

HIS 315K: The United States, 1492 - 1865

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This document contains handouts you'll need to bring to class as well as the dates on which you'll need to bring them.

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Christopher Columbus (Jan 23 and Jan 25)

Tuesday, Jan 23: Columbus and the Columbian Exchange

Thursday, Jan 25: European Expansion

Debate Question

Late in the eighteenth century, around the time of the three hundredth anniversary of Columbus's voyage of discovery, the Abbé Raynal (1713-1796), a French philosophe, offered a prize for the best answer to the question: "Has the discovery of America been beneficial or harmful to the human race?"

Christopher Columbus, Letter to the Sovereigns on His First Voyage, February 15-March 4 1493

....The people of this island [Hispaniola] and of all the other islands which I have found and seen, or have not seen, all go naked, men and women, as their mothers bore them, except that some women cover one place with the leaf of a plant or with a net of cotton which they make for that purpose. They have no iron or steel or weapons, nor are they capable of using them, although they are well-built people of handsome stature, because they are wondrously timid. They have no other arms than the arms of canes, [cut] when they are in seed time, to the end of which they fix a sharp little stick; and they dare not make use of these, for oftentimes it has happened that I have sent ashore two or three men to some town to have speech, and people without number have come out to them, as soon as they saw them coming, they fled; even a father would not stay for his son; and this was not because wrong had been done to anyone; on the contrary, at every point where I have been and have been able to have speech, I have given them of all that I had, such as cloth and many other things, without receiving anything for it; but they are like that, timid beyond cure. It is true that after they have been reassured and have lost this fear, they are so artless and so free with all they possess, that no one would believe it without having seen it. Of anything they have, if you ask them for it, they never say no; rather they invite the person to share it, and show as much love as if they were giving their hearts; and whether the thing be of value or of small price, at once they are content with whatever little thing of whatever kind may be given to them. I forbade that they should be given things so worthless as pieces of broken crockery and broken glass, and lace points, although when they were able to get them, they thought they had the best jewel in the world.... And they know neither sect nor idolatry, with the exception that all believe that the source of all power and goodness is in the sky, and in this belief they everywhere received me, after they had overcome their fear. And this does not result from their being ignorant (for they are of a very keen intelligence and men who navigate all those seas, so that it is wondrous the good account they give of everything), but because they have never seen people clothed or ships like ours.

Christopher Columbus, Journal

Sunday, 14th of October

...these people are very simple as regards the use of arms, as your Highnesses will see from the seven that I caused to be taken, to bring home and learn our language and return; unless your Highnesses should order them all to be brought to Castile, or to be kept as captives on the same island; for with fifty men they can all be subjugated and made to do what is required of them....

Sunday, 16th of December

...your Highnesses may believe that this island (Hispaniola), and all the others, are as much yours as Castile. Here there is only wanting a settlement and the order to the people to do what is required. For I, with the force I have under me, which is not large, could march over all these islands without opposition. I have seen only three sailors land, without wishing to do harm, and a multitude of Indians fled before them. They have no arms, and are without warlike instincts; they all go naked, and are so timid that a thousand would not stand before three of our men. So that they are good to be ordered about, to work and sow, and do all that may be necessary, and to build towns, and they should be taught to go about clothed and to adopt our customs.

-- "Journal of the First Voyage of Christopher Columbus, 1492-1493," in E.G. Bourne, *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985-1503* (New York, 1906), 114, 145-146, 182

English Colonization (Jan 30 and Feb 1)

Tuesday, Jan 30: Shakespeare's England

Thursday, Feb 1: Slavery and Colonial Virginia

Motives

There is no commonwealth at this day in Europe, where in there is not a great store of poor people, and those necessarily to be relieved by the wealthier sort, which otherwise would starve and come to utter confusion. With us the poor is commonly divided into three sorts, so that some are poor by impotencies, as the fatherless child, the aged, the blind and lame, and the diseased person that is judged to be incurable: the second are poor by casualty, as the wounded soldier, the decayed householder, and the sick person visited with grievous and painful diseases: the third consisteth of the thriftless poor, as the rioter that hath consumed all, the vagabond that will abide no where...and finally the rogue and strumpet....

For the first two sorts...which are the true poor in deed, and for whom the word doth bind us to make some daily provision: there is order taken through out every parish in the realm, that weekly collection shall be made for their help and sustentation....The third sort...are often corrected with sharp execution, and the whip of justice abroad....

Some also do grudge at the great increase of people in these days, thinking a necessary brood of cattle far better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind.

-- **William Harrison, 1586**

For all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharp execution of the same in punishing idle and lazy persons, for want of sufficient occasion of honest employments, cannot deliver our commonwealth from multitudes of loiterers and idle vagabonds. Truth it is that through our long peace and seldom sickness (two singular blessings of Almighty God) we are grown more populous than ever heretofore; so that now there are...so many, that they can hardly live one by another, nay rather they are ready to eat up one another; yea many thousands of idle persons are within this realm, which having no way to be set on work, be either mutinous and seek alteration in the state, or at least very burdensome to the commonwealth and often fall to pilfering and thieving and other lewdness, whereby all the prisons of the land are daily pestered and stuffed full of them....

Whereas if this voyage [to the New World] were put in execution, these petty thieves might be condemned for certain years in the western parts ... in sawing and felling of timber and masts of ships, and deal boards; in burning of the firs and pine trees to make pitch, tar, rosin, and soap ashes; in beating and working of hemp for cordage; and, in the more southern parts, in setting them to work in mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron; in dragging for pearls and coral; in planting of sugar canes, as the Portingales [Portuguese] have done in Madeira; in maintenance and increasing of silk worms for silk, and in dressing the same; in gathering of cotton whereof there is plenty; in tilling of the soil there for grain; in dressing of vines whereof there is great abundance for wine; olives, whereof the soil is capable, for oil; trees for oranges, lemons, almonds, figs, and other fruits, all which are found to grow there already;...in building of forts, towns, churches; in powdering and barrelling of fish, fowls, and flesh, which will be notable provision for sea and land; in drying, sorting, and packing of features, where of may be had there marvelous great quantity.....

-- **Richard Hakluyt, "A Discourse on Western Planting," 1584**

Jamestown

So lamentable was our scarcity that we were constrained to eat dogs, cats, rats, snakes, toadstools, horsehides, and what not. One man out of the misery he endured, killing his wife, powdered [salted or pickled] her up to eat for, for which he was burned. Many besides fed on the corpses of dead men, and one who had gotten insatiable out of custom to that food could not be restrained until such time as he was executed for it. And indeed, so miserable was our estate that the happiest day that ever some of them hoped to see was when the Indians had killed a mare, they wishing while she was boiling that Sir Thomas Smith [Treasurer of the Virginia Company] was upon her back in the kettle.

-- **Journals of the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1624**

Loving and kind father and mother, my most humble duty remembered to you hoping in God of your good health.... [T]his is to let you understand that I your Child am in a most heavy Case by reason of the nature of the Country is such that it Causeth much sickness, as the scurvy and the bloody flux [dysentery], and divers other diseases, which maketh the body very poor, and Weak, and when we are sick there is nothing to Comfort us; for since I came out of the ship, I never ate any thing but peas and loblollie (that is water gruel) as for deer or venison I never saw any since I came into this land, there is

indeed some fowl, but We are not allowed to go and get it, but must Work hard both early and late for a mess of water gruel, and a mouthful of bread, and beef, a mouthful of bread for a penny loaf must serve for 4 men....

[W]e live in fear of the Enemy every hour, yet we have had a Combat with them on the Sunday before Shrovetide, and we took two alive, and make slaves of them.... [T]he highest help that We have is ten miles of us, and when the rogues overcame this place last, they slew 80 persons.

[I]f you love me you will redeem me suddenly, for which I do entreat and beg, and if you cannot get the merchants to redeem me for some little money then for God's sake get a gathering or entreat some good folks to lay out some little sum of money, in meal, and Cheese and butter, and beef, any eating meat will yield great profit.... Good Father do not forget me, but have mercy and pity my miserable Case. I know if you did but see me you would weep to see me....

-- **Richard Frethorne, A letter from Virginia, 1623**

The Country [Virginia] is reported to be an unhealthy place, a nest of Rogues, whores, dissolute and rooking persons; a place of intolerable labour, bad usage and hard Diet, &c.... At the first settling and many years after, it deserved most of those aspersions (nor were they aspersions but truths).... Then were Jails emptied, youth seduced, infamous women drilled in, the provisions all brought out of England, and that embezzled by the Trustees (for they durst neither hunt fowl, nor Fish, for fear of the Indian, which they stood in awe of) their labour was almost perpetual, their allowance of victual small, few or no cattle, no use of horses nor oxen to draw or carry, (which labours men supplied themselves) all of which caused a mortality; no civil courts of justice but under a martial law, no redress of grievances, complaints were repaid with stripes...in a word all and the worst that tyranny could inflict....

[Now] the usual allowance for servants is (besides their charge of passage defrayed) at their expiration, a year's provision of corn, double apparel, tools necessary, and land according to the custom of the Country....

The labour servants are put to, is not so hard nor of such continuance as Husbandmen, nor Handicraftmen are kept at in England, I said little or nothing is done in winter time, none ever work before sun rising nor after sun set, in the summer they rest, sleep or exercise themselves five hours in the heat of the day, Saturdays afternoon is always their own....

The women are not (as is reported) put into the ground to work, but occupy such domestic employments and housewifery as in England, that is dressing victuals, right up the house, milking, employed about dairies, washing, sewing, &c. and both men and women have times of recreations....

-- **John Hammond, 1656**

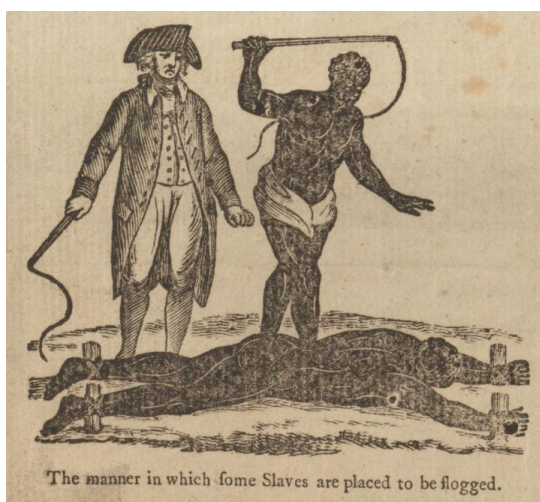
Slavery

And if any slave resist his master, or owner, or other person, by his or her order, correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction, it shall not be accounted felony; but the master, owner, and every such other person so giving correction, shall be free and acquit of all punishment and accusation for the same, as if such incident had never happened: And also, if any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free, shall at any time, lift his or her hand, in opposition against any christian, not being negro, mulatto, or Indian, he or she so offending shall, for every such offence, proved by the oath of the party, receive on his or her bare back, thirty lashes, well laid on; cognizable by a justice of the peace for that county wherein such offence shall be committed.

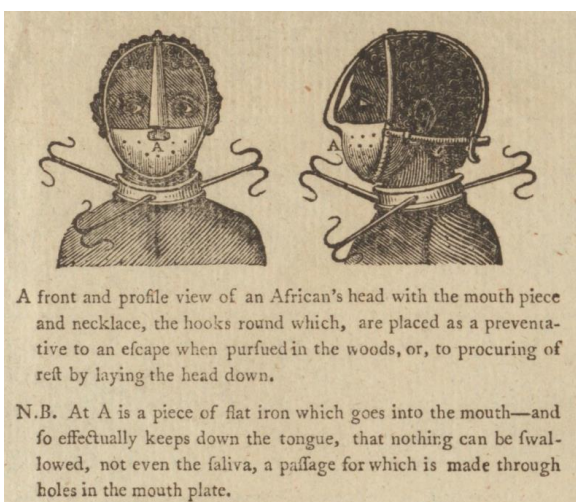
-- **Article XXXIV, Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619**

Whereas the only law in force for the punishment of refractory servants resisting their master, mistress, or overseer cannot be inflicted upon Negroes, nor the obstinacy of many of them be suppressed by other than violent means, be it enacted and declared by this Grand Assembly if any slave resists his master (or other by his master's order correcting him) and by the extremity of the correction should chance to die, that his death shall not be accounted a felony, but the master (or that other person appointed by the master to punish him) be acquitted from molestation, since it cannot be presumed that premeditated malice (which alone makes murder a felony) should induce any man to destroy his own estate.

-- **Virginia Slave Code, October 1669**

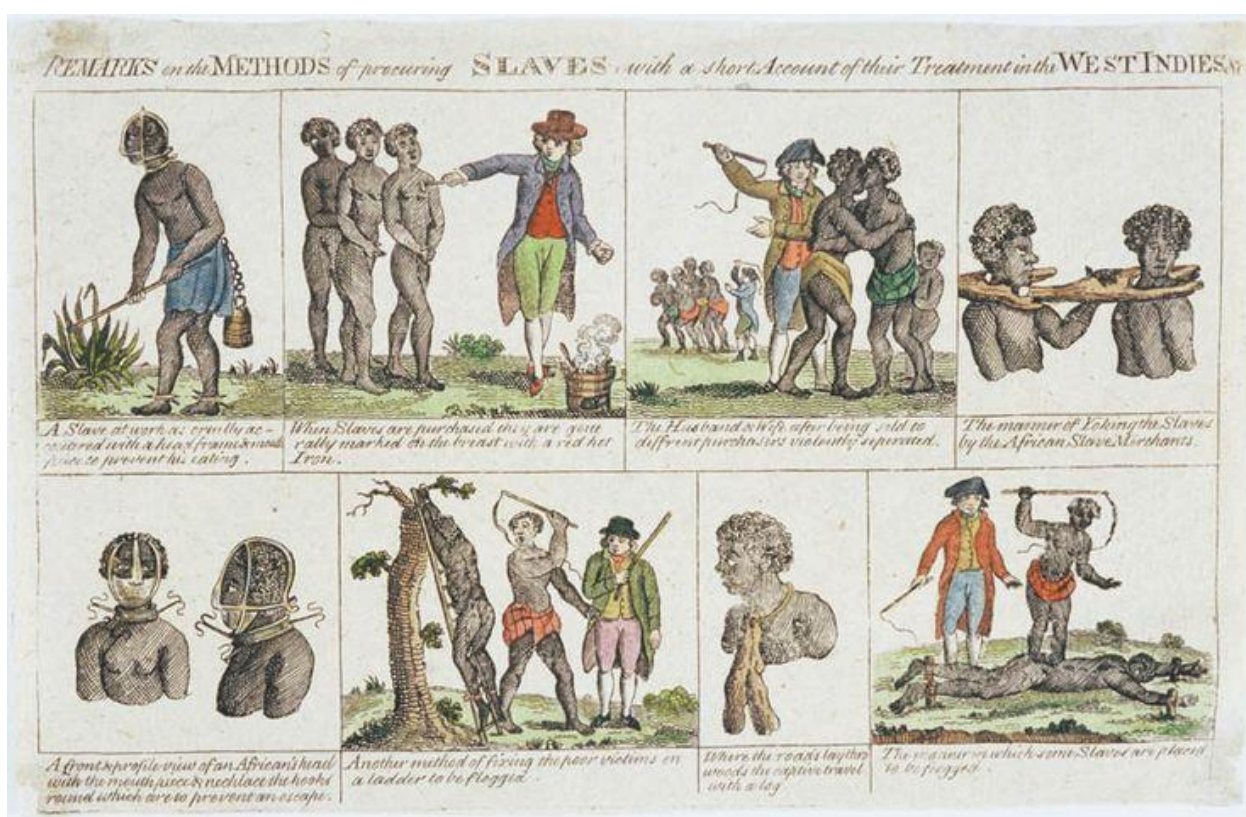


The manner in which some Slaves are placed to be flogged.



