

Provocative Documents to Accompany
United States History,
Volume 1

Matthew Garrett, PhD

Editor

Table of Contents

Popés Rebellion: Native Testimonies Under Inquisition, 1861	1
John White’s Journal upon Returning to Vacant Roanoke, 1590	3
Nathaniel Bacon, "Declaration of the People," 1676	6
Puritan Society, 1630s-1660s	8
Hamilton vs. Jefferson, 1792	13
Amendments to the Constitution Proposed by the Hartford Convention, 1814	15
Textile Factory Regiment and Responses, 1830s – 1840s	17
African American Resistance to Slavery in the Antebellum South	23
Dred Scott to Freeport: Lincoln’s Political Wedge	28
Constitutional and Social Developments, 1860-1877	32

Popés Rebellion: Native Testimonies Under Inquisition, 1861

Declaration of the Indian, Juan of the Tesuque

He said that what he knows concerning this question that not all of them joined the said rebellion willingly; the chief mover of it is an Indian who is a native of the pueblo of San Juan, named El Popé, and that from fear of this Indian all of them joined in the plot that he made. . . . He said that the common report that circulated and still is current among all the natives that the said Indian Popé talks with the devil, and for this reason all held him in terror, obeying his commands although they were contrary to the orders of the senores governors, the prelates and the religious, and the Spaniards, he giving them to understand that the word which he spoke was better than that of all the rest; and he states that it was a matter of common knowledge that the Indian Popé, talking with the devil, killed in his own house a son-in-law of his named Nicolas Bua, the governor of the pueblo of San Juan. On being asked why he killed him, he said that it was so that he might not warn the Spaniards of the rebellion, as he intended to do.

[After the successful rebellion] Popé came down in person with all the war captains and many other Indians, proclaiming through the pueblos that the devil was very strong and much better than God, and that they should burn all the images and temples, rosaries and crosses, and that all the people should discard the names given them in holy baptism and call themselves whatever they like. They should leave the wives whom they had taken in holy matrimony and take any one whom they might wish, and they were not to mention in any manner the name of God, of the most holy Virgin, or of the Saints, on pain of severe punishment, particularly that of lashing, saying that the commands of the devil were better than that which they taught them of the law of God.¹

Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation

In the past years, at the summons of an Indian named Popé who is said to have communication with the devil, it happened that in an estufa of the pueblo of Los Taos there appeared to the said Popé three figures of Indians who never came out of the estufa. They gave the said Popé to understand that they were going underground to the lake of Copala. He saw these figures emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies, and that one of them was called Caudi, another Tilini, and the other Tleume; and these three beings spoke to the said Popé, who was in hiding from the secretary, Francisco Xavier, who wished to punish him as a sorcerer. They told him to make a cord of maguey fiber and tie some knots in it which would signify the number of days that they must wait before the rebellion. He said that the cord was passed through all the pueblos of the kingdom so that the ones which agreed to [the rebellion]

¹ Declaration [of the Indian, Juan. Place on the Rio del Norte, December 18, 1681],” American Journeys Collection: Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin’s Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682, Document No. AJ-009B, Wisconsin Historical Society Digital Library and Archives, <http://www.americanjourneys.org/pdf/AJ-009b.pdf>, p. 237, accessed May 20, 2016.

might untie one knot in sign of obedience, and by the other knots they would know the days which were lacking; and this was to be done on pain of death to those who refused to agree to it. . . .

As soon as the Spaniards had left the kingdom an order came from the said Indian, Popé, in which he commanded all the Indians to break the lands and enlarge their cultivated fields, saying that now they were as they had been in ancient times, free from the labor they had performed for the religious and the Spaniards, who could not now be alive. He said that this is the legitimate cause and the reason they had for rebelling, because they had always desired to live as they had when they came out of the lake of Copala. ..

He ordered in all the pueblos through which he passed that they instantly break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity, and that they burn the temples, break up the bells, and separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired. In order to take away their baptismal names, the water, and the holy oils, they were to plunge into the rivers and wash themselves with amole, which is a root native to the country, washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacraments.

They did this, and also many other things which he does not recall, given to understand that this mandate had come from the Caydi and the other two who emitted fire from their extremities in the said estufa of Taos, and that they thereby returned to the state of their antiquity, as when they came from the lake of Copala; that this was the better life and the one they desired, because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong, the Spaniard's God being rotten wood. These things were observed and obeyed by all except some who, moved by the zeal of Christians, opposed it, and such persons the said Popé caused to be killed immediately. He saw to it that they at once erected and rebuilt their houses of idolatry which they call estufas, and made very ugly masks in imitation of the devil in order to dance the dance of the cacina; and he said likewise that the devil had given them to understand that living thus in accordance with the law of their ancestors, they would harvest a great deal of maize, many beans, a great abundance of cotton, calabashes, and very large watermelons and cantaloupes; and that they could erect their houses and enjoy abundant health and leisure.

As he has said, the people were very much pleased, living at their ease in this life of their antiquity, which was the chief cause of their falling into such laxity. Following what has already been stated, in order to terrorize them further and cause them to observe the diabolical commands, there came to them a pronouncement from the three demons already described, and from El Popé, to the effect that he who might still keep in his heart a regard for the priests, the governor, and the Spaniards would be known from his unclean face and clothes, and would be punished.²

² "Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation [Place of the Rio del Norte, December 19, 1681]," History Matters, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6527/>, accessed May 20, 2016.

John White's Journal upon Returning to Vacant Roanoke, 1590

August 15, 1590

The 15 of August towards evening we came to an anchor at Hatorask [Hatteras], in 36 degr. and one third, in five fathoms water, three leagues from the shore. At our first coming to anchor on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the isle Raonoke [sic] near the place where I left our colony in the year 1587, which smoke put us in good hope that some of the colony were there expecting my return out of England.

August 16, 1590

The 16 and next morning our boats went ashore, & Captain Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their company with me, with intent to pass to the place at Raonoke, where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our master gunner to make ready two minions and a falcon well loaded, and to shoot them off with reasonable space between every shot, to the end that their reports might be heard to the place where we hoped to find some of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our two boats put off unto the shore, in the Admiral's boat we sounded all the way and found from our ship until we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seven fathoms: but before we were halfway between our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the southwest of Kindriker's mountains:3 we therefore thought good to go to the second smoke first: but it was much further from the harbor where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before we came to the smoke. But that which grieved us more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor sign that any had been there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drink. Being thus wearied with this journey we returned to the harbor where we left our boats, who in our absence had brought their cask ashore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak [sic] until the next morning, and caused some of those sailors to dig in those sandy hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night we returned aboard with our boats and our whole company in safety

August 17, 1590

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boats and company were prepared again to go up to Roanoak, but Captain Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by means whereof it was ten of the clock afore noon before we put from our ships which were then come to an anchor within two miles of the shore. . . . [stormy waters threatened ships and killed seven men]. . . . Our boats and all things fitted again, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boats: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding dark, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we spied towards the north end of the island the light of a great fire through the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel [anchor] near the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a call, & afterwards many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer, we therefore landed at day-

break, and coming to the fire, we found the grass & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the north point of the island, until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the savages' feet of 2 or 3 sorts trodden the night, and as we entered up the sandy bank upon a tree, in the very brow thereof were curiously carved these fair Roman letters C R O which letters presently we knew to signify the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them & me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any ways they should not fail to write or carve on the trees or posts of the doors the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming always they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the mainland. Therefore at my departure from them in An[no Domini] 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a Cross in this form, but we found no such sign of distress. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high pallisade of great trees, with cortynes [curtains] and flankers⁴ very fortlike, and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and 5 feet from the ground in fair capital letters was graven CROATOAN without any cross or sign of distress; this done, we entered into the pallisade, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers, iron sacker-shot, and such like heavy things, thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. From thence we went along by the water side, towards the point of the creek to see if we could find any of their boats or pinnaces, but we could perceive no sign of them, nor any of the last falcons and small ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our return from the creek, some of our sailors meeting us, told that they had found where divers chests had been hidden, and long since dug up again and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captain Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past by Captain Amadas: where we found five chests, that had been carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armor almost eaten through with rust; this could be no other but the deed of the savages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and as soon as they were departed dug up every place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends.³

³ "John White's Account of his Return to Roanoke, 1590," William Bruce Wheeler, Susan Becker and Lori Glover, *Discovering the American Past: Look at the Evidence*, Vol. 1: to 1877 (New York: Cengage, 2012), p. 26.

