



Treasures of the Library

A NATION CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY

A survey of the ideas and realities embodied in the history of the American nation through the Civil War



Grade 11

Advanced Placement United States History

The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens

This project is generously made possible through a grant from
The Los Angeles Times/Times Mirror Foundation.

I. Introduction

This lesson, *A Nation Conceived in Liberty*, focuses on pivotal events that had a lasting effect on the development of American history and institutions of American government. The readings in the lesson are designed to support the 11th grade Advanced Placement curriculum in United States history but may be adapted for use at other grade levels. The documents used in this lesson survey several topics or themes in American history from the seventeenth century through the Civil War. Readings are divided into five document sets that introduce students to a specialized theme or movement.

II. Objectives

- ◆ To identify and explain pivotal events in American history.
- ◆ To interpret past events and issues within the context in which they unfolded.
- ◆ To analyze cause and effect relationships.

III. History-Social Science Standards Addressed¹

- 11.1 Students analyze the significant events in the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence.
- 2 Analyze . . . the Founding Fathers' philosophy of divinely bestowed unalienable natural rights, the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and the addition of the Bill of Rights.
- 11.3 Students analyze the role religion played in the founding of America, its lasting moral, social, and political impacts, and issues regarding religious liberty.
- 5 Describe the principles of religious liberty found in the Establishment and Free Exercises clauses of the First Amendment. . . .

IV. Background

In the 250 years from the founding of the first English colonies to the end of the Civil War in 1865, Americans created a democratic nation, a nation fundamentally unlike any that had come before. From small beginnings on the margins of European civilization, the United States thrust itself into the forefront of history—an enormous continental republic in which the idea of government by the people is continually shaped and tested.

Documents in this lesson are drawn from Sections II, III, and IV of the exhibition:

Seeking Identity and Meaning: British and American Literature

Created Equal: Inventing the American Republic

Contested Grounds: Cultural Encounters in the American Southwest

The exhibition displays a wide range of fundamental documents that provide a survey of the formation of the American nation, its westward expansion, and the sectional conflict over slavery that brought the nation through a violent civil war to a “new birth of freedom.”

¹ Although the eleventh-grade California curriculum focuses on twentieth-century American history, Advanced Placement courses, out of necessity, require a broader coverage from colonial history to the present. Therefore only two of the California History-Social Science Content Standards for eleventh grade are referenced here.

V. Materials Needed

Document Set 1: Religious Toleration

- Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution, for the cause of Conscience*
- John Locke, *An Essay concerning Toleration*
 - Transcription
 - Original

Document Set 2: The American Revolution

- Benjamin Wilson cartoon, *The Repeal, or the Funeral of Miss America Stamp*
- *Proceedings of the American Continental Congress*
- Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*

Document Set 3: A More Perfect Union

- The Constitution of the United States
- Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist*
- First Congress of the United States, *Resolution* (Bill of Rights)

Document Set 4: The Expanding Frontier

- *Proclamation of the First Congress, 1784*
- Northwest Ordinance
- Louisiana Purchase
- *Conciudadanos* (ca. 1840)

Document Set 5: A Nation Divided

- The Lincoln-Douglas Debates
- Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln on Emancipation

VI. Lesson Activities

1. Divide the class into groups and assign each group a different theme or topic in American history. Have each group read and discuss the assigned document sets on the following five themes: Religious Toleration (**Document Set 1**); The American Revolution (**Document Set 2**); A More Perfect Union (**Document Set 3**); The Expanding Frontier (**Document Set 4**); and, A Nation Divided (**Document Set 5**).
2. Groups should prepare a short presentation to the class giving a synopsis of the documents in their assigned set and explain the historical context of the assigned readings. Questions are provided with each document set that may be used to guide student discussion.
3. Conclude the lesson by having students select several other key documents to supplement the reading provided in each Document Set and construct a Document Based Question patterned after the Advanced Placement DBQ.

Have each group devise a rubric for scoring their question. Have students write a response to one of the questions developed by a different group.

