

# Slavery and the Early Republic

*Jonathan Burack*

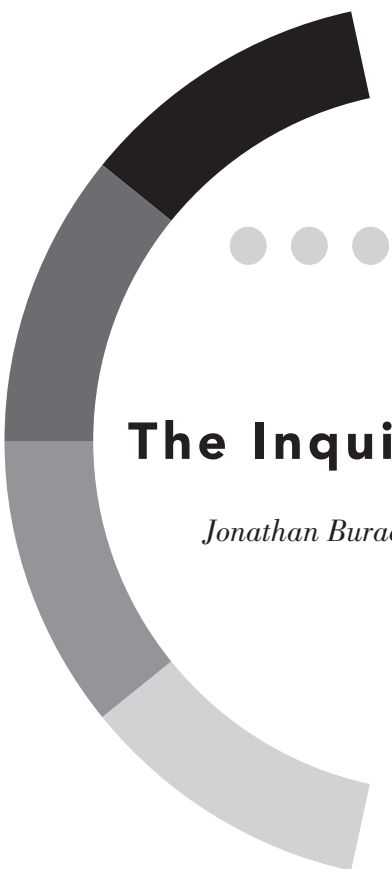
MindSparks

...

**The Inquiry Arc** in U.S. History



# Slavery and the Early Republic



## **The Inquiry Arc** in U.S. History

*Jonathan Burack*

**MindSparks®**

CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA

HS1011 v1.0

Manuscript Editor: Melissa R. R. Gutierrez  
Proofreader: Desiree Dreeuws  
Book Layout: Linda Deverich  
Cover Design: Mark Gutierrez  
Editorial Director: Dawn P. Dawson

© 2017 MindSparks, a division of Social Studies School Service  
All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America

MindSparks  
10200 Jefferson Boulevard, P.O. Box 802  
Culver City, CA 90232-0802  
United States of America

(310) 839-2436  
(800) 421-4246

[www.mindsparks.com](http://www.mindsparks.com)  
[access@mindsparks.com](mailto:access@mindsparks.com)

Only those pages intended for student use as handouts may be reproduced by the teacher who has purchased this volume. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means—electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording—without prior written permission from the publisher.

Links to online sources are provided in the teacher pages and text. Please note that these links were valid at the time of production, but the websites may have since been discontinued.

ISBN: 978-1-57596-461-4  
e-book ISBN: 978-1-57596-462-1  
Product Code: HS1011 v1.0

# Contents

Introduction.....	1
-------------------	---

## **Slavery and the Constitutional Convention**

### *Were the Compromises Worth It?*

Overview.....	5
Teaching Instructions.....	7
<b>Handouts</b>	
Introductory Essay.....	10
History Group.....	13
Civics Group.....	16
Economics Group.....	19
Geography Group.....	22
How to Analyze a Primary Source.....	25
Primary Source Packet.....	26
Communicating Results and Taking Action.....	41
Slavery and the Constitutional Convention Rubric.....	42
Primary Source Bibliography.....	43
Sources for Further Study.....	44

## **American Colonization Movement**

### *Was It Antislavery Idealism or an Impractical and Unjust Idea?*

Overview.....	47
Teaching Instructions.....	49
<b>Handouts</b>	
Introductory Essay.....	51
History Group.....	54
Civics Group.....	57
Economics Group.....	60
Geography Group.....	63
How to Analyze a Primary Source.....	66
Primary Source Packet.....	67
Communicating Results and Taking Action.....	83
American Colonization Movement Rubric.....	84
Primary Source Bibliography.....	85
Sources for Further Study.....	86



## **Nullification**

### *Was It about States' Rights or Slavery?*

Overview.....	89
Teaching Instructions.....	91
<b>Handouts</b>	
Introductory Essay.....	94
History Group.....	97
Civics Group.....	100
Economics Group.....	103
Geography Group.....	106
How to Analyze a Primary Source.....	109
Primary Source Packet.....	110
Communicating Results and Taking Action.....	125
Nullification Rubric.....	126
Primary Source Bibliography.....	127
Sources for Further Study.....	128

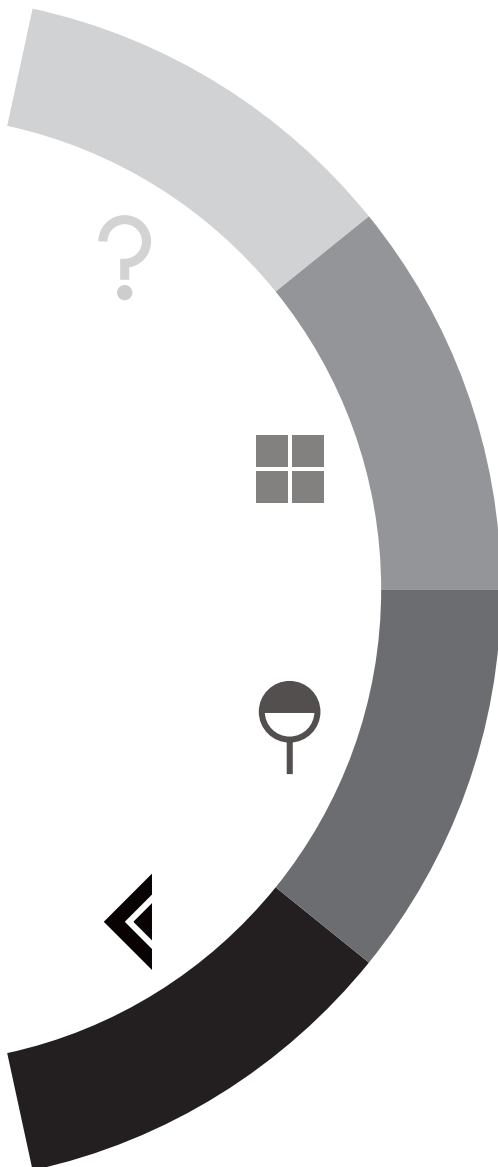
## **Lone Star Republic**

### *Why Annex Texas?*

Overview.....	130
Teaching Instructions.....	132
<b>Handouts</b>	
Introductory Essay.....	134
History Group.....	137
Civics Group.....	140
Economics Group.....	143
Geography Group.....	146
How to Analyze a Primary Source.....	149
Primary Source Packet.....	150
Communicating Results and Taking Action.....	165
Lone Star Republic Rubric.....	166
Primary Source Bibliography.....	167
Sources for Further Study.....	168

### C3 Framework

This unit is based primarily on the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards. The C3 Framework is an effective tool offering guidance and support for rigorous student learning. The assignments encourage students to be active participants in learning and to explore the parts of history that they find most compelling. Central to the C3 Framework and our use of it is its Inquiry Arc—a set of four interrelated dimensions of informed inquiry in social studies. The lessons in this unit are based on all four dimensions of the C3 Inquiry Arc. While the C3 Framework analyzes each of the four dimensions separately, they are not entirely separable in practice—they each interact in dynamic ways. As a result, the lessons combine some or all of the dimensions in various ways.



### Four Dimensions of the Inquiry Arc

#### 1 Developing compelling and supporting questions and planning inquiries

Questions shape social studies inquiries, giving them broader meaning and motivating students to master content and engage actively in the learning process.

#### 2 Applying disciplinary concepts and tools

These are the concepts and central ideas needed to address the compelling and supporting questions student pose. The C3 Framework stresses four subject fields: history, civics, economics, and geography. Each of our units addresses all of these disciplines.

#### 3 Evaluating sources and using evidence

The purpose of using primary and secondary sources as evidence is to support claims and counterclaims. By assessing the validity and usefulness of sources, including those that conflict with one another, students are able to construct evidence-based explanations and arguments.

#### 4 Communicating conclusions and taking informed action

While this may take the form of individual essays and other writing assignments, these units stress other kinds of individual and collaborative forms of communication, including debates, policy analyses, video productions, diary entries, and interviews. Meaningful forms of individual or collaborative civic action are also incorporated into each unit.

## **How to Use This Book**

These units offer you the chance to implement the entire C3 Inquiry Arc in brief, carefully structured lessons on important topics in U.S. history. Each lesson is driven by a central compelling question, and disciplinary supporting questions are provided. Each unit asks students to apply understandings from all of the C3 disciplines—history, civics, economics, and geography—and they include individual and group tasks in an integrated way.

Each unit includes an introductory essay, detailed teaching instructions, a set of primary sources, and the handouts needed to complete the lesson’s assignments. Rubrics for student evaluation and sources for further study are also provided. The teaching instructions suggest a time frame for completion of each lesson, but the assessments can easily be adapted to fit into any lesson plan.

Each unit is aligned with several C3 Framework standards and Common Core standards. The College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Literacy emphasize the reading of informational texts, making these lessons ideal for integration into English Language Arts instruction.



**C3 Disciplines**



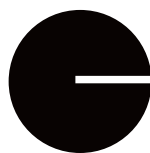
**History**



**Civics**



**Economics**



**Geography**



# Slavery and the Constitutional Convention

*Were the Compromises Worth It?*





## Overview

### Introduction

In 1787, fifty-five men met in Philadelphia to create a new framework of government, the Constitution of the United States. They agreed the constitution had to give the national government more power, but they agreed about little else. The final framework, therefore, required a great many compromises. One glaring issue above all divided the delegates—slavery. Many Convention delegates held strong antislavery views. Nevertheless, most Southerners were not about to enter a union that threatened their slave property. The Northern states faced a stark choice: stand strongly against slavery and see several Southern states leave the union or compromise over slavery and hold the union together (keeping a hope of ending slavery later). The Convention chose compromise. Were its compromises worth it? In this lesson, students will work with short passages from ten primary sources in an effort to answer this question. While these sources alone won't completely answer these questions, they can help. Moreover, they can form the core content for a set of tasks that will help students better understand this turning point in the nation's history.

### Objectives

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about slavery and the Constitution. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of views represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time
- ◆ **D2.HIS.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.CIV.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.ECO.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.

- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.
- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

---

### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

**Compelling Question**

Were the ethical compromises worth it?

**Preparation**

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.



Asking Questions about Slavery and the Constitutional Convention  
*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

**Day One**

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the lesson’s overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this unit. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources, and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.



Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence  
*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

**Day Two**

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group’s compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.



7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about slavery and the Constitutional Convention from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, a PowerPoint, or another related type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### **Day Three**

8. Each group will deliver its presentation. Allow time for class discussion following each presentation, and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### **Communicating Results and Taking Action**

*This part of the task stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the unit's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the Slavery and the Constitutional Convention Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### *Communicating Results*

- ◆ Have students read Primary Sources 1.4 and 1.5. Students will then write a letter to Lowndes as a distant relative and tell him that they are enclosing Federalist No. 42 with their letter. They will explain Federalist No. 42 to him, as they understand it, and contrast it with his views as he expressed them in Primary Source 1.5.
- ◆ Separate students into small groups. Each group should read and discuss Primary Sources 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8. Each group member will then play a different historical figure in a role-playing debate. Following the debate, hold a class-wide discussion about the subject of the skit.
- ◆ Have students closely read Primary Sources 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.6, and 1.10. Students will write a short dialogue in which several figures respond to Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech.

#### *Taking Action*

- ◆ The Constitution was not presented to the public as a perfect document. In fact, the Constitution includes a complex way to make changes to its provisions. Divide students into groups. As a group, students should study the Constitution and its provisions for making amendments. They will decide on one change the group all would like to see made to the Constitution. The groups will then formulate a proposed amendment and will report the amendment to the class. Have the class discuss whether each amendment should be passed and how they might go about getting it passed.

- ◆ Using the information from the previous assignment, students as a group should summarize the class discussion about the proposed amendment. Students will send this report to a local newspaper or other news source, either print or electronic, and invite that source to print their reports, inviting readers to comment on it. Students should use any responses they get to alter the amendment for the better. If the resolution could be passed locally, have students research how to get the amendment passed in the city. They should attempt to get the city council to pass the resolution.

## Introductory Essay

# *Slavery and the Constitutional Convention*



*Scene at the Signing of the Constitution of the United States*

In 1776, thirteen British colonies in North America declared themselves independent and fought a war to break free of Great Britain. In 1781, they formed a new government, the Articles of Confederation. However, this governmental system was not flawless. The thirteen former colonies, now states, were fiercely independent, and they bickered and complained among themselves about many things. They especially complained about how weak the Articles were. The Articles gave very little power to the general government. In 1787, many of the most powerful men in the United States decided that something drastic had to be done.

In that year, fifty-five of those men met in Philadelphia. They debated, discussed, and created a new set of rules for the United States of America. They agreed that the country needed a new framework of government, and they agreed it had to give the national government more power—then they agreed about little else. The final framework they created, therefore, required a great many compromises. It satisfied no one entirely, but it produced something that has lasted since—the U.S. Constitution.

Unfortunately, one glaring issue above all divided the delegates at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia—slavery. Slavery was the great flaw in the new republic. It presented the Framers with their greatest challenge, to create a constitution that supported the great “self-evident truth” of the Declaration of Independence—that all men are created equal.

The problem was that slavery was legal in many states. Most of the United States' seven hundred thousand or so slaves were in the South, but some states in the North had freed their slaves. Others would soon follow. Many Convention delegates held strong antislavery views. Even in the South, many saw slavery as an unavoidable evil. Some expected it to fade away on its own. Instead, slavery soon began to spread rapidly as cotton production began to soar in the early 1800s. As it did, more Southerners defended slavery as a positive. At the time of the Constitutional Convention, however, many held out hope that its days were numbered.

Nevertheless, the Southern states, for the most part, were not about to enter a union that threatened their slave property. The Northern states were faced with a stark choice: stand strongly against slavery and see several Southern states leave the union, perhaps to form their own slave confederacy, or compromise over slavery and hold the union together (with the hope of ending slavery later). The Convention chose compromise.

What, then, were those compromises, and were they worth it?

[illegible]

Sale ledger of 118 slaves in  
Charleston, South Carolina



In this lesson, three main compromises will be our focus. The most important was the well-known “three-fifths compromise.” It dealt with the issue of how to determine a state’s population for the purpose of representation and direct taxation. The South wanted its slaves to count as full persons for the sake of representation. It did not want them counted at all in deciding how much tax a state owed. Counting the slaves fully for the sake of representation would give each slave state more members in Congress. Not counting slaves in determining a state’s taxes would lower the amount each slave state paid. Many Northern delegates opposed the South’s proposal. They especially feared giving the South more members in the House of Representatives. They said slaves should not be counted at all for that purpose—especially because they had no rights as citizens. The two sides compromised—the slaves were counted as three persons for every five persons, for both purposes.

Another big compromise had to do with the slave trade. Many delegates wanted it banned immediately. Most Southern delegates wanted no limits on it at all. The delegates compromised. They decided that Congress had to wait to ban the slave trade until 1808. This did allow horrible activity to continue, but it also ensured a soon-to-be end to a practice that had existed for centuries. In fact, Congress did ban the slave trade on the very first day it could in 1808.

The third compromise had to do with aiding in the capture of escaped slaves. Providing for this pleased the slaveholders; however, the language of this rule is quite odd. No use of the word *slave* ever appears in it (nor does that word appear elsewhere in the Constitution). Moreover, the “persons held to service” are not said to be held by any federal law—only by the laws of the state seeking a runaway.

Was this compromise over language too unimportant to be worth compromising ethics? Were the other compromises worth such an ethical concession? In a way, only time would tell. To answer that question, it will help to look to later views—especially the views of those who fought against slavery later in U.S. history. In this lesson, you will examine a small sample of primary sources on this question of slavery in early U.S. history. These will provide evidence to help you answer the lesson’s key questions. Interpreting the sources is not easy. Keep in mind that they are from a variety of points of view about the conflict. Together, they should help you better understand the conflicting views of various parties on the pros and cons of compromise.

*Image Sources:* Architect of the Capitol, *Scene at the Signing of the Constitution of the United States*.  
By Howard Chandler Christy, 1940, United States Capitol.

Sale Ledger. By unknown artist, circa 1754–1755, courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



## History Group

## GROUP MEMBERS:

## *Slavery and the Constitutional Convention*

Your group's task is to explore the history of slavery and the Constitutional Convention. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Overall, did the U.S. Constitution help or hinder abolitionists and antislavery groups seeking to end slavery in the decades before the Civil War? Explain your answer.

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Just after the Constitution was written, many people believed slavery would not last. The Northern states were already putting an end to it. A ban on the slave trade went into effect on the first day the Constitution allowed—January 1, 1808. Yet, as soon as the U.S. Constitution was agreed upon, slavery began to increase. Slaves and cotton plantations spread rapidly, and the institution that thousands agree was, at least, unethical suddenly seemed to be there to stay.

Criticism of slavery also began to grow, especially after about 1830. As it did, more radical abolitionists, such as William Lloyd Garrison, took very strong stands against it. Their views reflected a new Christian evangelical spirit of revival and reform. For people like Garrison, any compromise with slavery at all seemed to be a terrible sin. The Constitution's compromises therefore made the Constitution seem like a kind of pact with the devil. He even felt the North might be better off leaving the

union entirely. Frederick Douglass was just as radical as Garrison, but his focus was more on practical politics. He wanted the entire country to end slavery. He looked to the Constitution to see if it gave slavery too much protection. His view was that the Constitution did not protect slavery, even as it also failed to abolish it. Its compromises allowed Americans to end slavery when enough of them decided they should. For Garrison, that was not good enough. For Douglass, it was *just good enough*.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.6

---

---

---

Primary Source 1.7

---

---

---

Primary Source 1.8

---

---

---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Overall, did the U.S. Constitution help or hinder abolitionists and antislavery groups seeking to end slavery in the decades before the Civil War? Explain your answer.

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.





## GROUP MEMBERS:

## *Slavery and the Constitutional Convention*

Your group's task is to explore the civics of slavery and the Constitutional Convention. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

The Constitution never actually used the word *slave* anywhere. How important do you think that was in influencing U.S. political development?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.1, 1.7, and 1.9.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Northern delegates refused to allow the word *slavery* anywhere in the Constitution. They did not want to give the term any legal standing in the nation's founding document. They used the phrase "persons held to service or labor" instead. When they mentioned "free persons," its opposite was "all other persons." This use of the term *persons* meant that the Constitution never defined slaves as property.

The wording of the fugitive slave clause was especially tangled (See Article 4, Section 2, in Primary Source 1.1). In the debates, the delegates took out "legally" from the phrase "legally held to service in one state." Instead, they said people "held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof." This only admits that the laws of some states, not federal laws, allowed slavery. They also removed the word describing a slave owner as "justly" claiming his slave. They said instead that the owner was merely someone to whom the slave's labor "may be due." In these ways, they seemed to be trying to avoid giving any Constitutional sanction to slavery. Was this just wordplay, or did these alterations have a more serious long-term intention?

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.1

---

---

---

Primary Source 1.7

---

---

---

Primary Source 1.9

---

---

---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

The Constitution never actually used the word *slave* anywhere. How important do you think that was in influencing U.S. political development?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## GROUP MEMBERS:

## *Slavery and the Constitutional Convention*

Your group's task is to explore the economics of slavery and the Constitutional Convention. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

There were major arguments about slavery in the Constitutional Convention. Was this disagreement mainly due to the delegates' different economic interests? Why or why not?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.2, 1.3, and 1.5.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In 1913, historian Charles Beard startled many people. He said the delegates writing the Constitution did it mainly to aid their own economic interests. Beard explained that the delegates were all owed money they had loaned during the American Revolution, and they needed a strong central government to be sure of getting that money back. In other words, they wrote the Constitution to protect their property. Beard said this was also true of state leaders who worked to have their states ratify the Constitution.

Many historians accepted Beard's claims at first, but many came to question them in the 1950s. Another historian, Forrest McDonald, studied the economic interests of the Framers more closely. He found no clear link at all between a delegate's votes on specific issues and his economic interests.

Of course, Beard focused only on the personal economic interests of the delegates. It is possible that the delegates were moved also by broader economic concerns. Some came from states where slave labor was seen as vital to the state's economy. Others may have had ties as merchants to the slave trade. Still others came from states that were ending slavery. They may have seen slave labor as unfairly competing against their free laborers. Many economic interests still could have shaped the way delegates felt about slavery and about the Constitution itself.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.2

---

---

---

Primary Source 1.3

---

---

---

Primary Source 1.5

---

---

---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

There were major arguments about slavery in the Constitutional Convention. Was this disagreement mainly due to the delegates' different economic interests? Why or why not?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Geography Group

## GROUP MEMBERS:

*Slavery and the Constitutional Convention*

Your group's task is to explore the geography of slavery and the Constitutional Convention. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

**Day One**

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

How do geographical factors help explain differences in the Constitutional Convention over the provision protecting the slave trade until 1808?
3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 1.2, 1.4, and 1.5.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the simplest view, slavery split the nation between North and South. In 1790, the New England states had either no slaves or very few. New York and New Jersey had more, but slaves were still only about 7 percent of the population of those two states. Slavery either had ended or soon would end in those Northern states. The big slave states were five in the South—Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. In those states, slaves made up a very large share of the population. Virginia had about 290,000 slaves to 442,000 free whites. The proportion of slaves to free whites was even greater in South Carolina.

