suddenly became outposts in a foreign land. Abraham Lincoln made the decision to send fresh supplies to the beleaguered garrisons.

On April 12, 1861, Confederate warships turned back the supply convoy to Fort Sumter and opened a 34-hour bombardment on the stronghold. The garrison surrendered on April 14.

The Civil War was now underway. On April 15, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to join the Northern army. Unwilling to contribute troops, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee dissolved their ties to the federal government.

Methods of Controlling Slaves

African-Americans were not naturally born slaves In their native land, they had been proud, free, and independent people. As slaves, many rebelled, more ran away, and most often slowed down on the job, avoided work, deliberately broke tools, or pretended not to understand commands. These forms of slave resistance, presented a real problem and ever present problem for the masters. The best way to manage slaves, therefore, was often a topic of conversation among slave owners and Southern magazines were full of advice on how to manage, handle, discipline, and break slaves. As time wore on an elaborate system of controls was developed that is partially described in this chapter. It included whippings, slave laws called slave codes, the use of religion, as well as constant punishment and intimidation. All these methods were designed to control slaves and keep them working. None of them were completely successful, but they help explain why slavery lasted for 250 years.

A Slave is Whipped

A famous Northern architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, made three. trips through the South. His purpose was to learn through personal observation how slaves were treated. Olmsted wrote several books describing what he found. His reports are often cited as the most objective description of life in the South because they seem to be related without bias. Paradoxically, he characterizes the beating described in the following selection as ‘the worst case of punishment that I saw in the South.’ and as 'not unusual.' It occurred while the writer was accompanying the overseer on a routine inspection tour of the plantation.

> *We had twice crossed a gully that and at its bottom a thicket of brushwood. We were crossing it the third time, when the overseer suddenly stopped his horse. “What’s that?” he yelled, “Hallo! Who are you there!”*
>
> *It was a girl lying down at the bottom of the gully, trying to hide herself from us.*
>
> *“Who are you there?”*
>
> *“Sam’s Sall, sir.”*
>
> *‘What are you hiding there for?” The girl half rose but gave no answer.*
>
> *“Have you been here all day?”*
>
> *“No, sir.”*
>
> *“How did you get here?” The girl made no reply. ‘Where have you been all day?” We could not understand the answer.*
>
> *After some more questions. she said that her father had locked her up by accident and then went out in the morning.*

‘How did you manage to get out.?”

‘Pushed a plank out, sir, and crawled out.”

The overseer looked at the girl and then said, “That won’t do, come out here.” The girl arose at once, and walked towards him. She was about eighteen years of age. A bunch of keys hung form her waist. He saw them and said, “Ah, your father locked you in, but you have the keys.” After a moment of thought she said that these were the keys of some other locks. Her father had the door key.

The overseer might have found out if her story was true or false in two minutes. He could have gone off to talk to the girl’s father who was working in the next field. But the overseer had already made up his mind that the girl was lying.

“That won’t do,” he said, “get down on your knees.” The girl knelt on the ground. He got off of his horse and struck her thirty or forty blows across the shoulders with his whip. At every stroke the girl winced and yelled, “Yes, sir” or “Ah, Sir!" or “Please, sir” but did not groan or scream. Finally he stopped and said, “now tell me the truth.” The girl repeated the same story. “You have not got enough yet,” he said. “Pull up your clothes -— lie down.” The girl drew her dress under her shoulders and lay down on the grass with her face toward the overseer. He continued to hit her with the raw—hide whip. across her naked thighs, with as much strength as before. She now shrunk away from him. screaming, “Oh, don’t sir!" "oh please stop, master, please, sir", "oh, God, master. Do stop!, oh, God, Master"

I glanced again at the overseer. His face was grim and business like. He did not seem angry or excited.

“Was it necessary to punish her so severely?”

“Oh yes, sir.” he said, laughing. “If I hadn’t punished her so hard. she would have done the same thing tomorrow. The next day half the people on the plantation would have followed her example. Oh, you have no idea how lazy these blacks are. You northern people don’t know anything about it. They would never work at all if they were not afraid of being whipped.”