Questions to Consider

- Who is the author; what are his/her relevant biases?
- Why did White instruct the ship to fire cannons?
- What inferences can you make regarding the sources of smoke and fire that John Smith saw?
- Who was Dasamongwepeuk?
- What clues about the missing did John White observe upon his return to Roanoke?
- What did the absences of a maltase cross carved indicate?
- What can you infer about the settlers' relationship with the Indians based on the journal entries?
- What can you infer about the resources available at the colony?

Nathaniel Bacon, "Declaration of the People," 1676

1. For having, upon specious pretenses of public works, raised great unjust taxes upon the commonalty for the advancement of private favorites and other sinister ends, but no visible effects in any measure adequate; for not having, during this long time of his government, in any measure advanced this hopeful colony either by fortifications, towns, or trade.
 2. For having abused and rendered contemptible the magistrates of justice by advancing to places of judicature scandalous and ignorant favorites.
 3. For having wronged his Majesty's prerogative and interest by assuming monopoly of the beaver trade and for having in it unjust gain betrayed and sold his Majesty's country and the lives of his loyal subjects to the barbarous heathen.
 4. For having protected, favored, and emboldened the Indians against his Majesty's loyal subjects, never contriving, requiring, or appointing any due or proper means of satisfaction for their many invasions, robberies, and murders committed upon us.
 5. For having, when the army of English was just upon the track of those Indians, who now in all places burn, spoil, murder and when we might with ease have destroyed them who then were in open hostility, for then having expressly countermanded and sent back our army by passing his word for the peaceable demeanor of the said Indians, who immediately prosecuted their evil intentions, committing horrid murders and robberies in all places, being protected by the said engagement and word past of him the said Sir William Berkeley, having ruined and laid desolate a great part of his Majesty's country, and have now drawn themselves into such obscure and remote places and are by their success so emboldened and confirmed by their confederacy so strengthened that the cries of blood are in all places, and the terror and consternation of the people so great, are now become not only difficult but a very formidable enemy who might at first with ease have been destroyed.
 6. And lately, when, upon the loud outcries of blood, the assembly had, with all care, raised and framed an army for the preventing of further mischief and safeguard of this his Majesty's colony.
 7. For having, with only the privacy of some few favorites without acquainting the people, only by the alteration of a figure, forged a commission, by we know not what hand, not only without but even against the consent of the people, for the raising and effecting civil war and destruction, which being happily and without bloodshed prevented; for having the second time attempted the same, thereby calling down our forces from the defense of the frontiers and most weakly exposed places.
 8. For the prevention of civil mischief and ruin amongst ourselves while the barbarous enemy in all places did invade, murder, and spoil us, his Majesty's most faithful subjects
- Of this and the aforesaid articles we accuse Sir William Berkeley as guilty of each and every one of the same, and as one who has traitorously attempted, violated, and injured his Majesty's interest here by a loss of a great part of this his colony and many of his faithful loyal

subjects by him betrayed and in a barbarous and shameful manner exposed to the incursions and murder of the heathen. And we do further declare these the ensuing persons in this list to have been his wicked and pernicious councilors, confederates, aiders, and assisters against the commonalty in these our civil commotions.

Sir Henry Chichley

Lieut. Coll. Christopher Wormeley

William Sherwood

John Page Clerke

John Cluffe Clerke

John West

Hubert Farrell

Thomas Reade

Matthew Kempe

Joseph Bridger

William Claiburne Junior

Thomas Hawkins

Phillip Ludwell

Robert Beverley

Richard Lee

Thomas Ballard

William Cole

Richard Whitacre

Nicholas Spencer

And we do further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons in this list be forthwith delivered up or surrender themselves within four days after the notice hereof, or otherwise we declare as follows.

That in whatsoever place, house, or ship, any of the said persons shall reside, be hid, or protected, we declare the owners, masters, or inhabitants of the said places to be confederates and traitors to the people and the estates of them is also of all the aforesaid persons to be confiscated. And this we, the commons of Virginia, do declare, desiring a firm union amongst ourselves that we may jointly and with one accord defend ourselves against the common enemy. And let not the faults of the guilty be the reproach of the innocent, or the faults or crimes of the oppressors divide and separate us who have suffered by their oppressions. These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to command you forthwith to seize the persons above mentioned as traitors to the King and country and them to bring to Middle Plantation and there to secure them until further order, and, in case of opposition, if you want any further assistance you are forthwith to demand it in the name of the people in all the counties of Virginia.

Nathaniel Bacon

General by Consent of the people.⁴

⁴ "The Declaration of the People," American History from Revolution to Reconstruction and Beyond, University of Groningen, <http://www.let.rug.nl>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Puritan Society, 1630s-1660s

John Winthrop's Speech to Puritans Aboard the Arbella, 1630

... wee must be knitt together, in this worke, as one man. Wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection. Wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluties, for the supply of others' necessities. Wee must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekeness, gentlenes, patience and liberality. Wee must delight in eache other; make other's conditions our owne; rejoyce together, mourne together, labour and suffer together, always haueing before our eyes our commission and community in the worke, as members of the same body. . . . The eies [eyes] of all people are upon us. Soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our God in this worke wee have undertaken, and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.⁵

Robert Keayne, in his last will and testament, 1653

[My account books] . . . testify to the world on my behalfe that I have not lived an idle, lazie or dronish life nor spent my time wantonly, fruitlessly or in company keeping as some have beene too ready to asperse [criticize] me or that I have had in my whole time either in Old England or New, many spare houres to spend unprofitably away or to refreshe myself with recreations . . . but have rather studyed and endeavored to redeeme my time as a thing most deare and precyous to me and have often denyed myself in such refreshings that otherwise I might lawfully have made use of.⁶

A statement about education in New England, 1643.

After God had carried us safe to New England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civil Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning, and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard . . .⁷

⁵ "[John Winthrop,] A Modell of Christian Charity, [1630]," massmoments.org, accessed May 20, 2016.

⁶ "Robert Keayne, in his last will and testament, 1653," College Board, <http://apcentral.collegeboard.com>, accessed May 20, 2016.

⁷ George Rupp, *Beyond Individualism: The Challenge of Inclusive Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), no pagination.

John Higginson, "The Cause of God and His People in New England," 1662

My Fathers and Brethren, this is never to be forgotten that New England is originally a plantation of Religion, not a Plantation of Trade. Let merchants and such as are increasing Cent per Cent remember this. . . . that worldly gain was not the end and designe of the people of New England, but Religion.⁸

"Instruction for the Punishment of Incurable Children in Massachusetts," 1646.

If any childfren] above skteen years old and of sufficient understanding shall curse or smite their natural father or mother, they shall be put to death, unless it can be sufficiently testified that the parents have been very unchristianly negligent in the education of such children, or so provoked them by extreme and cruel correction that they have been forced thereunto to preserve themselves from death or maiming. . . . If a man have a stubborn or rebellious son of sufficient years of understanding, viz. sixteen, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him will not harken unto them, then shail his father and mother, being his natural parents, lay hold on him and bring him to the magistrates assembled in Court, and testifli to them by sufficient evidence that this their son is stubborn and rebellious and will not obey their voice and chastisement, but lives in sundry notorious crimes. Such a son shall be put to death.⁹