However, this North-South division was not the only relevant geographical factor. Divisions within the South were also important. Virginia used slaves to raise tobacco and cotton. Its slave population was growing so rapidly it did not need the slave trade to keep it supplied. In fact, it was beginning to sell slaves to other states. In the low country of South Carolina, the demand for slaves was much greater. Slaves there raised rice



and long staple cotton on huge plantations in swampy and unhealthful tidewater lands. Slaves did not survive well in such settings. The planters were anxious to keep up the supply of slaves. They also worried about slave discontent, given how often they were absent from their lands. Geography affected slavery itself and attitudes about it in many ways.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 1.2

---

---

---

Primary Source 1.4

---

---

---

Primary Source 1.5

---

---

---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

How do geographical factors help explain differences in the Constitutional Convention over the provision protecting the slave trade until 1808?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will be studying several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special critical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

Since no primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can also help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed in so many words. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.I

## Constitution of 1787

The following sections of the Constitution of 1787 are those most relevant to the issue of slavery. The entire transcript of the Constitution is available from the National Archives website.

**Original Document****Article. I**

## Section. 2.

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

## Section. 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. . . .

**Article. IV**

## Section. 2.

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

*Original Document Source:* National Archives, "The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription," last updated October 5, 2016, <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>.

At the Constitutional Convention, Virginia's James Madison kept a record of much of the discussions that took place day by day. On June 30, 1787, Madison recorded his own views on the key factor that divided some states from other states. He refers to himself in the third person here, as "he."

### Original Document

But he [Madison] contended that the States were divided into different interests not by their difference of size, but by other circumstances; the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves. These two causes concurred in forming the great division of interests in the U. States. It did not lie between the large & small States: It lay between the Northern & Southern, and if any defensive power were necessary, it ought to be mutually given to these two interests.

### Adapted Version

But he [Madison] says it is not size differences that explain the biggest issues dividing the states. Other factors are more important. Some have to do with varying differences, such as climate. The most important differences are due to the fact that some have slaves and others do not. These two causes, climate and slaves, together help form the great division of interests in the United States. These factors do not divide the large from the small states: They divide the northern from the southern states, and if any side is necessary to check the other, it ought to be the two sides divided by these different interests.



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.3

## Mason and Ellsworth on Slavery

Wealthy Virginia delegate George Mason was opposed to slavery even though he himself owned many slaves. He spoke forcefully about the proposed slave-trade ban in the Constitutional Convention on August 22, 1787. Oliver Ellsworth immediately responded with a different opinion on the topic. Both passages are included here. In the end, Mason refused to sign the Constitution in part because of his strong feelings about slavery.

**Original Document**

Col. Mason. This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British Merchants. The British Govt. constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. . . . Maryland & Virginia he said had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly. N. Carolina had done the same in substance. All this would be in vain if S. Carolina & Georgia be at liberty to import. The Western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands, and will fill that Country with slaves if they can be got thro' S. Carolina & Georgia. Slavery discourages arts & manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the immigration of Whites, who really enrich & strengthen a Country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of heaven on a Country. As nations can not be rewarded or punished in the next world they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes & effects providence punishes national sins, by national calamities.

Mr. Ellsworth. . . . Let us not intermeddle. As population increases poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless. Slavery in time will not be a speck in our Country. Provision is already made in Connecticut for abolishing it. And the abolition has already taken place in Massachusetts.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

Col. Mason. The slave trade started because the greed of British merchants. The British government prevented Virginia from stopping it. . . . Maryland and Virginia have already banned slave importation, and North Carolina was basically doing the same. However, this would do no good if South Carolina and Georgia could still import slaves. Americans in the west want more slaves and will get as many as they can from South Carolina and Georgia. Slavery prevents a full development of arts and manufactures. The poor hate labor when they see it done by slaves. Slaves discourage immigration by whites, who really can enrich and strengthen a country. They have a harmful effect on social behavior. Every master of slaves is from birth taught to be a petty tyrant. Slavery brings God's judgment on the country. Nations can't be rewarded or punished in the next life, so they must be in this one. Providence brings about natural calamities that sooner or later punish our national sins

Mr. Ellsworth. . . . Let us not interfere with the slave trade. As population increases, poor laborers will become so plenty that slaves will in time be seen as useless. Slavery will almost entirely disappear in our country. Connecticut is already preparing to abolish it. And the abolition has already taken place in Massachusetts.

Original Document Source: George Mason and Oliver Ellsworth, "Madison Debates: August 22," in *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Which Framed the Constitution of the United States of America*, edited by Gaillard Hunt and James Brown Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), 443–444. Available from The Avalon Project, a website of Yale University's Lillian Goldman Law Library.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.4

## James Madison on Banning the Slave Trade

The Federalist was a group of eighty-five essays in support of the U.S. Constitution. They were published in 1787 and 1788 as the states were deciding whether to ratify the Constitution. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay all wrote these essays. This passage from one of the essays concerns the rule in the Constitution specifying that Congress could not ban the slave trade before 1808.

**Original Document**

It were doubtless to be wished, that the power of prohibiting the importation of slaves had not been postponed until the year 1808, or rather that it had been suffered to have immediate operation. But it is not difficult to account, either for this restriction on the general government, or for the manner in which the whole clause is expressed. It ought to be considered as a great point gained in favor of humanity, that a period of twenty years may terminate forever, within these States, a traffic which has so long and so loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy; that within that period, it will receive a considerable discouragement from the federal government, and may be totally abolished, by a concurrence of the few States which continue the unnatural traffic, in the prohibitory example which has been given by so great a majority of the Union. Happy would it be for the unfortunate Africans, if an equal prospect lay before them of being redeemed from the oppressions of their European brethren! Attempts have been made to pervert this clause into an objection against the Constitution, by representing it on one side as a criminal toleration of an illicit practice, and on another as calculated to prevent voluntary and beneficial emigrations from Europe to America. I mention these misconstructions, not with a view to give them an answer, for they deserve none, but as specimens of the manner and spirit in which some have thought fit to conduct their opposition to the proposed government.

CONTINUED



### **Adapted Version**

No doubt it would have been better to have banned the importation of slaves now, instead of putting it off until 1808. But it is easy to explain why it was done this way. First, it is a great benefit to humanity that in only twenty years this traffic in slaves may be ended forever within these states. It is a traffic that has long demonstrated the barbarism of modern policy. Even during those twenty years, this provision will discourage the slave trade. It could be abolished sooner if the states still engaged in this unnatural traffic follow the example the majority of the Union are setting. Think how happy the unfortunate Africans would be if they could also see a time when they would never again suffer oppression at the hands of their European brothers! Some have tried to distort the meaning of this clause. They depict it as a criminal toleration of the slave trade. Others think it is meant to discourage voluntary and beneficial emigrations from Europe to America. These misunderstandings are examples of the unfair manner and spirit of some criticisms of the proposed government.

Original Document Source: James Madison, "Federalist No. 42," in *The Federalist: A Collection of Essays*. . . (New York: J. and A. McLean, 1788). Available from The Avalon Project, a website of Yale University's Lillian Goldman Law Library.

Once the Constitutional Convention completed its work, each state legislature held a convention to debate the proposed Constitution. On January 16, 1788, Rawlins Lowndes criticized the document in a meeting of South Carolina's House of Representatives. This passage provides an account of Representative Lowndes's speech.

### Original Document

In the first place, what cause was there for jealousy of our importing negroes? Why confine us to twenty years, or rather, why limit us at all? For his part, he thought this trade could be justified on the principles of religion, humanity and justice; for certainly to translate a set of human beings from a bad country to a better, was fulfilling every part of those principles. But they don't like our slaves, because they have none themselves, and therefore want to exclude us from this great advantage; why should the Southern States allow this. . . . Without negroes this State would degenerate into one of the most contemptible in the Union, and cited an expression that fell from General Pinckney on a former debate, that whilst there remained one acre of swamp land in South-Carolina, he should raise his voice against restricting the importation of negroes. Even in granting the importation for twenty years, care had been taken to make us pay for this indulgence, each negro being liable, on importation, to pay a duty not exceeding ten dollars. . . . Negroes were our wealth, our only natural resource, yet behold how our kind friends in the North were determined soon to tie up our hands, and drains us of what we had.

### Adapted Version

First why should anyone object to our importing negroes? Why limit us to twenty years? Or rather why limit us at all? He said the slave trade could be justified on the principles of religion, humanity, and justice. After all, to take human beings from a bad country to a better was fulfilling these principles completely. He said the Northerners don't like our slaves because they have none of their own. They want to keep us from benefitting from this great advantage. Why should the Southern states allow this? Without negroes this state would degenerate into one of the most miserable in the Union. Mr. Lowndes cited General Pinckney who earlier said that, while there was still an acre of swampland in South Carolina, he would strongly oppose any restrictions on the importation of negroes. Even though it lets us import slaves for twenty years, the Constitution make us pay for this by allowing a duty up to ten dollars on each negro imported. Negroes are our wealth, our only natural resource. Yet see how our kind friends in the North were determined to tied our hands and drain us of what we had.

Original Document Source: Rawlins Lowndes, "Address to the Representatives of the South Carolina House of Representatives" (speech, South Carolina House of Representatives, Columbus, SC, January 16, 1788), in *Debates Which Arose in the House of Representatives of South-Carolina*. . . . (Charleston, SC: A. E. Miller, 1831), 19.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.6

## William Lloyd Garrison on the Constitution and the Union

In the 1830s, William Lloyd Garrison became one of the strongest abolitionist leaders in the country. He called for immediate abolition of all slavery. He regarded it as a profound sin staining the nation's honor. Garrison had a harsh view of the U.S. Constitution. He saw it as a proslavery document that stood in the way of the abolition of slavery. His views are expressed forcefully in this passage from "On the Constitution and the Union," an article he wrote in *The Liberator* in December 1832.

**Original Document**

There is much declamation about the sacredness of the compact which was formed between the free and slave states, on the adoption of the Constitution. A sacred compact, forsooth! We pronounce it the most bloody and heaven-daring arrangement ever made by men for the continuance and protection of a system of the most atrocious villainy ever exhibited on earth. Yes—we recognize the compact, but with feelings of shame and indignation, and it will be held in everlasting infamy by the friends of justice and humanity throughout the world. It was a compact formed at the sacrifice of the bodies and souls of millions of our race, for the sake of achieving a political object—an unblushing and monstrous coalition to do evil that good might come. Such a compact was, in the nature of things and according to the law of God, null and void from the beginning. No body of men ever had the right to guarantee the holding of human beings in bondage. Who or what were the framers of our government, that they should dare confirm and authorize such high-handed villainy—such flagrant robbery of the inalienable rights of man—such a glaring violation of all the precepts and injunctions of the gospel—such a savage war upon a sixth part of our whole population?—They were men, like ourselves—as fallible, as sinful, as weak, as ourselves. By the infamous bargain which they made between themselves, they virtually dethroned the Most High God, and trampled beneath their feet their own solemn and heaven-attested Declaration, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

CONTINUED



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

1.6

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON ON THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

Many praise the sacredness of the Constitution, a compact formed between the free and slave states. A sacred compact, ridiculous! We call it a most bloody and heaven-daring agreement to maintain and protect the most evil system ever seen. Yes, we recognize it, but only with feelings of shame and outrage. Friends of justice and humanity will forever condemn it. It was formed by sacrificing the bodies and souls of millions of fellow human beings just to achieve a political goal. It was enacted by a shameless and monstrous coalition to do evil hoping that good would come of it. By God's laws, it is null and void. That is, no body of men has any right to protect the holding of human beings as slaves. Who were these framers of our government to think they could authorize anyone to rob people of their inalienable rights? It was such a glaring violation of all Christian teachings! Such a savage war on a sixth of our population! They were men like ourselves, just as fallible, sinful and weak. In this bargain they made, they dethroned God and trampled on their own sacred Declaration, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

*Original Document Source:* William Lloyd Garrison, "The Great Crisis!" *The Liberator* 2 (December 1832): 206–207.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.7

## Abraham Lincoln on Slavery

In a famous speech in Peoria, Illinois, on October 16, 1854, Abraham Lincoln attacked the morality of slavery. He also insisted that the Constitution could not be seen as a proslavery document. In this part of his speech, he claims that those who wrote the Constitution only accepted slavery out of necessity—that is, because it was already a part of the laws of many states. He insists the Framers of the Constitution did nothing to approve of slavery—or rule out future efforts to alter or abolish it.

**Original Document**

The argument of “Necessity” was the only argument they ever admitted in 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 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 proper to admit,” &c. 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. . . . Necessity drove them so far, and farther, they would not go.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

The Founders only accepted slavery out of “necessity.” They went no further than that. They found it already in place, and they blamed the British king for allowing it. Even before writing the Constitution, they banned it from the Northwest Territory. That was the only territory they controlled that was then still free of slavery. In the Constitution, they would not even allow a mention of the word “slave” or “slavery.” In the rule for recovering fugitives, the slave is described as a “PERSON HELD TO SERVICE OR LABOR.” In prohibiting any effort to ban the African slave trade for twenty years, they describe that trade as “The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States NOW EXISTING, shall think proper to admit.” These are the only places where slavery is even hinted at. The idea of slavery is hidden away in the Constitution, just as a sick man hides a cancer that he dares not cut out at once, lest he bleed to death. Yet there is at least the suggestion that the cutting could take place later on. Less than this our fathers COULD not do. . . . Necessity drove them so far, and farther, they would not go.

*Original Document Source:* Abraham Lincoln, “Peoria Speech” (speech, Peoria, IL, October 16, 1854), in *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia*, by Mark E. Neely Jr. (New York: Da Capo, 1982). Available on the National Park Service website.



## Frederick Douglass on Dissolving the Union

Frederick Douglass was born a slave around 1818. He escaped and, in time, became the greatest African American abolitionist leader of his age. He often worked with William Lloyd Garrison; however, they disagreed on several key issues. Garrison sometimes hoped the North would leave the Union, which he saw as too mired in the sin of slavery. Douglass disagreed strongly. He also argued against Garrison's negative view of the Constitution. Douglass expressed these views in a speech he gave in 1860 in Glasgow, Scotland.

**Original Document**

My argument against the dissolution of the American Union is this: It would place the slave system more exclusively under the control of the slaveholding States, and withdraw it from the power in the Northern States which is opposed to slavery. Slavery is essentially barbarous in its character. It, above all things else, dreads the presence of an advanced civilization. It flourishes best where it meets no reproving frowns, and hears no condemning voices. While in the Union it will meet with both. Its hope of life, in the last resort, is to get out of the Union. I am, therefore, for drawing the bond of the Union more . . . completely under the power of the free States. What they most dread, that I most desire. I have much confidence in the instincts of the slave-holders. They see that the Constitution will afford slavery no protection, when it shall cease to be administered by slaveholders. They see, moreover, that if there is once a will in the people of America to abolish slavery, this is no word, no syllable in the Constitution to forbid that result. They see that the Constitution has not saved slavery in Rhode Island, in Connecticut, in New York, or Pennsylvania. . . . Within the Union we have a firm basis of opposition to slavery. It is opposed to all the great objects of the Constitution. The dissolution of the Union is not only an unwise but a cowardly measure—fifteen millions running away from three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders. Mr. Garrison and his friends tell us that while in the Union we are responsible for slavery. He and they sing out “No Union with slaveholders,” and refuse to vote. I admit our responsibility for slavery while in the Union; but I deny that going out of the Union would free us from that responsibility. There now clearly is no freedom from responsibility for slavery to any American citizen short to the abolition of slavery.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

My argument against splitting the Union in half is this: It would give the slaveholding states more complete control over slavery. The North would no longer have the power to do anything to the slave system. Slavery is a barbarous system. Above all, it fears the presence of an advanced civilization. It does well when it faces no disapproval or condemnation. If it stays in the Union, it will have to deal with both. Its hope is in the end to get out of the Union. I therefore favor strengthening the power of the free states over the Union. This is what the South most dreads and I most desire. I am confident the slaveholders understand that the Constitution will give slavery no protection once slaveholders no longer administer it. They see that if the people of America want to abolish slavery, nothing in the Constitution forbids that. After all, the Constitution did not save slavery in Rhode Island, in Connecticut, in New York, or Pennsylvania. . . . Within the Union, we can fight slavery, which is opposed to the basic principles of the Constitution. For the North to break away from the Union would be unwise and cowardly. It would be 15 million running away from 350,000 slaveholders. Mr. Garrison and his friends say that if we stay in the Union, we are responsible for slavery. Their slogan is “No Union with slaveholders.” They even refuse to vote. I agree we are responsible for slavery while we are in the Union; But leaving the Union would not free us of that responsibility. There is no way for any American citizen to be free of responsibility for slavery until slavery is abolished.

*Original Document Source:* Frederick Douglass, “The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-slavery or Anti-slavery” (speech, Glasgow, UK, March 26, 1860), in *Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator*, by Frederic May Holland (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891), 197.



Theodore Dwight Weld was another major abolitionist leader. Unlike Garrison, he refused to see the Constitution as standing in the way of slavery's abolition. This passage is from the pamphlet *The Power of Congress over the District of Columbia*.

### Original Document

The constitution of the United States does not recognize slaves as “PROPERTY” anywhere. . . . All allusions to them in the constitution recognize them as “persons.” Every reference to them points *solely* to the element of *personality*; and thus, by the strongest implication, declares that the constitution knows them only as “persons,” and *will* not recognize them in any other light. If they escape into free States, the constitution authorizes their being taken back. But how? Not as the property of an “owner,” but as “persons;” and the peculiarity of the expression is a marked recognition of their *personality*—a refusal to recognize them as chattels—“persons *held* to service.” Are *oxen* “*held* to service?” That can be affirmed only of *persons*. Again, slaves give political power as “persons.” The constitution, in settling the principle of representation, requires their enumeration in the census. How? As property? Then why not include race horses and game cocks? Slaves, like other inhabitants, are enumerated as “persons.”

### Adapted Version

The Constitution does not define slaves as “PROPERTY” anywhere. . . . It refers to them as “persons.” It stresses the element of personality and knows them only as “persons.” Nowhere does it see them in any other way. If they escape to free States, the Constitution does allow them to be taken back. But how? Not as the property of an “owner,” but as “persons.” This expression stresses their personality by refusing to see them as chattels, calling them instead “persons held to service.” Are oxen “held to service”? Such an expression can only be used for persons. Slaves also add to each state’s political power as “persons.” In settling the rules for representation, the Constitution requires counting them in the census. Does it count them there as property? If so, then why not include race horses and game cocks as well? Slaves, like other inhabitants, are counted as “persons.”

Original Document Source: Theodore Dwight Weld, *The Power of Congress over the District of Columbia*, 4th ed. (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1838), 39.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

I.IO

## Martin Luther King Jr. on Civil Rights

In the 1950s and 1960s, Martin Luther King Jr. led a powerful civil rights movement that swept away all forms of legal Jim Crow segregation. On August 28, 1963, King spoke at the Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington about the Constitution in this passage from his famous “I Have a Dream” speech.

**Original Document**

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination.

One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation’s capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, which has come back marked “insufficient funds.”

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

*Original Document Source:* Martin Luther King Jr., “I Have a Dream” (speech, Washington, DC, August 28, 1963), in *African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources*, edited by Molefi Kete Asante and Abu S. Abarry (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996).

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Study Primary Sources 1.4 and 1.5. Then pretend it is 1788 and you are a distant relative of Rawlins Lowndes living in New York. Write a letter to Lowndes and tell him you are enclosing Federalist No. 42 with your letter. You recently read it and thought he might want to think about it. Explain Federalist No. 42 to Lowndes as you understand it, and contrast it with the views as he expressed them in Primary Source 1.5. Add your own views about the proposed Constitution and its provision to prevent Congress from banning the slave trade before 1808.
- ◆ Your group should read and discuss Primary Sources 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8. Choose one group member to play each of the following people: William Lloyd Garrison, Abraham Lincoln, and Frederick Douglass. Plan a role-playing debate among all three of them in which they discuss all three of the main slavery-related provisions of the Constitution shown in Primary Source 1.1. Then, as a group, guide a discussion with the class after the role-playing skit is over.
- ◆ Closely read Primary Sources 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.6, and 1.10. Imagine that James Madison, George Mason, and William Lloyd Garrison have been brought to the future to the year 1963 to listen to Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. Create a short dialogue in which each figure discusses King's speech and relates it to their views from their own eras.