VII. Extension Activities

1. Read Thomas Jefferson's "A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom in Virginia" submitted to the Virginia legislature in 1779. How did Jefferson's proposed legislation, finally adopted in 1786, support the arguments presented in William's *Bloudy Tenent* and Locke's *Essay concerning Toleration*?
2. Research landmark Supreme Court cases that relate to the establishment and free exercise clauses of the First Amendment such as *Reynolds v. United States* (1879); *Engel v. Vitale* (1962); *Abington School District v. Schempp* (1963); *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1971); *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972); *Lynch v. Donnelly* (1984); and, *Wallace v. Jaffree* (1985). Write a position paper on any one of these cases or contemporary attempts to secure the passage of a constitutional amendment to permit school prayer, clarifying your views regarding the "wall of separation" between church and state.
3. Explain the major principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, including the unalienable rights of people, the source of these rights, the purpose of government, the consent of the governed, and the rights of a people to abolish a government "destructive to those ends." For the full text of the Declaration of Independence see (<http://www.nara.gov/exhall/charters/declaration/decmain.html>).
4. Read *Federalist 21* and *22*, Hamilton's critique of the Articles of Confederation. Assume the role of a Federalist or Anti-Federalist and write an article in support or opposition to Hamilton's appraisal of the fatal flaws of the Articles. For the full text of *Federalist 21* and *22*, see (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/federal/fed.htm>).
5. Construct a map of the United States showing the acquisition of new lands between the outbreak of the American Revolution and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. How did the westward expansion of the United States promote sectional disputes?
6. Review the Emancipation Proclamation, noting the areas of the nation where slaves were not emancipated. Explain why Lincoln only freed slaves in states where he had no power to do so. Why was the proclamation issued as a war measure of the commander-in-chief? How did Lincoln propose to ensure that slavery would be ultimately abolished?

Further extend the activity by having students obtain a map that shows the parishes (counties) of Louisiana. Locate the geographic regions in the state where slaves were not freed. What conclusions can you draw regarding the war as of January 1, 1863?

7. Research the Carlisle School for American Indian children founded in Pennsylvania in 1879 by a former military officer who served on the frontier. Carefully examine the two “before and after” photographs displayed in *Contested Grounds*. Based on research and the visual evidence in the photographs, was the Carlisle School a noble experiment or an agency designed to destroy American Indian culture?

Document Set 1

The Bloody Tenent of Persecution, for the cause of Conscience. . . .

Roger Williams (1603–1683)

Roger Williams, founder of the English colony of Rhode Island, argued that the cause of Europe's religious warfare was the unholy alliance of church and state. Williams advocated religious freedom and the complete separation of church and government. He succeeded in establishing in Rhode Island what he called "a wall of separation between the garden of the Church and the wilderness of the world." The *Bloody Tenent* was published in London in July 1644. For a more complete version see:

(<http://comp.uark.edu/~brmink/williams.html>)

"The blood of so many hundred thousand souls of Protestants and Papists, split [ripped away] in the wars of present and former ages, for their respective consciences, is not required nor accepted by Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace.

"The doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience is proved guilty of all the blood of the souls crying for vengeance under the altar. . . . God requireth not a uniformity of religion to be enacted and enforced in any civil state; which enforced uniformity (sooner or later) is the greatest occasion of civil war, ravishing of conscience, persecution of Christ Jesus in his servants, and the hypocrisy and destruction of millions of souls.

" An enforced uniformity of religion throughout a nation or civil state . . . denies the principles of Christianity and civility Magistrates . . . have no power of setting up the form of church government, electing church officers, punishing with church censures And on the other side, the churches as churches, have no power (though as members of the commonweal they may have power) of erecting or altering forms of civil government, electing of civil officers, inflicting civil punishments"

Document Set 1

An Essay concerning Toleration
John Locke (1632–1704)

Only four manuscripts of John Locke's *An Essay concerning Toleration* are known to have survived. The essay on display at The Huntington, written in 1667, includes three different drafts and an outline of the points covered. While in exile in Holland from England, Locke elaborated on his original essay and in 1685 published *Epistola de Tolerantia*. In 1689, following the Glorious Revolution, *Epistola* was translated into English. Locke ridiculed religious institutions for persecuting those who do not share their views and expressed the opinion that church and state should maintain separate spheres. "The magistrate ought not to forbid the preaching or professing of any speculative opinions in any church, because they have no manner of relation to the civil rights of the subjects" For a more complete version of Locke's *A Letter concerning Toleration* see:
<http://www.knuten.liu.se/~bjoch509/works/locke/toleration.txt>



