

Middle School | 6th–8th Grade

# American History

The Hillsdale  
**1776**  
Curriculum



**MIDDLE SCHOOL**

# American History

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2 units | 40-50-minute classes

## OVERVIEW

### Unit 1 | The American Founding

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32–36 classes

<b>LESSON 1</b>	1763–1776	Self–Government or Tyranny
<b>LESSON 2</b>	1776	The Declaration of Independence
<b>LESSON 3</b>	1776–1783	The War of Independence
<b>LESSON 4</b>	1783–1789	The United States Constitution

### Unit 2 | The American Civil War

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29–33 classes

<b>LESSON 1</b>	1848–1854	The Expansion of Slavery
<b>LESSON 2</b>	1854–1861	Toward Civil War
<b>LESSON 3</b>	1861–1865	The Civil War
<b>LESSON 4</b>	1865–1877	Reconstruction



**UNIT 1**

# The American Founding

1763–1789

40-50-minute classes | 32-36 classes

**UNIT PREVIEW****Structure**

<b>LESSON 1</b>	1763–1776	Self–Government or Tyranny	9-10 classes	p. 7
<b>LESSON 2</b>	1776	The Declaration of Independence	4-5 classes	p. 14
<b>LESSON 3</b>	1776–1783	The War of Independence	6-7 classes	p. 21
<b>LESSON 4</b>	1783–1789	The United States Constitution	9-10 classes	p. 28
<b>APPENDIX A</b>	Study Guides, Tests, and Writing Assignment			p. 39
<b>APPENDIX B</b>	Primary Sources			p. 63

**Why Teach the American Founding**

The beginning is the most important part of any endeavor, for a small change at the beginning will result in a very different end. How much truer this is of the most expansive of human endeavors: founding and sustaining a free country. The United States of America has achieved the greatest degree of freedom and prosperity for the greatest proportion of any country's population in the history of humankind. How is it that the common American's pursuit of happiness has resulted in such exceptional outcomes over time? This phenomenon compels mindful young Americans to seek to understand how their nation has achieved such results. And America's youth could find no greater source of understanding than the history of their country's founding, starting with their forefathers' ideas, words, and deeds.

## Enduring Ideas from This Unit

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1. The United States is unprecedented in establishing its existence not on grounds of racial origin nor family privilege but on ideas asserted to be true of all people at all times: namely, on the equal human dignity of each person.
2. America was founded on the view that government should be controlled by the people themselves and limited to the purpose of protecting each person's natural rights and fostering the common good.
3. Regular, ordinary Americans of everyday means sacrificed their security and very lives to defend these truths about human beings and civic life against a tyranny of the most powerful nation of its day.
4. The United States Constitution's chief quality is that it allows the people to govern themselves with respect for the dignity of each person while both channeling and restraining the natural ambition of human beings to gain power and recognition.
5. The Constitution is a carefully wrought and considered document, and its original intent and structure should be honored both for the sake of our forebears, to whom we and the world owe our freedom and prosperity, and because the events of the last two hundred years have proven the Constitution's remarkable achievements time and time again.

## What Teachers Should Consider

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The United States of America is unprecedented in many ways in the course of human history, but most significantly in the opportunity all its citizens have to pursue unmatched conditions of freedom, security, and prosperity. The country owes its unprecedented success to an unprecedented founding, a beginning forged and canonized in the Declaration of Independence, the War of Independence, and the U.S. Constitution.

And yet, never have so many Americans known so little about this founding. As for love of country, one cannot love (or even consider loving) what one does not know.

The teaching of the American founding is perhaps the most necessary series of lessons a teacher can share with his or her students if those students intend to enjoy the benefits of living in America for the duration of their lives.

With this in mind, a teacher ought to take special care to learn the history and ideas of the American founding. Ambiguity in the teacher's own understanding, or assumptions derived from anywhere but careful scholarship and a deep reading of America's founding documents, will leave him or her unprepared to help students understand this history accurately.

The teacher might best open the unit with lessons aimed at understanding why the colonists declared independence in the first place. It was not to avoid paying taxes or about wanting to preserve slavery. (These are misconceptions at best, distortions at worst.) It was to choose—between liberty under self-government and servitude under tyranny. Class may proceed at a brisk pace through the years 1763–1776, touching on the many acts of the British and respective colonial responses to those acts. Spend time on the conflicts and battles; students should chart the gradual shift in public sentiment toward independence.

The Declaration of Independence itself deserves careful study. Such lessons may begin with stories of the writing of the Declaration. Students should read the whole document, and teachers can foster extensive conversations about what it says, what it means, and why it says it. The majority of the conversation should dwell on the first, second, and final paragraphs of the Declaration. Understanding what is meant by those words is pivotal to understanding American history, what makes America an exceptional nation, and the responsibilities every American citizen has. The list of grievances should be discussed in light of the previous history that led to the Declaration.

The American War of Independence should be taught so as to fill the moral imaginations of students with images of the heroic characters and actions of its American participants. Strategy, battles, and the general arc of the war should be taught in detail, punctuated with accounts of the key moments and figures who contributed to America's ultimate victory. The ideas for which the War of Independence was fought are matched in the American memory only by the stories of those who fought for them.

When teaching the aftermath of the War of Independence up to the Constitutional Convention, teachers should make clear that America's foray into governing itself entirely independent of Great Britain initially trended toward abject failure. The Articles of Confederation ordered public affairs in a reactionary rather than prudent manner. Students should understand that the Constitutional Convention, in many respects, saved the country from another sort of tyranny: majority tyranny.

Finally, the Constitutional Convention and the Constitution itself should be studied in tandem and in detail. A major aid in doing so is to read selections of the *Federalist Papers*. Students should consider carefully both the structure of the Constitution and the Framers' intentions in so constructing it. Students should understand that nothing in the Constitution was haphazardly decided. Given the unprecedented long-term success of the Constitution, students should appreciate that any changes to the Constitution warrant careful and complete understanding of why the Framers crafted it the way they did, as explained in their own words.

## How Teachers Can Learn More

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### TEXTS

*The Glorious Cause*, Robert Middlekauff

*We Still Hold These Truths*, Matthew Spalding

*The Political Theory of the American Founding*, Thomas West

*The Constitutional Convention*, James Madison

*The American Heritage: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

*The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (ConstitutionReader.com)

*The 1776 Report*, The President's Advisory 1776 Commission

### ONLINE COURSES | [Online.Hillsdale.edu](https://Online.Hillsdale.edu)

*The Great American Story*

*Civil Rights in American History*

*Introduction to the Constitution*

*Constitution 101*

*The Federalist Paper*

## Lesson Planning Resources

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### TEACHER RESOURCES

*Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, H.A. Guerber  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay and John McBride  
*A Short History of the American Revolution*, James Stokesbury

### STUDENT RESOURCES

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Wilfred McClay

### PRIMARY SOURCES

"Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!," Patrick Henry  
*Common Sense*, Thomas Paine  
Declaration of Independence, Draft  
Declaration of Independence  
Resignation Speech, George Washington  
The United States Constitution  
The Bill of Rights



## **LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZZES**



# Lesson 1 — Self-Government or Tyranny

1763–1776

9-10 classes

## LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how new British exertions of authority over the colonists led to the Declaration of Independence.

## TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapter 5  
See below.

### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 42–48  
Pages 68–80  
Pages 29–43

### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*

Lecture 3

## STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, chapter 5, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below) or read excerpts from *The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, pages 68–80, and prepare for a reading quiz (teacher created).

**Assignment 2:** Students read and annotate excerpts from Paine's *Common Sense* and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

## CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

### Geography & Places

Boston  
Philadelphia  
Independence Hall

Lexington and Concord  
Fort Ticonderoga

### Persons

George III  
Charles Townshend  
George Washington

John Hancock  
Crispus Attucks

Paul Revere  
 Samuel Adams  
 Benjamin Franklin  
 Patrick Henry  
 John Adams

Abigail Adams  
 Ethan Allen  
 Thomas Paine  
 Thomas Jefferson

### Terms and Topics

salutary neglect  
 self-government  
 representation  
 consent  
 French and Indian War  
 Proclamation of 1763  
 Stamp Act  
 Sons of Liberty  
 mob  
 tar and feather  
 Declaratory Act  
 Townshend Acts  
 non-importation agreements

Boston Massacre  
 Committees of Correspondence  
 Boston Tea Party  
 Intolerable Acts  
 First Continental Congress  
 Minutemen  
 Battles of Lexington & Concord  
 Siege of Fort Ticonderoga  
 Second Continental Congress  
 Continental Army  
 Battle of Bunker Hill  
 Olive Branch Petition  
 Liberation of Boston

### Primary Sources

“Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!” Patrick Henry  
*Common Sense*, Thomas Paine

### To Know by Heart

“Appeal to Heaven”  
 “Don’t Tread On Me”  
 “Join or Die”  
 “Give me liberty or give me death!” — Patrick Henry  
 “The shot heard round the world.”  
 “Don’t fire till you see the whites of their eyes!” — Israel Putnam, William Prescott, or legend

### Timeline

1754–1763	French and Indian War
1763	Proclamation Line
1770	Boston Massacre
1773	Boston Tea Party
1774	Intolerable Acts
1775	Lexington and Concord, Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

### Images

Historical figures and events  
 Revolutionary era flags

Non-importation agreement example  
Paul Revere's Engraving of Boston Harbor under occupation  
Paul Revere's Engraving of the Boston Massacre  
Independence Hall (exterior and interior)  
Battle maps and battle scene depictions  
Uniforms and arms of the Minutemen, the Continental Army soldiers, and the Redcoats  
Medical equipment

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson up through 1776
- Boston Massacre
- John Adams fair-mindedly representing the British soldiers after the Boston Massacre Boston Tea Party
- Boston Tea Party
- Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death!" speech
- Paul Revere's Ride
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Letters of John and Abigail Adams
- John Adams's nomination of George Washington to command the Continental Army
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston
- John Adams's nomination of Thomas Jefferson to draft the Declaration of Independence

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- Why had the colonies been mostly left to their own devices? Why was this "neglect" "salutary"?
- How did the British situation following the French and Indian War lead the British to exert more authority over the colonists?
- In what ways did the British begin to exert control over the colonists without their consent?
- What did the Proclamation Act of 1763 attempt to do? What change did it reveal in the relationship between Parliament and the colonists? How did the colonists respond?
- To what extent were Americans justified in claiming the rights of Englishmen?
- What did the Stamp Act do? Why did this act in particular undermine the principle of self-government and consent? How did the colonists respond?
- What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists' freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
- What is the relationship between this question of representative self-government and that of liberty and tyranny?
- What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament's actions?
- How did the Boston Massacre change public opinion among the colonists? How did John Adams successfully preserve the rule of law?

- Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do (5 actions)?
- How did the Continental Congress respond to the Coercive (Intolerable) Acts?
- Was war inevitable? Was independence?
- In what ways did Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
- What actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?
- To what extent was the American Revolution not made but prevented? To what extent was it revolutionary?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 77: Name one reason why the Americans declared independence from Britain.
  - Question 85: Benjamin Franklin is famous for many things. Name one.
  - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

For more than 150 years, the British colonists of North America rarely quarreled with their countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic. Then in 1763, the British began to claim new control over the colonists. What followed were thirteen years of increased tension and sometimes violent clashes leading to outright war in 1775 and, in 1776, the declaring of independence by the colonists and the formation of a new country separate from British power. This decade and a half gave birth to the nation each American citizen calls home. It is imperative that American students know the people, actions, and stories that led to the founding of their country. The chief aim of teaching these fourteen years, therefore, is to help students to understand the actions by both Great Britain and the colonists that compelled the Americans to such a separation and to found a new, unprecedented kind of country.

Teachers might best plan and teach Self-Government or Tyranny with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the issues the British in North America faced following the French and Indian War (in Europe, the Seven Years' War), namely, the risk of further conflict (and associated costs) with Native Americans as colonists moved westward, and the massive debt that Great Britain had accumulated in the late war.
- Show how Great Britain's attempted solutions to these problems (prohibiting colonial expansion and the sudden enforcement of lax tax laws) marked the first shift in the relationship between Great Britain and the colonists and heralded the end of the period of "salutary neglect," during which American colonists had grown accustomed to practicing self-government.
- Help students see the pattern that this initial shift would grow into: attempts by the British (Parliament and, to a certain extent, King George III) to exert more control, alternating with American resistance to what they argued were infringements on their rights as Englishmen.
- Teach about each of the British acts: what they were, why they were passed, how the colonists resisted, and what happened next as a consequence.
- Consider at length that self-government, or representative self-government, was at the heart of the issue. Emphasize that this was not merely a nice-sounding phrase. Instead, the colonists gradually came to recognize the following as a question of liberty or tyranny: whether they were self-governed through their elected representatives or were dictated to and controlled by a distant government in which they had no consent. Make clear that this was

the question: not merely whether the colonists would have representation in Parliament (it was impractical) nor whether they had to pay taxes, but whether or not people must be controlled by the will of others in government without their free consent.

- Explain how the Americans organized themselves to engage with and resist the British, a capacity born of decades of practice in self-government and a trait of American citizens for subsequent generations. In due course, the Boston Massacre impressed on public opinion the British position's semblance to tyranny.
- Emphasize for students how there were often two competing approaches to responding to British actions: one that attempted deliberation and petition, and another that resorted to destruction of property and even tarring and feathering. In the end, the former approach prevailed, resorting to arms only as necessary to defend their assertion of rights, self-government, and liberty.
- Highlight that it was the Boston Tea Party, however, that brought issues to a head, prompting the British to respond to various actions in Massachusetts with the Intolerable Acts. Help students to consider that in five separate, odious ways, these acts show how preventing a people from governing themselves in even something as simple as a tax on paper and tea can lead to tyranny if not effectively recognized and resisted.
- Spend time illustrating how it was really across 1774–75, in response to the execution of the Intolerable Acts, that specific Founding Fathers marshaled their talents and ideas, eventually leading to declaring independence and forming a new nation by summer 1776.
- Read aloud with students Patrick Henry's "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death!" Speech.
- Teach in some detail the open armed conflicts at Lexington and Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, and Bunker Hill. Students should learn how these battles bolstered the patriot cause and transformed public opinion in these final two years of British rule.
- Have students read as a preparatory homework assignment excerpts from Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. In class, have a seminar conversation on the text. Target questions at helping students to see how and why Paine's pamphlet proved decisive in shifting public opinion at the start of 1776. Questions on pages 42–43 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Finally, emphasize how the news in the spring of 1776—that the British had hired German mercenary soldiers to deploy against British-Americans, and were now selectively encouraging slave rebellions in the colonies, while the Continental Congress recommended that the colonies begin forming their own governments—were key factors in moving a majority of the state delegates at the Second Continental Congress to commission a committee to draft a potential declaration of independence.

## STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

**Assignment 1:** Explain the key questions and moments between 1763 and 1776 that led the colonists to declare independence (2–3 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Explain how the Americans believed they were preserving self-government against British tyranny (1–2 paragraphs).

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Founding | Lesson 1  
*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Chapter 5

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. What mountain range did the Royal Proclamation of 1763 attempt to prevent the colonists from crossing?
2. To whom did the Quartering Act force the colonial legislatures to provide lodging and food?
3. What did the Declaratory Act declare about Parliament's authority over the colonists?
4. What did a group of colonists dump into Boston Harbor in 1773 that resulted in a tyrannical retaliation by the British?
5. Name one of the battles you read about that occurred prior to the Declaration of Independence?



Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Unit 1 — Formative Quiz 1

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Covering Lesson 1  
10-15 minutes

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. Why had the colonies been mostly left to their own devices? Why was this “neglect” “salutary”?
2. What did the Stamp Act do? Why did this act in particular undermine the principle of self-government and consent?
3. Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do?
4. In which ways did Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
5. Which actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?

## Lesson 2 – The Declaration of Independence

1776

4-5 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the movement in favor of independence and about the drafting and signing of the Declaration of Independence. They also read the Declaration of Independence and engage in a seminar conversation about its contents and ideas.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapter 5  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*The 1776 Report*  
*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 5–14  
Pages 48–51  
Pages 81–82  
Pages 36–37, 44–55

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Introduction to the Constitution*  
*Constitution 101*  
*Civil Rights in American History*

Lecture 3  
Lectures 1, 2, 3  
Lecture 2  
Lectures 1, 2, 3

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read and annotate the Declaration of Independence and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Philadelphia  
Independence Hall

#### Persons

Benjamin Franklin  
John Adams

Thomas Jefferson

**Terms and Topics**

Laws of Nature and of Nature's  
 God  
 self-evident  
 natural rights  
 equality  
 unalienable  
 liberty  
 license

pursuit of happiness  
 consent of the governed  
 list of grievances  
 slavery  
 self-government  
 representation  
 Liberty Bell

**Primary Sources**

Declaration of Independence, First Draft  
 Declaration of Independence

**To Know by Heart**

First two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence

“And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.” — Final sentence of the Declaration of Independence

**Timeline**

July 2, 1776	Second Continental Congress votes for independence
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

**Images**

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams  
 Independence Hall (exterior and interior)  
 Photos or facsimiles of original Declaration of Independence  
 National Archives Building and Rotunda  
 Jefferson Memorial  
 Statue of Thomas Jefferson (Hillsdale College campus)

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

- The first public reading of the Declaration of Independence at the State House Yard, the tolling of the Liberty Bell, and the removal of the royal coat of arms

**QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND**

- What were the various audiences that the Declaration of Independence sought to address?
- In its opening lines, what is the Declaration claiming to be doing and what does it want its audience to do in response?
- What are “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God”?
- What is a “self-evident” truth?

- What does it mean that “all men are created equal”?
- What is a right?
- According to the Declaration of Independence, from where do natural rights come?
- What does it mean to say that men are “endowed by their creator” with the rights?
- What does “unalienable” mean?
- What is liberty according to the Founders? How is it distinct from license?
- Why did Jefferson use “the pursuit of happiness” instead of “property”?
- What is the purpose of government?
- From where does government derive its just powers?
- What are the people free—and even obligated—to do if the government fails or violates its purpose?
- Ought it to be easy or frequent for a people to overthrow and replace its government? If not, under which circumstances may they do so?
- In which ways did Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and the Second Continental Congress alter Thomas Jefferson’s first draft of the Declaration of Independence? What were the reasons for these various changes?
- Why did Thomas Jefferson’s first draft of the Declaration of Independence include condemnations of King George for perpetuating the Atlantic slave trade?
- Why did northern delegates, who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished, believe that compromising with southern delegates by omitting the issue of slavery from the Declaration’s list of grievances would be more likely to lead to the abolition of slavery than splitting with the southern colonies over the issue in 1776?
- How does the fact that America was founded with the words of the Declaration of Independence make America the exception in the history of nations, even exceptional?
- America is a country whose existence and purpose for existing rests on belief in and commitment to certain ideas its Founders asserted to be objectively true. What are these truths?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 8: Why is the Declaration of Independence important?
  - Question 9: What founding document said the American colonies were free from Britain?
  - Question 10: Name two important ideas from the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.
  - Question 11: The words “Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness” are in what founding document?
  - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?
  - Question 77: Name one reason why the Americans declared independence from Britain.
  - Question 78: Who wrote the Declaration of Independence?
  - Question 79: When was the Declaration of Independence adopted?
  - Question 81: There were 13 original states. Name five.
  - Question 85: Benjamin Franklin is famous for many things. Name one.
  - Question 87: Thomas Jefferson is famous for many things. Name one.
  - Question 125: What is Independence Day?
  - Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

The Declaration of Independence was not merely a renunciation of dependence on Great Britain. It was, in fact, generative. It created an entity—a nation—that stood on its own, had its own existence, and was independent of other nations. Even today, it offers guiding principles that continue to shape our arguments about the nature and limits of political authority. In brief, the Declaration of Independence created and still defines the United States of America.

Like an organizational mission statement, the Declaration is an indication of the Founders' intention, a guiding star for our political life, and a benchmark for measuring our public institutions. Americans should consider all questions concerning the public sphere in light of the truths asserted in the Declaration. The Declaration of Independence should be both the beginning and end for students' understanding of their country, their citizenship, and the benefits and responsibilities of being an American.

Referring questions of our common life to the Declaration of Independence does not mean that Americans should be forced or manipulated to believe the ideas of the Declaration to be true. But this unit asks students at least to consider *whether* the Declaration's claims are true. Indeed, Thomas Jefferson and the delegates at the Second Continental Congress addressed the Declaration of Independence not only to Americans in 1776 but also to the critical judgment of American students in the 21st Century, for, as they stated, "a decent respect to the *opinions of mankind* requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation" [emphasis added]. The lasting claim of the Declaration is that there are certain *truths* about *all men* having *unalienable* rights. As a historical matter, as well, students should think seriously about how the American founding—and the continuation of the American experiment—has succeeded or failed against its stated objectives.

Students should take it upon themselves to study and consider seriously the Declaration of Independence as the foundation and even the heart of their country's existence. While a more extensive study of the Declaration should occur in a separate government class, including consideration of the thinkers who influenced the Founders, the historical treatment of the American Revolution deserves several class periods of conversation on the text of the Declaration.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Declaration of Independence with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Help students to see that the Founders intended to speak to them, to posit truths for their consideration and ultimate judgment. "[A] decent respect to the opinions of mankind" means that the Declaration was not merely intended as an argument about the unique situation of the colonists in 1776; the Founders submitted their claims to the judgment of all people in all times because they were asserting truths about all people in all times. This especially includes future Americans and, in this case, American students.
- Lead students through a complete reading of the Declaration of Independence in the course of a seminar conversation. Pause frequently to ask students questions on the various parts of the text, especially the first two paragraphs. Questions on pages 47–52 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.

- Help students to consider that the Founders are making assertions of the existence of objective truth by referencing “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God” and by describing the truths as “self-evident.” This abides by the first law of logic, that of contradiction, which is the basis of all reasoning and of our capacity to make sense of reality: i.e., that something cannot both be and not be at the same time in the same way. The use of the words “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God” ties truth to an external reality (nature) with fixed and reliable features (laws). “Self-evident” ties truth to fixed definitions—a “self-evident” claim is one that is true by definition of the idea in question, like the claim that a triangle has three sides. A “self-evident” truth is not merely a matter of perspective; it can be known and understood by anyone at any time.
- Note that for the Founders, the “Laws...of Nature’s God” implied that this understanding of nature was consistent with the Christian tradition within which the American founding occurred. Other references to divine sources of truth in the Declaration include that men are “endowed by their Creator” and its appeals to “the Supreme Judge of the world” and to “the protection of divine Providence.”
- Ask students what the Declaration means by “all men are created equal.” For one thing, “men” means human being not males as opposed to females. Based on the totality of their writings available, the principal authors of the Declaration meant that men and women share equally in human dignity and in possession of natural rights or freedoms that are simply part of being human. A consistent application of equality would make slavery impossible—and the Second Continental Congress could scarcely have missed this point. This meaning of equality did not suggest equality in talent, property, or other accidentals to one’s humanity, qualities that are unique to a particular person and circumstance.
- Note that the mere articulation that all men are created equal was revolutionary. Compared to the degree and universality of equality we take for granted today, such a statement and contemporary limits on the principle in practice leave the Founders open to much potential criticism. For example, in general, women, men without land, and African Americans were not able to vote. But the mere fact that most men *were able* to vote was a significant departure from what was normal in the rest of the world. And even though civil equality was not universal, the statement about inherent and equal dignity of all people was unheard of at the time. Many Founders believed (and the centuries since have proven them correct) that this founding principle would allow for ever greater realizations of equality through history. In brief, were it not for the Founders’ assertion of human equality, albeit imperfectly put into practice, the kind of equality we are used to today likely would never have arisen, or certainly not from American shores.
- Ask students what the Declaration states to be the purpose of government. Students should understand the Declaration’s argument that government is created to secure the natural rights of each person.
- Ask students about the source of a government’s power. The Declaration explains that government power comes from the free consent of the people. Students should also consider the Declaration’s argument that people do not receive their rights from government, nor do they surrender their fundamental rights to it. Instead, the rights to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” are natural—they are inherent in being human—and government is delegated power by the sovereign people to secure their rights and pursue the common good. Rather than surrendering their rights to government, people create government to protect their rights. The Declaration describes these rights as “unalienable,” meaning that they cannot be relinquished or taken away, though they may be forfeited when a person violates the rights of

another person, (e.g., the penalty for taking someone else's life or liberty might be to lose your own life or liberty).

- Help students to understand what is meant by self-government: legitimate government exists to secure rights and derives its “just powers from the consent of the governed,” that is, from the citizen body. The fundamental purpose of government is clear and its powers are limited. As a result, and by design, the people have the liberty to govern themselves in most aspects of their daily lives.
- Read the list of grievances and ask students to connect each grievance to the historical events they studied in the previous lesson. Then ask students to explain how those events violate the statements made in the first two paragraphs of the Declaration.
- Provide students with a copy of the first draft of the Declaration of Independence that tracks the edits made by the Second Continental Congress. Ask students why specific changes were made. Spend time especially with the sections that addressed slavery and were removed.
- When discussing compromises between the principled claims of the Declaration and the brutal matter of slavery, be mindful of the following:
  - The Revolution was not motivated by fear that England would abolish slavery, and there were more efforts to limit slavery by the colonists than there were in England at the time of the American Revolution.
  - Slavery was one of the few matters of disagreement among the colonial revolutionaries in their otherwise generally united challenge to England. Those who opposed slavery as well as those who favored it agreed about the growing threat of British tyranny.
  - Many of the American Founders, especially those from northern colonies, strongly opposed slavery but nevertheless accepted a temporary compromise on the issue, believing that an independent and united country would provide the best prospect for actually abolishing slavery. Without unity between northern and southern colonies, either the colonists would have lost the war, in which case slavery would simply be continued by Great Britain, or the southern colonies would have formed their own separate country, in which case the North would have no power over the South to abolish slavery. The key for the American Founders, especially those who opposed slavery, would be to continue efforts against slavery as a united country—united around the principles of the Declaration of Independence.
  - The idea that a country can be founded on a principle—rather than merely on claims of territory, tribe, or military power—is uniquely American. America's founding principle that “all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights” was unprecedented. Almost all recognized that the statement of the principles, despite a compromise that allowed for the pre-existing institution's continuing existence, undermined the legitimacy of slavery.
  - Many northern Founders and even some slaveholding Founders recognized the hypocrisy of claiming the principle of equality in spite of the continuing institution of slavery. Nevertheless, some southern Founders did not believe this phrase to be true for slaves and therefore did not believe it was hypocritical.
  - Many have understood the principle of equality as the enduring object or goal of American political life, with each generation seeking further to expand the conditions of political equality. This was the view of many Founders, as well as of Abraham Lincoln, abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, and civil rights leaders like Martin Luther

King Jr., who called the Declaration a “promissory note to which every American was to fall heir” in his 1963 “I Have a Dream” speech.