### Taking Action

- ◆ The Constitution was not presented to the public as a perfect document. In fact, the Constitution includes a complex way to make changes to its provisions. As a group, study the Constitution and its provisions for making amendments. Decide on one change you all would like to see made to the Constitution. Formulate a proposed amendment. Report your amendment to the class and discuss whether it should be passed and how you might go about getting it passed.
- ◆ After completing the above assignment, summarize your class discussion about your proposed amendment as a group. Send this report to a local newspaper or other news source, either print or electronic. Invite that source to print your report and invite readers to comment on it. Use any responses you get to your report in a follow-up discussion in class for revising the amendment for the better. If the resolution can be passed locally, research how to get the amendment passed in your city. Attempt to get the city council to pass the resolution.

## Slavery and the Constitutional Convention Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources. But fails to connect these in a relevant way to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development/Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in-depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

## Primary Source Bibliography

- 1.1: National Archives. "The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription." Last updated October 5, 2016. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>.
- 1.2: Madison, James. *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Which Framed the Constitution of the United States of America*. Edited by Gaillard Hund and James Brown Scott. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920.
- 1.3: Madison, James. *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Which Framed the Constitution of the United States of America*. Edited by Gaillard Hund and James Brown Scott. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920.
- 1.4: Hamilton, Alexander, John Jay, and James Madison. *The Federalist: A Collection of Essays*. . . . New York: J. and A. McLean, 1788.
- 1.5: South Carolina House of Representatives. *Debates Which Arose in the House of Representatives of South-Carolina*. . . . Charleston, SC: A. E. Miller, 1831.
- 1.6: Garrison, William Lloyd. "The Great Crisis!" *The Liberator* 2 (December 1832): 206–207.
- 1.7: Neely, Mark E., Jr. *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia*. New York: Da Capo, 1982.
- 1.8: Frederic, May Holland, ed. *Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891.
- 1.9: Weld, Theodore Dwight. *The Power of Congress over the District of Columbia*. New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1838.
- 1.10: Asante, Molefi Kete, and Abu S. Abarry, eds. *African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996.

## Sources for Further Study

Burgen, Michael. *The Creation of the U.S. Constitution*. Graphic History. North Mankato, MN: Capstone, 2006.

Furi-Perry, Ursula. *Constitutional Law for Kids: Discovering the Rights and Privileges Granted by the U.S. Constitution*. Chicago, IL: American Bar Association, 2014.

Travis, Cathy. *Constitution Translated for Kids*. St. George, UT: Synergy Books, 2006.

Waldstreicher, David. *Slavery's Constitution: From Revolution to Ratification*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2010.





# American Colonization Movement

*Was It Antislavery Idealism or an  
Impractical and Unjust Idea?*





## Overview

### Introduction

With few exceptions, slaves in the United States were black. The problem of slavery was linked inextricably with the problem of race and racism. This link is one reason that slavery was especially hard for the nation to confront. In order to understand how tangled race and slavery were, look at the American colonization movement. This movement reveals a great deal about white attitudes toward slaves and free blacks, about those opposed to slavery, and about a variety of views held by slaveholders. It also tells us much about African Americans themselves, both slave and free. Was the movement a well-intentioned effort to improve the lives of African Americans, or was it an impractical and, in some ways, unjust response to the problem of race and slavery? In this lesson, students will work with short passages from ten primary sources in an effort to answer this question. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the compelling question.

### Objective

Students will complete a final task or create a final presentation to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about the American colonization movement. They will work individually and in groups to apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of views represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time
- ◆ **D2.HIS.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.CIV.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.ECO.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.
- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.

- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

---

### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

### Compelling Question

Was the American colonization movement an example of antislavery idealism, or was it an impractical and unjust idea?

### Preparation

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.



Asking Questions about the American Colonization Movement  
*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

### Day One

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the unit’s overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is to formulate one supporting question for each of its three primary sources, and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.



Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence  
*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

### Day Two

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group’s compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about the American colonization movement from their group’s disciplinary perspective. The

presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, a PowerPoint, or another related type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### Day Three

7. Each group will deliver its presentation. Allow time for class discussion following each presentation, and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### Communicating Results and Taking Action

*This part of the task stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the unit's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the Colonization Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### Communicating Results

- ◆ Students will write letters as Daniel Coker and James Forten. Have the students share their two letters with the class in a discussion about these two points of view.
- ◆ Have students read Primary Source 2.7 and Primary Source 2.8. They will then write a newspaper editorial as William Jay commenting on Robert James Turnbull's views about slavery and the American Colonization Society.
- ◆ Have students choose six of the ten primary sources whose authors they will invite to take part in a town-hall debate about African American repatriation. Students will list their debate questions for each author and write a paragraph explaining why they chose that question for that particular author.

#### Taking Action

- ◆ Have students do some research into today's Liberia. They should prepare a brief report to the class on the biggest one or two issues facing the nation now. Their reports should be divided to look at the history, the economy, the geography, and the government and political system there now. Students should prepare a brief talk, a PowerPoint presentation, or other way to communicate their findings about the major problems facing contemporary Liberia.
- ◆ Based on the work done in the above activity, students should prepare a brief report to send to the member of the House of Representatives for your congressional district.

## Introductory Essay

# *American Colonization Movement*



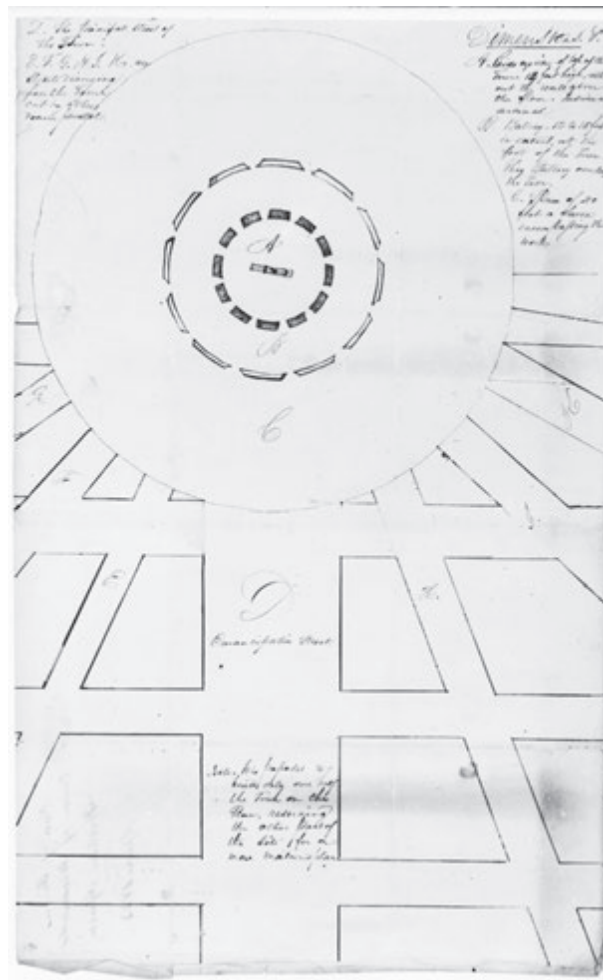
*Slaves harvesting cotton*

Slavery has existed in one form or another in most societies throughout written history. In many of these societies, various groups could become slaves, and they often were forced into that state as captives of war. Strong physical distinctions between the enslaved and unenslaved populations rarely existed. In the United States and European nations using slavery, however, this was not the case. With few exceptions, slaves were black. Attitudes about African Americans in the United States, therefore, were shaped by attitudes about the slaves. Likewise, ideas applied to slaves were also applied to African Americans. The problem of slavery was linked closely with the problem of race and racism, and this is one reason slavery was especially hard for the nation to confront.

An easy way to see how tangled race and slavery were is to take the example of the American colonization movement. This movement reveals a great deal about white

attitudes toward slaves and free blacks, about those opposed to slavery, and about a variety of views held by slaveholders. The movement also tells us much about African Americans themselves, both enslaved and free. Was the movement a well-intentioned effort to improve the lives of African Americans, or was it an impractical and, in some ways, unjust response to the problem of race and slavery? The sources for this lesson may help you decide for yourself.

*Colonization*, in this case, means the effort some white people made to send African Americans to “repatriate” Africa. This idea began to gain support in the late 1700s. In 1787, British reformers helped found a colony (Liberia) for freed African Americans in Sierra Leone, off the coast of West Africa. Some Americans decided to do the same. A few early advocates of colonization opposed slavery in all its aspects. Rhode Island Congregationalist minister Stephen Hopkins was such a person. In the late 1700s, he actively preached against the enslavement of African Americans.



*Town Plan for Mesurado, Liberia*



The motives of other advocates of colonization, however, are not so easy to define. The American Colonization Society (ACS) was founded in 1816. Among its founders were well-known political figures, many of them slaveholders, such as U.S. president James Monroe, Kentucky politician Henry Clay, and John Randolph of Roanoke. Yet many abolitionists and antislavery clergy also belonged. Their desire was to help African Americans as best they could.

From the start, the ACS was concerned mainly with freed African Americans, not slaves. By the 1820s, there were about two million slaves in the United States and about two hundred thousand free African Americans, mainly in the North or a few slave states like Virginia. Those freed were often faced with many forms of discrimination—they could not vote, they were paid lower wages than whites, and many white people regarded them with fear and loathing. Many whites saw blacks as a burden, and they favored colonization simply as a way to be rid of that burden. Still, many African Americans succeeded in life in spite of these barriers, but they could not avoid feeling frustrated in the United States. Some were eager to try a new life in a colony in Africa, the traditional homeland of their forebears.

Clergymen played a key role as organizers for the ACS. This especially attracted African Americans who shared a Christian missionary spirit. Many of them agreed with the goal of bringing enlightenment and Christianity to Africa's native peoples. In the 1820s, the ACS established the African colony of Liberia, just south of Sierra Leone. It reached treaty arrangements with some local tribes in the area. Relations with those tribes were never easy or fully peaceful, however. Nevertheless, Liberia did survive. It declared its independence in 1847. By the end of the American Civil War, however, the ACS had sent only about thirteen thousand African Americans to Liberia.

The motives of supporters of the ACS were highly mixed. Some slaveholders supported it as a way to strengthen their hold over their slaves. They saw free African Americans as a threat and wanted them removed from the South. On the other hand, many slaveholders hated the colonization movement. They believed it would soon seek federal aid to free all slaves. Some pro-colonization abolitionists, white and black, hoped those slaveholders were right. Other abolitionists knew this was practically impossible given the numbers and costs involved. Moreover, they said colonization was an excuse to avoid freeing the slaves and ensuring them full equality here in the United States itself. Were they right? In this lesson, you will examine a small sample of primary sources on the American colonization movement. These will provide evidence to help you answer these questions. Interpreting the sources is not easy. Keep in mind that they are from a variety of points of view about the conflict. Together, they should help you better understand the reason for the movement and the various points of view for and against the idea of repatriation.

*Image Sources:* Illustration of Slaves. By iStock.com/Grafissimo

Town Plan for Mesurado. By William Thornton, 1821, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-107762





## History Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

*American Colonization Movement*

Your group's task is to explore the history of the American colonization movement. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Did the American Colonization Society strengthen the cause of antislavery in American society, or did it weaken that cause? Explain your answer.

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the early 1800s, some free African Americans supported colonization; that is, they favored settling free African Americans and newly freed slaves in Africa. After the American Revolution, the number of free African Americans rose rapidly. They often faced harsh discrimination, but some did become successful and even wealthy. Paul Cuffee, a shipbuilder in Boston, was one such person. In 1815, he took thirty-eight free African Americans to the British colony of Sierra Leone.

James Forten of Philadelphia was another successful black businessperson. He, at first, agreed with and helped Cuffee, but, in 1817, he changed his mind about colonization. Instead, he became a leader in the drive to abolish slavery entirely.

Forten helped change abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison's mind about colonization too. Garrison supported it at first. When he later turned against it, he even apologized. He said that many slaveholders supported the ACS only to rid the nation of free African Americans, whom they feared would help start a slave uprising. Others in the ACS, such as

Quakers, really did want African Americans to live freer lives in a country of their own. Some continued to feel this way, while other people, like Garrison, at first backed the ACS and later called for full black equality in the United States. This was true of Abraham Lincoln himself. Lincoln had supported the colonization idea at first, but he later gave it up totally during the American Civil War.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 2.4

---

---

---

Primary Source 2.5

---

---

---

Primary Source 2.6

---

---

---

## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Did the American Colonization Society strengthen the cause of antislavery in American society, or did it weaken that cause? Explain your answer.

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

**Civics Group****GROUP MEMBERS:***American Colonization Movement*

Your group's task is to explore the civics of the American colonization movement. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

**Day One**

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Did the ACS and the free African Americans who went to Liberia have a good plan for creating a political system for Liberia? Why or why not?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 2.1, 2.2, and 2.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the late 1700s, Great Britain began to settle free blacks in Sierra Leone. Liberia was to be just south of that colony. In the 1820s, the ACS began to settle African Americans in that location. It was from this part of West Africa that many slaves had once been taken. In time, the ACS brought several thousand African Americans to Liberia.

These settlers did not come to an empty land; Liberia was already home to several tribal groups. The African Americans who settled that land kept apart from those groups. They married and formed families mainly with other Americans, and they brought over and kept their American ways and ideas. The African American transfers generally did not feel any ties to the native tribes or their cultures. Conflict with these native tribes was, therefore, common. The U.S. Navy even had to help keep order. This Americo-Liberian community came to rule the colony. In 1847, the settlers issued their own declaration of independence. They set up a government modeled on ideas from the U.S. Constitution. It was only in 1904 that native tribes were given full citizenship in this new Republic of Liberia.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 2.1

---

---

---

Primary Source 2.2

---

---

---

Primary Source 2.10

---

---

---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Did the ACS and the free African Americans who went to Liberia have a good plan for creating a political system for Liberia? Why or why not?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.





## Economics Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

---

### *American Colonization Movement*

Your group's task is to explore the economics of the American colonization movement. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

The American Colonization Society was only able to send about thirteen thousand African Americans to Liberia by 1865. What economic factors might have kept this number so low?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 2.3, 2.8, and 2.9.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

A big challenge for the American Colonization Society was money. Critics said that the huge costs made its plans completely impractical. Congress did give the ACS \$100,000 in 1819. However, growing Southern fears about colonization kept Congress from doing more. The ACS mainly had to rely on grants from state governments and private gifts. The amounts raised were never close to enough.

First, the ACS had to pay tribal chiefs in Africa for the lands it wanted. They also had to pay the costs of transportation for each shipload of settlers, and provide the large amounts of food and other provisions needed for colonization. After all, it would take time for the settlers to find ways to produce their own goods. Many free African Americans from the North were city dwellers; they were unlikely to have the skills needed in rural Liberia. The idea of sending all U.S. slaves and free African Americans to Africa was hopelessly unrealistic. By 1820, there were more

than two hundred thousand free African Americans. The number of slaves was ten times greater. African American birthrates were higher than death rates, and colonization would never remove even the annual increase in those numbers. Finally, few slaveholders would part with their slaves for free. Compensating owners would run into hundreds of millions of dollars. Not even the federal government had that much money. Colonizing all of America's slaves and free African Americans was not going to happen.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 2.3

---

---

---

Primary Source 2.8

---

---

---

Primary Source 2.9

---

---

---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

The American Colonization Society was only able to send about thirteen thousand African Americans to Liberia by 1865. What economic factors might have kept this number so low?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Geography Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

---

### *American Colonization Movement*

Your group's task is to explore the geography of the American colonization movement. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

What geographical factors made the colonization of Liberia especially challenging for the African Americans who went there?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 2.1, 2.6, and 2.10.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Liberia is on the North Atlantic coast of Africa. It is about 4,500 miles from New York City. In 1820, it took Daniel Coker (Primary Source 2.2) a month to get from New York to Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone is just north of what is today Liberia. At the time, Liberia had no major ports. Its coast is a little more than two hundred miles long, and it consists of mangrove swamps, lagoons, and sandbars. Diseases that the settlers had never known were common; these diseases caused the deaths of many of the early settlers. For the first decades, nearly half the settlers died within their first year.

From the coast, the land rises into rolling hills and some mountains. The hills are mainly covered with rain forests. Even today, people can farm only about 3 to 4 percent of Liberia's land. Liberia was also home to trypanosomiasis, a disease that kills large livestock. This meant that the settlers lacked the draft animals Americans used to pull their plows. There were too few settlers at first to raise profitable crops requiring

large workforces—crops such as sugarcane or coffee. Moreover, the early African American settlers were poor. They lacked the capital to invest in large plantations. Geography combined with poverty to make life hard for Liberia's early American pioneers.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

#### Primary Source 2.1

---

---

---

#### Primary Source 2.6

---

---

---

#### Primary Source 2.10

---

---

---

### Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

What geographical factors made the colonization of Liberia especially challenging for the African Americans who went there?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## How to Analyze a Primary Source

In this lesson, you will be studying several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special critical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

Since no primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider a source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can also help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed in so many words. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

## PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

## 2.1

## Samuel Hopkins on Colonization

Samuel Hopkins was an early promoter of colonization. He was a Congregational minister who saw colonization as a way to conduct missionary work in Africa. This passage is from a speech he gave at a Baptist church in Providence, Rhode Island, on May 17, 1793. In it, Hopkins expressed his optimism that freed American slaves could return to Africa to spread Christianity.

**Original Document**

We may hope, that all this dark and dreadful scene will not only have an end, but is designed by the Most High to be the means of introducing the gospel among the nations in Africa; that those who have embraced the gospel while among us, with all who have been, or may be, in some good measure civilized and instructed, will, by our assistance, return to Africa, and spread the light of the gospel in that now dark part of the world, and propagate those arts, and that science, which shall recover them from that ignorance and barbarity which now prevail, to be a civilized, Christian and happy people, making as great improvement in all useful knowledge, and in the practice of righteousness, benevolence, and piety, as has yet been done by any people on earth, and much greater. Thus all this past and present evil which the Africans have suffered by the slave trade, and the slavery to which so many of them have been reduced, may be the occasion of an over-balancing good; and it may hereafter appear, as it has in the case of Joseph being sold a slave into Egypt, and the oppression and slavery of the Israelites by the Egyptians, that though the slave traders have really meant and done that which is evil, yet God has designed it all for good.

**Adapted Version**

We hope this dark and dreadful practice of slavery will have an end. Perhaps God designed it as a way to introduce the gospel into Africa. There are Africans here who have embraced the gospel and who are, to some extent, civilized and instructed. We can help them return to Africa to spread the light of the gospel in that now dark part of the world. They can promote the art and science that will overcome the ignorance and barbarity prevailing there. They can turn the people of Africa into a civilized, Christian, and happy people. In time, Africans may achieve great, or even greater, improvements than others in useful knowledge and in righteousness, benevolence, and piety. Thus, all the evil that Africans have suffered by the slave trade and slavery may bring about an over-balancing good. As with the slavery of the Israelites by the Egyptians, it may be that while the slave traders have done evil, yet God has designed it all for good.

Original Document Source: Samuel Hopkins, "A Discourse upon the Slave Trade and the Slavery of the Africans," in *The Works of Samuel Hopkins, D. D.* . . . , vol. 2 (Boston, MA: Doctrinal Trace and Book Society, 1852), 607.

Daniel Coker was an African American Methodist missionary. Early in 1820, he was among eighty-six emigrants sent to Africa by the American Colonization Society to help establish what would become Liberia. The ACS sent these pioneers to the British colony of Sierra Leone, but the plan was for them to settle their own colony just to the south, at Sherbro Island. This account is from Coker's own journal for the dates March 20 and 21, 1820.

### Original Document

As we sail near the shore of Sherbro island, we can see the little towns on the shore, eight and ten houses together, built round and thatched with grass. The natives sit naked on the shore, looking on us with surprise as we sail. The trees around the houses look beautiful indeed. We have just got in sight of Mr. Kezzel's where we expect to stay during the rainy season. We can see Mr. Kezzel walking on the beach, waiting to receive us. O God! thy name be praised, that it is not a lion, a tyger, or company of slave traders, that we first see—which might have been the case. When we came to shore, we were gladly received. Mr. Kezzel had erected some small houses, or huts, in case we should come from America, and perhaps arrive in the rainy season, that we could stay in these till we could get land and build houses. . . .