Suggested questions for group discussion:

- ◆ What arguments does Roger Williams use to argue for a separation of church and state?
- ◆ How did the essays on tolerance by both Roger Williams and John Locke influence the framers of the American government?
- ◆ Why is the separation of church and state a hallmark of American liberty?
- ◆ Why did several states demand assurances that government would recognize religious toleration before agreeing to ratify the Constitution? What arguments supported the adoption of the "no establishment clause" of the First Amendment?

Document Set 1

An Essay concerning toleration
1667

In the Question of liberty of conscience, which has for some years been so much bandied among us. One thing that hath chiefly perplexed the question, kept up the dispute, & increased the animosity, hath been (I conceive) that, that both Parties have with equall zeal, & mistake too much enlarged their pretensions, whilst one side preach up absolute obedience, & the other claime universall liberty in matters of conscience, without assigneing what those things are w^{ch} have a title to liberty or shewing the boundaries of imposition & obedience.

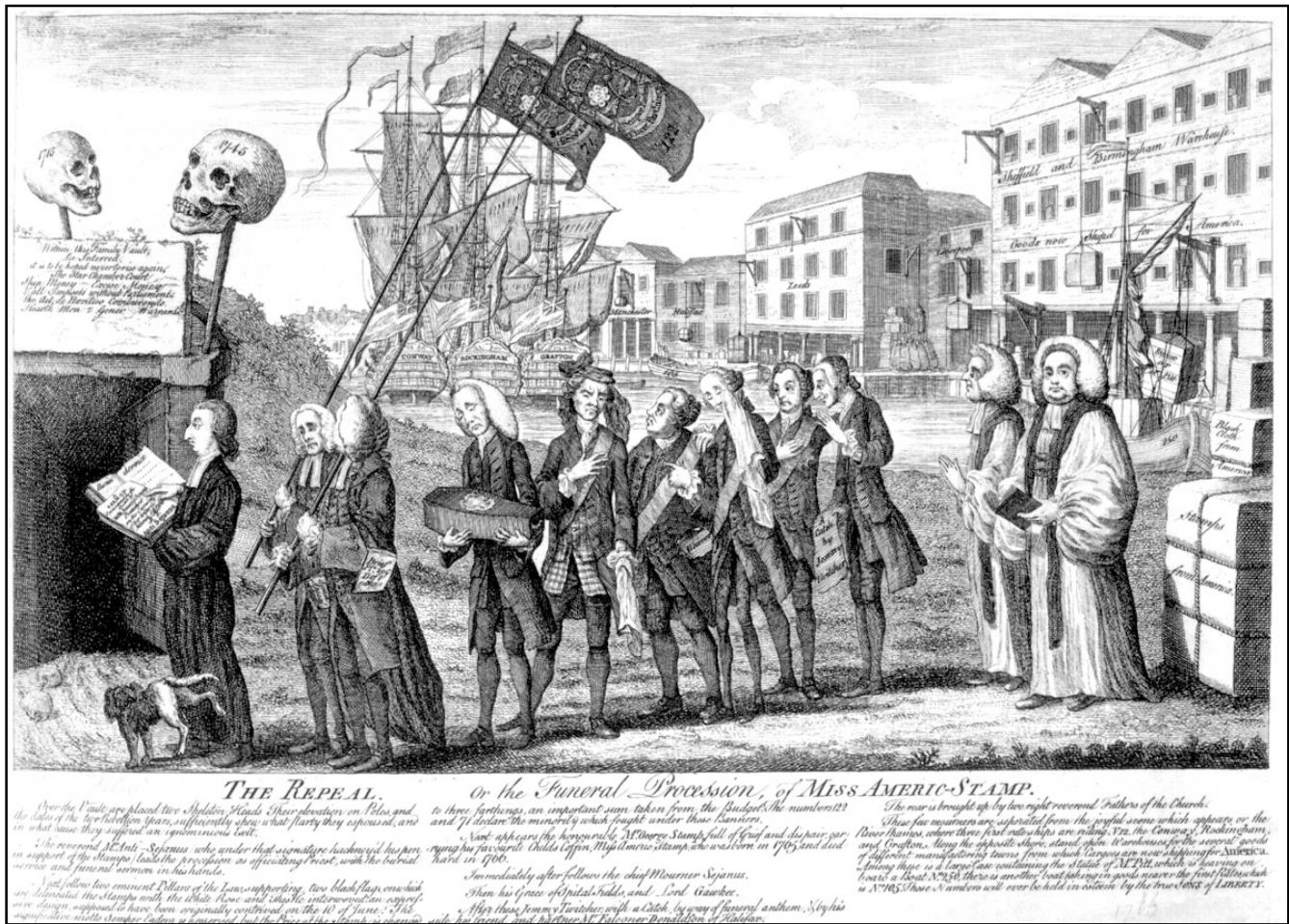
To clear the way to this ^{shall lay downe this} for a foundation, w^{ch} I thinke will not be questioned or denied viz ~~shall affect~~