- Slavery and the subsequent inequality and violations of the rights of the descendants of slaves, as well as of women and certain immigrants, are glaring ways in which the country has fallen short of its founding idea.
- The Declaration’s principle of equality—and the persistence and bravery of Americans of all origins to sacrifice and even die insisting that the nation should live up to the principle—has led to unprecedented achievements of human equality and the protection of equal rights.

### **STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS**

**Assignment 1:** Explain the meaning of key lines, phrases, and ideas in the first two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Recite by heart the first two paragraphs and the final paragraph of the Declaration of Independence.

**Assignment 3:** Explain why the Americans believed they had more than “light and transient” causes to justify their revolution (1–2 paragraphs).



## Lesson 3 — The War of Independence

1776–1783

6-7 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the major figures, common soldiers, strategy, and specific battles of the American War of Independence.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Text

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapter 6  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Short History of the American Revolution*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 52–58  
Pages 83–102  
As helpful  
Pages 63–68

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*

Lecture 4

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, chapter 6, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below) or read excerpts from *The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, pages 83–102, and prepare for a reading quiz (teacher created).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Delaware River  
Saratoga  
Fort West Point

Valley Forge  
Yorktown

#### Persons

George Washington  
Phillis Wheatley  
John Adams  
Abigail Adams

Ethan Allen  
Henry Knox  
John Paul Jones  
Horatio Gates

Marquis de Lafayette  
Tadeusz Kościuszko  
Baron von Steuben  
Nathanael Greene

Benedict Arnold  
John Burgoyne  
Charles Cornwallis  
Alexander Hamilton

### Terms and Topics

Patriot/Revolutionary  
Tory/Loyalist  
Articles of Confederation  
Continental Army  
privateer  
Brown Bess Musket  
volley  
Battle of New York  
mercenary  
Hessians  
Crossing of the Delaware

Battle of Trenton  
Betsy Ross Flag  
Yankee Doodle  
Battle of Saratoga  
guerrilla warfare  
French Treaty of Alliance  
Battle of Yorktown  
Newburgh Conspiracy  
American Cincinnatus  
Treaty of Paris

### Primary Sources

Resignation Speech, George Washington  
“Liberty and Peace,” Phillis Wheatley

### To Know by Heart

“These are the times that try men’s souls.” — Thomas Paine, *The Crisis*  
Yankee-Doodle, first stanza

### Timeline

(1775) 1776–1783	War of Independence
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed
Christmas, 1776	Battle of Trenton
1777	Battle of Saratoga
1777–78	Winter Quarters at Valley Forge
1781 (Fall)	Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
1783	Treaty of Paris

### Images

Historical figures  
Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson  
Depictions of figures at various scenes, moments, and in battle  
“Washington Crossing the Delaware” painting  
Betsy Ross Flag and other flags  
Maps: overall strategies, specific battles  
Relevant forts  
Medical equipment  
Reenactment photos  
Washington Monument

Statue of George Washington (Hillsdale College campus)  
Images and uniforms of British and American officers and soldiers

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- The fates of the signers of the Declaration of Independence
- David Bushnell's submarine attack
- Maryland 400 and the Battle of Brooklyn
- Retreat from Manhattan
- Washington's Crossing of the Delaware
- The American farmers joining the Battle of Saratoga
- Washington encouraging his men at Valley Forge
- Stories of Margaret Corbin, Molly Pitcher, Abigail Adams, and Martha Washington during the war
- Washington on horseback at the Battle of Monmouth
- The playing of the "World Turned Upside Down" after Yorktown (possibly legend)
- Washington's dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- George III's comments on Washington resigning his command (possibly legend)
- Washington's resignation

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the war?
- What was the style of warfare in the War of Independence, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- What were the major contributions and moments in George Washington's generalship during the war?
- How did each of the following battles begin, what happened in them, and what was their significance: Bunker Hill, Trenton, and Yorktown?
- Why was the situation so dire in winter 1776?
- Why was the Battle of Saratoga so significant? What did the Americans gain from its newfound ally?
- What happened at Valley Forge over the winter of 1777–78?
- What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
- What were the most significant moments in the War of Independence?
- What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?
- What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris?
- Why were soldiers on the verge of mutiny in 1783? How did George Washington resolve the crisis?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 76: What war did the Americans fight to win independence from Britain?
  - Question 80: The American Revolution had many important events. Name one.
  - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.
  - Question 89: Alexander Hamilton is famous for many things. Name one.

- Question 121: Why does the flag have 13 stripes?
- Question 122: Why does the flag have 50 stars?
- Question 124: The Nation's first motto was "E Pluribus Unum." What does that mean?

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

The American Revolution was truly a "David and Goliath" clash: a fledgling strand of remote colonies loosely cooperating as one through a continental, mostly citizen army, fought and won independence from the greatest military power in the world. Students should appreciate this about the war of their forefathers. They should also know key stories of the heroic actions of the leaders and the many common folk in that struggle, understand the strategies employed in general and in specific battles, and consider the key moments and factors that led the Americans to victory.

Teachers might best plan and teach the War of Independence with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Discuss how the new states organized themselves in the Articles of Confederation. Students do not need to know the inner workings of this first constitution, as they will learn more about it in the next lesson. Students should understand, however, the general contours of power and how it operated. They should also understand the ways in which many of its weaknesses were intentional, weaknesses that would manifest themselves as serious problems at various points during the war.
- Ask students to identify and compare the various advantages and disadvantages of each side at the outset of the war and how these shifted over the years. Having students take simple notes as a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Introduce students to the contemporary style of warfare by using images, maps, and artifacts. This approach will provide a foundation for their subsequent study of battles, help them to understand what happens in battle, and allow them to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Help students to empathize with the common Continental Army soldier and perceive the risk facing all the colonists, especially the leaders. Conditions were truly awful at many points in the war. The prospect of imminent defeat and the dire consequences for all involved weighed heavily upon the colonists throughout the war. The leaders—the men we now consider the American Founders—would most certainly have been shot or hanged if they were captured or the war was lost. In spite of the risks, they risked everything and sacrificed much for the cause of freedom and self-government. Students should appreciate the great debt we owe them.
- Explain each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles.
- Teach major battles in detail. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battles themselves, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often. *A Short History of the American Revolution* is a great aid for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of these battles from this work, too.
- As with any conflict, draw attention to the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war. George Washington should be especially considered, not so much in his battle tactics

as in his overall strategy for the war and his stirring leadership of his soldiers. Read aloud Washington's resignation speech, presenting it as vividly as possible and helping students appreciate the significance of Washington's character and example.

- Explain how the principles of the Declaration of Independence were already effecting change among the Americans even prior to the resolution of the war. By the end of the war, every northern state except for New York and New Jersey had explicitly outlawed slavery, and some New England colonies had allowed African Americans to vote. Students should also learn of the outsized contributions of African American soldiers in the war, with five thousand serving in the Continental Army over the course of the war and, by some accounts, African Americans composing nearly a quarter of the American forces at Yorktown.

### **STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS**

**Assignment 1:** Explain the reasons why the Americans won the War of Independence (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Retell the history of the War of Independence (2–3 paragraphs).

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Founding | Lesson 3  
*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Chapter 6

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. What was one disadvantage that the United States had in the Revolutionary War?
2. What was one advantage that the United States had in the Revolutionary War?
3. Who was the general of the Continental Army?
4. Which country allied with the Americans following the Battle of Saratoga?
5. What was the final major battle of the war in which the Americans defeated the British and General Charles Cornwallis surrendered?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Unit 1 — Formative Quiz 2

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Covering Lesson 3  
10-15 minutes

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
2. Why was the situation so dire in winter 1776?
3. What happened at Valley Forge over the winter of 1777–78?
4. What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?
5. What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris?

## Lesson 4 — The United States Constitution

1783–1789

9-10 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the drafting of the Constitution, the debates within the Constitutional Convention and its ratification by the states, the political thought undergirding the Constitution, and the basic structure and powers of the federal government.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapters 7 and 8  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*The 1776 Report*  
*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 15–25, 27–32  
Pages 58–78  
Pages 103–108  
Pages 56–89

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Constitution 101*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*The Federalist Papers*

Lectures 4 and 5  
Lectures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6  
Lectures 1, 2, 3  
Lectures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, chapter 7, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below) or read excerpts from *The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, pages 103–108, and prepare for a reading quiz (teacher created).

**Assignment 2:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, chapter 8, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Northwest Territory  
Philadelphia

Independence Hall



**Persons**

James Madison  
Gouverneur Morris  
James Wilson  
George Washington

Alexander Hamilton  
John Jay  
Publius  
Benjamin Banneker

**Terms and Topics**

Articles of Confederation  
Land Ordinance of 1785  
township  
debt cancellation laws  
Shays' Rebellion  
Northwest Ordinance  
Constitutional Convention  
Father of the Constitution  
Constitution  
natural rights  
equality  
consent of the governed  
self-government  
faction  
majority tyranny  
ambition  
representation  
republicanism  
extended sphere  
federalism  
limited government  
enumerated powers  
separation of powers  
checks and balances  
Virginia Plan  
New Jersey Plan  
Great Compromise  
Three-Fifths Clause  
legislative power  
Congress

bicameralism  
House of Representatives  
Senate  
budget  
impeachment  
executive powers  
Electoral College  
cabinet  
Commander-in-Chief  
veto power  
judicial powers  
*Marbury v. Madison*  
judicial review  
Article IV, Section 2  
amendment  
*The Federalist*  
Anti-Federalists  
Article I, Section 9  
ratifying conventions  
Bill of Rights  
freedom of religion  
free exercise  
establishment clause  
freedom of speech  
freedom of the press  
right to assembly  
right to keep and bear arms  
due process

**Primary Sources**

The United States Constitution  
The Bill of Rights

**To Know by Heart**

“Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”  
— Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article 3

Preamble to the U.S. Constitution

“A republic, if you can keep it.” — Benjamin Franklin

“If men were angels, no government would be necessary.” — *Federalist* 10

First Amendment

Second Amendment

### Timeline

1781	Articles of Confederation take effect
September 17, 1787	Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
1789	Constitution takes effect; George Washington elected president

### Images

Paintings of historical figures and events

Depictions of scenes from the Constitutional Convention

Photographs of Independence hall (exterior and interior)

Photos or facsimiles of the original Articles of Confederation, Northwest Ordinance, Constitution, *The Federalist Papers*, and Bill of Rights

*The Signing of the American Constitution* painting, Samuel Knecht

Statue of James Madison (Hillsdale College campus)

National Archives Building and the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom

Paintings by Barry Faulkner in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Delegates meeting in City Tavern in Philadelphia to discuss the Constitution-in-making “after hours”
- Benjamin Franklin’s story about the sun on George Washington’s chair being a sunrise for the country
- Benjamin Franklin’s reply to a woman’s question about what the Constitutional Convention had created: “A republic, if you can keep it,” and what this means
- The correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Banneker

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What did the Land Ordinance of 1785 do, especially with respect to public vs. private ownership of land and public education?
- What did the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 do, especially with respect to the future of western lands, public education, and preventing the expansion of slavery?
- What were the specific problems of the Articles of Confederation? What issues did they permit to arise and fester?
- Which event especially impressed on the Founders, particularly James Madison and George Washington, the need to revisit the Articles of Confederation?
- Who was the intellectual leader among the many very talented men at the Philadelphia convention, known as the “Father of the Constitution”?
- What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?
- What was *The Federalist*, what was its purpose, and why do we still read it?

- What did *The Federalist* argue about each of the following:
  - human nature
  - faction
  - majority tyranny
  - republicanism
- What were the major disagreements at the Constitutional Convention?
- What are the various ways that the Constitution addresses the issue of faction?
- What is federalism? Why is it important?
- What is separation of powers? Why is it a principle for the arrangement of government power, and how does the Constitution achieve this?
- What are the offices and main powers of each branch of government?
- What are checks and balances how can each branch check the power of the others?
- Contrast the character of the House of Representatives to that of the Senate, explaining the purpose for these differences and how their features (method of selection, qualifications, term lengths, percentage of each house up for election at a given time, etc.) contribute to their respective purposes.
- How does a bill become a law?
- What is the Electoral College, how did it originally work, and what is its purpose?
- What was the nature of the Founders' compromise with slavery at the time of the founding for the sake of the union? How did those who were opposed to slavery believe that slavery could be abolished only if the union were preserved?
- Why did the Founders expect that slavery would eventually die out?
- What efforts did the founding generation make to abolish slavery?
- What are the three clauses related to slavery in the Constitution? Explain each.
- In the debate leading up to the Three-Fifths Compromise, how was the northerners' insistence on limiting the value of a slave for purposes of representation an effort to both call the South's bluff on the personhood of slaves and an attempt to prohibit disproportionate power for those who wished to defend and expand slavery?
- Why does the Constitution make it so hard for it to be amended?
- What were the different views towards the Constitution during the ratification debate?
- What do each of the following amendments in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why: 1st, 2nd, 9th, and 10th?
- What is due process? Why is it such an important legal guarantor of freedom?
- To whom are elected officials and the Constitution itself ultimately subject?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 1: What is the form of government of the United States?
  - Question 2: What is the supreme law of the land?
  - Question 3: Name one thing the U.S. Constitution does.
  - Question 4: The U.S. Constitution starts with the words "We the People." What does "We the People" mean?
  - Question 6: What does the Bill of Rights protect?
  - Question 10: Name two important ideas from the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.
  - Question 13: What is the rule of law?
  - Question 14: Many documents influenced the U.S. Constitution. Name one.
  - Question 82: What founding document was written in 1787?

- Question 83: The Federalist Papers supported the passage of the U.S. Constitution. Name one of the writers.
- Question 84: Why were the Federalist Papers important?
- Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 88: James Madison is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 89: Alexander Hamilton is famous for many things. Name one.

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

“[I]t seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.” Thus wrote Alexander Hamilton in the opening paragraph of *Federalist* 1 in support of the newly proposed United States Constitution. Indeed, it is the Constitution that gives institutional form to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It is, as Abraham Lincoln would later express it, the “frame of silver” meant to adorn and, most importantly, to protect the “apple of gold” that is the Declaration of Independence and the truths it asserts. The Constitution is the vehicle for the American experiment in self-government.

Study of the Constitution and of the history of its creation shows students *how* and *that* human beings are able to govern themselves in freedom, securing the equal protection of rights and the dignity of each person through reflection, deliberation, and choice. This is a significant thing for students to grasp, for if a constitution cannot achieve these ends, then force and violence are the only alternatives left to mankind.

Students need not study all of the political philosophy that undergirded the Constitutional Convention and the Constitution itself, nor need they understand all the details of the function of government; they will study these facets to the Constitution extensively in separate American Civics lessons. They should, however, understand the main principles and structure of the Constitution and the government it established, and know the stories from the Constitutional Convention and the ratification debates. Selections from *The Federalist* for the teacher as well as the Bill of Rights for the students will be helpful to accomplish these purposes.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Constitution with emphasis on the following approaches. While the length of this advice is larger than advice for other lessons, it is owing to the ease with which so many features of the Constitution can be taught incorrectly, with significant consequences. Therefore, this advice includes many corrections to common misconceptions that can be quickly addressed in class. As mentioned, the vast majority of the political philosophy and mechanics of the Constitution are reserved for separate civics lessons.

- Consider the two major legislative achievements under the Articles of Confederation, the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Students should understand the historic emphasis the Founders placed on public education, private land ownership, and preventing the spread of slavery, as evident in these laws.
- Revisit the structure of the Articles of Confederation and the issues that emerged under such a structure during the War of Independence, namely: the debt cancellation laws by states (a clear

example of majority tyranny), varieties of currencies, interstate trade barriers, separate agreements between states and foreign powers, the inability to enforce the Treaty of Paris against the British with respect to western territories, and Shays' Rebellion.

- Lead students through the process of the Constitutional Convention. Help them see that the Convention was arranged to ensure that all the states were able to speak and be represented. Through stories of the various debates and compromises, explain the difficulty of establishing a government that would satisfy all parties.
- Describe the environment and people of the Constitutional Convention, as well as the history and tone of the ratification debate that followed.
- Share with students the main arguments in *Federalist* 9, 10, and 51. These key documents should afford the teacher a review of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the problems of the Articles of Confederation and also illustrate the purposes of the Constitution. The form of the Constitution follows its function with respect to human nature and the purposes for which governments are established, per the Declaration of Independence. *The Federalist* explains both of these functions and the nature of men.
- Read, annotate, and discuss the Constitution with particular attention to the Preamble, the structure of government that the Constitution establishes, and the reasons for this structure. Questions on pages 56–62 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Clarify that the Constitution establishes a republic, not a democracy. In a pure democracy the people make all legislative decisions by direct majority vote; in a republic, the people elect certain individuals to represent their interests in deliberating and voting. The deliberations and voting record of representatives should usually reflect but should also be more refined than that of the entire people voting directly. Sometimes this distinction is described in terms of direct democracy vs. representative democracy.
- Explain the importance of the principles of separation of powers and federalism, and why these ideas are central to the Constitution's safeguards against the corrupting tendency of power.
- Consider how the Constitution repeatedly structures federal institutions to refine and enlarge the will of the people.
- Explain how the House of Representatives is meant to be a more dynamic and immediate expression of the people's will, while the Senate is meant to be more deliberative and circumspect.
- Emphasize that the Framers of the Constitution were chiefly concerned with allowing the will of the majority to rule—thereby guaranteeing the consent of the governed—while still preserving the rights of the minority and thereby securing justice.
- Describe the American Founders' understanding of human nature. They understood human nature to be fixed and unchanging, good but also flawed and tending toward corrupting power. In response to human nature, government must guard against the opposite dangers of lawlessness and tyranny, accounting for the realities of human nature and rejecting the possibility of utopia.
- Show how the Constitution does not deny, demonize, or elevate human nature, but rather seeks to channel the powers of human beings into constructive institutions while mitigating man's baser tendencies. In brief, the Constitution is constructed on a deep and accurate understanding of fixed human nature born of the Founders' knowledge of history, their own experience, and their prudence.
- Ask about the source and purpose of a government's power. Review how the Declaration of Independence claims that government power comes from the free consent of the people, and ask students to identify whether and how the Constitution accomplishes that goal.

- Distinguish the focus of the federal government compared to the state governments.
- Teach the structure, makeup, and powers of each branch of government and explain why the Founders made them so. Students should understand how each branch works, how they work together, and how the branches check and balance one another.
- Clarify how the Electoral College works and why the Founders chose this process for electing the president. One of the original reasons was to provide a way for the people's representatives, the electors, to prevent a tyrannical or fraudulent choice, but most states abandoned this purpose when they enacted laws binding electors to the state's popular vote. Another reason was to ensure that presidential candidates would pay attention to the interests of those to whom it was harder or less politically efficient to travel geographically. This has forced presidential candidates to address the concerns not merely of large population centers like cities but also of rural and more remote populations. Together with equal representation among states in the Senate, the Electoral College has discouraged a majority tyranny of urban interests.
- Read and discuss how slavery was limited in the Constitution. Though the Constitution did not abolish slavery, it did place more limits on slavery on a national scale than had previously existed. Indeed, adopting the Constitution was one of the first significant moves to restrict slavery anywhere in the world at that time. Moreover, as Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln would later acknowledge, the Constitution placed slavery on the path to extinction.
- Clarify the arguments of northerners and southerners concerning the Three-Fifths Clause. The clause is not about the humanity of slaves; it is strictly about how much representation a slave will give southern states in Congress and the Electoral College. The great hypocrisy of the southerners was refusing to acknowledge the rights and personhood of slaves while insisting that they be counted as persons for purposes of representation *only*—thereby giving the South more weight in Congress and in presidential elections. Northerners sought to limit the harm by calling their bluff, requiring them either (i) to treat slaves as persons and citizens and count them for representation purposes or (ii) deny their humanity and relinquish the corresponding votes. Giving the South fewer votes meant giving them less power to perpetuate the institution of slavery. Additionally, students should understand that the compromise over the Three-Fifths Clause was to secure southern support for the Constitution, without which the country would become disunited, slavery would continue uninhibited in the separate South, and the North would have no power to restrict or eliminate slavery there.
- Remind students that the international slave trade was unlimited in the states until the passage of the Constitution, which allowed for it to be outlawed in 1808 (which it was) and for Congress to discourage it by imposing tariffs on the slave trade in the meantime. Students should understand that without allowing the twenty-year delay, the power to abolish the slave trade would not have been granted in the first place.
- Consider the significance of the Constitution not using the word “slave” and instead using “person.” Refusing to use the word “slave” avoided giving legal legitimacy to slavery. Even Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3 emphasizes that slavery was legal based on certain state, not federal, laws. The use of the word “person” forced even southerners to recognize the humanity of the slave: that he or she was in fact a human person, not property.
- Point out that clauses that were not about slavery but which slaveholding interests could use to their benefit does not mean that those clauses are “pro-slavery,” as they would also and primarily be beneficial to other purposes having no connection to slavery. Such a logical fallacy would implicate anything used in committing a wrong act, for example, a road used by bank robbers in their getaway would be “pro-robbery.”

- Consider the sectional or regional nature of views on slavery during the founding. Many northern Founders (e.g., John Adams, Benjamin Rush, and Gouverneur Morris) spoke and wrote extensively on the immorality of slavery and its need to be abolished, some of whom (e.g., John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin) founded or served in abolitionist societies. Even among the southern Founders who supported slavery and owned slaves, several leading Founders expressed regret and fear of divine retribution for slavery in America (e.g., Thomas Jefferson and James Madison). Some freed their slaves as well, such as George Washington, who famously manumitted Mount Vernon's slaves in his will.
- Ask students how to judge the Founders who owned slaves and yet supported the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. Students should consider their public and private lives as well as their words and deeds. Taken altogether, students should recognize the difficulty in assigning an absolute moral judgment that a person is entirely bad or entirely good.
- Have students also consider the distinction between judging character absolutely versus judging individual actions. When they do, students will encounter figures who did both much that was good and also some that was bad, and that this contradiction runs through the heart of every person.
- Be careful with the phrase "consider the times," as this phrase can easily give the impression that truth and morality (good and evil) are merely relative to one's viewpoint or historical time period. Instead, help students understand that "to consider the times" in which the American colonists and Founders lived is not to excuse moral injustices or to justify relativism. We should consider the circumstances at the time and weigh them against principles that transcend time. It's not whitewashing or rewriting history. It is recognizing the reality of history and honestly assessing how figures at the time acted within their circumstances in light of the truth.
- Note the belief of many Founders, based on the evidence at the time, that slavery was naturally on the way to extinction. Public opinion had steadily grown against it; the principles of the Declaration of Independence and Revolution would continue to be a force toward realizing equality; and the Constitution had further restricted slavery, permitted further restrictions by holding the union together, and kept slavery on its path to extinction.
- Teach students about the Anti-Federalists' concerns with the Constitution, the arguments for and against a Bill of Rights, and how the Federalists ultimately convinced states to ratify the Constitution (provided that a Bill of Rights was included).
- Read aloud with students the Bill of Rights. Pause frequently to ask students questions on various parts of the text. Questions on pages 79–84 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Help students understand why each of the rights found in the Bill of Rights corresponds to the preservation of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and how these rights answer some of the grievances in the Declaration of Independence as well as the problems under the Articles of Confederation. Especially consider the 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 10th Amendments.
- Explain that the Founders did not believe the Bill of Rights encompassed all the rights of men in society, nor that these rights came from government. Some of the rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights are natural rights. Many are derivative civil rights through which the constitutional process abides by and secures underlying natural rights. Between the Bill of Rights, the limited purposes of government, and the enumerated powers, emphasize for students how America has a *limited* government.
- Finally, tell about the first elections, meetings of the Electoral College, and George Washington's inauguration in 1789. If students have already studied the French Revolution, remind them that

just a few short months later the French Revolution would commence, leading to a far different outcome than the American Revolution and Constitution.

### **STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS**

**Assignment 1:** Explain how the Constitution distributes power among the three branches of government (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Explain what separation of powers and federalism each are and how they guard against the tendency governments to use power to become tyrannical (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 3:** Explain why the Framers believed it should be relatively difficult to change the Constitution. Explain why they made an exception by including the Bill of Rights as the first ten amendments (1–2 paragraphs).



Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Founding | Lesson 4  
*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Chapter 7

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Are we sure that the band at Yorktown played “The World Turned Upside Down”?
2. What was the name of the first constitution and government under which the United States attempted to govern itself?
3. The Northwest Ordinance prohibited what from the territories of what is now much of the Great Lakes region of the Midwest?
4. What did the farmer and war veteran Daniel Shays do?
5. In which city did delegates meet to draft a new Constitution?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

---

The American Founding | Lesson 4  
*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Chapter 8

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Who presided over the Constitutional Convention?
2. Who was known as “the Father of the Constitution”?
3. Although the convention was held in secrecy, how do we know so much about what happened?
4. Which powerful new office was created in the Constitution?
5. The compromise between representation by population or representation by state that decided to do both through a two-house Congress is known as the \_\_\_\_\_ Compromise.