I find John Kezzel to be a short, dark man; African born; reads and speaks English well; a man of information; I believe that he has more than any we have brought with us. I think he is able to give us all counsel. I conversed with him to-day on christian experience, and found that he professed that he had been converted. I was much edified by our conversation. Few coloured men that I have met with can excel him in quoting scripture. He is considered by the natives a head-man, and his influence is great. He has built a small meeting house in his town, and preaches in it himself, to his little society. He is no friend to division among us. He wishes Mr. Bacon, himself, and me, to be closely united, and to keep our respective societies, as much like one as possible. We are making arrangements to that amount. We have not, or should not, come here to establish sects and parties; but build up Christ's kingdom. Darkness has covered this land, and gross darkness the minds of these people. There has been a message sent to the kings and chiefs, informing them that we were come, and for the palavers [conferences] to meet at Mr. Kezzel's. But these men must have their own time; they can't be hurried. I expect that we shall realize many difficulties before our palavers are over.

Original Document Source: Daniel Coker, *Journal of Daniel Coker, A Descendant of Africa*. . . (Baltimore, MD: Edward J. Coale, 1820), 33–34. Available from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture's website.



## James Madison on Racial Disparity

Former U.S. president James Madison favored a program to gradually free slaves, pay their owners their full value, and colonize the emancipated in Africa. In this excerpt of a letter to Robert J. Evans, Madison expressed his opinion that racial animosity between whites and blacks in American society required the removal of people of color.

**Original Document**

To be consistent with existing and probably unalterable prejudices in the U.S. the freed blacks ought to be permanently removed beyond the region occupied by or allotted to a White population. The objections to a thorough incorporation of the two people are, with most of the Whites insuperable; and are admitted by all of them to be very powerful. If the blacks, strongly marked as they are by Physical & lasting peculiarities, be retained amid the Whites, under the degrading privation of equal rights political or social, they must be always dissatisfied with their condition as a change only from one to another species of oppression; always secretly confederated agst. the ruling & privileged class; and always uncontrou- lled by some of the most cogent motives to moral and respectable conduct. The character of the free blacks, even where their legal condition is least affected by their colour, seems to put these truths beyond question. . . .

But the views of the Society are limited to the case of blacks already free, or who may be *gratuitously* emancipated. To provide a commensurate remedy for the evil, the plan must be extended to the great Mass of blacks, and must embrace a fund sufficient to induce the Master as well as the slave to concur in it. Without the concurrence of the Master, the benefit will be very limited as it relates to the Negroes; . . . and essentially defective, as it relates to the U. States; and the concurrence of Masters, must, for the most part, be obtained by purchase.

CONTINUED

### **Adapted Version**

Given the lasting prejudices of people here, freed blacks should be removed. White objections to living with blacks are very powerful. Given their physical differences from whites, blacks here will always live under a degrading denial of equal political or social rights. They will always be dissatisfied. Freed blacks will see their condition as a change only from one kind of oppression to another. They will secretly oppose the ruling and privileged class. They will never feel strong motives to moral and respectable conduct. The character of free blacks now, even where their legal condition is least affected by their color, seems to prove these truths. . . .

But the Society's plan is limited to free blacks or slaves whose owners decide on their own to free them. To truly remove the evil, the plan must include the great mass of blacks. It must provide a fund large enough to convince the master as well as the slave to accept it. Without this, the benefit will be very limited as it relates both to the Negroes and to the United States. The masters will only agree if their slaves are purchased.

Original Document Source: James Madison to Robert J. Evans, 15 June 1819, in *The Writings of James Madison*, vol. 8, edited by Gaillard Hunt (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 439–447. Available from the Online Library of Liberty website.

## Robert Goodloe Harper on Slavery and Colonization

Robert Goodloe Harper was a political leader first in South Carolina and then in Maryland. He was also a key advocate in favor of colonization as an answer to the problem of slavery in the United States. These passages are from a letter he wrote to Elias B. Caldwell, secretary of the American Colonization Society, on August 20, 1817.

**Original Document**

You may manumit the slave, but you cannot make him a white man. He still remains a negro or a mulatto. The mark and the recollection of his origin and former state still adhere to him; the feelings produced by that condition, in his own mind and in the minds of the whites, still exist; he is associated by his colour, and by these recollections and feelings, with the class of slaves; and a barrier is thus raised between him and the whites, that is between him and the free class, which he can never hope to transcend. With the hope he gradually loses the desire. The debasement which was at first compulsory, has now become habitual and voluntary. The incitement to good conduct and exertion, which arises from the hope of raising himself or his family in the world, is a stranger to his breast. . . .

But it is not in themselves merely that the free people of color are a nuisance and burden. They contribute greatly to the corruption of the slaves, and to aggravate the evils of their condition, by rendering them idle discontented and disobedient. . . . The slave seeing his free companion live in idleness, or subsist, however scantily or precariously, by occasional desultory employment, is apt to grow discontented with his own condition, and to regard as tyranny and injustice the authority which compels him to labour. . . .

Removal to a country where they might obtain all the advantages of freedom, would be a great blessing, and would soon be so considered by the slaves, the hope of deserving and obtaining it would be a great solace to their sufferings, and a powerful incitement to good conduct. It would thus tend to make them happier and better before it came, and to fit them better for usefulness and happiness afterwards.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

You can free the slave, but you cannot make him a white man. He still remains a negro or a mulatto. His awareness of his origin and former state still remain with him. The feelings this produces in him and in whites still exist. His color and his recollections link him with the class of slaves. A barrier is thus raised between him and the free class of whites. It is a barrier he can never hope to overcome. Without this hope, he gradually loses that desire. The debasement once forced on him becomes habitual and voluntary. He feels no motive to good conduct and exertion, which would arise from the hope of raising himself or his family in the world. . . .

Free people of color are themselves a nuisance and burden. But they also help corrupt the slaves as well. They add to the evils of the slave's condition by inspiring them to be idle, discontented, and disobedient. . . . The slave sees his free companion living in idleness, or surviving, however poorly, by occasional labor. This adds to his discontent with his own condition. It leads him to regard as tyranny and injustice the authority which compels him to labor. . . .

It would be a blessing to blacks to send them to a country where they might benefit from real freedom. Not only free blacks, but slaves also would see it that way. The hope of earning it would ease their sufferings greatly. It would be a powerful incentive to good conduct. It would tend to make them happier and better before it came, and it would prepare them better for usefulness and happiness afterwards.

Original Document Source: Robert Goodloe Harper to Elias B. Caldwell, 20 August 1817, in *The Evils of Necessity: Robert Goodloe Harper and the Moral Dilemma of Slavery*, edited by Eric Robert Papenfuss (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1997), 100–108.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

2.5

## Ebenezer Burgess Speech on Attitudes toward African Americans

Ebenezer Burgess was a Massachusetts clergyman active in the American Colonization Society. In an 1818 speech to the ACS, he dealt with white attitudes toward blacks, including the attitudes of some in the ACS itself.

### Original Document

The elevation of the character of the free people of colour, who are now in this country, is another inducement to their colonization in Africa.—They have not here a fair opportunity to show themselves men. Their minds are, in some degree, shackled from childhood. They have not the same motives to improvement, nor the same encouragement to honourable exertion, as others born in this land. Their debasement and subordination can afford us no pleasure. The principal ground of their inferiority is acknowledged to be a matter of prejudice. But the time when colour will not be a ground of prejudice in this country, is not near. A distinction, then, painful and injurious to them, and no source of pleasure to us, will for a long period be inseparable from their residence with us. Having in some sense been accessory to this state of things, we ought to be willing, and are willing, to assist some of them to change their condition.

### Adapted Version

Free people of color . . . do not have a fair chance to show themselves as men. Their minds are shackled from childhood. They have no reason to improve themselves, no encouragement to engage in honorable effort as do others born in this land. We get no satisfaction from debasing and subordinating them. Prejudice is what leads us to see them as inferior. But the time when this prejudice about color will end is not near. A painful and injurious distinction will then be with black Americans for a long time, even though it gives no pleasure to us. Since we have helped bring this state of things about, we should be willing and are willing to help some of them to change their condition.

Original Document Source: Ebenezer Burgess, *Address to the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States* (Washington, DC: Davis and Force, 1818), in *Slavery in the United States, Issues and Controversies in American History*, edited by Jeff Forret and Ballard C. Campbell (New York: Facts on File, 2012), 145–146.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

2.6

## James Forten and Russel Perrott on Colonization

James Forten and Russel Perrott were well known antislavery spokesmen in the free African American community of Philadelphia. For a time, Forten supported colonization. However, at a meeting of African Americans at Philadelphia's Bethel Church, he and Perrott expressed their deep doubts about colonization in a joint address on August 10, 1817. Available online from the BlackPast.org website.

**Original Document**

Every year, many of us have restored to us by the gradual, but certain march of the cause of abolition—parents, from whom we have been long separated—wives and children, whom we had left in servitude—and brothers, in blood as well as in early sufferings, from whom we had be long parted.

But if the emancipation of our kindred shall, when the plan of colonization shall go into effect, be attended with transportation to a distant land, and shall be granted on no other condition; the consolation for our past sufferings and of those of our colour, who are in slavery, which have hitherto been, and under the present situation of things, would continue to be afforded to us and to them, will cease forever. The cords, which now connect them with us will be stretched by the distance to which their ends will be carried until they break; and all the sources of happiness, which affection and connection, and blood bestow, will be ours or theirs no more. . . .

To those of our brethren who shall be left behind, there will be assured perpetual slavery and augmented sufferings.—Diminished in numbers the slave population of the southern states, which by its magnitude alarms its proprietors, will be easily secured. Those among their bondmen, who feel that they should be free, by rights which all mankind have from God and from nature, and who thus may become dangerous to the quiet of their masters, will be sent to the colony; and the tame and submissive will be retained, and subjected to increased rigour. Year after year will witness these means to assure safety and submission among their slaves; and the southern masters will colonize only those whom it may be dangerous to keep among them. The bondage of a large portion of our brethren will thus be rendered perpetual.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

Every year, the slow pace of abolition has restored to us long parted parents, wives, children, and brothers in blood and in suffering. All those whom we had left in slavery.

The colonization plan appears to have only the goal of sending our kindred to a distant land. If so, one comfort we have for our past suffering and the suffering of slaves now will be taken from us forever. The bonds that connect our kindred to us will be stretched by distance until they break. All the sources of happiness that flow from affection and connection and blood will be ours or theirs no more. . . .

Those left behind will then face endless slavery and greater suffering. Now, the huge slave population alarms its owners. With fewer numbers, slaves will be easier to control. Those who feel God and nature give them the right to be free, and who could be dangerous, will be sent to the colony. Only the tame and most submissive will be kept here. They will be subjected to harsher control. To maintain this greater submission, southern masters will year after year colonize only those who are dangerous to keep here. The bondage of the rest of our brothers will be made perpetual.

Original Document Source: James Forten and Russel Perrott, "An Address to the Humane and Benevolent Inhabitants of the City and County of Philadelphia" (speech, Philadelphia, PA, August 10, 1817) in *Minutes of the Proceedings of a Special Meeting . . .*, by the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race (Philadelphia, PA: Printed for the Convention, 1818).

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

2.7

## William Jay Report on Colonization

William Jay was the son of John Jay, the first chief justice of the United States. William was active in the abolitionist movement. He was also very critical of the American Colonization Society. The passage here is from his 1835 report, "Slavery in America or an Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Colonization, and the American Antislavery Societies." Just before the passage shown here, Jay quoted several members of the ACS speaking negatively about the free African Americans they wanted to send to Liberia.

Original Document

We may here remark, that the tone of these extracts is very different from that used when the speaker desires to excite sympathy for the wretched. We are told that these people are vicious and debased; but no hint is given that their vice and debasement are the result of sinful prejudices and cruel laws. No appeal is made to the spirit of Christianity to pour oil and wine into the wound of suffering humanity. We are not reminded that these wretches are our brethren, for whom Christ died. Nothing is omitted to impress us with a sense of the depth of misery into which they are plunged; but for what object are these frightful pictures presented to us? Is it to urge us to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to instruct the ignorant, and to reform the wicked? No, but to transport them to Africa!

To an unsophisticated Christian it would seem that the true way of relieving the wretchedness and vice of these people would be, first to protest against their unrighteous oppression, and to procure the repeal of those laws which forbid their instruction; and then to make them partakers of the blessings of education and religion. But far from the Colonization Society are all such old-fashioned ways of doing good. Instead of protesting against the causes of all this misery, THE SOCIETY EXCUSES AND JUSTIFIES THE OPPRESSION OF THE FREE NEGROES, AND THE PREJUDICES AGAINST THEM.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

The tone of these comments by ACS members is very different from what a speaker would use to arouse sympathy for the wretched. We are told that these people are vicious and debased, yet no hint is given that their vice and debasement are the result of sinful prejudices and cruel laws. No appeal is made to have the spirit of Christianity soothe and heal the wounds of suffering humanity. We are not reminded that these wretches are our brothers for whom Christ died. Every effort is made to make clear the depth of the misery they suffer. But for what purpose? Is it to encourage us to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to instruct the ignorant, and to reform the wicked? No, the sole aim is to send them all to Africa!

An ordinary Christian might think that the true way to relieve the wretchedness and vice of these people would be, first, to protest against their unrighteous oppression. It might then be to seek the repeal of laws that forbid their instruction. It might be then to give them the blessings of education and religion. But such old-fashioned ways of doing good are far from what the Colonization Society has in mind. Instead of protesting against the causes of all this misery, THE SOCIETY EXCUSES AND JUSTIFIES THE OPPRESSION OF THE FREE NEGROES AND THE PREJUDICES AGAINST THEM.

Original Document Source: William Jay, "Slavery in America or an Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Colonization, and the American Antislavery Societies," in *The Monthly Review, from September to December Inclusive*, vol. 3, edited by Ralph Griffiths and George Edward Griffiths (London: G. Henderson, 1835), 195–196.



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

2.8

**Robert James Turnbull Essay on the  
American Colonization Society**

Robert James Turnbull was a lawyer, plantation owner, and writer in South Carolina. He was a strong defender of slavery. Here he expresses his concerns about the American Colonization Society.

**Original Document**

The scheme at the outset, was thought to be so visionary, that the wonder was expressed, that so many intelligent members of Congress, at Washington, could be persuaded to attend the first meeting. The idea, that a class of people, who in the Northern and Eastern States, were enjoying in common with the white inhabitants, so great a portion of civil liberty, should voluntarily exile themselves, and encounter all the diseases of an African climate, and the hostility of savage neighbours, was so preposterous, that many persons suspected, that there was more meant by this Society, than met either the eye or the ear. . . . To all questions, as to the true design of the Society, the reply was, that colonization of the free persons of colour was the sole object. With many persons, however, from what accidentally transpired at the time, the suspicion still existed, that a Colonization Society was but another name for an *Abolition* Society; and . . . from the day of its institution until the present time, the Society has been publicly assailed by some, as a Society of doubtful character, and by others, as having a favourite ulterior object, to wit, the emancipation and removal in due time, of all the slaves of the United States—a scheme so utterly impracticable for any private Society to accomplish, and to which it is doubted, whether the National Government itself, with all its resources, is competent; that it is difficult to decide, whether, in the contemplation and formation of the Colonization Society, folly, or fanaticism, or wickedness, has had the greatest influence.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

From the start, the Colonization Society plan seemed too visionary. It is amazing so many intelligent members of Congress attended the first meeting. The idea that free people of color would willingly go to Africa seemed absurd. After all, free blacks in the North enjoyed a great deal of civil liberty. Why should they expose themselves to all the diseases of Africa's climate? Why risk the hostility of savage neighbors there? Many suspected there was more to this Society than its stated goals. The reply to such doubts was always that the only aim was the colonization of the free persons of color. Yet many still believe this Colonization Society is really an Abolition Society. From the day it began, many criticized it as of doubtful character. Others said its secret aim was the emancipation and removal of all the slaves in the United States. No private society could accomplish this. It is doubtful the national government itself could do it. For this reason, it is hard to decide whether folly or fanaticism or wickedness had more to do with the formation of the Colonization Society.

Original Document Source: Robert J. Turnbull, *The Crisis; or, Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government* (Charleston, SC: A. E. Miller, 1827), 122.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

2.9

## Frederick Douglass on Colonization

The former slave and great abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass often spoke out against colonization. This passage is from "Colonization," an article he wrote and published January 26, 1849, in his abolitionist newspaper, *The North Star*.

**Original Document**

We are of the opinion that the *free* colored people generally mean to live in America, and not in Africa; and to appropriate a large sum for our removal, would merely be a waste of the public money. We do not mean to go to Liberia. Our minds are made up to live here if we can, or die here if we must; so every attempt to remove us will be, as it ought to be, labor lost. Here we are, and here we shall remain. While our brethren are in bondage on these shores, it is idle to think of inducing any considerable number of the free colored people to quit this for a foreign land.

For two hundred and twenty-eight years has the colored man toiled over the soil of America, under a burning sun and a driver's lash—plowing, planting, reaping, that white men might roll in ease, their hands unhardened by labor, and their brows unmoistened by the waters of genial toil; and now that the moral sense of mankind is beginning to revolt at this system of foul treachery and cruel wrong, and is demanding its overthrow, the mean and cowardly oppressor is meditating plans to expel the colored man entirely from the country. Shame upon the guilty wretches that dare propose, and all that countenance such a proposition. We live here—have lived here—have a right to live here, and mean to live here.

*Original Document Source:* Frederick Douglass, "Colonization," in *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, edited by Philip S. Foner and Yuval Taylor (New York: Lawrence Hill, 1999), 126.



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

2.IO

## William Burke's Letter on Africa

William Burke and his wife, Rosabella, were slaves belonging to General Robert E. Lee. Before the Civil War, Lee freed most of his slaves. He helped pay the expenses for William and Rosabella to move to Liberia, where William became a Presbyterian minister. This passage is from a letter William wrote to Mary Custis Lee, General Lee's wife, on February 20, 1859.

**Original Document**

I do not pretend to say, nor would I imply, that one can get every comfort in Africa that they can get in America; far from it. Persons coming to Africa should remember that it is a new country, and everything has to be created, and they should naturally expect to find things inconvenient and up-hill. The country has the elements within it to give to man everything that he could possibly wish, but as yet its resources have not been developed, and persons coming to Africa should expect to go through many hardships, such as are common to the first settlement in any new country. I expected it, and was not disappointed nor discouraged at anything that I met with; and so far from being dissatisfied with the country, I bless the Lord that ever my lot was cast in this part of the earth. . . .

I shall write to my friends and relations at Arlington, not to advise them to come to Africa when they may have it in their power to do so, but to tell them that it is a fine country, a goodly land, and if they like what I like, and can be satisfied with what satisfies me, they will never have cause to regret having come to Africa. Many have come to this country through the advice and persuasion of their friends living out here, when they have become so dissatisfied that they were no comfort to their friends nor themselves, until finally they would manage to get back to the United States. Seeing so much of this forbids me ever from advising any one to come to Africa. Every one that comes to Africa should be a volunteer, determined to take everything just as they find it, and be satisfied.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

I won't suggest you can get every comfort in Africa that you can in America. Far from it. People should remember that Liberia is a new country. Everything has to be created. One should naturally expect to find things inconvenient and uphill. The country has what is needed to provide all anyone could wish, but its resources have not yet been developed. Persons coming to Africa should expect to go through many of the hardships common to the first settlement in any new country. I expected it, and I was not discouraged at anything I met with. I am not dissatisfied. In fact, I bless the Lord that my lot was cast in this part of the earth. . . .

I am not going to tell my friends and relations at Arlington to come to Africa if they can. But I will tell them it is a fine country, a goodly land. And I will tell them that if they like what I like, and can be satisfied with what satisfies me, they will never regret coming to Africa. Many who have been persuaded by friends here to come to this country have become dissatisfied. They were then no comfort to their friends nor to themselves, and finally they manage to get back to the United States. Since I have seen this happen, I can't advise anyone to come to Africa. Everyone who comes to Africa should come as a volunteer. They should come determined to take everything just as they find it, and be satisfied.

*Original Document Source:* William Burke to Mary Custis Lee, 20 February 1859, in *The African Repository*, vol. 35, by the American Colonization Society (Washington, DC: C. Alexander, 1859), 213–215.

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Study Primary Sources 2.2 and 2.6. Daniel Coker and James Forten were free African Americans with two very different attitudes about colonization. Pretend you are Coker. You have just read Forten's comments in Primary Source 2.6. Write a letter explaining your views to him. Now, write a reply from Forten. Share your two letters with the class in a discussion about these two points of view.
- ◆ Study Primary Sources 2.7 and 2.8. Robert James Turnbull's *The Crisis* gained a great deal of attention in South Carolina when it was first published in 1827. Pretend you are Jay and write a newspaper editorial commenting on Turnbull's views about slavery and the American Colonization Society. It may help in planning your editorial to find Turnbull's essay and Jay's report on the Internet and read more of what each has to say.
- ◆ Of the ten primary sources for this lesson, choose six whose authors you will invite to take part in a town-hall debate about the colonization of African Americans. Pretend it is the 1830s and that all six of your authors are living at that same time. As a way to plan the debate, write out one key question for each of the six debaters. List your questions, and, after each one, write a paragraph explaining why you chose that question for that particular person.