That the whole trust power & authority of the magistrats is v^{est}ed in him for noe other purpose but to be made use of for the good, preservation & peace ^{of men} in that society over w^{ch} he is set. & therefore that this alone ^{ought} to be the standard & measure according to w^{ch} he ought to square & proportion his laws: model & frame his government: for if men could live peaceably & quietly ^{withing under certain laws} together without growing into a common-wealth, there would be noe need at all of magistrats, or pol^{it}ic^s, w^{ch} were only made to preserve men in this world from the fraud & violence of one another, soe if what was the end of erecting of government ^{ought}

Document Set 2

The Repeal, or the Funeral of Miss America Stamp

In 1765 the British Parliament passed the Stamp Act despite protests from the American colonies and some leading British merchants and statesmen. The Act, the first direct tax imposed on the American colonists, sought to raise revenue by requiring the purchase of stamps for a wide variety of papers including legal documents, licenses, newspapers, pamphlets, and playing cards. Benjamin Wilson created this satirical cartoon that was purportedly made available for sale within ten minutes of the official repeal of the act by Parliament.



Document Set 2

Proceedings of the American Continental Congress
Philadelphia, September 5, 1774

Leaders from the English colonies met in 1774 at the First Continental Congress to decide how best to resist British attempts to tax and rule America. By 1774 the colonies were in open rebellion, just short of war. A people accustomed to thinking of themselves as inhabitants of their own particular colonies were beginning to feel a broader allegiance to a united America. For the full text of the Congressional proceedings search “Continental Congress and Constitution Convention, Documents, 1774-1789” (<http://memory.loc.gov>).

“We his Majesty’s most loyal Subjects, the Delegates of the several Colonies . . . having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs, is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony-administration adopted by the British Ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these Colonies, and with them, the British Empire. In prosecution of which system, various Acts of Parliament have been passed for raising a Revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America; and in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive Acts have been passed respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts Bay, and also an Act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these Colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide-extended country; thus by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant Colonies, whenever a wicked Ministry shall chuse [sic.] so to direct them.

“To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majesty’s subjects in North-America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure:- And therefore we do, for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several Colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of our country, as follows:

“*First.* That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares or merchandize. . . .

“*Second.* That we will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported after the 1st day of December next, after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade . . .

“Third. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that, from this day, we will not purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East-India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid. . . .”



Document Set 2

Common Sense

Thomas Paine (1737–1809)

English writer Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* was the most influential political tract of the American Revolution. The best-selling pamphlet angrily condemned King George and called for immediate independence from Britain. For the complete text of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* see:
<http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/revolution/common.htm>

“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 of 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. . . .

“I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, that 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 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 had any thing to do with her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessaries 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 continent at our expense as well as her own is admitted, and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz. the sake of trade and dominion.

“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. . . . Ye that oppose independence

now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the seat of government. . . .