## **APPENDIX A**

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment



## Study Guide — Unit 1, Test 1

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Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

Test on \_\_\_\_\_

### TIMELINE

*When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.*

1754–1763	French & Indian War
1763	Proclamation Line
1770	Boston Massacre
1773	Boston Tea Party
1774	Intolerable Acts
1775	Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

*Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.*

Boston	Independence Hall	Ticonderoga
Philadelphia	Lexington and Concord	

### PERSONS

*Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.*

George III	Samuel Adams	Ethan Allen
George Washington	Benjamin Franklin	Thomas Paine
John Hancock	Patrick Henry	Thomas Jefferson
Crispus Attucks	John Adams	Henry Knox
Paul Revere	Abigail Adams	

### TERMS AND TOPICS

*Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.*

salutary neglect	Sons of Liberty	Intolerable Acts
self-government	mob	Minutemen
representation	tar and feather	Second Continental Congress
French and Indian War	Declaratory Act	Continental Army
Proclamation of 1763	Boston Massacre	Olive Branch Petition
Stamp Act	Boston Tea Party	

Laws of Nature and of  
Nature's God  
self-evident  
natural rights

equality  
unalienable  
liberty  
pursuit of happiness

consent of the governed  
slavery  
Patriot/Revolutionary  
Tory/Loyalist

## MAJOR CONFLICTS

*Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.*

French and Indian War  
Lexington & Concord

Fort Ticonderoga  
Bunker Hill

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.*

*Common Sense*, Thomas Paine  
Declaration of Independence

## TO KNOW BY HEART

*Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.*

"Give me liberty or give me death!" — Patrick Henry  
First two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.*

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson up through 1776
- Boston Massacre
- Boston Tea Party
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.*

### Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

- ☐ Why had the colonies been mostly left to their own devices? Why was this “neglect” “salutary”?
- ☐ How did the British situation following the French and Indian War lead the British to exert more authority over the colonists?
- ☐ In what ways did the British begin to exert control over the colonists without their consent?
- ☐ What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists’ freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
- ☐ What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament’s actions?
- ☐ How did the Boston Massacre change public opinion among the colonists?
- ☐ Why did Parliament pass the Intolerable Acts? What did they do (five actions)?
- ☐ In what ways did Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* influence public opinion?
- ☐ What actions by the British in the spring of 1776 prompted Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to introduce a motion for independence?

### Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

- ☐ What are “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God”?
- ☐ What is a “self-evident” truth?
- ☐ What does it mean that “all men are created equal”?
- ☐ What is a *right*?
- ☐ According to the Declaration of Independence, from where do natural rights come?
- ☐ What does “unalienable” mean?
- ☐ What is liberty according to the Founders?
- ☐ Why did Jefferson use “the pursuit of happiness” instead “of property”?
- ☐ What is the purpose of government?
- ☐ From where does a government derive its just powers?
- ☐ What are the people free—and even obligated—to do if the government fails or violates its purpose?
- ☐ Why did northern delegates, who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished, believe that compromising with southern delegates by omitting the issue of slavery from the Declaration’s list of grievances would be more likely to lead to the abolition of slavery than splitting with the southern colonies over the issue in 1776?
- ☐ How does the fact that America was founded with the words of the Declaration of Independence make America the exception in the history of nations, even exceptional?





Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## The American Founding — Test 1

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Lesson 1 | Self-Government or Tyranny

Lesson 2 | The Declaration of Independence

### TIMELINE

*Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.*

1754–63	_____	A. Battles of Lexington & Concord and Bunker Hill
1763	_____	B. Boston Massacre
1770	_____	C. Boston Tea Party
1773	_____	D. Declaration of Independence signed
1774	_____	E. French and Indian War
1775	_____	F. Intolerable Acts
July 4, 1776	_____	G. Proclamation Line

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Draw a line indicating the border that the Proclamation of 1763 attempted to establish.
2. Label with dots the locations of Lexington & Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, and Philadelphia.



Map courtesy of *A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope*.

**PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS**

*Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.*

- |                                |                               |                     |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| A. Benjamin Franklin           | E. First Continental Congress | J. salutary neglect |
| B. Boston Massacre             | F. Intolerable Acts           | K. Sons of Liberty  |
| C. Boston Tea Party            | G. Lexington and Concord      | L. Thomas Jefferson |
| D. Declaration of Independence | H. Patrick Henry              | M. Thomas Paine     |
|                                | I. Proclamation Line          |                     |
3. After acquiring lands from France following the French and Indian War, many British colonists hoped they would finally be able to settle further westward. In order to avoid additional conflict with the Native Americans and the related expenses of defense, the British enacted the \_\_\_\_\_ which declared that no American was allowed to move west of the Appalachians, and those already there must move back east.
4. This action by the British signaled the end of \_\_\_\_\_, or the tradition of allowing the colonists to govern themselves largely independent of Parliament that had made the colonists practiced in self-government.
5. In 1774, Parliament passed the Sugar Act. It did not create a new tax; rather it halved the previous sugar tax but, for the first time, actually tried to enforce it. No group found these new taxes so disagreeable as the \_\_\_\_\_ led by Samuel Adams in Boston.
6. In 1770, British redcoats, abused and provoked by a mob, fired on a crowd of civilians. Though judged in court to be innocent of any wrong-doing, the event known as the \_\_\_\_\_ changed public opinion and increased the tension between the British and the British colonists.
7. Tensions had seemed to ease by late 1773. But by then the British Parliament had granted the East India Trading Company a monopoly for selling tea in the American colonies. In response to yet another piece of British legislation not consented to by the colonial assemblies, colonists threw three shiploads of tea into Boston harbor in an event today known as the \_\_\_\_\_.
8. Parliament responded to this event by passing a series of acts known as the \_\_\_\_\_ Acts. These acts included closing Boston harbor and, perhaps most alarmingly, disbanding the colonial government in Massachusetts. These actions, moreover, were to be enforced by sending more armed soldiers and the British navy to the colonies.
9. Delegates from twelve colonies assembled at the \_\_\_\_\_ in response to these extraordinary acts of Parliament.
10. The final push for Revolution came in the years of 1775 and 1776. In April of 1775, the first shots of the war were fired in the battles of \_\_\_\_\_ when British soldiers attempted to seize a colonial armory, officially beginning a revolution many were still trying to avoid.

11. Following these battles, \_\_\_\_\_ gave a rousing speech in the Virginia House of Burgesses crying the words, “Give me liberty! Or give me death!”
12. Public opinion shifted sharply against the British in early 1776 when \_\_\_\_\_ published *Common Sense* in January of that year.
13. The rejection of offers of conciliation and the news that the British had hired Hessian mercenaries against their own people led delegates to the Second Continental Congress to vote for and sign the \_\_\_\_\_ to dissolve the “political bands” connecting the American states with Great Britain.
14. This document was written by a committee composed of \_\_\_\_\_, John Adams, and its main author, \_\_\_\_\_.

## MAJOR CONFLICTS

*Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle’s outcome.*

15. Bunker Hill

**KNOWN BY HEART**

*Fill in missing words using the correct letters and identify the source.*

- |                |                |                       |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| A. abolish     | E. governments | I. secure             |
| B. destructive | F. happiness   | J. self-evident       |
| C. equal       | G. liberty     | K. truths             |
| D. governed    | H. life        | L. unalienable rights |

16. “We hold these \_\_\_\_\_ to be \_\_\_\_\_, that all men are \_\_\_\_\_, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain \_\_\_\_\_, that among these are \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ and the pursuit of \_\_\_\_\_.—That to \_\_\_\_\_ these rights, \_\_\_\_\_ are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the \_\_\_\_\_,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes \_\_\_\_\_ of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to \_\_\_\_\_ 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.”

Source: \_\_\_\_\_

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3<sup>rd</sup> grade students.*

17. Tell the story of the Boston Massacre.
18. Tell the story of the battles of Lexington and Concord.

**QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND**

*Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed and responses must fully answer each question.*

19. What is self-government? In what ways was the colonists' freedom to govern themselves threatened and curtailed by the British between 1763 and 1776?
20. What were the two oftentimes competing approaches the colonists took to addressing Parliament's actions?
21. What are "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God"?
22. What is a "self-evident" truth?
23. What does it mean that "all men are created equal"?
24. What is the purpose of government?
25. Why did northern delegates, who were opposed to slavery and wanted it abolished, believe that compromising with southern delegates by omitting the issue of slavery from the Declaration's list of grievances would be more likely to lead to the abolition of slavery than splitting with the southern colonies over the issue in 1776?



## Study Guide — Unit 1, Test 2

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Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

Lesson 4 | The Constitution

Test on \_\_\_\_\_

### TIMELINE

*When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.*

(1775) 1776–1783	War of Independence
1775	Battles of Lexington and Concord and of Bunker Hill
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Independence signed
1776 (Christmas)	Battle of Trenton
1777	Battle of Saratoga
1777–78	Winter Quarters at Valley Forge
1781	Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis Surrenders
1783	Treaty of Paris
September 17, 1787	Constitutional Convention concludes (Constitution Day)
1789	Constitution takes effect; George Washington elected president

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

*Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.*

Boston	Fort Ticonderoga	Yorktown
Philadelphia	Delaware River	Northwest Territory
Independence Hall	Saratoga	
Lexington and Concord	Valley Forge	

### PERSONS

*Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.*

George III	Horatio Gates	Charles Cornwallis
George Washington	George Rogers Clark	Alexander Hamilton
Benjamin Franklin	Marquis de Lafayette	James Madison
John Adams	Baron von Steuben	John Jay
Ethan Allen	Nathanael Greene	Publius
Henry Knox	Benedict Arnold	

## TERMS AND TOPICS

*Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.*

Patriot/Revolutionary	Father of the Constitution	executive powers
Tory/Loyalist	Constitution	Electoral College
Articles of Confederation	faction	Commander-in-Chief
Continental Army	majority tyranny	veto power
privateer	republicanism	judicial powers
Brown Bess Musket	extended sphere	judicial review
volley	federalism	amendment
mercenary	limited government	<i>The Federalist</i>
Hessians	enumerated powers	Anti-Federalists
Betsy Ross Flag	separation of powers	Bill of Rights
Yankee Doodle	checks and balances	freedom of religion
guerilla warfare	Virginia Plan	free exercise
French Treaty of Alliance	New Jersey Plan	establishment clause
Newburgh Conspiracy	Great Compromise	freedom of speech
American Cincinnatus	Three-Fifths Compromise	freedom of the press
Treaty of Paris	legislative power	right to assembly
debt cancellation laws	Congress	right to bear arms
Shays' Rebellion	bicameralism	due process
Northwest Ordinance	House of Representatives	
Constitutional Convention	Senate	

## MAJOR CONFLICTS

*Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.*

Lexington & Concord	New York	Yorktown
Fort Ticonderoga	Trenton	
Bunker Hill	Saratoga	

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.*

The United States Constitution  
The Bill of Rights



## TO KNOW BY HEART

*Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.*

“These are times that try men’s souls.” — Thomas Paine, *The Crisis*

“Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.” — Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article 3

Preamble to the U.S. Constitution

“A republic, if you can keep it.” — Benjamin Franklin

First Amendment

Second Amendment

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.*

- Biography of George Washington between 1776 and 1789
- Minutemen at the Battles of Lexington and Concord
- Ethan Allen, Henry Knox, and the Green Mountain Boys capturing the guns from Fort Ticonderoga
- Battle of Bunker Hill
- Liberation of Boston
- Washington’s Crossing of the Delaware
- The American farmers joining the Battle of Saratoga
- Washington encouraging his men at Valley Forge
- Stories of Margaret Corbin, Molly Pitcher, Abigail Adams, and Martha Washington during the war
- Washington’s dismissal of the Newburgh Conspiracy
- Washington’s resignation
- Benjamin Franklin’s reply to a woman’s question about what the Constitutional Convention had created: “A republic, if you can keep it,” and what this means

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.*

### Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

- ☐ What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the war?
- ☐ What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- ☐ What were the major contributions and moments in George Washington’s generalship during the war?
- ☐ Why was the Battle of Saratoga so significant? What did the Americans gain from their newfound ally?
- ☐ What important contribution did Baron von Steuben make to the Continental Army?

- ☐ What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?
- ☐ Why were soldiers on the verge of mutiny in 1783? How did George Washington resolve the crisis?

#### Lesson 4 | The U.S. Constitution

- ☐ What did the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 do, especially with respect to the future of western lands, public education, and preventing the expansion of slavery?
- ☐ What were the specific problems of the Articles of Confederation? What issues did they permit to arise and fester?
- ☐ What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?
- ☐ What did *The Federalist* argue about each of the following:
  - human nature
  - faction
  - majority tyranny
  - morality
- ☐ What were the major disagreements at the Constitutional Convention?
- ☐ What was the great issue regarding representation? How was it resolved?
- ☐ What are the various ways that the Constitution addresses the issue of faction?
- ☐ What is federalism? Why is it important?
- ☐ What is separation of powers, why is it a principle for the arrangement of government power, and how does the Constitution achieve this?
- ☐ Contrast the character of the House of Representatives to that of the Senate, explaining the purpose for these differences and how their features (method of selection, qualifications, term lengths, percentage of each house up for election at a given time, etc.) contribute to their respective purposes.
- ☐ What is the Electoral College, how did it originally work, and what is its purpose?
- ☐ What was the nature of the Founders' compromise with slavery at the time of the founding for the sake of the union? Why did those who were opposed to slavery believe slavery could be abolished only if the union were preserved?
- ☐ Why did the Founders expect that slavery would eventually die out?
- ☐ What efforts did the founding generation make to abolish slavery?
- ☐ In the debate leading up to the Three-Fifths Compromise, how was the northerners' insistence on limiting the value of a slave for purposes of representation an effort both to call the South's bluff on the personhood of slaves and an attempt to prohibit disproportionate power for those who wished to defend and expand slavery?
- ☐ Why does the Constitution make it so hard for it to be amended?
- ☐ What do each of the following amendments in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why: 1st, 2nd, 9th, and 10th?
- ☐ To whom are elected officials and the Constitution itself ultimately subject?

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## The American Founding — Test 2

Lesson 3 | The War of Independence

Lesson 4 | The Constitution

### TIMELINE

*Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.*

(1775) 1776–83 War of Independence

1775 \_\_\_\_\_

July 4, 1776 \_\_\_\_\_

1776 (Christmas) \_\_\_\_\_

1777 \_\_\_\_\_

1777–78 \_\_\_\_\_

1781 \_\_\_\_\_

1783 \_\_\_\_\_

Sept. 17, 1787 \_\_\_\_\_

1789 \_\_\_\_\_

A. Battle of Saratoga

B. Battle of Trenton

C. Battle of Yorktown; Cornwallis  
SurrendersD. Battles of Lexington and Concord  
and of Bunker HillE. Constitutional Convention  
concludes (Constitution Day)F. Constitution takes effect;  
Washington inaugurated

G. Declaration of Independence signed

H. Treaty of Paris

I. Winter quarters at Valley Forge

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Label with dots the locations of Trenton, Saratoga, Valley Forge, and Yorktown.



Map courtesy of *A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope*.

**PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS**

*Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.*

- |                              |                        |                         |
|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| A. Articles of Confederation | G. federalism          | M. separation of powers |
| B. Baron von Steuben         | H. Federalists         | N. Shays' Rebellion     |
| C. bicameral                 | I. Newburgh Conspiracy | O. slavery              |
| D. Bill of Rights            | J. Northwest Ordinance | P. Yorktown             |
| E. Constitutional Convention | K. Patriots            |                         |
| F. Continental Army          | L. Presidency          |                         |
- 
2. The United States of America at the beginning of the War for Independence were far from a united people. Two groups existed in the country: Tories who remained loyal to the King, and \_\_\_\_\_ who fought for the cause of independence.
  3. The American forces, known as the \_\_\_\_\_, consisted of a variety of militia and other enlistments who were often poorly supplied and rarely paid. Due to the miserable conditions, it was no surprise that 20% of the men deserted the army each winter and went home.
  4. Throughout the course of the war, the Americans were aided by a number of persons. Among these pro-American Europeans was the Prussian drill officer, the \_\_\_\_\_ who provided the American army with professional training at Valley Forge.
  5. In October of 1781, the British General Cornwallis found himself surrounded by the French Navy on the waters and 17,000 French and American troops on land in the Battle of \_\_\_\_\_. The surrender of 8,000 British troops convinced the British to make peace.
  6. After the final battle of the war but prior to formal peace being arranged, unrest in the Continental Army almost led to an overthrow of the Congress. This movement towards overthrow was called the \_\_\_\_\_, and was only ended by a dramatic officer's meeting called by George Washington.
  7. One of the greatest acts passed in America's first government was the \_\_\_\_\_ which banned slavery in the territories and promoted religion and knowledge through a system of public supported schools.
  8. Amidst the war, the founders had formed the \_\_\_\_\_ which established the first American government. It lacked, however, any real executive power and thus floundered throughout its ten years of existence.
  9. In 1786, an American Revolution veteran led an uprising of farmers against banks which were foreclosing homes and imprisoning debtors. The initial inability of the government to put down what was known as \_\_\_\_\_ led many founders to believe the government needed serious revisions.

10. In 1787, delegates appointed by state legislatures met in Philadelphia at the \_\_\_\_\_ to revise the existing government. The delegates opted instead to begin from scratch and worked to draft a new Constitution.
11. An important principle of the Constitution was the \_\_\_\_\_ where power is divided between three branches of government that then have the ability to check and balance each other, thus preventing the accumulation of power in one person or branch, what some founders called the very definition of tyranny.
12. Power was also divided between national, state, and local governments, a system known as \_\_\_\_\_, which again prevented power from being dangerously centralized.
13. At this convention, delegates had to compromise on several points. One of which, known as the Great Compromise, created a \_\_\_\_\_ legislature, one house of which determined representation by state population while the other gave each state equal representation.
14. Major additions to the government formed by the Constitution was a united and energetic executive branch called the \_\_\_\_\_ and an independent judiciary called the Supreme Court.
15. While the Constitution compromised on the issue of \_\_\_\_\_ in the Constitution, the Constitution did restrict this practice more than it had ever been before while preserving the Union, which many abolitionists believed would be the only way to end the institution.
16. Those who supported the ratification of the Constitution were called \_\_\_\_\_ while those who were opposed were known as Anti-Federalists.
17. Although the Founders included many measures intended to prevent national government tyranny, many states demanded the first Congress pass a \_\_\_\_\_ which explicitly lists the rights belonging to citizens that government may not infringe upon.

## MAJOR CONFLICTS

*Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.*

18. Saratoga

## 19. Yorktown

**KNOWN BY HEART**

*Fill in missing words using the correct letters and identify the source.*

- |                         |                       |             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| A. assemble             | D. Justice            | G. press    |
| B. Blessings of Liberty | E. more perfect Union | H. religion |
| C. Constitution         | F. People             | I. speech   |

20. “We the \_\_\_\_\_ of the United States, in Order to form a \_\_\_\_\_, establish \_\_\_\_\_, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the \_\_\_\_\_ to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this \_\_\_\_\_ for the United States of America.”

Source: \_\_\_\_\_

21. “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of \_\_\_\_\_ or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of \_\_\_\_\_, or of the \_\_\_\_\_; or the right of the people peaceably to \_\_\_\_\_, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

Source: \_\_\_\_\_

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3<sup>rd</sup> grade students.*

22. Tell the story of Washington’s Crossing of the Delaware.

23. Tell the story of the winter quarters at Valley Forge.

### QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed and responses must fully answer each question.*

24. What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Americans and British each faced at the outset of the War of Independence?

25. What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Americans to victory?

26. What is the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?

27. What did *The Federalist* argue about human nature and majority tyranny?

28. Why did the Founders expect that slavery would eventually die out?

29. What does the Second Amendment in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why?

30. What does the Ninth Amendment in the Bill of Rights guarantee and why?





## Writing Assignment — The American Founding

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Unit 1

Due on \_\_\_\_\_

### **DIRECTIONS**

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

How and on what principles was America founded?



## **APPENDIX B**

### Primary Sources

Patrick Henry

Thomas Paine

Thomas Jefferson

The Second Continental Congress

George Washington

The American People



**PATRICK HENRY, DELEGATE TO THE SECOND VIRGINIA CONVENTION**

# On the Resolution for a State of Defense

SPEECH

March 23, 1775

St. John's Episcopal Church | Richmond, Virginia

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Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death

## BACKGROUND

Just weeks before the battles of Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts, Patrick Henry delivered this speech in support of raising a company of cavalry or infantry in every Virginian county.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why does Patrick Henry think reconciliation with Great Britain is impossible?
2. What are the only alternatives to war with Great Britain?

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Patrick Henry, "Speech on a Resolution to Put Virginia into a State of Defense," in *American Patriotism*, ed. Sellim Peabody (New York: American Book Exchange, 1880), 108-110.

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Mr. President:

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony.

The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss.

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Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These  
5 are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort.

I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent  
10 over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging.

And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we  
15 resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer.

Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical  
20 hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne!

In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate  
25 those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall

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be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we  
5 are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath  
10 placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir,  
15 is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace—but there is no  
20 peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?

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



THOMAS PAINE

# *Common Sense*

PAMPHLET EXCERPT

January 10, 1776  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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## BACKGROUND

After outright conflict the previous year at Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill, and with Boston occupied by the British army and navy, Thomas Paine wrote this pamphlet on the relationship between the British and the American colonists.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What event has convinced Paine of the necessity of independence?
2. Why does Paine criticize the protection that Great Britain provided the American colonies?
3. How does the colonies' connection to Great Britain negatively impact the colonists economically?
4. How does Paine believe the Americans should organize themselves?

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Thomas Paine, *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 1, ed. Moncure Daniel Conway (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894).

**Introduction**

PERHAPS the sentiments contained in the following pages are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favor. A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defense of custom. But tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

As a long and violent abuse of power is generally the means of calling the right of it in question (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the sufferers been aggravated into the inquiry), and as the King of England hath undertaken in his own Right to support the Parliament in what he calls Theirs, and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the usurpation of either. . . .

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances hath and will arise which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the event of which their Affections are interested.

The laying a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Class, regardless of Party Censure, is the AUTHOR.

**Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs.**

In the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense: and have no other preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves: that he will put on, or rather that he will not put off, the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day....

Now is the seed-time of Continental union, faith and honour. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound would enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.

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By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politics is struck—a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, *i.e.* to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacks of the last year; which tho' proper then, are superceded and useless now....

- 5 I have heard it asserted by some, that as America has flourished under her former connection with Great-Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next  
10 twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true; for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessities of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

- But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the  
15 Continent at our expense as well as her own, is admitted; and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, *viz.* for the sake of trade and dominion.

- Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was *interest* not *attachment*; and that she did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our*  
20 *account*; but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from those who had no quarrel with us on any *other account*, and who will always be our enemies on the *same account*. Let Britain waive her pretensions to the Continent, or the Continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain, were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connections....

- 25 I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge; not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for buy them where we will...

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It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of present sorrow; the evil is not sufficiently brought to their doors to make them feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us a few moments to Boston; that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce  
5 a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it, in their present situation they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief they would  
10 be exposed to the fury of both armies...

No man was a warmer wisher for a reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen-tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and  
15 composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the Continent. And that for several reasons.

*First.* The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the King, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this Continent. And as he hath shown himself such an  
20 inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power, is he, or is he not, a proper person to say to these colonies, *You shall make no laws but what I please!*? And is there any inhabitant of America so ignorant as not to know, that according to what is called the *present constitution*, this Continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to; and is there any man so unwise as not to see, that (considering what has happened)  
25 he will suffer no law to be made here but such as suits *his* purpose? We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for us in England....

*Secondly.* That as even the best terms which we can expect to obtain can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no

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longer than till the Colonies come of age, so the general face and state of things in the interim will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would  
5 lay hold of the interval to dispose of their effects, and quit the Continent.

But the most powerful of all arguments is, that nothing but independance, *i. e.* a Continental form of government, can keep the peace of the Continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable that it will be followed by a revolt some where or other, the consequences of which may be  
10 far more fatal than all the malice of Britain....

Besides, the general temper of the Colonies, towards a British government will be like that of a youth who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her: And a government which cannot preserve the peace is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on  
15 paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation?...

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independance, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out. Wherefore, as an opening into that business I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better. Could the  
20 straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter.

Let the assemblies be annual, with a president only. The representation more equal, their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress.

Let each Colony be divided into six, eight, or ten, convenient districts, each district to send  
25 a proper number of Delegates to Congress, so that each Colony send at least thirty. The whole number in Congress will be at least 390. Each congress to sit and to choose a President by the following method. When the Delegates are met, let a Colony be taken from the

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whole thirteen Colonies by lot, after which let the Congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the Delegates of that Province. In the next Congress, let a Colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that Colony from which the president was taken in the former Congress, and so proceeding on till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just, not less than three fifths of the Congress to be called a majority. He that will promote discord, under a government so equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy from whom, or in what manner, this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the People, let a Continental Conference be held in the following manner, and for the following purpose,

A Committee of twenty six members of congress, *viz.* Two for each Colony. Two Members from each House of Assembly, or Provincial Convention; and five Representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town of each Province, for, and in behalf of the whole Province, by as many qualified voters as shall think proper to attend from all parts of the Province for that purpose; or, if more convenient, the Representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united the two grand principles of business, *knowledge* and *power*. The Members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counsellors, and the whole, being empowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a Continental Charter, or Charter of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing Members of Congress, Members of Assembly, with their date of sitting; and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them: Always remembering, that our strength is Continental, not Provincial. Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according

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to the dictates of conscience; with such other matter as it is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the Legislators and Governors of this Continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness, may GOD preserve. AMEN...

- 5 A government of our own is our natural right: and when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance ...

