eighth grade curriculum
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Outline for Eighth Grade Curriculum

PURPOSE
Tours of the Owens-Thomas House & Slave Quarters focus on the complexities of urban slavery from the founding of Georgia to emancipation and touch on the continued struggle of African Americans to gain economic, political, and social equality.

LEARNING OUTCOMES
Students should be able to:

– Explain the differences between plantation and urban slavery.
– Analyze the impact of slavery on the culture and economy of the Southern United States.
– Consider the legacy of slavery in 20th and 21st century America, including convict leasing and mass incarceration.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED

SS8H2
D. Explain the transition of Georgia into a royal colony with regard to land ownership, slavery, alcohol, and government.

SS8H5
A. Explain the importance of key issues and events that led to the Civil War, include slavery, states’ rights, and nullification.
B. Explain Georgia’s role in the Civil War, include the union blockade of Georgia’s coast, and the Emancipation Proclamation.

SS8H6
A. Explain the roles of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments in Reconstruction
E. Give examples of goods and services produced during the Reconstruction era, including the use of sharecropping and tenant farming.
Pre-Visit Activities

Your visit to the Owens-Thomas House & Slave Quarters will focus on the complexities of urban slavery, the relationships that existed between the people who were enslaved on the property and those who enslaved them, and the lasting legacies of slavery in the struggle for equality.

Teaching the history of enslavement in the United States is essential to understanding the history of our nation, but discussions that cover sensitive topics can be difficult for students. Help prepare your students for their visit to the site by introducing, or building on, the hardest concepts to grasp—that people believed in their rights to own another human being and that the legacy of slavery in the United States represents a continued struggle for social, political, and economic equality for people of color.

This packet includes several activities and reading opportunities to introduce concepts of human bondage and racism and to support classroom discussion. Because these topics can be sensitive, it may be a good idea to lay ground rules for discussions so that students feel more comfortable speaking candidly with their classmates. Allow the students to help you make the classroom rules so that they are equally invested in creating a safe environment for civil discourse. Rules may include speaking from the “I” perspective; listen not only with your ears, but also your body language; keep your eyes on the speaker; commit to learning, not debating; avoid blame, speculation, and inflammatory language.

VOCABULARY

Abolition: the act of ending and prohibiting slavery

Abscond: to escape and hideaway; runaway

Bias: a particular tendency, trend, inclination, feeling, or opinion, especially one that is preconceived or unreasoned
Civil Rights: rights to personal liberty as established by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution and certain Congressional acts

Constitution: a system of fundamental principles, procedures, and laws by which a nation or state is governed

Constitutional Amendment: an alteration of or addition to the United States Constitution

Convict Leasing: a system of penal labor practiced throughout the southern United States. Prisoners were leased to outside businesses for labor. Sometimes, the various states employed convict labor.

Emancipate: to free an enslaved person from bondage

Enslaved Person: a person who is the property of and wholly subject to the will of another person

Gang System: a division of labor under slavery in which enslaved workers toiled continuously in gangs on specific tasks. Typically, slaveholders used the gang system on cotton, sugar, and tobacco plantations.

Indigo: a cash crop, plant that produces dark blue dye

Jim Crow Laws: the state and local laws that enforced racial segregation after Reconstruction, particularly in the southern United States

Plantation: an agricultural estate worked by resident enslaved labor

Scullery: a room for cleaning dishes, clothes, storing dishes, and doing other work

Secession: to leave or withdraw formally from a federation or body, especially a political state

Sharecropper: a tenant farmer who is provided with credit for seed, tools, living quarters, and food, who works the land for the landlord, and who receives an agreed upon share of the value of a product, minus charges
**Task System:** a labor system under slavery whereby an individual slave is assigned a particular task to complete for the day. Usually considered less brutal than gang labor and afforded the enslaved person more self-governance.

**Vagrant:** an idle person without visible means of financial support

**Vagrancy Laws:** laws that classify a person, when engaged in certain activities, as being a vagrant. These laws made behaviors, such as gathering in public spaces or lacking proof of employment illegal, thus making vagrants subject to legal punishment as criminals. The enforcement of these laws often unfairly targeted African-American people.

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**Classroom Activity 1   VIDEOS AND DISCUSSIONS**

**Video 1**  
The Atlantic Slave Trade: What Too Few Textbooks Told You  
Anthony Hazard with Ted-Ed (5:38)  
youtube.com/watch?v=3NXC4Q_4JVg

**Video 2:**  
Slavery to Mass Incarceration  
Equal Justice Initiative (5:50)  
youtube.com/watch?v=r4e_djVSag4

**Video 3:**  
Slavery by Another Name  
Promo (3:53)  
youtube.com/watch?v=5s8ccKepCms
Classroom Activity 2   NEWSPAPER AND DISCUSSION

This activity is designed to help students understand the concept of chattel slavery—that one person could own, buy, sell, and trade another person as property and highlight the ubiquity of slavery in the antebellum South.

The next page contains an excerpt from the February 7, 1826 edition of the Savannah Republican newspaper, one of the most popular news sources in 19th century Savannah. Reproduce the page and hand it to each student or group of students. After the students have had a few minutes to look over the paper, they should discuss the content with their peers. Ask students to list three things that stand out to them in this newspaper. They should be asked to explain their choices.

Most students will notice that there are a number of notices advertising the sale of enslaved men and women. Some will notice that they are being sold alongside goods like alcohol, coffee, sugar, and shoes. Ask the students to infer from the newspaper how slavery factored into the daily lives of Georgians, Savannahians in particular. Additionally, what does the newspaper reveal about the slave trade in Savannah? How did the newspaper describe the enslaved? What kinds of information about the enslaved is missing in these ads? Teachers should explain slave auctions and how auction houses and courthouses were typically used to host such sales.

Below are some questions that might help guide classroom discussions:

According to the announcement titled “Brigade order” (second column) what responsibility was being neglected by the local militia? What do you think the purpose of these patrols were?

According to the “For Sale” announcement (first column), what were the terms of sale offered for the purchase of the land, plantation, and enslaved people?

According to the announcements made under the headings “Sheriff’s sales” (fourth column) what property was being auctioned?

What does this section of the newspaper reveal about life in this community?
TOUR

Your tour will be guided by a professional historical interpreter. The tour will last approximately 45 minutes and include hands-on exhibits and activities. Your group will explore the orientation gallery; slave quarters; service basement, including the kitchen and scullery; and the parlor and bedroom levels of the main house with your guide. Your tour will focus on the complexities of urban slavery from the founding of Georgia to emancipation and touch on the continued struggle of African Americans to gain economic, political, and social equality in 20th and 21st century America.

The slave quarters and orientation gallery are ADA compliant, but the main house is not. There are three flights of stairs to climb during the course of the tour.

The basement is an interactive exhibit space where students are encouraged to learn through experience, but we ask that visitors refrain from touching or leaning on objects and surfaces throughout the rest of the house. Non-flash photography is allowed. Questions are encouraged.

POST-VISIT ACTIVITIES

Classroom Activity 1  EVALUATING PRIMARY SOURCES AND HISTORICAL MEMORY

Objective(s):
Students will:
- Be able to evaluate primary sources for historical content and point of view
- Analyze and discuss how bias and memory shapes primary sources
- Construct and articulate a written response, using historical artifacts and primary source material as evidence of their position, to a given prompt.

Warm-Up:
At the beginning of class, give students 3-4 minutes to write 1-2 sentence(s) about one of their earliest memories. They should include as much detail as possible, including how old they were when the event happened.
Directions for the Lesson:
As a class read: “Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives and the Federal Writers’ Project” on the Library of Congress’s website (located here: loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/connections/narratives-slavery/file.html) to show the students how specific biases might have influenced the WPA narratives. (This could be assigned as silent reading or as homework).

Discuss, as a class, the concept of bias. Discuss how to identify bias in different contexts [discussion here might include how certain items are chosen to be displayed in a museum; how authors include certain elements in telling a story or recounting a memory; how point of view shapes how a story is told, i.e. as a witness, as the person who experienced something, as someone who heard a third-hand account, as a child, as an adult, etc.]. Discuss how individual biases might shape memories or historical accounts of how and why things happened.

