

A MORE

Documents in U.S. History

We the People
PERFECT

Volume I: To 1877

N I O N

Fourth Edition

A MORE PERFECT UNION



Documents in U.S. History

FOURTH EDITION

Volume I: To 1877

PAUL F. BOLLER, JR.

Professor Emeritus, Texas Christian University

RONALD STORY

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Houghton Mifflin Company Boston

Geneva, Illinois Palo Alto Princeton, New Jersey

To Martin and Eliza

Senior Sponsoring Editor: Sean W. Wakely
Senior Associate Editor: Jeffrey Greene
Senior Project Editor: Carol Newman
Senior Production/Design Coordinator: Carol Merrigan
Senior Manufacturing Coordinator: Marie Barnes
Marketing Manager: Pamela Shaffer

Cover designer: Harold Burch, Harold Burch Design, New York City.

Cover image: "The Capitol Building, Washington, D.C." Catherine Karnow / Woodfin Comp.

Copyright © 1996 Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system without the prior written permission of Houghton Mifflin Company unless such copying is expressly permitted by federal copyright law. Address inquiries to College Permissions, Houghton Mifflin Company, 222 Berkeley Street, Boston, MA 02116-3764

Printed in the U.S.A.

ISBN: 0-395-74524-1

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 95-76925

3 4 5 6 7 8 9-QM-99 98 97 96

PREFACE



Our two-volume reader, *A More Perfect Union: Documents in U.S. History*, presents students with the original words of speeches and testimony, political and legal writings, and literature that have reflected, precipitated, and implemented pivotal events of the past four centuries. The readings in Volume I cover the era from Columbus's voyage of discovery to Reconstruction. Volume II begins with the post-Civil War period, repeating some of the first volume's final readings, and concludes with contemporary selections. We are pleased with the reception that *A More Perfect Union* has received, and we have worked toward refining the contents of this new edition.

About a third of the material is new to this edition. New selections in Volume I include, for example, a letter from a Scotch-Irish farmer and a revolutionary speech by Patrick Henry, both from the eighteenth century, as well as Charles G. Finney's lecture on revivals of religion and General William T. Sherman's message to the citizens of Atlanta from the nineteenth century. Many new selections have been added to Volume II. Among them are Andrew Carnegie's "Wealth" and the Populist Party platform as well as an interview with Malcolm X and the Republican Party's "Contract with America."

The readings in these volumes represent a blend of social and political history, along with some cultural and economic trends, suitable for introductory courses in American history. We made our selections with three thoughts in mind. First, we looked for famous documents with a lustrous place in the American tradition—or the Gettysburg Address, for example, or Franklin D. Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address. These we chose for their great mythic quality, as expressions of fundamental sentiments with which students should be familiar. Second, we looked for writings that caused something to happen or had an impact when they appeared. Examples include the Virginia slave statutes, Thomas Paine's *The Crisis*, the Emancipation Proclamation, and Earl Warren's opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*—all of them influential pieces, some of them famous as well. Third, we looked for documents that seemed to reflect important attitudes or developments. Into this group fall Thomas Hart Benton's racial views as well as the writings of Upton Sinclair on industrial Chicago and of Martin Luther King, Jr. on Vietnam. In this category, where the need for careful selection from a wide field was most apparent, we looked especially for thoughtful pieces with a measure of fame and influence. Horace Mann's statement on schools reflected common attitudes; it also caused something

to happen and is a well-known reform statement. We have also tried to mix a few unusual items into the stew, as with the "Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction" and a letter from a Catholic nun in early Colorado.

We have edited severely in places, mostly when the document is long or contains extraneous material or obscure references. We have also, in some cases, modernized spelling and punctuation.

Each document has a lengthy headnote that summarizes the relevant trends of the era, provides a specific setting for the document, and sketches the life of the author. There are also "Questions to Consider" to guide students through the prose and suggest ways of thinking about the selections.