### Taking Action

- ◆ Using the library and the Internet, do some research into today's Liberia. Prepare a brief report to the class on the biggest one or two issues facing the nation now. Divide your report so as to look at the history, the economy, the geography, and the government and political system there now. Prepare a brief talk, a PowerPoint presentation, or other way to communicate your findings about the major problems facing Liberia today. Then, write a letter to the U.S. ambassador to Liberia presenting your findings. Be sure to inform the class of any response you get from the ambassador.
- ◆ Use the work done in the above activity. Based on your report, and any response from the U.S. ambassador, prepare a brief report to send to the member of the House of Representatives for your congressional district. Express your concerns and why you think Liberia should matter to U.S. policy makers. Ask your representative for his or her views on Liberia and your report. Be sure to inform the class of any response you get from your representative.



## American Colonization Movement Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a relevant way to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development/Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in-depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

## Primary Source Bibliography

- 2.1: Hopkins, Samuel. *The Works of Samuel Hopkins, D. D. . . .* Vol. 2. Boston: Doctrinal Trace and Book Society, 1852.
- 2.2: Coker, Daniel. *Journal of Daniel Coker, A Descendant of Africa. . . .* Baltimore, MD: Edward J. Coale, 1820.
- 2.3: Hunt, Gaillard, ed. *The Writings of James Madison*. Vol 8. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.
- 2.4: Papenfuss, Eric Robert. *The Evils of Necessity: Robert Goodloe Harper and the Moral Dilemma of Slavery*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1997.
- 2.5: Forret, Jeff, and Ballard C. Campbell, eds. *Slavery in the United States*. Issues and Controversies in American History. New York: Facts on File, 2012.
- 2.6: American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race. *Minutes of the Proceedings of a Special Meeting. . . .* Philadelphia, PA: Printed for the Convention, 1818.
- 2.7: Griffiths, Ralph, and George Edward Griffiths. *The Monthly Review, from September to December Inclusive*. Vol. 3. London: G. Henderson, 1835.
- 2.8: Turnbull, Robert James. *The Crisis; or, Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government*. Charleston, SC: A. E. Miller, 1827.
- 2.9: Douglass, Frederick. *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Yuval Taylor. New York: Lawrence Hill, 1999.
- 2.10: American Colonization Society. *The African Repository*. Vol. 35. Washington, DC: C. Alexander, 1859.

## Sources for Further Study

Doak, Robin S. *Liberia*. Countries around the World. Chicago, IL: Heinemann-Raintree, 2012.

Douglass, Frederick. *Great Speeches by Frederick Douglass*. Edited by James Daley. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2013.

Thomas, Able C. *The Gospel of Slavery: A Primer of Freedom*. New York: T. W. Strong, 1864.

Yancey, Diane. *The Abolition of Slavery*. Understanding American History. San Diego, CA: Reference Point, 2012.



# Nullification

*Was It about States' Rights or Slavery?*



## Overview

### Introduction

In 1832, a special state convention in South Carolina “nullified” a federal tariff law. This meant the state could refuse to enforce that law inside its own borders. South Carolinians claimed that the tariff law hurt the entire South and helped other sections of the United States unfairly. For that reason, they said it was unconstitutional. They hoped the rest of the South would go along with them in nullifying the law. The South did not, but if it had, the entire region might have left the Union and the Civil War might have started in 1832 instead of 1860. Why did South Carolina push the nation to the edge of disunion? Was it just about the tariff and a state’s right to decide about such laws for itself, or was it about more? Was it about what Southerners called their “peculiar institution” or their “domestic institution”? That is, was it about slavery? In this lesson, students will work with short passages from ten primary sources in an effort to answer this question. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the compelling question.

### Objective

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about the nullification crisis. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of views represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time
- ◆ **D2.HIS.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.CIV.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.ECO.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.
- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.



- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

---

### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

**Compelling Question**

Was nullification about states' rights, or was it about slavery?

**Preparation**

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.

**Asking Questions about Nullification**

*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

**Day One**

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the unit's overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this unit. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources, and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.

**Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence**

*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

**Day Two**

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group's compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.

- 
7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about nullification from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, a PowerPoint, or another related type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### Day Three

8. Each group will deliver its presentation. Allow time for class discussion following each presentation, and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### Communicating Results and Taking Action

*This part of the task stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the unit's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the Nullification Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### Communicating Results

- ◆ Have students review Primary Sources 3.7, 3.9, and 3.10. Students will write a long fictional letter as Rachel Lazarus, incorporating the reactions of Lazarus to two other primary sources in this unit.
- ◆ Have students review Primary Sources 3.1, 3.2, 3.6, and 3.7. Students will write a short essay in response to comments made by John C. Calhoun in Primary Source 3.4 that explains how different individuals would respond to Calhoun's comments.
- ◆ Students will review their history textbook's account of the nullification crisis. They will then choose three primary sources from this lesson that they think add details or ideas about the crisis that might improve the textbook's treatment of this important turning point in U.S. history.

#### Taking Action

- ◆ Conflicts between state government and the federal government arise constantly in American political life. Today, such disputes are common over issues such as marijuana laws, voter registration rules, the death penalty, and various environmental issues. Have students choose one such conflict that seems important to people in your state. They should research the conflict and summarize both sides of the argument in a brief talk to the class. Students should provide copies of at least two articles on the topic to the rest of the class. Have the class attempt to resolve the argument using the argument from both sides. Ask them to follow through by taking part in the next activity described here.



- ◆ Following the previous activity, have students write a letter or draw an editorial cartoon on the topic and send it to the editor of a local news source. As a class, they should submit the letters and cartoons and ask the newspaper or other news source to consider publishing all or several of them as a group. Have them invite readers to respond with thoughts of their own. Students should collect any of these responses and write a letter as a class to your congressional representative to weigh in on the issue, using the editorial cartoons or letters, the reader responses, and the summaries of both sides of the issue to present the information to the representative.

## Introductory Essay

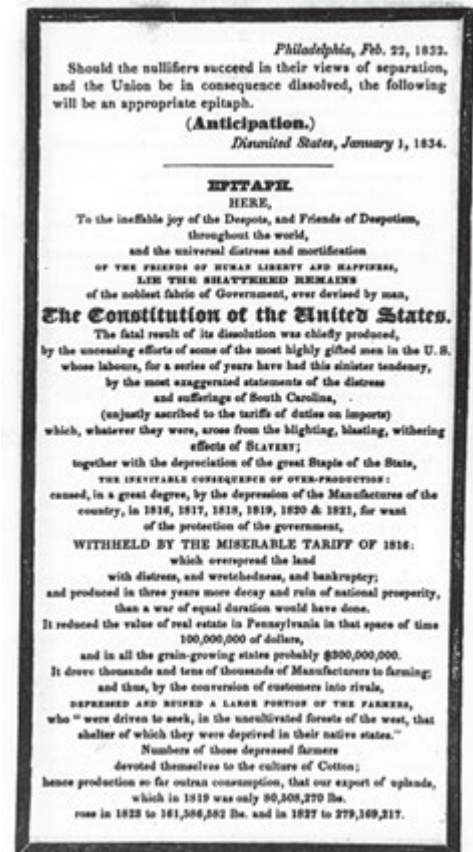
# Nullification

In 1832, the state of South Carolina came very close to breaking up the union.

In that year, a special state convention in South Carolina “nullified” a federal tariff law. That is, the state said the law would not go into effect in South Carolina. It claimed the U.S. Constitution itself allowed each state to decide what federal laws to obey. That is, it had a right to “nullify” a law it decided was unconstitutional. This meant the state could refuse to enforce that law inside its own borders. South Carolinians claimed that the tariff law hurt the entire South and helped other sections of the United States unfairly. For that reason, they said it was unconstitutional. South Carolina hoped the rest of the South would go along with them in nullifying the law, but it did not. However, if the South had, the entire region might have left the union and the Civil War might have started in 1832 instead of 1860.

Why did South Carolina push the nation to the edge of disunion? Was it just about the tariff and a state’s right to decide about such laws for itself, or was it about more? Was it about what Southerners called their “peculiar institution” or their “domestic institution”? That is, was it about slavery?

To answer that question, you first need to understand the tariff issue and how people viewed it in South Carolina. Tariffs are duties, or taxes, placed on foreign imports. In the 1820s, Congress supported much higher tariffs on imported manufactured goods. Tariffs raised money for the government, money that many wanted to use for so-called internal improvements (such as building roads or canals). These high tariffs forced foreign importers to raise their prices to cover the extra cost of the tariff. This meant American manufacturers could also raise their prices and still outsell their foreign competitors.

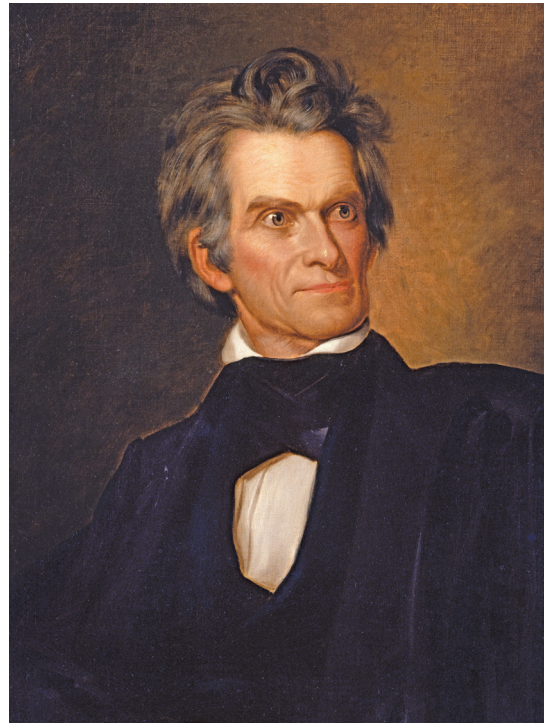


*A mock epitaph written for the U.S. Constitution in response to the nullification crisis*

The industrial era was just getting under way in the early 1800s. Most manufacturing centers were in New England and in middle states, such as Pennsylvania and New York, and they benefitted most directly from the tariffs. The West also benefitted, but mostly from the money raised for internal improvements. The West needed those roads and canals badly. The South, however, did not benefit from the tariffs at all. Its key products were rice, cotton, and sugar, which were produced on plantations with slave labor. Southern planters sold these goods to Northerners, but they sold much more of their cotton crop to England. In return, they relied heavily on imports for all kinds of manufactured goods. As a result, the tariff hurt them in two ways. It forced an increase in the prices of all the things they needed to buy, and, because it hurt British merchants selling goods here, it threatened to reduce what Great Britain would be able to buy from Southern planters.

In 1828, various groups pushed Congress to raise the tariff to the highest point ever. The result was a bloated tariff that Southerners called the Tariff of Abominations. It was against this tariff that South Carolina protested. The leader in this battle was then-U.S. vice president John C. Calhoun. Calhoun supported the idea that states had the right to nullify laws that went against the Constitution. Calhoun argued that the Constitution only allowed tariffs to raise revenue for the government; it did *not* allow tariffs meant to favor some businesses over others or some sections of the United States over others.

South Carolina planters were hurt by the high tariffs; however, by 1832, another big issue was starting to worry these planters—slavery and the growing opposition to it in the North. Abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison were speaking out more forcefully against slavery, the American Colonization Society was seeking federal funds to help send free African Americans to the African colony of Liberia, and, in 1831, the slave uprising led by Nat Turner terrified people throughout the South. In the world at large, antislavery feeling was growing. Great Britain was also about to abolish slavery in the British Empire.



*John C. Calhoun*





*Rice plantation*

Planters in the low country of South Carolina were especially worried about all this. They had huge numbers of African American slaves, and their fabulous rice and cotton wealth was based on the work of these slaves. It is true, the tariff hurt them, but what worried them more was what it implied about federal power in general. Their argument was that the tariff violated the Constitution and harmed their property. If the tariff could harm their property that way, what was to stop the federal government from harming their slave property by abolishing slavery?

Was the nullification crisis mainly about the tariff, or was it mostly about slavery? In this lesson, you will examine a small sample of primary sources on this South Carolina nullification conflict. These sources will provide evidence to help you answer this question. Interpreting the sources is not easy. Keep in mind that they are from a variety of points of view about the conflict. Together, they should help you better understand the nullification crisis and the various reasons behind it.

Image Sources: Epitaph. By Mathew Carey, 1832, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USCZ62-42778  
John C. Calhoun. By George Peter Alexander Healy. Circa 1845, via Wikimedia Commons  
Rice Plantation. By iStock.com/andipantz



## History Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

## *Nullification*

Your group's task is to explore the history of the nullification crisis. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

One historian calls the nullification crisis a “prelude to the Civil War.”

Explain what he means and why you do or do not agree with him.

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 3.2, 3.7, and 3.9.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Long before the American Revolution, the South had come to rely on slave labor. By the late 1700s, however, many thought slavery might fade away in the South, as it was doing in the North. The cotton gin had made it much cheaper to produce short-staple cotton, and, as England's textile factories grew, its demand for cotton soared. The South then came to depend on selling increasing amounts of cotton to England. Planters also purchased many of the goods they needed from England. Cotton growers worried about anything that could hurt their open trade with that powerhouse economy, but businesses in the North saw England's low-priced goods as a threat. They favored tariffs on those goods, and the South hated those tariffs. As the tariffs rose, so also did resentment in the South.

At the same time, slavery came under increasing attack in the North. Some wanted to abolish it. Others sought at least to bottle it up and keep it from expanding westward. In response, the South reacted angrily. It saw in the tariff the growing power of the North, and many Southerners felt that

the North's growing power would eventually be used to attack slavery. As a result, Southerners defended slavery more boldly and forcefully than ever. They also began to seek political means to stop the North from thwarting its slave system. In the end, this conflict split the union apart. It brought on the Civil War.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.2

---

---

---

Primary Source 3.7

---

---

---

Primary Source 3.9

---

---

---

## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

One historian calls the nullification crisis a "prelude to the Civil War."

Explain what he means and why you do or do not agree with him.

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## GROUP MEMBERS:

## *Nullification*

Your group's task is to explore the civics of the nullification crisis. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

John C. Calhoun viewed the Constitution as a “compact.” Nationalists like Daniel Webster and Judge Story disagreed. Why was this issue so important in the nullification crisis?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The U.S. Constitution was formed by men representing twelve of the thirteen states who met in Philadelphia. (Rhode Island did not send anyone to this gathering.) Once the Constitution was written, it was sent to the states for their approval. Each state held a convention that voted for or against the Constitution. For the Constitution to go into effect, nine of these states had to ratify it—that is, vote to accept it. John C. Calhoun used these facts to back up his theory that the Constitution was mainly a “compact” agreed to by the states; it was not superior in authority to the states, and since the states had agreed to this compact, they had the final say on whether a federal law or act violated it.

U.S. Supreme Court chief justice John Marshall did not agree. Under his leadership, the Supreme Court strongly asserted its right to have the final say on what was or was not constitutional. The Constitution declares its rules and all other federal laws to be the “supreme law of the land.”

Calhoun's opponents took this to mean that state laws and decisions are not equal in authority to the Constitution. In their view, the only way to change the Constitution was to amend it—according to its own rules for doing that.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.4

---

---

---

Primary Source 3.5

---

---

---

Primary Source 3.6

---

---

---

## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

John C. Calhoun viewed the Constitution as a “compact.” Nationalists like Daniel Webster and Judge Story disagreed. Why was this issue so important in the nullification crisis?



State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Economics Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

---

### *Nullification*

Your group's task is to explore the economics of the nullification crisis. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Did the tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s harm the economy of one section of the country and benefit the economy in the other sections?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s were meant to help Northern industry by taxing low-priced imports, mainly from England. Tariffs are taxes that tend to increase the price of imports. Tariffs made it easier for U.S. businesses to sell more and compete better against foreign producers. The tariffs also raised revenues that the government could use to pay for “internal improvements.” Such internal improvements—roads, canals, railroads—would especially help farmers and merchants in the West get their products to market. The South hated the tariffs. Its economy relied mainly on exports of cotton and tobacco to England. The tariffs reduced what the British sold in the United States, which the South said made it harder for the British to earn the dollars they needed to pay for Southern cotton. The tariffs also increased prices on the many goods the South had to buy from others.

The biggest tariff of all was passed in 1828. Southerners called it the Tariff of Abominations, and not all Northern businesses liked it either. Before

it was passed, some Southern lawmakers added higher tariff rates to it on certain raw materials that Northern industries needed. This pushed up the prices of those raw materials to those Northern businesses. The Southern lawmakers may have hoped this would force the North to vote against the entire tariff bill. If this was their goal, the tactic did not work.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.1

---



---



---

Primary Source 3.2

---



---



---

Primary Source 3.3

---



---



---

## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Did the tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s harm the economy of one section of the country and benefit the economy in the other sections?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Geography Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

---

### *Nullification*

Your group's task is to explore the geography of the nullification crisis. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

What geographical features of South Carolina help explain its unusually great fears about the tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 3.2, 3.7, and 3.8.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the 1820s, South Carolina was divided into two broad regions. The most settled region was the low-country land along the coast. There, the wealthiest plantation owners grew rice. Some sea-island planters specialized in long-staple luxury cotton. The other region was the up-country region. Farther into the up-country, short-staple cotton and slavery were spreading rapidly in the 1820s.

Low-country planters may have been rich, but they were also fearful. The low country was swampy and full of malaria-carrying mosquitoes. Planters often had to escape the region in the summer and leave huge numbers of slaves under the direction of overseers. The diseases of the area were not quite as harmful to black slaves, but they were harmful enough. Death rates were high among the slave population, and planters had to keep replacing the dead by buying more slaves. During these summer months, very few white people were present. Low-country planters constantly worried about the possibility of slave uprisings while they were away.

Up-country planters, on the other hand, did not have to leave their healthier lands in the summer months. As a result, they were less fearful about slave uprisings. They were, however, even more worried about the economic impact of the tariffs. Together, these two sections combined to express South Carolina's intense fears about the dangers they saw rising all around them in the 1820s and 1830s.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.2

---

---

---

Primary Source 3.7

---

---

---

Primary Source 3.8

---

---

---

## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

What geographical features of South Carolina help explain its unusually great fears about the tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s?



State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will be studying several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special critical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

Since no primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can also help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed in so many words. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.1

## Henry Clay on the Tariff

These passages are from a speech by Henry Clay on the Tariff of 1824. In this speech, Clay defended the tariff as a part of his broader concept of an American system. This system included an active national government helping to develop internal improvements and a national bank to regulate the currency. It also meant increased tariffs to raise revenue and protect U.S. businesses from foreign competition.

**Original Document**

The tariff . . . has been treated as an imposition of burdens upon one part of the community by design, for the benefit of another; as if, in fact, money were taken from the pockets of one portion of the people and put into the pockets of another. But is that a fair representation of it? No man pays the duty assessed on the foreign article by compulsion, but voluntarily; and this voluntary duty, if paid, goes into the common exchequer, for the common benefit of all. . . .

Even if the benefits of the policy were limited to certain section of our country, would it not be satisfactory to behold American industry, wherever situated, active, animated, and thrifty, rather than persevere in a course which renders us subservient to foreign industry? But these benefits are twofold, direct, and collateral, and, in the one shape or the other, they will diffuse themselves throughout the Union. All parts of the Union will participate, more or less, in both. As to the direct benefit, it is probable that the North and the East will enjoy the largest share. But the West and the South will also participate in them. . . . And where the direct benefit does not accrue, that will be enjoyed of supplying the raw material and provisions for the consumption of artisans.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

Some say the tariff places a burden on one part of the society in order to benefit another. It is as if money were taken from one portion of the people and given to another. But is that a fair description? No one is forced to buy a foreign good and pay the duty on it. They buy it voluntarily, and this voluntarily paid duty goes into the government's treasury. There it is used for the common benefit of all. . . .

Suppose the benefits of the tariff were limited to one section of the country only. Wouldn't it still be good for American industry wherever it is to be active, energetic and thrifty, rather than have us all continue to depend on foreign industry? But the benefits from the tariff are twofold. They are direct and more stable. In one form or another, they spread themselves evenly throughout the Union. All parts of the Union participate, more or less, in both. As to the direct benefit, probably the North and East enjoy the largest share. But West and South will also get some direct benefit. . . . And where the benefits are not direct, producers in those areas will benefit from supplying raw materials and other provisions for the consumption of artisans.