- Read a short WPA narrative together as a class. (This is for modeling.) Analyze the passage with students. Refer back to the reading passage to help identify potential biases present in the narrative. [The teacher could select one from the Library of Congress website and either distribute copies to students or display using a projector.]

- Break students into small groups of 3-4. Have each group read a WPA narrative and an excerpt from an autobiographical text, such as Harriet Jacobs. (For more fruitful class discussions, the teacher might want groups to read 2-3 short WPA narratives and a short excerpt from Harriet Jacobs. The WPA narratives should present different levels of specific memories/experiences.)

- Working together in their small groups, students will identify and discuss ways that biases consciously or subconsciously might have shaped those narratives.

- Teachers can have students discuss their thoughts first within their group for a specified period of time and then open up the discussion as an entire class.

- Bring the class back together (from small groups) for teacher-led class discussion.
Questions to Consider for Teacher-led Class Discussion:

How does when the narrative was produced impact the story it tells? One criticism of the WPA narratives is that the interviewees were relatively young when they were enslaved and interviewed when they were much older...thus some historians argue that their memories are unreliable accounts of their experiences. Contrast this with accounts written by Harriet Jacobs (or another autobiography) written much closer in time to their enslavement, when their memories and experiences were "fresher."

Teachers can ask students to share some of their memories from the warm-up. This is intended to demonstrate that some memories "stick" with us even if the actual experience was a long time ago (i.e. when we were "kids"). It can also show that some details can be forgotten, even if the experience itself is remembered. It also demonstrates that memory can be "fuzzy"—do we remember because we remember or because the incident has been told and re-told to us by our families?

What are common problems encountered when “remembering” a history or an experience? How might the passage of time impact memory? [It’s important to note here that some events are so traumatic as to be “seared” into our memories, while other impressions and feelings might change with the passage of time and acquisition of new information.]

What are some potential dangers in relying solely upon “memories” to recount a history?

What are some benefits of using memories as historical evidence?

Why is it important for historical interpreters and museums to “tell” and “show” our history? [This question brings the discussion back to the experience and tour at the Owens-Thomas House & Slave Quarters.]
WRITING ASSIGNMENT:

Referencing the experience and tour at the Owens-Thomas House & Slave Quarters, examples from class readings, and discussion—how does visiting a historical site, interacting with historical artifacts, and reading primary sources impact your understanding of slavery in general and slavery in Savannah specifically?

Classroom Activity 2 PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Objective(s):
Students will:
- Be able to evaluate primary sources for historical content and point of view;
- Students will construct and articulate a written response, using historical artifacts and primary source material as evidence of their position, to a given prompt.

On March 3, 1874, Georgia governor, James M. Smith, signed legislation that officially authorized the state to lease out its convict population to individuals and companies for a period of one to five years. Georgia, like most other southern states, turned to a system of leasing out convicts as a way to cheaply rebuild the state after the devastating Civil War and maintain white social control over the newly freed Black population. After the state’s only penitentiary burned down in 1864, Georgia officials turned to leasing as the primary method of punishing convicts, and by 1868, only three years after the Civil War, Georgia appeared fully dedicated to leasing out its convict population. Rather than housing and feeding a gradually swelling and mostly Black prison population, state officials voted to essentially sell the convicts’ labor to the highest bidders. Over time, leasing convicts proved rather profitable for the state, which made ending the practice very difficult, even in light of documented prisoner abuses and corruption.

One of the companies that took advantage of the convict leasing system was the Chattahoochee Brick Company. As one of dozens of forced labor camps in Georgia, the Chattahoochee Brick Company employed both male and female prisoners. For decades after the Civil War, mostly Black men and women toiled in the brickyards as a way to
serve their prison time for breaking discriminatory laws that seemed to penalize freedmen disproportionately for low-level crimes such as vagrancy, loitering, petty theft and refusing to work. Located along the banks of the Chattahoochee River, northwest of downtown Atlanta, this company played an instrumental role in rebuilding Atlanta in the aftermath of the Civil War. At its height, the company produced upwards of 300,000 bricks daily and its mostly Black workforce never benefitted from the extensive profits earned by the company. Such was the case for many of the companies and farmers who relied on convict labor to do many of the jobs once done by former slaves. As this new system of labor swept across the South, many advocates of convict leasing turned to the 13th Amendment to justify what looked eerily like a new form of slavery. Eventually, convict leasing would be abandoned by the state of Georgia in 1908, but relics of the practice remain scattered across the state from Savannah to some of the lumber yards and railroads in northern and southern Georgia.

**DOCUMENT BASED QUESTIONS**

Use the three Wanted Posters and your knowledge of convict leasing to answer the following questions.

**“Wade Holmes” poster questions:**
1. In what year was Wade Holmes most likely born? Was Holmes most likely enslaved as a child? Explain your response.
2. For what crime was Holmes imprisoned? How long was his prison sentence? In what year is he likely scheduled for release?
3. Where in the state did Holmes work? What kind of work did he most likely do?
4. Look up the term “mulatto.” What does it mean in this context?
5. **Making inferences:** What do you think pushed Wade Holmes to escape?

**“Joe Kelley” poster questions:**
1. When did the Chattahoochee Brick Company publish its reward poster for Joe Kelley?
2. What piece of information about Joe Kelley is missing from this poster? Hint: This detail was included on the Wade Holmes poster. How does the missing information change your view of Kelley, if at all?
3. **Making inferences:** How do you think Kelley lost his fingers? What factors do you believe may have contributed to Kelley’s escape?
“Berrien Bryant” poster questions:

1. From what county is Berrien Bryant?
2. About how long has Bryant been in prison?
3. Which of the three convicts is tallest?
4. Which of the three convicts is the youngest?
5. **Making inferences:** How do you think Bryant scarred his left side?
6. **Making inferences:** Why do you think the Chattahoochee Brick Company is offering a smaller reward for Bryant compared to the other escapees?

**PRIMARY SOURCE #1: Wanted Poster for Wade Holmes, 1887**

Wanted Poster for Wade Holmes, 1887

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Citation: Wanted” Persons Records, ac 1970-0399M, Georgia Archives
vault.georgiaarchives.org/digital/collection/adhoc/id/3070/rec/9
PRIMARY SOURCE # 2: Wanted Poster for Joe Kelley

REWARD!

Escaped from our Camp, on the
A. & H. Railway, [Ga] 70-399

JOE KELLEY,

From Fulton County.
Color, Mulatto; Age, 24 years;
Weight, 165 pounds; Height, 5' feet nine and one half inches;
has lost the second and third fingers of left hand.

We will pay a Reward of ONE
HUNDRED DOLLARS for his delivery to
us at Atlanta, Ga.

CHATTahoochee Brick Co.
Oct. 13, 1887.

Citation: “Wanted” Persons Records, ac 1970-0399M, Georgia Archives
vault.georgiaarchives.org/digital/collection/adhoc/id/3069/rec/9
PRIMARY SOURCE # 3: Wanted Poster for Berrien Bryant

EREWARD

Escaped from our Camp at Empire, Ga.,
the below described convict of the Georgia
Penitentiary:

BERRIEN BRYANT,
from Emanuel County,
Received November 1887; Crime. Burglary;
Color, black; Age, 18 years; Height, 5 feet,
Weight 131 pounds; Color hair, black; Color
eyes, black; has scar on left thigh and five
scars on left side.

We will pay a reward of

$50.00

for his delivery to us at Empire, Ga., Atlanta,
Ga., or any safe jail in Georgia.

Chattahoochee Brick Co.

Atlanta, Ga., October 24th, 1888.

Citation: “Wanted” Persons Records, ac 1970-0399M, Georgia Archives
vault.georgiaarchives.org/digital/collection/adhoc/id/3071/rec/9
**Extension activity for Classroom Activity 2**

Research the use of convict labor in the greater Savannah area. What were some industries that used convict labor until its end in 1908? Can you find members of the Owens-Thomas family who used convicts on their plantations or in their companies?