We would like to thank the following people who reviewed the manuscript for one or both volumes:

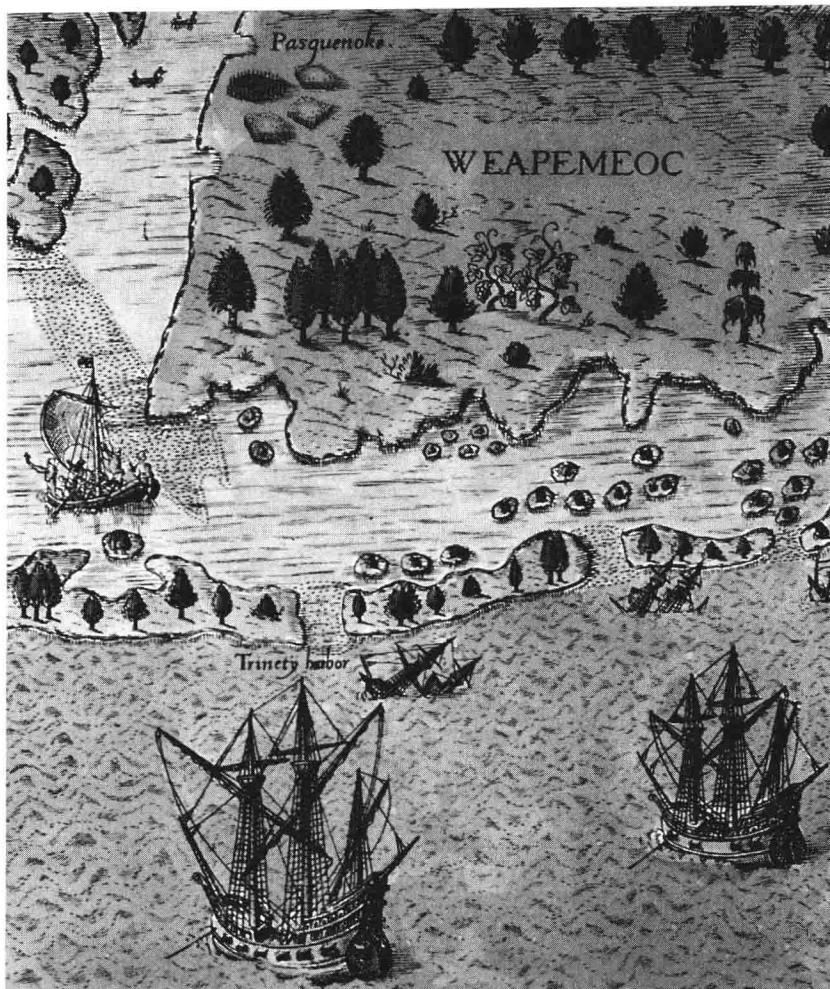
John K. Alexander, University of Cincinnati; June G. Alexander, University of Cincinnati; Judith L. Demark, Northern Michigan University; Harvey Green, Northeastern University; Ben Rader, University of Nebraska at Lincoln; C. Elizabeth Raymond, University of Nevada-Reno; Thomas Templeton Taylor, Wittenberg University; and John Scott Wilson, University of South Carolina.

We also wish to express our appreciation to the editorial staff of Houghton Mifflin Company for their hard and conscientious work in producing these volumes.

P.F.B.
R.S.

A MORE PERFECT UNION





English ships off the coast of early Virginia. In 1584 English ships reached Roanoke, an island off the coast of what is now North Carolina. (Granger Collection)

CONTENTS



Preface	xi
---------	----

CHAPTER ONE



Planters and Puritans

1. CONTACT	2
Journal of the First Voyage (1492)	
2. CONFLICT	9
Address to John Smith (1608)	
POWHATAN	
3. FIRST PRIVILEGES	13
Virginia Ordinance of 1619	
4. RE-CREATING POLITICAL SOCIETY	16
The Mayflower Compact (1620)	
WILLIAM BRADFORD	
5. THE PURITAN VISION	19
A Model of Christian Charity (1630)	
JOHN WINTHROP	
6. THE UNDERSIDE OF PRIVILEGE	24
Virginia Slavery Legislation (1630–1691)	
7. FAITH AND DISSENT	27
The Examination of Anne Hutchinson (1637)	
8. LEARNING AND PIETY	34
The New England Primer (1687)	
BENJAMIN HARRIS	

