

DOCUMENTS PACKAGE to accompany

# LIBERTY EQUALITY POWER

A HISTORY  
OF THE  
AMERICAN  
PEOPLE

Volume I: To 1877

THIRD EDITION



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Prepared by  
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I

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~~Mark W. Beasley~~  
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## PREFACE

Voices from the past articulate history most eloquently. Primary sources, such as those presented here, are crucial to comprehending the development of the United States because they provide firsthand descriptions of, or reflections upon, occurrences that profoundly shaped the nation. For that reason, scholars rely heavily on such material for their knowledge of the past. Unfortunately, college students usually do not have access to eyewitness accounts, and they often conclude that history is nothing more than a rather dull compilation of obscure events and even-more-obscure dates. This documents package has been prepared so that students may hear some of the distant voices for themselves and come to realize that individuals, not “facts,” are the critical element in history. By studying the selections presented in these two volumes, students will understand more fully the social, cultural, and political topics developed in *Liberty, Equality, and Power: A History of the American People*, Third Edition. They will find as well that they have gained a deeper awareness of, and appreciation for, the history of the American people.

The relationships among liberty, equality, and power provide one of the major themes in U.S. history, and the documents included in this book highlight that relationship. American perceptions of liberty, equality, and power have changed markedly over time, however, and the selections will help students understand the evolution of those ideals.

Consequently, the earliest items emphasize the conflicts that occurred when European powers laid claim to the “New World.” As the British gained dominance over much of North America, the English belief that power often threatened liberty became pervasive in the American colonies. The documents from the Revolutionary War era articulate that fear. Following independence, a developing market economy significantly affected attitudes toward liberty and power, while at the same time the emergence of democracy seemed to place more and more importance on the individual. During the nineteenth century, then, many Americans enjoyed the benefits of liberty and freedom. Numerous others, on the other hand, did not. The material reveals that for those people, the struggle to achieve equality has continued into the present. In addition to a growing egalitarianism during the 1900s, the expansive role of the United States in international affairs had significant implications. A number of the more recent documents therefore stress the importance of military and diplomatic efforts as the nation sought to ensure its fundamental ideals of liberty and equality while rising to a position of unprecedented world power.

Studying history can be a challenging, intimidating task, and this ancillary is designed to help students as much as possible as they explore the national heritage. Each chapter begins with an introduction that places the selections in a broad historical context and that reiterates the themes developed in the corresponding textbook chapter. Moreover, the documents have individual introductions that survey the material and describe its importance to the history of the United States. A series of questions at the conclusion of each chapter encourages students to discuss the material they have just read. Although many of the questions focus on issues of liberty, equality, and power, they all serve as springboards to a broader understanding of American history. Indeed, one of the greatest advantages of using primary sources is that they allow the reader to become the historian and discover intellectual concepts or historical themes that they find of particular interest. Students may work individually with the questions, but they will gain much more from their efforts if they work with a study partner, a small group, or the entire class. Such an approach will bring the broadest range of understanding and experience to the discussion, which will in turn help to make the material more vibrant, the history more alive, the learning more dynamic.

## THE THIRD EDITION

Building on the strengths of a solid second edition collection, this revision focuses primarily on expanding the selection of sources—both in number and perspective—and on balancing the various views that comprise the American past. The additions include more pieces by or relating to women, minority groups, immigrants, and labor interests, as well as more traditional government documents and political speeches. In several instances, new selections actually incorporate two documents, highlighting opposing views on a single issue.

—Mark W. Beasley

# CONTENTS

## **CHAPTER 1: WHEN OLD WORLDS COLLIDE: CONTACT, CONQUEST, CATASTROPHE 1**

1. Papal Bull *Inter Caeteras*, May 4, 1493 2
2. The Laws of Burgos, 1512 4
3. Aztec Accounts of the Spanish Arrival in Mexico 6
4. Report of Hernando Cortés, October 30, 1520 8
5. The Conquest of Mexico 10
6. The Travels of Cabeza de Vaca, 1528–1536 11
7. On the Destruction of the Indies, 1542 13