“I shall conclude these remarks, with the following timely and well intended hints, We ought to reflect, that there are three different ways by which an independency may hereafter be effected; and that one of those three, will one day or other, be the fate of America, viz. By the legal voice of the people in Congress; by a military power; or by a mob. . . . Should an independency be brought about by the first of those means, we have every opportunity and every encouragement before us, to form the noblest, purest constitution on the face of the earth. We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A situation, similar to the present, hath not happened since the days of Noah until now. The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months. . . .”

Suggested questions for group discussion:

- ◆ How did colonists show their opposition to the Stamp Act? Why was the act repeal within a year of passage? How does the cartoonist ridicule the Stamp Act?
- ◆ What were the grievances outlined in the Proceedings of the Continental Congress? Why did the Continental Congress consider the Intolerable or Coercive Acts to be an abomination?
- ◆ What measures did the Congress take to regress grievances? How effective were these measures?
- ◆ What arguments does Thomas Paine use to justify independence?
- ◆ Why did Paine believe that it was in the power of America “to begin the world over again”?
- ◆ To what extent are Paine’s beliefs reflected in the Declaration of Independence?

Document Set 3

United States Constitution

A considerable number of prominent citizens, including George Washington, were concerned about the failure of government under the Articles of Confederation to cope with central issues that faced the nation. A rebellion in Massachusetts led by a Revolutionary War veteran, Daniel Shays, and the inability of the central government to collect taxes, pay debts, or even agree on issues forced Congress to call a convention to propose revision to the Articles of Confederation. Many of the delegates who gathered in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 sought to change rather than revise the Articles of Confederation. The delegates agreed on a new structure of government and sent it to the Congress to submit to state conventions for ratification. The copy of the Constitution on display is the "Members' Edition" printed for the delegates to the Federal Convention shortly after they signed the completed document on September 17, 1787. For a copy of the Constitution online see: (<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/const/const.html>).

Document Set 3

The Federalist

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay

Nine states were required to ratify the Constitution for it to become the “law of the land.” Those who supported ratification rallied under the name “Federalist” and worked within states to assure acceptance of the new structure of government. In October the first of a series of 85 articles defending the Constitution appeared in the press under the pseudonym “Publius.” The opposition, labeled Anti-Federalist, responded in kind. Delaware ratified by unanimous vote in December 1787; however, securing ratification in other states proved more difficult. Publius’s essays, compiled and printed as *The Federalist* in New York in 1788, became a debaters’ handbook during the Virginia and New York ratifying conventions. Today *The Federalist* is revered as a foremost political tract exploring the essence of American constitutional government. The following excerpts provide a window to a fuller exploration of this seminal work. For the complete work, see: (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/federal/fed.htm>).

“ If a faction consists of less than a majority, relief is supplied by the republican principle, which enables the majority to defeat its sinister views by regular vote. . . . When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government, on the other hand, enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens. To secure the public good and private rights against the danger of . . . faction, and at the same time to preserve the spirit and the form of popular government, is then the great object to which our inquiries are directed. . . . ”

—James Madison, *Federalist* 10

“ [W]hat is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. . . . ”

—Madison, *Federalist* 51

“It is agreed on all sides that the powers properly belonging to one of the departments ought not to be directly and completely administered by either of the other departments. It is equally evident that none of them ought to possess, directly or indirectly, an overruling influence over the others in the administration of their respective powers. It will not be denied that power is of an encroaching nature and that it ought to be effectually restrained from passing the limits assigned to it. . . .”

—Madison, *Federalist* 48

“Whenever a particular statute contravenes the Constitution, it will be the duty of the judicial tribunals to adhere to the latter and disregard the former. . . .”

—Hamilton, *Federalist* 78

“A nation without a national government is, in my view, an awful spectacle. The establishment of a Constitution, in time of profound peace, by the voluntary consent of a whole people, is a prodigy, to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety. . . .”