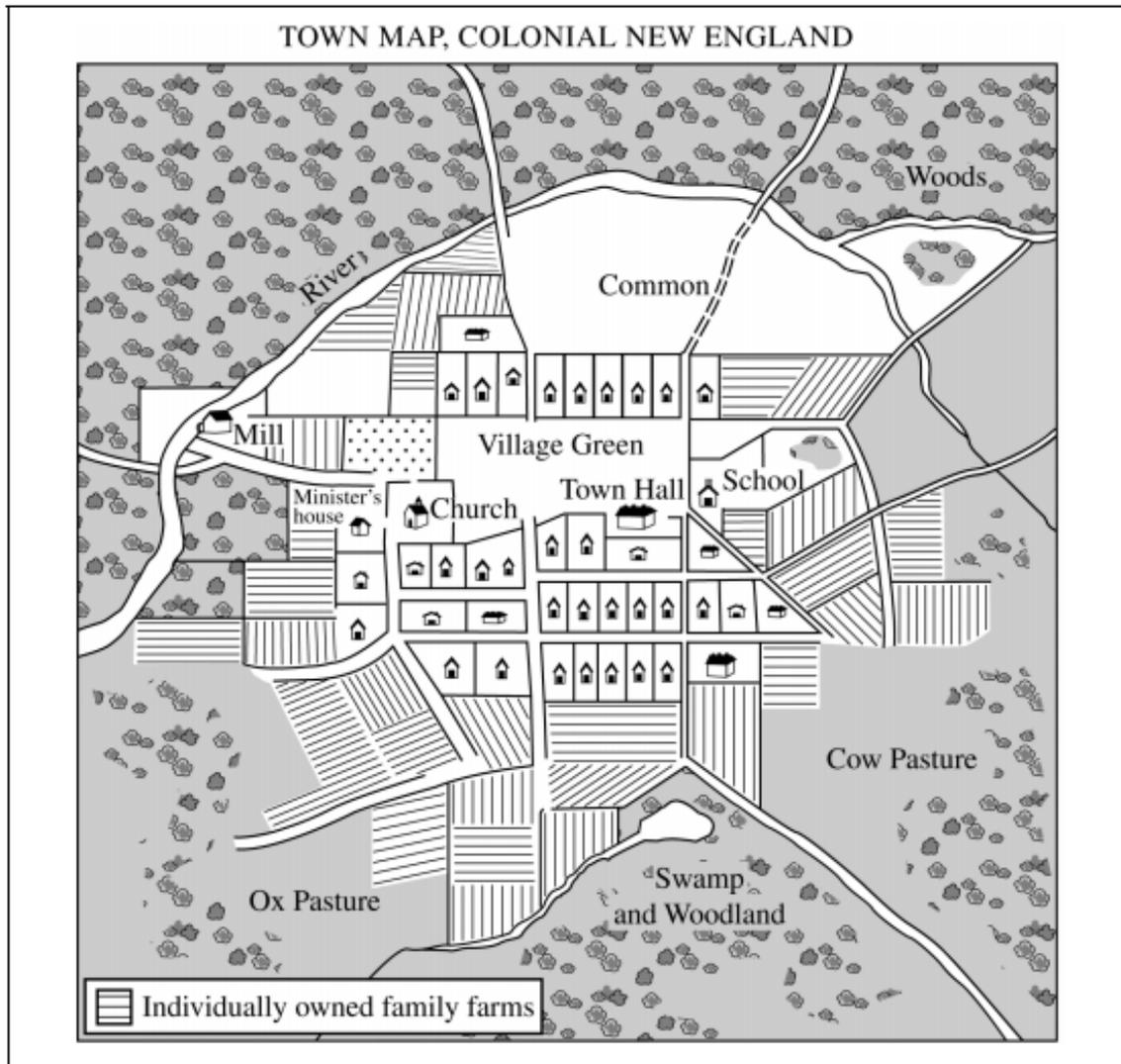
The Enlarged Salem Covenant of 1636

In public or private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church . . . We bind our selves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace; both in regard of those that are within or without [church membership] . . . not laying a stumbling block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote . . . We do hereby promise to carry our selves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us, in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord . . . We resolve to approve our selves to the Lord in our particular callings; shunning idleness as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards. Promising also unto our best ability to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of His Will, that they may serve Him also; and all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ . . .¹⁰

⁸ John Higginson, "The Cause of God and His People in New England, [1662,]" as quoted in Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 140.

⁹ Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America: With Remarks on Its Institutions* (New York: WM. H. Cyler, 1839), p. 68

¹⁰ Joshua Toulmin and John Overton Choules, *The History of Puritans, Or Protestant Nonconformists: From the Reformation in 1517, to the Revolution in 1688; Comprising an Account of Their Principles; Their Attempts for a Farther Reformation in the Church; Their*



“Town Map, Colonial New England,” Trinity School,
<http://www.trinityhistory.org/AmH/u2maps.htm>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Roger Williams, “A Plea for Religious Liberty,” 1644.

God requireth not a uniformity of religion to be enacted and enforced in any civil state; which enforced uniformity sooner or later is the greatest occasion of civil war, ravishing of conscience, persecution of Christ Jesus in his servants, and of the hypocrisy and destruction of millions of souls.¹¹

Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of Their Most Considerable Divines, Volume 1 (London: Harper, 1844), p. 300.

¹¹ Roger Williams, “A Plea for Religious Liberty, [1644,]” Constitution Society, www.constitution.org, accessed May 20, 2016.

William Bradford, after the colonists' attack on the Pequot's Mystic River village, 1637.

It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same; and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud, insulting, and blasphemous an enemy.¹²

Nathaniel Ward, *The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam*, 1647

He that is willing to tolerate any religion, or discrepant way of religion, besides his own, unless it be in matters merely indifferent, either doubts of his own or is not sincere in it. . . . That state that will give liberty of conscience in matters of religion, must give liberty of conscience and conversation in their moral laws, or else the fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack.¹³

John Cotton, "Limitations on Government," 1655

Let all the world learn to give mortal men no greater power than they are content they shall use—for use it they will. And unless they be better taught of God, they will use it ever and anon. . . . No man would think what desperate deceit and wickedness there is in the hearts of men. It is therefore most wholesome for magistrates and officers in church and commonwealth never to affect more liberty and authority than will do them good, and the people good: for whatever transcendent power is given will certainly overrun those that give it and those that receive it. . . . It is therefore fit for every man to be studious of the bounds which the Lord hath set: and for the people, in whom fundamentally all power lies, to give as much power as God in His word gives to men. . . . So let there be due bounds set—and I may apply it to families: it is good for the wife to acknowledge all power and authority to the husband . . . And so for children and servants, or any other you are to deal with: give them liberty and authority you would have them use, and beyond that stretch not the tether; it will not tend to their good nor yours.¹⁴

¹² William Bradford, *The Mayflower Papers: Selected Writings of Colonial New England*, Mary White Rowlandson and Benjamin Church, eds. (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 85.

¹³ Nathaniel Ward, *The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam, 1647, The American Puritans, Their Prose and Poetry*, Perry Miller, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 100.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 85.

Historians Gerald Grob and Robert Beck define the economics of Puritanism

Puritanism was largely a middle-class movement that had economic as well as political implications.

There is little doubt that Puritanism was closer to medieval theory than the material goals and values of a growing middle class that was becoming prominent in England and Western Europe after the fifteenth century. While the Puritan never thought of his religion in economic terms, he did emphasize the fact that man could serve God not by withdrawing from the world, but rather by following an occupation or calling that served the world. The Puritan emphasis on industry and enterprise appealed to the middle class in a way that could not appeal to the peasantry or nobility. Although it is difficult to show a causal relationship between capitalism and Puritanism it is probably safe to assert that both movements tended to move closer together because of the affinity and attraction of each toward the other. Undoubtedly Puritan and capitalist ideas went into the formation of the American doctrine of Laissez-faire individualism, a theory that was destined to have momentous repercussions for subsequent economic and social development.

In spite of the proximity of certain Puritan values to the rising capitalistic ethic, Puritanism was more medieval than modern in its economic theory and practice. The idea of unrestrained economic individualism would have seemed a dangerous notion to any self-respecting Puritan. The statute books and court records of seventeenth-century Massachusetts abound in examples of price and wage controls instituted by the government of the colony. The Puritans, furthermore, always looked upon wealth as a gift from God given in the form of a trust; and they emphasized not only the benefits that accrued from work and wealth, but also their duties and responsibilities. In 1639, for example, one of the richest merchants in the colony was fined by the General Court (the highest legislative body) for excessive profiteering, despite the fact that there was no statute against the practice. The Puritans could never separate religion and business, and they often reiterated the medieval conception of the "just price."

In the long run, however, the Puritan ethic, when divorced from its religious background, did serve to quicken and stimulate the spirit of capitalism. The limitations placed by the Puritans on the individual and the freedom of movement within society were subordinated as the time went on in favor of the enterprising and driving individual who possessed the ability and ambition to rise through his own exertions. Thus it is paradoxical that seventeenth-century Puritanism, which was diametrically opposed to economic individualism, should have played a major part in the emergence of a laissez-faire capitalistic ethic.¹⁵

¹⁵ Gerald N. Grob and Robert N. Beck, *American Ideas*, Vol. 1 (New York: Free Press, 1963), p. 63.

Hamilton vs. Jefferson, 1792

Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792

“It was not till the last session [of Congress] that I became unequivocally convinced of the following truth: ‘That Mr. Madison, cooperating with Mr. Jefferson, is at the head of a faction decidedly hostile to me and my administration; and actuated by views, in my judgement, subversive of the principles of good government and dangerous to the Union, peace, and happiness of the country.’

In almost all the questions, great and small, which have arisen since the first session of Congress, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison have been found among those who are disposed to narrow the federal authority.

In respect to foreign politics, the views of these gentlemen are, in my judgment. . . . unsound and dangerous. They have a womanish attachment to France and a womanish resentment against Great Britain. They would draw us into the closest embrace of the former, and involve us in all the consequences of her politics; and they would risk the peace of the country in their endeavors to keep us at the greatest possible distance from the latter. . . . Various circumstances prove me that if these gentlemen were left to pursue their own course, there would be, in less than six months, and open war between the United States and Great Britain.