## **CHAPTER 2: THE CHALLENGE TO SPAIN AND THE SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA 17**

8. The Conversion of the Savages in New France, 1610 18
9. The Indians of Acadia Defend Their Culture 19
10. Charter of the Dutch West India Company, 1621 20
11. John Hawkins's First Voyage, 1562–1563 22
12. An Indentured Servant Reports the Miseries of Early Virginia 23
13. The Laws of Virginia, 1619 26
14. The Mayflower Compact, 1620 29
15. A Model of Christian Charity, 1630 29
16. The Trial of Anne Hutchinson, 1637 30
17. William Penn's Preface to his First Frame of Government, 1682 34

## **CHAPTER 3: ENGLAND DISCOVERS ITS COLONIES: EMPIRE, LIBERTY, AND EXPANSION 37**

18. The Navigation Act of 1651 38
19. A Captivity Narrative from Metacom's War, 1676 39
20. Bacon's Rebellion, 1676 41
21. The Glorious Revolution in America, 1689 44
22. Edmond Andros's Report, 1690 46
23. Creation of the Board of Trade, 1696 50

## **CHAPTER 4: PROVINCIAL AMERICA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A CONTINENT 53**

24. In Defense of Paper Money, 1729 54
25. Paper Money Outlawed, 1740 57

- 26. Considerations on the Nature of Laws, 1721 58
- 27. On Self-Denial, 1734 60
- 28. Electrical Kite, 1752 62
- 29. Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1733 63
- 30. Gilbert Tennent Attacks Opponents of the Great Awakening, 1740 64
- 31. Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God 65
- 32. Massachusetts Associates Liberty with Expansion 68
- 33. The Albany Plan, 1754 69

## **CHAPTER 5: REFORM, RESISTANCE, REVOLUTION 73**

- 34. The Proclamation of 1763 74
- 35. Pontiac Justifies War Against the English, 1763 76
- 36. A British Official Justifies Imperial Reform, 1765 77
- 37. Daniel Dulany Attacks Virtual Representation, 1765 79
- 38. The Stamp Act Crisis, 1765 80
- 39. A Pennsylvania Farmer, 1768 81
- 40. “Masculine” Rum Versus “Feminine” Tea 83
- 41. Declaration of Rights and Grievances, 1774 84
- 42. The “Olive Branch Petition,” 1775 87
- 43. Thomas Paine Attacks George III and the Institution of the Monarchy, 1776 89

## **CHAPTER 6: THE REVOLUTIONARY REPUBLIC 93**

- 44. The Battle of Trenton, 1776 94
- 45. The Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776 95
- 46. “Remember the Ladies,” 1776 97
- 47. An Act for Establishing Religious Freedom, 1786 99
- 48. *Federalist* Number Nine, 1787 100
- 49. *Federalist* Number Ten, 1787 102

## **CHAPTER 7: THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, 1790–1820 109**

- 50. What Is an American, 1782 110
- 51. On Motherhood 112
- 52. Treaty with the Wyandot, Etc., 1795 113
- 53. Treaty with the Creeks, 1814 116
- 54. Tecumseh Stands against White Encroachment, 1810 118
- 55. Davy Crockett 119
- 56. The Slave Trade, 1817 122

**CHAPTER 8: COMPLETING THE REVOLUTION, 1789–1815   125**

- 57. Manufactures, 1792   126
- 58. The Whiskey Rebellion, 1794   130
- 59. Washington's Farewell Address, 1796   133
- 60. Jefferson's First Inaugural Address, 1801   135
- 61. James Madison's War Message, 1812   137
- 62. *Marbury v. Madison*, 1803   140
- 63. The Hartford Convention, 1814–1815   142

**CHAPTER 9: THE MARKET REVOLUTION, 1815–1860   147**

- 64. In Defence of the American System, 1832   148
- 65. President James Monroe Vetoes the National Road, 1822   152
- 66. The Impact of the Erie Canal, 1852   153
- 67. Chicago in the Mid-1830s   154
- 68. Moral Police   155
- 69. Lucy Larcom Remembers the Mills   158
- 70. The Cotton South, 1835   159

**CHAPTER 10: TOWARD AN AMERICAN CULTURE   163**

- 71. American Revivalism, 1835   164
- 72. A Visit to an Indiana Camp Meeting, 1828   166
- 73. The Empire of Woman, 1845   168
- 74. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1852   170
- 75. Henry David Thoreau, 1854   173
- 76. Astor Place Riot, 1849   174
- 77. Concerning Slaves, 1842   175
- 78. The Nat Turner Revolt, 1831   179