Slave Codes

Slave codes were rules made for slaves which were the law of the state. Every Southern state had a set of slaves codes. Often one state would copy the laws passed by another, so the slave codes were usually quite similar all over the South. The following is quoted from the Louisiana Slave Code of 1852:

I. The slave owes to his master and all his family total respect and absolute obedience. He must instantly obey all orders he receives from them.

2. No slave can own anything of his own without the consent of his master. No slave can sell anything he has made without his master's consent.

3. No slave can be a witness in any case against a white person.

14. Slaves shall always be considered real estate, and may be mortgage according to the rules of law.

l9. No slave shall be allowed off of his plantation without written permission from his master.

29. If a slave willfully strikes a white person to cause shedding of blood, the slave shall be punished with death.

149. Any person who teaches a slave to read and write shall be imprisoned for no less than one month or more than 12 months.

A Sermon Preached to Slaves

The following sermon was preached to slaves by a minister of God. It was considered so good that it was printed in a magazine to give other masters ideas of the kind of religion slaves should get.

I have just shown you the chief duties you owe to your great master in heaven. I will now tell you your duties to your masters and mistresses here upon earth. You must have one rule that you must always have in your minds that is - serve your master as if he were GOD himself. Poor creatures! You don't consider that when you are idle and neglect your master's business, and whatever faults you are guilty of - these are faults against God himself. If you steal from your master, you are stealing from God himself. If you tell lies to your master, you are telling lies to God himself. When you steal and waste your masters goods, when you are saucy and wise, when you are stubborn or sullen, you are sinning not only against your master, but also against your master in Heaven.

From this rule - that all ye do unto your master ye do unto GOD himself, there are several other rules which I will, teach you

1. *You are to be obedient to your master in all things.*

2. *You are not to be eye—servants. Eye-servants are those who will work hard and seem busy when they think they are being watched. When their master's 'back is turned, they are idle and don't do their work.*

3. *You are to be faithful and honest to your masters - not wasting their goods - but showing all good in all things.*

4. *You are to serve your masters with cheerfulness, reverence and humility. You are to do your masters service with good will. You should serve him as you would God, from the heart, without any sauciness or answering back.*

Frederick Douglass and Master Hopkins

Gilbert Osofsky,
The Burden of Race,
New York, Harper and Row, 1967, pp. 15-17.

Frederick Douglass tells how his master controlled his slaves:

Mr. Hopkins could always find some excuse for whipping a slave. A mere look, word, or motion — a mistake, or accident —are all, things for which a slave could be whipped. Does slave look unhappy? It is said that he has the devil in him, and it must be whipped out. Does he speak loudly when spoken to by his master? Then he is getting high-minded. and should be taken down a peg. Does he forget to pull off his hat in the presence of a white person? Then the lacks respect. and should be whipped for it. Does he ever dare find excuses when told he did something wrong? Then he is guilty of impudence - one of the greatest crimes of which a slave can be guilty. Does he ever dare to suggest a different way of doing things from that pointed out by his master? Then he is indeed getting above himself: and nothing less than a flogging will do for him. Does he. while ploughing, break a plow - or, while hoeing. break a hoe? It is owing to carelessness, and for it a slave must always be whipped.

Source: http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/teachers/lesson_plans/pdfs/unit4_5.pdf

Please answer each of the following questions. Give evidence from the readings to support your responses.

1. Do you think the overseer in the story, 'A Slave is Whipped", "had" to beat the girl? If he had to beat her, what does this tell us about slavery?