◆ CHAPTER TWO
Strides Toward Freedom

9. DIVERSITY AND ABUNDANCE 42
Letter from Pennsylvania (1725)
ROBERT PARKE
10. SELF-IMPROVEMENT 46
The Junto Queries (1729)
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
11. A RIGHT TO CRITICIZE 50
John Peter Zenger's Libel Trial (1735)
12. THE GREAT AWAKENING 55
Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God (1741)
JONATHAN EDWARDS
13. SHATTERING AN EMPIRE 60
Speech to the Virginia Convention (1775)
PATRICK HENRY
14. IDEOLOGY AND AGITATION 65
The Crisis, Number One (1776)
THOMAS PAINE
15. SECURING LIBERTY 71
***The Federalist*, Number Ten (1787)**
JAMES MADISON
16. SECURING RIGHTS 78
Virginia Recommendations for a Bill of Rights (1788)
Congressional Resolution on a Bill of Twelve Rights (1789)

CHAPTER THREE



Nationalists and Partisans

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 17. AGRARIAN VISTAS | 88 |
| What Is an American? (1782) | |
| J. HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CRÈVECOEUR | |
| 18. AN INDUSTRIAL VISION | 93 |
| On Manufactures (1791) | |
| ALEXANDER HAMILTON | |
| 19. A CALL FOR UNITY | 100 |
| First Inaugural Address (1801) | |
| THOMAS JEFFERSON | |
| 20. THE CONSTITUTION PROTECTED | 106 |
| <i>Marbury v. Madison</i> (1803) | |
| JOHN MARSHALL | |
| 21. THE GREAT WEST | 111 |
| Report on the Western Plains and New Spain (1806–1807) | |
| ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE | |
| 22. HEMISPHERIC INTEREST | 118 |
| The Monroe Doctrine (1823) | |
| JAMES MONROE | |
| 23. THE SECTIONAL SPECTER | 122 |
| South Carolina Exposition and Protest (1828) | |
| JOHN C. CALHOUN | |
| 24. THE TRAIL OF TEARS | 127 |
| Appeal of the Cherokee Nation (1830) | |
| 25. ASSAULTING MONOPOLY | 131 |
| Bank Veto Speech (1832) | |
| ANDREW JACKSON | |
| 26. TO THE FARTHEST SHORES | 137 |
| The Destiny of the Race (1846) | |
| THOMAS HART BENTON | |

CHAPTER FOUR



The Age of Reform

27. A CALL TO ARMS 144
Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World (1829)
DAVID WALKER
28. FREEDOM NOW 149
That Class of Americans Called Africans (1833)
LYDIA MARIA CHILD
29. EVANGELICAL FERMENT 154
Revivals of Religion (1835)
CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY
30. RISING GENERATIONS 161
Report on the Public Schools (1840)
HORACE MANN
31. BALM FOR THE AFFLICTED 168
Memorial on Asylums (1843)
DOROTHEA DIX
32. WOMEN'S FREEDOM 174
Woman in the Nineteenth Century (1845)
MARGARET FULLER
33. WOMEN'S RIGHTS 178
Seneca Falls Declaration of 1848
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
34. LIBERTY AND UNION 183
Republican Party Platform of 1860

CHAPTER FIVE



Rebels, Yankees, and Freedmen

35. FLIGHT FROM UNION 191
Mississippi Resolutions on Secession (1860)

36. UNION INVIOLEATE	195
First Inaugural Address (1861) ABRAHAM LINCOLN	
37. ANTHEM OF WAR	200
Battle Hymn of the Republic (1862) JULIA WARD HOWE	
38. A DECLARATION OF FREEDOM	203
The Emancipation Proclamation (1863) ABRAHAM LINCOLN	
39. PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT	206
The Gettysburg Address (1863) ABRAHAM LINCOLN	
40. THE FACE OF WAR	208
Message to the Atlanta City Council (1864) WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN	
Diary of a Georgia Girl (1864) ELIZA ANDREWS	
41. BINDING WOUNDS	214
Second Inaugural Address (1865) ABRAHAM LINCOLN	
42. A HELPING HAND	218
Report on the Freedman's Bureau (1865)	
43. KLANSMEN OF THE CAROLINAS	226
Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction (1872)	
44. A KIND OF REUNION	230
What the Centennial Ought to Accomplish (1875) <i>SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY</i>	
45. AFTERMATH	235
Address to the Louisville Convention (1883) FREDERICK DOUGLASS	