**CHAPTER 11: SOCIETY, CULTURE AND POLITICS, 1820s–1840s   183**

- 79. Horace Mann Promotes Education, 1842   184
- 80. Prisons, 1838   186
- 81. Caring for the Mentally Ill, 1843   189
- 82. Reflections on Prohibition, 1852   192
- 83. The Temperance Movement Manifesto, 1826   194
- 84. Scientific Racism, 1861   196
- 85. Immediate Emancipation, 1831   199
- 86. Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, Seneca Falls, 1848   200



**CHAPTER 12: JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY 205**

- 87. Thomas Jefferson Sends Instructions to Lewis and Clark, 1803 206
- 88. The Missouri Question, 1819 209
- 89. A Congressman Opposes Limiting Slavery in Missouri, 1820 210
- 90. The Nationalism of John Quincy Adams, 1825 211
- 91. The Cherokee Nation Addresses the People of the United States, 1830 213
- 92. Jackson Defends Indian Removal Policy, 1829 215
- 93. South Carolina Protests the Tariff of 1828 217
- 94. Jackson Responds to South Carolina's Ordinance of Nullification, 1832 218

**CHAPTER 13: MANIFEST DESTINY: AN EMPIRE FOR LIBERTY—OR SLAVERY? 221**

- 95. Overland Trails, 1859 222
- 96. The Donner Party Tragedy, 1846 225
- 97. Female Life Among the Mormons, 1855 227
- 98. An Anti-Slavery Protest, 1837 228
- 99. President Polk on Texas and Oregon, 1845 231
- 100. David Wilmot Opposes the Extension of Slavery, 1847 232
- 101. John C. Calhoun Appeals for Union on Southern Terms, 1850 234
- 102. Daniel Webster Defends Compromise to Preserve the Union, 1850 236
- 103. William H. Seward Deplores Compromise, 1850 239
- 104. Massachusetts Personal Liberty Act, 1855 243

**CHAPTER 14: THE GATHERING TEMPEST, 1853–1860 247**

- 105. Nativism, 1835 248
- 106. The Crime Against Kansas, 1856 250
- 107. Preston Brooks Resigns His Seat in the House, 1856 252
- 108. The Dred Scott Case, 1857 255
- 109. *Cannibals All!* or, *Slaves Without Masters*, 1857 259
- 110. *The Impending Crisis of the South*, 1857 262
- 111. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858 265
- 112. John Brown's Statement to the Court, 1859 270

**CHAPTER 15: SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR, 1860–1862 273**

- 113. A Southerner Speaks Against Secession, 1861 274
- 114. A Southerner Speaks for Secession, 1861 275
- 115. Texans Issue a Declaration of the Causes for Secession, 1861 277

- 116. The Sumter Crisis, 1861 280
- 117. Fort Sumter Under Attack, 1861 281
- 118. Jefferson Davis Justifies Secession, 1861 282
- 119. President Abraham Lincoln Addresses Congress, 1861 285
- 120. The Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), 1861 288
- 121. The Battle of Shiloh, 1862 291
- 122. The Battle of Malvern Hill [1862], 1863 292

**CHAPTER 16: A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM, 1862–1865 295**

- 123. The Frémont Incident, 1861 296
- 124. The Emancipation Proclamation, 1863 297
- 125. Life in the Civil War South, 1862–1865 299
- 126. The Homestead Act, 1862 301
- 127. The Morrill Act, 1862 302
- 128. A Northern Peace Democrat Speaks Out against the War, 1863 303
- 129. New York City Draft Riots, 1863 305
- 130. The Gettysburg Address, 1863 307
- 131. The First South Carolina, U. S. C. T., 1862 308
- 132. Sherman Responds to the Citizens of Atlanta, 1864 311
- 133. Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, 1865 313
- 134. Grant's Surrender Terms at Appomattox, 1865 314
- 135. Lee's Farewell Address to the Army of Northern Virginia, 1865 317