A front and profile view of an African's head with the mouth piece and necklace, the hooks round which, are placed as a preventative to an escape when pursued in the woods, or, to procuring of rest by laying the head down.

N.B. At A is a piece of flat iron which goes into the mouth—and so effectually keeps down the tongue, that nothing can be swallowed, not even the saliva, a passage for which is made through holes in the mouth plate.



REMARKS on the METHODS of procuring SLAVES, with a short Account of their Treatment in the WEST INDIES.



A Slave at work, as commonly seen, is secured with a head frame & mask, to prevent his eating.



When Slaves are purchased they are generally marked on the breast with a red hot Iron.



The Head bands which, after being sold to different purchasers, are violently separated.



The manner of taking the Slaves by the African Slave Merchants.



A front & profile view of an African's head with the mouth piece & necklace the hooks round which are to prevent an escape.



Another method of fixing the poor victims on a ladder to be flogged.



When the roads lay thro' woods the captive travel with a yag.



The manner in which some Slaves are placed to be flogged.

Pilgrims

In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord, King James, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, e&. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents, solemnly and mutually in the Presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid; And by Virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the General good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

-- Mayflower Compact, 1620

Puritans

1. It will be a service to the church of great consequence to carry the gospel into those parts of the world...to raise a bulwark against the kingdom of AnteChrist which the Jesuites labor to rear up in those parts.
 2. All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation and sins for which the Lord begins already to frown upon us and to cut us short, do threaten evil times to be coming upon us and who knows, but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he means to save out of the general calamity...
 3. This land grows weary of her inhabitants...masters are forced by authority to entertain servants, parents to maintain their own children, all towns complain of the burden of their poor....
 6. The fountains of learning and religion are so corrupted as...most children...are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown by the multitude of evil examples....
- **John Winthrop, first government of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629**

“For we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. Soe that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword throughout the world.”

– **John Winthrop, 1630**

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked: his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else, but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight; you are ten thousand times more abominable in his eyes, than the most hateful venomous serpent is in ours.

... You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince; and yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment. It is to be ascribed to nothing else, that you did not go to hell the last night; that you were suffered to awake again in this world, after you closed your eyes to sleep....

... You have reason to wonder that you are not already in hell.

-- **Jonathan Edwards, Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God, 1741**

Interpreting Statistics

Real Wages in England, 1500-1700	
Year	Pounds Sterling
1500	100
1550	50
1600	40
1650	38
1700	55

Mortality, London, 1604-1661	
Age	Number of Survivors
0	100
6	64
16	40
26	25
36	16
46	10
56	6
66	3
76	1
80	0

Shakespeare’s England Timeline

- 1509-1547 Reign of Henry VIII, who severs England from the Catholic Church
- 1525 William Tyndale publishes the New Testament of the Bible in English and smuggles copies into England. He is later executed as a heretic.
- 1547-1553 Reign of Henry's son, Edward VI, who formally establishes Protestantism in England, abolishing clerical celibacy and the Mass.
- 1553-1558 Reign of Henry's elder daughter, Mary I (Bloody Mary). A Roman Catholic, she seeks to return Catholicism to England. Over 280 religious dissenters are burned at the stake. She marries Philip of Spain, heir to the Hapsburg empire, in 1554.
- 1558 Henry's younger daughter, Elizabeth I, becomes queen and reestablishes Protestantism in England.
- 1593 to 1603 A rebellion against English rule in Ireland
- 1564 Under the Peace of Troyes, Elizabeth I gives up claims to Calais in France
William Shakespeare born at Stratford-upon-Avon.
- 1566 Tobacco introduced from the New World.
- 1568 Mary Queen of Scots conspires with various Catholics in England and abroad to take the crown from her cousin Elizabeth.
- 1570-71 Elizabeth I formally excommunicated and "deposed" by Pope Pius V.
St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of Protestants in France.
- 1572 Vagrancy act passed in Parliament.
- 1576 The Theatre, the first permanent playhouse, opens on the northern outskirts of London.
- 1582 Shakespeare marries Anne Hathaway. She is 26; he is 18.
- 1583 Plots against Elizabeth in favor of Mary Queen of Scots.
- 1585-1586 Plot to assassinate Elizabeth exposed.
- 1587 Mary Queen of Scots beheaded for complicity in plots against Elizabeth.
- 1588 The Spanish Armada, sent against England by Philip II of Spain and backed by Pope Sixtus V, defeated by English ships and by the weather.
- 1589 The Master of the Revels (an official of the Queen's court) given authority to license and censor all plays performed in London.
- 1595 Apprentices riot in London; five are hanged.
- 1599 Globe Theatre built on the south bank of the Thames.
- 1601 Unsuccessful rebellion against Elizabeth I led by Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.
- 1603 Death of Elizabeth I; accession of James I (James VI of Scotland).
- 1605 Gunpowder plot (Guy Fawkes) against James I.

- 1607 Settlement of Jamestown, Virginia.
- 1611 The Authorized Version (King James version) of the Bible in English published.
Large numbers of English and Scots settle in Northern Ireland.
- 1612 Trial and execution of the Lancashire Witches. Charged with ten murders, ten (eight women and two men) were found guilty and executed by hanging; one woman was found not guilty. Another defendant died in prison.
- 1616 Shakespeare dies.
- 1620 Plymouth (Massachusetts) colony settled.
- 1623 Two of Shakespeare's fellow actors publish the First Folio containing 36 plays; 18 had not previously appeared in print.
- 1625 Death of James I; accession of his son Charles I.
- 1642 A Puritan majority in Parliament passes an act forbidding playacting and closing the theatres.
- 1649 Charles I executed after losing a civil war to parliamentary forces led by puritan Oliver Cromwell. The monarchy is abolished; England declared a Commonwealth.
- 1660 Within two years of Cromwell's death, the monarchy is restored with Charles II.
Theatre is once again permitted in England.
Women for the first time were allowed on the English stage.

The Salem Witch Trials (Feb 6 and Feb 8)

Tuesday, Feb 6: Puritan New England

Thursday, Feb 8: 18th Century Transformations

Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.
-- Exodus 22:18 (King James Version)

Tituba what evil spirit have you familiarity with.

(Tituba) None.

Why do you hurt these children?

(T) I do not hurt them.

Who is it then?

(T) The devil for ought I know.

Did you never see the devil?

(T) The devil came to me and bid me serve him.

Who have you seen?

(T) Four women sometimes hurt the children.

Who were they?

(T) Goode Osburn and Sarah Good and I do not know who the others were. Sarah Good and Osburn would have me hurt the children but I would not. She further saith there was a tall man of Boston that she did see.

... A man came to me and say serve me.

What did you say to it?

(T) I will serve you no longer. then he said he would hurt me and then he looked like a man and threatens to hurt me, she said that this man had a yellow bird that kept with him and he told me he had more pretty things that he would give me if I would serve him

-- Interrogation of Tituba, an enslaved Indian originally from northeastern South America

Satans design was to set up his own worship, abolish all the churches in the land, to fall next upon Salem and soe goe through the countrey, He sayth the devil promised that all his people should live bravely that all persones should be equal; that their should be no day of resurrection or of judgement, and neither punishment nor shame for sin.

-- Confession of William Barker, Sr.

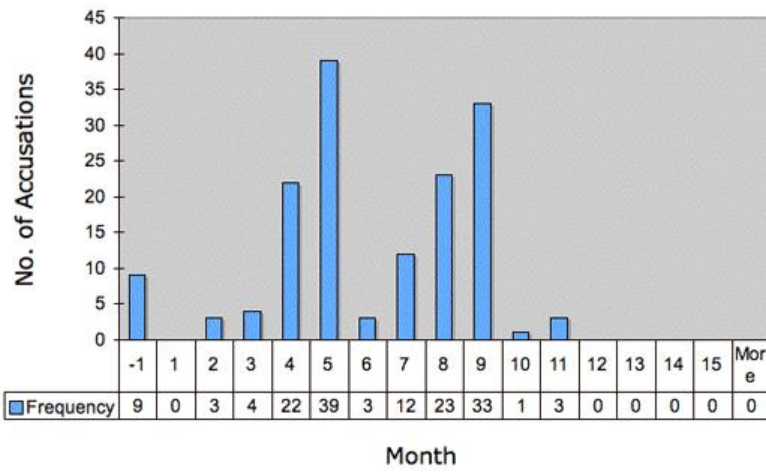
Wherefore The devil is now making one Attempt more upon us;...an Attempt so Critical, that if we get well through, we shall soon Enjoy Halcyon Days, with all the Vultures of Hell Trodden under our Feet. He has wanted his Incarnate Legions to Persecute us, as the People of God have in the other Hemisphere been Persecuted: he has therefore drawn forth his more spiritual ones to make an attacque upon us. We have been advised by some Credible Christians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of Witchcraft as well as Murder, and Executed in this place more than Forty Years ago, did then give Notice of, An Horrible PLOT & against the Country by WITCHCRAFT, and a Foundation of WITCHCRAFT then laid, which if it were not seasonably discovered, would probably Blow up, and pull down all the Churches in the Country. And we have now with Horror seen the Discovery of such a WITCHCRAFT!

-- Cotton Mather, The Wonders of the Invisible world....,1693

It were better that Ten Suspected Witches should escape, than that one Innocent Person should be Condemned.

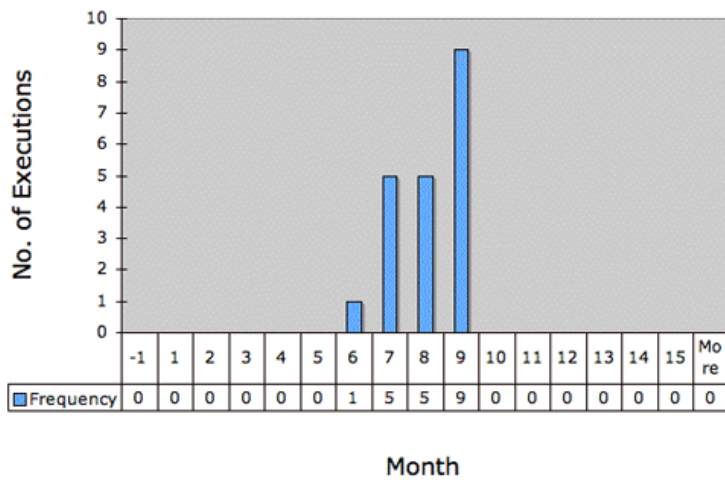
-- Increase Mather, Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits Personating Men, Witchcrafts, infallible Proofs of Guilt in such as are accused with that Crime (1692)

Accusation Histogram



Histogram of Accusations 1692

Execution Histogram



Histogram of Executions 1692



Month of Accusation	Andover	Gloucester	Haverhill	Lynn	Reading	Rowley	Salem Town	Salem Village	Topsfield
-1	3	3							
2								3	
3							1	2	
4					1		7	4	6
5	1			3	3		10	7	
6				1			1		
7	7		3				2		
8	12		3			5			
9	22	3			3		2		
10				1					
11		3							
Grand Total	45	9	6	5	7	5	23	16	6

Communities of Intense Activity

The Salem "Witches"

Found Guilty and Executed:

[Bridget Playfer Bishop](#) (Hanged, June 10, 1692)
[George Burroughs](#), Maine (Hanged, August 19, 1692)
[Martha Allen Carrier](#), [Andover](#) (Hanged, August 19, 1692)
[Martha Corey](#), [Peabody](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[Mary Towne Easty](#), [Topsfield](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[Dana Michael Foley](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[Sarah Solart Poole Good](#), [Salem Village](#) (Hanged, July 19, 1692)
[Elizabeth Jackson Howe](#), [Topsfield](#) (Hanged, July 19, 1692)
[George Jacobs, Sr.](#), [Salem Village](#) (Hanged, August 19, 1692)
[Susannah North Martin](#), [Amesbury](#) (Hanged, July 19, 1692)
[Rebecca Towne Nurse](#), [Salem Village](#) (Hanged, July 19, 1692)
[Alice Parker](#), [Salem Towne](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[Mary Ayer Parker](#), [Andover](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[John Proctor](#), [Peabody](#) (Hanged, August 19, 1692)
[Ann Greenslit Pudeator](#), [Salem Towne](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[Wilmot Redd](#), [Marblehead](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[Margaret Stevenson Scott](#), [Rowley](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[Samuel Wardwell, Sr.](#), [Andover](#) (Hanged, September 22, 1692)
[Sarah Averill Wildes](#), [Topsfield](#) (Hanged, July 19, 1692)
[John Willard](#), [Salem Village](#) (Hanged, August 19, 1692)

Refused to Plea and Executed:

[Giles Corey](#), [Peabody](#) (Pressed to Death, September 19, 1692)

Died in Prison:

[Rebecca Addington Chamberlain](#), [Billerica](#)
[Lydia Dustin](#), [Reading](#)
[John Durrant](#), [Billerica](#)
[Ann Alcock Foster](#), [Andover](#)
[Good Infant](#), [Salem Village](#)
[Sarah Warren Prince Osborne](#), [Salem Village](#)

Accused and Fled Before Being Arrested:

[Daniel Andrew](#), [Salem Village](#)
[Ann Wood Bradstreet](#), [Andover](#)
[Colonel Dudley Bradstreet](#), [Andover](#)
[John Bradstreet](#), [Rowley](#)
[Elizabeth Colson](#), [Reading](#)
George Jacobs, Jr., [Salem Village](#)
[Ephraim Stevens](#), [Andover](#)

Released on Bond, Never Tried:

[Bethiah Pearson Carter](#), [Woburn](#)
[Dorothy Faulkner](#), [Andover](#)
[Abigail Faulkner Jr.](#), [Andover](#)
[Eunice Potter Frye](#), [Andover](#)
[Dorcas Good](#), [Salem Village](#)
[Mary Green](#), [Haverhill](#)
[Frances Alcock Hutchins](#), [Haverhill](#)
[Margaret Skillings Prince](#), [Gloucester](#)
[Rachel Varney Cook Langton Vinson](#), [Gloucester](#)
[Sarah Lord Wilson](#), [Andover](#)
[Sarah Wilson, Jr.](#), [Andover](#)

Found Guilty and Pardoned:

[Abigail Dane Faulkner, Sr.](#), [Andover](#)
Dorcas Hoar, [Beverly](#)
[Elizabeth Johnson Jr.](#), [Andover](#)
Mary Post, [Rowley](#)
[Elizabeth Bassett Proctor](#), [Peabody](#)
[Sarah Hooper Hawkes Wardwell](#), [Andover](#)

Pled Guilty and Pardoned:

[Rebecca Blake Eames](#), [Boxford](#)
[Mary Foster Lacey, Sr.](#), [Andover](#)

Accused, Not Indicted, and Released:

[Nehemiah Abbot, Jr.](#), [Topsfield](#)
[Katerina Biss](#)
[Bethiah Carter, Jr.](#), [Woburn](#)
[Sarah Towne Cloyce](#), [Topsfield](#)
[Mary Dustin Colson](#), [Reading](#)
Rebecca Dike, [Gloucester](#)
Esther Elwell, [Gloucester](#)
[Thomas Farrar, Sr.](#), [Lynn](#)
[Tituba Indian](#), [Salem Village](#)
Mary Leach Ireson, [Lynn](#)
[Sarah Parker](#), [Andover](#)
[William Proctor](#), [Peabody](#)
[Abigail Rowe](#), [Gloucester](#)
[Margaret Toothaker](#), [Billerica](#)

[Scargen Infant, Beverly](#)
[Roger Toothaker, Billerica](#)

(As many as 13 others may have also died in prison.)