CHAPTER ONE



Planters and Puritans

1. CONTACT

Journal of the First Voyage (1492)

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

2. CONFLICT

Address to John Smith (1608)

POWHATAN

3. FIRST PRIVILEGES

The Virginia Ordinance of 1619

4. RE-CREATING POLITICAL SOCIETY

The Mayflower Compact (1620)

WILLIAM BRADFORD

5. THE PURITAN VISION

A Model of Christian Charity (1630)

JOHN WINTHROP

6. THE UNDERSIDE OF PRIVILEGE

Virginia Slavery Legislation (1630–1691)

7. FAITH AND DISSENT

The Examination of Anne Hutchinson (1637)

8. LEARNING AND PIETY

The New England Primer (1687)

BENJAMIN HARRIS

1

CONTACT

According to Icelandic saga, the Scandinavian adventurer Leif Ericsson set foot in the New World in the eleventh century. Even if the tales are true, and even if the discoveries had become widely known during that time, Europeans were not yet ready for expansion. The economically feeble and politically fragmented European society would have had little interest in daring and costly colonization schemes.

By the late fifteenth century Europe had changed dramatically. Its population was increasing, more people demanded the goods and services that a new merchant class was eager to provide, and trade and commerce grew accordingly. As new markets emerged, and improvements in shipbuilding and navigation made seafaring less hazardous, incentives for expanding trade multiplied. Impatient to advance the economic growth of their infant nation-states, powerful new rulers began to think about subsidizing exploratory voyages. Europe was poised to produce a man like Christopher Columbus.

The Italian seaman Columbus proposed to reach the riches of the Orient by sailing west. Unable to convince the Portuguese to bankroll his scheme, he appealed to Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Spain. Ambitious and visionary, they financed the 1492 voyage in which Columbus “discovered” the New World, an achievement the eighteenth-century economist Adam Smith heralded as perhaps the “greatest and most important event recorded in the history of mankind.”

Columbus kept an extraordinarily detailed record of his voyage. Columbus addressed this journal to his patrons, Ferdinand and Isabella, but given his hunger for personal glory, he no doubt made his entries for the eyes of future generations as well. Although the journal was lost some forty years after the voyage, Bartolomé de Las Casas, a fierce critic of Spanish treatment of American Indians, preserved and edited it from a version recorded by a scribe. Thus the *Diario de Colón* (Spanish) or the *Journal of the First Voyage* (English) is really a close “translation” of the original.

Las Casas observed that Columbus “was called Christopher, that is to say *Christum ferens*, which means carrier or bearer of Christ.” There is plenty of evidence to suggest that Columbus was driven as much

by God as he was by “gold and glory,” but the millions who followed him to the shores of the New World seemed to dream mostly of gold. “Gold is most excellent [and] whoever has it may do what he wishes in the world,” Columbus wrote, and indeed, partly as a result of his voyages, Europe accumulated unprecedented wealth and power. But Europe’s astonishing transformation came at enormous cost to the New World’s native peoples.

Columbus made several voyages to the New World. During his second voyage he founded Isabela, the first European city in the New World, and during his third voyage he reached the South American mainland. He undertook his fourth and last voyage in direct violation of royal orders. It was on these later voyages that Columbus and his men began enslaving native people.

Suffering from disease and plagued by persistent hallucinations, in 1506 Columbus left this world as he had entered it in 1492—in obscurity. Except that he spent most of his youth at sea, little is known about his family or his early years, and even his birthplace has been disputed. He was buried in Valladolid, Spain, but his body was exhumed several times, and it was not until 1898 that Columbus was interred in his final resting place in Seville.