**Classroom Activity 3  WRITING PROMPTS**

**Writing Prompt A**

The purpose of this prompt is to get students to think about the reasons why slave-holding elites enforced laws prohibiting the education of enslaved people and to explore the ways in which some enslaved persons resisted such restrictions. First, have students do a quick online search for Frederick Douglass. Have them either write down five interesting facts about Douglass or share orally with the class or a peer.

Based on this excerpt from Fredrick Douglass’ narrative, Narrative of the Life of Fredrick Douglass, explain why and how enslaved people were barred from getting an education. Be sure to discuss how some enslaved persons resisted and gained literacy. What did they gain by obtaining new skills? Responses should be 500 words or less.

*Very soon after I went to live with Mr. and Mrs. Auld, she very kindly commenced to teach me the A, B, C. After I had learned this, she assisted me in learning to spell words of three or four letters. Just at this point of my progress, Mr. Auld found out what was going on, and at once forbade Mrs. Auld to instruct me further, telling her, among other things, that it was unlawful, as well as unsafe, to teach a slave to read. To use his own words, further, he said, “If you give a n***** an inch, he will take an ell. A n***** should know nothing but to obey his master—to do as he is told to do. Learning would spoil the best n***** in the world. Now,” said he, “if you teach that n***** (speaking of myself) how to read, there would be no keeping him. It would forever unfit him to be a slave. He would at once become unmanageable, and of no value to his master. As to himself, it could do him no good, but a great deal of harm. It would make him discontented and unhappy.” These words sank deep into my heart, stirred up sentiments within that lay slumbering, and called*
into existence an entirely new train of thought. It was a new and special revelation, explaining dark and mysterious things, with which my youthful understanding had struggled, but struggled in vain. I now understood what had been to me a most perplexing difficulty—*to wit*, the white man’s power to enslave the black man. It was a grand achievement, and I prized it highly. From that moment, I understood the pathway from slavery to freedom. It was just what I wanted, and I got it at a time when I the least expected it. Whilst I was saddened by the thought of losing the aid of my kind mistress, I was gladdened by the invaluable instruction which, by the merest accident, I had gained from my master. Though conscious of the difficulty of learning without a teacher, I set out with high hope, and a fixed purpose, at whatever cost of trouble, to learn how to read. The very decided manner with which he spoke, and strove to impress his wife with the evil consequences of giving me instruction, served to convince me that he was deeply sensible of the truths he was uttering. It gave me the best assurance that I might rely with the utmost confidence on the results which, he said, would flow from teaching me to read. What he most dreaded, that I most desired. What he most loved, that I most hated. That which to him was a great evil, to be carefully shunned, was to me a great good, to be diligently sought; and the argument which he so warmly urged, against my learning to read, only served to inspire me with a desire and determination to learn. In learning to read, I owe almost as much to the bitter opposition of my master, as to the kindly aid of my mistress. I acknowledge the benefit of both.

... I LIVED in Master Hugh’s family about seven years. During this time, I succeeded in learning to read and write. In accomplishing this, I was compelled to resort to various stratagems. I had no regular teacher. My mistress, who had kindly commenced to instruct me, had, in compliance with the advice and direction of her husband, not only ceased to instruct, but had set her face against my being instructed by any one else. It is due, however, to my mistress to say of her, that she did not adopt this course of treatment immediately. She at first lacked the depravity indispensable to shutting me up in mental darkness. It was at least necessary for her to have some training in the exercise of irresponsible power, to make her equal to the task of treating me as though I were a brute.

My mistress was, as I have said, a kind and tender-hearted woman; and in the simplicity of her soul she commenced, when I first went to live with her, to treat me as she supposed one human being ought to treat another. In entering upon the duties of a slaveholder, she did not seem to perceive that I sustained to her the relation of a mere chattel, and that for her to treat me as a human being was not only wrong, but dangerously so. Slavery proved as injurious to her as it did to me. When I went there, she was a pious, warm, and tender-hearted woman. There was no sorrow or suffering for which she had not a tear. She had bread for the hungry, clothes for the naked, and comfort for every mourner that came within her reach. Slavery soon proved its ability to
divest her of these heavenly qualities. Under its influence, the tender heart became stone, and the 
lamblike disposition gave way to one of tiger-like fierceness. The first step in her downward course 
was in her ceasing to instruct me. She now commenced to practice her husband’s precepts. She 
finally became even more violent in her opposition than her husband himself. She was not satisfied 
with simply doing as well as he had commanded; she seemed anxious to do better. Nothing 
seemed to make her more angry than to see me with a newspaper. She seemed to think that here 
lay the danger. I have had her rush at me with a face made all up of fury, and snatch from me a 
newspaper, in a manner that fully revealed her apprehension. She was an apt woman; and a little 
experience soon demonstrated, to her satisfaction, that education and slavery were incompatible 
with each other.

From this time I was most narrowly watched. If I was in a separate room any considerable 
length of time, I was sure to be suspected of having a book, and was at once called to give an 
account of myself. All this, however, was too late. The first step had been taken. Mistress, in 
teaching me the alphabet, had given me the inch, and no precaution could prevent me from taking 
the ell.

The plan which I adopted, and the one by which I was most successful, was that of making 
friends of all the little white boys whom I met in the street. As many of these as I could, I converted 
to teachers. With their kindly aid, obtained at different times and in different places, I finally 
succeeded in learning to read. When I was sent of errands, I always took my book with me, and by 
going one part of my errand quickly, I found time to get a lesson before my return. I used also to 
carry bread with me, enough of which was always in the house, and to which I was always welcome; 
for I was much better off in this regard than many of the poor white children in our neighborhood. 
This bread I used to bestow upon the hungry little urchins, who, in return, would give me that more 
valuable bread of knowledge. I am strongly tempted to give the names of two or three of those 
little boys, as a testimonial of the gratitude and affection I bear them; but prudence forbids;—not 
that it would injure me, but it might embarrass them; for it is almost an unpardonable offence to 
teach slaves to read in this Christian country. It is enough to say of the dear little fellows, that they 
lived on Philpot Street, very near Durgin and Bailey’s ship-yard. I used to talk this matter of slavery 
over with them. I would sometimes say to them, I wished I could be as free as they would be when 
they got to be men. “You will be free as soon as you are twenty-one, but I am a slave for life! Have 
not I as good a right to be free as you have?” These words used to trouble them; they would 
express for me the liveliest sympathy, and console me with the hope that something would occur 
by which I might be free.
I was now about twelve years old, and the thought of being a slave for life began to bear heavily upon my heart. Just about this time, I got hold of a book entitled “The Columbian Orator.” Every opportunity I got, I used to read this book. Among much of other interesting matter, I found in it a dialogue between a master and his slave. The slave was represented as having run away from his master three times. The dialogue represented the conversation which took place between them, when the slave was retaken the third time. In this dialogue, the whole argument in behalf of slavery was brought forward by the master, all of which was disposed of by the slave. The slave was made to say some very smart as well as impressive things in reply to his master—things which had the desired though unexpected effect; for the conversation resulted in the voluntary emancipation of the slave on the part of the master.