2. List four different slave codes and explain the reason Southerners might have thought them necessary.

3. Explain two different ways that masters tried to "brainwash' slaves.

4. What do the ways used to control salves tell us about slavery as an institution?

Letter to Thomas Auld, His Former Master

Frederick Douglass, September 3, 1848

SIR . . . . I have selected this date on which to address you, because it is the anniversary of my emancipation; and knowing of no better way, I am led to this as the best mode of celebrating that truly important event. Just ten years ago this beautiful September morning, yon bright sun beheld me a slave — a poor, degraded chattel [property] — trembling at the sound of your voice, lamenting that I was a man, and wishing myself to be a brute. The hopes which I had treasured up for weeks of a safe and successful escape from your grasp, were powerfully confronted at this late hour by dark clouds of doubt and fear, making my person shake and my bosom to heavy with the heavy contest between hope and fear. I have no words to describe to you the deep agony of soul which I experienced on that never to be forgotten morning—(for I left by daylight.) I was making a leap in the dark. The probabilities, so far as I could by reason determine them, were stoutly against the undertaking. The preliminaries and precautions I had adopted previously, all worked badly. I was like one going to war without weapons—ten chances of defeat to one of victory. One in whom I had confided, and one who had promised me assistance, appalled by fear at the trial hour, deserted me, thus leaving the responsibility of success or failure solely with myself. You, sir can never know my feelings. As I look back to them, I can scarcely realize that I have passed through a scene so trying. Trying however as they were, and gloomy as was the prospect, thanks be to the Most High, who is ever the God of the oppressed, at the moment which was to determine my whole earthly career. His grace was sufficient, my mind was made up. I embraced the golden opportunity, took the morning tide at the flood, and a free man, young, active and strong, is the result.

I have often thought I should like to explain to you the grounds upon which I have justified myself in running away from you. . . . When yet but a child about six years old, I imbibed the determination to run away. The very first mental effort that I now remember on my part, was an attempt to solve the mystery, Why am I a slave? and with this question my youthful mind was troubled for many days, pressing upon me more heavily at times than others. When I saw the slave-driver whip a slave woman, cut the blood out of her neck, and heard her piteous cries, I went away into the corner of the fence wept, and pondered over the mystery. I had, through some medium, I know not what, got some idea of God, the Creator of all mankind, the black and the white, and that he had made the blacks to serve the whites as slaves. Howe he could do this and be good, I could not tell. I was not satisfied with this theory, which made God responsible for slavery, for it pained me greatly, and I have wept over it long and often. . . . I was puzzled with this question, till one night, while sitting in the kitchen, I heard some of the old slaves talking of their parents having been stolen from Africa by white men, and were sold here as slaves. The whole mystery was solved at once. Very soon after this my aunt Jinny and uncle Noah ran away, the the great noise made about it by your father-in-law, made me for the first time acquainted with the fact, that there were free-States as well as slave States.

From that time, I resolved that I would some day run away. The morality of the act, I dispose as follows: I am myself; you are yourself; we are two distinct persons, equal persons. What you are, I am. You are a man, and so am I. God created both and made us separate beings. I am not by nature bound to you, or you to me. Nature does not make your existence depend upon me, or mine to depend upon yours. . . . We are distinct persons, and are each equally provided with faculties necessary to our individual existence. In leaving you, I took nothing but what belonged to me, and in no way lessened your means for obtaining an honest living. Your faculties remained yours, and mine became useful to their rightful owner. I therefore see no wrong in any part of the transaction. It is true, I went off secretly, but that was more your fault than mine. . . .

I can boast of as comfortable a dwelling as your own. I have an industrious and neat companion, and four dear children. . . .These dear children are ours—not to work up into rice, sugar and tobacco, but to watch over, regard, and protect, . . . to train them up in the paths of wisdom and virtue, and, as far as we can to make them useful to the world and to themselves. Oh! sir, a slaveholder never appears to me so completely an agent of hell, as when I think of and look upon my dar children. It is then that my feelings rise above my control. . . .

I remember the chain, the gag, the bloody whip, the death-like gloom over-shadowing the broken spirit of the fettered bondman [chained slave], the appalling liability of his being torn away from wife and children, and sold like a beast in the market. Say not that this is a picture of fancy. You well know that I wear stripes on my back inflicted by your direction; and that you, while we were brothers in the same church, caused this right hand, with which I am now penning this letter, to be closely tied to my left, and my person dragged at the pistol's mouth, fifteen miles, from the Bay side to Easton to be sold like a beast in the market, for the alleged crime of intending to escape from your possession. All this and more you remember, and know to be perfectly true, not only of yourself, but of nearly all of the slaveholders around you.

At this moment, you are probably the guilty holder of at least three of my own dear sisters, and my only brother in bondage. These you regard as your property. They are recorded on your ledger, or perhaps have been sold to human flesh mongers, with a view to filling your own ever-hungry purse. Sir, I desire to know how and where these dear sisters are. Have you sold them? or are they still in your possession? What has become of them? are they living or dead? And my dear old grandmother, whom you turned out like an old horse, to die in the woods — is she still alive? Write and let me know all about them. . . .