—Hamilton, *Federalist* 85

Document Set 3

The First Congress of the United States
Resolution

During the debates to ratify the Constitution, some states demanded the inclusion of guarantees of basic rights as a prerequisite for their vote to secure adoption of the Constitution. Federalists felt that the Constitution provided for basic rights and, although opposed in principle to the inclusion of what they called “paper” guarantees, agreed to support amendments after ratification. The First Congress debated and finally agreed upon twelve amendments, ten of which were approved by the states and became the “Bill of Rights.” The twelve proposed amendments are recorded in this congressional resolution of 1789. The two rejected amendments are included here. For the full text of the amendments submitted to the states for ratification, see:
<http://memory.loc.gov/rbc/bdsdcc/c00/c19-101p.tif>

“Articles in Addition to, and Amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the Fifth Article of the original Constitution.

“Article the First. —After the First Enumeration, required by the First Article of the Constitution, there shall be One Representative for every Thirty Thousand, until the Number shall amount to One Hundred; after which the Proportion shall be so regulated by Congress that there shall not be less than One Hundred Representatives, nor less than One Representative for every Forty Thousand Persons, until the Number of Representatives shall amount to Two Hundred, after which the Proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than Two Hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every Fifty Thousand Persons.

“Article the Second. —No Law varying the Compensations for the Services of the Senators and Representatives shall take Effect, until an Election of Representatives shall have intervened. . . . “

Suggested questions for group discussion:

- ◆ What changes did the Constitution make in the structure of the previous government established under the Articles of Confederation?
- ◆ How did the Constitution distribute power among the three branches of government?
- ◆ Why did the Framers believe it was necessary to separate powers and provide a system of checks and balances?
- ◆ What was the purpose of the 85 essays in *The Federalist*?
- ◆ Why is *The Federalist* considered to be a classic in American literature?
- ◆ Why was the Bill of Rights deemed necessary?

Document Set 4

A Proclamation of the First Congress, 1784

The Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolution was concluded on September 3, 1783. On January 14, 1784, Congress issued a proclamation to the American people officially proclaiming an end to the war and confirmed the boundaries of the United States. For the text of the proclamation, see: <http://memory.loc.gov/rbc/bdsdcc/000/090-101p.tif>

“By the UNITED STATES in CONGRESS Assembled, A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS definitive articles of peace and friendship, between the United States of America and his Britannic majesty, were concluded and signed at Paris, on the 3rd day of September, 1783, by the plenipotentiaries of the said United States, and of his said Britannic Majesty, duly and respectively authorized for that purpose; which definitive articles are in the words following. . . .

ARTICLE 1ST. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States . . . to be free, sovereign and independent states: that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof:

ARTICLE. 2d. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries. . . .”

The Treaty of Paris, 1783, set the boundaries of the United States from Maine (at that time a part of the state of Massachusetts) in the northeast through Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior to the Lake of the Woods (Minnesota) and down the center of the Mississippi River to 31° north latitude.

Document Set 4

**An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States,
Northwest of the River Ohio**

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided a way in which new states, carved out of the western territories, could join the Union on a basis of equality with the existing states. The Northwest Ordinance guaranteed to the settlers “the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty. . . .” It also outlawed slavery throughout the region that would become the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. In addition, it included an “utmost good faith” clause in dealing with Indians in the region. For the complete text of the Northwest Ordinance, see:
<http://www.law.ou.edu/hist/ordinanc.html>

**The Louisiana Purchase**

By the 1795 Pinckney Treaty (Treaty of San Lorenzo) with Spain the United States secured free navigation of the Mississippi River and the “right of deposit” in New Orleans. However, in 1800, Spain turned over the entire Louisiana territory to France by secret treaty. When President Thomas Jefferson learned of the transfer of territory, he sent special envoys to Paris to attempt to purchase New Orleans and West Florida. Napoleon Bonaparte, in need of funds, offered to sell the entire Louisiana territory. Jefferson’s Minister Plenipotentiary to France, James Monroe, sent a letter to the Senate dated May 25, 1803, announcing the treaty. However, not everyone viewed the acquisition of new territory with favor. Connecticut Congressman James Hillhouse in a letter dated January 28, 1804, expressed his opposition. “Those who consider the Acquisition of Louisiana as a great boon to the United States . . . this new Paradise cannot be cultivated without Slaves . . . I am inclined to believe that such an addition to our territory will prove a curse, rather than a blessing. . . .”