In the same book, I met with one of Sheridan’s mighty speeches on and in behalf of Catholic emancipation. These were choice documents to me. I read them over and over again with unabated interest. They gave tongue to interesting thoughts of my own soul, which had frequently flashed through my mind, and died away for want of utterance. The moral which I gained from the dialogue was the power of truth over the conscience of even a slaveholder. What I got from Sheridan was a bold denunciation of slavery, and a powerful vindication of human rights. The reading of these documents enabled me to utter my thoughts, and to meet the arguments brought forward to sustain slavery; but while they relieved me of one difficulty, they brought on another even more painful than the one of which I was relieved. The more I read, the more I was led to abhor and detest my enslavers. I could regard them in no other light than a band of successful robbers, who had left their homes, and gone to Africa, and stolen us from our homes, and in a strange land reduced us to slavery. I loathed them as being the meanest as well as the most wicked of men. As I read and contemplated the subject, behold! that very discontentment which Master Hugh had predicted would follow my learning to read had already come, to torment and sting my soul to unutterable anguish. As I writhed under it, I would at times feel that learning to read had been a curse rather than a blessing. It had given me a view of my wretched condition, without the remedy. It opened my eyes to the horrible pit, but to no ladder upon which to get out. In moments of agony, I envied my fellow-slaves for their stupidity. I have often wished myself a beast. I preferred the condition of the meanest reptile to my own. Any thing, no matter what, to get rid of thinking! It was this everlasting thinking of my condition that tormented me. There was no getting rid of it. It was pressed upon me by every object within sight or hearing, animate or inanimate. The silver trump of freedom had roused my soul to eternal wakefulness. Freedom now appeared, to disappear no more forever. It was heard in every sound, and seen in every thing. It was ever present to torment me with a sense of my wretched condition. I saw nothing without seeing it, I heard nothing without hearing it, and felt nothing without feeling it. It looked from every star, it smiled in every calm, breathed in every wind, and moved in every storm.
Writing Prompt B

The purpose of this prompt is not for students to explain how enslaved people were affected by laws regulating the legality of education for people of color. Instead, students are asked to consider how literacy has impacted their own lives and in doing so understand how enslaved people were affected by literacy laws. See Appendix II for Georgia’s anti-literacy laws.

Before reading an excerpt from Susie King Taylor’s memoir, students should complete a quick biographical search of Taylor. Use the internet to quickly read about Taylor and have students discuss any interesting information uncovered about her. Next, read this excerpt from Susie King Taylor’s memoir, Reminiscences of My Life in Camp. Consider the importance of literacy in your daily life. In 500 words or less, explain how your life would be different if you were not literate.

I WAS born under the slave law in Georgia, in 1848, and was brought up by my grandmother in Savannah. There were three of us with her, my younger sister and brother. My brother and I being the two eldest, we were sent to a friend of my grandmother, Mrs. Woodhouse, a widow, to learn to read and write. She was a free woman and lived on Bay Lane, between Habersham and Price streets, about half a mile from my house. We went every day about nine o’clock, with our books wrapped in paper to prevent the police or white persons from seeing them. We went in, one at a time, through the gate, into the yard to the L kitchen, which was the schoolroom. She had twenty-five or thirty children whom she taught, assisted by her daughter, Mary Jane. The neighbors would see us going in sometimes, but they supposed we were there learning trades, as it was the custom to give children a trade of some kind. After school we left the same way we entered, one by one, when we would go to a square, about a block from the school, and wait for each other. We would gather laurel leaves and pop them on our hands, on our way home. I remained at her school for two years or more, when I was sent to a Mrs. Mary Beasley, where I continued until May, 1860, when she told my grandmother she had taught me all she knew, and grandmother had better get some one else who could teach me more, so I stopped my studies for a while.

I had a white playmate about this time, named Katie O’Connor, who lived on the next corner of the street from my house, and who attended a convent. One day she told me, if I would promise not to tell her father, she would give me some lessons. On my promise not to do so, and getting her mother’s consent, she gave me lessons about four months, every evening. At the end of this time she was put into the convent permanently, and I have never seen her since.
A month after this, James Blouis, our landlord’s son, was attending the High School, and was very fond of grandmother, so she asked him to give me a few lessons, which he did until the middle of 1861, when the Savannah Volunteer Guards, to which he and his brother belonged, were ordered to the front under General Barton. In the first battle of Manassas, his brother Eugene was killed, and James deserted over to the Union side, and at the close of the war went to Washington, D. C., where he has since resided.

I often wrote passes for my grandmother, for all colored persons, free or slaves, were compelled to have a pass; free colored people having a guardian in place of a master. These passes were good until 10 or 10:30 P. M. for one night or every night for one month. The pass read as follows:--

SAVANNAH, GA., March 1st, 1860.

Pass the bearer--from 9 to 10:30 P. M.

VALENTINE GREST.

Every person had to have this pass, for at nine o’clock each night a bell was rung, and any colored persons found on the street after this hour were arrested by the watchman, and put in the guard-house until next morning, when their owners would pay their fines and release them. I knew a number of persons who went out at any time at night and were never arrested, as the watchman knew them so well he never stopped them, and seldom asked to see their passes, only stopping them long enough, sometimes, to say “Howdy,” and then telling them to go along.

Writing Prompt C

The purpose of this prompt is to encourage students to consider the legacies of slavery in the United States by exploring the application of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, collectively known as the Civil War Amendments.

How were the rights guaranteed to African-Americans by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments later restricted? Which of these constitutional amendments would you rank as most important to black Americans then and now? Why? Responses should be 500 words or less.
Appendix I: Historical Background

SLAVERY IN THE COLONY

James Oglethorpe was a well-educated aristocrat, soldier, and statesman. He was elected to Parliament at the age of 26 and appointed to the Parliamentary committee on jails, where he discovered that poverty was a cause of widespread imprisonment under English debtor laws. When a young acquaintance was imprisoned for his debt and died there as a result of horrible conditions, Oglethorpe began advocating for changes to debtors’ laws. He won freedom for thousands of debtors and national recognition for his work. By 1730, Oglethorpe and Thomas Bray, an Anglican philanthropist, were working to figure out how those affected by drunkenness, unemployment, and poverty could be resettled in the New World for the benefit of the British Crown. Though Oglethorpe and his associates focused on the philanthropic nature of a new settlement, they also stressed the military and commercial benefits of planting a colony to the south of the Savannah River. The resettlement offered an opportunity to give the “worthy poor” a chance to work fertile lands and establish themselves as independent citizens, while providing goods for trade to England and acting as a military buffer zone between the English settlement at Charlestown to the north and Spanish-controlled Florida to the south. In 1732, King George II awarded the charter to Oglethorpe and other trustees to establish the colony of Georgia.

Oglethorpe and 114 English colonists arrived on the bluff of the Savannah River in 1733. Though the vision for the new colony was developed to improve conditions of debtors in England, no debtors were ever chosen for resettlement in Georgia. Rather, those chosen were mostly merchants, artisans, and unemployed skilled laborers and their families. All were from the densely populated London metropolitan area, none were skilled farmers, and few were suited to the burdens of pioneering. One quarter of the original English colonists in Savannah died in the first year.
Spirituous liquor and slavery were restricted in an effort to protect the interests of the new colony. Oglethorpe worried that the colonists would fall into drunkenness if allowed alcohol and that slavery would lead to “white idleness,” ensuring the ruin of the colony. White farmers believed that Savannah would be unable to compete with the Charleston economy and repeatedly advocated for the repeal of slave laws. Even though slavery was officially banned in Georgia, the law was rarely enforced. The colonial government imported enslaved people from Charleston to build Savannah and planters “rented” enslaved people from nearby Charleston rather than buying them, thereby circumventing the ban on slave ownership. By 1740, there were an estimated 349 enslaved people in Savannah. By 1750, the trustee government had given up on their utopian ideal and abolished their charter, returning control of the colony to the British Crown. Parliament legalized slavery in Georgia and the population of both free whites and enslaved blacks boomed as wealthy slaveholders from other British colonies moved into the fertile Georgia lands to plant cash crops like rice and indigo. By 1754, there were 4,500 whites and 1,855 people of African descent living in Savannah.

**URBAN SLAVERY IN SAVANNAH**

Most students think of slavery as a purely agricultural endeavor, where men, women, and children labored in difficult and dangerous conditions to grow cash crops for their enslavers. Few realize that enslaved people also labored in difficult conditions in urban centers.

On plantations, most enslaved people labored in fields, dairies, and kitchens. Field work typically lasted all day, with many men and women returning to their quarters at the end of the day only to begin additional labors for their owner or for the benefit of their own families. The labor on a plantation was exceptionally hard and the average life expectancy for a field worker was low—around 25 years old by some estimates. Plantation laborers lived under the constant threat of violence, disease, and family separation.

In urban centers, enslaved people labored in the households of the wealthy and in nearly
every industry. Though they could expect better clothing, better food, greater access to medicine, and to an extent, access to education, their position in a city came with severe limitations. These people were always within reach of their enslavers and so were often denied the opportunity to maintain their own households and familial relationships and were less able to practice their own family traditions. It could have been significantly more difficult to reach their own communities, despite the proximity of enslaved people within a city. They also lived, like their counterparts on plantations, under the constant threat of violence and family separations.