A word on another point. I am told that serious apprehensions are disseminated in your state [Virginia] as to the existence of a monarchial party mediating the destruction of State and republican government. If it is possible that so absurd an idea can gain ground, it is necessary that it should be combated. I assure you, on my private faith and honor as a man, that there is not, in my judgement, a shadow of foundation for it. A very small number of men indeed may entertain theories less republican than Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, but I am persuaded there is not a man among them who would not regard as both criminal and visionary any attempt to subvert the republican system of the country.”¹⁶

¹⁶ Alexander Hamilton to Colonel Edward Carrington, Philadelphia, May 26, 1792,” National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-11-02-0349>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, September 9, 1792

“That . . . dissensions have taken place is certain, and even among those who are nearest to you in the administration. To no one have they given deeper concern than myself. . . .

“That I have utterly, in my private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the Treasury, I acknowledge and avow; and this was not merely a speculative difference. His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty, and was calculated to undermine and demolish the republic, by creating an influence of his department over the members of the Legislature. I saw his influence actually produced, and its first fruits to be the establishment of the great outlines of his project by the votes of the very persons who, having swalled his bait, were laying themselves out to profit by his plans. . . .

No man is more ardently intent to see the public debt soon and sacredly paid off than I am. This exactly marks the difference between Colonel Hamilton’s views and mine, that I would wish the debt paid tomorrow; he wishes it never to be paid, but always to be a thing where with to corrupt and manage the legislature. . . .

In the case of the two nations with which we have the most intimate connections, France and England, my system was to give some satisfactory distinctions to the former, of little cost to us, in return for the solid advantages yielded us by them; and to have met the English with some restrictions which might induce them to abate their severities against our commerce....Yet the Secretary of the treasury, by his cabals with members of the legislature, and by high-toned declamation on other occasions, has forced down his own system, which was exactly the reverse....

...My objection to the constitution was that it wanted a bill of rights...Colonel Hamilton’s was that it wanted a king and house of lords. The sense of America has approved my objection and added the bill of rights, not the king and lords....He wishes the general government should have power to make laws binding the states in all cases whatsoever. Our country has thought otherwise: has he acquiesced?¹⁷

Thomas Jefferson to Phillip Mazzei of Italy, April 24, 1796

“The aspect of our politics has wonderfully changed since you left us. In place of that noble love of liberty, & republican government which carried us triumphantly thro’ the war, an Anglican monarchial, & aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance, as they have already done the forms, of the British government. The main body of our citizens, however, remain true to their republican principles. . . .”¹⁸

¹⁷ “Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, September 9, 1791,” *Birth of the Republic: The Origins of the United States*, Warren L. McFarren, ed. (Sanford, Florida: Southern Liberty Press, 2005) p. 393.

¹⁸ “Thomas Jefferson to Phillip Mazzei, April 24, 1796,” University of Groningen, <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl116.php>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Amendments to the Constitution Proposed by the Hartford Convention, 1814

Therefore resolved.-That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several States represented in this Convention to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said States from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions, subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the Constitution of the United States

Resolved.-That it be and hereby is recommended to the said Legislatures, to authorize an immediate and earnest application to be made to the Government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the said States may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defense of their territory against the enemy, and a reasonable portion of the taxes, collected within said States, may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the payment of the balance due said States, and to the future defense of the same. The amount so paid into the said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged to the United States.

Resolved.-That it be, and it hereby is, recommended to the Legislatures of the aforesaid States, to pass laws (where it has not already been done) authorizing the Governors or Commanders-in Chief of their militia to make detachments from the same, or to form voluntary corps, as shall be most convenient and conformable to their Constitutions, and to cause the same to be well armed equipped and disciplined, and held in readiness for service; and upon the request of the Governor of either of the other States, to employ the whole of such detachment or corps, as well as the regular forces of the State, or such part thereof as may be required and can be spared consistently with the safety of the State, in assisting the State, making such request to repel any invasion thereof which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy.

Resolved.-That the following amendments of the Constitution of the United States, be recommended to the States as aforesaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the State Legislatures, and, in such cases as may be deemed expedient, by a Convention chosen by the people of each State.

And it is further recommended, that the said States shall persevere in their efforts to obtain such amendments, until the same shall be effected.

First.-Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, and all other persons.

Second.-No new State shall be admitted into the union by Congress in virtue of the power granted by the Constitution, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses.

Third.-Congress shall not have power to lay any embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the ports or harbors thereof, for more than sixty days.

Fourth.-Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation or the dependencies thereof.

Forth.-Congress shall not make or declare war, or authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses, except such acts of hostility be in defense of the territories of the United States when actually invaded.

Sixth.-No person who shall hereafter be naturalized, shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, nor capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States.

Seventh.-The same person shall not be elected President of the United States a second time; nor shall the President be elected from the same State two terms in succession.

Resolved.-That if the application of these States to the government of the United States, recommended in a foregoing Resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded and the defense of these States should be neglected, as it has been since the commencement of the war, it will in the opinion of this Convention be expedient for the Legislatures of the several States to appoint Delegates to another Convention, to meet at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, on the third Thursday of June next with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.¹⁹

¹⁹ “Amendments to the Constitution Proposed by the Hartford Convention, 1814,” The Avalon Project, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Textile Factory Regiment and Responses, 1830s – 1840s

Regulations to be observed by persons occupying the Boarding-houses belonging to the Merrimack Manufacturing company.

1. They must not board any persons not employed by the company, unless by special permission.
2. No disorderly or improper conduct must be allowed in the houses.
3. The doors must be closed at 10 o'clock in the evening; and no person admitted after that time, unless a sufficient excuse can be given.
4. Those who keep the houses, when required, must give an account of the number, names, and employment of their boarders; also with regard to their general conduct and whether they are in the habit of attending public worship....
5. No one will be allowed to keep swine.
6. No tenant is admitted who has not hitherto borne a good character, and who does not continue to sustain it.In many cases the tenant has long been keeper of the house, for six, eight, or twelve years, and is well known to hundreds of her girls as their adviser and friend and second mother. . . .
7. To obtain this constant importation of female hands from the country, it is necessary to secure the moral protection of their characters while they are resident in Lowell. This, therefore, is the chief object of that moral police referred to, some details of which will now be given.
8. It should be stated, in the outset, that no persons are employed on the Corporations who are addicted to intemperance, or who are known to be guilty of any immoralities of conduct. ...any person known to be addicted to their use is at once dismissed. . . .
9. In relation to other immoralities, it may be stated, that the suspicion of criminal conduct, association with suspected persons, and general and habitual light behavior and conversation, are regarded as sufficient reasons for dismissions, and for which delinquent operatives are discharge This system, which has been in operation in Lowell from the beginning, is of great and important effect in driving unworthy persons from our city, and in preserving the high character of our operatives."²⁰

²⁰ Frederick William Coburn, *History of Lowell and Its People*, vol. 1 (Lowell, Mass.: Lewis Historical Company, 1920), p. 156, 249.

[Lowell Company] Rules and Regulations to be attended to and followed by the Young Persons who come to Board in this House:

Rule first: Each one to enter the house without unnecessary noise or confusion, and hang up their bonnet, shawl, coat, etc., etc., in the entry.

Rule second: Each one to have their place at the table during meals, the two which have worked the greatest length of time in the Factory to sit on each side of the head of the table, so that all new hands will of course take their seats lower down, according to the length of the time they have been here.

Rule third: it is expected that order and good manners will be preserved at table during meals—and at all other times either upstairs or down.

Rule fourth: There is no unnecessary dirt to be brought into the house by the Boarder, such as apple cores or peels, or nut shells, etc.

Rule fifth: Each boarder is to take her turn in making the bed and sweeping the chamber in which she sleeps.

Rule sixth: Those who have worked the longest in the Factory are to sleep in the North Chamber and the new hands will sleep in the South Chamber.

Rule seventh: As a lamp will be lighted every night upstairs and placed in a lantern, it is expected that no boarder will take a light into the chambers.

Rule eighth: The doors will be closed at ten o'clock at night, winter and summer, at which time each boarder will be expected to retire to bed.

Rule ninth: Sunday being appointed by our Creator as a Day of Rest and Religious Exercises, it is expected that all boarders will have sufficient discretion as to pay suitable attention to the day, and if they cannot attend to some place of Public Worship they will keep within doors and improve their time in reading, writing, and in other valuable and harmless employment.²¹

²¹ Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon and Susan Reverby, ed., *America's Working Women* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), p. 46-47.

TIME TABLE OF THE LOWELL MILLS,

Arranged to make the working time throughout the year average 11 hours per day.

TO TAKE EFFECT SEPTEMBER 21st., 1853.

The Standard time being that of the meridian of Lowell, as shown by the Regulator Clock of AMOS SANBORN, Post Office Corner, Central Street.