I will now bring this letter to a close, you shall hear from me again unless you let me hear from you. I intend to make use of you as a weapon with which to assail the system of slavery — as a mean of concentrating public attention on the system, and deepening their horror of trafficking in the souls and bodies of men. I shall make use of you as a means of exposing the character of the American church and clergy — and as a means of bringing this guilty nation with yourself to repentance. In doing this I entertain no malice [ill will] towards you personally. There is no roof under which you would be more safe than mine, and there is nothing in my house which you

might need for your comfort, which I would not readily grant. Indeed, I should esteem it a privilege, to set you an example as to how mankind ought to treat each other.

I am your fellow man, but not your slave

Frederick Douglass

	Answer [your words]	Evidence from text
Why did Douglass write this letter to Thomas Auld (his former master)? How does Douglass explain his decision to run away from slavery?		
How and why could Douglass use Thomas Auld as a weapon against the system of slavery?		

Fill in the chart below, indicating t**hree specific claims** that you can make from this article, along with **specific evidence from the text** that support your claims [at least one piece of evidence to support each claim].

Claim	Evidence
1	
2	
3	

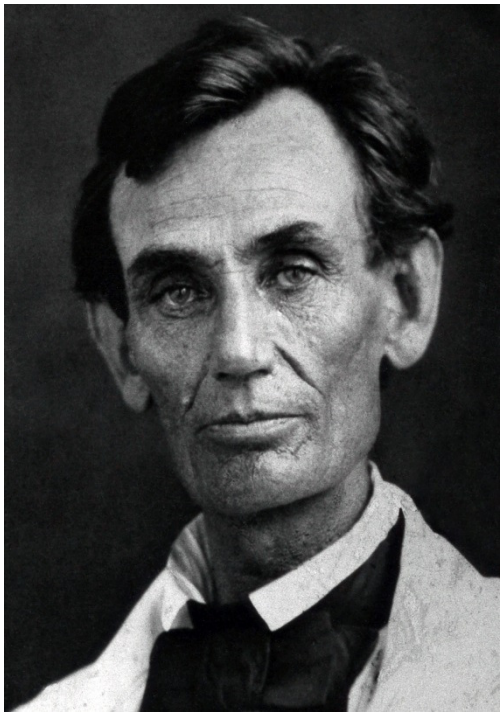
Lincoln's Autobiographical Sketch (1859)

J.W. Fell Esq. Springfield, Dec: 20. 1859

My dear Sir:

Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested — There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me — If anything is made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the materials — If it were thought necessary to incorporate anything from any of my speeches, I suppose there would be no objection — Of course, it must not appear to have been written by myself

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln



Lincoln in 1858

I was born Feb. 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families — second families, perhaps I should say — My Mother, who died in my ~~ninth~~ tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon counties, Illinois — My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 2, when, a year or two later, he was killed by indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest — His ancestors, who were quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania — An effort to identify them with the New-England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite, than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like —

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age; and he grew up, litterally without education — He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer county, Indians, in my eighth year— We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union— It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods— There I grew up— There were some schools, so called; but no qualification was ever required of a teacher, beyond ~~the reading, writing, and Arithmetic~~ "readin,

writin, and cipherin" to the Rule of Three— If a straggler supposed to understand latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizzard— There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much— Still somehow, I could read, write, and cider to the Rule of Three, but that was all— I have not been to school since— The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I ~~have~~ have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity-

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty two— At twenty one I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in ~~Illinois~~ Macon County — Then I got to New-Salem (~~then~~ at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where I remained a year as a sort of Clerk in a store— then came the Black-Hawk war; and I was elected a Captain of Volunteers — a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since— I went the campaign, was [elected], ran for the Legislature the same year (1832) and was beaten — the only time I ever have been beaten by the people— The next, and three succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the Legislature— I was not a candidate afterwards. During this Legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to ~~make~~ practice it— In 1846 I was once elected to the lower House of Congress— Was not a candidate for re-election— From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before— Always a whig in politics, and generally on the whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses- I was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again— What I have done since then is pretty well known