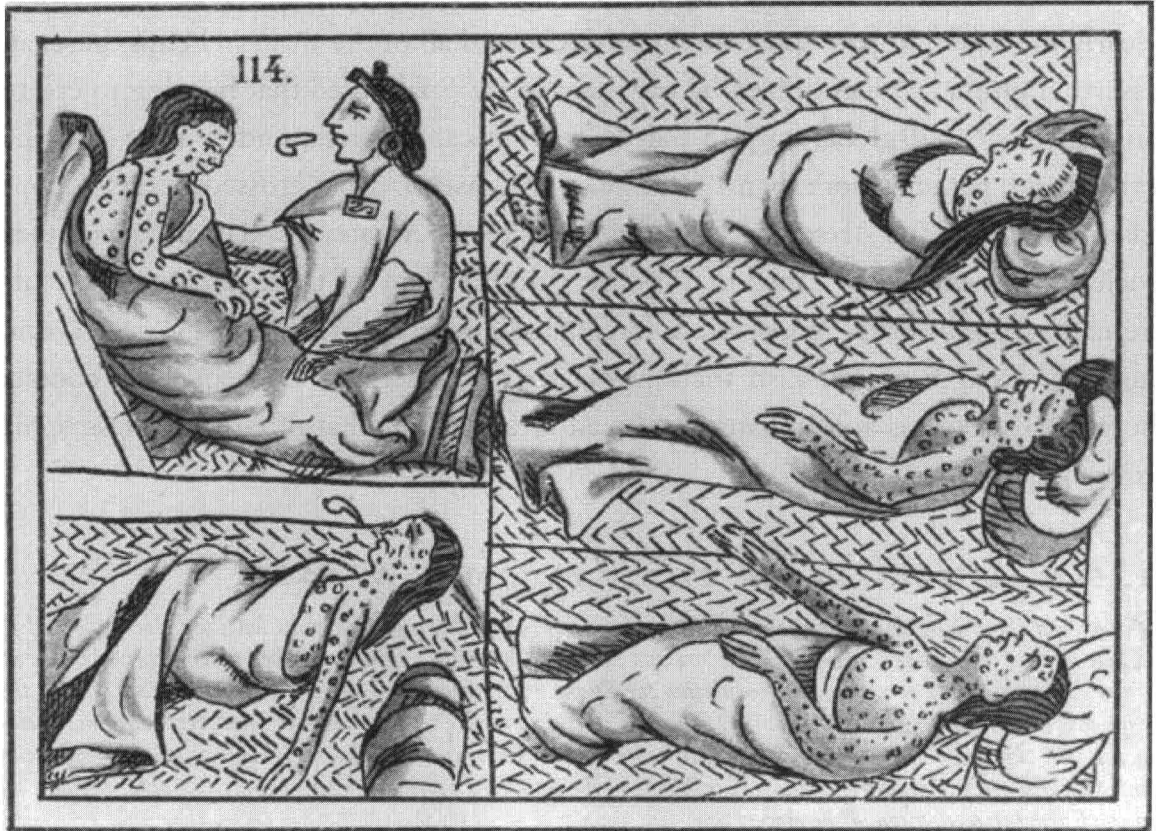
**CHAPTER 17: RECONSTRUCTION, 1863–1877 319**

- 136. Abraham Lincoln's "Ten Percent Plan," 1863 320
- 137. President Andrew Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation 322
- 138. The Freedmen's Bureau, 1865 324
- 139. Mississippi Black Code, 1865 325
- 140. In Defense of Radical Reconstruction, 1866 329
- 141. Military Reconstruction, 1867 333
- 142. The Election of 1868 334
- 143. The End of Reconstruction, 1877 335

**PHOTO CREDITS 340**

## CHAPTER 1

### WHEN OLD WORLDS COLLIDE: CONTACT, CONQUEST, CATASTROPHE



Native Americans had no acquired immunity to many of the viruses and bacteria European explorers carried, and, as a result, the native population died by the millions. Smallpox germs were the real victors in the struggle between the Aztecs and the Spanish invaders.

Liberty, equality, and power provide three currents that have profoundly shaped the history of the American people; the relationship among those forces serves as a critical theme in the national heritage. As the large-scale migration of Europeans and Africans to the Americas began, however, issues of power clearly prevailed. In particular, the Spanish claimed all of the western hemisphere, an assertion ultimately legitimized by papal authority. Spain used that blessing to create an unprecedented global empire that linked Africa, America, and Europe. On the other hand, perhaps more than 14,000 years ago, Asiatic tribes crossed Beringia, populating the vast land stretching from the Arctic to the Antarctic and creating complex societies that antedated much of Western culture. Many of these native inhabitants fiercely resisted European incursion, forcing the Spaniards to rely on legal devices and military strength to establish their power in the Americas. Consequently, contact between Europeans and Indians developed into conflicts that often had catastrophic consequences.