*Original Document Source:* Henry Clay, "Speech on the Tariff" in *American Eloquence: A Collection of Speeches and Addresses by the Most Eminent Orators of America*, vol. 2, edited by Frank Moore (New York: D. Appleton, 1895), 305, 316.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.2

## Thomas Cooper on the Tariff

Thomas Cooper was a political philosopher who was president of South Carolina College in the 1820s. On July 2, 1827, he delivered his famous “Value of the Union” address. It first alerted many outside South Carolina as to how much anger was building in the state over the tariff issue.

**Original Document**

The exertions of our opponents are of no common character: every day adds to the force of the enemy, and to the number of those who are in high expectation of obtaining their share in the contributions of the south. We thought it quite enough to have to combat the impositions in favor of the cotton manufacture, the woollen manufacture, the iron manufacture: but now there is not a petty manufacturer in the union from the owner of a spinning factory, to the maker of a hobnail—from the mountains of Vermont to the swamps of the Patapsco, who is not pressing forward to the plunder; and who may not be expected to worry congress with petitions, memorials, and querulous statements for permission to put his hand into the planter’s pockets. . . .

The planting interest, refusing to become the dupes have at length after a series of successful attacks upon them during the last ten years, become the victims of manufacturing monopoly. The avowed object now, is by means of a drilled and managed majority in congress, permanently to force upon us a system, whose effect will be to sacrifice the south to the north, by converting us into colonies and tributaries—to tax *us* for their own emolument—to claim the right of disposing of our honest earnings—to forbid us to buy from our most valuable customers—to irritate into retaliation our foreign purchasers, and thus confine our raw material to the home market—in short to impoverish the planter, and to stretch the purse of the manufacturer.

CONTINUED



### **Adapted Version**

We face no ordinary opponents. Every day, their forces are getting stronger and planning to benefit from the South's wealth. It was bad enough to have to fight the tariffs that favor the cotton manufacturer, the woolen manufacturer, and the iron manufacturer. Now just about every manufacturer wants to impose costs on us—from owners spinning factories to makers of hobnails and from the mountains of Vermont to the swamps of the Patapsco. They can all be expected to pressure Congress with petitions and demands that would put their hands into the planter's pockets.

The planters have refused to become dupes, but after ten years of successful attacks on them, they are now the victims of the manufacturing monopoly. It has a drilled and managed majority in Congress. Its aim is to use that majority to force on us a system that sacrifices the South to the North. It is converting us into colonies by taxing us for their own gain. It claims the right to take from us our honest earnings. It prevents us from buying from our own most valuable customers. It provokes our foreign purchasers into retaliating against us. This confines our raw material to the market inside this nation only. In short, their goal is to impoverish the planter, and to fill up the purse of the manufacturer.

Original Document Source: Thomas Cooper, "Speech of Thomas Cooper" (speech, July 2, 1827), in *The Nullification Era: A Documentary Record*, edited by William W. Freehling (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 21–25.

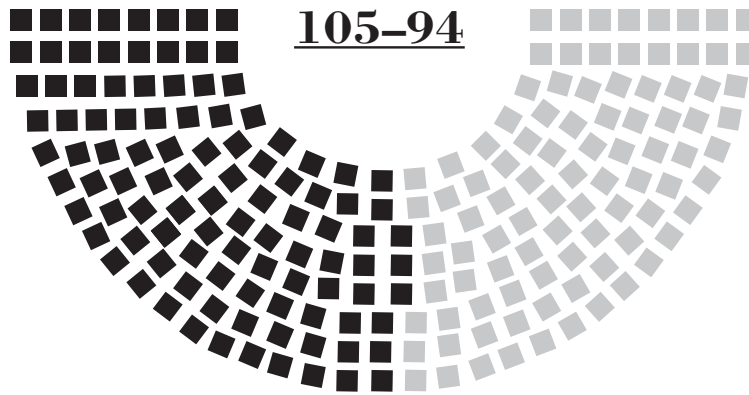


PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.3

## Vote Totals For and Against the Tariff

The Tariff of 1828 came to be known as the Tariff of Abominations. It raised tariff duties on many manufactured goods and more. The bargaining over it in Congress was highly complicated. Some Southern lawmakers seem to have pushed for higher tariffs on raw materials that Northern manufacturers needed. Their hope may have been to anger the manufacturers enough to turn against the tariff entirely. Instead, the tariff rates just got even higher. The West benefitted less from these higher rates. However, Western lawmakers strongly favored the canals and roads (the internal improvements) for which the tariff revenues would help to pay. This chart shows the final House vote on the tariff by section of the country.



House Vote on Tariff of 1828	For	Against
<i>New England</i>	16	23
<i>Middle States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware)</i>	56	6
<i>West (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky)</i>	29	1
<i>South</i>	4	64
<b>Total</b>	105	94
<i>Free States</i>	88	29
<i>Slave States</i>	17	65

Data Source: Civic Impulse, "To Pass H.R. 132 (P. 2471)," GovTrack, <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/20-1/h81>.

John C. Calhoun strongly opposed the Tariff of 1828. He was already developing his ideas about the right of a state to nullify laws it saw as unconstitutional. He stated his case for nullification in his essay "South Carolina Exposition and Protest." However, in 1828, he was still vice president under John Quincy Adams and was running that year to become Andrew Jackson's vice president. He hoped that Jackson would oppose the tariff. For these reasons, he kept his authorship of the exposition article secret. It was, however, widely circulated in South Carolina and elsewhere. This passage is from that essay.

### Original Document

If it be conceded, as it must be by every one who is the least conversant with our institutions, that the sovereign powers delegated are divided between the General and State Governments, and that the latter hold their portion by the same tenure as the former, it would seem impossible to deny to the States the right of deciding on the infractions of their powers, and the proper remedy to be applied for their correction. The right of judging, in such cases, is an essential attribute of sovereignty, of which the States cannot be divested without losing their sovereignty itself, and being reduced to a subordinate corporate condition. In fact, to divide power, and to give to one of the parties the exclusive right of judging of the portion allotted to each, is, in reality, not to divide it at all; and to reserve such exclusive right to the General Government (it matters not by what department to be exercised), is to convert it, in fact, into a great consolidated government, with unlimited powers, and to divest the States, in reality, of all their rights.

. . . But the existence of the right of judging of their powers, so clearly established from the sovereignty of States, as clearly implies a veto or control, within its limits, on the action of the General Government, on contested points of authority; and this very control is the remedy which the Constitution has provided to prevent the encroachments of the General Government on the reserved rights of the States; and by which the distribution of power, between the General and State Governments, may be preserved for ever inviolable, on the basis established by the Constitution. It is thus effectual protection is afforded to the minority, against the oppression of the majority.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

Informed people know that the sovereign powers are divided between the General Government and the state governments. Each holds its powers as strongly as the other. Therefore, each has a right to decide when those powers are being violated and what to do about it. The right to decide this is itself a part of the sovereign power of the states. If they give this up, they become subordinate to the General Government. If only the General Government has this right, there really would be no division of powers. Instead, we would have a great consolidated government with unlimited powers.

... Each state's right to decide when its powers are being violated also implies something else. It implies a veto. That is, it implies state control, within its borders, over the contested actions of the General Government. This is the very remedy the Constitution itself provides to keep the General Government from taking away powers reserved to the states. This maintains the balance of powers. It protects the minority against the oppression of the majority.

*Original Document Source:* John C. Calhoun, "South Carolina Exposition and Protest" (report, South Carolina State House, Columbia, SC, December 19, 1828), in *Constitutional Pluralism in the European Union and Beyond*, edited by Matej Avbelj and Jan Komárek (Oxford, UK: Hart, 2012).



Supreme Court justice Joseph Story held to a nationalist view of the Constitution. That is, he said it was not based on a compact of the states, as Calhoun claimed. In Story's view, it was based on the will of the people as a whole. After all, the Constitution's opening words are, "We the people." Story wrote a primer explaining the Constitution to students in the higher classes of the common schools. This brief passage is from that book.

### Original Document

We shall treat it, not as a mere compact, or league, or confederacy, existing at the mere will of any one or more of the States, during their good pleasure; but, (as it purports on its face to be) as a Constitution of Government, framed and adopted by the people of the United States, and obligatory upon all the States, until it is altered, amended, or abolished by the People, in the manner pointed out in the instrument itself.

### Adapted Version

The Constitution is not a mere compact or confederacy. It does not exist merely for as long as any state or group of states is pleased to accept it. As it says, it was framed and adopted by the people of the United States. It is binding on all the states until it is amended, or abolished, by the people according to the rules the Constitution itself provides.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.6

## Webster's Second Reply to Hayne on the Constitution

In January 1830, the famous Webster-Hayne debate took place in the Senate. Massachusetts senator Daniel Webster argued with South Carolina senator Robert Hayne about tariffs, western-land sales, and state's rights. The two traded speeches over several days. In his second reply to Hayne, Webster spoke against the "compact" theory of the Constitution. This was the theory that Hayne, Calhoun, and other Southerners used to back up their claim that a state could nullify a federal law.

Original Document

He has not shown, it cannot be shown, that the Constitution is a compact between State governments. The Constitution itself, in its very front, refutes that idea; it declares that it is ordained and established *by the people of the United States*. So far from saying that it is established by the governments of the several States, it does not even say that it is established by the people *of the several States*; but it pronounces that it is established by the people of the United States, in the aggregate. The gentleman says, it must mean no more than the people of the several States. Doubtless, the people of the several States, taken collectively, constitute the people of the United States; but it is in this, their collective capacity, it is as all the people of the United States, that they establish the Constitution. So they declare; and words cannot be plainer than the words used.

When the gentleman says the Constitution is a compact between the States, he uses language exactly applicable to the old Confederation. . . . But that was found insufficient, and inadequate to the public exigencies. The people were not satisfied with it, and undertook to establish a better. They undertook to form a general government, which should stand on a new basis; not a confederacy, not a league, not a compact between States, but a *Constitution*; a popular government, founded in popular election, directly responsible to the people themselves, and divided into branches with prescribed limits of power, and prescribed duties. They ordained such a government, they gave it the name of a *Constitution*, and therein they established a distribution of powers between this, their general government, and their several State governments.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

He has not shown that the Constitution is a compact between state governments. The Constitution itself disproves that idea. It says it was established by *the people of the United States*. It doesn't say the people of each separate state. It says only that it is established by the people of the United States as a whole. The gentleman says it must mean the people of the several States. Yes, the people of the States taken together make up the people of the United States, but it is all the people, the people collectively, who established the Constitution. The words saying this could not be plainer.

When the gentleman says the Constitution is a compact between the States, he uses the language for the old Confederation. . . . But that Confederation did not work well. The people were not satisfied with it. They decided to form a better framework of government. They formed a general government, which should stand on a new basis. It is not a confederacy, not a league, not a compact between states. It is a popular government, founded in popular election, directly responsible to the people themselves, and divided into branches, each with limited powers and duties. The people approved that government and gave it the name of a *Constitution*. In doing that, they divided powers between this, their general government, and their several state governments.

Original Document Source: Daniel Webster, "Second Speech on 'Foot's Resolution'" (speech, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC, January 26 and 27, 1830), in *The Great Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster*. . . . (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1879).



PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

3.7

## James Hamilton Jr. Letter on the Tariff and Slavery

James Hamilton Jr. was a wealthy rice planter from the low country of South Carolina. He was governor of the state from 1830 to 1832. This passage is from a public letter Hamilton addressed to a September 1830 meeting in Columbus, South Carolina. In it, he links his concerns about the tariff to issues having to do with slavery, which he refers to in this passage as “the citidal.” This letter appeared in the *Charleston Mercury*.

**Original Document**

I have always looked to the present contest with the government, on the part of the Southern States, as a battle at the out-posts, by which, if we succeed in repulsing the enemy, *the citadel would be safe*.

The same doctrines “*of the general welfare*” which enable the general government to tax our industry, for the benefit of the industry of other sections of this Union, and to appropriate the common treasure to make roads and canals for them, would authorize the federal government to erect the peaceful standard of servile revolt, by establishing colonization offices in our State, to give their bounties for emancipation here, and transportation to Liberia afterwards. The last question follows our giving up the battle on the other two, as inevitably as light flows from the sun.

But, say some of our countrymen . . . when this arises, then indeed are we prepared for resistance—even to disunion—without recollecting that of all the questions, this is the last on which the South ought to desire to do battle; that however we might be united at home, we should have few confederates abroad—whereas on the subject of free trade and constitutional rights, we should have allies throughout the civilized world.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

I see our present fight with the federal government as a battle for the outposts.  
If we succeed in defending those, *the citadel will be safe*.

First, the federal government misuses the phrase in the Constitution about “*the general welfare*” to justify taxing our industry to benefit the industry of other sections. Second, it misuses the phrase to fund roads and canals for those other sections. But the phrase could as easily be misused to bring about a *peaceful* slave revolt. The federal government could do this by establishing colonization offices in our state and by paying to free slaves and send them to Liberia. This last effort will surely follow if we give up the battle on first two mentioned here.

But some say . . . we can deal with that issue when it arises. If it does, we will be ready to resist even if it means disunion. They do not realize that this is the last issue we should wait to do battle over. We might be united about it, but no one outside the South will be with us. On the issue of free trade and constitutional rights, we have allies all over the world.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

3.8

## John C. Calhoun Letter on the Tariff and Slavery

Like James Hamilton Jr. (see Primary Source 3.7), Calhoun also saw a link between the tariff battle and slavery. He suggested this in a letter dated September 11, 1830, to a political ally, Virgil Maxcy. This passage is from that letter.

**Original Document**

I consider the tariff act as the occasion, rather than the real cause of the present unhappy state of things. The truth can no longer be disguised, that the peculiar domestick institution of the Southern States and the consequent direction which that and her soil have given to her industry, has placed them in regard to taxation and appropriations in opposite relation to the majority of the Union, against the danger of which, if there be no protective power in the reserved rights of the states they must in the end be forced to rebel, or, submit to have their paramount interests sacrificed, their domestick institutions subordinated by Colonization and other schemes, and themselves and children reduced to wretchedness.

**Adapted Version**

The tariff is just one issue, and not the real cause of the unhappy state of things. The truth is obvious. The real cause has to do with the South's peculiar domestic institution, and its soil. These are what shape its economy. These pit the South against the majority of the Union in regard to federal taxation and spending. If the reserved rights of the states cannot protect against this danger, the South must be forced to rebel. Otherwise it must submit to having its most basic interests sacrificed. Our domestic institutions will be undermined by Colonization and other schemes, and we and our children reduced to wretchedness.

*Original Document Source:* John C. Calhoun to Virgil Maxcy, 11 September 1830, in *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights and the Nullification Crisis*, by Richard E. Ellis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 193.



In August 1831, a slave named Nat Turner led a violent uprising in Southampton County, Virginia. The rebels killed about sixty people before the uprising was contained. The rebellion was suppressed ruthlessly in a few days, but it spread panic throughout the region. The mood of fear it caused in plantation owners in South Carolina helped shape the way they reacted to the battles over the tariff and nullification. In this letter, Rachel Lazarus of Wilmington, North Carolina, writes about the uprising to her relative Eliza Mordecai of Mobile, Alabama. She wrote this letter several months after the rebellion was put down.

### Original Document

You have no doubt heard of the alarm we have experienced on the subject of insurrection—many of the reports were totally false, others excessively exaggerated, that is, as to their being actually in arms, & on their way to commit savages, but the appalling fact admits of no doubt, that there was a deep laid & extensive plot formed, & that an early period in the present month had been fixed on for its perpetration. —The disclosure was made by a mulatto, a freeman, to a gentleman in So Washington. Several have been executed in Duplin, Samson & here, & the jail is now crowded with the accused. It is a sickening state of things—one to which we are always in a more or less degree liable, & it will require more than a herculean effort in ourselves to [illegible] the fetters of our slave population & to transport them to their own land. —Till this is resolved on & executed we can have no security but in a state of unremitted vigilance.

### Adapted Version

You have probably heard of the alarm we experienced because of the insurrection. Many reports were totally false. Others were greatly exaggerated—such as reports about slaves still being armed on their way to commit atrocities. But the appalling fact is there was a deeply hidden and extensive plot formed. An early period in the present month had been agreed to for carrying it out. A mulatto, a freeman, revealed the plot to a gentleman in South Washington. Several rebels have been executed in Duplin, Samson, and here. The jail is now crowded with the accused. It is a sickening state of things. It is one we are always going to have to worry about. It will take an enormous effort to break the fetters of our slaves and transport them to their own land. Until we decide to do this, we can have no security. We will have to remain in a state of constant vigilance.

*Original Document Source:* Rachel Lazarus to Eliza Mordecai, 9 October 1831. Mordecai Family Papers (#847), Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

## Robert Barnwell Rhett Speech on Nullification

In late 1832, South Carolina called together a Nullification Convention. It passed a Nullification Ordinance, nullifying the latest tariff. Then, in early 1833, Congress passed a lower Compromise Tariff. President Jackson signed that tariff, which pleased South Carolina. However, he also signed a force bill allowing him to send troops to South Carolina if it nullified the tariff. South Carolina's Nullification Convention met again and canceled its Nullification Ordinance. It then nullified the force bill in a show of defiance. However, this was a pointless gesture at that point. The crisis was over. On March 13, 1833, Robert Barnwell Rhett, South Carolina's attorney general, summed up the situation as he saw it in a speech to the convention.

**Original Document**

I fear there is no longer hope or liberty for the South, under a Union, by which all self-government is taken away. A people, owning slaves, are mad, or worse than mad, who do not hold their destinies in their own hands. . . . Nor is it our Northern brethren alone—the whole world are in arms against your institutions. Every stride of this Government, over your rights, brings it nearer and nearer to your peculiar policy. . . .

. . . Let Gentlemen not be deceived. It is not the Tariff—not Internal Improvement—nor yet the Force Bill, which constitutes the great evil against which we are contending. These are but symptoms of the disease—but not the disease itself. These are but the forms in which the despotic nature of the Government is evinced,—but it is the despotism which constitutes the evil: and until this Government is made a limited Government . . . there is no liberty—no security for the South.

**Adapted Version**

I fear there is no longer hope or liberty for the South under a Union that has taken away all self-government. A people owning slaves are mad, or worse than mad, if they do not control their own destinies entirely. It is not the people of the North alone; it is the whole world that opposes your institutions. Every step the federal government takes brings it closer to attacking your peculiar institution. . . .

. . . Do not be fooled. It is not the tariff or internal improvements. Nor is it the Force Bill. These are not the great evil we are facing. These are but symptoms of the disease—but not the disease itself. These are only forms illustrating the despotic nature of our government. It is the despotism itself which is the evil, and until this government is made into a limited government, there will be no liberty or security for the South.

Original Document Source: Robert Barnwell Rhett, "Speech of Mr. R. Barnwell Rhett, of St. Bartholomew's" (speech, Convention of the State of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, March 1833), in *Speeches Delivered in the Convention of the State of South-Carolina Held in Columbia, in March, 1833* (Charleston, SC: E. J. Van Brunt, 1833), 25–26.

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Study Primary Sources 3.7, 3.9, and 3.10. Pretend you are Rachel Lazarus. You have just read the passage from Robert Barnwell Rhett and the passage from James Hamilton Jr. Write a long letter expressing what Rachel might say to these two men. In your letter, be sure to discuss the tariff, slavery, and the mood in the South in general as you think she would see these things.
- ◆ Study Primary Source 3.4, and review Primary Sources 3.1, 3.2, 3.6, and 3.7. Write a short essay on the passage from John C. Calhoun's "South Carolina Exposition and Protest" (Primary Source 3.3) In your essay, explain how each of the following people would respond to Calhoun's comments—Henry Clay, Thomas Cooper, Daniel Webster, and James Hamilton Jr. You may wish to read other portions of the "South Carolina Exposition and Protest," which is available online.
- ◆ Review your history textbook's account of the nullification crisis. From the set of primary sources for this lesson, choose three that you think add details or ideas about the crisis that might improve the textbook's treatment of this important turning point in U.S. history. Present your findings in a brief talk to the class

### Taking Action

- ◆ Conflicts between state governments and the federal government constantly arise in American political life. Today, such disputes are common over issues such as marijuana laws, voter registration rules, the death penalty, and various environmental issues. Choose one such conflict that seems important to people in your state in particular. Research the conflict and summarize both sides of the argument in a brief talk to the class. Provide copies of at least two articles on the topic to the rest of the class. Attempt to resolve the argument using the argument from both sides. Then take part in the next activity described here.
- ◆ Following the previous activity, write a letter or draw an editorial cartoon on the topic and send it to the editor of a local news source. As a class, submit the letters and cartoons and ask the newspaper or other news source to consider publishing all or several of them as a group. Invite readers to respond with thoughts of their own. Collect any of these reader responses and write a letter as a class to your congressional representative, asking him or her to weigh in on the issue. Use the editorial cartoons and letters, the reader responses, and the summaries of both sides of the issue to present the information to the representative. Share any response you receive from the representative with the class.