Found Guilty and Escaped:

[Mary Perkins Bradbury, Salisbury](#)

Indicted, Imprisoned, and Escaped:

[Captain John Alden, Jr., Boston](#)
[William Barker, Sr., Andover](#)
[Edward Bishop Jr., Salem Village](#)
[Sarah Wildes Bishop, Salem Village](#)
[Mary Hollingsworth English, Salem Towne](#)
[Philip English, Salem Towne](#)
[Elizabeth Walker Cary, Charlestown](#)

Accused, Imprisoned, & Later Released:

[Arthur C. Abbot, Topsfield](#)
[Sarah Hood Bassett, Lynn](#)
[Mary Black, Salem Towne](#)
[Hannah Varnum Tyler Brumidge, Haverhill](#)
[Andrew Carrier, Andover](#)
[Richard Carrier, Andover](#)
[Sarah Carrier, Andover](#)
[Thomas Carrier, Jr., Andover](#)
[Hannah Carroll, Salem Towne](#)
[Rachel Haffield Clinton, Ipswich](#)
[Mary Cox, Malden](#)
[Dane Male Slave, Andover](#)
[Deliverance Haseltine Dane, Andover](#)
[Mary Bassett DeRich, Salem Village](#)
Ann Higginson Dolliver, [Gloucester](#)
[Sarah Dustin, Reading](#)
[Daniel Eames, Boxford](#)
[Thomas Dyer, Ipswich](#)
[Edward Farrington, Andover](#)
[Captain John Floyd, Revere](#)
[Elizabeth Betts Fosdick, Malden](#)
[John Howard, Rowley](#)
[Elizabeth Hutchinson Hart, Lynn](#)
[Abigail Hobbs, Topsfield](#)
[Deliverance Hobbs, Topsfield](#)
[William Hobbs, Topsfield](#)
[John Jackson, Jr., Rowley](#)
[John Jackson, Sr., Rowley](#)
Abigail Johnson, [Andover](#)
Stephen Johnson, [Andover](#)
[Jane Lilly, Reading](#)
[Sarah Murrell, Beverly](#)
[Mary Clements Osgood, Andover](#)
[Elizabeth Carrington Paine, Malden](#)
[Mary Prince Rowe, Gloucester](#)

[Ruth Wilford, Haverhill](#)

Tried, Found Not Guilty, and Released:

[Abigail Wheeler Barker, Andover](#)
[Mary Barker, Andover](#)
[William Barker, Jr., Andover](#)
[Mary Bridges, Jr., Andover](#)
[Mary Tyler Post Bridges, Sr., Andover](#)
[Sarah Bridges, Andover](#)
[Sarah Smith Buckley, Salem Village](#)
[Candy](#) - Slave of Margaret Hawkes, [Salem Village](#)
[Sarah Aslett Cole, Lynn](#)
[Sarah Davis Cole, Salem Towne](#)
Eunice Potter Frye, [Andover](#)
[Sarah Hawkes, Jr., Andover](#)
[Margaret Jacobs, Salem Village](#)
Rebecca Andrews Jacobs, [Salem Village](#)
Rebecca Fox Jacobs, [Salem Village](#)
[Elizabeth Dane Johnson, Sr., Andover](#)
Julie Kildunne
[Mary Lacey, Jr., Andover](#)
Mary Osgood Marston, [Andover](#)
Hannah Post, [Boxford](#)
Susannah Post, [Andover](#)
[Job Tookey, Beverly](#)
[Mary Allen Toothaker, Billerica](#)
Hannah Tyler, [Andover](#)
Mary Lovett Tyler, [Andover](#)
[Mercy Wardwell, Andover](#)
[Mary Buckley Witheridge, Salem Village](#)

Accused, but Never Arrested:

John Busse, Wells, Maine - Minister in Wells
[Reverend Frances Dane, Andover](#) - Minister
Sarah Noyes Hale, [Beverly](#) - Wife of Reverend John Hale
James Howe, [Topsfield](#) - Husband of Elizabeth Jackson Howe
Hezekiah Usher
Mary Spencer Phips, Boston - Wife of Governor William Phips
Sarah Clapp Swift
[Margaret Thacher](#), Boston - Mother-in-law of magistrate Jonathan Corwin

[Benjamin Proctor, Peabody](#)

[Sarah Proctor, Peabody](#)

[Sarah Davis Rice, Reading](#)

[Susanna Rootes, Beverly](#)

[Elizabeth Scargen, Beverly](#)

[Mercy Short, Boston](#)

[Mary Harrington Taylor](#)

[Edward Wooland](#)

American Revolution (Feb 13 and Feb 15)

Tuesday, Feb 13: Roots of the Revolution

Thursday, Feb 15: The American Revolution

Many famous quotations came from the Revolution: "No taxation without representation." "Give me liberty or give me death", "Don't shoot until you see the whites of their eyes!" "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." "I have not yet begun to fight!" "These are the times that try men's souls."

Right of Revolution

...the Legislative being only a Fiduciary Power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the People a Supreme Power to remove or alter the Legislative, when they find the Legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them. ... the Community perpetually retains a Supreme Power of saving themselves from the attempts and designs of any Body, even of their Legislators, whenever they shall be so foolish, or so wicked, as to lay and carry on designs against the Liberties and Properties of the Subject.

-- John Locke, Second Treatise on Government (1689)

...whenever the Legislators endeavour to take away, and destroy the Property of the People, or to reduce them to Slavery under Arbitrary Power, they put themselves into a state of War with the People, who are thereupon absolved from any farther Obedience, and are left to the common Refuge, which God hath provided for all Men, against Force and Violence.

-- John Locke

Revolutions happen not upon every little mismanagement in publick affairs. *Great mistakes* in the ruling part, many wrong and inconvenient Laws, and all the *slips* of humane frailty will be *born by the People*, without mutiny or murmur. But if a long train of Abuses, Prevarications, and Artifices, all tending the same way, make the design visible to the People, and they cannot but feel, what they lie under, and see, whither they are going; 'tis not to be wonder'd, that they should then rouse themselves, and endeavour to put the rule into such hands, which may secure to them the ends for which Government was at first erected....

-- John Locke

The colonists are by the law of nature free born, as indeed all men are, white or black... Does it follow that tis right to enslave a man because he is black? ...Are not women born as free as men? Would it not be infamous to assert that the ladies are all slaves by nature?

-- James Otis, The Rights of the British Colonies (1764).

I long to hear that you have declared an independency -- and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If perticular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of Master for the more tender and endearing one of Friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the Lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of Sense in all Ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your Sex. Regard us then as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in imitation of the Supreme Being make use of that power only for our happiness.

-- Abigail Adams, Letter to John Adams, March 31, 1776

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to

institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

-- Declaration of Independence

Causes of the Revolution

As to the history of the revolution, my ideas may be peculiar, perhaps singular. What do we mean by the revolution? The war? That was no part of the revolution; it was only an effect and consequence of it. The revolution was in the minds of the people, and this was effected from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years, before a drop of blood was shed at Lexington.

-- John Adams, letter to Thomas Jefferson (24 August 1815)

For if our Trade may be taxed, why not our Lands? Why not the Produce of our Lands & everything we possess or make use of? This we apprehend annihilates our Charter Right to govern & tax ourselves.

-- Samuel Adams, 1764

A colonist cannot make a button, a horseshoe or a hobnail and some snooty ironmonger or respectable buttonmaker of England shall bawl and squall that he is most egregiously maltreated, injured, cheated, and robbed by the rascally American republicans.

-- Boston Gazette, 1765

A great empire and little minds go ill together.

-- Edmund Burke, 1775

Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Fordid it, Almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.

-- Attributed to Patrick Henry, 1775

There is something very absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island.

-- Thomas Paine, Common Sense

The Revolutionary War

The men were literally naked, some of them of every colour and make... saw officers mounting guard in sort of dressing gown made of an old blanket or bed cover. With regard to military discipline, it was safe to say that no such thing existed... There were no regular formations, the formation of each regiment was as varied as their mode of drill dictated and which consisted only of manual exercise.

-- Baron von Steuben, 1778

I dare say the men would fight very well if properly officered, although they are an exceedingly dirty and nasty people.

-- George Washington on his own army

The hour is fast approaching on which the honour and success of this army, and the safety of our bleeding country depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are free men, fighting for the blessings of liberty... that slavery will be your portion... if you do not acquit yourselves like men.

-- George Washington, 1776

The Army, as usual, are without pay; and a great part of the soldiery without shirts; and though the patience of them is equally threadbare, the States seem perfectly indifferent to their cries.

-- George Washington, 1783

Was the Revolution Justified?

In the Declaration of Independence, the American patriots listed "a history of injuries and usurpations" designed to establish "an absolute Tyranny over these states." What specific abuses did the delegates cite?

1. "He has refused his Assent to Laws necessary for the public good."
The King had rejected laws passed by colonial assemblies.
2. "He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of pressing importance."
Royal governors had rejected any colonial laws that did not have a clause suspending their operation until the King approved them.
3. "He has refused to pass Laws unless people would relinquish the right of Representation."
The Crown had failed to redraw the boundaries of legislative districts to ensure that newly settled areas were fairly represented in colonial assemblies.
4. "He has called together legislative bodies at places distant from the depository of their public records."
Royal governors sometimes had forced colonial legislatures to meet in inconvenient places.
5. "He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly."
Royal governors had dissolved colonial legislatures for disobeying their orders or protesting royal policies.
6. "He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected."
Royal governors had delayed in calling for elections of new colonial assemblies.
7. "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States."
The King had impeded the development of the colonies by prohibiting the naturalization of foreigners (in 1773) and raising the purchase price of western lands (in 1774).
8. "He has obstructed the Administration of justice."
The King had rejected a North Carolina law setting up a court system.
9. "He has made judges dependent on his Will alone."
The Crown had insisted that judges serve at the King's pleasure and that they should be paid by him.
10. "He has erected a multitude of New Offices to harass our people."
The royal government had appointed tax commissioners and other officials.
11. "He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies."
The Crown had kept an army in the colonies after the Seven Years' War without the consent of the colonial legislatures.
12. "He has affected to render the Military independent of Civil power."
The British government had named General Thomas Gage, commander of British forces in America.
13. "He has subject[ed] us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution."
The royal government had claimed the power (in the Declaratory Act of 1766) to make all laws for the colonies.
14. "For quartering armed troops among us."
The Crown had required the colonies to house British troops stationed in America.
15. "For protecting them from punishment for Murders."
Parliament had passed a 1774 law permitting British soldiers and officials accused of murder while in Massachusetts to be tried in Britain.
16. "For cutting off our Trade."
Parliament had enacted laws restricting the colonies' right to trade with foreign nations.
17. "For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent."

Parliament had imposed taxes (such as the Sugar Act of 1764) without the colonists' consent.

18. "For depriving us of the benefits of Trial by Jury."

The royal government had deprived colonists of a right to a jury trial in cases dealing with smuggling and other violations of trade laws.

19. "For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried."

A 1769 Parliamentary resolution declared that colonists accused of treason could be tried in Britain.

20. "For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province."

The 1774 Quebec Act extended Quebec's boundaries to the Ohio River and applied French law to the region.

21. "For taking away our Charters."

Parliament (in 1774) had restricted town meetings in Massachusetts, had decided that the colony's councilors would no longer be elected but would be appointed by the king, and had given the royal governor control of lower court judges.

22. "For suspending our Legislatures."

Parliament (in 1767) had suspended the New York Assembly for failing to obey the Quartering Act of 1765.

23. "waging War against us"

The Crown had authorized General Thomas Gage to use force to make the colonists obey the laws of Parliament.

24. "He has plundered our seas...burnt our towns."

The British government had seized American ships that violated restrictions on foreign trade and had bombarded Falmouth (now Portland), Me.; Bristol, R.I.; and Norfolk, Va.

25. "He is...transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries."

The British army hired German mercenaries to fight the colonists.

26. "He has constrained our fellow Citizens to bear Arms against their Country."

The Crown had forced American sailors (under the Restraining Act of 1775) to serve in the British navy.

27. "He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us."

In November 1775, Virginia's royal governor had promised freedom to slaves who joined British forces. The royal government also instigated Indian attacks on frontier settlements.

The US Constitution, I (Feb 20)

Tuesday, Feb 20: *The Radicalism of the Revolution*

Shays Rebellion

A little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical....It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government.

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.

-- **Thomas Jefferson, 1787**

Ratification Debates

These lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves...and then they will swallow up all us little folks, like the great Leviathan.

-- **Amos Singletery, 1788**

I am a plain man, and get my living by the plough....I have lived in a part of the country where I have known the worth of good government by the want of it. There was a black cloud [Shays' Rebellion] that rose in the east last winter, and spread over the west....It brought on a state of anarchy and that led to tyranny. I say, it brought anarchy. People that used to live peaceably, and were before good neighbors, got distracted, and took up arms against government....

Our distress was so great that we should have been glad to snatch at anything that looked like a government. Had any person that was able to protect us come and set up his standard, we should all have flocked to it, even if it had been a monarch, and that monarch might have proved a tyrant.

-- **Jonathan Smith, Massachusetts farmer**

It cannot be denied with truth, that this new constitution is, in its first principles, most highly and dangerously, oligarchic.

-- **Richard Henry Lee, 1787**

Among the numerous advantages promised by a well constructed union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction....Complaints are every where heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith, and of public and personal liberty; that our governments are too unstable; that the public good is disregarded in the conflict of rival parties; and that measures are too often decided, not according to rules of justice, and the rights of the minor party; but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority....

The Federalist, 1799

Interpreting Statistics

Politics and Society in Post-Revolutionary America

Composition of State Assemblies in the 1780s					
State	Farmers	Large Landowners	Artisan	Professional	Merchant
Massachusetts	47	1	12	13	20
New York	37	8	10	18	19
Pennsylvania	37	2	22	15	20
South Carolina	14	32	3	15	13
Virginia	20	36	3	21	10

Changes in Wealth of Elected Officials			
	Over 5,000 pounds sterling	2,000-5,000 pounds sterling	Under 2,000 pounds sterling
North			
1765-75	36 %	47 %	17 %
1783-90	12 %	26 %	62 %
South			
1765-75	52 %	36 %	12 %
1783-90	28 %	42 %	30 %

Differences between Federalists and Antifederalists

Political Alignments of State Senators by Wealth		
	Federalist	Antifederalist
Wealthy	82 %	18 %
Well-to-do	65 %	35 %
Moderate means	42 %	58 %

Votes of Delegates to Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire Ratifying Conventions, by Occupation		
	Federalist	Antifederalist
Merchants, manufacturers, doctors, lawyers, ministers, large landholders	84 %	16 %
Artisans, innkeepers, surveyors	64 %	36 %
Farmers	46 %	54 %

The U.S. Constitution, II (Feb 22)

Thursday, Feb 22: The Constitution and the Bill of Rights

The Articles of Confederation

II. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

IV. ...the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall free ingress and regress to and from any other State...