### 1. PAPAL BULL INTER CAETERAS, MAY 4, 1493\*

*Concern that Columbus's discoveries might have infringed on Portuguese claims led Pope Alexander VI to define the region that Spain could explore and develop. This Bull, which established a demarcation line west of the Canary Islands, served as the foundation for Spanish movement into the western hemisphere and set the stage for the long-term development of a Hispanic Latin America. The document reveals several important elements that characterized early efforts to gain control over America, including the struggle between European states to claim newly found territories, the influence of the church as a secular power, and the role of Christian zeal in the European occupation of the Americas.*

To the illustrious sovereigns, our very dear son in Christ, Ferdinand, king, and our very dear daughter in Christ, Isabella, queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Granada, health and apostolic benediction. Among other works well pleasing to the Divine Majesty and cherished of our heart, this assuredly ranks highest, that in our times especially the Catholic faith and the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread, that the health of souls be cared for and that barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith itself. . . . [R]ecognizing that as true Catholic kings and princes, such as we have always known you to be, and as your illustrious deeds already known to the whole world declare, you not only eagerly desire, but with every effort, zeal, and diligence, without regard to hardships, expenses, dangers, with the shedding even of your blood, are laboring to that end; recognizing also that you have long since dedicated to this purpose your whole soul and all your endeavors—as witnessed in these times with so much glory to the Divine Name in your recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the yoke of the Saracens—we therefore are rightly led, and hold it as our duty, to grant you . . . those things whereby . . . you may be enabled for

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\*From *European Treaties Bearing of the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, ed. Frances F. Davenport (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1917), I: 71–78.

the honor of God himself and the spread of the Christian rule to carry forward your holy and praiseworthy purpose so pleasing to immortal God. We have indeed learned that you, who for a long time had intended to seek out and discover certain islands and mainlands remote and unknown and not hitherto discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith their residents and inhabitants, having been up to the present time greatly engaged in the siege and recovery of the kingdom itself of Granada were unable to accomplish this holy and praiseworthy purpose; but the said kingdom having at length been regained, as was pleasing to the Lord, you, with the wish to fulfill your desire, chose our beloved son, Christopher Columbus, . . . to make diligent quest for these remote and unknown mainlands and islands through the sea, where hitherto no one had sailed; and they at length, with divine aid and with the utmost diligence sailing in the ocean sea, discovered certain very remote islands and even mainlands that had not been discovered by others; wherein dwell very many people living in peace, and, as reported, going unclothed and not eating flesh. Moreover, as your aforesaid envoys are of opinion, these very peoples living in the said islands and countries, believe in one God, the Creator in heaven, and seem sufficiently disposed to embrace the Catholic faith and be trained in good morals. And it is hoped that, were they instructed, the name of the Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, would easily be introduced into the said countries and islands. Also, on one of the chief of these aforesaid islands the said Christopher has already caused to be put together and built a fortress fairly equipped, wherein he has stationed as garrison certain Christians, companions of his, who are to make search for other remote and unknown islands and mainlands. In the islands and countries already discovered are found gold, spices, and very many other precious things of divers kinds and qualities. Wherefore, as becomes Catholic kings and princes, after earnest consideration of all matters, especially of the rise and spread of the Catholic faith, . . . you have purposed with the favor of divine clemency to bring under your sway the said mainlands and islands with their residents and inhabitants and to bring them to the Catholic faith. Hence, heartily commending in the Lord this your holy and praiseworthy purpose, and desirous that . . . the name of our Savior be carried into those regions, we exhort you very earnestly in the Lord and by your reception of holy baptism, whereby you are bound to our apostolic commands, . . . to lead the peoples dwelling in those islands and countries to embrace the Christian religion. . . . And, in order that you may enter upon so great an undertaking with greater readiness and heartiness endowed with the benefit of apostolic favor, we, . . . by the authority of Almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we hold on earth, do by tenor of these presents, should any of the said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole . . . to the Antarctic pole, . . . no matter whether the said mainlands and islands are found and to be found in the direction of India or towards any other quarter, the said line to be distant one hundred leagues toward the west and south from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde. With this proviso, however, that none of the islands and mainlands, . . . beyond the said line towards the west and south, be in the actual possession of any Christian king or prince up to the birthday of the Lord Jesus Christ just past from that which the present year one thousand four hundred and thirty-three begins. And we make, appoint, and depute you and your said heirs and successors lords of them all with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction of every kind; with this proviso however, that by this our gift, grant, and assignment no right acquired by any Christian prince, who may be in actual possession of said islands and mainlands prior to the said birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ, is hereby to be understood to be withdrawn or taken away. Moreover we command you in virtue of holy obedience that, employing all due diligence . . . you should appoint to the aforesaid mainlands and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned,