## Nullification Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a relevant way to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development/Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in-depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

## Primary Source Bibliography

- 3.1: Moore, Frank. *American Eloquence: A Collection of Speeches and Addresses by the Most Eminent Orators of America*. Vol. 2. New York: D. Appleton, 1895.
- 3.2: Freehling, William W., ed. *The Nullification Era: A Documentary Record*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
- 3.3: Civic Impulse. "To Pass H.R. 132. (P. 2471)." GovTrack. <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/20-1/h81>.
- 3.4: Avbelj, Matej, and Jan Komárek, eds. *Constitutional Pluralism in the European Union and Beyond*. Oxford, UK: Hart, 2012.
- 3.5: Story, Joseph. *The Constitutional Class Book: Being a Brief Exposition of the Constitution of the United States*. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, 1834.
- 3.6: Webster, Daniel. *The Great Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster*. . . . Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1879.
- 3.7: Freehling, William W., ed. *The Nullification Era: A Documentary Record*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
- 3.8: Ellis, Richard E. *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights and the Nullification Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- 3.9: Rachel Lazarus to Eliza Morcedai, 9 October 1831. Mordecai Family Papers (#847). Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- 3.10: South Carolina Convention. *Speeches Delivered in the Convention of the State of South-Carolina Held in Columbia, in March, 1833*. Charleston, SC: E. J. Van Brunt, 1833.

## Sources for Further Study

Edwards, Judith. *Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion in American History*. New York: Enslow, 2000.

Gunderson, Megan M. *Andrew Jackson: Seventh President of the United States*. Edina, MN: ABDO, 2010.

Hakim, Joy. *A History of US: Liberty for All?, 1820–1860*. Vol. 5. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Hammond, Pearce W. *The Gullahs of South Carolina*. Okatie, SC: Halftide, 2011.



# Lone Star Republic

Why Annex Texas?

## Introduction

To some Americans in the early 1800s, it seemed natural for the United States to keep expanding westward. In the 1830s, wagon trains were already crossing the vast western plains and mountains to the Oregon Territory. Texas was simply the next logical step in what many called America's Manifest Destiny. By Manifest Destiny, people meant it was obvious (or "manifest") that the United States would, in time, sweep across the continent and occupy all of it. The nation's liberty, democracy, and energetic and civilized people were "destined" to triumph. At the same time, Southern slaveholders especially wanted Texas. Its fresh cotton lands attracted many planters. It could add at least one more Southern slave state to the union, perhaps several such states. Was it the spirit of Manifest Destiny that finally led the nation to annex Texas, or was it slavery that most influenced the decision? In this lesson, students will work with short passages from nine primary sources in an effort to answer these questions. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the compelling question.

## Objective

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about the annexation of Texas. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

## C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of views represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time
- ◆ **D2.HIS.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.CIV.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.ECO.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.

- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.
- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

---

### Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.



### Compelling Question

Was it the spirit of Manifest Destiny that led the United States to annex Texas, or was it slavery that most influenced the decision?

### Preparation

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.



#### Asking Questions about the Annexation of Texas

*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

### Day One

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the unit’s overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this unit. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources, and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.



#### Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence

*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

### Day Two

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group’s compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.

7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about the annexation of Texas from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, a PowerPoint, or another related type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### Day Three

8. Each group will deliver its presentation. Allow time for class discussion following each presentation, and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### Communicating Results and Taking Action

*This part of the task stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

---

Students will complete this final task on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Use the rubric to evaluate each student's individual performance of this task.

#### *Communicating Results*

- ◆ Have students review Primary Sources 4.4 and 4.8. Students will write a letter to the Faneuil Hall organizers trying to reassure them about Texas as O'Sullivan and will write a response to their own letter.
- ◆ Have students read and discuss Primary Source 4.5. Give students time to do some further reading about this letter and its importance in the debate over annexing Texas. Also, have them research into Great Britain's decisions in the 1800s regarding the slave trade and slavery in its colonies. Students will give a brief report to the class on the Pakenham letter and Great Britain's likely role with regard to Texas in 1844.
- ◆ As a group, students should read and discuss Primary Sources 4.2, 4.4, 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8 for this lesson. Students will create and act out in class a brief role-playing skit involving four individuals represented in the primary sources.

#### *Taking Action*

- ◆ Have students investigate whether there are contemporary examples of one nation trying to annex extra territory, or whether annexation is something that no longer happens. Students should prepare a brief five-minute report on their findings and explain how the problem of annexing territory today is or is not like the annexation of Texas. Record each of these reports and post them online. Share any appropriate responses with the students and have them discuss the viewer responses in a class discussion.
- ◆ Once students have completed the above assignment, each student should try to find an individual from an annexed territory to interview. If they cannot find such an individual, have them read firsthand, historical accounts of a person's response to his or her country being annexed by another. Students should write an editorial, including quotes from the interview or firsthand account, and submit it to a local newspaper or some other publication, inviting them to use it. Have them ask for reader responses. Have students discuss any responses in class.

## Introductory Essay

# Lone Star Republic



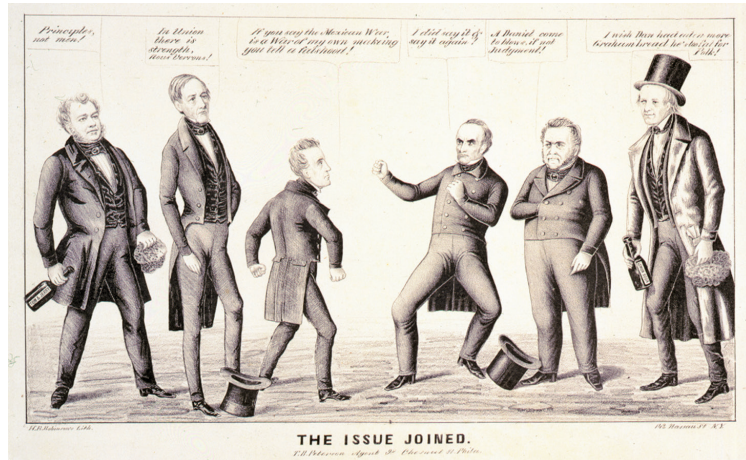
*Map of the Republic of Texas and adjacent territories*

Americans have argued about Texas from the very beginning of the United States. They actually began doing this before there even *was* a Texas. In 1803, U.S. president Thomas Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from France; Spain had already claimed the lands west of that territory, but the border with Spain was not clear. Did the Louisiana Territory include what would later become Texas? Some Americans said it did, but, in 1819, the United States and Spain agreed to a border that left most of Texas under Spanish control. Those Americans were not happy about that. They were the same individuals who later often spoke about “re-annexing” Texas, rather than merely annexing it.

Just two years after that treaty was signed, Mexico won its independence from Spain, and Texas became Mexican territory. Very few Mexicans lived there, however. Mexico invited U.S. settlers to Texas to help develop the area. Huge grants of land were made to empresarios, people who could bring in hundreds or thousands of settlers from the United States. Many U.S. settlers did begin to move to Texas, bringing their slaves with them.

Then, the Mexican government changed its mind and tried to keep the settlers out. Tensions grew, and from 1835 to 1836, Texans fought and won their independence. A new country, the Republic of Texas, was born. From the start, however, this new republic wanted to be annexed as a U.S. state. That is when the biggest arguments of all began.

To some Americans, it seemed natural for the United States to keep expanding westward. In the 1830s, wagon trains were already crossing the vast western plains and mountains into the Oregon Territory. Trappers and traders were exploring other routes west, and many Americans were said to be “GTT”—gone to Texas. Texas was simply a next logical step in what many called America’s Manifest Destiny. By that phrase, they meant it was obvious (or “manifest”) that the United States would, in time, sweep across the continent and occupy all of it. The nation’s liberty, democracy, and energetic and civilized people were “destined” to triumph.



*A political cartoon depicting the conflict of opinion between James K. Polk and Daniel Webster on the war with Mexico*

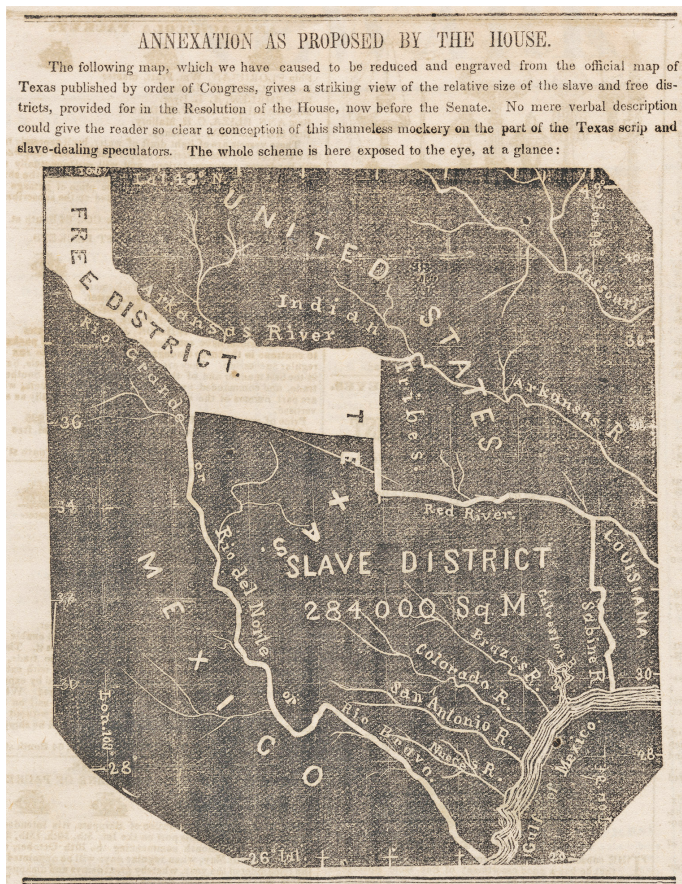
Was it the spirit of Manifest Destiny that finally led the nation to annex Texas? No doubt, many did feel this spirit; however, another issue also moved many to seek to annex Texas—slavery.

Southern slaveholders especially wanted Texas; it was not simply that they thought Texas would add one more Southern slave state to the union, nor was it just that its fresh cotton lands attracted many planters. They wanted Texas because Texas was huge. It easily could be divided into several new slave states, each of which would send senators and representatives to Congress and strengthen the slaveholders’ power within the federal government. However, Mexico still claimed Texas.

Great Britain hinted that it might help Texas and Mexico work things out, especially if an independent Texas abolished slavery. This would bottle slavery up inside the South and keep it from ever expanding further. Pressures against slavery would then come from the West as well as from the North. A free Texas would offer new territory to which runaway slaves might escape. For all these reasons, Southern leaders called for the immediate annexation of Texas as a slave state.



In the North, meanwhile, many strongly opposed Texas annexation. Abolitionists hated the idea of giving the slaveholders any more power, and many other Northerners did not want to see slavery spread further into western territory. As a result of this conflict, neither the Democratic Party nor the Whig Party wanted to deal with Texas at all. Each of these two major parties had supporters in the North and the South. In the 1830s, each party tried to avoid the issue entirely, feeling the issue would split the United States apart.



*Proposed map of the annexed territory*

An accident changed everything in 1841. That year, U.S. vice president John Tyler became president when newly elected President William Henry Harrison suddenly died. Tyler was a Whig, and the Whigs were much more opposed to annexing Texas than the Democrats were. However, Tyler himself was a strong Southern states-rights leader. The Whigs only chose him in order to attract Southern votes. As president, Tyler began pushing hard for the annexation of Texas. Strengthening slavery was very much on his mind. He was still working to annex Texas in 1844, when Democrat James K. Polk won election as the next president. Polk's campaign appealed heavily to the spirit of Manifest Destiny. Together, Tyler in his last days in office, and then Polk, helped to bring about the annexation of Texas.

Was it slavery that accomplished the annexation? Was it Manifest Destiny? Was it something else? What factors best explain the drive to annex Texas? In this lesson, you will examine a small sample of primary sources on the annexation of Texas. These will provide evidence to help you answer these questions. Interpreting the sources is not easy. Keep in mind that they are from a variety of points of view about the conflict. Together, they should help you better understand the primary reasons that the United States annexed Texas.

*Image Sources:* Map. By unknown artist, circa 1841.

"The Issue Joined." By T. B. Peterson and Henry R. Robinson, 1846, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-USZ62-21790

Proposal Map. By unknown artist, *Newark Daily Advertiser*, February 11, 1845.



## History Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

---

### *Lone Star Republic*

Your group's task is to explore the history of the annexation of Texas. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Which factor best explains why the United States annexed Texas: slavery or the spirit of Manifest Destiny?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 4.2, 4.4, and 4.5.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

By the 1830s, farmers and other settlers were already following trappers and fur traders into the plains and mountains of the Far West. Americans had long felt entitled to go west. Many probably assumed the nation would inevitably reach across the entire continent. What changed in the 1840s was the sense that it was going to happen soon. The term “Manifest Destiny” summed up this awareness. It was “manifest” (that is, obvious) that moving west was inevitable—our “destiny.” Anglo-Saxon America would soon stretch from coast to coast. Manifest Destiny also had a moral aspect. American individual rights, liberty, and material progress all seemed to be part of a divine plan.

Despite Manifest Destiny, the 1830s also saw the escalation in the battle over slavery. Abolitionists in the North were stepping up their calls for an immediate end to slavery. The South, in response, was becoming more defiant, not less. In the past, it was common for Southerners to call slavery a “necessary evil.” The mood in the 1830s was hardening.



John C. Calhoun and others began to claim boldly that slavery was a positive, for slave and slaveholder alike. A growing divide was splitting the nation. Both political parties tried for a long time to avoid the issue. The battle over Texas showed they could no longer really hope to do that for much longer.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 4.2

---

---

---

Primary Source 4.4

---

---

---

Primary Source 4.5

---

---

---

## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Which factor best explains why the United States annexed Texas: slavery or the spirit of Manifest Destiny?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining six primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Civics Group

### GROUP MEMBERS:

---

## *Lone Star Republic*

Your group's task is to explore the civics of the annexation of Texas. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Democratic U.S. president James K. Polk strongly backed the annexation of Texas. Did this then make the Democrats the party of slavery? Why or why not?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 4.1, 4.8, and 4.9.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the 1830s, both political parties avoided the issue of Texas as best they could. Democratic U.S. president Andrew Jackson was a strong supporter of slavery. Both as a general and as president, Jackson led the way in clearing Native American tribes out of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi in order to open that area to farmers and slave plantations. The Democrats were the stronger party in the South, but even Jackson did not try to annex Texas. His successor, Northerner Martin Van Buren, was even less in favor of it. Democrats had many supporters in the North, and it could not afford to anger them by rushing to admit new slave states. Everyone expected the Democrats to choose Van Buren for president in 1844.

The Whigs were also divided into Northern and Southern factions. Whig U.S. president John Tyler pushed hard to get Texas admitted, but in 1844, the Whigs chose Henry Clay as its presidential candidate, not Tyler. Clay's views on Texas were not clear, which opened the way for the Democrats

to make a surprise choice. They picked James K. Polk as their candidate. In doing so, they decided to back fully Texas annexation and national expansion in the name of Manifest Destiny.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 4.1

---

---

---

Primary Source 4.8

---

---

---

Primary Source 4.9

---

---

---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Democratic U.S. president James K. Polk strongly backed the annexation of Texas. Did this then make the Democrats the party of slavery? Why or why not?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining six primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.





## Economics Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

---

### *Lone Star Republic*

Your group's task is to explore the economics of the annexation of Texas. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

The diffusion theory said that annexing Texas would be good for both the South and the North. Did this claim make economic sense? Why or why not?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 4.3, 4.6, and 4.7.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The diffusion theory seemed to say that slavery might soon die out in the old South. As soils eroded, slaveholders would need to either sell their slaves or free them so as not to have to care for them any longer. As they did, these African Americans could be sent to Texas—if it was admitted as a slave state. Otherwise, they would likely all go to free states in the North.

Was this theory about slavery in the Deep South correct? That is, was slavery becoming less profitable in the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana? In the 1840s, the South went through economic hard times; however, in the late 1840s and all of the 1850s, cotton production soared. Large-scale cotton plantations were very efficient and profitable. Careful historical research in the 1980s and 1990s made this clear.

Historian Robert William Fogel used many kinds of statistics to support such claims. For instance, he showed that cotton-belt farms with fifty-one or more slaves were a good deal more efficient than farms with no slaves. Slaves in gang-labor patterns on large plantations—a cruel, horrifying system—were worked hard and produced efficient results. This system showed no signs of dying out. It was thriving economically in the years just before the Civil War began.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 4.3

---



---



---

Primary Source 4.6

---



---



---

Primary Source 4.7

---



---



---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

The diffusion theory said that annexing Texas would be good for both the South and the North. Did this claim make economic sense? Why or why not?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining six primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Geography Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

---

### *Lone Star Republic*

Your group's task is to explore the geography of the annexation of Texas. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

What geographical factors help explain the strong desire of most Southern political leaders to annex Texas?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the battle to annex Texas, three geographical features stood out. First, Texas was huge! Even today, its 268,000 square miles is more than the land area of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana combined. No wonder Southern slaveholders eagerly hoped to open it up fully to settlement. As many Southerners saw it, Texas would help cotton and slavery to thrive for many generations.

Second, no one actually knew just how large Texas was. Its borders had not been fixed. As an independent nation, the Republic of Texas claimed more than present-day Texas, including parts of what are today New Mexico, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming. No agreement about borders had been reached when Texas was annexed. The resolution to annex it gave Texas a right to carve itself up into five states, all but one of which might well have been slave states. Texas never did this, but many thought it would.

Third, Texas was a borderland between Mexico and the United States. Mexico never accepted Texan independence. In the end, it took a war with Mexico for the United States to gain full control over Texas. In the meantime, foreign pressures and diplomatic moves complicated Texas annexation in many other ways.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 4.4

---

---

---

Primary Source 4.5

---

---

---

Primary Source 4.6

---

---

---

## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

What geographical factors help explain the strong desire of most Southern political leaders to annex Texas?

State your group's claim here:

---

---

---

---

7. From the remaining six primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

---

Reason for choosing this source:

---

---

---

---

---

---

8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will be studying several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special critical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

Since no primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can also help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed in so many words. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

4.I

## Andrew Jackson's Speech on Texas

Texas declared its independence from Mexico in 1836. Most Texans wanted the United States to annex their republic as a new state. U.S. president Andrew Jackson wanted that also. However, he avoided even recognizing Texas officially as an independent republic until the very last day of his presidency. He did this to avoid causing problems for his chosen successor, Martin Van Buren, during the election of 1836. He did express his views about Texas in a special message to the Senate and House of Representatives on December 21, 1836.

**Original Document**

Texas was once claimed as a part of our property, and there are those among our citizens who, always reluctant to abandon that claim, can not but regard with solicitude the prospect of the reunion of the territory to this country. A large proportion of its civilized inhabitants are emigrants from the United States, speak the same language with ourselves, cherish the same principles, political and religious, and are bound to many of our citizens by ties of friendship and kindred blood; and, more than all, it is known that the people of that country have instituted the same form of government with our own, and have since the close of your last session openly resolved, on the acknowledgment by us of their independence, to seek admission into the Union as one of the Federal States.

**Adapted Version**

We once claimed Texas as part of our country. Many citizens were not happy about giving up that claim. They are now eager to reunite with this territory. Most of the civilized inhabitants of Texas are from the United States. They speak the same language as we do. They cherish the same political and religious principles. They are bound to many of our citizens by ties of friendship and kindred blood. Most importantly, we know the Texans have formed the same kind of government as ours, and since the last session of Congress, they have announced they will seek admission as a state once we officially acknowledge their independence.

*Original Document Source:* Andrew Jackson, "Special Message" (speech, Washington, DC, December 21, 1836), edited by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=67012>.

## John L. O'Sullivan's Essay on Manifest Destiny

Some historians see the spirit of Manifest Destiny as the main force leading Americans to want to annex Texas. John L. O'Sullivan, editor of *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, coined the phrase "manifest destiny" in 1845. Even earlier, however, he had begun expressing the idea in very similar terms, as he does in these passages from "The Great Nation of Futurity," an essay published in November 1839.

**Original Document**

The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality. . . . Our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be *the great nation* of futurity. . . .

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High—the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere—its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood—of "peace and good will amongst men."