If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

IX. The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war...[or] entering into treaties and alliances....

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of the majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

XI. Canada acceding to this confederation, and adjoining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

XIII. ...And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

The US Constitution

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article. I. Section. 1.

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section. 2.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.

Section. 3.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Section. 8.

The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

...To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

....To declare War...;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions....

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section. 9.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section. 10.

No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

Article. II.

Section. 1.

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

Section. 2.

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

Section. 4.

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III.

Section. 1.

The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section. 2.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section. 3.

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

Article. IV.

Section. 1.

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section. 2.

The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section. 4.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic Violence.

The Federalist Papers

“The proposed Constitution, so far from implying an abolition of the State governments, makes them constituent parts of the national sovereignty, by allowing them a direct representation in the Senate, and leaves in their possession certain exclusive and very important portions of sovereign power. This fully corresponds, in every rational import of the terms, with the idea of a federal government.” (No. 9)

“But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society.” (No. 10)

“...the smaller the number of individuals composing a majority, and the smaller the compass within which they are placed, the more easily will they concert and execute their plans of oppression. Extend the sphere, and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens[.]” (No. 10)

“WE HAVE seen the necessity of the Union, as our bulwark against foreign danger, as the conservator of peace among ourselves, as the guardian of our commerce and other common interests, as the only substitute for those military establishments which have subverted the liberties of the Old World, and as the proper antidote for the diseases of faction, which have proved fatal to other popular governments, and of which alarming symptoms have been betrayed by our own.” (No. 14)

Slavery and the Framers

[August 21.] Mr. L[uther]. Martin [of Md.] proposed to vary article 7, sect. 4 so as to allow a prohibition or tax on the importation of slaves. First, as five slaves are to be counted as three freemen in the apportionment of representatives, such a clause would leave an encouragement to this traffic. Second, slaves [through danger of insurrection] weakened one part of the Union, which the other parts were bound to protect; the privilege of importing them was therefore unreasonable. Third it was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character, to have such a feature in the Constitution.

Mr. [John] Rutledge [of S.C.] Religion and humanity had nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question at present is whether the Southern states shall or shall not be parties to the Union. If the Northern states consult their interest, they will not oppose the increase of slaves, which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers.

Mr. [Oliver] Ellsworth [of Conn.] was for leaving the clause as it stands. Let every state import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the states themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the states are the best judges of their particular interest.

Mr. [Charles C.] Pinckney [of S.C.]. South Carolina can never receive the plan if it prohibits the slave trade.

Col. [George] Mason [of Va.]. This infernal trade originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns not the importing states alone, but the whole Union.... Maryland and Virginia, he said, had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly. North Carolina had done the same in substance. All this would be in vain if South Carolina and Georgia be at liberty to import. The Western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands, and will fill that country with slaves, if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia. Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the immigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. He lamented that some of our Eastern [Northeastern] brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic....He held it essential, in every point of view, that the general government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery.

Mr. Ellsworth [of Conn.], as he had never owned a slave, could not judge of the effects of slavery on character. He said, however, that it was to be considered in a moral light, we ought to go further, and free those already in the country. As slaves also multiply so fast in Virginia and Maryland that it is cheaper to raise than import them, whilst in the sickly rice swamps foreign supplies are necessary, if we go no further than is urged, we shall be unjust towards South Carolina and Georgia. Let us not intermeddle. As population increases, poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless. Slavery, in time, will not be a speck in our country....

Gen. [Charles C.] Pinckney [of S.C.] declared it to be his firm opinion that if himself and all his colleagues were to sign the Constitution, and use their personal influence, it would be of no avail towards obtaining the assent of their constituents [to a slave-trade prohibition]. South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves. As to Virginia, she will gain by stopping the importations. Her slaves will rise in value, and she has more than she wants.

"It were doubtless to be wished, that the power of prohibiting the importation of slaves had not been postponed until the year 1808, or rather that it had been suffered to have immediate operation. But it is not difficult to account, either for this restriction on the general government, or for the manner in which the whole clause is expressed. It ought to be considered as a great point gained in favor of humanity, that a period of twenty years may terminate forever, within these States, a traffic which has so long and so loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy; that within that period, it will receive a considerable discouragement from the federal government, and may be totally abolished, by a concurrence of the few States which continue the unnatural traffic, in the prohibitory example which has been given by so great a majority of the Union. Happy would it be for the unfortunate Africans, if an equal prospect lay before them of being redeemed from the oppressions of their European brethren!" -- James Madison, Federalist Paper No. 42

Critique of the Constitution

"To the CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES," The Worcester Magazine, Massachusetts, 7 February 1788

Men, Brethren, and Sisters,

HEARKEN! it is now a critical time with us, and a time in which we ought to be upon our watch and upon our guard. Now is the time for us to look out; now is the time for us to take care; now is the time for us to see that nothing is done to deprive us of our religious or our civil liberties.

Our government at present is democratical, that is, the power is in the people. We are allowed to choose our rules, make our own laws, and perform religious worship according to the dictates of our own consciences; and by our constitution a freedom of speech and the liberty of the press are allowed to every one of us. But although we are under such an excellent constitution, behold a new one is presented to us for our reception which appears much like an aristocratical form, and will, if it is established, demolish a part of our democratical government and deprive us of a part of our liberties.

Before we suffer [allow] this new constitution to be established, we ought to consider seriously what it contains and whether it is calculated to promote our felicity [happiness] or whether, like a wolf in sheep's clothing, it is calculated to vest certain men with more power, deprive us of our liberties, and bring our land into lordships and lead us into vassalage and slavery like the poor people of Holland who, after they had obtained their independence, lost their power and were not suffered [allowed] to have any voice in their government ☐ no, not so much as to choose their representatives.

...Permit me then, my beloved brethren and sisters, to point out wherein this new constitution is deficient.¹⁶

1st. There is no bill of rights in it.

2d. Although different religions are allowed to set in Congress, yet there is no liberty given to the people to perform religious worship according to the dictates of their consciences.

3d. There is a door opened for the Jews, Turks [i.e., Muslims], and Heathen [atheists] to enter into public office and be seated at the head of the government of the United States.

4th. There is nothing said about the people being allowed the freedoms of speech and the liberty of the press.

5th. It divides Congress into three branches, as President, Senate, and a House of Representatives, which will be a great clog to business and a hindrance to the making of laws with expedition and dispatch [with order and speed].¹⁷

6th. It deprives men that are endowed with the wisdom that is from above from entering into Congress unless they have arrived at a certain age and have abode [residence] in the states a certain quantity of time.

7th. It augments [increases] the members of Congress and makes the government more expensive.

8th. It deprives the people of the liberty of choosing their delegates to Congress annually, and of recalling them when they please.

9th. It almost annihilates the state governments, and deprives their legislation of the power of

making their own laws.¹⁸

10th. It makes no provision against the keeping a standing [permanent] army in a time of peace.

11th. It deprives the people of the power of levying and collecting their own taxes.

12th. It vests Congress with power to tax all the states, to send forth collectors, and enforce the payment of taxes by a standing army.

13th. It vests Congress with power to run the people into debt by borrowing money of foreign nations upon the credit of the United States, and it doth not oblige the members of that assembly to render any account of the expenditure of the same, if they shall see fit to secret it [keep the accounts secret].

14th. No provision is made in it against having the civil power subject to the military, nor against having people that do not belong to any army or navy tried and punished by the military laws.²¹

15th. It deprives the people in the several states of the liberty of making their own constitutions and vests it in the hand of Congress.

16th. It deprives the inhabitants of each state of the power of choosing their superior and inferior judges.

The Bill of Rights (1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. --First Amendment

A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed. -- Second Amendment

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. -- Fourth Amendment

Nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. -
-Fifth Amendment

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence. --Sixth Amendment

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted. -- Eighth Amendment (1791).

Jefferson	Hamilton
<p><i>View of the people</i></p> <p>“Men...are naturally divided into two parties. Those who fear and distrust the people...Those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe...depository of the public interest.”</p> <p>“...there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents.”</p>	<p>“All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born; the other, the mass of people... The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give therefore to the first class a...permanent share in the government...they therefore will ever maintain good government.”</p>
<p><i>View of government</i></p> <p>“I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive. It places the governors indeed more at their ease, at the expense of the people.”</p>	<p>“I believe the British government forms the best model the world ever produced, and such has been its progress in the minds of the many, that this truth gradually gains ground. This government has for its object public strength and individual security.”</p>
<p><i>View of debt</i></p> <p>“...No man is more ardently intent to see the public debt soon and sacredly paid off than I am. This exactly marks the difference between Colonel Hamilton’s views and mine, that I would wish the debt paid tomorrow; he wishes it never to be paid, but always to be a thing wherewith to corrupt ... the legislature.”</p>	<p>“A national debt, if not excessive, will be to us a national blessing.”</p>
<p><i>Construing the Constitution</i></p> <p>“I consider the foundation of the Constitution as laid on this ground: That ‘all powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people.’ To take a single step beyond the boundaries thus specially drawn around the powers of Congress, is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition.”</p>	<p>“The powers contained in a constitution...ought to be construed liberally in advancement of the public good.”</p>
<p><i>Agriculture versus industry</i></p> <p>“Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue....Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example.... Generally speaking the proportion which the aggregate of the other classes of citizens bears in any state to that of its husbandmen, is the proportion of its unsound to its healthy parts....The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body.”</p>	<p>“...manufacturing establishments not only occasion a positive augmentation of the Produce and Revenue of the Society, but that they contribute essentially to rendering them greater than they could possibly be, without such establishments. These circumstances are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The division of labour. 2. An extension of the use of Machinery. 3. Additional employment to classes of the community not ordinarily engaged in the business. 4. The promoting of emigration from foreign Countries.

	<p>5. The furnishing greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions which discriminate men from each other.</p> <p>6. The affording a more ample and various field for enterprise.</p> <p>7. The creating in some instances a new, and securing in all, a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil.</p>
<p><i>French Revolution</i></p> <p>In the struggle which was necessary, many guilty persons fell without the forms of trial, and with them some innocent. These I deplore as much as any body, & shall deplore some of them to the day of my death. But I deplore them as I should have done had they fallen in battle. It was necessary to use the arm of the people, a machine not quite so blind as balls and bombs, but blind to a certain degree. A few of their cordial friends met at their hands the fate of enemies. But time and truth will rescue & embalm their memories, while their prosperity will be enjoying that very liberty for which they would never have hesitated to offer up their lives. The liberty of the whole earth was depending on the issue of the contest, and was ever such a prize won with so little innocent blood? My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause, but rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated. Were there but an Adam & an Eve left in every country, & left free, it would be better than as it now is.</p>	<p>“Would to heaven that we could discern in the mirror of French affairs the same humanity, the same decorum, the same gravity, the same order, the same dignity, the same solemnity, which distinguished the cause of the American Revolution. Clouds and darkness would not then rest upon the issue as they now do. I own I do not like the comparison.”</p>

The New Nation (Feb 27)

Tuesday, Feb 27: The Federal Era

On Foreign Policy

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all.

... In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.

... So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification.

... Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government.

-- **George Washington, September 17th, 1796.**

On Political Parties

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

... There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged.

-- **George Washington, September 17th, 1796**

The aspect of our politics has wonderfully changed since you left us. In place of that noble love of liberty, & republican government which carried us triumphantly thro' the war, an Anglican monarchical, & aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance, as they have already done the forms, of the British government. The main body of our citizens, however, remain true to their republican principles; the whole landed interest is republican, and so is a great mass of talents. Against us are the Executive, the Judiciary, two out of three branches of the legislature, all the officers of the government, all who want to be officers, all timid men who prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty, British merchants & Americans trading on British capitals, speculators & holders in the banks & public funds, a contrivance invented for the purposes of corruption, & for assimilating us in all things to the rotten as well as the sound parts of the British model.

-- Thomas Jefferson to To Phillip Mazzei, 1796

On the Western Territories

Provided that both the temporary and permanent Governments be established on these principles as their basis. 1, That they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America 2, That in their persons, property, and territory, they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled and to the articles of confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject. 3, that they shall be subject to pay part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states. 4, That their respective Governments shall be in republican forms, and shall admit no person to be a citizen, who holds any hereditary title. 5, That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

That whenever any of the said states shall have, of free inhabitants as many as shall then be in any one the least numerous of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original states:

-- **Report on Government for Western Territory by Thomas Jefferson, 1784**

On Slavery

Many of the laws which were in force during the monarchy being relative merely to that form of government, or inculcating principles inconsistent with republicanism, the first assembly which met after the establishment of the commonwealth, appointed a committee to revise the whole code, to reduce it into proper form and volume, and report it to the assembly. ... The following are the most remarkable alterations proposed:

To emancipate all slaves born after passing the act. The bill reported by the revisers does not itself contain this proposition; but an amendment containing it was prepared, to be offered to the legislature whenever the bill should be taken up, and further directing, that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such a place as the circumstances of time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they shall have acquired strength; and to send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants; to induce whom to migrate hither, proper encouragements were to be proposed. It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expense of supplying by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race.

-- The Administration of Justice and the Description of the Laws by Thomas Jefferson, 1781

That mankind are all formed by the same Almighty being, alike objects of his Care & equally designed for the Enjoyment of Happiness the Christian Religion teaches us to believe & the Political Creed of America fully coincides with the Position. Your Memorialists, particularly engaged in attending to the Distresses arising from Slavery, believe it their indispensable Duty to present this Subject to your notice. They have observed with great Satisfaction that many important & salutary Powers are vested in you for "promoting the Welfare & Securing the blessings of liberty to the "People of the United States." And as they conceive, that these blessings ought rightfully to be administered, without distinction of Colour, to all descriptions of People, so they indulge themselves in the pleasing expectation, that nothing, which can be done for the relive of the unhappy objects of their care, will be either omitted or delayed.

From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the Portion, It is still the Birthright of all men, & influenced by the strong ties of Humanity & the Principles of their Institution, your Memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavours to loosen the bounds of Slavery and promote a general Enjoyment of the blessings of Freedom. Under these Impressions they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the Subject of Slavery, that you will be pleased to countenance the Restoration of liberty to those unhappy Men, who alone, in this land of Freedom, are degraded into perpetual Bondage, and who, amidst the general Joy of surrounding Freemen, are groaning in Servile Subjection, that you will devise means for removing this Inconsistency from the Character of the American People, that you will promote mercy and Justice towards this distressed Race, & that you will Step to the very verge of the Powers vested in you for discouraging every Species of Traffick in the Persons of our fellow men.