skilled, and experienced men, in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals. Furthermore, under penalty of excommunication . . . , we strictly forbid all persons . . . to dare, without your special permit or that of your aforesaid heirs and successors, to go for the purpose of trade or any other reason to the islands or mainlands . . . towards the west and south [of the said line]. We trust in Him from whom empires and governments and all good things proceed, that, should you, with the Lord's guidance, pursue this holy and praiseworthy undertaking, in a short while your hardships and endeavors will attain the most felicitous result, to the happiness and glory of all Christendom. . . . Let no one, therefore, infringe, or with rash boldness contravene, this our recommendation, exhortation, requisition, gift, grant, assignment, constitution, deputation, decree, mandate, prohibition, and will. . . .

## 2. THE LAWS OF BURGOS, 1512\*

*P*romulgated by Queen Juana, daughter of Isabella, these statutes institutionalized the *encomienda* labor system in the New World, sought to ensure the religious salvation of the natives, and defined the social and economic status of the Indians. Perhaps more importantly, the use of carefully articulated laws offered the Spanish a means to establish, and to justify their power over the natives. By passing these statutes to ensure the salvation of the Indians, the Spanish ensured the destruction of native culture. As with all legal codes, the Laws of Burgos reveal much about the attitudes and presumptions of those in power, while also providing some insight into the lives of those the laws are meant to control.

WHEREAS, the King, my Lord and Father, and the Queen, my Mistress and Mother, . . . always desired that the chiefs and Indians of the Island of Española [Hispaniola] be brought to a knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith, and, . . .

WHEREAS, it has become evident through long experience that nothing has sufficed to bring the said chiefs and Indians to a knowledge of our Faith (necessary for their salvation), since by nature they are inclined to idleness and vice, and have no manner of virtue or doctrine (by which our Lord is discovered), and that the principal obstacle in the way of correcting their vices and having them profit by and impressing them with the doctrine is that their dwellings are remote from the settlements of the Spaniards who . . . reside in the said Island, because, although at the time the Indians go to serve them they are indoctrinated in and taught the things of our Faith, after serving they return to their dwellings where, because of the distance and their own evil inclinations, they immediately forget what they have been taught and go back to their customary idleness and vice, and when they come to serve again they are as new in the doctrine as they were at the beginning, because, although the Spaniard who accompanies them to their village . . . reminds them of it and reprehends them, they, having no fear of him, do not profit by it and tell him to leave them in idleness, since that is their reason for returning to their said village, and that their only purpose and desire is to do with themselves what they will, without regard for any virtue, and, . . .

WHEREAS, it is our duty to seek a remedy for it in every way possible, it was considered by the King . . . and by several members of my council and by persons of good life, letters, and conscience, and they . . . gave it as their opinion that the most beneficial thing that could be done at present would be to remove the said chiefs and Indians to the vicinity of the villages and communities of the Spaniards—this for many considerations—and thus, by continual association with them,

\*From *The Laws of Burgos of 1512–1513: Royal Ordinances for the Good Government and Treatment of the Indians*, trans. Lesley Baird Simpson (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1960), 11–14, 16–18, 21, 23–24, 26–28, 32, 42–45. Used by permission.



as well as by attendance at church on feast days to hear Mass and the divine offices, and by observing the conduct of the Spaniards, as well as the preparation and care that the Spaniards will display in demonstrating and teaching them, while they are together, the things of our Holy Catholic Faith, it is clear that they will the sooner learn them and, having learned them, will not forget them as they do now. . . .

THEREFORE, . . . it was agreed that for the improvement and remedy of all the aforesaid, the said chiefs and Indians should forthwith be brought to dwell near the villages and communities of the Spaniards who inhabit that Island, so that they may be treated and taught and looked after as is right and as we have always desired; and so I command that henceforth that which is contained below be obeyed and observed as follows: . . .