BACKGROUND OF THE OWENS-THOMAS HOUSE & SLAVE QUARTERS

The property now known as the Owens-Thomas House & Slave Quarters was built for Richard Richardson, a wealthy shipping merchant, banker, and slave trader.

Richardson was born in Bermuda on November 5, 1785, but tax records indicate that he was living in Savannah at least as early as 1804. By 1808, Richardson had joined the local militia and entered a co-partnership with the firm of R & J Bolton, a major mercantile business with connections in England. He married his business partner’s daughter, Francis Bolton, in 1811 and the couple had six children between 1812 and 1822.

Richardson purchased the land on which the Owens-Thomas House now stands from Chatham Academy for $4,500 in 1816 and commissioned a young British architect named William Jay, who was related to the family by marriage, to design his new home. Construction began in November of that year. Construction took two years and two months, using a combination of free and enslaved labor. When it was completed in January 1819, Richardson moved in with his wife, children, and nine enslaved people. By 1820, Richardson owned eleven enslaved people. Some of these people would have lived and worked in his home on Oglethorpe Square, while others may have been forced to labor in his cotton pressing house or on his wharves. He shipped hundreds more to
auction houses and traders in other major slave ports, like Charleston, Pensacola, and New Orleans. Many of their names are preserved on shipping manifests, but little else is known about them aside from physical characteristics like age, gender, and complexion. Of the many people enslaved by Richardson, biographical details exist for only one person: Andrew Marshall.

Richardson purchased Andrew Cox Marshall from his brother-in-law, Robert Bolton, in 1819, seemingly with the express intent of freeing Marshall and his family. The reasons for this are unclear. It may have been related to Marshall’s involvement with Christian ministry at Savannah’s First African Baptist Church, where his uncle had been the pastor. Marshall followed in his uncle’s footsteps and became First African’s third pastor. Christian scripture had often been used as a method of further subjugating enslaved people by justifying slavery and demanding obedience to white men.

In 1819, there was a financial crisis caused largely by speculation in land and commodities and predatory lending on the part of state and federal banks and in 1820, a large fire ripped through the city, destroying much of the commercial district and over 400 buildings. Reports spread that one-third of the city was left naked and homeless. The devastation from the fire had left open spaces that allowed spring rains to collect and stagnate and by the summer of 1820, those waters had become a breeding ground for mosquitos that carried Yellow Fever. The resulting Yellow Fever epidemic killed over 700 people in a town of just 7,000.

These particular crises had a devastating effect on the Savannah economy and left Richardson in dire financial straits and subject to a blizzard of lawsuits to satisfy debts. To add to that, by 1821, two of his six children and his wife had fallen ill and died. He left for New Orleans, where he already had business contacts and family by 1822, having transferred ownership of his new mansion and its contents to his brother-in-law, Durham
Hall. The house was purchased at auction in 1822 by the Bank of the United States and, for a period of six years, leased to a wealthy widow who ran the property as a boarding house. It was during this time that Revolutionary War hero and ardent abolitionist Marquis de Lafayette stayed in the home during his visit to Savannah in 1825. It was auctioned off again in 1830 and bought by George Welshman Owens.

George Welshman Owens was a plantation owner, lawyer, and politician. He moved into the home with his wife, Sarah, their six children, and nine enslaved laborers in 1833, after making renovations to the property.

By 1840, 14 enslaved people lived and labored on the property to support the Owens family, including the enslaved nursemaids Emma and Kate; Diane, the enslaved cook; and Fanny, an enslaved child. George Welshman Owens died in 1856 and his estate was left in the hands of his widow and their children. There were 14 enslaved people there in 1850, including Emma, the enslaved nursemaid, and Peter, the enslaved butler.

Because George Owens and his descendants owned the property for such a long time, many of their writings have been preserved. Their letters and account books, in particular, have provided insight into the experiences of those people enslaved by the Owens family. Emma, for instance, was mentioned repeatedly in letters and wills written by Owens and his sons, perhaps indicating her importance to the household as the enslaved nursemaid to the Owens children. These letters indicate that Emma suffered from tuberculosis, for which she received medical treatment; that Emma often traveled with the family; and that she had at least one child of her own, named Harriet.

In 1868, George Owens’ daughter Margaret Wallace Owens married a Confederate surgeon named James Gray Thomas. The couple had four children, but only two children survived to adulthood—Mary Bedford Thomas and Margaret Gray Thomas. Though slavery had, by this time, been abolished, records indicate that people of color formerly
enslaved on the property remained as employed servants, including Emma, Margaret Owens’ former enslaved nursemaid. For many formerly enslaved people, remaining in the same line of work, often with their former enslavers, was the only options available for employment.

George Owens’ granddaughter, Margaret Gray Thomas, was born on December 5, 1871. Though she was born following the Civil War and the end of chattel slavery, she still benefited from the economics of slavery. Emma, the formerly enslaved nursemaid, was still working in the household as were a number of other black wage earners. Margaret and at least one black servant lived in the house until 1951, when Margaret died and bequeathed the property to the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, now Telfair Museums.

THE CIVIL WAR

The American Civil War (April 12, 1861 – April 9, 1865) was fought over issues stemming from the long controversy surrounding the enslavement of people of color. Following the presidential election of Abraham Lincoln, 11 states, including Georgia, seceded from the United States of America to form their own provisional government, the Confederate States of America.

Slavery had been a source of continuing political tension for the United States and, by 1850, that tension was boiling over as a result of westward expansion. More liberal leaders viewed slavery as an antiquated evil incompatible with the ideals of the nation. They sought to ban the expansion of slavery into the western territories, believing that the ban would put slavery on a path to gradual extinction. Southern slaveholders felt that abolishing slavery or preventing its expansion would destroy an institution integral to their economic wellbeing and so denounced the ban on slavery in the territories as
infringement on their constitutional rights to property Southern politicians argued that state governments possessed the power to nullify federal laws. They asserted that the Constitution created a compact between the states and the federal government—a relationship that allowed the states to retain their individual powers.

During the 1860 election cycle, Southern leaders threatened secession if faced with a Republican presidency under Abraham Lincoln, who had pledged to ban slavery from the new western territories. Though some Southern states did not include Lincoln on the ballot, he took nearly 40 percent of the popular vote, the other 60 percent being divided among the other three candidates. Seven states declared secession in the months before Lincoln’s inauguration.

In every article of secession, slavery and the rights of slave-holders to own slaves were listed as a direct cause of their disunion (see appendix). On February 4, 1861, just two months before Lincoln took office, the first seven states to secede agreed to form a new federal government. These states were South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

After the declarations of secession, rebellious states resolved to seize control of all military bases within their boundaries. The Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter, and the open hostilities of war, began at 4:30 a.m. on April 12, 1861. Thirty-four hours later, heavily outgunned and dangerously low on supplies, Federal forces began evacuation. In the following days, Lincoln ordered 75,000 volunteer troops to move into the Confederate territories to suppress the rebellion and reclaim federal lands. This action triggered four additional states, Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, to secede from the Union and join the Confederacy.

The war continued for four years, effectively ending with the surrender of Confederate General Robert E. Lee on April 9, 1865 (though the final battle of the war was a month later, on May 13). Most other Confederate commanders followed suit, realizing that
the strength of the Confederate Army, which had been greatly reduced by disease and starvation, was gone. By the end of the war there were an estimated 620,000 dead and far more wounded.

**WAR IN GEORGIA**

Georgia was one of the original seven states to secede from the United States. For the first two years of the war, few battles were fought in Georgia. Of 550 battles and skirmishes, most were fought in the latter two years of war. The first major battle in Georgia was in September 1863, when Union and Confederate forces collided at Chickamauga Creek. This battle was the second-bloodiest of the war, with an estimated 34,624 soldiers killed, wounded, or missing and captured.