CONTINUED

### **Adapted Version**

Americans come from many nations. Our Declaration of Independence is based on the great principle of human equality. These things show that our nation's birth began a whole new chapter in history. We have begun to shape an untried political system. It is one that separates us from the past and connects us with the future only. As for the development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we can be sure that our country is destined to be the great nation of the future. . . .

The boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In this magnificent domain of space and time, our nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles. It will establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of what is most high, sacred and true. Our nation's floor shall be the entire hemisphere. Our roof shall be the star-studded heavens, and our congregation shall be a union of many republics. These will be made up of hundreds of happy millions who will call no man master, but who will be governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood—of “peace and good will among men.”

*Original Document Source:* John L. O'Sullivan, “The Great Nation of Futurity,” *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 6 (November 1839): 426–430.



## Joseph Holt Ingraham on the Cotton Industry

Joseph Holt Ingraham grew up in New England, but in 1830 he moved to Natchez, Mississippi. In 1835, he wrote about the region in his book *The South-West*. This short passage on the rapid spread of cotton culture is from that book. Ingraham goes on to predict the soil will erode rapidly over time. However, when he wrote, cotton cultivation was still spreading to unused lands throughout the deep Southern states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

**Original Document**

Cotton and negroes are the constant theme—the ever harped upon, never worn out subject of conversation among all classes. But a small portion of the broad rich lands of this thriving state is yet appropriated. Not till every acre is purchased and cultivated—not till Mississippi becomes one vast cotton field, will this mania, which has entered into the very marrow, bone and sinew of a Mississippian's system, pass away. And not then, till the lands become exhausted and wholly unfit for farther cultivation.

**Adapted Version**

Cotton and negroes are the constant topic—the ever harped upon, never worn out subject of conversation among all classes. Cotton growers have only taken possession of a small share of the broad rich lands of this thriving state. This eager enthusiasm will not pass away until every acre is purchased and cultivated—not until Mississippi becomes one vast cotton field. Meanwhile, this enthusiasm has entered into the very marrow, bone, and sinew of every citizen of Mississippi. And even then, it will continue until the lands become exhausted and wholly unfit for farther cultivation.

*Original Document Source:* Joseph Holt Ingraham, *The South-West*, vol. 2  
(New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835), 86.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

4.4

## Broadside on an Annexation Meeting

Northern protests against annexing Texas arose almost as soon as Texas declared its independence from Mexico. This document is the main part of an announcement of a meeting in Boston's Faneuil Hall. The meeting was called to protest moves in the U.S. Senate to annex Texas. The date is 1838. Opposition to the annexation of Texas was especially strong in New England. This is a broadside titled "Anti-Texas Meeting at Faneuil Hall!, Friends of Freedom! . . . Jan. 24, 1838."

Original Document

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

The Senate will soon decide on a proposal to annex Texas as a state of the Union. This territory was seized from Mexico by violence and fraud. Those in charge of Texas now are so bad that the country has been well named “that valley of rascals.” It is large enough to make nine or ten States as large as Massachusetts. It was a free territory under Mexico. The freebooters from the U.S. have made it a slave territory. The plan now is for us to annex it, with all its infamy and oppression. The immediate result may be a war with Mexico. The final result could be some eighteen or twenty more slaveholders in the Senate of the United States. States carved from Texas could send an even larger number to the House of Representatives. The balance of power would be in the hands of the South! Slaveholders are now still a minority in Congress. Yet already they browbeat the North, demanding gag laws to prevent debate about slavery. They trample on the Right of Petition for abolitionists. They threaten to defy the General Government and hang every man in the South who dares to speak against their “domestic institution,” slavery. What limits then will anyone be able to set to their intolerant demands and high-handed usurpations once they are in the majority.

All who oppose this scheme, of any sect or party, are invited to attend the meeting at the Old Cradle of Liberty tomorrow (Thursday, Jan. 25) at 10 o’clock a.m., at which time speeches are expected from several good speakers.

Bostonians! Friends of Freedom!! Let your voices be heard in loud demonstration against this scheme, full of such ruin to yourselves and such bad reputation in your country.

January 24, 1838

## John C. Calhoun Letter on Great Britain's Involvement

In April 1844, U.S. secretary of state John C. Calhoun sent his famous Pakenham Letter to Richard Pakenham, Great Britain's foreign minister to the United States. Calhoun made this letter public along with the treaty of annexation to Congress. The letter caused a great deal of controversy. It claimed that Great Britain wanted to see Texas abolish slavery and remain independent or rejoin Mexico. British officials had expressed hopes that this might happen. Great Britain had itself recently abolished slavery, and it was leading efforts to end the slave trade worldwide. Calhoun used this letter to defend strongly slavery as a "positive good." His purpose in making all this public may have been to strengthen pro-annexation feeling throughout the South.

### Original Document

It is with still deeper concern the President regards the avowal of Lord Aberdeen of the desire of Great Britain to see slavery abolished in Texas, and, as he infers, is endeavoring, through her diplomacy, to accomplish it, by making the abolition of slavery one of the conditions on which Mexico should acknowledge her independence. It has confirmed his previous impressions as to the policy of Great Britain in reference to Texas, and made it his duty to examine with much care and solicitude what would be its effects on the prosperity and safety of the United States, should she succeed in her endeavors. The investigation has resulted in the settled conviction that it would be difficult for Texas, in her actual condition, to resist what she [Great Britain] desires . . . and this, if Texas could not resist the consummation of the object of her desire, would endanger both the safety and prosperity of the Union. Under this conviction, it is felt to be the imperious duty of the Federal Government, the common representative and protector of the States of the Union, to adopt, in self-defense, the most effectual measures to defeat it.

### Adapted Version

The president is very worried about British foreign minister Lord Aberdeen's admission that Great Britain wishes to see slavery abolished in Texas. He assumes that Great Britain is already urging Mexico to promise Texas independence if it does abolish slavery. Lord Aberdeen's admission proves our previous suspicions about Great Britain's plans for Texas. Therefore, the president must consider carefully how Britain's efforts, if successful, could affect the prosperity and safety of the United States. So far, we are convinced it would be difficult for Texas, in her actual condition, to refuse Great Britain's pressure. And, if Texas could not resist and if it did abolish slavery, this would endanger both the safety and prosperity of the United States. Given this view, we feel it is our duty, as the representative and protector of the States of the Union, to act effectively in self-defense to defeat Great Britain's plans.

Original Document Source: John C. Calhoun to Richard Pakenham, 18 April 1844, in *Reports and Public Letters of John C. Calhoun*, edited by Richard K. Crallé (New York: D. Appleton, 1883), 334.

Mississippi senator Robert J. Walker feared British interference in Texas. If Great Britain convinced the Texans to abolish slavery, this would restrict slavery to the states where it was already legal. In time, as cotton lands wore out, the South would have to free all its slaves. Walker believed African Americans were so inferior that they would become a huge burden if they were freed. In a widely read letter in 1844, he saw Texas as offering a way out of the problem. Slaves from other states could be sold to planters in Texas and then farther south into Mexico. His idea was called the diffusion theory. It was used in 1844 to win support for Texas annexation even from opponents of slavery.

### Original Document

If slavery be considered by the States of the North as an evil, why should they prefer that its location should be continued in States on their border, rather than in the more distant portions of the Union? It is clear that, as slavery advanced in Texas, it would recede from the States bordering on the free States of the North and West; and thus they would be released from actual contact with what they consider an evil, and also from all influx from those States of a large and constantly augmenting free black population. . . . As the number of free blacks augmented in the slaveholding States, they would be diffused gradually through Texas into Mexico, and Central and Southern America, where nine-tenths of their present population are already of the colored races, and where, from their vast preponderance in number, they are not a degraded caste, but upon a footing, not merely of legal, but what is far more important, of actual equality with the rest of the population. Here, then, if Texas is reannexed, throughout the vast region and salubrious and delicious climate of Mexico, and of Central and Southern America, a large and rapidly increasing portion of the African race will disappear from the limits of the Union. The process will be gradual and progressive, without a shock, and without a convulsion; whereas by the loss of Texas, and the imprisonment of the slave population of the Union within its present limits, slavery would *increase* in nearly all the slaveholding states, and a change in their condition would become impossible; or if it did take place by sudden or gradual abolition, the result would as certainly be the sudden or gradual introduction of hundreds of thousands of free blacks into the States of the North; and if their condition there is already deplorable, how would it be when their number there should be augmented tenfold, and the burden become intolerable?

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

If the North sees slavery as evil, why would it want to keep slavery nearby in the border states? If slavery increases in Texas, the slaves will be sold away from those border states. The free states will no longer have actual contact with slavery. They will no longer have to accept a rapidly growing free black population from the South. Instead, those blacks would later be freed in Texas and diffused gradually through Texas into Mexico, and Central and Southern America. Most people there already are of the colored races. Because they are the majority, they are not seen as a degraded caste. They have both legal and actual equality with the rest of the population. If we annex Texas, a large and increasing number of Africans will disappear from the Union into the more welcoming climate of Mexico and Central and Southern America. The process will be gradual and peaceful. If we do not annex Texas, however, slaves will remain imprisoned inside the Union. Slavery will increase in the slaveholding states. Changing the condition of the slaves will be almost impossible. If abolition takes place, either gradually or suddenly, hundreds of thousands of free blacks will move North. Their condition there is already terrible. Imagine what an intolerable burden they would become once their numbers increase tenfold.

*Original Document Source: Robert J. Walker, Letter of Mr. Walker of Mississippi, Relative to the Annexation of Texas (Washington, DC: Globe Office, 1844), 14.*

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

4.7

## Orville Dewey Sermon on Diffusion

In the 1830s, Orville Dewey was the strong antislavery pastor of the Church of the Messiah in New York. He addressed Robert J. Walker's diffusion theory in a sermon published in 1844. This passage is from that sermon. It begins at the end of a long description of the horrors of the internal slave trade—the trade of slaves from one state to another.

**Original Document**

And all this mass of horrors involved in the domestic slave-trade, is certain to be extended and prolonged by the Annexation of Texas. Let me not be told that it is a rich country, a great acquisition; all this weighs nothing with me against the insuperable moral objection. If its plains were paved with gold and its mountains were studded all over with diamond-rocks, I would not take it on the terms proposed. If it were the paradise of heaven, I would not take it on those terms.

Nay, and if I thought it probable, as some believe, that the Annexation of Texas would shorten the term of slavery, I would not take it. To extend the system over new territories, is certainly a very strange way of shortening its reign; and this is far enough, we know, from the purpose of its leading projectors and advocates. The Texans themselves have declared in their Constitution, that slavery there shall never be abolished! There is such a thing doubtless as weakening a thing by diffusion; but I cannot see in slavery any such tendency. Let alone, it must die out of itself; its only chance of living is to take root in new and richer lands. Is not that the very argument of many of the advocates of Annexation? "Our prosperity is failing us; it must have another field." But even if I thought it might sooner die in that richer field, I would not consent to take it. I cannot do evil that good may come.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

All the horrors of the domestic slave trade will be made worse by the annexation of Texas. I do not care if Texas is a rich country. This means nothing to me given the huge moral objection I have to admitting it to the Union. Its plains could be paved with gold or studded with diamonds. I still would not take it on the terms proposed now. Not even if it were the paradise of heaven.

Some say that annexing Texas would end slavery sooner. I still would not take it even if that were so. In any case, spreading slavery to more territory seems a strange way to end it sooner. And that is certainly not what those who seek to annex Texas want. The Texas constitution says slavery there shall never be abolished! Perhaps the idea of weakening by diffusion works for some things. I see no reason why it would for slavery. If we leave it alone, it will die out on its own. Its only hope to survive is for it to spread to other, richer lands. That's the very argument the advocates of annexation make. "Our prosperity is failing us; it must have another field," they say. But even if I thought it might die sooner in those richer lands, I would not agree to annex them. I cannot do evil on the hope that good may come of it.

*Original Document Source: Orville Dewey, A Discourse on Slavery and the Annexation of Texas (New York: Charles S. Francis, 1844), 14.*



John L. O'Sullivan actually first used the exact phrase "manifest destiny" in an editorial supporting the annexation of Texas. In that editorial, O'Sullivan specifically sought to answer charges that Texas was annexed solely to allow the spread of slavery and ensure its survival.

### Original Document

Nor is there any just foundation for the charge that Annexation is a great pro-slavery measure—calculated to increase and perpetuate that institution. . . . The greater value in Texas of the slave labor now employed in those States [the northern tier of Slave States], must soon produce the effect of draining off that labor southwardly, by the same unvarying law that bids water descend the slope that invites it. Every new Slave State in Texas will make at least one Free State from among those in which that institution now exists—to say nothing of those portions of Texas on which slavery cannot spring and grow—to say nothing of the far more rapid growth of new States in the free West and Northwest, as these fine regions are overspread by the emigration fast flowing over them from Europe, as well as from the Northern and Eastern States of the Union as it exists. On the other hand, it is undeniably much gained for the cause of the eventual voluntary abolition of slavery, that it should have been thus drained off towards the only outlet which appeared to furnish much probability of the ultimate disappearance of the negro race from our borders. The Spanish-Indian-American populations of Mexico, Central America and South America, afford the only receptacle capable of absorbing that race whenever we shall be prepared to slough it off—to emancipate it from slavery, and (simultaneously necessary) to remove it from the midst of our own.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

Annexation will not be a great pro-slavery measure. It will not cause slavery to spread. Slaves will be more valuable in Texas than they are in the border slave states. Annexation will cause slaveholders to sell slaves southwardly, as surely as water runs downhill. Each new slave state formed out of Texas will make at least one new free state out of those that now allow slavery. In some portions of Texas, slavery is not likely to survive. Moreover, there will be a far more rapid growth of new states in the free West and Northwest territories. These fine regions will fill up with immigrants from Europe and settlers from our own northern and eastern states. Moreover, voluntary abolition of slavery will be more likely if slaves are drained off to a place in the southwest from which the negro race will disappear from our borders entirely. The Spanish-Indian-American populations of Mexico, Central America, and South America, are the only ones able to absorb that race when we are ready to free it and remove it from our midst as we will have to.

*Original Document Source:* John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, vol. 17 (New York: J. L. O'Sullivan and O. C. Gardiner, 1845), 7.

Democratic candidate James K. Polk won the presidential election in November 1844, and he took office on March 4, 1845. He was a strong advocate of expanding the nation's territory, and he favored the annexation of Texas. However, by the time he took office, the House of Representatives and the Senate had already passed a joint resolution annexing Texas. Outgoing president John Tyler signed it on March 1, 1845. It actually gave the Texans two choices regarding annexation. Tyler sent the resolution to Texas on March 3, his last day in office. He urged Texas to choose immediate annexation. Polk also asked Texas to do this. Texas complied. Mexico then cut diplomatic ties with the United States over Texas. The dispute soon led to war, a war Polk used to win additional vast territories for the United States, including California. Polk's sense of Manifest Destiny is expressed in this passage from his inaugural address, given on March 4, 1845.

### Original Document

None can fail to see the danger to our safety and future peace if Texas remains an independent state or becomes an ally or dependency of some foreign nation more powerful than herself. Is there one among our citizens who would not prefer perpetual peace with Texas to occasional wars, which so often occur between bordering independent nations? . . . Is there one who would not prefer free intercourse with her to high duties on all our products and manufactures which enter her ports or cross her frontiers? Is there one who would not prefer an unrestricted communication with her citizens to the frontier obstructions which must occur if she remains out of the Union? Whatever is good or evil in the local institutions of Texas will remain her own whether annexed to the United States or not. None of the present States will be responsible for them any more than they are for the local institutions of each other. They have confederated together for certain specified objects. Upon the same principle that they would refuse to form a perpetual union with Texas because of her local institutions our forefathers would have been prevented from forming our present Union. Perceiving no valid objection to the measure and many reasons for its adoption vitally affecting the peace, the safety, and the prosperity of both countries, I shall on the broad principle which formed the basis and produced the adoption of our Constitution, and not in any narrow spirit of sectional policy, endeavor by all Constitutional, honorable, and appropriate means to consummate the expressed will of the people and Government of the United States by the reannexation of Texas to our Union at the earliest practicable period.

CONTINUED



PRIMARY SOURCE ►

4.9

JAMES K. POLK ON ANNEXATION CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

Everyone can see the danger of letting Texas remain an independent state or of allowing it to depend on some powerful foreign nation. Wouldn't we all prefer lasting peace with Texas to the wars that often occur between bordering independent nations? . . . Who wouldn't prefer free trade with the state of Texas to high duties on all the products we try to sell to her as an independent nation? Wouldn't we all prefer open communication with her citizens to frontier barriers she might put up if she were not in the Union? Whatever might be evil in the local institutions of Texas will remain with her whether she is in or out of the United States. None of the other states are responsible for them. These states all agreed to form the Union for certain purposes only. Our forefathers would never have formed our Union if they refused to admit states simply because they did not approve of all their local institutions. Seeing no valid objections, and many good reasons for it, I will complete the annexation of Texas. I will do so not out of a spirit of sectionalism, but on the same principles as led to the formation of our Constitution.

*Original Document Source:* James K. Polk, "Inaugural Address" (speech, Washington, DC, March 4, 1845), in *My Fellow Citizens: The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, 1789–2009*, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and Fred L. Israel (New York: Infobase, 2010), 112–113.

## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Read Primary Source 4.4, and then read Primary Source 4.8. Pretend you are O'Sullivan and write a letter to the Faneuil Hall organizers to try to reassure them about Texas. Now pretend you are one of those organizers and reply to O'Sullivan.
- ◆ In a small group, read and discuss Primary Source 4.5, a passage from John C. Calhoun's letter to British foreign minister Richard Pakenham. Do some further reading about this letter and its importance in the debate over annexing Texas. Do some additional research into Great Britain's decisions in the 1800s regarding the slave trade and slavery in its colonies. Based on your research, give a brief report to the class on the Pakenham letter and Great Britain's likely role with regard to Texas in 1844.
- ◆ As a group, read and discuss Primary Sources 4.2, 4.4, 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8 for this lesson. Choose one group member to play each of the following people: John L. O'Sullivan, an organizer of the 1838 Faneuil Hall meeting, Robert J. Walker, and Orville Dewey. Create and act out in class a brief role-playing skit involving these four individuals. The skit should be based on a discussion of the question for this lesson.

### Taking Action

- ◆ Are there contemporary examples of one nation trying to annex extra territory, or is annexation something that no longer happens? Research this question using the Internet and by looking through recent issues of various newsmagazines or newspapers. *The Economist* is an especially good source for stories of this sort. Prepare a brief five-minute report on your findings. Explain how the problem of annexing territory today is or is not like the annexation of Texas. Have your instructor record your reports and post them online. Discuss in class any responses you get on your reports.
- ◆ After completing the above assignment, try to find an individual from an annexed territory to interview. If you cannot find someone, find firsthand, historical accounts of a person's response to his or her country being annexed by another. Then write an editorial, including quotes from the interview or the firsthand account, and submit it to your local newspaper or some other publication, inviting them to use it. Ask for reader responses. Discuss any responses with the rest of the class.

# Lone Star Republic Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a relevant way to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development/Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in-depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task



## Primary Source Bibliography

- 4.1: Andrew Jackson. "Special Message." Speech made to Congress, Washington, DC, December 21, 1836. Edited by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley. The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=67012>.
- 4.2: O'Sullivan, John L. "The Great Nation of Futurity." *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 6 (November 1839): 426–430.
- 4.3: Ingraham, Joseph Holt. *The South-West*. Vol. 2. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835.
- 4.4: "Anti-Texas Meeting at Faneuil Hall!, Friends of Freedom! . . . Jan. 24, 1838." Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-57792.
- 4.5: Crallé, Richard K., ed. *Reports and Public Letters of John C. Calhoun*. New York: D. Appleton, 1883.
- 4.6: Walker, Robert J. *Letter of Mr. Walker of Mississippi, Relative to the Annexation of Texas*. Washington, DC: The Globe, 1844.
- 4.7: Dewey, Orville. *A Discourse on Slavery and the Annexation of Texas*. New York: C. S. Francis, 1844.
- 4.8: O'Sullivan, John, and O. C. Gardiner. *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. Vol. 17. New York: J. L. O'Sullivan and O. C. Gardiner, 1845.
- 4.9: Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., and Fred L. Israel, eds. *My Fellow Citizens: The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, 1789–2009*. New York: Infobase, 2010.

## Sources for Further Study

Cox, Bertha Mae. *True Tales of Texas*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2007.

McComb, David G. *Texas: An Illustrated History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Roberts, Russell. *Texas Joins the United States*. Hockessin, DE: Mitchell Lane, 2007.

Wade, May Dodson. *Stephen F. Austin: The Son Becomes Father of Texas*. Houston, TX: Bright Sky, 2009.

———. *Texas History*. Chicago, IL: Heinemann Library, 2008.