If any personal description of me is thought ~~desired~~ desirable, it may be said, I am, in height, six feet, four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion with course black hair and grey eyes — no other marks or brands recollected -

1. **What does Lincoln choose to reveal about himself in this sketch?**

2. **Why do you think that he made these choices?**

Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address (Excerpts)

Monday, March 4, 1861

By the time Lincoln took office, disgruntled citizens of the seven Deep South states had declared their separation from the federal union and formed a provisional Confederate States of America. The first Republican president of the United States, Lincoln drew less than forty percent of the popular vote, all from northern free states, though he received a clear constitutional majority of the electoral votes. His leadership of a party opposed to the spread of slavery led to his name appearing on no ballots in nine slaveholding states, where no Republican Party surfaced. Southerners therefore viewed Lincoln and the Republicans as representing sectional interests in opposition to those of the slaveholding states, who claimed to uphold the constitutional rights of all property owners. But though Lincoln hated slavery and argued against its expansion into federal territory, he was not an abolitionist. He acknowledged the legal right to own slaves under state constitutions that permitted the "peculiar institution," which the Constitution respected through longstanding compromises that helped produce "a more perfect union."

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

IN compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of this office." . . .

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that—

I have no purpose, 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 now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention . . . that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. . . .

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore [before] only menaced [threatened], is now formidably attempted.

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. . . Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever. . . .

If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it - break it, so to speak - but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that . . . the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "*to form a more perfect Union*." . . .

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. . . .

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. . . .

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak? Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain [find out] precisely why we do it?. . . .

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. . . .

One section of our country believes slavery is *right* and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong* and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases *after* the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. . . .

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well* upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take *deliberately* [cautiously, carefully], that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. . . . . Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Source: http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres31.html

The Gettysburg Address

From July 1 to July 3, 1863, the invading forces of General Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army clashed with the Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg, some 35 miles southwest of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. . . . Out of roughly 170,000 Union and Confederate soldiers, there were 23,000 Union casualties (more than one-quarter of the army's effective forces) and 28,000 Confederates killed, wounded or missing (more than a third of Lee's army). After three days of battle, Lee retreated towards Virginia on the night of July 4. It was a crushing defeat for the Confederacy

In November 1863, President Abraham Lincoln was invited to deliver remarks, which later became known as the Gettysburg Address, at the official dedication ceremony for the National Cemetery of Gettysburg in Pennsylvania. Though he was not the featured orator that day, Lincoln's 273-word address would be remembered as one of the most important speeches in American history.

"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."

Source: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/gettyb.asp

Questions

1. What happened “four score and seven years ago”? Why does Lincoln start the address with this phrase?

2. What, according to Lincoln, is being tested by this war?

3. What are the people who are assembled at Gettysburg there to do?

4. How does Lincoln use the idea of “unfinished work” to assign responsibility to his listeners?

5. What was “that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion?” Do you think all of the soldiers who died fighting at Gettysburg were fighting for the same cause? Why or why not? [The cemetery was for the Union dead, only]

6. Why do you think this speech is considered to be so important?

Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address (Excerpts)

Saturday, March 4, 1865

Weeks of wet weather preceding Lincoln's second inauguration had caused Pennsylvania Avenue to become a sea of mud and standing water. Thousands of spectators stood in thick mud at the Capitol grounds to hear the President. As he stood on the East Portico to take the executive oath, the completed Capitol dome over the President's head was a physical reminder of the resolve of his Administration throughout the years of civil war. Chief Justice Salmon Chase administered the oath of office. In little more than a month, the President would be assassinated.

Fellow-Countrymen:

AT this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration [ending] of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

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 and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated [disapproved of] war, but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful

interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, 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 lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Graphic Organizer – Analysis of Two Inaugural Addresses

	First Inaugural	Second Inaugural	Similarities / Differences
Slavery			
Secession			
The Civil War			
Appeal / Message			
Other Ideas / Topics			

1. **Why did Lincoln not explain or focus on his plans for Reconstruction?**

2. **How and why did Lincoln use Biblical allusions in his Second Inaugural?**

3. **What was the impact of Lincoln's address on the nation as a whole? How did his use of words and tone affect that impact?**

Source:https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/failure-compromise/resources/lincoln%E2%80%99s-second-inaugural-address