In May 1864, U.S. General William Sherman began the Atlanta Campaign, a military strategy aimed at destroying the troops in northwestern Georgia and capturing Atlanta and the vital supply lines within it. He took the city in September 1864 and destroyed industrial and civilian manufactories, farms, and railways. Following Atlanta’s capture, Sherman began another campaign—the March to the Sea. Destined for Savannah, Sherman’s forces marched through the Georgia heartland, destroying civilian infrastructure, industrial centers, and military targets. Sherman and his commander, Ulysses S. Grant, both believed that the war could be shortened by depleting the Confederacy’s economic and psychological capacity to wage war.

Sherman’s armies arrived in Savannah on December 21, 1864. Mayor Richard Arnold surrendered the city. Sherman seized guns, ammunition, and cotton. He wrote a letter to Abraham Lincoln, presenting the city as a Christmas gift. The surrender left the city itself unscathed by the scorched earth strategy for which he was known. Sherman took headquarters at Charles Greene’s Madison Square mansion, where they stayed for approximately three weeks before turning north toward South Carolina. During his stay in Savannah, he met with black community leaders to discuss emancipation. The result of
this meeting was Special Field Order 15, which established rules for confiscating nearly 400,000 acres of land along the Low Country corridor and awarding that land, in 40-acre parcels, to newly freed black heads of household. The promise of “40-acres and a mule” to newly freed people was one that Grant would be unable to keep.

The war ended when the Confederacy surrendered on April 9, 1865. Five days later, Lincoln was assassinated. He was succeeded by Andrew Johnson, whose policies included opposition to the 14th Amendment, which granted citizenship to former slaves. Shortly after his inauguration, Johnson pardoned all whites in the Confederate States except for Confederate leaders and wealthy planters (most of whom secured individual pardons) and restored to them all of their properties, except slaves, thus ending the promise of Field Order 15. Free, but impoverished, many of the newly freed African Americans returned to plantations across the South to work as sharecroppers or tenant farmers. In exchange for working the land and getting a percentage of the product, landholders charged them an additional amount for room and board. It was difficult labor, only a step away from slavery. Landholders often exercised predatory behaviors, charging their newly emancipated tenants high fees for room, board, and tools necessary to produce crops. These kept sharecroppers tethered to landholders to whom they were perpetually indebted. Like many newly freed people, sharecroppers lived under the threat of racial violence and discriminatory legal systems that criminalized unemployment.

The period immediately following the Civil War was called “Reconstruction.” The Federal government stepped in to reorganize the governments of the Confederate States, pave the way for their readmittance to the Union, and address large-scale social issues that followed the Civil War and the emancipation of four million enslaved people.

President Andrew Johnson outlined how the new state governments would be created and, aside from abolishing slavery, the states were essentially given free rein for their new governments. These states responded with the introduction of Black Codes that
severely limited the freedoms of black people, particularly black men, who had become increasingly involved in political life in the years immediately following the Civil War. In response to Johnson’s executive orders, Radical Republicans in Congress called for universal male suffrage and equality before the law as the basis for the new government. They put forth a Civil Rights bill to guarantee equality under the law. Johnson rejected the bill. Congress passed the 14th Amendment to the Constitution in response. The 14th Amendment declared citizenship for former slaves and promised equal protection under the law.

The 1866 federal elections saw a surge in anti-Johnson sentiments in the North and elected congressional leaders that would repudiate Johnson’s policies. When the new session began in 1867, so began a new era in Reconstruction politics. This new congress passed the Reconstruction Act of 1867. The act divided the Confederate states into five districts and outlined the parameters for state government. This period lasted until 1877. During this time men of color were able to participate in political life by voting and even seeking political office. By the 1870s, many northern Republicans in control of the South were beginning to see Reconstruction as a misguided attempt to equalize society and lift the lower classes at the cost of the South’s “best men” (mostly former enslavers), which they believed resulted in widespread corruption and systemic instability, thus ending the Reconstruction Era of government and giving rise to Jim Crow.

**JIM CROW ERA**

“Jim Crow” laws, themselves named after a derogatory caricature of people of color, were the basis for a system of racial segregation that began in 1877 after Reconstruction that lasted until the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. Though the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution were meant to establish equality under the law, the Jim Crow system included both laws and customs designed to keep black and white citizens from being seen as equal after the abolition of slavery. The laws and social norms of the Jim Crow Era were supported by violence, and threats of violence, against those who challenged them.
Although the 13th Amendment formally abolished slavery, a form of the institution remained under the penal system. People convicted of crimes but unable to pay their fines could be imprisoned and forced to work off their debt. This practice, known as the convict-lease system, meant that although chattel slavery had been abolished, it was replaced with a system of forced labor that bore a striking resemblance to antebellum slavery. The crimes many of these individuals were convicted of were minor offenses like vagrancy. Vagrancy laws were a broad category of criminalized non-violent offenses like walking without purpose or being unemployed for any length of time. Supporters of these laws argued that criminalizing these behaviors enabled police officers to preempt criminal activity, but in actuality the enforcement of these laws provided a legal way to govern the movements and behaviors of people of color.

The 14th Amendment guaranteed the rights of citizenship, including the equal protection of the law, to all persons, born or naturalized in the United States. Essentially, this meant that previously enslaved men, women, and children who were not considered citizens while enslaved were now citizens, entitled to all the rights of citizenship, including the rights of due process of law like the right to a fair trial with a jury of peers. Despite these promises, equal protection of the law rarely extended to people of color. Indeed, the Jim Crow Era is most widely known as a period of extralegal “justice” during which time thousands of men and women were murdered, often in public lynchings, for crimes, real or imagined, throughout the South. There were rarely repercussions for those known to have committed crimes against people of color. Over 4,000 people of color were lynched across the South between 1877 and 1950, over 500 of which occurred in Georgia. Though these numbers seem high, many lynchings are likely unaccounted for and the number does not reflect victims of violence that were harmed, but not killed.

The 15th Amendment guaranteed newly freed men the right to vote. Despite granting newly freed men this affirmative right, most Southern state governments found ways around the law by requiring literacy tests or poll taxes. This effectively barred a significant
population from voting as it had been illegal in many Southern states for enslaved people to learn how to read and write.

Slavery was formally abolished in 1865 at the end of the Civil War, but racial violence and discrimination continued to plague the nation. In the century following emancipation, many people of color found themselves in situations similar to those experienced by their forefathers. The service basement at the Owens-Thomas House & Slave Quarters, for instance, had been a slave-occupied space since the property’s construction in 1819. One hundred and thirty-two years later the space was still being occupied by black servants like Pauline Slater, Margaret Thomas’ live-in maid. Pauline, nearly ninety years after the abolition of slavery, worked and slept in the service basement, as Diane had before her. Though the upstairs had been meticulously maintained and updated with modern appliances and conveniences for the Owens family and their descendants, the basement did not receive the same treatment, again highlighting racial disparities in enforced standards of living in the century following the Civil War. The basement’s floors remained covered in the original, now broken, stones; plaster walls were crumbling, and modern amenities were added only as they benefited the labor being done for the Owens-Thomas family. The modern sink, for instance, was added for laundry services that Pauline was expected to perform. Pauline’s restroom, however, was a makeshift toilet stall constructed of discarded window shutters.

The struggle for social, political, and economic equality continues today, with many people of color experiencing the same forms of racial discrimination—discriminatory law enforcement practices, lower wages, and fewer opportunities for advancement—that people like Pauline experienced decades ago and as Diane and countless others had in the centuries of enslavement before 1865.
Appendix II – Georgia’s Anti-Literacy Laws

The following law was codified in the year 1770:

XXXIX And whereas the having slaves taught to write, or suffering then to be employed in writing, may be attended with great inconveniences, be it therefore enacted, that all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach, or cause any slave to slaves to be taught to write, or read writing, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever, every such person and persons shall for every such offense forfeit the sum of twenty pounds sterling.


The following law was in effect by 1845:

59. Punishment for teaching slaves to read and write. – [XVIII] If any person shall teach any slave, negro, or free person of color, to read or write, either written or printed characters, or shall procure, suffer, or permit a slave, negro, or person of color, to transact business for him in writing, such person so offending shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court.