- 10 O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the Globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

**DELEGATE THOMAS JEFFERSON (VA) OF THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS****A Declaration**

DRAFT STATEMENT

June 1776  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Draft of the Declaration of Independence

**BACKGROUND**

Thomas Jefferson drafted and the Committee of Five edited this initial version of what would become the Declaration of Independence. This draft includes the edits that the Second Continental Congress made.

**ANNOTATIONS****NOTES & QUESTIONS****Key:**

~~word~~ = language deleted by Congress from Jefferson's draft

«word» = language added by Congress to Jefferson's draft

A DECLARATION By the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA,  
in «GENERAL» CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

When in the Course of human Events it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the  
Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers  
5 of the Earth the separate & equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God  
entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare  
the causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are en-  
dowed by their Creator with ~~inherent and~~ unalienable Rights, that among these are Life,

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"The Declaration of Independence" and "Draft of the Declaration of Independence" in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 5-9, 397-98.



- Liberty, & 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 abolish it, & to institute new Government, laying it's Foundation on such
- 5 Principles, & organizing it's Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety & Happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light & transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shown that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train
- 10 of Abuses & Usurpations ~~begin at a distinguished period and~~ pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty to throw off such Government, & to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; & such is now the Necessity which constrains them to ~~expunge~~ «alter» their former Systems of Government. The His-
- 15 tory of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of ~~unremitting~~ «repeated» Injuries & Usurpations, ~~among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest but all have~~ «all having» in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid World ~~for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.~~
- 20 He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome & necessary for the public Good.
- He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, & ~~continually~~ for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.
- He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at
- 25 large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, & Convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the Population of these states; for that Purpose obstructing the laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, & raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

5 He has made ~~our~~ Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, & the Amount & payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a Multitude of new Offices ~~by a self assumed power~~ and sent hither Swarms of new Officers to harass our People and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, ~~and ships of war~~ without the consent of our Legislatures.

10 He has affected to render the Military independent of, & superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, & unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

15 For protecting them, by a mock-Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For imposing Taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us «, in many Cases,» of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

20 For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging it's Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these ~~states~~ «Colonies»:

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

For suspending our own Legislatures, & declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here by ~~withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance & protection~~ «declaring us out of his Protection, and Waging war against us.» He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, & destroyed the Lives of our People.

- 5 He is, at this time Transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of Death, Desolation & Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy «scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, & totally» unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation. He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends & Brethren,
- 10 or to fall themselves by their Hands. He has «excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, & has» endeavored to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes, & Conditions ~~of existence. He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property. He has waged cruel war~~
- 15 ~~against human nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold,~~
- 20 ~~he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of~~
- 25 ~~one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.~~ In every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince whose Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a «free» People ~~who mean to be free. Future ages will scarcely believe that the hardiness of~~

~~one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad & so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered & fixed in principles of freedom.~~

Nor have we been wanting in Attentions to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend a «an unwarrantable» jurisdiction over ~~these our states~~ «us». We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our

5 Emigration & Settlement here, ~~no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league & am-~~

10 ~~ity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and.~~ We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity ~~as well as to~~ «, and we have conjured them by» the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which ~~were likely to~~«, would inevitably» interrupt our Connection and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice & of

15 Consanguinity ~~, and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time too they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affec-~~

20 ~~tion, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness & to glory is open to us too. We will tread it~~

25 ~~apart from them, and~~ «. We must therefore» acquiesce in the Necessity which denounces our ~~eternal~~ Separation «, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends!»

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in General Congress Assembled, «appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of

our Intentions,» do, in the name, & by the Authority of the good People of these ~~states~~  
~~reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain and all others~~  
~~who may hereafter claim by, through or under them; we utterly dissolve all political con-~~  
~~nection which may heretofore have subsided between us and the people or parliament of~~  
5 ~~Great Britain: and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent~~  
~~states;~~ «Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and are  
of Right to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to  
the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-  
Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved;» & that as Free & Independent States, they have  
10 full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce & to do all  
other Acts & Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this  
declaration, «with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence,» we mutually  
pledge to each other our lives, our Fortunes, & our sacred Honor.

## THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

# The Unanimous Declaration

A DECLARATION

July 4, 1776

Pennsylvania State House | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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Declaration of Independence

### BACKGROUND

The delegates from each colony at the Second Continental Congress announced their votes to form a new country separate from Great Britain in this statement to mankind that expounds both the principles on which this new country would be founded and the reasons they judged themselves justified to separate.

### GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Why do the United States believe they need to release a statement about their decision to form a country separate from Great Britain?
2. How are all men equal?
3. From where comes their rights?
4. What is the reason why people create governments?
5. From where comes a government's powers?
6. What may a people do if a government does not fulfill its ends?

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"The Declaration of Independence," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 5-9.

7. Although governments should not be changed for small reasons, when should the people change them?
8. Against which person does the Declaration of Independence level its charges?
9. To whom do the representatives appeal for the justness of their intentions?
10. By whose authority do the representatives declare independence?
11. What do each of the representatives pledge to one another?

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

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

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

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



**ANNOTATIONS****NOTES & QUESTIONS**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

10

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

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

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

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

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

20

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

25

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

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

30

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES &amp; QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured 25 them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

30

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES &amp; QUESTIONS

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent

5 States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance

10 on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Georgia

Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton

15

North Carolina

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn

South Carolina

20 Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton

Maryland

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

25 Virginia

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

Pennsylvania

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

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

Delaware

Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean

New York

5 William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris

New Jersey

Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark

10 New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts

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

15

Rhode Island

Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery

Connecticut

20 Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott

**GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY**  
**Address to Congress**

SPEECH

December 23, 1783

Old Senate Chamber of the Maryland State House | Annapolis, Maryland

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**BACKGROUND**

George Washington delivered this message to Congress to resign his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

**ANNOTATIONS****NOTES & QUESTIONS**

The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place; I have now the honor of offering my sincere Congratulations to Congress and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the Service of my Country.

- 5 Happy in the confirmation of our Independence and Sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable Nation, I resign with satisfaction the Appointment I accepted with diffidence. A diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our Cause, the support of the Supreme Power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.
- 10 The Successful termination of the War has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my Countrymen, encreases with every review of the momentous Contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the Army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar Services and distinguished merits of

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George Washington, "Address to Congress on Resigning his Commission," *The Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 27, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1931-44), 284-285.

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

the Gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the War. It was impossible the choice of confidential Officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me Sir, to recommend in particular those, who have continued in Service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

- 5 I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my Official life, by commending the Interests of our dearest Country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of Action; and bidding an Affectionate farewell to this August body under whose orders I have so long  
10 acted, I here offer my Commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

## THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## The Constitution

LAW

March 4, 1789  
United States of America

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**BACKGROUND**

Delegates to the Constitutional Convention drafted and the states ratified this Constitution, forming the second national government for the United States of America.

**ANNOTATIONS****NOTES & QUESTIONS****Preamble**

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

5 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. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the

10 Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected,

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"The Constitution of the United States of America," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 47-66.



be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

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  
5 for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enu-  
10 meration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority  
15 thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

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.

20 Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or  
25 otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

5 The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

10 The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

15 Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

20 Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

25 Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of  
5 the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

10 Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be  
15 questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his  
20 Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he  
25 shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall

likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days  
 5 (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be pre-  
 10 sented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and  
 15 Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense 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  
 20 Indian Tribes;

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

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

25 To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

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;

5 To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

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

10 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;

15 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

20 To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

25 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. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

- 5 The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

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

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

- 10 No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

- 15 No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

- 20 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.

- 25 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 Control of the Congress.

5 No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

## Article II

10 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:

15 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.

20 The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, 25 then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for

this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate  
5 shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall  
10 any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death,  
15 Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected,  
20 and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the  
25 Constitution of the United States."

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 Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

5 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  
10 they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the  
15 Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed,  
20 and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

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

25 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

Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

5 Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; —to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State,  
10 or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall  
15 make.

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.

20 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.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of  
25 Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

**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 Labor 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 Labor, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labor may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

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.

**Article V**

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either  
5 Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth  
10 Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

**Article VI**

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Con-  
15 federation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.  
20 ing.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under  
25 the United States.

**Article VII**

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

5 Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

10 George Washington—

President and deputy from Virginia

**Delaware**

George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom

15 **Maryland**

James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll

**Virginia**

John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

**North Carolina**

20 William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson

**South Carolina**

John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

**Georgia**

William Few, Abraham Baldwin

**New Hampshire**

John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

5 **Massachusetts**

Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

**Connecticut**

William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman

**New York**

10 Alexander Hamilton

**New Jersey**

William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton

**Pennsylvania**

Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas FitzSim-  
15 mons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris

Attest William Jackson Secretary

## Amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America

### Amendment I

Ratified December 15, 1791

5 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.

### Amendment II

Ratified December 15, 1791

10 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.

### Amendment III

Ratified December 15, 1791

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

### 15 Amendment IV

Ratified December 15, 1791

20 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.

**Amendment V**

Ratified December 15, 1791

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; 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; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

10 **Amendment VI**

Ratified December 15, 1791

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 defense.

**Amendment VII**

Ratified December 15, 1791

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.



**Amendment VIII**

Ratified December 15, 1791

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

5 **Amendment IX**

Ratified December 15, 1791

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

**Amendment X**

10 Ratified December 15, 1791

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

**Amendment XI**

Ratified February 7, 1795

15 The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

**Amendment XII**

Ratified June 15, 1804

20 The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all per-

sons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open

5 all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President.

10 But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the

15 Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist

20 of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

### Amendment XIII

Ratified December 6, 1865

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

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

**Amendment XIV**

Ratified July 9, 1868

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

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

### **Amendment XV**

10 Ratified February 3, 1870

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

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

### **15 Amendment XVI**

Ratified February 3, 1913

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

### **20 Amendment XVII**

Ratified April 8, 1913

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

- 5 This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

### Amendment XVIII

Ratified January 16, 1919

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

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

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

### Amendment XIX

- 20 Ratified August 18, 1920

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

**Amendment XX**

Ratified January 23, 1933

Section 1. The terms of the President and the Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of  
5 January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President  
10 elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein  
15 neither a President elect nor a Vice President shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons  
20 from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amend-  
25 ment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

**Amendment XXI**

Ratified December 5, 1933

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

- 5 Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

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

**Amendment XXII**

Ratified February 27, 1951

- 15 Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term  
20 within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

**Amendment XXIII**

Ratified March 29, 1961

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

- 5 A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the
- 10 District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

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

**Amendment XXIV**

Ratified January 23, 1964

- Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election
- 15 for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

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

**Amendment XXV**

- 20 Ratified February 10, 1967

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

- Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote
- 25 of both Houses of Congress.



Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session.

If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

**Amendment XXVI**

Ratified July 1, 1971

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older,  
to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of  
5 age.

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

**Amendment XXVII**

Ratified May 7, 1992

No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives shall  
10 take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

**FIRST CONGRESS**

# Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

JOIN RESOLUTION EXCERPT

September 25, 1789

Federal Hall | City of New-York, New York

Bill of Rights

**BACKGROUND**

As part of a compromise to secure the ratification of the Constitution, Federalists introduced in the first Congress a Bill of Rights as twelve amendments to the new Constitution. Below are the ten amendments that were ultimately ratified.

**ANNOTATIONS****NOTES & QUESTIONS****Amendment I**

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.

5 **Amendment II**

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.

**Amendment III**

10 No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

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"The Constitution of the United States of America," in *The U.S. Constitution: A Reader* (Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College Press, 2012), 58-60.

**Amendment IV**

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.

**Amendment V**

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence 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; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

**Amendment VI**

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.

**Amendment VII**

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

**Amendment VIII**

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

**Amendment IX**

- 5 The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

**Amendment X**

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.



## UNIT 2

## The American Civil War

1848–1877

40-50-minute classes | 29-33 classes

## UNIT PREVIEW

## Structure

<b>LESSON 1</b>	1848–1854	The Expansion of Slavery	6-7 classes	p. 7
<b>LESSON 2</b>	1854–1861	Toward Civil War	6-7 classes	p. 15
<b>LESSON 3</b>	1861–1865	The Civil War	9-10 classes	p. 20
<b>LESSON 4</b>	1865–1877	Reconstruction	4-5 classes	p. 30
<b>APPENDIX A</b>	Study Guides, Tests, and Writing Assignment			p. 37
<b>APPENDIX B</b>	Primary Sources			p. 59

## Why Teach the American Civil War

*“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.”*

These famous opening lines from President Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg express why the Civil War was fought. Whether America, founded in liberty and equality, could long endure depended on whether the nation’s original contradiction, slavery, could be abolished while still preserving the country’s existence as a union. American students must know how the ideas at the heart of their country were undermined by slavery; but they must also learn how heroic Americans committed to America’s founding ideas made

great sacrifices and sometimes gave their lives, so that these ideas of liberty and equality might prevail over the dehumanizing tyranny of slavery. And students must learn that, like those in Lincoln's audience, it is up to each American to oppose tyranny and dehumanization to ensure that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

## Enduring Ideas from this Unit

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1. That slavery was the original contradiction in America, and that slavery is immoral, unjust, dehumanizing, and in violation of the inherent dignity and equal possession of natural rights of each person, as are any ways in which one person or group of people is favored over another due to the color of their skin.
2. That at its heart, the Civil War was fought over the issue of slavery: first, whether slavery would expand in America; next, whether it would be permitted at all; and last, whether the half of the country that opposed slavery would let the country be divided and the injustice to continue elsewhere, instead of fighting to preserve a union that would guarantee liberty and abolish slavery.
3. That President Abraham Lincoln exemplified American statesmanship as he piloted the nation toward fulfillment of its founding ideas, ended the barbarous and tyrannical institution of slavery, and nevertheless abided by the rule of law in doing so.
4. That the period of Reconstruction following the Civil War witnessed a realization of civil rights for freedmen, producing greater degrees of justice and equality that would nevertheless be challenged both during Reconstruction and in following decades.

## What Teachers Should Consider

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The American Civil War is one of the most important events in American history if only for its attempt to prove, with the blood of hundreds of thousands of Americans, that a people may freely govern themselves and organize themselves to preserve the liberty and equal natural rights of all.

Many students may not know that America was founded on these ideas. Fewer, perhaps, know that America even succeeded in proving these ideas true, living up to them for twenty years, before such progress was eclipsed after Reconstruction. Although subsequent decades would manifest different kinds of failures to guarantee the equal protection of natural rights in certain parts of the country, the Civil War revealed a statesman and at least half of the population committed to carrying out America's founding promise to the point of bloodshed.

Teachers will greatly benefit from studying not only the war itself but also the thoughts, words, and deeds of the statesman who conducted the war for the Union: President Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln's ideas and magnificent speeches, and his political actions, should constitute for students a model of prudence, both in the public arena and in their own lives. His understanding of the issue of slavery, not merely in the abstract but as it existed in America, can teach students much about their country and its history.



This unit should begin, therefore, with an understanding of slavery as it was found in America in 1848. The teacher should especially emphasize the changes in the status and practice of slavery since the founding in 1776. The teacher should also emphasize changes in legal and public opinion toward the institution since the Constitution went into effect in 1789. In brief, both had entrenched slavery instead of keeping it on the gradual path to extinction, where the founding generation had placed it.

Abraham Lincoln saw these legal and public opinion shifts most clearly, and he saw that such changes struck directly at the ideas on which America was founded. In brief, his entire public career as well as the founding of the Republican Party were devoted to checking this change, to returning slavery to the path of extinction, and to fulfilling the founding ideas of constitutional self-government. Lincoln's arguments to these ends dominate the crescendo leading to war in spring of 1861. At its heart, this is what the Civil War was about.

The teacher will be able to enrich his or her students by cultivating their moral imaginations with the events, battles, and images of the Civil War, the bloodiest conflict in which Americans have ever been involved. Strategy, battles, and the general history of the war should be taught in detail. The teacher should learn and share accounts and images of the important moments and figures who contributed to Union victory in 1865. Meanwhile, Lincoln's careful yet effective maneuverings—both to preserve the Union and to seize the constitutional opportunity afforded him to emancipate the slaves—should be followed in detail.

The unit best concludes with a study of the period known as Reconstruction. Perhaps never in history was so much hoped for, achieved, and mismanaged in so short a period of time with respect to liberty and equality under the law. Students should learn to appreciate both the sacrifices of the Civil War and its immediate achievements during Reconstruction. Nevertheless, students should also learn about the emergence of different kinds of injustice, especially for African Americans living in the former rebel states: injustices that would be perpetuated for years to come.

## How Teachers Can Learn More

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### TEXTS

*Battle Cry of Freedom*, James McPherson

*Abraham Lincoln*, Lord Charnwood

*Lincoln and the American Founding*, Lucas Morel

*The Essential Douglass: Selected Writings and Speeches*, Frederick Douglass

*The Columbian Orator*, ed. David Blight

*Crisis of the House Divided*, Harry Jaffa

*A New Birth of Freedom*, Harry Jaffa

*Reconstruction*, Allen Guelzo

*The American Heritage: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

*The U.S. Constitution: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College Politics Faculty (ConstitutionReader.com)

*The 1776 Report*, The President's Advisory 1776 Commission

## ONLINE COURSES | [Online.Hillsdale.edu](https://Online.Hillsdale.edu)

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*Constitution 101*

## Lesson Planning Resources

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### TEACHER RESOURCES

*Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay and John McBride  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, H.A. Guerber  
*A Short History of the Civil War*, James Stokesbury

### STUDENT RESOURCES

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Wilfred McClay

### PRIMARY SOURCES

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, Frederick Douglass  
Peoria Speech on the Kansas–Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln  
“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln  
Fragment on the Constitution and Union, Abraham Lincoln  
First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln  
Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln  
Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln  
Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln  
13th Amendment  
14th Amendment  
15th Amendment  
Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

## **LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZZES**



## Lesson 1 — The Expansion of Slavery

1848–1854

6-7 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how the defenders of slavery began to assert that slavery was a “positive good” that ought to be expanded throughout the country instead of an existing evil that should be contained and kept on the path to extinction.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Readers’ Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapters 19 and 20  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher’s Guide to Land of Hope*  
*The 1776 Report*

Pages 156–162  
Pages 150–159  
Pages 157–162  
Pages 27–34

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*Constitution 101*

Lecture 9  
Lecture 3  
Lecture 6

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Readers’ Edition*, chapters 19 (second half) and 20, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below) or read excerpts from *The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, pages 150–159, and prepare for a reading quiz (teacher created).

**Assignment 2:** Students read and annotate excerpts from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Mason–Dixon Line  
Mexico

California  
Kansas–Nebraska Territory

**Persons**

Henry Clay  
 John C. Calhoun  
 Abraham Lincoln  
 Zachary Taylor  
 Millard Fillmore  
 Frederick Douglass

Sojourner Truth  
 Harriet Beecher Stowe  
 Harriet Tubman  
 William Lloyd Garrison  
 Franklin Pierce  
 Stephen Douglas

**Terms and Topics**

“positive good”  
 King Cotton  
 antebellum  
 Gold Rush  
 secession  
 Compromise of 1850  
 Fugitive Slave Law  
 abolitionism

*Narrative of the Life of  
 Frederick Douglass*  
*Uncle Tom’s Cabin*  
 Underground Railroad  
 Kansas–Nebraska Act  
 popular sovereignty

**Primary Sources**

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, Frederick Douglass  
 Peoria speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln

**To Know by Heart**

“Knowledge makes a man unfit to be a slave.” — Frederick Douglass  
 “So you’re the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war.” — Abraham Lincoln to Harriet Beecher Stowe upon their meeting

**Timeline**

1846–48	Mexican–American War
1849	California Gold Rush
1850	Compromise of 1850
1854	Kansas–Nebraska Act

**Images**

Historical figures and events  
 Photographs and depictions of the life of slaves and the horrors of slavery  
 Maps of the free versus slave-state breakdown when changes occur  
 Pictures of first–edition copies of *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*  
 Statue of Frederick Douglass (on the Hillsdale College campus)  
 Copy of newspaper in which Lincoln’s Peoria speech was first printed

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biographies and the roles of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Abraham Lincoln prior to the Civil War
- Childhood biography of Abraham Lincoln
- Scenes from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
- Frederick Douglass's letter to his former master, Thomas Auld, 1848
- Actions of Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad
- Frederick Douglass's letter to Harriet Tubman, 1868

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What general prediction about the future of slavery did the Framers of the Constitution make?
- What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution went into effect, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
- What was life like for slaves in the South? What was a slave auction like?
- What was John C. Calhoun's idea that slavery was a "positive good"?
- How would Frederick Douglass have replied to John C. Calhoun's assertions?
- How did the idea of slavery as a "positive good" challenge the Constitution's stance on slavery and the path on which the Founding generation had set slavery?
- How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
- Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for southern states?
- What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Was it really a "compromise"? Why or why not?
- What were the various kinds of abolitionist activities engaged in by Northern abolitionists?
- What roles did Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Tubman, and Harriet Beecher Stowe play in the abolitionist movement?
- How did the Underground Railroad work?
- What did the Kansas-Nebraska Act do?
- What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Where did the idea come from and why?
- Question from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 75: What group of people was taken and sold as slaves?

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

The status of slavery in 1848 was markedly different than it was when the Founders crafted the Constitution in 1787. The gradual decline in the profitability of slavery, evident during the founding, was forecast to continue—but this trend reversed direction upon the invention of the cotton gin in 1793. From then on, the demand for slave labor in the Southern states rapidly compounded. But the free population in the South was vastly outstripped by the burgeoning population of the North. If nothing changed, demographics and geography would eventually give Americans living in the North the power to limit slavery through law and perhaps even abolish it entirely through a constitutional amendment. Slaveholders in the South needed to change this trajectory by expanding slavery westward into the territories. Students need to understand that

to justify such expansion, slavery advocates in the South had to change the opinion of Northerners: either to believe slavery to be morally beneficial or, at the very least, to view slavery as merely another option to be decided by the majority, what Stephen Douglas called “popular sovereignty.” Moral relativism, the idea that “might makes right,” and a belief in unfettered democracy through the vote of the majority were the slaveholders’ pillars in arguing to preserve slavery. Students should understand that Abraham Lincoln favored government “of the people, by the people, and for the people” but also saw how popular sovereignty’s neutrality concerning slavery violated both equality and consent, as well as liberty itself. Lincoln went about waging an oratorical war in defense of objective standards of truth and justice, of good and evil. They should also learn how abolitionists, of both African and European descent, continued to publicize the horrors of slavery for Americans in Northern states far removed from witnessing slavery firsthand. Abolitionists also shepherded escaped slaves to freedom in the Northern states and Canada.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Expansion of Slavery with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the status of slavery over the initial decades of the country’s history. At the founding, slavery was generally either openly condemned by those in the North or defended by those in the South. Its toleration by northern delegates and others who were opposed to slavery at the time of the founding was for the sake of a unity that even many abolitionists believed was the only eventual path toward abolition. The Declaration of Independence established the country on principles of equality that could and would be used to demand the end of slavery, the Northwest Ordinance had prohibited the expansion of slavery, the Constitution refused to give legal standing to the institution, and many states had restricted or abolished slavery outright. Lastly, many leading Founders, including those who held slaves, believed that the profitability of slavery was gradually but decisively waning and that slavery would die out on its own in a relatively short period of time. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 by Eli Whitney, however, greatly increased the profitability of slavery and reignited slaveholders’ interest in perpetuating and expanding slavery.
- Help students to imagine and understand the dehumanizing and brutal tyranny of slavery. Although students should understand that the ways in which various slaveholders treated their slaves varied, from the downright brutal to more familial—in order to see how many slavery apologists tried to justify slavery—they must nevertheless understand that the sheer fact that some people owned other human beings is and always will be morally reprehensible. Moreover, as Frederick Douglass argued, slavery actually dehumanized the master as well as the slave.
- Explain to students how the growth in population in the North compared to the South would eventually allow Northern states to restrict slavery further and perhaps even abolish it with a constitutional amendment. Slaveholders recognized that they had to expand the number of slave states if they were to prohibit such actions by Northerners. The challenge, however, was that they needed Northern states to acquiesce to such expansion. To do so, they appealed to the argument that slavery was a positive good, as articulated in the writings of John C. Calhoun. Calhoun explicitly rejected the American founding principles as captured in the Declaration of Independence.
- Teach students that despite this attempted defense of slavery, the institution almost certainly weakened the South as a whole while supporting the lifestyle of the elite few. For all other Southerners, slavery depreciated the value and wages of labor by non-slaves, limited innovation,



and thwarted economic development in the South. The Civil War would reveal the weakness of the position in which Southerners' insistence on slavery had placed them.