From March 20th to September 19th, inclusive.

COMMENCE WORK, at 6.30 A. M. LEAVE OFF WORK, at 6.30 P. M., except on Saturday Evenings.
BREAKFAST at 6 A. M. DINNER, at 12 M. Commence Work, after dinner, 12.45 P. M.

From September 20th to March 19th, inclusive.

COMMENCE WORK at 7.00 A. M. LEAVE OFF WORK, at 7.00 P. M., except on Saturday Evenings.
BREAKFAST at 6.30 A. M. DINNER, at 12.30 P. M. Commence Work, after dinner, 1.15 P. M.

BELLS.

From March 20th to September 19th, inclusive.

<i>Morning Bells.</i>	<i>Dinner Bells.</i>	<i>Evening Bells.</i>
First bell,.....4.30 A. M.	Ring out,.....12.00 M.	Ring out,.....6.30 P. M.
Second, 5.30 A. M.; Third, 6.20.	Ring in,.....12.35 P. M.	Except on Saturday Evenings.

From September 20th to March 19th, inclusive.

<i>Morning Bells.</i>	<i>Dinner Bells.</i>	<i>Evening Bells.</i>
First bell,.....5.00 A. M.	Ring out,.....12.30 P. M.	Ring out at.....7.00 P. M.
Second, 6.00 A. M.; Third, 6.50.	Ring in,.....1.05 P. M.	Except on Saturday Evenings.

SATURDAY EVENING BELLS.

During APRIL, MAY, JUNE, JULY, and AUGUST, Ring Out, at 6.00 P. M.

The remaining Saturday Evenings in the year, ring out as follows:

SEPTEMBER.	NOVEMBER.	JANUARY.
First Saturday, ring out 6.00 P. M.	Third Saturday ring out 4.00 P. M.	Third Saturday, ring out 4.25 P. M.
Second " " 5.45 "	Fourth " " 3.55 "	Fourth " " 4.35 "
Third " " 5.30 "		
Fourth " " 5.20 "		
OCTOBER.	DECEMBER.	FEBRUARY.
First Saturday, ring out 5.05 P. M.	First Saturday, ring out 3.50 P. M.	First Saturday, ring out 4.45 P. M.
Second " " 4.55 "	Second " " 3.55 "	Second " " 4.55 "
Third " " 4.45 "	Third " " 3.55 "	Third " " 5.00 "
Fourth " " 4.35 "	Fourth " " 4.00 "	Fourth " " 5.10 "
Fifth " " 4.25 "	Fifth " " 4.00 "	
NOVEMBER.	JANUARY.	MARCH.
First Saturday, ring out 4.15 P. M.	First Saturday, ring out 4.10 P. M.	First Saturday, ring out 5.25 P. M.
Second " " 4.05 "	Second " " 4.15 "	Second " " 5.30 "
		Third " " 5.35 "
		Fourth " " 5.45 "

YARD GATES will be opened at the first stroke of the bells for entering or leaving the Mills.

•• SPEED GATES commence hoisting three minutes before commencing work.

Penhallow, Printer, Wyman's Exchange, 28 Merrimack St.

"Time Table of the Lowell Mills," US History Atlas,

<http://ushistoryatlas.com/era4/USHAcom PS U04 millsch R2.pdf>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Lowell Manufacturing Company Rules and Regulations

All persons in the employ of the Lowell Manufacturing Company are required to observe the Regulations of the overseer of the Room where they are employed; they are not to be absent from work without his consent, except in cases of sickness, and then they are to send him word of the cause of their absence.

They are to board in one of the Boarding-Houses belonging to the Company, and to conform to the regulations of the House where they board; they are to give information at the County-Room, of the place where they board, when they begin; and also give notice whenever they change their boarding place.

The company will not employ any one who is habitually absent from public worship on the Sabbath.

It is considered a part of the engagement that each person remains twelve months if required; and all persons intending to leave the employment of the Company are to give two weeks' notice of their intention to their Overseer. . . .

The Pay Roll will be made up to the last Saturday of every month, and the payment made to the Carpet Mill the following Saturday, and the Cotton Mill the succeeding Tuesday, when every person will be expected to pay their board.

The Company will not continue to employ any person who shall be wanting in proper respect to the females employed by the Company, or who shall smoke within the Company's premises, or be guilty of inebriety, or other improper conduct.

The Tenants of the Boarding-Houses are not to board or permit any part of their house to be occupied by any person, except those in the employ of the Company.

They will be considered answerable for any improper conduct in their House, and are not to permit their Boarders to have company at unseasonable hours.

The doors must be closed at ten o'clock in the evening, and no person admitted after that time without some reasonable excuse.

The keepers of the Boarding-House must give an account of the number, names and employment of the Boarders when required, and report the names of such as are guilty of any improper conduct.

The Buildings, and yards about them, must be kept clean and in good order, and if they are injured otherwise than from ordinary use, all necessary repairs will be made and charged to the occupant.

It is desirable that the families of those who live in the House, as well as the Boarders, who have not had the Kine Pox, should be vaccinated; which will be done at the expense of the Company for such as wish it.²²

²² Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1910), p. 375-376.

"Dignity of Labor," Lowell Offering

Dignity of Labor From whence originated the idea, that it was derogatory to a lady's dignity, or a blot upon the female character, to labor? and who was the first to say, sneeringly, "Oh, she works for a living"? Surely, such ideas and expressions ought not to grow on republican soil. The time has been, when ladies of the first rank were accustomed to busy themselves in domestic employment. Homer tells us of princesses who used to draw water from the springs, and wash with their own hands the finest of the linen of their respective families. The famous Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her attendants; and the wife of Ulysses, after the siege of Troy, employed herself in weaving, until her husband returned to Ithaca. And in later times, the wife of George the Third of England, has been represented as spending a whole evening in hemming pocket-handkerchiefs, while her daughter Mary sat in the corner, darning stockings. Few American fortunes will support a woman who is above the calls of her family; and a man of sense, in choosing a companion to jog with him through all the up-hills and down-hills of life, would sooner choose one who had to work for a living, than one who thought it beneath her to soil her pretty hands with manual labor, although she possessed her thousands. To be able to earn one's own living by laboring with the hands, should be reckoned among female accomplishments; and I hope the time is not far distant when none of my countrywomen will be ashamed to have it known that they are better versed in useful, than they are in ornamental accomplishments.²³

Letter from Mary Paul Lowell Dec 21st 1845

Dear Father I received your letter on Thursday the 14th with much pleasure. I am well which is one comfort. My life and health are spared while others are cut off. Last Thursday one girl fell down and broke her neck which caused instant death. She was going in or coming out of the mill and slipped down it being very icy. The same day a man was killed by the cars. Another had nearly all of his ribs broken. Another was nearly killed by falling down and having a bale of cotton fall on him. Last Tuesday we were paid. In all I had six dollars and sixty cents paid four dollars and sixty-eight cents for board. With the rest I got me a pair of rubbers and a pair of 50.cts shoes. . . . I get along very well with my work. I can doff as fast as any girl in our room. I think I shall have frames before long. The usual time allowed for learning is six months but I think I shall have frames before I have been in three as I get along so fast. I think that the factory is the best place for me and if any girl wants employment I advise them to come to Lowell. Tell Harriet that though she does not hear from me she is not forgotten. I have little time to devote to writing that I cannot write all I want to. . . .²⁴

²³ *Lowell Offerings*, Series II, Vol. II (1842) p. 192

²⁴ Thomas Dublin, ed., *Farm to Factory: Women's Letters, 1830-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p.100-104.

Editor's Valedictory. & Editorial: The Ten-Hour Movement.

It has been the object of the editor to encourage the cultivation of talent, and thus open and enlarge the sources of enjoyment in the midst of a toilsome life. . . . We hoped ere this to have seen a spacious room, with a Library, &c., established on each Corporation, for the accommodation of the female operatives in the evenings. The example, we trust, will shortly be set by the Merrimack. And why should not bathing-rooms be fitted up in the basement of each Mill? The expense would not be felt by the Company, and the means of health and comfort thus provided, would be gratefully acknowledged. We suggest, in addition, a better ventilation- of the boarding-houses. Diminution of the hours of mill-labor, and the entire abrogation of premiums to Overseers, should also be included in the list of improvements. It seems to have been generally conceded, that the time allotted to meals is very short-where the operatives have tolerable appetites: and this is usually the case with persons who work so regularly and indefatigably. Why not have compromised then with the petitioners, and allowed them one hour for dinner through the year, and three-quarters of an hour for breakfast? The dinner hour is given in some manufacturing places, therefore the plea with regard to competition is not unanswerable. We believe also that Lowell is expected to take the lead in all improvements of this nature, and, should she amend her present system, it is more probable that she would be imitated than successfully contended against. . . .²⁵

²⁵ *Lowell Offerings*, Series II, Vol. II (1842) p. 380; Series II, Vol. V (1842) p. 96.