## II

We order and command that all chiefs and Indians dwelling on the Island of Española, now or in the future, shall be brought from their present dwelling places to the villages and communities of the Spaniards who reside . . . on the said Island; and in order that they be brought of their own volition and suffer no harm from the removal, we hereby command Don Diego Columbus, our Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of the said Island . . . to have them brought in the manner that seems best, with the least possible harm to the said chiefs and Indians. . . .

## III

. . . [T]he citizens to whom the said Indians are given in encomienda shall . . . be obliged to erect a structure to be used as a church; . . . and in this said church he shall place an image of Our Lady and a bell with which to call the Indians to prayer; and the person who has them in encomienda shall be obliged to have them called by the bell at nightfall and go with them to the said church, and have them cross themselves and bless themselves, and together recite the Ave Maria, the Pater Noster, the Credo, and the Salve Regina, in such wise that all of them shall hear the said person, and the said person hear them, so that he may know who is performing well and who ill, and correct the one who is wrong. . . .

## IV

Also, in order to discover how each one is progressing in things of the Faith, we command that every two weeks the said person who has them in charge shall examine them to see what each one knows particularly and to teach them what they do not know; and he shall also teach them the Ten Commandments and the Seven Deadly Sins and the Articles of the Faith, that is, to those he thinks have the capacity and ability to learn them; but all this shall be done with great love and gentleness. . . .

## IX

. . . [W]hoever has fifty Indians or more in encomienda shall be obliged to have a boy (the one he considers most able) taught to read and write, and the things of our Faith, so that he may later teach the said Indians, because the Indians will more readily accept what he says than what the Spaniards and settlers tell them. . . .

## X

. . . [E]ach and every time an Indian falls sick in a place where there is a priest, the priest shall be obliged to go to him and recite the Credo and other profitable things of our Holy Catholic Faith, and, if the Indian shall know how to confess, he shall confess him, without charging him any fee for it; . . . and also that they shall go with a Cross to the Indians who die and shall bury them without charging any fee for it or for the confession. . . .

## XII

. . . [A]ll the Spanish inhabitants and settlers who have Indians in encomienda shall be obliged to have all infants baptized within a week of their birth, or before, if it is necessary; and if there is no priest to do so, the person in charge of the said estate shall be obliged to baptize them, according to the custom in such emergencies. . . .

## XIII

... [A]fter the Indians have been brought to the estates, all the founding [of gold] ... shall be done in the manner prescribed below: that is, the said persons who have Indians in encomienda shall extract gold with them for five months in the year, and at the end of these five months, the said Indians shall rest forty days; ... and in all the said forty days no one shall employ any Indians in extracting gold. ... And we command that ... the persons who have the said Indians in encomienda shall be obliged, during these forty days of rest, to indoctrinate them in ... our Faith more than on other days, because they will have the opportunity and means to do so. ...

## XVI

... [A]mong the other things of our Faith that shall be taught to the Indians, they shall be made to understand that they may not have more than one wife at a time, nor may they abandon her. ...

## XVIII

... [N]o pregnant woman, after the fourth month, shall be sent to the mines, ... but shall be kept on the estates and utilized in housekeeping tasks, such as making bread, cooking, and weeding; and after she bears her child she shall nurse it until it is three years old, and in all this time she shall not be sent to the mines ... or used in anything else that will harm the child. ...

## XIX

... [T]hat all those ... who have Indians in encomienda ... shall be obliged to give each of them a hammock in which to sleep continually; and they shall not allow them to sleep on the ground, as hitherto they have been doing. ...

## XXIV

... [N]o person or persons shall dare to beat any Indian with sticks, or whip him, or call him dog, or address him by any other name than his proper name alone; and if an Indian should deserve to be punished for something he has done, the said person having him in charge shall bring him to the visitor for punishment. ...

### 3. AZTEC ACCOUNTS OF THE SPANISH ARRIVAL IN MEXICO\*

*The conquest of Mexico proved to be one of the most dramatic contacts between Spaniards and Native Americans. Defeating the Aztecs cleared the way for the Spanish to claim Mexico and, ultimately, large portions of North America. Moreover, the Aztecs' incredible wealth dazzled the imaginations of Europeans, making the search for gold a major force in the exploration and exploitation of the entire western hemisphere. Consequently, the capture of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán marked a crucial step in Spain's rise to world power. The three documents that follow offer various versions of that monumental occurrence. The first account, taken from several Aztec sources, provides an Indian view of the events that took place in 1520 and 1521.*

Motecuhzoma now arrayed himself in his finery, preparing to go out to meet them. The other great princes also adorned their persons, as did the nobles and their chieftains and knights. They all went out together to meet the strangers.