-- Petition to Congress from the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of slavery, February 3, 1790

On the Equality of Women

Will it be said that the judgment of a male of two years old, is more sage than that of a female's of the same age? I believe the reverse is generally observed to be true. But from that period what partiality! how is the one exalted, and the other depressed, by the contrary modes of education which are adopted! the one is taught to aspire, and the other is early confined and limited. As their years increase, the sister must be wholly domesticated, while the brother is led by the hand through all the flowery paths of science. Grant that their minds are by nature equal, yet who shall wonder at the apparent superiority, if indeed custom becomes second nature; nay if it taketh place of nature, and that it doth the experience of each day will evince. At length arrived at womanhood, the uncultivated fair one feels a void, which the employments allotted her are by no means capable of filling. What can she do? to books she may not apply; or if she doth, to those only of the novel kind, lest she merit the appellation of a learned lady; and what ideas have been affixed to this term, the observation of many can testify. Fashion, scandal, and sometimes what is still more reprehensible, are then called in to her relief; and who can say to what lengths the liberties she takes may proceed. Meantimes she herself is most unhappy; she feels the want of a cultivated mind. Is she single, she in vain seeks to fill up time from sexual employments or amusements. Is she united to a person whose soul nature made equal to her own, education hath set

him so far above her, that in those entertainments which are productive of such rational felicity, she is not qualified to accompany him. She experiences a mortifying consciousness of inferiority, which embitters every enjoyment.

-- **Judith Sargent Murray, On the Equality of the Sexes, 1790**

On the commencement of actual war, the Women of America manifested a firm resolution to contribute as much as could depend on them, to the deliverance of their country.

... Born for liberty, disdainful to bear the irons of a tyrannic Government, we associate ourselves to the grandeur of those Sovereigns [those women of antiquity who fought for freedom], cherished and revered, who have held with so much splendour the scepter of the greatest States...

This is the offering of the Ladies. The time is arrived to display the same sentiments which animated us at the beginning of the Revolution, when we renounced the use of teas, however agreeable to our taste, rather than receive them from our persecutors; when we made it appear to them that we placed former necessities in the rank of superfluities, when our liberty was interested; when our republican and laborious hands spun the flax, prepared the linen intended for the use of our soldiers...

-- "The Sentiments of an AMERICAN WOMAN," 1780

On the French Revolution

I considered that sect [the Jacobins] as the same with the Republican patriots.... . In the struggle which was necessary, many guilty persons fell without the forms of trial, and with them some innocent. These I deplore as much as any body, & shall deplore some of them to the day of my death. But I deplore them as I should have done had they fallen in battle. It was necessary to use the arm of the people, a machine not quite so blind as balls and bombs, but blind to a certain degree. A few of their cordial friends met at their hands the fate of enemies. But time and truth will rescue & embalm their memories, while their prosperity will be enjoying that very liberty for which they would never have hesitated to offer up their lives. The liberty of the whole earth was depending on the issue of the contest, and was ever such a prize won with so little innocent blood? My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause, but rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated. Were there but an Adam & an Eve left in every country, & left free, it would be better than as it now is.

-- **Thomas Jefferson to William Short, 1793**

On the Whiskey Rebellion

. . . . The denunciation of the democratic societies is one of the extraordinary acts of boldness of which we have seen so many from the fraction of monocrats. It is wonderful indeed, that the President should have permitted himself to be the organ of such an attack on the freedom of discussion, the freedom of writing, printing & publishing.

... The information of our militia, returned from the Westward, is uniform, that tho the people there let them pass quietly, they were objects of their laughter, not of their fear; that 1000 men could have cut off their whole force in a thousand places of the Alleganey; that their detestation of the excise law is universal, and has now associated to it a detestation of the government; & that separation which perhaps was a very distant & problematical event, is now near, & certain, & determined in the mind of every man.

-- Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 1794

Documents Relating to 1819 (March 1)

Thursday, March 1: The Jeffersonian Era

Marbury v. Madison (1803)

It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is...If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each...This is of the very essence of judicial duty.

... a law repugnant to the constitution is void....

McCullough v. Maryland (1819)

The convention which framed the Constitution was indeed elected by the State legislatures. But the instrument ... was submitted to the people. ... The Constitution, when thus adopted, was of complete obligation, and bound the State sovereignties.

The government of the Union, then, ... is, emphatically, and truly, a government of the people. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefit.

If the states may tax the bank, to what extent shall they tax it, and where shall they stop? An unlimited power to tax involves, necessarily, a power to destroy; because there is a limit beyond which no institution and no property can bear taxation.

Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional.

the power of taxing the people and their property is essential to the very existence of Government, and may be legitimately exercised on the objects to which it is applicable, to the utmost extent to which the Government may choose to carry it. The only security against the abuse of this power is found in the structure of the Government itself.

Dartmouth v. Woodward (1818)

The charter granted by the British Crown to the trustees of Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire, in the year 1769, is a contract within the meaning of that clause of the Constitution of the United States, art. 1, s. 10, which declares that no state shall make any law impairing the obligation of contracts. The charter was not dissolved by the Revolution.

An act of the State Legislature of New Hampshire altering the charter without the consent of the corporation in a material respect, is an act impairing the obligation of the charter, and is unconstitutional and void.

Monroe Doctrine (1823)

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.

William Ellery Channing, Unitarian Christianity (1819)

God deliver us all from prejudice and unkindness, and fill us with the love of truth and virtue.

We honor revelation too highly to make it the antagonist of reason, or to believe that it calls us to renounce our highest powers.

We do, then, with all earnestness, though without reproaching our brethren, protest against the irrational and unscriptural doctrine of the Trinity. To us, as to the Apostle and the primitive Christians, there is one God, even the Father.

Alexis de Tocqueville on Unitarianism:

"On the confines of Protestantism is a sect which is Christian only in name, the Unitarians. ... They are pure Deists. They speak of the Bible because they do not wish to shock public opinion, still entirely Christian, too deeply. ... It's evident that the Protestants whose minds are cold and logical, the argumentative classes, the men whose habits are intellectual and scientific, are grasping the occasion to embrace and entirely philosophic faith which allows them to make almost public profession of pure Deism."

Panic of 1819

One thing seems to be universally conceded, that the greater part of our mercantile citizens are in a state of bankruptcy—that those of them who have the largest possessions of real and personal estate... find it almost impossible to raise sufficient funds to supply themselves with the necessaries of life—that the citizens of every class are uniformly delinquent in discharging even the most trifling of debts. – William Greene (1820)

Banking in all its forms, in every disguise is a rank fraud upon the labouring and industrious part of society; it is in truth a scheme, whereby in a silent and secret manner, to make idleness productive and filch from industry, the hard produce of its earnings. – William H. Bryan, running for Congress from Tennessee

Adequate protective duties...would soon create or revive such a number of manufacturing establishments, that ere long their rivalry would provably reduce the price of their fabrics below the present standard of those imported. – citizens of Middletown, Connecticut

Most of these manufacturers are prostrated not for want of protecting duties, but in consequence of general impoverishment of the country arising principally for want of protection to the great leading branches of cotton, wool, and iron. – Editor Hezekiah Niles

"The Bank Was Saved, and the People Were Ruined." -- William M. Gouge

Missouri Crisis

Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes, April 22, 1820

... I had for a long time ceased to read the newspapers or pay any attention to public affairs, confident they were in good hands, and content to be a passenger in our bark to the shore from which I am not distant. but this momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I 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. I can say with conscious truth that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would, to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any *practicable* way. the cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me in a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and *expatriation* could be effected: and, gradually, and with due sacrifices, I think it might be. but, as it is, we have the wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other. of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one state to another would not make a slave of a single human being who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier and proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation, by dividing the burthen on a greater number of co-adjutors. an abstinence too from this act of power would remove the jealousy excited by the undertaking of Congress, to regulate the condition of the different descriptions of men composing a state. this certainly is the exclusive right of every state, which nothing in the constitution has taken from them and given to the general government. could congress, for example say that the Non-freemen of Connecticut, shall be freemen, or that they shall not emigrate into any other state?

I regret that I am now to die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves, by the generation of '76. to acquire self government and happiness to their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons, and

that my only consolation is to be that I live not to weep over it. if they would but dispassionately weigh the blessings they will throw away against an abstract principle more likely to be effected by union than by scission, they would pause before they would perpetrate this act of suicide on themselves and of treason against the hopes of the world.

History will record the decision of this day as exerting its influence for centuries to come over the population of half our continent. If we reject the amendment and suffer this evil, how easily eradicated, to strike its roots so deep in the soil that it can never be removed, shall we not furnish some apology for doubting our sincerity when we deplore its existence?...

I will zealously unite in any practicable means of bettering the condition of this oppressed people. I am ready to appropriate a territory for their use, and to aid them in settling it—but I am not willing, I never will consent, to declare the whole country west of the Mississippi a market overt for human flesh.... – Representative John Taylor (1819)

... Is there a single line in the Old or New Testament either censuring or forbidding it [slavery]? I answer without hesitation, no. But there are undreds speaking of and recognizing it.—Representative Charles Pinckney (1820)

SEC. 8. And be it further enacted. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the state, contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited: Provided always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed, in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid.

Take it for granted that the present is a mere preamble -- a title page to a great, tragic volume.
-- Noted in John Quincy Adams's diary



Jacksonian Era (March 6 and March 8)

Tuesday, March 6: The Jacksonian Era, part I

Thursday, March 8: The Jacksonian Era, part II

John Quincy Adams

The Constitution under which you are assembled is a charter of limited powers. ... [But] if [the] ... powers enumerated in the Constitution may be effectually brought into action by laws promoting the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the cultivation and encouragement of the mechanic and of the elegant arts, the advancement of literature, and the progress of the sciences ... to refrain from exercising them for the benefit of the people themselves would be to hide in the earth the talent committed to our charge -- would be treachery to the most sacred of trusts. --First Annual Message to Congress, 1825

Democratic and Whig Principles

The aristocracy of our country...continually contrive to change their party name. It was first Tory, then Federalist, then no party...then National Republican, now Whig....But by whatever name they reorganize themselves, the true democracy of the country, the producing classes, ought to be able to distinguish the enemy. Ye may know them by their fruit. Ye may know them by their deportment toward the people. Ye may know them by their disposition to club together, and constitute societies and incorporations for the enjoyment of exclusive privileges and for countenancing and protecting each other in their monopolies....They are those, with some honorable exceptions, who have contrived to live without labor...and must consequently live on the labor of others. -- Frederick Robinson, a Democrat, 1834

We believe, then in the principle of democratic republicanism, in its strongest and purest sense. We have an abiding confidence in the virtue, intelligence, and full capacity for self-government, of the great mass of our people--our industrious, honest manly, intelligent millions of freemen. We are opposed to all self-styled "wholesome restraints" on the free action of the popular opinion and will, other than those which have for their sole object the prevention of precipitate legislation. -- Statement of Democratic principles

Ours is a country, where men start from an humble origin, and from small beginnings rise gradually in the world, as the reward of merit and industry, and where they attain to the most elevated positions, or acquire a large amount of wealth, according to the pursuits they elect for themselves. No exclusive privileges of birth, no entailment of estates, no civil or political disqualifications, stand in their path; but one has as good a chance as another, according to his talents, prudence, and personal exertions. This is a country of self-made men, than which nothing better could be said of any state of society. -- Calvin Colton, a Whig

Indian Removal

Toward the aborigines of this country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than myself, or would go further in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits and make them a happy, prosperous people.

Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it, but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race and to tread on the graves of extinct nations excites melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another....Nor is there anything in this which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forebears. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms? -- Andrew Jackson defends the removal policy, 1830

The Cherokees were happy and prosperous under a scrupulous observance of treaty stipulations by the government of the United States, and from the fostering hand extended over them, they made rapid advances in civilization, morals, and in the arts and sciences. Little did they anticipate, that when taught to think and feel as the American citizen, and to have with him a common interest, they were to be despoiled by their guardian, to become strangers and wanderers in the land of their fathers, forced to return to the savage life, and to seek a new home in the wilds of the far west, and that without their consent.

We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to remain without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of treaties, guaranty our residence and our privileges, and secure us against intruders. -- Memorial and Protest of the Cherokee Nation, 1836

The Cherokee nation...is a distinct community, occupying its own territories, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter. -- Chief Justice John Marshall

The ingenuity of man might be challenged to show a single sentence of the Constitution of the United States giving power, either direct or implied, to the general government...to nullify the laws of a State...or coerce obedience, by force, to the mandates of the judiciary of the Union. -- Wilson Lumpkin, Governor of Georgia

The Bank War

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society--the farmers, mechanics, and laborers--who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. -- Jackson's Bank Veto Message

This message...denies to the judiciary the interpretation of law, and claims to divide with Congress the power of originating statutes. It extends the grasp of executive pretension over every power of the government. But this is not all...It manifestly seeks to inflame the poor against the rich; it wantonly attacks whole classes of the people, for the purpose of turning against them the prejudices and the resentments of other classes. -- Daniel Webster's Reply

The Bank Veto.--This is the most wholly radical and basely Jesuitical document that ever emanated from any Administration, in any country...It impudently asserts that Congress have acted prematurely, blindly, and without sufficient examination. It falsely and wickedly alleges that the rich and powerful throughout the country are waging a war of oppression against the poor and the weak; and attempts to justify the President on the ground of its being his duty thus to protect the humble when so assailed. Finally, it unblushingly denied that the Supreme Court is the proper tribunal to decide upon the constitutionality of the laws!!

The whole paper is a most thoroughgoing electioneering missile, intended to secure the mad-caps of the South, and as such, deserves the execration of all who love their country or its welfare. -- Boston Daily Atlas editorial

The United States Bank, as at present constituted, ought never to be renewed. The reasons are obvious. The capital is too vast. In proportion to the wealth of the country, it is the largest moneyed monopoly in the world.... Republican America, the Virgin of the New World, the Government which is especially charged by wholesome legislation to prevent all extreme inequalities of fortune, has surpassed every country in Europe in the lavish concession of influence and privileges to a moneyed corporation.

... The feud between the capitalist and the laborer, the house of Have and the house of Want, is as old as social union, and can never be entirely quieted; but he who will act with moderation, prefer facts to theories, and remember that every thing in this world is relative and not absolute, will see that the violence of the contest may be stilled, if the unreasonable demands of personal interests are subjected to the decisions of even-handed justice.... -- George Bancroft, 1834

The national bank, though not properly a political institution, is one of the most important and valuable instruments that are used in the practical administration of the government.... As the fiscal agent of the executive, it has exhibited a remarkable intelligence, efficiency, energy, and above all, INDEPENDENCE. This...has been its real crime. As the regulator of the currency, it has furnished the country with a safe, convenient and copious circulating medium, and prevented the mischiefs that would otherwise result from the insecurity of local banks. As a mere institution for loaning money, it has been...the Providence of the less wealthy sections of the Union....Through its dealings in exchange at home and abroad,

the bank has materially facilitated the operations of our foreign and domestic trade. The important advantages which have thus been derived from this institution have been unattended by any countervailing evil.

-- The Boston Daily Advertiser defends the second Bank of the United States, 1832

The Tariff and the Nullification Doctrine

. . . And what is this tariff? It seems to have been regarded as a sort of monster, huge and deformed; a wild beast, endowed with tremendous powers of destruction, about to be let loose among our people, if not to devour them, at least to consume their substance. But let us calm our passions, and deliberately survey this alarming, this terrific being. The sole object of the tariff is to tax the produce of foreign industry, with the view of promoting American industry. The tax is exclusively leveled at foreign industry. That is the avowed and the direct purpose of the tariff. If it subjects any part of American industry to burdens, that is an effect not intended, but is altogether incidental, and perfectly voluntary....

-- Henry Clay debating the Tariff Bill, March 1824, Annals of Congress, Vol. 42

The committee [of the South Carolina Legislature] ... is [of] a unanimous opinion that ... the whole system of legislation imposing duties on imports, not for revenue, but the protection of one branch of industry at the expense of others, is unconstitutional, unequal, and oppressive, and calculated to corrupt the public virtue and destroy the liberty of the country....