African American Resistance to Slavery in the Antebellum South

“Hog-Killing Time”

I rememer Mammy told me about one master who almost starved his slaves. Mighty stingy, I reckon he was. Some of them slaves was so poorly thin they ribs would kinda rustle against each other like corn stalks a-drying in the hot winds. But they gets even one hog-killing time, and it was funny, too, Mammy said.

They was seven hogs, fat and ready for fall hog-killing time. Just the day before Old Master told off they was to be killed, something happened to all them porkers. One of the field boys found them and come a-telling the master: "The hogs is all died, now they won't be any meats for the winter."

When the master gets to where at the hogs is laying, they's a lot of Negroes standing round looking sorrow-eyed at the wasted meat. The master asks: "What's the illness with 'em?"

"Malitis," they tells him, and they acts like they don't want to touch the hogs. Master says to dress them anyway for they ain't no more meat on the place.

He says to keep all the meat for the slave families, but that's because he's afreid to eat it hisself account of the hogs got malitis.

Don't you all know what is malitis?" Mammy would ask the children when she was telling of the seven fat hogs and seventy lean slaves. And she would laugh, remembering how they fooled Old Master so's to get all them good meats.²⁶

“The Old Parrot”

The mistress had an old parrot, and one day I was in the kitchen making cookies, and I decided I wanted some of them, so I tooks me out some and put them on a chair, and when I did this the mistress entered the door. I picks up a cushion and throws [it] over the pile of cookies on the chair, and Mistress came near the chair and the old parrot cries out, "Mistress burn, Mistress burn." Then the mistress looks under the cushion, and she had me whipped, but the next day I killed the parrot, and she often wondered who or what killed the bird.²⁷

“A Grave for Old Master”

Two slaves were sent out to dig a grave for old master. They dug it very deep. As I passed by I asked Jess and Bob what in the world they dug it so deep for. It was down six or seven feet. I told them there would be a fuss about it, and they had better fill it up some. Jess said it suited him exactly. Bob said he would not fill it up; he wanted to get the old man as near home as possible. When we got a stone to put on his grave, we hauled the largest we could find so as to fasten him down as strong as possible.²⁸

²⁶ B.A. Botkin, *Federal Writers Project, Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 4-5.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 124.

“Stripped of their culture as well as their freedom when they arrived in the US, Africans devised ways to hang on to both. . . . African-American slaves used song to link themselves back to their African heritage, position themselves in the present, and project themselves forward to a world of freedom. Through their songs, and the communal performance of these songs, slaves created a space free from the master’s control; constructing a cultural landscape to compensate for an empowered physical one. With characters lifted from the Bible and words sung in English, slave songs were not so much a rejection of the master’s culture—something impossible given the circumstances—than a reworking of it, an incorporation and adaption that put it to radically different uses.”²⁹

“Nobody knows de Trouble,” Traditional African Folk Song

Nobody knows de trouble I see, Nobody knows but Jesus;
Nobody knows de trouble I see, Glory, hallelujah!
Nobody knows de trouble I see, Nobody knows but Jesus;
Nobody knows de trouble I see, Glory, Hallelujah!
Sometimes I’m up Sometimes I’m down, Oh, yes, Lord;
Sometimes I’m almost to de grou’ Oh, yes, Lord
Altho’ you see me goin’ ‘long so, Oh, yes, Lord;
I have my trails here below, Oh, yes, Lord.
Oh! Nobody knows de trouble I see, Nobody knows but Jesus;
Nobody knows de trouble I see, Glory, hallelujah!

“Go Down Moses,” Traditional African Folk Song

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt land
Tell ol’ Pharaoh
To let my people go!
Thus spoke the Lord, bold Moses said
Let my people go.
If not I’ll smite your firstborn dead.
Let my people go.

“Roll, Jordan, Roll,” Traditional African Folk Song

Done wid driber’s dribin’
Done wid driber’s dribin’
Done wid driber’s dribin’
Roll, Jordan, roll.
Done wid massa’s hollerin’,
Done wid missus’ scoldin.

²⁹ Stephen Duncombe, *Cultural Resistance Reader* (New York: Verso, 2002), p. 215.

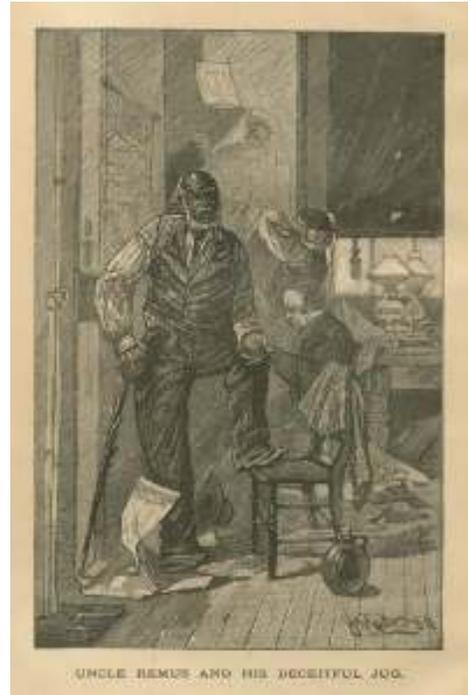
Two chapters from Joel Chandler Harris' Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings

Ch. 2:

THE WONDERFUL TAR-BABY STORY.

"DIDN'T the fox *never* catch the rabbit, Uncle Remus?" asked the little boy the next evening.

"He come mighty nigh it, honey, sho's you bawn-- Brer Fox did. One day atter Brer Rabbit fool 'im wid dat calamus root, Brer Fox went ter wuk en got 'im some tar, en mix it wid some turkentime, en fix up a contrapshun wat he call a Tar-Baby, en he tuck dish yer Tar-Baby en he sot 'er in de big road, en den he lay off in de bushes fer ter see wat de news wuz gwineter be. En he didn't hatter wait long, nudder, kaze bimeby here come Brer Rabbit pacin' down de road--lippity-clippity, clippity-lippity--dez ez sassy ez a jay-bird. Brer Fox, he lay low. Brer Rabbit come prancin' 'long twel he spy de Tar-Baby, en den he fotch up on his behime legs like he wuz 'stonished. De Tar-Baby, she sot dar, she did, en Brer Fox, he lay low.



" 'Mawnin'!' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee--'nice wedder dis mawnin',' sezee.

"Tar-Baby ain't sayin' nuthin', en Brer Fox, he lay low.

" 'How duz yo' sym'tums seem ter segashuate?' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee.

"Brer Fox, he wink his eye slow, en lay low, en de Tar-Baby, she ain't sayin' nuthin'.

" 'How you come on, den? Is you deaf?' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee. 'Kaze if you is, I kin holler louder,' sezee.

"Tar-Baby stay still, en Brer Fox, he lay low.

" 'Youer stuck up, dat's w'at you is,' says Brer Rabbit, sezee, 'en I'm gwineter kyore you, dat's w'at I'm a gwineter do,' sezee.

"Brer Fox, he sorter chuckle in his stummuck, he did, but Tar-Baby ain't sayin' nuthin'.

" 'I'm gwineter larn you howter talk ter 'specttubble fokes ef hit's de las' ack,' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee. 'Ef you don't take off dat hat en tell me howdy, I'm gwineter bus' you wide open,' sezee.

"Tar-Baby stay still, en Brer Fox, he lay low.

"Brer Rabbit keep on axin' 'im, en de Tar-Baby, she keep on sayin' nuthin', twel present'y Brer Rabbit draw back wid his fis', he did, en blip he tuck 'er side er de head. Right dar's whar he broke his merlasses jug. His fis' stuck, en he can't pull loose. De tar hilt 'im. But Tar-Baby, she stay still, en Brer Fox, he lay low.

" 'Ef you don't lemme loose, I'll knock you agin,' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee, en wid dat he fotch 'er a wipe wid de udder han', en dat stuck. Tar-Baby, she ain't sayin' nuthin', en Brer Fox, he lay low.

" 'Tu'n me loose, fo' I kick de natal stuffin' ouden you,' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee, but de Tar-Baby, she ain't sayin' nuthin'. She des hilt on, en den Brer Rabbit lose de use er his feet in de same way. Brer Fox, he lay low. Den Brer Rabbit squall out dat ef de Tar-Baby don't tu'n 'im loose he butt 'er cranksided. En den he butted, en his head got stuck. Den Brer Fox, he sa'ntered fort', lookin' des ez innercent ez wunner yo' mammy's mockin'-birds.