They brought trays heaped with the finest flowers—the flower that resembles a shield; the flower shaped like a heart; in the center, the flower with the sweetest aroma; and the fragrant yellow flower, the most precious of all. They also brought garlands of flowers, and ornaments for the breast, and necklaces of gold, necklaces hung with rich stones, necklaces fashioned in the petatillo style.

Thus Motecuhzoma went out to meet them. ... He presented many gifts to the Captain and his commanders, those who had come to make war. Then he hung the gold necklaces around their

\*From *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, ed. Miguel Leon-Portilla (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962, 1990), 63–69, 105–109. Originally published in Spanish under the title *Visión de las Vencidas* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1959). Reprinted by permission of Beacon Press.



necks and gave them presents of every sort as gifts of welcome.

When Motecuhzoma had given necklaces to each one, Cortés asked him: “Are you Motecuhzoma? Are you the king? Is it true that you are the king Motecuhzoma?”

And the king said: “Yes, I am Motecuhzoma.” Then he stood up to welcome Cortés; he came forward, bowed his head low and addressed him in these words: “Our lord, you are weary. The journey has tired you, but now you have arrived on the earth. You have come to your city, Mexico. You have come here to sit on your throne, to sit under its canopy.

“The kings who have gone before, your representatives, guarded it and preserved it for your coming. The kings . . . ruled for you in the City of Mexico. The people were protected by their swords and sheltered by their shields.

“Do the kings know the destiny of those they left behind, their prosperity? If only they are watching! If only they see what I see!

“No, it is not a dream. I am not walking in my sleep. I am not seeing you in my dreams. . . . I have seen you at last! I have met you face to face! I was in agony for five days, for ten days, with my eyes fixed on the Region of the Mystery. And now you have come out of the clouds and mists to sit on your throne again.

“This was foretold by the kings who governed your city, and now it has taken place. You have come back to us; you have come down from the sky. Rest now, and take possession of your royal houses. Welcome to your land, my lords!”

When Motecuhzoma had finished, La Malinche translated his address into Spanish so that the Captain could understand it. Cortés replied in a strange and savage tongue, speaking first to La Malinche: “Tell Motecuhzoma that we are his friends. There is nothing to fear. We have wanted to see him for a long time, and now we have seen his face and heard his words. Tell him that we love him well and that our hearts are contented.”

When the Spaniards entered the Royal House, they placed Motecuhzoma under guard and kept him under their vigilance. They also placed a guard over Itzcuahtzin, but the other lords were permitted to depart. . . .

In the morning the Spaniards told Motecuhzoma what they needed in the way of supplies: tortillas, fried chickens, hens’ eggs, pure water, firewood, and charcoal. Also: large clean cooking pots, water jars, pitchers, dishes, and other pottery. Motecuhzoma ordered that it be sent to them. The chiefs who received this order were angry with the king and no longer revered or respected him. But they furnished the Spaniards with all the provisions they needed—food, beverages, and water, and fodder for the horses.

When the Spaniards were installed in the palace, they asked Motecuhzoma about the city’s resources and reserves and about the warriors’ ensigns and shields. They questioned him closely and then demanded gold.

Motecuhzoma guided them to it. They surrounded him and crowded close with their weapons. He walked in the center while they formed a circle around him.

When they arrived at the treasure house called Teucalen, the riches of gold and feathers were brought out to them: ornaments made of quetzal feathers, richly worked shields, disks of gold, the necklaces of the idols, gold nose plugs, gold greaves, and bracelets and crowns.

The Spaniards immediately stripped the feathers from the gold shields and ensigns. They gathered all the gold into a great mound and set fire to everything else, regardless of its value. Then they melted the gold down into ingots. As for the precious green stones, they took only the best of them; the rest were snatched up by the Tlaxcaltecas. The Spaniards searched throughout the whole treasure house, questioning and quarreling, and seized every object they thought was beautiful.

Next they went to Motecuhzoma’s storehouse in the place called Totocalo, where his personal treasures were kept. The Spaniards grinned like little beasts and patted each other with delight.

When they entered the hall of treasures, it was as if they had arrived in Paradise. They searched everywhere and coveted everything; they were slaves to their own greed. All of Motecuhzoma’s