60. Punishment for teaching slaves to write or read writing – all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach, or cause any slave or slaves to be taught, to write or read writing, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever, every such person and persons shall for every such offense, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds sterling.
61. **Punishment for selling books or stationery to slaves or free persons of color.** – If any shop-keeper, or any other person whatsoever, shall sell to, give, barter, or in any wise furnish, or allow to be furnished by any person in his, her, or their employment, any slave, negro, or free person of color, any printed or written book, pamphlet, or other printed or written publication, writing paper, ink, or other articles of stationery, for his, her, or their use, or for the purpose of sale, without written or verbal permission from the owner, guardian, or other person authorized, such person or persons so offending, shall, upon conviction thereof, pay a fine of not less than ten dollars, nor more than fifty dollars, for the first offence, and upon conviction for a second offense, be subject to fine and imprisonment in the common jail of the county, at the discretion of the court, not to exceed sixty days’ imprisonment and five hundred dollars fine.

Source: Hotchkiss, William A., “1845 Hotchkiss’ Codification” (1845). *Historic Georgia Digests and Codes*
Appendix III – Articles of Secession

Georgia

A Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Georgia from the Federal Union

The people of Georgia having dissolved their political connection with the Government of the United States of America, present to their confederates and the world the causes which have led to the separation. For the last ten years we have had numerous and serious causes of complaint against our non-slaveholding confederate States with reference to the subject of African slavery. They have endeavored to weaken our security, to disturb our domestic peace and tranquility, and persistently refused to comply with their express constitutional obligations to us in reference to that property, and by the use of their power in the Federal Government have striven to deprive us of an equal enjoyment of the common Territories of the Republic. This hostile policy of our confederates has been pursued with every circumstance of aggravation which could arouse the passions and excite the hatred of our people and has placed the two sections of the Union for many years past in the condition of virtual civil war. Our people, still attached to the Union from habit and national traditions, and averse to change, hoped that time, reason, and argument would bring, if not redress, at least exemption from further insults, injuries, and dangers. Recent events have fully dissipated all such hopes and demonstrated the necessity of separation. Our Northern confederates, after a full and calm hearing of all the facts, after a fair warning of our purpose not to submit to the rule of the authors of all these wrongs and injuries, have by a large majority committed the Government of the United States into their hands. The people of Georgia, after an equally full and fair and deliberate hearing of the case, have declared with equal firmness that they shall not rule over them. A brief history of the rise, progress, and policy of anti-slavery and the political organization into whose hands the administration of the Federal Government has been committed will fully justify the pronounced verdict of the people of Georgia. The party of Lincoln, called the Republican party, under its present name and organization, is of recent
origin. It is admitted to be an anti-slavery party. While it attracts to itself by its creed the scattered advocates of exploded political heresies, of condemned theories in political economy, the advocates of commercial restrictions, of protection, of special privileges, of waste and corruption in the administration of Government, anti-slavery is its mission and its purpose. By anti-slavery it is made a power in the state. The question of slavery was the great difficulty in the way of the formation of the Constitution. While the subordination and the political and social inequality of the African race was fully conceded by all, it was plainly apparent that slavery would soon disappear from what are now the non-slave-holding States of the original thirteen. The opposition to slavery was then, as now, general in those States and the Constitution was made with direct reference to that fact. But a distinct abolition party was not formed in the United States for more than half a century after the Government went into operation. The main reason was that the North, even if united, could not control both branches of the Legislature during any portion of that time. Therefore such an organization must have resulted either in utter failure or in the total overthrow of the Government. The material prosperity of the North was greatly dependent on the Federal Government; that of the South not at all. In the first years of the Republic the navigating, commercial, and manufacturing interests of the North began to seek profit and aggrandizement at the expense of the agricultural interests. Even the owners of fishing smacks sought and obtained bounties for pursuing their own business (which yet continue), and $500,000 is now paid them annually out of the Treasury. The navigating interests begged for protection against foreign shipbuilders and against competition in the coasting trade. Congress granted both requests, and by prohibitory acts gave an absolute monopoly of this business to each of their interests, which they enjoy without diminution to this day. Not content with these great and unjust advantages, they have sought to throw the legitimate burden of their business as much as possible upon the public; they have succeeded in throwing the cost of light-houses, buoys, and the maintenance of their seamen upon the Treasury, and the Government now pays above $2,000,000 annually for the support of these objects. Theses interests, in connection with the commercial and manufacturing classes, have also succeeded, by means of subventions to mail steamers...
and the reduction in postage, in relieving their business from the payment of about $7,000,000 annually, throwing it upon the public Treasury under the name of postal deficiency. The manufacturing interests entered into the same struggle early, and has clamored steadily for Government bounties and special favors. This interest was confined mainly to the Eastern and Middle non-slave-holding States. Wielding these great States it held great power and influence, and its demands were in full proportion to its power. The manufacturers and miners wisely based their demands upon special facts and reasons rather than upon general principles, and thereby mollified much of the opposition of the opposing interest. They pleaded in their favor the infancy of their business in this country, the scarcity of labor and capital, the hostile legislation of other countries toward them, the great necessity of their fabrics in the time of war, and the necessity of high duties to pay the debt incurred in our war for independence. These reasons prevailed, and they received for many years enormous bounties by the general acquiescence of the whole country.

But when these reasons ceased they were no less clamorous for Government protection, but their clamors were less heeded-- the country had put the principle of protection upon trial and condemned it. After having enjoyed protection to the extent of from 15 to 200 per cent. upon their entire business for above thirty years, the act of 1846 was passed. It avoided sudden change, but the principle was settled, and free trade, low duties, and economy in public expenditures was the verdict of the American people. The South and the Northwestern States sustained this policy. There was but small hope of its reversal; upon the direct issue, none at all.

All these classes saw this and felt it and cast about for new allies. The anti-slavery sentiment of the North offered the best chance for success. An anti-slavery party must necessarily look to the North alone for support, but a united North was now strong enough to control the Government in all of its departments, and a sectional party was therefore determined upon. Time and issues upon slavery were necessary to its completion and final triumph. The feeling of anti-slavery, which it was well known was very
general among the people of the North, had been long dormant or passive; it needed only a question to arouse it into aggressive activity. This question was before us. We had acquired a large territory by successful war with Mexico; Congress had to govern it; how, in relation to slavery, was the question then demanding solution. This state of facts gave form and shape to the anti-slavery sentiment throughout the North and the conflict began. Northern anti-slavery men of all parties asserted the right to exclude slavery from the territory by Congressional legislation and demanded the prompt and efficient exercise of this power to that end. This insulting and unconstitutional demand was met with great moderation and firmness by the South. We had shed our blood and paid our money for its acquisition; we demanded a division of it on the line of the Missouri restriction or an equal participation in the whole of it. These propositions were refused, the agitation became general, and the public danger was great. The case of the South was impregnable. The price of the acquisition was the blood and treasure of both sections - of all, and, therefore, it belonged to all upon the principles of equity and justice.

The Constitution delegated no power to Congress to excluded either party from its free enjoyment; therefore our right was good under the Constitution. Our rights were further fortified by the practice of the Government from the beginning. Slavery was forbidden in the country northwest of the Ohio River by what is called the ordinance of 1787. That ordinance was adopted under the old confederation and by the assent of Virginia, who owned and ceded the country, and therefore this case must stand on its own special circumstances. The Government of the United States claimed territory by virtue of the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain, acquired territory by cession from Georgia and North Carolina, by treaty from France, and by treaty from Spain. These acquisitions largely exceeded the original limits of the Republic. In all of these acquisitions the policy of the Government was uniform. It opened them to the settlement of all the citizens of all the States of the Union. They emigrated thither with their property of every kind (including slaves). All were equally protected by public authority in their persons and property until the inhabitants became sufficiently numerous and otherwise capable of bearing the
burdens and performing the duties of self-government, when they were admitted into the Union upon equal terms with the other States, with whatever republican constitution they might adopt for themselves.