... Their object in the Tariff is to keep down foreign competition, in order to obtain a monopoly of the domestic market. The effect on us is, to compel us to purchase at a higher price, both what we obtain from them and from others, without receiving a correspondent increase in the price of what we sell.

... [I]t would seem impossible to deny to the States the right of deciding on the infractions of their powers, and the proper remedy to be applied for their correction. The right of judging, in such cases, is an essential attribute of sovereignty, of which the States cannot be divested without losing their sovereignty itself, and being reduced to a subordinate corporate condition.

... May the General Government, on the other hand, encroach on the rights reserved to the States respectively? To the States respectively each in its sovereign capacity is reserved the power, by its veto, or right of interposition, to arrest the encroachment. And, finally, may this power be abused by a State, so as to interfere improperly with the powers delegated to the General Government? There is provided a power, even over the Constitution itself, vested in three fourths of the States, which Congress has the authority to invoke, and may terminate all controversies in reference to the subject, by granting or withholding the right in contest.

-- South Carolina Exposition and Protest, 1828

The proposition that, in case of a supposed violation of the Constitution by Congress, the states have a constitutional right to interfere and annul the law of Congress is the position of the gentleman. I do not admit it. If the gentleman had intended no more than to assert the right of revolution for justifiable cause, he would have said only what all agree to. But I cannot conceive that there can be a middle course, between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution or rebellion, on the other. -- Daniel Webster

Our Federal Union, it must be preserved -- Andrew Jackson

Our Union, next to our liberties, most dear. -- John C. Calhoun

Slavery (March 20 and March 22)

Tuesday, March 20: Slavery, part I

Thursday, March 22: Slavery, part II

The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the...most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other.....Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever. -- **Thomas Jefferson, 1782**

ENSLAVEMENT Generally, when the grown people in the neighbourhood were gone far in the fields to labour, the children assembled together in some of the neighborhood's premises to play; and commonly some of us used to get up a tree to look out for any assailant, or kidnapper, that might come upon us; for they sometimes took those opportunities of our parents' absence, to attack and carry off as many as they could seize. One day, as I was watching at the top of a tree in our yard, I saw one of those people come into the yard of our next neighbour but one, to kidnap, there being many stout young people in it. Immediately, on this, I gave the alarm of the rogue, and he was surrounded by the stoutest of them, who entangled him with cords, so that he could not escape till some of the grown people came and secured him. But alas! ere long, it was my fate to be thus attacked, and to be carried off, when none of the grown people were nigh. One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as usual, and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment seized us both; and, without giving us time to cry out, or make resistance, they stopped our mouths, and ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands, and continued to carry us as far as they could, till night came on, when we reached a small house, where the robbers halted for refreshment, and spent the night. We were then unbound; but were unable to take any food; and, being quite overpowered by fatigue and grief, our only relief was some sleep, which allayed our misfortune for a short time. -- **The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa the African (London, 1789).**

MIDDLE PASSAGE When I looked around the ship and saw a large furnace of copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted my fate.

... I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country or even the least glimpse of hope of gaining the shore, which I now considered as friendly. I even wished for my former slavery in preference to my present situation, which was filled with horrors of every kind.

There I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life. With the loathsomeness of the stench and the crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend, Death, to relieve me. -- **The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa the African (London, 1789).**

LABOR The hands are required to be in the cotton field as soon as it is light in the morning, and, with the exception of ten or fifteen minutes, which is given them at noon to swallow their allowance of cold bacon, they are not permitted to be a moment idle until it is too dark to see, and when the moon is full, they often times labor till the middle of the night. They do not dare to stop even at dinner time, nor return to the quarters, however late it be, until the order to halt is given by the driver.

The day's work over in the field, the baskets are "toted," or in other words, carried to the gin house, where the cotton is weighed. No matter how fatigued and weary he may be no matter how much he longs for sleep and rest a slave never approaches the gin house with his basket of cotton but with fear. If it falls short in weight if he has not performed the full task appointed him, he knows that he must suffer. And if he has exceeded it by ten or twenty pounds, in all probability his master will measure the next day's task accordingly. ... After weighing, follow the whippings; and then the baskets are carried to the cotton house, and their contents stored away like hay, all hands being sent in to tramp it down.

... This done, the labor of the day is not yet ended, by any means. Each one must then attend to his respective chores. One feeds the mules, another the swine, another cuts the wood, and so forth; besides, the packing is all done by candle light. Finally, at a late hour, they reach the quarters, sleepy and overcome with the long day's toil. Then a fire must be kindled in the cabin, the corn ground in the small hand mill, and supper, and dinner for the next day in the field, prepared. All that is allowed them is corn and bacon, which is given out at the corncrib and smoke house every Sunday morning. Each one receives, as his weekly allowance, three and a half pounds of bacon, and corn enough to make a peck of meal. That is all no tea, coffee, sugar, and with the exception of a very scanty sprinkling now and then, no salt....

An hour before day light the horn is blown. Then the slaves arouse, prepare their breakfast, fill a gourd with water, in another deposit their dinner of cold bacon and corn cake, and hurry to the field again. It is an offense invariably followed by a flogging, to be found at the quarters after daybreak. Then the fears and labors of another day begin; and until its close there is no such thing as rest.... -- **Twelve Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northrup (Auburn, N.Y., 1853).**

LIVING CONDITIONS We lodged in log huts, and on the bare ground. Wooden floors were an unknown luxury. In a single room were huddled, like cattle, ten or a dozen persons, men, women, and children. All ideas of refinement and decency were, of course, out of the question. We had neither bedsteads, nor furniture of any description. Our beds were collections of straw and old rags, thrown down in the corners and boxed in with boards; a single blanket the only covering. Our favourite way of sleeping, however, was on a plank, our heads raised on an old jacket and our feet toasting before the smouldering fire. The wind whistled and the rain and snow blew in through the cracks, and the damp earth soaked in the moisture till the floor was miry as a pig sty. Such were our houses. In these wretched hovels were we penned at night, and fed by day; here were the children born and the sick neglected. -- **Father Henson's story of his own life, 1858**

PUNISHMENT A mere look, word, or motion, a mistake, accident, or want of power, are all matters for which a slave may be whipped at any time. Does a slave look dissatisfied? It is said, 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 button hole lower. Does he forget to pull off his hat at the approach of a white person? Then he is wanting in reverence, and should be whipped for it. Does he ever venture to vindicate his conduct, when censured for it? Then he is guilty of impudence, one of the greatest crimes of which a slave can be guilty. Does he ever venture to suggest a different mode of doing things from that pointed out by his master? He is indeed presumptuous, and getting above himself.... -- **Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave (3rd. English ed., Leeds, 1846).**

SLAVERY AS IT IS Reader, you are empaneled as a juror to try a plain case and bring in an honest verdict. The question at issue is not one of law, but of fact--"What is the actual condition of the slaves in the United States?" A plainer case never went to a jury. Look at it. Twenty seven hundred thousand persons in this country, men, women, and children, are in slavery. Is slavery, as a condition for human beings, good, bad, or indifferent?...

Two millions seven hundred thousand persons in these States are in this condition. They are made slaves and are held such by force, and by being put in fear, and this for no crime!...

As slaveholders and their apologists are...flooding the world with testimony that their slaves are kindly treated; that they are well fed, well clothed, well housed, well lodged, moderately worked, and bountifully provided with all things needful for their comfort, we propose--first, to disprove their assertions by the testimony of a multitude of impartial witnesses, and then to put slaveholders themselves through a course of cross-questioning which shall draw their condemnation out of their own mouths. We will prove that the slaves in the United States are treated with barbarous inhumanity; that they are overworked, underfed, wretchedly clad and lodged, and have insufficient sleep; that they are often made to wear round their necks iron collars armed with prongs, to drag heavy chains and weights at their feet while working in the field, and to wear yokes, and bells, and iron horns; that they are often kept confined in the stocks day and night for weeks together, made to wear gags in their mouths for hours or days, have some of their front teeth torn out or broken off, that they may be easily detected when they run away; that they are frequently flogged with terrible severity, have red pepper rubbed into their lacerated flesh, and hot brine, spirits of turpentine, &c., poured over the gashes to increase the torture; that they are often stripped naked, their backs and limbs cut with knives, bruised and mangled by scores and hundreds of blows with the paddle, and terribly torn by the claws of cats, drawn over them by their tormentors; that they are often hunted with blood hounds and shot down like beasts, or torn in pieces by dogs; that they are often suspended by the arms and whipped and beaten till they faint, and when revived by restoratives, beaten again till they faint, and sometimes till they die; that their ears are often cut off, their eyes knocked out, their bones broken, their flesh branded with red hot irons; that they are maimed, mutilated, and burned to death over slow fires....

I. Food

Hon. Robert Turnbull, a slaveholder of Charleston, South Carolina: "The subsistence of the slaves consists, from March until August, of corn ground into grits, or meal, made into what is called hominy, or baked into corn bread. The other six months they are fed upon the sweet potato. Meat, when given, is only by way of indulgence or favor...."

II. Labor.

Mr. Cornelius Johnson, of Farmington, Ohio, who lived in Mississippi a part of 1837 and 1838. "It is the common rule for the slaves to be kept at work fifteen hours of the day, and in the time of picking cotton a certain number of pounds is

required of each. If this amount is not brought in at night, the slave is whipped, and the number of pounds lacking is added to the next day's job.....

III. Clothing.

Wm. Ladd, Esq. of Minot, Maine, recently a slaveholder in Florida. "They were allowed two suits of clothes a year, viz. one pair of trowsers with a shirt...for summer, and for winters, one pair of trowsers, and a jacket of Negro cloth, with a beige shirt and a pair of shoes. Some allowed hats, and some did not; and they were generally, I believe, allowed one blanket in two years. Garments of similar materials were allowed the women." -- **Theodore Dwight Weld, American Slavery as it Is: Testimony of A Thousand Witnesses (New York, 1839), GLC 5119.**

RESISTANCE

On the 12th of May, 1828, I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of Men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first. Question: Do you not find yourself mistaken now?

Answer: Was not Christ crucified?

Since 1830, I had been living with Mr. Joseph Travis, who was a kind master who had placed great trust in me. On Saturday evening, August 20th [1831] we decided to meet the next day for a meal and to work out our plan of attack....It was quickly agreed we should start at home (Mr. J. Travis') on that night.

I took my station in the rear, and, as it was my object to carry terror and destruction wherever we went, I placed fifteen or twenty of the best armed and most to be relied on in front, who generally approached the houses as fast as their horses could run. This was for two purposes--to prevent their escape and strike terror to the inhabitants. --

Confessions of Nat Turner, 1831

FROM ANTISLAVERY TO WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The investigation of the rights of the slave has led me to a better understanding of my own....Human beings have rights, because they are moral beings: the rights of all men grow out of their moral nature; and as all men have the same moral nature, they have essentially the same rights. These rights may be wrested from the slave, but they cannot be alienated.... Now if rights are founded in the nature of our moral being, then the mere circumstances of sex does not give to man higher rights and responsibilities, than to women.... To suppose that it does, would be to break up utterly the relations, of the two natures...exalting the animal nature into a monarch, and humbling the moral into a slave....

... man has been converted into the warrior, and clothed with sternness...whilst woman has been taught to...sit as a doll arrayed in "gold, and pearls, and costly array," to be admired for her personal charms, and caressed and humored like a spoiled child, or converted into a mere drudge to suit the convenience of her lord and master.... This principle has given to man a charter for the exercise of tyranny and selfishness, pride and arrogance, lust and brutal violence.... Instead of being a helpmeet to man, as a companion, a co-worker, an equal; she has been a mere appendage of his being, an instrument of his convenience and pleasure, the pretty toy with which he whiled away his leisure moments, or the pet animal whom he humored into playfulness and submission.... -- **Angelina Emily Grimke, Letter XII (October 2, 1837), Letters to Catherine E. Beecher (Boston: I. Knapp, 1838)**

Slaveholding, 1860

Non-slaveholders	76.1 percent
1-9 slaves	17.2 percent
10-99	6.6 percent
over 100	0.1 percent

Distribution of Slaves

Number of slaves held	0	1-6	7-39	40+
Percent of white families	75	15	9	1
Percent of slaves held	0	16	53	31

Growth of the African American Population

1820	1.77 million	13 percent free
1830	2.33 million	14 percent free
1840	2.87 million	13 percent free
1850	3.69 million	12 percent free

1860 4.44 million 11 percent free

Pre-Civil War Reform (April 3 and April 5)

Tuesday, April 3: Reform, part I

Thursday, April 5: Reform, part II

Evangelical Revivalism

From 1801 for years a blessed revival of religion spread through almost the entire inhabited parts of the West....The Presbyterians and Methodists in a great measure united in this work, met together, prayed together, and preached together....

They would erect their camps with logs or frame them, and cover them with clapboards or shingles. They would also erect a shed, sufficiently large to protect five thousand people from wind and rain, and cover it with boards or shingles; build a large stand, seat the shed, and here they would collect together from forty to fifty miles around, sometimes further than that. Ten, twenty, and sometimes thirty ministers of different denominations would come together and preach night and day, four or five days together....

A new exercise broke out among us, called the jerks, which was overwhelming in its effects upon the bodies and minds of the people. No matter whether they were saints or sinners, they would be taken under a warm song or sermon, and seized with a convulsive jerking all over, which they could not by any possibility avoid, and the more they resisted the more they jerked....I have seen more than five hundred persons jerking at one time in my large congregations....The first jerk or so, you would see their fine bonnets, caps, and combs fly; and so sudden would be the jerking of the head that their long loose hair would crack almost as loud as a wagoner's whip. -- Peter Cartwright

Temperance

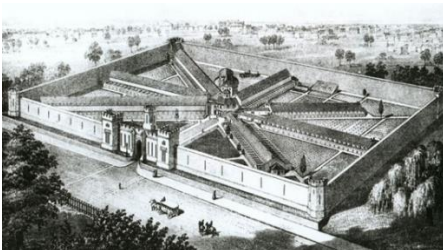
Intemperance is the sin of our land, and, with out boundless prosperity, is coming in upon us like a flood; and if anything shall defeat the hopes of the world, which hang upon our experiment of civil liberty, it is that river of fire, which is rolling through the land, destroying the vital air, and extending around an atmosphere of death.

-- Lyman Beecher, 1826

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created temperate; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain natural and innocent desires; that among these are the appetite for cold water and the pursuit of happiness! that to secure the gratification of these propensities fountains and streams are gushing.... -- Manifesto of the Washington Total Abstinence Societies, 1841

[How] will reformation and temperance be secured...? Never except through the instrumentality of the law. If it were possible to reason the drunkard into sobriety, it would not be possible to make the rumseller forego his filthy gains....The only logic he will comprehend, is some such ordinance...coming to him in the shape and with the voice of law--you shall not sell. -- American Temperance Magazine, 1852

Prison Reform



Education

The elementary schools throughout the state are irresponsible institutions, established by individuals, from mere motives of private speculation or gain, who are sometimes destitute of character, and frequently of the requisite attainments and abilities. From the circumstance of the schools being the absolute property of individuals, no supervision or effectual control can be exercised over them; hence, ignorance, inattention, and even immorality, prevail to a lamentable extent among their teachers. -- **Working Man's Advocate, 1830**

The scheme of Universal Equal Education at the expense, is virtually "Agrarianism." It would be a compulsory application of the means of the richer, for the direct use of the poorer classes; and so far an arbitrary division of property among them....One of the chief excitements to industry...is the hope of earning the means of educating their children respectably ...that incentive would be removed, and the scheme of state and equal education be a premium for comparative idleness, to be taken out of the pockets of the laborious and conscientious. -- **Philadelphia National Gazette, 1830**

I believe in the existence of a great, immortal, immutable principle of natural law...which proves the absolute right to an education of every human being that comes into the world; and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all...