- Consider with students that much of the tremendous wealth and prosperity that America has generated throughout its history is not founded on the economics of slavery. Any degree of prosperity generated by slavery is dwarfed by that produced from Americans' unprecedented freedom to innovate and invest, the ability to patent ideas and inventions, the protection of private property rights, and above all the productive work of citizens within a free marketplace governed by the rule of law and consent of the governed. The great achievements of individual families through the Homestead Act of 1862 demonstrates the point, both for immigrants to America and for the freedmen who would also take advantage of such freedom and opportunity after the Civil War. In brief, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are the catalysts for allowing human beings to unleash the most prosperous and technologically advanced economy in history. A simple comparison of the Northern to the Southern economy, infrastructure, and society before and during the Civil War illustrates the case.
- Teach students how the slavery issue nearly resulted in civil war over the question of expanding slavery into the territories acquired from Mexico after the Mexican-American War, brought to a head when California, after a population surge during the California Gold Rush, applied to become a state without slavery. California's lone admission as a free state would have increased Northern power in Congress and the Electoral College against Southern states on the issue of slavery.
- Spend some time discussing the Compromise of 1850, which was not really a "compromise" in the real sense of the word. A "compromise" would involve all parties sacrificing something of their position to achieve a common outcome. The Compromise of 1850, however, was not one bill but five separate bills that had five separate lines of voting. Students should understand what each of these acts did, especially the Fugitive Slave Law. This orchestration begun by Henry Clay but completed by Stephen Douglas may have avoided war in the short term, but it only deepened and delayed the divisions tearing at the country over the next ten years.
- Ask students about the effects of the Fugitive Slave Law, which compelled Northerners to assist in capturing escaped slaves and encouraged the practice of abducting free African Americans living in the North and forcing them into slavery.
- Teach students about the various parts of the abolitionist movement and its major figures. Students should learn that there was great diversity among abolitionists, especially in their underlying views about America's governing principles and the best way to abolish slavery. For instance, William Lloyd Garrison actually agreed with the slaveholder reading of the Constitution while Frederick Douglass moved from this view to that of Abraham Lincoln that the Constitution was pro-freedom. One might read aloud with students some portions of Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and discuss Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, important works in making Northerners, most of whom had never seen slavery in practice, aware of its moral evil. Other abolitionists, such as Harriet Tubman and those running the Underground Railroad, heroically worked to lead escaped slaves to freedom. In general, most abolitionists appealed to the principles of equality stated in the Declaration of Independence in justifying their cause.
- Tell students the childhood and political biography of Abraham Lincoln, to show how he rose from poverty and obscurity to become arguably America's greatest president.
- Consider having students learn what the Kansas-Nebraska Act did. Focus specifically on the idea of popular sovereignty as used by Stephen Douglas, and the idea that right and wrong amount to

the mere will of the majority opinion, which happens to be what many people today believe constitutes truth and the moral rightness of political decisions.

- Have students read and answer guiding questions on parts of Lincoln's speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act in response to the act of this name. Students should understand that Lincoln saw slavery to be, above all, a moral question, and one that every American ought to take seriously as such. Lincoln also believed that moral relativism over the question of slavery, as conveyed in the idea of popular sovereignty, was antithetical to the ideas of the Declaration of Independence, and that slavery was simply a form of majority tyranny, the very danger latent in democracy that the Founders had warned against. Finally, Lincoln condemned the Kansas-Nebraska Act as achieving a complete reversal of the stance the Constitution, the Northwest Ordinance, and the founding generation had toward slavery: that it should be contained until it was abolished and by no means allowed to spread.

### **STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS**

**Assignment 1:** Explain how the expansion of slavery became a major political issue following the Mexican–American War (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Retell the biography of one of the following: Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, or Abraham Lincoln (2–3 paragraphs).

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Civil War | Lesson 1  
*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Chapters 19 and 20

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. The acquisition of western lands following the war with Mexico and the discovery of gold in which present-day state brought the issue of slavery's expansion to a head in the late 1840s?
2. What was the name of the compromise bill regarding the expansion of slavery that Congress passed in 1850?
3. What happened in the Kansas Territory following the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
4. Which party was created to oppose the expansion of slavery into the territories?
5. Who reentered politics in order to oppose Stephen Douglas' idea of letting voters decide about expanding slavery in the territories?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Unit 2 — Formative Quiz 1

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Covering Lesson 1  
10-15 minutes

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution was adopted, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
2. What was John C. Calhoun's idea that slavery was a "positive good"?
3. What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Was it really a "compromise"? Why or why not?
4. How did the Underground Railroad work?
5. What was the idea of "popular sovereignty"? Where did the idea come from and why?

## Lesson 2 — Toward Civil War

1854–1861

6-7 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn how Abraham Lincoln and the new Republican Party's opposition to the expansion of slavery led Southern states to secede from the Union, resulting in civil war.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapter 20  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 162–173  
Pages 160–169  
Pages 163–181

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*Constitution 101*

Lecture 9  
Lecture 3  
Lecture 6

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read and annotate Lincoln's "House Divided" speech and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

**Assignment 2:** Students read and annotate Lincoln's First inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Kansas–Nebraska Territory  
Harpers Ferry

Fort Sumter

#### Persons

Abraham Lincoln  
Frederick Douglass  
Franklin Pierce

Stephen Douglas  
James Buchanan  
John Brown

**Terms and Topics**

Kansas–Nebraska Act  
 Bleeding Kansas  
 a house divided  
 popular sovereignty  
 Democratic Party  
 Republican Party  
*Dred Scott v. Sandford*

Lincoln–Douglas Debates  
 objective truth  
 “don’t care,” “I care not”  
 moral relativism  
 majority tyranny  
 “apple and frame” metaphor  
 Wilberforce University

**Primary Sources**

“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln  
 “Fragment on the Constitution and Union,” Abraham Lincoln  
 First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

**To Know by Heart**

“A house divided against itself cannot stand.” — Abraham Lincoln, paraphrasing from the words of Jesus of Nazareth in the Bible

**Timeline**

1854	Kansas–Nebraska Act; Republican Party founded
1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter

**Images**

Historical figures and events  
 Depictions of the Lincoln–Douglas Debates  
 Campaign materials  
 Map of the 1860 election results  
 Fort Sumter

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

- The breakdown of civil dialogue resulting in Preston Brooks’s attack on Charles Sumner
- What the Lincoln–Douglas Debates were like in terms of setting, format, length, etc., especially compared to civil dialogue and debate today
- The scenes at the nominating conventions for each party in 1860
- John Brown’s letter to his pastor, 1859, and last words before execution
- The young girl who suggested to Abraham Lincoln that he grow a beard
- The first shots fired on Fort Sumter and its surrender

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What was Bleeding Kansas, what was it like, and why did it happen?
- According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* threaten to make slavery legal anywhere in the union?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that Stephen Douglas's personal stance of how he does not care ("I care not") how a state or territory votes on slavery is dangerous and indefensible? How was this connected to Lincoln's predictions regarding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision?
- Why did Abraham Lincoln believe popular sovereignty without an argument on the morality of slavery amounted to majority tyranny?
- What question and answer did Abraham Lincoln consider to be the solution to the issue of the expansion of slavery?
- Why did Lincoln see the question of the morality of slavery to be at the heart of America's founding?
- How did Abraham Lincoln end up winning the 1860 election?
- Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his "apple of gold, frame of silver" metaphor.
- How did Abraham Lincoln navigate the period between his election and the first shots at Fort Sumter? How did the country descend into war during this period?
- How was slavery the true cause of the Civil War?
- What was the Southern states' argument for the constitutionality of secession?
- What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his First inaugural address?
- What was important about Virginia's decision to secede? How did it come about?
- What were Abraham Lincoln's goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
- Why and how did Abraham Lincoln need to keep the Border States in the Union?
- Question from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 94: Abraham Lincoln is famous for many things. Name one.

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 sparked the little-known Abraham Lincoln to redouble his efforts to engage in the growing national debate over slavery in America. He saw a tremendous threat in the argument put forward by the bill's sponsor, Stephen Douglas, that slavery was not a moral question but rather one that should simply be decided by the will of the majority. From 1854 to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Lincoln would combat the idea that the morality of slavery was to be determined merely by majority opinion. Students should come to see this arc to Lincoln's words and deeds. They should understand how he took up and articulated the heart of the matter regarding the morality of slavery and that slavery struck at America's founding idea that all men are created equal. Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* interpreted the Constitution to legitimize slavery, and Lincoln argued against both popular sovereignty and Taney's position throughout his debates with Douglas. The moral question regarding slavery, manifesting itself in the practical questions of the expansion of slavery, is what a civil war would be fought over. After all, the formal move to secession—a constitutionally debatable claim also at issue in the approach to war—and the war itself was triggered in response to Lincoln being elected president on the position that slavery was wrong and should not be expanded.

Teachers might best plan and teach Toward Civil War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Emphasize the breakdown in civil dialogue in the several violent episodes related to slavery preceding the Civil War: Bleeding Kansas, Preston Brooks's attack on Charles Sumner, and John Brown's raid on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry. Go into some detail to bring these events alive for students. For example, it was Colonel Robert E. Lee who led federal troops to put down Brown's uprising.
- Clarify the party alignment that was emerging in 1854. The Democratic Party was dividing between those who favored the principle of "popular sovereignty," in which a state or territory could vote to allow slavery or not, and those who explicitly favored slavery. Meanwhile, the Republican Party was founded in 1854 in opposition to laws encouraging the spread of slavery. The split of the Democratic Party and the consolidation of the Republican Party in 1860 assured the election of Lincoln and significantly contributed to the coming of the Civil War.
- Consider Abraham Lincoln's arguments against Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that asserted that slaves are not humans but only property, and that the Constitution protects their enslavement just as it does any other property. Lincoln points out that Taney's ruling rejected the Founders' view on slavery and would lead, in tandem with Stephen Douglas's popular sovereignty, to the spread of slavery throughout the country. By extension, this reasoning would also allow for other forms of majority tyranny.
- Help students think through Lincoln's understanding of the morality of slavery and its relationship to the founding ideas of America: that all men are created equal, have unalienable rights, and that legitimate government is based on the consent of the governed. Students should see that the practical question regarding the expansion of slavery ultimately turned on the moral status of slavery.
- Teach students about the arguments in the Seventh Lincoln-Douglas Debate and discuss them alongside Lincoln's "House Divided" speech in class. Consider the apparently benign stance that Stephen Douglas takes in his position of popular sovereignty, that he does not care about what a group of people does regarding slavery, so long as the majority opinion decides it. Students should be asked why this is problematic.
- Present the settings and atmosphere of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates as imaginatively as possible.
- Help students to understand the various pressures that were mounting on the Southern states during the 1850s, from increased abolitionist activities to the sheer industrial might of the Northern states to a burgeoning plantation debt as other countries produced more cotton and the price of cotton fell as a result.
- Tell students the stories of Lincoln's speeches and his reception during these years, including the founding of the Republican Party and the various conventions in 1856 and especially 1860. Students should sense the drama of the times.
- Have students read Abraham Lincoln's "Fragment on the Constitution and Union." Help students understand the arguments with respect to the American founding and slavery.
- Provide a clear overview of events between Lincoln's election and South Carolina's attack on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. Students should learn both Lincoln and the South's accounts of what happened.
- There were, of course, other factors and dimensions that impelled each side to fight the Civil War. Students should be familiar with these, as well as the view of most Southerners that the war was about defending what they saw as the rights of their states. This view and Lincoln's counterview and incumbent duty to preserve the Union and Constitution may have been the



occasion for the Civil War, but students should understand that the war was, at its heart, fought over whether slavery would be permitted to spread and so remain indefinitely, or be restricted and returned to the path to extinction on which the founding generation had left it. This question was, in turn, based on the morality of slavery, which Abraham Lincoln would later maintain in his Gettysburg Address was a question about the rejection or fulfillment of the ideas on which America was founded.

### **STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS**

**Assignment 1:** Explain how Abraham Lincoln believed Americans must defend the principles of America by preventing the spread of slavery (1 paragraph).

**Assignment 2:** Retell the story of how Abraham Lincoln successfully became president and how this led to the outbreak of the Civil War (1–2 paragraphs).

## Lesson 3 — The Civil War

1861–1865

9-10 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the major figures, common soldiers, strategy, and specific battles of the American Civil War, including a close study of the statesmanship of President Abraham Lincoln.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapters 21 and 22  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Short History of the Civil War*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 173–189  
Pages 170–195  
As helpful  
Pages 179–187

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Constitution 101*

Lecture 10  
Lecture 7

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, chapter 21, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below) or read excerpts from *The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, pages 170–195, and prepare for a reading quizzes (teacher created).

**Assignment 2:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, chapter 22, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

**Assignment 3:** Students read and annotate Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Second inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Fort Sumter  
Union

Confederacy  
Richmond

West Virginia  
Border States

Appomattox Court House  
Ford's Theatre

### Persons

Abraham Lincoln  
Jefferson Davis  
Robert E. Lee  
George McClellan  
Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson  
Clara Barton

Ulysses S. Grant  
William Tecumseh Sherman  
Martin Delany  
Robert Gould Shaw  
John Wilkes Booth

### Terms and Topics

secession  
"states' rights"  
Confederate States of America  
railroads  
minié ball  
Army of the Potomac  
Army of Northern Virginia  
American Red Cross  
Anaconda Plan  
Battle of First Manassas/Bull  
Run  
ironclads  
USS *Merrimack*  
CSS *Virginia*

trench warfare  
Peninsula Campaign  
abolition  
Battle of Antietam  
Battle of Fort Wagner  
Battle of Vicksburg  
Battle of Gettysburg  
Pickett's Charge  
54th Massachusetts Regiment  
Peace Democrats  
scorched earth warfare  
Sherman's "March to the Sea"  
Siege of Richmond

### Primary Sources

Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln  
Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln  
Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

### To Know by Heart

"Battle Hymn of the Republic," first stanza — Julia Ward Howe  
Gettysburg Address — Abraham Lincoln  
"So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." — William Tecumseh Sherman telegram announcing the fall of Atlanta to Abraham Lincoln  
"O Captain! My Captain!" — Walt Whitman

**Timeline**

1860	Abraham Lincoln elected; South Carolina and six states secede
1861–65	Civil War
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter
September 22, 1862	Abraham Lincoln announces the Emancipation Proclamation
1863	Emancipation Proclamation takes effect
July 1–3, 1863	Battle of Gettysburg
1864 (Fall)	Fall of Atlanta
1864	Abraham Lincoln reelected
April 9, 1865	Robert E. Lee surrenders at Appomattox
April 14–15, 1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president

**Images**

Historical figures and events  
 Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson  
 Soldier uniforms, weaponry, flags  
 Depictions and photographs of figures at various scenes and moments and in battle  
 Maps: overall strategies, specific battles  
 Relevant forts  
 Battle scene depictions and photographs  
 Medical equipment  
 Reenactment photos  
 Pictures of the Emancipation Proclamation, Gettysburg Address, etc.  
 Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment Memorial  
 Lincoln Memorial  
 Statue of Abraham Lincoln (Hillsdale College campus)

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

- Biographies and roles of Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman in the Civil War
- Robert E. Lee's denial of Abraham Lincoln's offer to command the Union forces
- How Stonewall Jackson got his nickname
- Battle of the ironclads
- William Child's letter to his wife after the Battle of Antietam, 1862
- Clara Barton's letter to her cousin, Vira, December 1862
- The killing of Stonewall Jackson by friendly fire
- John Burrill's letter from Gettysburg to his fiancée, Ell, 1863
- Fighting at Little Round Top and Pickett's Charge
- George Pickett's letter from Gettysburg to his fiancée, La Salle Corbell, 1863
- The writing and delivery of the Gettysburg Address
- Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House
- Robert E. Lee's Farewell Address to his Army, General Order No. 9, 1865

- Abraham Lincoln's cabinet meeting regarding dealing with the South just hours before his assassination
- Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent hunt for John Wilkes Booth
- Abraham Lincoln's funeral train

### QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?
- What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- How did each of the following battles begin, what happened in them, and what was their significance: Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Sherman's March to the Sea?
- What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg in the Virginia and Maryland theater of war?
- How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
- What was General Lee's strategic purpose for taking the war north, into Pennsylvania?
- In summary, what did Abraham Lincoln argue in the Gettysburg Address?
- Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?
- What were the most significant moments in the Civil War?
- What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?
- What were Abraham Lincoln's plans for reconstruction following the Civil War, as outlined in his Second Inaugural Address and from what we know of his private meetings in the war's final weeks?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 92: Name the U.S. war between the North and the South.
  - Question 93: The Civil War had many important events. Name one.
  - Question 94: Abraham Lincoln is famous for many things. Name one.
  - Question 95: What did the Emancipation Proclamation do?
  - Question 96: What U.S. war ended slavery?

### KEYS TO THE LESSON

The American Civil War may be the defining event in American history. The outcome of the Civil War determined whether the nation would live according to the principles of liberty, equality under law, and self-government, or reject those truths in favor of slavery, inequality, and tyrannical rule. Students should appreciate this about the bloodiest conflict in their nation's history. They should also know the stories of the heroic actions both leaders and of ordinary citizens in that war, understand the strategies employed in general and in specific battles, and consider the key moments and factors that led the Union to ultimate victory. Additionally, students have an unmatched opportunity to understand statesmanship through the careful study of Abraham Lincoln's thoughts, speeches, and actions as he led the nation through the Civil War.

Teachers might best plan and teach the Civil War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the arguments by the South and by Abraham Lincoln regarding the idea of “states’ rights” and the constitutionality of secession, particularly by reading and discussing Abraham Lincoln’s first inaugural address. Students should understand that there is no such thing as a “state right,” since rights belong only to persons. States (as governments) possess powers (not rights), as outlined in their state and in the federal Constitution, which the states are to use to protect the rights and the common good of their citizens (including from encroachment by the federal government by appealing to the Constitution itself). Lincoln’s first inaugural address presents the case for how secession is unconstitutional and how he, having taken an oath in his office as president, can and must preserve the Constitution and Union.
- Help students to see how the decision by Southern states to secede was largely determined by a small elite or even merely by governors. In Virginia, for example, the governor himself made the decision to secede without consulting the legislature. Moreover, insofar as slavery was the chief interest the South wanted to preserve, only a minority of Southerners owned slaves and even a smaller minority owned a large number of slaves on plantations. The majority of Southerners were not slaveholders and while fighting for their states would preserve slavery, many common Southerners fought for the argument of states’ rights rather than to preserve the institution of slavery.
- Emphasize that the governing state known as the Confederacy was founded on the rejection of the principle of equality from the Declaration of Independence, and on an argument of the inequality of races, as asserted in Alexander Stephens’s “Cornerstone Speech.”
- Teach students about the delicacy with which Abraham Lincoln had to approach the border states (slave states that remained in the Union) and why this delicacy was needed. Have students work with Lincoln’s first inaugural address, one purpose of which was to keep wavering states in the Union.
- Explain that Abraham Lincoln’s first goal in fighting the Civil War was to preserve the Union. It is important that students understand Lincoln’s reasoning. He was against slavery and wanted it abolished, but his constitutional obligation was to preserve the Union. If he acted otherwise, he would violate the Constitution and the rule of law, becoming no better than the seceding states and forfeiting his moral authority as the defender of the rule of law. Students should also know that while Lincoln did not believe he could abolish slavery alone or that abolishing slavery was the purpose for fighting the war, he nonetheless believed, like many of the Founders, that the only way to abolish slavery would be if the Union were preserved.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had at the outset of the war and how these shifted during the war. Having students take simple notes, as a “T-Chart” can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Build students’ familiarity with the style of warfare in the mid-19th century, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Present to students explanations of each side’s strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Of special note are the Union’s Anaconda Plan, James Longstreet’s development of trench warfare, the Mississippi theater of war and the siege and battle of Vicksburg, and Robert E. Lee’s strategy preceding Gettysburg, among others.

- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war, especially Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, George McClellan, George Meade, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman.
- Share with students the unity found within the Union ranks in the cause of the United States and eventually the abolition of slavery. 1.3 million Union men of European ancestry fought in the Civil War and 180,000 African American men volunteered for the Union forces, making up nearly 10 percent of the Union army. Of all Union soldiers, 600,000 were wounded and approximately 360,000 Union men were killed.
- Teach the war, especially the major battles and military campaigns, in some detail. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often and have students track battles and campaigns. *A Short History of the Civil War* is a great aid for teaching these battles; students may enjoy reading select accounts of these battles from this work, too.
- Help students to note the major themes running through the early years of the war, namely how Confederate commanders carried the day repeatedly despite the North's growing advantages, and how they exhibited military leadership and decisiveness. Students should also appreciate how unpopular Abraham Lincoln was in the North during much of the war.
- Have students come to know Abraham Lincoln, in his personal life, interior thoughts and troubles, and his great love for his country. Students should also engage frequently with the reasoning and decision-making that marks Lincoln as being perhaps the greatest statesman in American history.
- Based on his writings, words, and deeds, show students how Abraham Lincoln always believed in the equal human dignity of African Americans and grew over the course of his career to see that African Americans were equal socially as well, a growth in understanding that he knew more Americans would need to develop in order for African Americans to be treated truly as equals. As his own experience showed, he believed this would take some time, particularly in slave-holding states.
- Note that Congress (with the support of Lincoln) outlawed slavery in Washington, DC, in 1862, an action made numerically possible with the absence of Southern congressmen.
- Read aloud in class the Emancipation Proclamation and teach students the technicalities Abraham Lincoln navigated in thinking of it, drawing it up, and the timing of its promulgation. He had to retain the border states, abide by the Constitution, achieve victory, and earn the support of public opinion in order for slaves to be effectively freed—and he did it all. Students should understand that Lincoln's justification for freeing the slaves involved exercising his executive powers as commander-in-chief of the armed forces during an armed rebellion. This is why Lincoln only had the authority to apply the Emancipation Proclamation to those states in actual rebellion, why it could not be applied to slave-holding border states not in rebellion, and why he knew that after the war, an amendment to the Constitution would be necessary to bring emancipation to all the states and make it permanent.
- Have students read and hold a seminar conversation on the Gettysburg Address. It is a magnificent work of oratory, but it also gets at the heart of the American founding and the ideas that maintain the United States. It also shows the importance of defending and advancing those ideas, both in the Civil War and in our own day, as is incumbent on every American citizen. Questions on page 187 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.

- Note the importance of Abraham Lincoln's choice of Ulysses S. Grant as General-in-Chief of the entire Union Army. Grant's decisiveness combined with William Tecumseh Sherman's boldness proved essential in prosecuting the war from late 1863 onward.
- Recap the war by considering major statistics, including the number of casualties and deaths on each side. Ask what stance Americans today should have towards those who fought in the Civil War, distinguishing between Northern soldiers and Southern soldiers. When considering Southern soldiers, be sure to note the tragic death of so many Americans, even if they were fighting for a confederate government dedicated to preserving slavery. As noted previously, most of those doing the actual fighting for the South did not own slaves and believed that they were fighting for their country as well.
- Read and have a seminar conversation about Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural address. Lincoln addresses many topics within the speech, both reflecting on the war and outlining a plan for after the war. In some respects, this speech is "part two" of what Lincoln began to assert in the Gettysburg Address. One of the main ideas Lincoln suggests, however, is that the Civil War was a punishment for the whole nation. This punishment was not necessarily for the mere existence of slavery but because, unlike the founding generation, the nation had in the time since the founding not continued to work for the abolition of the evil of slavery. While no country will ever be perfect, a people should work to make sure its laws do not promote the perpetuation of a practice that violates the equal natural rights of its fellow citizens.
- To set up the following unit, outline for students Abraham Lincoln's preliminary plans for reconstruction, and impress upon students the immense historical consequences of Lincoln's assassination.

### STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

**Assignment 1:** By considering his speeches and the Emancipation Proclamation, explain how Abraham Lincoln expanded the purposes of the Civil War from preserving the Union and preventing the spread of slavery to abolishing slavery itself (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Recite by heart the Gettysburg Address.

**Assignment 3:** Retell the history of the Civil War (3–4 paragraphs).



Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Civil War | Lesson 3  
*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Chapter 21

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Why was it important that the South fired the first shots of the Civil War?
2. For which reasons did the Union have the overall advantage at the beginning of the war?
3. What was the “Anaconda plan” that Union General Winfield Scott developed (named after the tropical snake that strangled its prey to death)?
4. Name one Confederate general you read about and one Union general you read about (besides Winfield Scott).
5. What was the name of the order given by President Lincoln that freed the slaves in the rebelling states?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Civil War | Lesson 3  
*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Chapter 22

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Which Confederate general was killed by his own soldiers when they mistook him for an enemy?
2. Which famous and bloody battle in Pennsylvania marked a defeat for the Confederacy that stopped their incursion into Union territory?
3. Who was the key Union general Lincoln found to lead successfully the Union armies from 1864 onward?
4. What did General William Tecumseh Sherman do in Georgia?
5. What happened on April 14, 1865 (Good Friday), at Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Unit 2 — Formative Quiz 2

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Covering Lesson 3  
10-15 minutes

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
2. What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg in the Virginia and Maryland theatre of war?
3. How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
4. Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?
5. What were Abraham Lincoln's plans for reconstruction following the Civil War, as outlined in his Second inaugural address and from what we know of his private meetings in the war's final weeks?

## Lesson 4 — Reconstruction

1865–1877

4-5 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the remarkable fulfillment of civil rights for freedmen during Reconstruction despite the objections of some and then the reversal of many of those realizations in for confederate states during Reconstruction and after its end in 1877.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*  
Primary Sources

Chapters 23 and 24  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*Land of Hope*  
*The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 190–204  
Pages 196–202  
Pages 188–199

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*

Lecture 11  
Lectures 4 and 5

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, chapters 23 and 24, and prepare for a reading quiz (provided below) or read excerpts from *The Story of the Thirteen Colonies and the Great Republic*, pages 196–202, and prepare for a reading quiz (teacher created).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Former Confederacy

#### Persons

Andrew Johnson  
Thaddeus Stevens  
Hiram Revels  
Ulysses S. Grant

Elijah McCoy  
Lewis Howard Latimer  
Rutherford B. Hayes

### Terms and Topics

Reconstruction	Ku Klux Klan
Radical Republicans	lynching
freedmen	Ku Klux Klan Acts
13th, 14th, 15th Amendments	Transcontinental Railroad
military districts	Seward's Folly
Freedmen's Bureau	Crédit Mobilier Scandal
impeachment	Panic of 1873
sharecropping	Jim Crow
black codes	Compromise of 1877
scalawags and carpetbaggers	

### Primary Sources

13th Amendment  
 14th Amendment  
 15th Amendment  
 Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

### To Know by Heart

First lines of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments

### Timeline

1865–77	Reconstruction
1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president
1868	First African American elected to Congress
1877	Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes becomes president

### Images

Historical figures and events  
 Maps showing the gradual re-admittance of Southern states  
 Photographs of African Americans in the South, both in freedom and with the heavy restrictions placed on their freedom

### STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Frederick Douglass reflecting on the Emancipation Proclamation taking effect
- The swearing in of Hiram Revels to the U.S. Senate
- Completion of the Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Point, Utah

### QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What were the similarities and differences between Abraham Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction and that of the Radical Republicans, especially concerning means, manner, and ends?
- What were the sources of tension between Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans especially?
- What did a Confederate state have to do in order to be readmitted fully in to the Union?

- Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, what did each do?
- What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment?
- In what ways did governments of the former Confederacy attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction? How did they respond to the actions of Republicans in the North?
- In what ways did Southern states attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction? How did they respond to the actions of Republicans in the North?
- What did the Freedmen's Bureau do?
- How can Ulysses S. Grant's presidency be characterized?
- What did the Ku Klux Klan Acts do?
- What happened in the election of 1876 and subsequent compromise of 1877?
- What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the former confederacy, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 63: There are four amendments to the U.S. Constitution about who can vote. Describe one of them.
  - Question 97: What amendment gives citizenship to all persons born in the United States?
  - Question 98: When did all men get the right to vote?
  - Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.
  - Question 127: What is Memorial Day?

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

Even before the battlefield fighting was over, a new kind of struggle would emerge to determine the status of former slaves now made free. In decisive ways, Abraham Lincoln's assassination was devastating for the prospects of healing the nation while effectively securing the equal rights of freedmen. Not only was the desire for vengeance that Lincoln attempted to abate unleashed against the South, but the Republicans controlling Congress themselves fought bitterly with President Andrew Johnson over the purpose and method of Reconstruction. While some remarkable gains were made for African Americans in the South, particularly in fulfilling in law the core ideas enunciated in the American founding and fought for by the Union, objections to such fulfillments remained, new injustices were established, and the management of Reconstruction was in disarray. The Compromise of 1877 ended the period of Reconstruction, leaving the protections African Americans had gained without federal protection, resulting in decades of restrictions on their rights and liberties.

Teachers might best plan and teach Reconstruction with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Have students consider the effect of Abraham Lincoln's assassination on Reconstruction and the future of America, especially as regards civil rights for African Americans. Lincoln's focus was healing the nation while simultaneously providing for the effective and long-term establishment of equal rights for African Americans. Lincoln was succeeded after his assassination by Vice President Andrew Johnson.
- The transformation of a society away from decades of slavery was no small task. Depict Reconstruction as being tragically undermined and strained by the conflicts between congressional Republicans (who strongly opposed slavery), President Andrew Johnson (a pro-

Union Democrat with little sympathy for former slaves), and lawmakers in the Southern states (who mostly wished to restrict the rights of the new freedmen), all of whom operated out of distrust following a painful and bloody Civil War.

- Have students read the three amendments to the Constitution and the laws passed during Reconstruction, especially the Civil Rights Act of 1866, related to the abolition of slavery and citizenship of freedmen. It is important to note the major and meaningful efforts Republicans made to guarantee the rights of African Americans. Questions on pages 197–199 of *A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope* may be helpful.
- Teach students about both the important gains and protections Republicans won for African Americans during Reconstruction as well as the ways in which these were undermined by actions in the former Confederate states and Johnson himself. Students should gain an appreciation of the remarkable speed and degrees to which former slaves were incorporated into the civil body early in Reconstruction, including the thousands of African Americans who would hold office at the local, state, and even federal level. But they should also understand the ways that Johnson resisted equal treatment of African Americans and in doing so encouraged and allowed certain bad policies (such as “black codes” passed by state legislatures and movements such as what would become the Ku Klux Klan) in the former Confederacy. In fact, many of the reversals of reconstruction began during the presidential reconstruction of Johnson, who was decidedly against secession but by no means opposed to slavery. Congress repeatedly had to override his vetoes and enact Constitutional amendments to prevent his defense of inequalities. Such Congressional action, however, also laid the groundwork for the expansion of federal power into and over state law, especially through the 14th Amendment and military government.
- Have students learn about the ways in which many civil rights achievements were thwarted or undone both during and after Reconstruction. For instance, spend time discussing how as Southerners were refranchised, African American officials were voted out of office and how “black codes” would eventually become Jim Crow laws. Discuss how “black codes” limited freedmen’s civil rights and imposed economic restrictions, including making being unemployed illegal, prohibiting landownership, requiring long-term labor contracts, prohibiting assemblies of freedmen only, prohibiting teaching freedmen to read or write, segregating public facilities, prohibiting freedmen from serving on juries, and carrying out corporal punishments for violators, among other restrictions and injustices. Read sample black codes aloud in class and discuss, such as the Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana. Note also the use of poll taxes and literacy tests to prohibit African Americans from voting.
- Explain how sharecropping made it nearly impossible for freedmen to accumulate enough capital to purchase their own land or set-off on a different pursuit. Moreover, students should be aware of the struggle facing freedmen who were still in a society prejudiced against them, without capital, land, or even the ability to read.
- Explain the emergence of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the power that their intimidation of African Americans and Republicans had in diminishing the political participation of freedmen.
- Teach students how Republicans passed and President Ulysses S. Grant signed into law the Ku Klux Klan Acts to prohibit intimidation of freedmen exercising their civil rights. Grant also empowered the president to use the armed forces against those who tried to deny freedmen equal protection under the laws. Nonetheless, such measures were usually sloppily enforced.

- At the same time, note the improvements during Reconstruction in building hospitals, creating a public school system, securing civil rights in principle, and fostering community within the freedmen community, especially in marital and family stability and through vibrant churches.
- Explain that Reconstruction effectively ended with the Compromise of 1877 that settled the disputed election of 1876. Congress (now controlled by the Democratic Party) would allow Republican Rutherford B. Hayes to be declared president in exchange for his withdrawing federal troops in former confederate states. Point out that in the backdrop was both continuing Southern resistance and a gradual waning of Northern zeal for (and political interest in) reform within the South.
- Ask students to consider the tragic nature of Reconstruction: a time of so much hoped for and achieved in applying the principle of equal natural rights was repeatedly undermined and mismanaged, then suddenly ended for political expediency, enabling new forms of injustice in certain areas of the country, after a war to end injustice had consumed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Americans.
- Nevertheless, make sure students do not lose sight of the momentous achievements in liberty, equality, and self-government fulfilled because of the Civil War. Students should appreciate the very significant achievements of Lincoln and the Civil War while looking forward to future generations of Americans who would seek to live up to the fundamental principles of America in their own times.

### STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

**Assignment 1:** Compared to Abraham Lincoln's plans for Reconstruction, explain the ways in which Reconstruction was successful and the ways in which it was not successful (1–2 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Retell the civil rights realizations Republicans achieved for freedmen during Reconstruction and the injustices that they were subject to both during and after Reconstruction in the former confederate states (1–2 paragraphs).



Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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The American Civil War | Lesson 4  
*Land of Hope Young Readers' Edition*, Chapters 23 and 24

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. In general, what was Abraham Lincoln's plan and tone for Reconstruction?
2. What was the relationship like between President Andrew Johnson and the Republicans? Why?
3. Name one of the things that the three Reconstruction amendments (13th, 14th, and 15th) did?
4. Which military hero was president during much of Reconstruction?
5. What kinds of unjust things happened during and after Reconstruction?



## **APPENDIX A**

Study Guides

Tests

Writing Assignment



## Study Guide — Unit 2, Test 1

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Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

Test on \_\_\_\_\_

### TIMELINE

*When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.*

1846–48	Mexican–American War
1849	California Gold Rush
1850	Compromise of 1850
1854	Kansas–Nebraska Act; Republican Party founded
1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

*Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.*

California	Fort Sumter	Border States
Kansas–Nebraska Territory	Union	
Harpers Ferry	Confederacy	

### PERSONS

*Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.*

John C. Calhoun	Harriet Beecher Stowe	Stephen Douglas
Abraham Lincoln	Harriet Tubman	Dred Scott
Frederick Douglass	William Lloyd Garrison	James Buchanan
Sojourner Truth	Franklin Pierce	John Brown

### TERMS AND TOPICS

*Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.*

“positive good”	Frederick Douglass	popular sovereignty
antebellum	Uncle Tom’s Cabin	Democratic Party
secession	Underground Railroad	Republican Party
Compromise of 1850	Kansas–Nebraska Act	<i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i>
Fugitive Slave Law	popular sovereignty	Lincoln–Douglas Debates
abolitionism	Bleeding Kansas	“don’t care”
<i>Narrative of the Life of</i>	“a house divided”	moral relativism

majority tyranny  
“apple and frame” Metaphor

states’ rights

Confederate States of  
America

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.*

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, Frederick Douglass  
“House Divided” speech, Abraham Lincoln  
“Fragment on the Constitution and Union,” Abraham Lincoln  
First inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln

## TO KNOW BY HEART

*Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.*

“Knowledge makes a man unfit to be a slave.” — Frederick Douglass  
“A house divided against itself cannot stand.” — Abraham Lincoln

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.*

- Biographies and the roles of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Abraham Lincoln prior to the Civil War
- Childhood biography of Abraham Lincoln
- Scenes from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*
- Actions of Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad
- The first shots fired on Fort Sumter and its surrender

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.*

### Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

- ☐ What general prediction about the future of slavery did the Framers of the Constitution make?
- ☐ What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution went into effect, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders’ predictions regarding slavery?
- ☐ What was life like for slaves in the Southern states? What was a slave auction like?
- ☐ What was John C. Calhoun’s idea that slavery was a “positive good”? Why did he argue this, and how was this a change from previous arguments about slavery?

- ☐ Compared to the north, how would the south's society and economy suggest John C. Calhoun was wrong about the supposed economic and social benefits of slavery?
- ☐ How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
- ☐ Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for Southern states?
- ☐ What were the two most controversial parts of the Compromise of 1850? What were their effects?
- ☐ What roles did Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Tubman, and Harriet Beecher Stowe play in the abolitionist movement?
- ☐ How did the Underground Railroad work?
- ☐ What did the Kansas–Nebraska Act do?
- ☐ What was the idea of “popular sovereignty”? Where did the idea come from and why?

## Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

- ☐ According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* recast the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the founding ideas of equality?
- ☐ According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* threaten to make slavery legal anywhere in the union?
- ☐ Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that Stephen Douglas's personal stance of how he does not care (“I care not”) how a state or territory votes on slavery is dangerous and indefensible? How was this connected to Lincoln's predictions regarding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision?
- ☐ Why did Abraham Lincoln believe popular sovereignty without an argument on the morality of slavery amounted to majority tyranny?
- ☐ Why did Lincoln see the question of the morality of slavery to be at the heart of America's founding?
- ☐ Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his “apple of gold, frame of silver” metaphor.
- ☐ How did Abraham Lincoln navigate the period between his election and the first shots at Fort Sumter? How did the country descend into war during this period?
- ☐ How was slavery the true cause of the Civil War?





Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## The American Civil War — Test 1

Lesson 1 | The Expansion of Slavery

Lesson 2 | Toward Civil War

### TIMELINE

*Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.*

1846–48 \_\_\_\_\_

1849 \_\_\_\_\_

1854 \_\_\_\_\_

1860 \_\_\_\_\_

April 12, 1861 \_\_\_\_\_

A. Attack on Fort Sumter

B. California Gold Rush

C. Election of Abraham Lincoln; South  
Carolina secedesD. Kansas–Nebraska Act;  
Republican Party founded

E. Mexican–American War

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

- Outline and label the Union states, border states, and Confederate states.



Map courtesy of  
A Student  
Workbook for  
Land of Hope.

**PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS**

*Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.*

- |                                  |                       |                             |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Border                        | E. Frederick Douglass | J. popular sovereignty      |
| B. Compromise of 1850            | F. Fugitive Slave Law | K. Republican Party         |
| C. <i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i> | G. Harriet Tubman     | L. South Carolina           |
| D. Fort Sumter                   | H. John Brown         | M. <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> |
|                                  | I. Kansas-Nebraska    |                             |

2. Henry Clay helped orchestrate the passage of the \_\_\_\_\_, a package of five separate bills which relieved tensions between the North and South over the slavery issue.
3. Included in this package was the \_\_\_\_\_ which required Northerners to actively assist in capturing runaway slaves, thus stirring the ire of many in the north.
4. In the years leading up to the Civil War, various abolitionists worked and wrote against slavery, such as the escaped slave turned writer \_\_\_\_\_, newspaperman William Lloyd Garrison, and Harriet Beecher Stowe whose book, \_\_\_\_\_, did much to reveal the horrors of slavery to Northerners and shift public opinion into action.
5. Escaped slave \_\_\_\_\_ was one of the main conductors on the Underground Railroad that led slaves to freedom in the North and Canada.
6. Congressman Stephen Douglas, who desired to be the new 'Great Compromiser,' pushed for a new approach to slavery in the West: \_\_\_\_\_. This approach regarded slavery as a morally neutral practice and allowed each state to decide for themselves if it was permissible within its borders.
7. The infamous \_\_\_\_\_ Act of 1854 contradicted the Missouri Compromise and set up Kansas as a real battleground over the issue of slavery in what became known as "Bleeding Kansas." It was in response to this act that Abraham Lincoln returned to politics.
8. In 1854, former Whigs, Free Soilers, and abolitionists formed the new \_\_\_\_\_ with the purpose of actively standing against the expansion of slavery.
9. The Supreme Court asserted in the case \_\_\_\_\_ that slaves had no rights as written in the Constitution and that slavery could not be prevented from spreading throughout the Union.
10. In 1859, the abolitionist \_\_\_\_\_ attempted to lead a southern slave insurrection. His efforts were cut short when he was cornered and captured at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.
11. In response to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, \_\_\_\_\_ decided to secede from the Union, followed by a host of southern states, though by the time Lincoln was inaugurated in March 1861, no violence had broken out.

12. Part of Lincoln's First inaugural address was an attempt to keep Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, called the \_\_\_\_\_ States, loyal to the Union. If these states had seceded, it would have been likely that the South would have had enough strength to win the war.
13. The first shots of the war were fired on the federal fort in Charleston Harbor called \_\_\_\_\_. Thus did war begin between the Union and the Confederacy.

## KNOWN BY HEART

*Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.*

14. “\_\_\_\_\_ makes a man unfit to be a \_\_\_\_\_.” — Frederick Douglass
15. “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” — \_\_\_\_\_

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3<sup>rd</sup> grade students.*

17. The first shots fired on Fort Sumter and its surrender

**QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND**

*Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed and responses must fully answer each question.*

18. What had been the Constitution's framers' general prediction about the future of slavery?
19. What technology invented in 1793, four years after the Constitution was adopted, revolutionized the cotton industry, resulting in a revived demand for slave labor and undermining the Founders' predictions regarding slavery?
20. How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
21. Why, politically, did the question of the expansion of slavery become so important for Southern states?
22. According to Abraham Lincoln, how does Roger Taney's majority opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* recast the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the founding ideas of equality?
23. Why did Abraham Lincoln argue that Stephen Douglas's personal stance of how he does not care ("I care not") how a state or territory votes on slavery is dangerous and indefensible? How was this connected to Lincoln's predictions regarding the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision?
24. Explain Abraham Lincoln's arguments about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as explained in his "apple of gold, frame of silver" metaphor.
25. What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his First Inaugural Address?

## Study Guide — Unit 2, Test 2

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Lesson 3 | The Civil War  
Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

Test on \_\_\_\_\_

### TIMELINE

*When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.*

1860	Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes
1861–65	Civil War
April 12, 1861	Attack on Fort Sumter
1863	Emancipation Proclamation takes effect
July 1–3, 1863	Battle of Gettysburg
1864	Abraham Lincoln reelected
April 14–15, 1865	Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president
1865–77	Reconstruction
1877	Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes president

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

*Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.*

Fort Sumter	Richmond	Appomattox Court House
Union	West Virginia	Ford's Theatre
Confederacy	Border States	Former Confederacy

### PERSONS

*Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.*

Abraham Lincoln	Clara Barton	Andrew Johnson
Jefferson Davis	Ulysses S. Grant	Hiram Revels
Robert E. Lee	William Tecumseh Sherman	Ulysses S. Grant
George McClellan	Robert Gould Shaw	Rutherford B. Hayes
Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson	John Wilkes Booth	

### TERMS AND TOPICS

*Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.*

states' rights	minié ball	ironclads
Confederate States of America	Army of the Potomac	USS Merrimack
	Army of Northern Virginia	CSS Virginia

abolition  
Pickett's Charge  
54th Massachusetts  
Sherman's "March to the Sea"  
Reconstruction  
Radical Republicans  
freedmen

Military Districts  
Freedmen's Bureau  
sharecropping  
black codes  
scalawags and carpetbaggers  
Ku Klux Klan  
lynching

Ku Klux Klan Acts  
Transcontinental Railroad  
Crédit Mobilier Scandal  
Jim Crow  
Compromise of 1877

## MAJOR CONFLICTS

*Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.*

First Manassas/Bull Run  
Shiloh  
Peninsula Campaign  
Antietam

Fredericksburg and  
Chancellorsville  
Fort Wagner  
Vicksburg

Gettysburg  
Sherman's "March to the Sea"

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.*

Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln  
Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln  
Second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln  
Black Code from Opelousas, Louisiana

## TO KNOW BY HEART

*Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.*

Gettysburg Address — Abraham Lincoln  
"So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." — William Tecumseh Sherman telegram announcing the fall of Atlanta to Abraham Lincoln  
First lines of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.*

Biographies and roles of Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, and William Tecumseh Sherman in the Civil War  
Fighting at Little Round Top and Pickett's Charge  
Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House

Abraham Lincoln's cabinet meeting regarding dealing with the south just hours before his assassination  
Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent killing of John Wilkes Booth  
The swearing in of Hiram Revels to the US Senate

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.*

### Lesson 3 | The Civil War

- ☐ What was Abraham Lincoln's argument that secession was unconstitutional, especially as articulated in his First inaugural address?
- ☐ What were Jefferson Davis's arguments on the morality and expansion of slavery, the North, and states' rights and secession?
- ☐ What was important about Virginia's decision to secede? How did it come about?
- ☐ What were Abraham Lincoln's goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
- ☐ Why and how did Abraham Lincoln need to keep the border states in the Union?
- ☐ What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?
- ☐ What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
- ☐ What were the overall strategies that each side pursued in the course of the war?
- ☐ What were the problems characteristic of most of the Union's generals from 1861 until the Battle of Gettysburg in the Virginia and Maryland theater of war?
- ☐ How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
- ☐ In summary, what did Abraham Lincoln argue in the Gettysburg Address?
- ☐ Why were reelection prospects for Abraham Lincoln so poor for much of 1864?
- ☐ What were the most significant moments in the Civil War?
- ☐ What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?
- ☐ What were Abraham Lincoln's plans for reconstruction following the Civil War, as outlined in his Second inaugural address and from what we know of his private meetings in the war's final weeks?

### Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

- ☐ What were the two major issues facing Andrew Johnson and Republicans in the North during the early years of Reconstruction?
- ☐ What were the similarities and differences between Abraham Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction and that of the Radical Republicans, especially concerning means, manner, and ends?
- ☐ What were the sources of tension between Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans especially?
- ☐ What did a Confederate state have to do to be readmitted fully in to the Union?
- ☐ Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, what did each do?
- ☐ What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13th Amendment?

- ☐ In what ways did Southern states attempt to curtail the rights of freedmen during Reconstruction?  
How did they respond to the actions of Republicans in the North?
- ☐ How can Ulysses S. Grant's presidency be characterized?
- ☐ What did the Ku Klux Klan Acts do?
- ☐ What happened in the election of 1876 and the subsequent Compromise of 1877?
- ☐ What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the South, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?



Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## The American Civil War — Test 2

Lesson 3 | The Civil War

Lesson 4 | Reconstruction

### TIMELINE

*Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.*

1860 \_\_\_\_\_

1861–65 \_\_\_\_\_

April 12, 1861 \_\_\_\_\_

1863 \_\_\_\_\_

July 1–3, 1863 \_\_\_\_\_

1864 \_\_\_\_\_

April 14–15, 1865 \_\_\_\_\_

1865–77 \_\_\_\_\_

1877 \_\_\_\_\_

A. Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson becomes president

B. Abraham Lincoln reelected

C. Attack on Fort Sumter

D. Battle of Gettysburg

E. Civil War

F. Compromise of 1877; Rutherford B. Hayes president

G. Election of Abraham Lincoln; South Carolina secedes

H. Emancipation Proclamation takes effect

I. Reconstruction

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

1. Label Fort Sumter, Washington, DC, Richmond, Vicksburg, and Gettysburg.



Map courtesy of A Teachers Guide to Land of Hope.

## PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

Fill in the blank with the letter of the correct answer.

- |                                   |                     |                             |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. 54 <sup>th</sup> Massachusetts | F. Jim Crow         | K. Robert E. Lee            |
| B. Appomattox Court House         | G. minie ball       | L. sharecropping            |
| C. black codes                    | H. Pickett's Charge | M. Ulysses S. Grant         |
| D. Ford's Theatre                 | I. railroads        | N. William Tecumseh Sherman |
| E. ironclads                      | J. Reconstruction   |                             |
- One great advantage to the North was in its number of \_\_\_\_\_, which allowed for the faster deployment of soldiers, shipping of supplies, and industrial output.
  - Gunshot wounds were so gruesome and limb-endangering due to the \_\_\_\_\_, a conical round that shattered bones and left a larger exit wound than entrance resulting in the Civil War's high amputation rate.
  - The Civil War was the first war which not only saw widespread use of breech-loaded weapons but also the first \_\_\_\_\_ ships, the first battle of which was fought between the USS *Merrimack* and the CSS *Virginia* in the James River.
  - The bloodiest and most pointless attack of the Battle of Gettysburg was the last attack on July 3rd, called \_\_\_\_\_ in which over 1,000 Confederate soldiers were killed as they attempted to take the Union position on Cemetery Ridge.
  - The most famous of the United States Colored Troops regiments was the \_\_\_\_\_ Regiment, which fought bravely in their tragic attack on Fort Wagner in South Carolina.
  - Having graduated top of his class at West Point and having served the United States faithfully for thirty-two years, \_\_\_\_\_'s care for, as he put it, "my relatives, my children, my home," outweighed his belief that secession was unconstitutional.
  - Having graduated near the bottom of his class at West Point and having lived a tumultuous life of poverty and drinking, \_\_\_\_\_'s repeated, bold, and well-executed successes in the Mississippi-Tennessee Theatre garnered him a promotion to General-in-Chief of the Union forces.
  - The colleague of Ulysses S. Grant, \_\_\_\_\_ proved to be one of the Union's most successful and controversial generals, especially after his "March to the Sea" campaign of scorched earth warfare. He justified it by saying, "War is hell." Like Grant, he hated war, but wanted the citizens to feel the effects of war (short of hurting them physically) and so hasten peace. Nonetheless, his tactics through Georgia escalated the bitterness between the north and south.
  - The bloodiest conflict in American history ended after four years when General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General Grant's Army of the Potomac at \_\_\_\_\_ in Virginia on April, 9th, 1865.

11. On the night of April 14th at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C., actor and Southern sympathizer \_\_\_\_\_ shot Abraham Lincoln, who died the next morning, just six days after the war ended.
12. The era known as \_\_\_\_\_ witnessed the realization of many civil rights for freedmen and the efforts and resources of Northern Republicans to protect them, such as through Constitutional Amendments, civil rights acts, and the Ku Klux Klan Act.
13. Although slaves were freed following the Civil War, many Southern governments tried to limit their rights through \_\_\_\_\_.
14. Since there was so little non-agrarian work in the south, plantation owners often left freedmen no choice but to resort to \_\_\_\_\_, where the plantation owner would lease the freedmen a share of his land to grow crops in exchange for a majority share of the crops that were grown.
15. With the sudden end of Reconstruction in 1877, injustices returned to African Americans in the South in an era characterized by segregation and discrimination in laws known as \_\_\_\_\_.

## MAJOR CONFLICTS

*Explain how each battle began, narrate what happened in it and how, and explain the significance of the battle's outcome.*

16. Antietam

17. Gettysburg

**KNOWN BY HEART**

*Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker.*

18. "...and that government of the \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Source and Speaker – \_\_\_\_\_

19. "Neither \_\_\_\_\_ nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall \_\_\_\_\_ within the United States, or any \_\_\_\_\_ subject to their jurisdiction."

Source – \_\_\_\_\_

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be 3rd grade students.*

20. Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House

21. Assassination of Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre and subsequent killing of his assassin

**QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND**

*Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed and responses must fully answer each question.*

22. What were Abraham Lincoln's goals with respect to the Union and slavery at the onset of the Civil War? What were his priorities and why?
23. What were the advantages and disadvantages that the Union and the Confederacy each faced at the outset of the war?
24. What was the style of warfare in the Civil War, including battlefield strategy, weapons, ammunition, medical care, etc.?
25. How did Abraham Lincoln successfully approach his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?
26. What factors, figures, moments, etc., led the Union to victory?
27. Regarding the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, what did each do?
28. What kinds of gains did African Americans attain during Reconstruction after slavery was explicitly abolished via the 13th Amendment?
29. What happened in the election of 1876 and subsequent compromise of 1877?
30. What were the immediate consequences, especially for African Americans living in the South, of the end to Reconstruction in 1877?



## Writing Assignment — The American Civil War

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Unit 2

Due on \_\_\_\_\_

**DIRECTIONS:** Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 4–5 paragraph essay answering the question:

What did President Abraham Lincoln argue about the principles of America, the practice of slavery, and the Civil War?





## **APPENDIX B**

### Primary Sources

Frederick Douglass

Abraham Lincoln

The American People

E.D. Estillette



**FREDERICK DOUGLASS**

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,  
An American Slave*

AUTOBIOGRAPHY EXCERPT

May 1, 1845

Anti-Slavery Office | Boston, Massachusetts

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**BACKGROUND**

The former slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass wrote this autobiography on his life as a slave and his eventual escape and life in freedom.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. Who was Douglass' father?
2. What accounts does Douglass give of his childhood and life as a slave?
3. Why does Douglass go to Baltimore the first time?
4. What happens on Douglass's first escape attempt?
5. How does Douglass feel about being free in the North?

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Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845).