Questions to Consider. What were Columbus’s primary objectives in the New World? How did he treat the natives at this first encounter? Were he and his men intolerant? To what extent was he alert to the new landscape? What evidence suggests that he was a religious man? What evidence is there that his religion and that of Imperial Spain had an intolerant dimension?



Journal of the First Voyage (1492)

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

PROLOGUE

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ

Most Christian and most exalted and most excellent and most mighty princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the islands of the sea, our Sovereigns:

Forasmuch as, in this present year of 1492, after that your Highnesses had made an end of the war with the Moors who reigned in Europe, and



Columbus at the court of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Ferdinand and Isabella extended Castilian monarchical authority across all of Spain at about the same time that the Tudor and Valois monarchies were consolidating their power in England and France. Columbus found himself seeking Spanish rather than Italian help in part because Italy had no single central government that could tax the wealth of the entire country to finance costly voyages into unknown regions. Spain now did. (Brown Brothers)

had brought that war to a conclusion in the very great city of Granada, where, in this same year, on the second day of the month of January, I saw the royal banners of your Highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the citadel of the city, and I saw the Moorish king come out of the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of your Highnesses and of the Prince, My Lord, and afterwards in that same month, on the ground of information which I had given to your Highnesses concerning the lands of India, and concerning a prince who is called "Grand Khan," which is to say in our Romance tongue "King of Kings," how many times he and his ancestors had sent to Rome to beg for men learned in our holy faith, in order that they might instruct him therein, and how the Holy Father had never made provision in this matter, and how so many nations had been lost, falling into idolatries and taking to themselves doc-

trines of perdition, and Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and as princes devoted to the holy Christian faith and propagators thereof, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet and of all idolatries and heresies, took thought to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India, to see those princes and peoples and lands and the character of them and of all else, and the manner which should be used to bring about their conversion to our holy faith, and ordained that I should not go by land to the eastward, by which way it was the custom to go, but by way of the west, by which down to this day we do not know certainly that anyone has passed; therefore, after having driven out all the Jews from your realms and lordships, in the same month of January, your Highnesses commanded me that, with a sufficient fleet, I should go to the said parts of India and for this accorded to me great rewards and ennobled me so that from that time henceforward I might style myself “don” and be high admiral of the Ocean Sea and viceroy and perpetual governor of the islands and continent which I should discover and gain and which from now henceforward might be discovered and gained in the Ocean Sea, and that my eldest son should succeed to the same position, and so on from generation to generation. And I departed from the city of Granada on the twelfth day of the month of May in the same year of 1492, on a Saturday, and came to the town of Palos, which is a port of the sea, where I made ready three ships, very suited for such an undertaking, and I set out from that port, well furnished with very many supplies and with many seamen, on the third day of the month of August of the same year, on a Friday, half an hour before the rising of the sun.

“Sunday, October 21st/ At ten o’clock I arrived here at this *Cape del Isleo* [northwest point of Crooked Island] and anchored, as did the caravels. . . . The inhabitants, when they saw us, all fled and left their houses and hid their clothing and whatever they had in the undergrowth. I did not allow anything to be taken, even the value of a pin. Afterwards, some of the men among them came towards us and one came quite close. I gave him some hawks’ bells and some little glass beads, and he was well content and very joyful. And that this friendly feeling might grow stronger and to make some request of them, I asked him for water; and, after I had returned to the ship, they came presently to the beach with their gourds full, and were delighted to give it to us, and I commanded that another string of small glass beads should be given to them, and they said that they would come here tomorrow. I was anxious to fill all the ships’ casks with water here; accordingly, if the weather permit, I shall presently set out to go round the island, until I have had speech with this king and have seen whether I can obtain from him the gold which I hear that he wears. After that I wish to leave for another very large island, which I believe must be Cipangu [Japan], according to the signs which these Indians whom I have with me make; they call it “Colba” [Cuba]. They say that there are ships and many very