Massachusetts is parental in her government. More and more, as year after year rolls by, she seeks to substitute prevention for remedy, and rewards for penalties. She strives to make industry the antidote to poverty, and to counterwork the progress of vice and crime by the diffusion of knowledge and the culture of virtuous principles. -- **Horace Mann, 1846**

School Enrollment, Whites ages 5-19 (1861)			
	Percent Enrolled In School	Percent Actually Attending	Days in School Year
Northeast	62 %	59 %	150
South	76 %	57 %	116
West	30 %	45 %	80

Mental Illness

I proceed, gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the present state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth, in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens! Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience....

I have seen many who, part of the year, are chained or caged. The use of cages all but universal....I encountered during the last three months many poor creatures wandering reckless and unprotected through the country.

Lincoln. A woman in a cage. Medford. One idiotic subject chained, and one in a close stall for seventeen years. Pepperell. One often doubly chained, hand and foot; another violent; several peaceable now. Brookfield. One man caged, comfortable. Granville. One often closely confined; now losing the use of his limbs from want of exercise. Charlemont. One man caged. Savoy. One man caged. Lenox. Two in the jail, against whose unfit condition there the jailer protests. -- **Dorothea Dix, 1843**

Abolitionism

Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights"...I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population....

I am aware, that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice....Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;--but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest--I will not equivocate--I will not excuse--I will not retreat a single inch--And I Will Be Heard. -- **William Lloyd Garrison**

That every American citizen, who detains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property is, according to Scripture, a man-stealer:

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of the law....

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated. -- **American Anti-Slavery Society's Declaration of Sentiments**

It is not by argument that the abolitionists have produced the present unhappy excitement. Argument has not been the characteristic of their publications. Denunciations of slaveholding as man-stealing, robbery, piracy, and worse than murder; subsequent vituperation of slaveholders as knowingly guilty of the worst of crimes; passionate appeals to the feelings of the inhabitants of the northern States; gross exaggeration of the moral and physical condition of the slaves, have formed the staple of their addresses to the public....There is in this conduct such a strange want of adaptation of the means to the end which they profess to have in view, as to stagger the faith of most persons in the sincerity of their professions, who do not consider the extreme to which even good men may be carried, when they allow one subject to take exclusive possession of their minds.

-- **Charles Hodge**

Women's Rights

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

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

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

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

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

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employment, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself....

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

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

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

-- "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions" of the 1848 Seneca Falls, NY Women's Rights Convention

Pacifism

We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a fallen foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defense of a nation by force and arms...every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service.

-- **Declaration of Sentiments, Boston Peace Convention, 1838**

Utopian Socialism

Under our system of isolated and separate households, with separate interests and separate pursuits, instead of association and combination among families, there is the most deplorable waste, which is one of the primary sources of the general poverty that exists; and discord, antagonism, selfishness, and an anti-social spirit are engendered. Woman is subjected to unremitting and slavish domestic duties...a dead rebuke to all pretensions to Democracy....A new social order [should] be established, based upon "Associated households" -- **Albert Brisbane**

Westward Expansion (April 10 and April 12)

Tuesday, April 10: The Alamo and Texas Independence

Thursday, April 12: The Mexican War

Manifest Destiny

Texas is now ours.... She comes within the dear and sacred designation of Our Country... other nations have undertaken to intrude themselves ... in a spirit of hostile interference against us, for the avowed object of thwarting our policy and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions. ... California will, probably, next fall away from the loose adhesion which, in such a country as Mexico, holds a remote province in a slight equivocal kind of dependence on the metropolis. Imbecile and distracted, Mexico never can exert any real governmental authority over such a country.

-- John O'Sullivan, 1845

Mexican War

The cup of forbearance had been exhausted even before the recent information from the frontier of the Del Norte. But now, after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon the American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war.

As war exists, and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself, we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country.

-- President James K. Polk

The annexation of the department of Texas to the United States, projected and consummated by the tortuous policy of the cabinet of the Union, does not yet satisfy the ambitious desires of the degenerate sons of Washington. The civilized world has already recognized in that act all the marks of injustice, iniquity, and the most scandalous violation of the rights of nations. Indelible is the stain which will for ever darken the character for virtue falsely attributed to the people of the United States; and posterity will regard with horror their perfidious conduct, and the immorality of the means employed by them to carry into effect that most degrading depredation. The right of conquest has always been a crime against humanity; but nations jealous of their dignity and reputation have endeavoured at least to cover it by the splendour of arms and the prestige of victory. To the United States, it has been reserved to put in practice dissimulation, fraud, and the basest treachery, in order to obtain possession, in the midst of peace, of the territory of a friendly nation, which generously relied upon the faith of promises and the solemnity of treaties.

-- Gen. Francisco Mejia

How did we unhappily get involved in this war? It was predicted as the consequence of the annexation of Texas to the United States. If we had not Texas, we should have no war. The people were told that if that event happened, war would ensue. They were told that the war between Texas and Mexico had not been terminated by a treaty of peace; that Mexico still claimed Texas as a revolted province: and that, if we received Texas in our Union, we took along with her, the war existing between her and Mexico.

... But, notwithstanding a state of virtual war necessarily resulted from the fact of annexation of one of the belligerents to the United States, actual hostilities might have been probably averted by prudence, moderation and wise statesmanship.

... This is no war of defence, but one unnecessary and of offensive aggression.

-- Henry Clay

. . . Regarding it as a war to strengthen the "Slave Power," we are conducted to a natural conclusion, that it is virtually, and in its consequences, a war against the free States of the Union. Conquest and robbery are attempted in order to obtain a political control at home; and distant battles are fought, less with a special view of subjugating Mexico, than with the design of overcoming the power of the free States, under the constitution. The lives of Mexicans are sacrificed in this

cause; and a domestic question, which should be reserved for bloodless debate in our own country, is transferred to fields of battle in a foreign land. . . .

— **Resolution passed by the Massachusetts Legislature opposing the Mexican War, 1847**

I have said from the first that the United States are the aggressors. . . . We have not one particle of right to be here. . . . It looks as if the government sent a small force on purpose to bring on a war, so as to have a pretext for taking California and as much of this country as it chooses, for, whatever becomes of this army, there is no doubt of a war between the United States and Mexico. . . . My heart is not in this business . . . but, as a military man, I am bound to execute orders.

-- **Colonel Ethan Alien Hitchcock**

"Well, sir, what has been accomplished? . . . not a single object contemplated has been affected; and, what is worse, our difficulties are greater now than they were then, and the objects, forsooth, more difficult to reach than they were before the campaign commenced"

-- **John C. Calhoun**

"It is certainly not a popular war; it was begun and is carried on against the deep moral convictions of the sober portion of the people; its real object, the extension and preservation of slavery"

-- **William Lloyd Garrison**

Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation, whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so, whenever he may choose to say he deems it necessary for such purpose, and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study to see if you can fix any limit to his power in this respect, after having given him so much as you propose. If, to-day, he should choose to say he thinks it necessary to invade Canada, to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him, "I see no probability of the British invading us" but he will say to you, "Be silent; I see it, if you don't."

The provision of the Constitution giving the war making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons. Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This, our Convention understood to be the most oppressive of all Kingly oppressions; and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us. But your view destroys the whole matter, and places our President where kings have always stood.

-- **Abraham Lincoln, to his law-partner William H. Herndon, February 15, 1848**

The soldier is applauded who refuses to serve in an unjust war by those who do not refuse to sustain the unjust government which makes the war....

Unjust laws exist; shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?

... Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison.

-- **Henry David Thoreau, Civil Disobedience**

Generally, the officers of the army were indifferent whether the annexation was consummated or not; but not so all of them. For myself, I was bitterly opposed to the measure, and to this day, regard the war, which resulted, as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. It was an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies, in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory.

The Southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican war. Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions. We got our punishment in the most sanguinary and expensive war of modern times.

-- **Personal Memoirs of General U. S. Grant, 1885**

The Political Crisis of the 1850s (April 17)

Tuesday, April 17: The Political Crisis of the 1850s

The Know-Nothing Platform 1856

- (1) Repeal of all Naturalization Laws.
- (2) None but Americans for office.
- (3) A pure American Common School system.
- (4) War to the hilt, on political Romanism.
- (5) Opposition to the formation of Military Companies, composed of Foreigners.
- (6) The advocacy of a sound, healthy and safe Nationality.
- (7) Hostility to all Papal influences, when brought to bear against the Republic.
- (8) American Constitutions & American sentiments.
- (9) More stringent & effective Emigration Laws.
- (10) The amplest protection to Protestant Interests.
- (11) The doctrines of the revered Washington.
- (12) The sending back of all foreign paupers.
- (13) Formation of societies to protect American interests.
- (14) Eternal enmity to all those who attempt to carry out the principles of a foreign Church or State.
- (15) Our Country, our whole Country, and nothing but our Country.
- (16) Finally,-American Laws, and American legislation; and death to all foreign influences, whether in high places or low!

"Few Days or The United American's" (1854)

Written by Geo[rge]. [Pope] Morris

1. A subtle foe has plotted long,
Few Days, Few Days;
But we will show that we are strong,
In a few days,
For we are join'd both heart and hand,
Few Days, Few Days;
We soon shall free our Native land.
From the dark foe,
Then shout the loud hosanna,
Few Days, Few Days. Let mountain and savannah
The anthem raise.

Thoughts for Americans (1856)

Written by J.M. Russell

Do you swear to rob your brother
Of rights that we all prize
More highly than aught other
Possessed beneath the skies?
The right he has of serving God
In ways his conscience calls,
And ye of standing high as thou
In Freedom's honored halls?

And swear to spurn from this free land
The stranger weak and worn,
Who seeks, like bird with drooping wing,
Shelter from wind and storm:
Flying to our far famed shore,
A home for the oppressed,
Will yet thrust him back without just cause,
To seek elsewhere for rest?

I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we begin by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes, and foreigners, and catholics." When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

-- **Abraham Lincoln, 1855**

The adder's den, or, Secrets of the great conspiracy to overthrow liberty in America : depravity of slavery: two presidents secretly assassinated by poison. Unsuccessful attempts to murder three others. The evidence conclusive, and the facts established. Together with the dying struggles of the great southern rebellion"

It was on the 8th day of October, 1817, that the Devil entered Paradise.

... Southern men had by their votes in Congress shut it out of all the Territories of the United States. Many of the organized states had, and were abolishing it. The General Government was counted as its enemy. The moral and political sentiment of the entire nation was set against it. Against such a heavy sea of public and Legislative opinion, few men in any age would have stepped forward as its champion.

South Carolina, the only State in the Union, except Mississippi, that has more slaves within its borders than free white citizens, furnished the man. ... John C. Calhoun was his name.

The slave power having been defeated in its first attempt to destroy the Federal Union by the sagacity and courage of Andrew Jackson, withdrew to its den of infamy to devise new and desperate schemes for the future.

At the funeral of ...a Member of Congress from South Carolina ... a man stepped from the crowd into the open space in front of the President, and at a distance of about eight paces, drew a pistol from beneath his cloak — aiming at the heart of the President, attempted to fire. The cap exploded without igniting the powder in the barrel. He immediately drew from beneath his cloak another, which he had held ready cocked in his left hand, and pointing as before, this cap also exploded without firing the powder in the barrel.

In the enjoyment of the most perfect health, the 4th being on Friday, he [President Zachary Taylor] was taken sick in the afternoon about 5 o'clock, and on Monday evening at 35 minutes past 10 o'clock, he was dead. He died from the effects of the same kind of drug as was given to President Harrison. The symptoms in both cases were the same — an inward heat and thirst, accompanied by fever. They were both well and hearty at the time the drug was given, and both died in about four days after taking it.

The President [James Buchanan] was known to be an inveterate tea-drinker; in fact, Northern people rarely drink anything else in the evening. Southern men mostly prefer coffee. Thus, to make sure of Buchanan, and cause as many deaths in the North as possible, arsenic was sprinkled in the sugar bowls containing the tea or lump sugar, and set on the table where he was to sit. The pulverized sugar used for coffee setting on the table was kept free from the poisonous drug by deep-laid strategy; thus, not a single Southern man was affected. Fifty or sixty persons dined at different intervals at that table that evening; and as near as we can ascertain about thirty-eight died from the effects of the poison.

Thus bribery, forgery, perjury, arson and murder, under various pretenses, with the assistance of two corrupt administrations of the Federal Government, backed up by the slave power, seducing the weak and striking down the strong, leaving no effort untried, even unto fire and blood, to force slavery into Kansas, failed.

Twenty men had been hired in Baltimore to assassinate the President elect on his way to Washington. The leader of this band was an Italian refugee, a barber well known in Baltimore. Their plan was as follows: When Mr. Lincoln arrived in that city, the assassins were to mix with the crowd, and get as near his person as possible, and shoot at him with their pistols. If he was in a carriage, hand grenades had been prepared, filled with detonating powder, such as Orsini used in attempting to assassinate Louis Napoleon. These were to be thrown into the carriage, and to make the work of death doubly sure, pistols were to be discharged into the vehicle at the same moment. The assassins had a vessel lying ready to receive them in the harbour. From thence they were to be carried to Mobile, in the seceded State of Alabama.

Gen. Scott heard of the plot, and advised with Senator Seward; and they sent Frederick W. Seward, the son of the Senator, to meet Mr. Lincoln in Philadelphia, and urge him to come to Washington in a private manner.

The South went into the contest united in relation to the cause, object, and policy of the war. The free States embarked in it, divided both as to its cause, policy to be pursued, and object to be attained. Some Generals supposed that in protecting slave property the Union could be cemented, by convincing the South that the free States did not wish to molest, but on the contrary would fight for the sacred institution. Others thought that it was not the business of the Union army to concern itself about slavery, either to protect or destroy it. Still another very powerful and intelligent class, seeing a little further, discovered slavery to be the heart of the rebellion, and that the quickest way to destroy it was to strike it where it lived.

What is it that endangers the Union?..

The first is that series of acts by which the South has been excluded from the common territory belonging to all the States as members of the federal Union--which have had the effect of extending vastly the portion allotted to the Northern section, and restricting within narrow limits the portion left the South. The next consists in adopting a system of revenue and disbursements by which an undue proportion of the burden of taxation has been imposed upon the South,

and an undue proportion of its proceeds appropriated to the North. And the last is a system of political measures by which the original character of the government has been radically changed.

... [T]hey [Northerners] they regard themselves as implicated in the sin.... Those less opposed and hostile regard it as a crime--an offense against humanity; ... while those who are least opposed and hostile regard it as a blot and a stain on the character of what they call the "nation".... On the contrary, the Southern section regards the relation as one which can not be destroyed without subjecting the two races to the greatest calamity, and the section to poverty, desolation, and wretchedness...."