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

I WAS born in Tuckahoe, near Hillsborough, and about twelve miles from Easton, in Talbot county, Maryland. I have no accurate knowledge of my age, never having seen any authentic record containing it. By far the larger part of the slaves know as little of their ages as horses know of theirs, and it is the wish of most masters within my knowledge to keep their slaves thus ignorant. I do not remember to have ever met a slave who could tell of his birthday. They seldom come nearer to it than planting-time, harvest-time, cherry-time, spring-time, or fall-time. A want of information concerning my own was a source of unhappiness to me even during childhood. The white children could tell their ages. I could not tell why I ought to be deprived of the same privilege. I was not allowed to make any inquiries of my master concerning it. He deemed all such inquiries on the part of a slave improper and impertinent, and evidence of a restless spirit. The nearest estimate I can give makes me now between twenty-seven and twenty-eight years of age. I come to this, from hearing my master say, some time during 1835, I was about seventeen years old.

My mother was named Harriet Bailey. She was the daughter of Isaac and Betsey Bailey, both colored, and quite dark. My mother was of a darker complexion than either my grandmother or grandfather.

My father was a white man. He was admitted to be such by all I ever heard speak of my parentage. The opinion was also whispered that my master was my father; but of the correctness of this opinion, I know nothing; the means of knowing was withheld from me. My mother and I were separated when I was but an infant—before I knew her as my mother. It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age. Frequently, before the child has reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired out on some farm a considerable distance off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor. For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and to blunt and destroy the natural affection of the mother for the child. This is the inevitable result.

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I never saw my mother, to know her as such, more than four or five times in my life; and each of these times was very short in duration, and at night. She was hired by a Mr. Stewart, who lived about twelve miles from my home. She made her journeys to see me in the night, travelling the whole distance on foot, after the performance of her day's work. She was a field hand, and a whipping is the penalty of not being in the field at sunrise, unless a slave has special permission from his or her master to the contrary—a permission which they seldom get, and one that gives to him that gives it the proud name of being a kind master. I do not recollect of ever seeing my mother by the light of day. She was with me in the night. She would lie down with me, and get me to sleep, but long before I waked she was gone. Very little communication ever took place between us. Death soon ended what little we could have while she lived, and with it her hardships and suffering.

She died when I was about seven years old, on one of my master's farms, near Lee's Mill. I was not allowed to be present during her illness, at her death, or burial. She was gone long before I knew any thing about it. Never have enjoyed, to any considerable extent, her soothing presence, her tender and watchful care, I received the tidings of her death with much the same emotions I should have probably felt at the death of a stranger.

Called thus suddenly away, she left me without the slightest intimation of who my father was. The whisper that my master was my father, may or may not be true; and, true or false, it is of but little consequence to my purpose whilst the fact remains, in all its glaring odiousness, that slaveholders have ordained, and by law established, that the children of slave women shall in all cases follow the condition of their mothers; and this is done too obviously to administer to their own lusts, and make a gratification of their wicked desires profitable as well as pleasurable; for by this cunning arrangement, the slaveholder, in cases not a few, sustains to his slaves the double relation of master and father.

I know of such cases, and it is worthy, of remark that such slaves invariably suffer greater hardships, and have more to contend with, than others. They are, in the first place, a constant offence to their mistress. She is ever disposed to find fault with them; they can seldom do any thing to please her; she is never better pleased than when she sees them under the

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

- lash, especially when she suspects her husband of showing to his mulatto children favors which he withholds from his black slaves. The master is frequently compelled to sell this class of his slaves, out of deference to the feelings of his white wife; and, cruel as the deed may strike any one to be, for a man to sell his own children to human flesh-mongers, it is
- 5 often the dictate of humanity for him to do so; for, unless he does this, he must not only whip them himself, but must stand by and see one white son tie up his brother, of but few shades darker complexion than himself, and ply the gory lash to his naked back; and if he lisp one word of disapproval, "it is set down to his parental partiality, and only makes a bad matter worse, both for himself and the slave whom he would protect and defend.
- 10 Every year brings with it multitudes of this class of slaves. It was doubtless in consequence of a knowledge of this fact, that one great statesman of the south predicted the downfall of slavery by the inevitable laws of population. Whether this prophecy is ever fulfilled or not, it is nevertheless plain that a very different-looking class of people are springing up at the south, and are now held in slavery, from those originally brought to this country from Af-
- 15 rica; and if their increase will do no other good, it will do away the force of the argument, that God cursed Ham, and therefore American slavery is right. If the lineal descendants of Ham are alone to be scripturally enslaved, it is certain that slavery at the south must soon become unscriptural; for thousands are ushered into the world, annually, who, like myself, owe their existence to white fathers, and those fathers most frequently their own masters.
- 20 I have had two masters. My first master's name was Anthony. I do not remember his first name. He was generally called Captain Anthony—a title which, I presume, he acquired by sailing a craft on the Chesapeake Bay. He was not considered a rich slaveholder. He owned two or three farms, and about thirty slaves. His farms and slaves were under the care of an overseer. The overseer's name was Plummer. Mr. Plummer was a miserable drunkard, a
- 25 profane swearer, and a savage monster. He always went armed with a cowskin and a heavy cudgel. I have known him to cut and slash the women's heads so horribly, that even master would be enraged at his cruelty, and would threaten to whip him if he did not mind himself. Master, however, was not a humane slaveholder. It required extraordinary barbarity on the part of an overseer to affect him. He was a cruel man, hardened by a long life of slave-

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holding. He would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave. I have often been awakened at the dawn of day by the most heart-rending shrieks of an own aunt of mine, whom he used to tie up to a joist, and whip upon her naked back till she was literally covered with blood. No words, no tears, no prayers, from his gory victim, seemed to move  
5 his iron heart from its bloody purpose. The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remem-  
10 ber any thing. It was the first of a long series of such outrages, of which I was doomed to be a witness and a participant. It struck me with awful force. It was the blood-stained gate, the entrance to the hell of slavery, through which I was about to pass. It was a most terrible spectacle. I wish I could commit to paper the feelings with which I beheld it....

It is partly in consequence of such facts, that slaves, when inquired of as to their condition  
15 and the character of their masters, almost universally say they are contented, and that their masters are kind. The slaveholders have been known to send in spies among their slaves, to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition. The frequency of this has had the effect to establish among the slaves the maxim, that a still tongue makes a wise head. They suppress the truth rather than take the consequences of telling it, and in so  
20 doing prove themselves a part of the human family. If they have any thing to say of their masters, it is generally in their masters' favor, especially when speaking to an untried man. I have been frequently asked, when a slave, if I had a kind master, and do not remember ever to have given a negative answer; nor did I, in pursuing this course, consider myself as uttering what was absolutely false; for I always measured the kindness of my master by the  
25 standard of kindness set up among slaveholders around us. Moreover, slaves are like other people, and imbibe prejudices quite common to others. They think their own better than that of others. Many, under the influence of this prejudice, think their own masters are better than the masters of other slaves; and this, too, in some cases, when the very reverse is true. Indeed, it is not uncommon for slaves even to fall out and quarrel among themselves

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about the relative goodness of their masters, each contending for the superior goodness of his own over that of the others. At the very same time, they mutually execrate their masters when viewed separately. It was so on our plantation. When Colonel Lloyd's slaves met the slaves of Jacob Jepson, they seldom parted without a quarrel about their masters; Colonel Lloyd's slaves contending that he was the richest, and Mr. Jepson's slaves that he was the smartest, and most of a man. Colonel Lloyd's slaves would boast his ability to buy and sell Jacob Jepson. Mr. Jepson's slaves would boast his ability to whip Colonel Lloyd. These quarrels would almost always end in a fight between the parties, and those that whipped were supposed to have gained the point at issue. They seemed to think that the greatness of their masters was transferable to themselves. It was considered as being bad enough to be a slave; but to be a poor man's slave was deemed a disgrace indeed!....

As to my own treatment while I lived on Colonel Lloyd's plantation, it was very similar to that of the other slave children. I was not old enough to work in the field, and there being little else than field work to do, I had a great deal of leisure time. The most I had to do was to drive up the cows at evening, keep the fowls out of the garden, keep the front yard clean, and run of errands for my old master's daughter, Mrs. Lucretia Auld. The most of my leisure time I spent in helping Master Daniel Lloyd in finding his birds, after he had shot them. My connection with Master Daniel was of some advantage to me. He became quite attached to me, and was a sort of protector of me. He would not allow the older boys to impose upon me, and would divide his cakes with me.

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



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We were not regularly allowanced. Our food was coarse corn meal boiled. This was called mush. It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set down upon the ground. The children were then called, like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and devour the mush; some with oyster shells, others with pieces of shingle, some with naked  
5 hands, and none with spoons. He that ate fastest got most; he that was strongest secured the best place; and few left the trough satisfied. I was probably between seven and eight years old when I left Colonel Lloyd's plantation. I left it with joy. I shall never forget the ecstasy with which I received the intelligence that my old master (Anthony) had determined to let me go to Baltimore, to live with Mr. Hugh Auld, brother to my old master's  
10 son-in-law, Captain Thomas Auld. I received this information about three days before my departure. They were three of the happiest days I ever enjoyed. I spent the most part of all these three days in the creek, washing off the plantation scurf, and preparing myself for my departure....

We arrived at Baltimore early on Sunday morning, landing at Smith's Wharf, not far from  
15 Bowley's Wharf. We had on board the sloop a large flock of sheep; and after aiding in driving them to the slaughter house of Mr. Curtis on Louden Slater's Hill, I was conducted by Rich, one of the hands belonging on board of the sloop, to my new home in Alliciana Street, near Mr. Gardner's ship-yard, on Fells Point.

Mr. and Mrs. Auld were both at home, and met me at the door with their little son Thomas,  
20 to take care of whom I had been given. And here I saw what I had never seen before; it was a white face beaming with the most kindly emotions; it was the face of my new mistress, Sophia Auld. I wish I could describe the rapture that flashed through my soul as I beheld it. It was a new and strange sight to me, brightening up my pathway with the light of happiness. Little Thomas was told, there was his Freddy, - and I was told to take care of little  
25 Thomas; and thus I entered upon the duties of my new home with the most cheering prospect ahead.

I look upon my departure from Colonel Lloyd's plantation as one of the most interesting events of my life. It is possible, and even quite probable, that but for the mere circumstance

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of being removed from that plantation to Baltimore, I should have to-day, instead of being here seated by my own table, in the enjoyment of freedom and the happiness of home, writing this Narrative, been confined in the galling chains of slavery. Going to live at Baltimore laid the foundation, and opened the gateway, to all my subsequent prosperity. I have  
5 ever regarded it as the first plain manifestation of that kind providence which ever since attended me, and marked my life with so many favors. I regarded the selection of myself as being somewhat remarkable. There were a number of slave children that might have been sent from the plantation to Baltimore. There were those younger, those older, and those of the same age. I was chosen from among them all, and was the first, last, and only choice.

10 I may be deemed superstitious, and even egotistical, in regarding this event as a special interposition of divine Providence in my favor. But I should be false to the earliest sentiments of my soul, if I suppressed the opinion. I prefer to be true to myself, even at the hazard of incurring the ridicule of others, rather than to be false, and incur my own abhorrence. From my earliest recollection, I date the entertainment of a deep conviction that  
15 slavery would not always be able to hold me within its foul embrace; and in the darkest hours of my career in slavery, this living word of faith and spirit of hope departed not from me, but remained like ministering angels to cheer me through the gloom. This good spirit was from God, and to him I offer thanksgiving and praise.....

I often found myself regretting my own existence, and wishing myself dead; and but for the  
20 hope of being free, I have no doubt but that I should have killed myself, or done something for which I should have been killed. While in this state of mind, I was eager to hear any one speak of slavery. I was a ready listener. Every little while, I could hear something about the abolitionists. It was some time before I found what the word meant. It was always used in such connections as to make it an interesting word to me. If a slave ran away and succeeded  
25 in getting clear, or if a slave killed his master, set fire to a barn, or did any thing very wrong in the mind of a slaveholder, it was spoken of as the fruit of *abolition*. Hearing the word in this connection very often, I set about learning what it meant. The dictionary afforded me little or no help. I found it was "the act of abolishing;" but then I did not know what was to be abolished. Here I was perplexed. I did not dare to ask any one about its meaning, for

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I was satisfied that it was something they wanted me to know very little about. After a patient waiting, I got one of our city papers, containing an account of the number of petitions from the north, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the slave trade between the States. From this time I understood the words *abolition* and *abolitionist*, and always drew near when that word was spoken, expecting to hear something of importance to myself and fellow-slaves. The light broke in upon me by degrees. I went one day down on the wharf of Mr. Waters; and seeing two Irishmen unloading a scow of stone, I went, unasked, and helped them. When we had finished, one of them came to me and asked me if I were a slave. I told him I was. He asked, "Are ye a slave for life?" I told him that I was. The good Irishman seemed to be deeply affected by the statement. He said to the other that it was a pity so fine a little fellow as myself should be a slave for life. He said it was a shame to hold me. They both advised me to run away to the north; that I should find friends there, and that I should be free. I pretended not to be interested in what they said, and treated them as if I did not understand them; for I feared they might be treacherous. White men have been known to encourage slaves to escape, and then, to get the reward, catch them and return them to their masters. I was afraid that these seemingly good men might use me so; but I nevertheless remembered their advice, and from that time I resolved to run away. I looked forward to a time at which it would be safe for me to escape. I was too young to think of doing so immediately; besides, I wished to learn how to write, as I might have occasion to write my own pass. I consoled myself with the hope that I should one day find a good chance. Meanwhile, I would learn to write.

The idea as to how I might learn to write was suggested to me by being in Durgin and Bailey's ship yard, and frequently seeing the ship carpenters, after hewing, and getting a piece of timber ready for use, write on the timber the name of that part of the ship for which it was intended. When a piece of timber was intended for the larboard side, it would be marked thus—"L." When a piece was for the starboard side, it would be marked thus—"S." A piece for the larboard side forward, would be marked thus—"L. F." When a piece was for starboard side forward, it would be marked thus—"S. F." For larboard aft, it would be marked thus—"L.A." For starboard aft, it would be marked thus—"S. A." I soon learned

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the names of these letters, and for what they were intended when placed upon a piece of timber in the ship-yard. I immediately commenced copying them, and in a short time was able to make the four letters named. After that, when I met with any boy who I knew could write, I would tell him I could write as well as he. The next word would be, "I don't believe  
5 you. Let me see you try it." I would then make the letters which I had been so fortunate as to learn, and ask him to beat that. In this way I got a good many lessons in writing, which it is quite possible I should never have gotten in any other way. During this time, my copy-book was the board fence, brick wall, and pavement; my pen and ink was a lump of chalk. With these, I learned mainly how to write. I then commenced and continued copying the  
10 Italics in Webster's Spelling Book, until I could make them all without looking on the book. By the time, my little Master Thomas had gone to school, and learned how to write, and had written over a number of copy-books. These had been brought home, and shown to some of our near neighbors, and then laid aside. My mistress used to go to class meeting at the Wilk Street meeting-house every Monday afternoon, and leave me to take care of the  
15 house. When left thus, I used to spend the time in writing in the spaces left in Master Thomas's copy-book, copying what he had written. I continued to do this until I could write a hand very similar to that of Master Thomas. Thus after a long tedious effort for years, I finally succeeded in learning to write.....

At the close of the year 1834, Mr. Freeland again hired me of my master, for the year 1835.  
20 But, by this time, I began to want to live upon free land as well as with Freeland; and I was no longer content, there fore, to live with him or any other slaveholder. I began, with the commencement of the year, to prepare myself for a final struggle, which should decide my fate one way or the other. My tendency was upward. I was fast approaching manhood, and year after year had passed, and I was still a slave. These thoughts roused me —I must do  
25 something. I therefore re solved that 1835 should not pass without witnessing an attempt, on my part, to secure my liberty. But I was not willing to cherish this determination alone. My fellow-slaves were dear to me. I was anxious to have them participate with me in this, my life-giving deter mination. I therefore, though with great prudence, commenced early to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition, and to imbue their minds

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with thoughts of freedom. I bent myself to devising ways and means for our escape, and meanwhile strove, on all fitting occasions, to impress them with the gross fraud and inhumanity of slavery. I went first to Henry, next to John, then to the others. I found, in them all, warm hearts and noble spirits. They were ready to hear, and ready to act when a feasible

5 plan should be proposed. This was what I wanted. Italked to them of our want of manhood, if we submitted to our enslavement without at least one noble effort to be free. We met often, and consulted frequently, and told our hopes and fears, recounted the difficulties, real and imagined, which we should be called on to meet. At times we were almost disposed to give up, and try to content ourselves with our wretched lot; at others, we were firm and

10 unbending in our determination to go. Whenever we suggested any plan, there was shrink ing—the odds were fearful. Our path was beset with the greatest obstacles; and if we succeeded in gaining the end of it, our right to be free was yet questionable –we were yet liable to be returned to bondage. We could see no spot, this side of the ocean, where we could be free. We knew nothing about Canada. Our knowledge of the north did not extend farther

15 than New York; and to go there, and be forever harassed with the frightful liability of being returned to slavery –with the certainty of being treated tenfold worse than before —the thought was truly a horrible one, and one which it was not easy to overcome. The case sometimes stood thus: At every gate through which we were to pass, we saw a watchman—at every ferry a guard—on every bridge a sentinel—and in every wood a patrol. We were

20 hemmed in upon every side. Here were the difficulties, real or im agined—the good to be sought, and the evil to be shunned. On the one hand, there stood slavery, a stern reality, glaring frightfully upon us, - its robes already crimsoned with the blood of millions, and even now feasting itself greedily upon our own flesh. On the other hand, away back in the dim distance, under the flickering light of the north star, behind some craggy hill or snow-

25 covered mountain, stood a doubtful free dom –half frozen—beckoning us to come and share its hospitality. This in itself was sometimes enough to stagger us; but when we permitted ourselves to survey the road, we were frequently appalled. Upon either side we saw grim death, assuming the most horrid shapes. Now it was starvation, causing us to eat our own flesh; –now we were contending with the waves, and were drowned ; –now we were

30 over taken, and torn to pieces by the fangs of the terrible bloodhound. We were stung by

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scorpions, chased by wild beasts, bitten by snakes, and finally, after having nearly reached the desired spot, — after swimming rivers, encountering wild beasts, sleeping in the woods, suffering hunger and nakedness, -we were overtaken by our pursuers, and, in our resistance, we were shot dead upon the spot! I say, this picture sometimes appalled us, and made us “rather bear those ills we had, Than fly to others, that we knew not of.” In coming to a fixed determination to run away, we did more than Patrick Henry, when he resolved upon liberty or death. With us it was a doubtful liberty at most, and almost certain death if we failed. For my part, I should prefer death to hopeless bondage.

Sandy, one of our number, gave up the notion, but still encouraged us. Our company then consisted of Henry Harris, John Harris, Henry Bailey, Charles Roberts, and myself. Henry Bailey was my uncle, and belonged to my master. Charles married my aunt: he belonged to my master's father-in-law, Mr. William Hamilton.

The plan we finally concluded upon was, to get a large canoe belonging to Mr. Hamilton, and upon the Saturday night previous to Easter holidays, paddle directly up the Chesapeake Bay. On our arrival at the head of the bay, a distance of seventy or eighty miles from where we lived, it was our purpose to turn our canoe adrift, and follow the guidance of the north star till we got beyond the limits of Maryland. Our reason for taking the water route was, that we were less liable to be suspected as runaways; we hoped to be regarded as fishermen; whereas, if we should take the land route, we should be subjected to interruptions of almost every kind. Any one having a white face, and being so disposed, could stop us, and subject us to examination.

The week before our intended start, I wrote several protections, one for each of us. As well as I can remember, they were in the following words, to wit: “THIS is to certify that I, the undersigned, have given the bearer, my servant, full liberty to go to Baltimore, and spend the Easter holidays. Written with mine own hand, &c., 1835. - “WILLIAM HAMILTON, “Near St. Michael's, in Talbot county, Maryland.”

We were not going to Baltimore; but, in going up the bay, we went toward Baltimore, and these protections were only intended to protect us while on the bay.

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As the time drew near for our departure, our anxiety became more and more intense. It was truly a matter of life and death with us. The strength of our determination was about to be fully tested. At this time, I was very active in explaining every difficulty, removing every doubt, dispelling every fear, and inspiring all with the firmness indispensable to success in our undertaking; assuring them that half was gained the instant we made the move; we had talked long enough; we were now ready to move; if not now, we never should be; and if we did not intend to move now, we had as well fold our arms, sit down, and acknowledge ourselves fit only to be slaves. This, none of us were prepared to acknowledge. Every man stood firm; and at our last meeting, we pledged our selves afresh, in the most solemn manner, that, at the time appointed, we would certainly start in pursuit of freedom. This was in the middle of the week, at the end of which we were to be off. We went, as usual, to our several fields of labor, but with bosoms highly agitated with thoughts of our truly hazardous undertaking. We tried to conceal our feelings as much as possible; and I think we succeeded very well.

After a painful waiting, the Saturday morning, whose night was to witness our departure, came. I hailed it with joy, bring what of sadness it might. Friday night was a sleepless one for me. I probably felt more anxious than the rest, because I was, by common consent, at the head of the whole affair. The responsibility of success or failure lay heavily upon me. The glory of the one, and the confusion of the other, were alike mine. The first two hours of that morning were such as I never experienced before, and hope never to again. Early in the morning, we went, as usual, to the field. We were spreading manure; and all at once, while thus engaged, I was overwhelmed with an indescribable feeling, in the fulness of which I turned to Sandy, who was near by, and said, "We are betrayed!" "Well," said he, "that thought has this moment struck me." We said no more. I was never more certain of any thing.

The horn was blown as usual, and we went up from the field to the house for breakfast. I went for the form, more than for want of any thing to eat that morning. Just as I got to the house, in looking out at the lane gate, I saw four white men, with two colored men. The white men were on horseback, and the colored ones were walking behind, as if tied. I

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watched them a few moments till they got up to our lane gate. Here they halted, and tied the colored men to the gate-post. I was not yet certain as to what the matter was. In a few moments, in rode Mr. Hamilton, with a speed betokening great excitement. He came to the door, and inquired if Master William was in. He was told he was at the barn. Mr. Hamilton, with out dismounting, rode up to the barn with extraordinary speed. In a few moments, he and Mr. Free land returned to the house. By this time, the three constables rode up, and in great haste dismounted, tied their horses, and met Master William and Mr. Hamilton returning from the barn; and after talking awhile, they all walked up to the kitchen door. There was no one in the kitchen but myself and John. Henry and Sandy were up at the barn.

10 Mr. Freeland put his head in at the door, and called me by name, saying, there were some gentlemen at the door who wished to see me. I stepped to the door, and inquired what they wanted. They at once seized me, and, without giving me any satisfaction, tied me —lashing my hands closely together. I insisted upon knowing what the matter was. They at length said, that they had learned I had been in a “scrape,” and that I was to be examined before

15 my master; and if their information proved false, I should not be hurt.

In a few moments, they succeeded in tying John. They then turned to Henry, who had by this time returned, and commanded him to cross his hands. “I won't!” said Henry, in a firm tone, indicating his readiness to meet the consequences of his refusal. “Won't you?” said Tom Graham, the constable. “No, I won't!” said Henry, in a still stronger tone. With this,

20 two of the constables pulled out their shining pistols, and swore, by their Creator, that they would make him cross his hands or kill him. Each cocked his pistol, and, with fingers on the trigger, walked up to Henry, saying, at the same time, if he did not cross his hands, they would blow his damned heart out. “Shoot me, shoot me!” said Henry; “ you can't kill me but once. Shoot, shoot, —and be damned I won't be tied!” This he said in a tone of loud

25 defiance; and at the same time, with a motion as quick as lightning, he with one single stroke dashed the pistols from the hand of each constable. As he did this, all hands fell upon him, and, after beating him some time, they finally over powered him, and got him tied.

During the scuffle, I managed, I know not how, to get my pass out, and, without being discovered, put it into the fire. We were all now tied; and just as we were to leave for Easton



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jail, Betsy Freeland, mother of William Freeland, came to the door with her hands full of biscuits, and divided them between Henry and John. She then delivered herself of a speech, to the following effect: –addressing herself to me, she said, “You devil / You yellow devil it was you that put it into the heads of Henry and John to run away. But for you, you long-  
5 legged mulatto devil! Henry nor John would never have thought of such a thing.” I made no reply, and was immediately hurried off towards St. Michael's. Just a moment previous to the scuffle with Henry, Mr. Hamilton suggested the propriety of making a search for the protections which he had understood Frederick had written for himself and the rest. But, just at the moment he was about carrying his proposal into effect, his aid was needed in  
10 helping to tie Henry ; and the excitement attending the scuffle caused them either to forget, or to deem it unsafe, under the circumstances, to search. So we were not yet convicted of the intention to run away.

When we got about half way to St. Michael's, while the constables having us in charge were looking ahead, Henry inquired of me what he should do with his pass. I told him to eat it  
15 with his biscuit, and own nothing; and we passed the word around, “Own nothing ; ” and “Own nothing !” said we all. Our confidence in each other was unshaken. We were resolved to succeed or fail together, after the calamity had befallen us as much as before. We were now prepared for any thing. We were to be dragged that morning fifteen miles behind horses, and then to be placed in the Easton jail. When we reached St. Michael's, we under-  
20 went a sort of examination. We all denied that we ever intended to run away. We did this more to bring out the evidence against us, than from any hope of getting clear of being sold; for, as I have said, we were ready for that. The fact was, we cared but little where we went, so we went together. Our greatest concern was about separation. We dreaded that more than any thing this side of death. We found the evidence against us to be the testimony of  
25 one person; our master would not tell who it was ; but we came to a unanimous decision among ourselves as to who their informant was. We were sent off to the jail at Easton. When we got there, we were delivered up to the sheriff, Mr. Joseph Graham, and by him placed in jail. Henry, John, and myself, were placed in one room together— Charles, and Henry Bailey, in another. Their object in separating us was to hinder concert.