Document Set 4

Conciudadanos

Monterey, Alta California, ca. 1840

The Mexican governor of California, Juan Bautista Alvarado, had allied himself with American foreigners in 1836 in a successful rebellion against the conservative government in Mexico City. Americans were often deeply involved in the infighting so characteristic of California politics, and when they became a threat to Alvarado he had them arrested, an action justified in his proclamation, *Conciudadanos* ("Fellow Citizens"). Since Alvarado still needed the support of other influential immigrants, he urged Californios to welcome and accept all those foreigners who "should be considered as Mexicans." The growing numbers of American settlers filtering into Mexico's northern provinces and the increasingly aggressive expansionist rhetoric of the United States in the 1840s sharpened Mexican suspicions of American territorial ambitions. The resulting tensions eventually erupted into open hostilities with the outbreak of the Mexican-American War (1846-1848). After its victory in the conflict, the United States absorbed vast tracts of northern Mexico, including modern-day New Mexico, Arizona, and California, completing the nation's transcontinental expansion.



Suggested questions for group discussion:

- ◆ What was the territorial boundary of the United States recognized by the 1783 Treaty of Paris? How important was the Ohio Valley to the United States? What states laid claim to this territory?
- ◆ Why is the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 considered a pivotal document in American history?
- ◆ Why was the use of the Mississippi River and the right of deposit in New Orleans considered so important to the United States in 1800?
- ◆ Why was slavery permitted in the Louisiana territory and not in the Northwest territory?
- ◆ How did Stephen Douglas's concept of popular sovereignty in the Kansas-Nebraska Act cause a virtual civil war in the Louisiana Purchase territory in the mid-1850s?
- ◆ Why would Mexico open its frontier in California to migrants from the United States especially after the situation that developed in Texas in 1836?
- ◆ What is "Manifest Destiny" and to what extent did this philosophy lead to a conflict of cultures in the American Southwest?

Document Set 5

**Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas
in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858**

The extension of slavery into new territories was the consuming issue when Abraham Lincoln dueled with Stephen Douglas for a U.S. Senate seat in 1858. Lincoln insisted that slavery was a “vast moral evil” and declared that “a house divided against itself cannot stand . . . this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free.” Although he lost the Senate contest, Lincoln won a national reputation as a powerful opponent of the spread of slavery.

The complete Lincoln-Douglas debates are online:

<http://www.founding.com/library/index.cfm?parent=64>

Conduct a search of the Lincoln-Douglas debates online using key words such as “Dred Scott,” “popular sovereignty,” “Kansas,” and “Fugitive Slave Law” for passages from several debates to illustrate the senatorial candidates’ views on pivotal issues of the day.

Document Set 5

Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln on Emancipation

Frederick Douglass saw from the beginning that the Civil War was a struggle between freedom and slavery. He urged a reluctant President Lincoln to make the abolition of slavery and the enlistment of African American soldiers Union war aims. By the middle of 1862, the inexorable logic of war had proved Douglass right. Lincoln decided to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. In this autographed sentiment dated December 11, 1861, Douglass wrote: "We are fighting the Rebels with only one hand when we should be striking with both. Unchain that black hand!" On January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation declared "forever free" all slaves in the rebelling Southern states. With the revolutionary proclamation, Lincoln changed the war to save the Union into a war to destroy slavery as well. One of the document's most important provisions allowed African American men to join the Union armies. By war's end nearly 200,000 had enlisted.



Suggested questions for group discussion:

How did Lincoln and Douglass differ in relation to the pivotal events of the 1850s such as the Dred Scott decision, Fugitive Slave Act, and the extension of slavery in the territories?

Examine the wording of the Emancipation Proclamation in view of Douglass's statement:

<http://www.nara.gov/exhall/featured-document/eman/emantrns.html>

How do you think Frederick Douglass would respond to the Emancipation Proclamation?

Document Set 5

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 the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: ARKANSAS, TEXAS, LOUISIANA, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, 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 Berkeley, 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-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

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

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

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

By the President:

*Abraham Lincoln**William D. Bellows* Secretary of State.

A true copy, with the autograph signatures of the President and the Secretary of State.

Geo. W. Nicolay
Priv. Sec. to the President.