" 'Howdy, Brer Rabbit,' sez Brer Fox, sezee. 'You look sorter stuck up dis mawnin',' sezee, en den he rolled on de groun', en laft en laft twel he couldn't laff no mo'. 'I speck you'll take dinner wid me dis time, Brer Rabbit. I done laid in some calamus root, en I ain't gwineter take no skuse,' sez Brer Fox, sezee."

Here Uncle Remus paused, and drew a two-pound yam out of the ashes.

"Did the fox eat the rabbit?" asked the little boy to whom the story had been told.

"Dat's all de fur de tale goes," replied the old man. "He mout, en den agin he moutent. Some say Jedge B'ar come 'long en loosed 'im--some say he didn't. I hear Miss Sally callin'. You better run 'long."



Ch 4:

HOW MR. RABBIT WAS TOO SHARP FOR MR. FOX.

"UNCLE REMUS," said the little boy one evening, when he had found the old man with little or nothing to do, "did the fox kill and eat the rabbit when he caught him with the Tar-Baby?"

"Law, honey, ain't I tell you 'bout dat?" replied the old darkey, chuckling slyly. "I 'clar ter grashus I ought er tole you dat, but ole man Nod wuz ridin' on my eyeleds 'twel a leetle mo'n I'd a dis'member'd my own name, en den on to dat here come yo' mammy hollerin' atter you.

"W'at I tell you w'en I fus' begin? I tole you Brer Rabbit wuz a monstus soon beas'; leas'ways dat's w'at I laid out fer ter tell you. Well, den, honey, don't you go en make no udder kalkalashuns, kaze in dem days Brer Rabbit en his fambly wuz at de head er de gang w'en enny racket wuz on han', en dar dey stayed. 'Fo' you begins fer ter wipe yo' eyes 'bout Brer Rabbit, you wait en see whar'bouts Brer Rabbit gwineter fetch up at. But dat's needer yer ner dar.

"W'en Brer Fox fine Brer Rabbit mixt up wid de Tar-Baby, he feel mighty good, en he roll on de groun' en laff. Bimeby he up'n say, sezee:

" 'Well, I speck I got you dis time, Brer Rabbit,' sezee; 'maybe I ain't, but I speck I is. You been runnin' roun' here sassin' atter me a mighty long time, but I speck you done come ter de een' er de row. You bin cuttin' up yo'

capers en boucin' 'roun' in dis naberhood ontwel you come ter b'leeve yo'se'f de boss er de whole gang. En den youer allers some'rs whar you got no bizness,' sez Brer Fox, sezee. 'Who ax you fer ter come en strike up a 'quaintence wid dish yer Tar-Baby? En who stuck you up dar whar you iz? Nobody in de roun' worril. You des tuck en jam yo'se'f on dat Tar-Baby widout waitin' fer enny invite,' sez Brer Fox, sezee, 'en dar you is, en dar you'll stay twel I fixes up a bresh-pile and fires her up, kaze I'm gwineter bobbycue you dis day, sho,' sez Brer Fox, sezee.

"Den Brer Rabbit talk mighty 'umble.

" 'I don't keer w'at you do wid me, Brer Fox,' sezee, 'so you don't fling me in dat brier-patch. Roas' me, Brer Fox,' sezee, 'but don't fling me in dat brier-patch,' sezee.

" 'Hit's so much trouble fer ter kindle a fier,' sez Brer Fox, sezee, 'dat I speck I'll hatter hang you,' sezee.

" 'Hang me des ez high as you please, Brer Fox,' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee, 'but do fer de Lord's sake don't fling me in dat brier-patch,' sezee.

" 'I ain't got no string,' sez Brer Fox, sezee, 'en now I speck I'll hatter drown you,' sezee.

" 'Drown me des ez deep ez you please, Brer Fox,' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee, 'but do don't fling me in dat brier-patch,' sezee.

" 'Dey ain't no water nigh,' sez Brer Fox, sezee, 'en now I speck I'll hatter skin you,' sezee.

" 'Skin me, Brer Fox,' sez Brer Rabbit, sezee, 'snatch out my eyeballs, t'ar out my years by de roots, en cut off my legs,' sezee, 'but do please, Brer Fox, don't fling me in dat brier-patch,' sezee.

"Co'se Brer Fox wanter hurt Brer Rabbit bad ez he kin, so he cotch 'im by de behime legs en slung 'im right in de middle er de brier-patch. Dar wuz a considerbul flutter whar Brer Rabbit struck de bushes, en Brer Fox sorter hang 'roun' fer ter see w'at wuz gwineter happen. Bimeby he hear somebody call 'im, en way up de hill he see Brer Rabbit settin' cross-legged on a chinkapin log koamin' de pitch outen his har wid a chip. Den Brer Fox know dat he bin swop of mighty bad. Brer Rabbit wuz bleedzed fer ter fling back some er his sass, en he holler out:

" 'Bred en bawn in a brier-patch, Brer Fox--bred en bawn in a brier-patch!' en wid dat he skip out des ez lively ez a cricket in de embers."³⁰

³⁰ Joel Chandler Harris, *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings* (New York: D. Appleton And Company, 1881), ch. 2 & 4.

Dred Scott to Freeport: Lincoln's Political Wedge

Dred Scott Ruling, March 6, 1857

And, upon a full and careful consideration of the subject, the court is of opinion, that, upon the facts stated in the plea in abatement, Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and not entitled as such to sue in its courts, and consequently that the Circuit Court had no jurisdiction of the case, and that the judgment on the plea in abatement is erroneous. . . .

The powers of the Government and the rights and privileges of the citizen are regulated and plainly defined by the Constitution itself. And when the Territory becomes a part of the United States, the Federal Government enters into possession in the character impressed upon it by those who created it. It enters upon it with its powers over the citizen strictly defined, and limited by the Constitution, from which it derives its own existence and by virtue of which alone it continues to exist and act as a Government and sovereignty. It has no power of any kind beyond it, and it cannot, when it enters a Territory of the United States, put off its character and assume discretionary or despotic powers which the Constitution has denied to it. It cannot create for itself a new character separated from the citizens of the United States and the duties it owes them under the provisions of the Constitution. The Territory being a part of the United States, the Government and the citizen both enter it under the authority of the Constitution, with their respective rights defined and marked out, and the Federal Government can exercise no power over his person or property beyond what that instrument confers, nor lawfully deny any right which it has reserved. . . .

Now, as we have already said in an earlier part of this opinion upon a different point, the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States in every State that might desire it for twenty years. And the Government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time if the slave escapes from his owner. This is done in plain words — too plain to be misunderstood. And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property or which entitles property of that kind to less protection [than] property of any other description. The only power conferred is the power coupled with the duty of guarding and protecting the owner in his rights.

Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void, and that neither Dred Scott himself nor any of his family were made free by being carried into this territory, even if they had been carried there by the owner with the intention of becoming a permanent resident. . . .³¹

³¹ "Dred Scott v. Sandford," Teaching American History, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/dred-scott-v-sandford>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Excerpts from Lincoln's Speech in Springfield, July 17, 1857

Now, as to the Dred Scott decision; for upon that he makes his last point at me. He boldly takes ground in favor of that decision.

This is one-half the onslaught, and one-third of the entire plan of the campaign. . . . The plain truth is simply this: Judge Douglas is *for* Supreme Court decisions when he likes and against them when he does not like them. He is for the Dred Scott decision because it tends to nationalize slavery – because it is part of the original combination for that object. . . . Free men of Sangamon – free men of Illinois – free men everywhere – judge ye between him and me, upon this issue.

He says this Dred Scott case is a very small matter at most – that it has no practical effect; that at best, or rather, I suppose at worst, it is but an abstraction. I submit that the proposition that the thing which determines whether a man is free or a slave, is rather concrete than abstract. I think you would conclude that it was, if your liberty depended upon it, and so would Judge Douglas if his liberty depended upon it. But suppose it was on the question of spreading slavery over the new territories that he considers it as being merely an abstract matter, and one of no practical importance. How has the planting of slavery in new countries always been effected? It has now been decided that slavery cannot be kept out of our new territories by any legal means. In what does our new territories now differ in this respect, from the old colonies when slavery was first planted within them? . . . Well, Judge [Douglas], will you please tell me what you did about the Bank decision? Will you not graciously allow us to do with the Dred Scott decision precisely as you did with the Bank decision?³²

Excerpt from Lincoln's Speech at Springfield, July 26, 1857

And now as to the Dred Scott decision. That decision declares two propositions-first, that a negro cannot sue in the U.S. Courts; and secondly, that Congress cannot prohibit slavery in the Territories. It was made by a divided court-dividing differently on the different points. Judge Douglas does not discuss the merits of the decision. . . . He denounces all who question the correctness of that decision, as offering violent resistance to it.³³

³² "Speech at Springfield, July 17, 1858," Mr. Lincoln and Freedom, <http://www.mrlincolnanfreedom.org/pre-civil-war/house-divided-speech/speech-springfield-july-17-1858>, accessed May 20, 2016.