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We had been in jail scarcely twenty minutes, when a swarm of slave traders, and agents for slave traders, flocked into jail to look at us, and to ascertain if we were for sale. Such a set of beings I never saw before I felt myself surrounded by so many fiends from perdition. A band of pirates never looked more like their father, the devil. They laughed and grinned  
5 over us, saying, "Ah, my boys! we have got you, haven't we?" And after taunting us in various ways, they one by one went into an examination of us, with intent to ascertain our value. They would impudently ask us if we would not like to have them for our masters. We would make them no answer, and leave them to find out as best they could. Then they would curse and swear at us, telling us that they could take the devil out of us in a very little  
10 while, if we were only in their hands.....

I Now come to that part of my life during which planned, and finally succeeded in making, my escape from slavery. But before narrating any of the peculiar circumstances, I deem it proper to make known my intention not to state all the facts connected with the transaction. My reasons for pursuing this course may be understood from the following: First,  
15 were I to give a minute statement of all the facts, it is not only possible, but quite probable, that others would thereby be involved in the most embarrassing difficulties. Secondly, such a statement would most undoubtedly induce greater vigilance on the part of slave holders than has existed heretofore among them; which would, of course, be the means of guarding a door whereby some dear brother bondman might escape his galling chains. I deeply regret  
20 the necessity that impels me to suppress any thing of importance connected with my experience in slavery. It would afford me great pleasure indeed, as well as materially add to the interest of my narrative, were I at liberty to gratify a curiosity, which I know exists in the minds of many, by an accurate statement of all the facts pertaining to my most fortunate escape. But I must deprive myself of this pleasure, and the curious of the gratification which  
25 such a statement would afford. I would allow myself to suffer under the greatest imputations which evil-minded men might suggest, rather than exculpate myself, and thereby run the hazard of closing the slightest avenue by which a brother slave might clear himself of the chains and fetters of slavery.

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I have never approved of the very public manner in which some of our western friends have conducted what they call the underground railroad, but which, I think, by their open declarations, has been made most emphatically the upperground railroad. I honor those good men and women for their noble daring, and applaud them for willingly subjecting themselves to bloody persecution, by openly avowing their participation in the escape of slaves. I, however, can see very little good resulting from such a course, either to themselves or the slaves escaping; while, upon the other hand, I see and feel assured that those open declarations are a positive evil to the slaves remaining, who are seeking to escape. They do nothing towards enlightening the slave, whilst they do much towards enlightening the master. They stimulate him to greater watchfulness, and enhance his power to capture his slave. We owe something to the slaves south of the line as well as to those north of it; and in aiding the latter on their way to freedom, we should be careful to do nothing which would be likely to hinder the former from escaping from slavery. I would keep the merciless slaveholder profoundly ignorant of the means of flight adopted by the slave. I would leave him to imagine himself surrounded by myriads of invisible tormentors, ever ready to snatch from his infernal grasp his trembling prey. Let him be left to feel his way in the dark; let darkness commensurate with his crime hover over him; and let him feel that at every step he takes, in pursuit of the flying bondman, he is running the frightful risk of having his hot brains dashed out by an invisible agency. Let us render the tyrant no aid; let us not hold the light by which he can trace the footprints of our flying brother. But enough of this. I will now proceed to the statement of those facts, connected with my escape, for which I am alone responsible, and for which no one can be made to suffer but myself....

Things went on without very smoothly indeed, but within there was trouble. It is impossible for me to describe my feelings as the time of my contemplated start drew near. I had a number of warm-hearted friends in Baltimore, — friends that I loved almost as I did my life, -and the thought of being separated from them forever was painful beyond expression. It is my opinion that thousands would escape from slavery, who now remain, but for the strong cords of affection that bind them to their friends. The thought of leaving my friends was decidedly the most painful thought with which I had to contend. The love of them was

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my tender point, and shook my decision more than all things else. Besides the pain of separation, the dread and apprehension of a failure exceeded what I had experienced at my first attempt. The appalling defeat I then sustained returned to torment me. I felt assured that, if I failed in this attempt, my case would be a hopeless one—it would seal my fate as  
5 a slave forever. I could not hope to get off with any thing less than the severest punishment, and being placed beyond the means of escape. It required no very vivid imagination to depict the most frightful scenes through which I should have to pass, in case I failed. The wretchedness of slavery, and the blessedness of freedom, were perpetually before me. It was life and death with me. But I remained firm, and, according to my resolution, on the  
10 third day of September, 1838, I left my chains, and succeeded in reaching New York without the slightest interruption of any kind. How I did so, - what means I adopted, - what direction I travelled, and by what mode of conveyance, — I must leave unexplained, for the reasons before mentioned.

I have been frequently asked how I felt when I found myself in a free State. I have never  
15 been able to answer the question with any satisfaction to myself. It was a moment of the highest excitement I ever experienced. I suppose I felt as one may imagine the unarmed mariner to feel when he is rescued by a friendly man-of-war from the pursuit of a pirate. In writing to a dear friend, immediately after my arrival at New York, I said I felt like one who had escaped a den of hungry lions. This state of mind, however, very soon subsided ;  
20 and I was again seized with a feeling of great insecurity and loneliness. I was yet liable to be taken back, and subjected to all the tortures of slavery. This in itself was enough to damp the ardor of my enthusiasm. But the loneliness overcame me. There I was in the midst of thousands, and yet a perfect stranger; without home and without friends, in the midst of thousands of my own brethren—children of a common Father, and yet I dared not to unfold to any one of them my sad condition. I was afraid to speak to any one for fear of speaking to the wrong one, and thereby falling into the hands of money-loving kidnappers, whose business it was to lie in wait for the panting fugitive, as the ferocious beasts of the forest lie in wait for their prey. The motto which I adopted when I started from slavery was this—"Trust no man!" I saw in every white man an enemy, and in almost every colored

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man cause for distrust. It was a most painful situation; and, to understand it, one must needs experience it, or imagine himself in similar circumstances. Let him be a fugitive slave in a strange land—a land given up to be the hunting-ground for slaveholders – whose inhabitants are legalized kidnappers – where he is every moment subjected to the terrible liability of being seized upon by his fellow men, as the hideous crocodile seizes upon his prey! I say, let him place himself in my situation—without home or friends— without money or credit –wanting shelter, and no one to give it—wanting bread, and no money to buy it, -and at the same time let him feel that he is pursued by merciless men-hunters, and in total darkness as to what to do, where to go, or where to stay, -perfectly helpless both as to the means of defence and means of escape, -in the midst of plenty, yet suffering the terrible gnawings of hunger, — in the midst of houses, yet having no home, —among fellow-men, yet feeling as if in the midst of wild beasts, whose greediness to swallow up the trembling and half-famished fugitive is only equalled by that with which the monsters of the deep swallow up the helpless fish upon which they subsist, —I say, let him be placed in this most trying situation, —the situation in which I was placed, -then, and not till then, will he fully appreciate the hardships of, and know how to sympathize with, the toil-worn and whip-scarred fugitive slave.

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

# Speech at Peoria

**SPEECH EXCERPT**

October 16, 1854

Lawn of the Peoria County Courthouse | Peoria, Illinois

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On the Kansas-Nebraska Act

**BACKGROUND**

Abraham Lincoln responded to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its principal proponent, Stephen A. Douglas, with this address at Peoria.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. Is Lincoln in favor or against self-governance?
2. In what way can the right of self-governance be abused according to Lincoln?
3. What principles does Lincoln take to be more essential than the right to self-governance?
4. What are the results of the violation of the Missouri Compromise both in the north and in the south?
5. How does Lincoln think the founders viewed slavery?

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Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at Peoria, Illinois" (1854) in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1953) pp. 248–283.

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...The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the propriety of its restoration, constitute the subject of what I am about to say....

I trust I understand, and truly estimate the right of self-government. My faith in the proposition that each man should do precisely as he pleases with all which is exclusively his own, lies at the foundation of the sense of justice there is in me. I extend the principles to communities of men, as well as to individuals. I so extend it, because it is politically wise, as well as naturally just; politically wise, in saving us from broils about matters which do not concern us. Here, or at Washington, I would not trouble myself with the oyster laws of Virginia, or the cranberry laws of Indiana.

The doctrine of self-government is right—absolutely and eternally right—but it has no just application, as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such just application depends upon whether a negro is *not* or *is* a man. If he is *not* a man, why in that case, he who *is* a man may, as a matter of self-government, do just as he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent, a total destruction of self-government, to say that he too shall not govern *himself*? When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself, and also governs *another* man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. If the negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that “all men are created equal;” and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man’s making a slave of another....

What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man, without that other’s consent. I say this is the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says:

“We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

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I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed. Now the relation of masters and slaves is, *pro tanto*, a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent; but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only is self-government....

This same generation of men, and mostly the same individuals of the generation, who declared this principle—who declared independence—who fought the war of the revolution through—who afterwards made the constitution under which we still live—these same men passed the ordinance of '87, declaring that slavery should never go to the north-west territory. I have no doubt Judge Douglas thinks they were very inconsistent in this. It is a question of discrimination between them and him. But there is not an inch of ground left for his claiming that their opinions—their example—their authority—are on his side in this controversy....

I have done with this mighty argument, of self-government. Go, sacred thing! Go in peace....

The Missouri Compromise ought to be restored. For the sake of the Union, it ought to be restored. We ought to elect a House of Representatives which will vote its restoration. If by any means, we omit to do this, what follows? Slavery may or may not be established in Nebraska. But whether it be or not, we shall have repudiated—discarded from the councils of the Nation—the spirit of compromise; for who after this will ever trust in a national compromise? The spirit of mutual concession—that spirit which first gave us the constitution, and which has thrice saved the Union—we shall have strangled and cast from us forever. And what shall we have in lieu of it? The South flushed with triumph and tempted to excesses; the North, betrayed, as they believe, brooding on wrong and burning for revenge. One side will provoke; the other resent. The one will taunt, the other defy; one agrees, the



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other retaliates. Already a few in the North, defy all constitutional restraints, resist the execution of the fugitive slave law, and even menace the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.

5 Already a few in the South, claim the constitutional right to take to and hold slaves in the free states—demand the revival of the slave trade; and demand a treaty with Great Britain by which fugitive slaves may be reclaimed from Canada. As yet they are but few on either side. It is a grave question for the lovers of the Union, whether the final destruction of the Missouri Compromise, and with it the spirit of all compromise will or will not embolden and embitter each of these, and fatally increase the numbers of both....

10 I particularly object to the new position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I object to it because it assumes that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a few people—a sad evidence that, feeling prosperity we forget right—that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere. I object to it because the fathers of the republic eschewed, and rejected it. The argument of “Necessity” was the only argument they ever admitted in  
15 favor of slavery; and so far, and so far only as it carried them, did they ever go. They found the institution existing among us, which they could not help; and they cast blame upon the British King for having permitted its introduction. Before the constitution, they prohibited its introduction into the north-western Territory—the only country we owned, then free  
20 from it. At the framing and adoption of the constitution, they forbore to so much as mention the word “slave” or “slavery” in the whole instrument. In the provision for the recovery of fugitives, the slave is spoken of as a “person held to service or labor.” In that prohibiting the abolition of the African slave trade for twenty years, that trade is spoken of as “The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing, shall think  
25 proper to admit,” etc. These are the only provisions alluding to slavery. Thus, the thing is hid away, in the constitution, just as an afflicted man hides away a wen or a cancer, which he dares not cut out at once, lest he bleed to death; with the promise, nevertheless, that the cutting may begin at the end of a given time. Less than this our fathers could not do; and now they would not do. Necessity drove them so far, and farther, they would not go. But

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this is not all. The earliest Congress, under the constitution, took the same view of slavery. They hedged and hemmed it in to the narrowest limits of necessity.

In 1794, they prohibited an out-going slave-trade—that is, the taking of slaves from the United States to sell.

- 5 In 1798, they prohibited the bringing of slaves from Africa, into the Mississippi Territory—this territory then comprising what are now the States of Mississippi and Alabama. This was ten years before they had the authority to do the same thing as to the States existing at the adoption of the constitution.

- 10 In 1800 they prohibited American citizens from trading in slaves between foreign countries—as, for instance, from Africa to Brazil.

In 1803 they passed a law in aid of one or two State laws, in restraint of the internal slave trade.

- 15 In 1807, in apparent hot haste, they passed the law, nearly a year in advance, to take effect the first day of 1808—the very first day the constitution would permit—prohibiting the African slave trade by heavy pecuniary and corporal penalties.

In 1820, finding these provisions ineffectual, they declared the trade piracy, and annexed to it, the extreme penalty of death. While all this was passing in the general government, five or six of the original slave States had adopted systems of gradual emancipation; and by which the institution was rapidly becoming extinct within these limits.

- 20 Thus we see, the plain unmistakable spirit of that age, towards slavery, was hostility to the principle, and toleration, only by necessity....

Our republican robe is soiled, and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white, in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of “moral right,” back upon its existing legal rights, and its arguments of “necessity.”

- 25 Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it; and there let it rest in peace. Let us re-

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adopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it, the practices, and policy, which harmonize with it. Let north and south—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union; but we shall have so saved it, as to make, and to keep it, forever worthy of the saving.

- 5 We shall have so saved it, that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up, and call us blessed, to the latest generations....

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)**

# To the Illinois Republican Party Convention

SPEECH EXCERPTS

June 16, 1858

House of Representatives Chamber at the Illinois State Capitol | Springfield, Illinois

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A House Divided

## BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech upon his nomination by the Illinois Republican Party to be its candidate for U.S. Senate in Illinois.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. To what, in particular, is Lincoln referring when he quotes the Gospel of Matthew, "A house divided against itself cannot stand"?
2. What are the three "working points" of "machinery" resulting from *Dred Scott* and Stephen Douglas's policy, and why does Lincoln think they are constitutionally problematic?

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Abraham Lincoln, "A House Divided: Speech at Springfield, Illinois," June 16, 1858, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 461–66.

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Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it.

We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object, and  
5 *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, *not ceased*, but has *constantly augmented*.

In *my* opinion, it *will* not cease, until a *crisis* shall have been reached, and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

10 I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.

I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved*—I do not expect the house to *fall*— but I *do* expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become *all* one thing, or *all* the other.

Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the  
15 public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its *advocates* will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in *all* the States, *old* as well as *new*—*North* as well as *South*....

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas' "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery, in its *present* state of advancement. This was  
20 the third point gained.

The *working* points of that machinery are:

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First, that no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave can ever be a *citizen* of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

5 This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of this provision of the United States Constitution, which declares that—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Secondly, that "subject to the Constitution of the United States," neither *Congress* nor a *Territorial Legislature* can exclude slavery from any United States territory.

10 This point is made in order that individual men may *fill up* the territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of *permanency* to the institution through all the future.

15 Thirdly, that whether the holding a negro in actual slavery in a free State, makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave State the negro may be forced into by the master.

20 This point is made, not to be pressed *immediately*; but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently *endorsed* by the people at an election, *then* to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other *one*, or one *thousand* slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free State.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to *educate* and *mold* public opinion, at least *Northern* public opinion, not to *care* whether slavery is voted *down* or voted *up*.

This shows exactly where we now are; and *partially* also, whither we are tending....

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We can not absolutely *know* that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see  
5 they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few—not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we can see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in—in *such* a case, we find it impossible to not *believe* that Stephen and Franklin  
10 and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common *plan* or *draft* drawn up before the first lick was struck....

**PRESIDENT-ELECT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)****On the Constitution and Union**

UNPUBLISHED WRITING FRAGMENT

January 1861

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**BACKGROUND**

Abraham Lincoln scrawled these words on the relationship between the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, potentially as part of his drafts for his First Inaugural Address, though they were not used in the final speech nor in any other public comments.

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All this is not the result of accident. It has a philosophical cause. Without the Constitution and the Union, we could not have attained the result; but even these, are not the primary cause of our great prosperity. There is something back of these, entwining itself more closely about the human heart. That something, is the principle of "Liberty to all"—the principle that clears the path for all—gives hope to all—and, by consequence, enterprise, and industry to all.

The expression of that principle, in our Declaration of Independence, was most happy, and fortunate. Without this, as well as with it, we could have declared our independence of Great Britain; but without it, we could not, I think, have secured our free government, and consequent prosperity. No oppressed, people will fight, and endure, as our fathers did, without the promise of something better, than a mere change of masters.

The assertion of that principle, at that time, was the word, "fitly spoken" which has proved an "apple of gold" to us. The Union, and the Constitution, are the picture of silver, subsequently framed around it. The picture was made, not to conceal, or destroy the apple; but

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Abraham Lincoln, "Fragment on the Constitution and the Union," January 1861, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 4, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 168-69.



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to adorn, and preserve it. The picture was made for the apple—not the apple for the picture.

So let us act, that neither picture, or apple shall ever be blurred, or bruised or broken.

That we may so act, we must study, and understand the points of danger.

**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)**

# First Inaugural Address

**SPEECH EXCERPTS**

March 4, 1861  
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

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**BACKGROUND**

Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech at his inauguration amidst declarations of secession by southern states.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. How does Lincoln try to assuage the fears of Southerners?
2. Why does Lincoln believe that the Union is perpetual?
3. What is "the only substantial dispute," and what are its possible resolutions as Lincoln sees them?

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Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address—Final Text," March 4, 1861, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 4, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 262–71.

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Fellow citizens of the United States:

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

I do not consider it necessary, at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety, or excitement.

10 Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses  
15 you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this, and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the  
20 platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves, and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judg-  
25 ment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

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I now reiterate these sentiments: and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can  
5 be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section, as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

10 "No person held to service or labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

15 It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would  
20 make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law, by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be  
25 surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that his oath shall go unkept, on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to *how* it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case,  
30

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surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?"

5 I take the official oath today, with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws, by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest, that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to, and abide by, all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having  
10 them held to be unconstitutional.

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

20 I hold, that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper, ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to de-  
25 stroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

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

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

10 But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

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

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken;  
20 and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but  
25 only as the declared purpose of the Union that it *will* constitutionally defend, and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me, will be used to hold,  
30 occupy, and possess the property, and places belonging to the government, and to collect

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the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion— no using of force against, or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and so universal, as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to  
5 force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable with all, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

10 The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events, and experience, shall show a modification, or change, to be proper; and in every case and exigency, my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances  
15 actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections....

One section of our country believes slavery is *right*, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong*, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.

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

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Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous, or more satisfactory, *after* separation than *before*? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens, than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it, or their *revolutionary* right to dismember, or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy, and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it....

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well*, upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied, hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.



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

5

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 battle-field, 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.

10

**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R-IL)**

# A Proclamation

AN ORDER

January 1, 1863  
Executive Mansion | Washington, D.C.

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## Emancipation Proclamation

### BACKGROUND

On September 22, 1862 after the Union victory in the Battle of Antietam, Abraham Lincoln announced this order concerning property in slaves in the rebelling states, which took effect January 1, 1863.

### GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Whom did the proclamation free?
2. In which places did this order apply?
3. By what authority did Lincoln issue this order?
4. What military purpose did the order serve?
5. What did Lincoln implore of slaves freed by the order?

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Abraham Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation," January 1, 1863, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 6, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 28–30.

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By the President of the United States of America: A Proclamation.

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

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

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

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

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the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

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

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

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

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

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

The Emancipation Proclamation  
Abraham Lincoln

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

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

*By the President:*

10 Abraham Lincoln

William H. Seward, *Secretary of State*.

**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)**

# On the Consecration of the Soldiers' National Cemetery

SPEECH

November 19, 1863

Soldiers' National Cemetery | Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

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Gettysburg Address

## BACKGROUND

Abraham Lincoln delivered these remarks at the dedication of the Union cemetery for those soldiers killed in the Battle of Gettysburg in the summer of 1863.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. For Lincoln, what is the central idea of the American Founding?
2. For what cause did the soldiers buried in Gettysburg give their lives?
3. What were they fighting to defend?
4. To what cause does Lincoln wish for listeners to dedicate themselves?

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Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address," November 19, 1863, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 7, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 23.

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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.

- 5 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.

- 10 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—
- 15 that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here 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.

**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (R)**

# Second Inaugural Address

SPEECH

March 4, 1865  
U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

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## BACKGROUND

Having been reelected and with the end of the Civil War in sight, Abraham Lincoln delivered this speech at his inauguration to a second term as president.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. According to Lincoln, who caused the Civil War?
2. What role in the war does Lincoln ascribe to God?
3. How does Lincoln think the North should treat the South when the war ends?

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Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," March 4, 1865, in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 8, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 332–33.



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Fellow Countrymen:

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

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

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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

5 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  
10 mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man'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."

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

## U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES

# Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution

AMENDMENT

December 18, 1865  
United States of America

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## BACKGROUND

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Thirteen Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by December 6, 1865, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State William Seward on December 18, 1865.

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## NOTES & QUESTIONS

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

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

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The House Joint Resolution proposing the 13th amendment to the Constitution, January 31, 1865; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

**U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES****Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution**

AMENDMENT

July 28, 1868  
United States of America

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**BACKGROUND**

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by July 21, 1868, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State William Seward on July 28, 1868.

**ANNOTATIONS****NOTES & QUESTIONS**

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

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive  
10 and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of

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The House Joint Resolution proposing the 14th amendment to the Constitution, June 16, 1866; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

5 Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

10

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

15

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

## U.S. CONGRESS AND STATES

# Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution

AMENDMENT

March 30, 1870  
United States of America

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## BACKGROUND

The U.S. Congress passed and three-quarters of states ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by February 3, 1870, and the amendment was acknowledged as effective by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish on March 30, 1870.

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

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

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

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The House Joint Resolution proposing the 15th amendment to the Constitution, December 7, 1868; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

**E.D. ESTILLETTE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF POLICE**

# To the Police of Recently Emancipated Negroes

**ORDINANCE**July 3, 1865  
Opelousas, Louisiana

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**BACKGROUND**

As slavery was outlawed and African Americans were freed in southern states, many communities created new laws and regulations to infringe upon the newfound freedom of former slaves. This is one example of such a “black code” from a town in Louisiana in the first months after the Civil War.

**ANNOTATIONS****NOTES & QUESTIONS**

[RELATIV]E TO THE POLICE OF RECENTLY [EM]ANCIPATED NEGROES OR  
FREED[M]EN, WITHIN THE CORPORATE LIMITS OF THE TOWN OF OPELOUSAS.

Whereas the relations formerly subsis[ti]ng between master and slave have b[e]come  
changed by the action of the controlling authorities; and whereas it i[s] necessary to provide  
5 for the proper police and government of the recently emancipated negroes or freedmen, in  
their new relations to the municipal authorities;

Sect. 1. Be it therefore ordained by [t]he Board of Police of the Town of Ope[l]ousas: That  
no negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the limits of the Town of Opelousas,  
without special permission from his employer, specifying the object of his visit, and the  
10 time necessary for the accomplishment of the same. Whoever shall violate this provision,  
shall suffer imprisonment and two days work on the public streets, or shall pay a fine of  
two dollars and fifty cents.

Sect. 2. Be it further ordained that every negro or freedman who shall be found on the  
streets of Opelousas, after 10 o'clock at night, without a written pass or permit from his

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Steven Hahn, ed. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Ser. 3, Vol. 1, Land and Labor, 1865 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 237-39.

employer, shall be imprisoned and compelled to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars.

Sect. 3. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town under any circumstances, and any one thus offending, shall be ejected and  
5 compelled to find an employer, or leave the town within twenty-four hours. The lessor or furnisher of the house leased or kept as above, shall pay a fine of ten dollars for each offense.

Sect. 4. No negro or freedman shall reside within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, who is not in the regular service of some white person or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said freedman. But said employer or former owner may permit  
10 said freedman to hire his time, by special permission in writing, which permission shall not extend over twenty-four hours at any one time. Any one violating the provisions of this section, shall be imprisoned and forced to work for two days on the public streets.

Sect. 5. No public meetings or congregations of negroes or freedmen, shall be allowed within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, under any circumstances or for any purpose,  
15 without the permission of the Mayor or President of the Board. This prohibition is not intended, however, to prevent freedmen from attending the usual Church services conducted by established ministers of religion. Every freedman violating this law shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets.

Sect. 6. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to preach, exhort or otherwise declaim,  
20 to congregations of colored people, without a special permission from the Mayor or President of the Board of Police, under the penalty of a fine of ten dollars or twenty days work on the public streets.

Sect. 7. No freedman, who is not in the military service, shall be allowed to carry fire-arms or any kind of weapons, within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, without the special  
25 permission of his employer in writing, and approved by the Mayor or President of the Board of Police. Any one thus offending shall forfeit his weapons and shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars in lieu of said work.



Sect. 8. No freedman shall sell, barter or exchange any articles of merchandise or traffic, within the limits of Opelousas, without permission in writing from his employer or the Mayor or President of the Board, under the penalty of the forfeiture of said articles, and imprisonment and one day's labor, or a fine of one dollar in lieu of said work.

- 5    Sect. 9. Any freedman found drunk within the limits of the town shall be imprisoned and made to labor five days on the public streets, or pay five dollars in lieu of said labor.

- Sect. 10. Any freedman not residing in Opelousas, who shall be found within its corporate limits after the hour of 3 o'clock P.M. on Sunday, without a special written permission from his employer or the Mayor, shall be arrested and imprisoned and made to work two days  
10    on the public streets, or pay two dollars in lieu of said work.

Sect. 11. All the foregoing provisions apply to freed men and freed women, or both sexes.

Sect. 12. It shall be the special duty of the Mayor or President of the Board, to see that all the provisions of this ordinance are faithfully executed.

- Sect. 13. Be it further ordained, Th[at] this ordinance to take effect from [and] after its first  
15    publication.

Ordained the 3d day of July, 186[5.],

E. D. ESTILLET[E]

President of the Board of Po[lice.]

JOS. D. RICHARD, Clerk.





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