-- John C. Calhoun, on the Compromise of 1850, 1850

Mr. President, - I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States. ... "Hear me for my cause." I speak to-day, out of a solicitous and anxious heart for the restoration to the country of that quiet and harmonious harmony which make the blessings of this Union so rich, and so dear to us all.

... Now, Sir, upon the general nature and influence of slavery there exists a wide difference of opinion between the northern portion of this country and the southern. It is said on the one side, that, although not the subject of any injunction or direct prohibition in the New Testament, slavery is a wrong; that it is founded merely in the right of the strongest; and that is an oppression, like unjust wars, like all those conflicts by which a powerful nation subjects a weaker to its will.... The South, upon the other side, having been accustomed to this relation between two races all their lives, from their birth, having been taught, in general, to treat the subjects of this bondage with care and kindness, and I believe, in general, feeling great kindness for them, have not taken the view of the subject which I have mentioned.

... Secession! Peaceable secession! Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle. The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffling the surface! Who is so foolish, I beg every body's pardon, as to expect to see any such thing?

... let us enjoy the fresh air of Liberty and Union.

-- Daniel Webster on the Compromise of 1850

But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness.

... [S]hall we establish human bondage or permit it by our sufferance to be established [in the territory acquired from Mexico]?

Sir, the slave states have no reason to fear that this inevitable change will go too far or too fast for their safety or welfare.

Slavery has a reliable and accommodating ally in a party [the Democratic party] in the free states, which, though it claims to be, and doubtless is in many respects, a party of progress, finds its sole security for its political power in the support and aid of slavery in the slave states.... Slavery has, moreover, a more natural alliance with the aristocracy of the north and with the aristocracy of Europe. ... Slavery has a guaranty still stronger than these in the prejudices of caste and color, which induce even large majorities in all the free states to regard sympathy with the slave as an act of unmanly humiliation and self-abasement...

-- Senator William Seward, 1850.

The Impending Crisis (April 19)

Thursday, April 19: 1859 – 1860

They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts of legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye-fields and wheat-fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and to the production of slaves.... It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromises between the slave and free States, and it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromises, when made, vain and ephemeral. -- **William Seward, 1858**

Hinton Rowan Helper, The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It, 1857

In writing this book, it has been no part of my purpose to cast unmerited opprobrium upon slaveholders, or to display any special friendliness or sympathy for the blacks. I have considered my subject more particularly with reference to its economic aspects as regards the whites....

What we mean to do is simply this: to take a survey of the relative position and importance of the several states of this confederacy, from the adoption of the national compact; and when, of two sections of the country starting under the same auspices, and with equal natural advantages, we find the one rising to a degree of almost unexampled power and eminence, and the other sinking into a state of comparative imbecility and obscurity, it is our determination to trace out the causes which have led to the elevation of the former, and the depression of the latter, and to use our most earnest and honest endeavors to utterly extirpate whatever opposes the progress and prosperity of any portion of the union.

It is a fact well known to every intelligent Southerner that we are compelled to go to the North for almost every article of utility and adornment, from matches, shoe pegs and paintings up to cotton-mills, steamships and statuary; that we have no foreign trade, no princely merchants, nor respectable artists; that, in comparison with the free states, we contribute nothing to the literature, polite arts and inventions of the age; that, for want of profitable employment at home, large numbers of our native population find themselves necessitated to emigrate to the West, whilst the free states retain not only the larger proportion of those born within their own limits, but induce, annually, hundreds of thousands of foreigners to settle and remain amongst them; that almost everything produced at the North meets with ready sale, while, at the same time, there is no demand, even among our own citizens, for the productions of Southern industry; that, owing to the absence of a proper system of business amongst us, the North becomes, in one way or another, the proprietor and dispenser of all our floating wealth, and that we are dependent on Northern capitalists for the means necessary to build our railroads, canals and other public improvements....

... [F]ree labor is far more respectable, profitable, and productive, than slave labor. In the South, unfortunately, no kind of labor is either free or respectable. Every white man who is under the necessity of earning his bread, by the sweat of his brow, or by manual labor, in any capacity, no matter how unassuming in deportment, or exemplary in morals, is treated as if he was a loathsome beast, and shunned with the utmost disdain. His soul may be the very seat of honor and integrity, yet without slaves--himself a slave--he is accounted as nobody, and would be deemed intolerably presumptuous, if he dared to open his mouth, even so wide as to give faint utterance to a three-lettered monosyllable, like yea or nay, in the presence of an august knight of the whip and the lash.

The lords of the lash are not only absolute masters of the blacks, who are bought and sold, and driven about like so many cattle, but they are also the oracles and arbiters of all non-slaveholding whites, whose freedom is merely nominal, and whose unparalleled illiteracy and degradation is purposely and fiendishly perpetuated.

Less than three-quarters of a century ago--say in 1789, for that was about the average time of the abolition of slavery in the Northern States--the South, with advantages in soil, climate, rivers, harbors, minerals, forests, and, indeed, almost every other natural resource, began an even race with the North in all the important pursuits of life; and now, in the brief space of scarce three score years and ten, we find her completely distanced, enervated, dejected and dishonored. Slave-drivers are the sole authors of her disgrace; as they have sown so let them reap.

Non-slaveholders of the South! farmers, mechanics and workingmen, we take this occasion to assure you that the slaveholders, the arrogant demagogues whom you have elected to offices of honor and profit, have hoodwinked you, trifled with you, and used you as mere tools for the consummation of their wicked designs. They have purposely kept you in ignorance, and have, by moulding your passions and prejudices to suit themselves, induced you to act in direct opposition to your dearest rights and interests.

In 1850, the average value per acre, of land in the Northern States was \$28,07; in the Northwestern \$11,39; in the Southern \$5,34; and in the Southwestern \$6,26. Now, in consequence of numerous natural advantages, among which may be enumerated the greater mildness of climate, richness of soil, deposits of precious metals, abundance and spaciousness of harbors, and super-excellence of water-power, we contend that, had it not been for slavery, the average value of land in all the Southern and Southwestern States, would have been at least equal to the average value of the same in the Northern States.

HOW SLAVERY CAN BE ABOLISHED.

- 1st. Thorough Organization and Independent Political Action on the part of the Non-Slaveholding whites of the South.
- 2nd. Ineligibility of Slaveholders--Never another vote to the Trafficker in Human Flesh.
- 3rd. No Co-operation with Slaveholders in Politics--No Fellowship with them in Religion--No Affiliation with them in Society.
- 4th. No Patronage to Slaveholding Merchants--No Guestship in Slave-waiting Hotels--No Fees to Slaveholding Lawyers--No Employment of Slaveholding Physicians--No Audience to Slaveholding Parsons.
- 5th. No Recognition of Pro-slavery Men, except as Ruffians, Outlaws, and Criminals.
- 6th. Abrupt Discontinuance of Subscription to Pro-slavery Newspapers.
- 7th. The Greatest Possible Encouragement to Free White Labor.
8. No more Hiring of Slaves by Non-slaveholders.
- 9th. Immediate Death to Slavery, or if not immediate, unqualified Proscription of its Advocates during the Period of its Existence.
- 10th. A Tax of Sixty Dollars on every Slaveholder for each and every Negro in his Possession at the present time, or at any intermediate time between now and the 4th of July, 1863--said Money to be Applied to the transportation of the Blacks to Liberia, to their Colonization in Central or South America, or to their Comfortable Settlement within the Boundaries of the United States.
- 11th. An additional Tax of Forty Dollars per annum to be levied annually, on every Slaveholder for each and every Negro found in his possession after the 4th of July, 1863--said Money to be paid into the hands of the Negroes so held in Slavery, or, in cases of death, to their next of kin, and to be used by them at their own option

A free negro of the African race, whose ancestors were brought to this country and sold as slaves, is not a "citizen" within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States.

... When the Constitution was adopted, they were not regarded in any of the States as members of the community which constituted the State, and were not numbered among its "people or citizen." Consequently, the special rights and immunities guaranteed to citizens do not apply to them. And not being "citizens" within the meaning of the Constitution, they are not entitled to sue in that character in a court of the United States, and the Circuit Court has not jurisdiction in such a suit.

... Since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, no state can by any subsequent law make a foreigner or any other description of persons citizens of the United States, nor entitle them to the rights and privileges secured to citizens by that instrument.

-- **Dred Scott v. Sanford, 1857**

...if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments--I submit; so let it be done!"

-- **John Brown, 1859**

I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty, land: will never be purged away; but with Blood. I had as I now think: vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed; it might be done."

-- **John Brown, 1859**

Resolved: That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign powers over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism--Polygamy, and Slavery.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

-- 1856 Republican Party platform

That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

... That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom: That, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no persons should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States. -- 1860 Republican party platform

The Civil War (April 24 and April 26)

Tuesday, April 24: The Civil War, part I

Thursday, April 26: The Civil War, part II

	Union	Confederacy
Railroad locomotives built	453	17
Firearms produced	97 %	3 %
Troops present for duty		
1862	527,204	209,852
1863	698,808	253,208
1864	611,250	233,586
1865	620,924	154,910

South Carolina is too small for a republic and too large for an insane asylum.-- James Petigru (1860)

You people of the south don't know what you are doing. This country will be drenched in blood, and God only knows how it will end. It is all folly, madness, a crime against civilization! You people speak so lightly of war; you don't know what you're talking about. War is a terrible thing! You mistake, too, the people of the North. They are a peaceable people but an earnest people, and they will fight, too. They are not going to let this country be destroyed without a mighty effort to save it ... Besides, where are your men and appliances of war to contend against them? The North can make a steam engine, locomotive, or railway car; hardly a yard of cloth or pair of shoes can you make. You are rushing into war with one of the most powerful, ingeniously mechanical, and determined people on Earth, right at your doors. You are bound to fail. -- William Tecumseh Sherman, comments to David F. Boyd at the Louisiana State Seminary (24 December 1860)

Ordinances of Secession

Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery - the greatest material interest of the world. Its labor supplies the product, which constitutes by far the largest and most important portions of commerce of the earth. These products are peculiar to the climate verging on the tropical regions, and by an imperious law of nature, none but the black race can bear exposure to the tropical sun. These products have become necessities of the world, and a blow at slavery is a blow at commerce and civilization. That blow has been long aimed at the institution, and was at the point of reaching its consummation. There was no choice left us but submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union, whose principles had been subverted to work out our ruin.

-- Mississippi Declaration of Secession

We hold as undeniable truths that the governments of the various States, and of the confederacy itself, were established exclusively by the white race, for themselves and their posterity; that the African race had no agency in their establishment; that they were rightfully held and regarded as an inferior and dependent race, and in that condition only could their existence in this country be rendered beneficial or tolerable.

That in this free government all white men are and of right ought to be entitled to equal civil and political rights; that the servitude of the African race, as existing in these States, is mutually beneficial to both bond and free, and is abundantly authorized and justified by the experience of mankind, and the revealed will of the Almighty Creator, as recognized by all Christian nations; while the destruction of the existing relations between the two races, as advocated by our sectional enemies, would bring inevitable calamities upon both and desolation upon the fifteen slave-holding states.

By the secession of six of the slave-holding States, and the certainty that others will speedily do likewise, Texas has no alternative but to remain in an isolated connection with the North, or unite her destinies with the South. For these and other reasons, solemnly asserting that the federal constitution has been violated and virtually abrogated by the several States named, seeing that the federal government is now passing under the control of our enemies to be diverted from the exalted objects of its creation to those of oppression and wrong, and realizing that our own State can no longer look for protection, but to God and her own sons-- We the delegates of the people of Texas, in Convention assembled, have passed an ordinance dissolving all political connection with the government of the United States of America

-- A Declaration of the Causes which Impel the State of Texas to Secede from the Federal Union

The prevailing ideas entertained by him [Thomas Jefferson] and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically....

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. With us, all of the white race, however high or low, rich or poor, are equal in the eye of the law. Not so with the negro. Subordination is his place. - Alexander H. Stephens, The Cornerstone Speech (21 March 1861).

Let me tell you what is coming. After the sacrifice of countless millions of treasure and hundreds of thousands of lives, you may win Southern independence if God be not against you, but I doubt it. I tell you that, while I believe with you in the doctrine of states rights, the North is determined to preserve this Union. They are not a fiery, impulsive people as you are, for they live in colder climates. But when they begin to move in a given direction, they move with the steady momentum and perseverance of a mighty avalanche; and what I fear is, they will overwhelm the South.

Our people are going to war to perpetuate slavery, but the war will be its death knell. -- Sam Houston

When disunion has become a fixed and certain act, why may not New York disrupt the bands which bind her to a venal and corrupt master... Amid the gloom which the present and prospective condition of things must cast over the country, New York, as a free city, may shed only light and hope of a future reconstruction of our once blessed confederacy. -- New York City Mayor Fernando Wood, address to the City Council, recommending that, with the Southern states seceding from the United States

In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I 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. -- -- Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address (4 March 1861)

... the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more.

... This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life.

.... Our popular Government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets, and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. – Abraham Lincoln, Address to Congress (4 July 1861)

As soon as slavery fired upon the flag it was felt, we all felt, even those who did not object to slaves, that slavery must be destroyed. We felt that it was a stain to the Union that men should be bought and sold like cattle. -- Ulysses S. Grant, to Otto von Bismarck in June 1878

. . . I [President Abraham Lincoln] would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My

paramount [most important] object in this struggle [the Civil War] is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored [African American] race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear [refrain from doing], I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views....

-- **Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley, New York Tribune, August 25, 1862**

<p>Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the lord, He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored, He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword, His truth is marching on</p>	<p>"I have trodden the winepress alone; from the nations no one was with me. I trampled them in my anger and trod them down in my wrath; their blood spattered my garments, and I stained all my clothing." --Isaiah 63</p>
<p>In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea, With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me, As He died to make men holy let us live to make men free, His truth is marching on -- Julia Ward Howe, Battle Hymn of the Republic, 1862</p>	<p>And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. -- Revelations 19</p>

. . . Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion [Civil War] against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing [stopping] said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: . . .

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States [those states in rebellion], and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons. . . . -- **Abraham Lincoln, Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863**

Many persons believed, or pretended to believe, and confidently asserted, that freed slaves would not make good soldiers; they would lack courage, and could not be subjected to military discipline. Facts have shown how groundless were these apprehensions. The slave has proved his manhood, and his capacity as an infantry soldier, at Milliken's Bend, at the assault upon Port Hudson, and the storming of Fort Wagner. The apt qualifications of the colored man for artillery service have long been known and recognized by the naval service.

Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, letter to Abraham Lincoln (5 December 1863)

You say you are fighting for liberty. Yes you are fighting for liberty: liberty to keep four millions of your fellow-beings in ignorance and degradation;—liberty to separate parents and children, husband and wife, brother and sister;—liberty to steal the products of their labor, exacted with many a cruel lash and bitter tear;—liberty to seduce their wives and daughters, and to sell your own children into bondage;—liberty to kill these children with impunity, when the murder

cannot be proven by one of pure white blood. This is the kind of liberty—the liberty to do wrong—which Satan, Chief of the fallen Angels, was contending for when he was cast into Hell. -- David Hunter, letter to Jefferson Davis (1863)

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

-- **Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, 1863**

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel. And yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery.

... I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years struggle the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man devised, or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God. – **Abraham Lincoln, Letter (4 April 1864) to Albert G. Hodges, editor of the Frankfort, Kentucky, Commonwealth**

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 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.-- **Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address, 1865**