³³ "Abraham Lincoln, Speech at Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857," Teaching American History, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/speech-on-the-dred-scott-decision>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Excerpt of Lincoln's Speech at Ottawa Debate, August 21, 1858 (1st debate)

. . . Well, then, let us talk about Popular Sovereignty! [Laughter.] What is Popular Sovereignty? [Cries of "A humbug," "a humbug."] Is it the right of the people to have Slavery or not have it, as they see fit, in the territories? I will state-and I have an able man to watch me-my understanding is that Popular Sovereignty, as now applied to the question of slavery, does allow the people of a Territory to have slavery if they want to, but does not allow them *not* to have it if they *do not* want it. [Applause and laughter.] I do not mean that if this vast concourse of people were in a Territory of the United States, any one of them would be obliged to have a slave if he did not want one; but I do say that, as I understand the Dred Scott decision, if any one man wants slaves, all the rest have no way of keeping that one man from holding them.³⁴

Excerpt of Douglas' Speech at Freeport Debate, August 27, 1858 (2nd debate)

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. (Right, right.) Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.³⁵

³⁴ "First Debate: Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858," National Parks Service, <https://www.nps.gov/liho/learn/historyculture/debate1.htm>, accessed May 20, 2016.

³⁵ "Second Debate: Freeport, Illinois," National Parks Service, <https://www.nps.gov/liho/learn/historyculture/debate2.htm>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Summary of the August 27 Freeport Debate

Mr. Lincoln then repeated his opinion, heretofore expressed, that Douglas and those who acted with him at the time of the passage of the Nebraska bill, were engaged in a diabolical conspiracy to nationalize slavery. He showed, by the fact that Chase's proposed amendment to the Nebraska bill, "that the people of Kansas might exclude slavery from the Territory if they saw fit," was voted down by Douglas and his partisans, that they anticipated the Dred Scott decision, extending slavery over Kansas and all other Territories. There were strong indications that the Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott decision were but of one piece, and the result of conspiracy on the part of the Democracy in Congress, the Administration and the Supreme Court Bench to nationalize and perpetuate slavery. Douglas has not yet explained this matter satisfactorily. He alluded to the fact that Mr. Douglas exhibits much self-righteous indignation that such a charge of conspiracy should be charged on himself, upon other members of Congress, and when the high functionaries in the Government, but reminded Mr. Douglas *that he had himself charged a smaller conspiracy against the very same men* and high functionaries, in his speeches against the Administration Lecompton policy. This fact entirely destroys the force of his affected indignation.³⁶

³⁶ *Alton Weekly Courier*, September 2, 1858, as quoted at Northern Illinois University Library, <http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/lincolndouglas/debatetextnews>, accessed May 20, 2016.

Constitutional and Social Developments, 1860 to 1877

South Carolina's Justifications for Secession:

"By this [United States] Constitution, certain duties were imposed upon the several states, and the exercise of certain of their powers was restrained, which necessarily imperiled their continued existence, as sovereign states. But, to remove all doubt, an amendment was added which declared that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, respectively, or to the people. . . . Thus was established, by compact between the states, a government with defined objects and powers, limited to the express words of the grant."³⁷

Senator John Sherman Speech at Congress Regarding the Government's Changing Role:

"The policy of this country ought to be to make everything national as far as possible; to nationalize our country, so that we shall love our country. If we are dependent on the United States for a currency and medium of exchange, we shall have a broader and more generous nationality. The [lack] of such nationality, I believe, is one of the great evils of the times. . . . It has been that principle of states rights, that bad sentiment that has elevated state authority above national authority, that has been the main instrument by which our government is sought to be overthrown."³⁸

A Popular Newspaper Addresses the Federal Effort to Suppress the KKK:

"These are momentous changes to intructce into the administration system of any free country. . . . because they not only increase the power of the central governemnt, but they arm it with jurisdiction over a class of cases of which it has never hitherto had, and never pretended to have, any jurisdiction whatever. To impose the duty of protecting life and property on the Federal Government is . . . [a] distinct and well-marked. . . novelty."³⁹

³⁷ South Carolina, "Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union, December 24, 1860," The Avalon Project, Yale Law School, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090201185344>, accessed June 29, 2016.

³⁸ Senator John Sherman (Republican—Ohio), "National Bank Currency," February 10, 1863," *Selected Speeches and Reports on Finance and Taxation, from 1859 to 1878*, edited by John Sherman (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879), p. 70.

³⁹ "The Problem at the South (article referring to the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871), *The New York Nation*, no. 299 (March 23, 1871), p. 192.

African Americans in Nashville Petition for Support from the Federal Government:

“If we are called to do military duty against the rebel armies in the field, why should we be denied the privilege of voting against rebel citizens in the ballot-box? The latter is as necessary to save the Government as the former. . . . The Government has asked the colored man to fight for its preservation and gladly he has done it. It can afford to trust him with a vote as safely as it is trusted him with a bayonet. . . . At present we can have only partial protection from the courts. . . . If this order of things continue, our people are destined to a malignant persecution at the hands of rebels and their former rebellious masters. . . . because the courts will not receive negro testimony. . . . Is this the fruit of freedom, and the reward of our services in the field? . . . There have been white traitors in multitudes in Tennessee, but where we ask, is the black traitor?”⁴⁰

Secretary of the Navy’s Diary Entry regarding the Rights of Freed African-Americans:

“The federal government has no right and has not attempted to dictate on the matter of suffrage to any state, and I apprehend it will not conduce any harmony to arrogate and exercise arbitrary power over the states which have been in rebellion. It was never intended by the founders of the Union that the Federal government should prescribe suffrage to the states. We shall get rid of slavery by constitutional means. But conferring on the black civil rights is another matter. I know not the authority.”⁴¹

Senator Morrill’s Speech to the Senate, February 1, 1866:

“I admit that this species of legislation [Civil Rights Act of 1866] is absolutely revolutionary. But are we not in the midst of a revolution? Is the Senator from Kentucky utterly oblivious to the grand results of four years of war? Are we not in the midst of a civil and political revolution which has changed the fundamental principles of our government in some respects? . . . We have revolutionized this Constitution of ours to that extent and every substantial change in the fundamental constitution of a country is a revolution.”⁴²

⁴⁰ “Petition from American citizens of African descent to the Union convention assembled in the capitol at Nashville, January 9, 1865,” Freedmen & Southern Society Project, <http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/tenncon.htm>, accessed June 29, 2016.

⁴¹ Gideon Wells, “Diary Entry, May 9, 1865,” in *Diary of Gideon Welles: Secretary of the Navy Under Lincoln and Johnson*, Volume 2: April 1, 1864-December 31, 1866 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), p. 302.

⁴² Senator Lot Morrill (Republican—Maine), “Remarks by Mr. Morrill,” in *History of the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States*, edited by William Horatio Barnes (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1868), p. 206.

African Americans in South Carolina Petition for Assistance:

“General:

We want Homesteads; we were promised Homesteads by the government. If It does not carry out the promises Its agents made to us, . . . we are left In a more unpleasent condition than our former. We are at the mercy those who are combined to prevent us from getting land enough to lay our Fathers bones upon

To the President of the United States:

Shall not we who are freeman and have been always true to this Union have the same rights as are enjoyed by Others? . . . Are not our rights as A free people and good citizens of these United States To be considered before the rights of those who were Found in rebellion against this good and just Government (and now being conquered) come (as they Seem) with penitent hearts and beg forgiveness For past offenses and also ask if thier [*sic*] lands Cannot be restored to them. Are these rebellious Spirits to be reinstated in thier [*sic*] possessions And we who have been abused and opressed For many long years not be allowed the Privilege of purchasing land But be subject To the will of these large Land owners? God forbid. . . Unless some provision is Made our future is sad to look upon. . . We therefore look to you in this trying hour as A true friend of the poor and Neglected race, for protection and Equal Rights, with the privilege of purchasing A Homestead – A Homestead right here in the Heart of South Carolina.”⁴³

⁴³ “Committee of Freedmen on Edisto Island, Sourth Carolina, to the Freedmen Bureau Comissioner; the Commissioner’s Reply; and the Committee to the President,” Edisto Island, S.C., October, 1865,” Freedmen and Southern Society Project, <http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/Edisto%20petitions.htm>, accessed June 29, 2016.