Under this equally just and beneficent policy law and order, stability and progress, peace and prosperity marked every step of the progress of these new communities until they entered as great and prosperous commonwealths into the sisterhood of American States. In 1820 the North endeavored to overturn this wise and successful policy and demanded that the State of Missouri should not be admitted into the Union unless she first prohibited slavery within her limits by her constitution. After a bitter and protracted struggle the North was defeated in her special object, but her policy and position led to the adoption of a section in the law for the admission of Missouri, prohibiting slavery in all that portion of the territory acquired from France lying North of 36 [degrees] 30 [minutes] north latitude and outside of Missouri. The venerable Madison at the time of its adoption declared it unconstitutional. Mr. Jefferson condemned the restriction and foresaw its consequences and predicted that it would result in the dissolution of the Union. His prediction is now history. The North demanded the application of the principle of prohibition of slavery to all of the territory acquired from Mexico and all other parts of the public domain then and in all future time. It was the announcement of her purpose to appropriate to herself all the public domain then owned and thereafter to be acquired by the United States. The claim itself was less arrogant and insulting than the reason with which she supported it. That reason was her fixed purpose to limit, restrain, and finally abolish slavery in the States where it exists. The South with great unanimity declared her purpose to resist the principle of prohibition to the last extremity. This particular question, in connection with a series of questions affecting the same subject, was finally disposed of by the defeat of prohibitory legislation.

The Presidential election of 1852 resulted in the total overthrow of the advocates of restriction and their party friends. Immediately after this result the anti-slavery portion of
the defeated party resolved to unite all the elements in the North opposed to slavery and to stake their future political fortunes upon their hostility to slavery everywhere. This is the party two whom the people of the North have committed the Government. They raised their standard in 1856 and were barely defeated. They entered the Presidential contest again in 1860 and succeeded.

The prohibition of slavery in the Territories, hostility to it everywhere, the equality of the black and white races, disregard of all constitutional guarantees in its favor, were boldly proclaimed by its leaders and applauded by its followers.

With these principles on their banners and these utterances on their lips the majority of the people of the North demand that we shall receive them as our rulers.

The prohibition of slavery in the Territories is the cardinal principle of this organization.

For forty years this question has been considered and debated in the halls of Congress, before the people, by the press, and before the tribunals of justice. The majority of the people of the North in 1860 decided it in their own favor. We refuse to submit to that judgment, and in vindication of our refusal we offer the Constitution of our country and point to the total absence of any express power to exclude us. We offer the practice of our Government for the first thirty years of its existence in complete refutation of the position that any such power is either necessary or proper to the execution of any other power in relation to the Territories. We offer the judgment of a large minority of the people of the North, amounting to more than one-third, who united with the unanimous voice of the South against this usurpation; and, finally, we offer the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest judicial tribunal of our country, in our favor. This evidence ought to be conclusive that we have never surrendered this right. The conduct of our adversaries admonishes us that if we had surrendered it, it is time to resume it.
The faithless conduct of our adversaries is not confined to such acts as might aggrandize themselves or their section of the Union. They are content if they can only injure us. The Constitution declares that persons charged with crimes in one State and fleeing to another shall be delivered up on the demand of the executive authority of the State from which they may flee, to be tried in the jurisdiction where the crime was committed. It would appear difficult to employ language freer from ambiguity, yet for above twenty years the non-slave-holding States generally have wholly refused to deliver up to us persons charged with crimes affecting slave property. Our confederates, with punic faith, shield and give sanctuary to all criminals who seek to deprive us of this property or who use it to destroy us. This clause of the Constitution has no other sanction than their good faith; that is withheld from us; we are remediless in the Union; out of it we are remitted to the laws of nations.

A similar provision of the Constitution requires them to surrender fugitives from labor. This provision and the one last referred to were our main inducements for confederating with the Northern States. Without them it is historically true that we would have rejected the Constitution. In the fourth year of the Republic Congress passed a law to give full vigor and efficiency to this important provision. This act depended to a considerable degree upon the local magistrates in the several States for its efficiency. The non-slaveholding States generally repealed all laws intended to aid the execution of that act, and imposed penalties upon those citizens whose loyalty to the Constitution and their oaths might induce them to discharge their duty. Congress then passed the act of 1850, providing for the complete execution of this duty by Federal officers. This law, which their own bad faith rendered absolutely indispensable for the protection of constitutional rights, was instantly met with ferocious revilings and all conceivable modes of hostility. The Supreme Court unanimously, and their own local courts with equal unanimity (with the single and temporary exception of the supreme court of Wisconsin), sustained its constitutionality in all of its provisions. Yet it stands to-day a dead letter for all practicable purposes in every non-slaveholding State in the Union. We have their covenants, we have their oaths to keep and observe it, but the unfortunate claimant, even accompanied by a Federal
officer with the mandate of the highest judicial authority in his hands, is everywhere met with fraud, with force, and with legislative enactments to elude, to resist, and defeat him. Claimants are murdered with impunity; officers of the law are beaten by frantic mobs instigated by inflammatory appeals from persons holding the highest public employment in these States, and supported by legislation in conflict with the clearest provisions of the Constitution, and even the ordinary principles of humanity. In several of our confederate States a citizen cannot travel the highway with his servant who may voluntarily accompany him, without being declared by law a felon and being subjected to infamous punishments. It is difficult to perceive how we could suffer more by the hostility than by the fraternity of such brethren.

The public law of civilized nations requires every State to restrain its citizens or subjects from committing acts injurious to the peace and security of any other State and from attempting to excite insurrection, or to lessen the security, or to disturb the tranquility of their neighbors, and our Constitution wisely gives Congress the power to punish all offenses against the laws of nations.

These are sound and just principles which have received the approbation of just men in all countries and all centuries; but they are wholly disregarded by the people of the Northern States, and the Federal Government is impotent to maintain them. For twenty years past the abolitionists and their allies in the Northern States have been engaged in constant efforts to subvert our institutions and to excite insurrection and servile war among us. They have sent emissaries among us for the accomplishment of these purposes. Some of these efforts have received the public sanction of a majority of the leading men of the Republican party in the national councils, the same men who are now proposed as our rulers. These efforts have in one instance led to the actual invasion of one of the slave-holding States, and those of the murderers and incendiaries who escaped public justice by flight have found fraternal protection among our Northern confederates. These are the same men who say the Union shall be preserved.
Such are the opinions and such are the practices of the Republican party, who have been called by their own votes to administer the Federal Government under the Constitution of the United States. We know their treachery; we know the shallow pretenses under which they daily disregard its plainest obligations. If we submit to them it will be our fault and not theirs. The people of Georgia have ever been willing to stand by this bargain, this contract; they have never sought to evade any of its obligations; they have never hitherto sought to establish any new government; they have struggled to maintain the ancient right of themselves and the human race through and by that Constitution. But they know the value of parchment rights in treacherous hands, and therefore they refuse to commit their own to the rulers whom the North offers us. Why?

Because by their declared principles and policy they have outlawed $3,000,000,000 of our property in the common territories of the Union; put it under the ban of the Republic in the States where it exists and out of the protection of Federal law everywhere; because they give sanctuary to thieves and incendiaries who assail it to the whole extent of their power, in spite of their most solemn obligations and covenants; because their avowed purpose is to subvert our society and subject us not only to the loss of our property but the destruction of ourselves, our wives, and our children, and the desolation of our homes, our altars, and our firesides. To avoid these evils we resume the powers which our fathers delegated to the Government of the United States, and henceforth will seek new safeguards for our liberty, equality, security, and tranquility.

Approved, Tuesday, January 29, 1861
South Carolina

Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union

The people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, on the 26th day of April, A.D. 1852, declared that the frequent violations of the Constitution of the United States, by the Federal Government, and its encroachments upon the reserved rights of the States, fully justified this State in then withdrawing from the Federal Union; but in deference to the opinions and wishes of the other slaveholding States, she forbore at that time to exercise this right. Since that time, these encroachments have continued to increase, and further forbearance ceases to be a virtue.

And now the State of South Carolina having resumed her separate and equal place among nations, deems it due to herself, to the remaining United States of America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the immediate causes which have led to this act.

In the year 1765, that portion of the British Empire embracing Great Britain, undertook to make laws for the government of that portion composed of the thirteen American Colonies. A struggle for the right of self-government ensued, which resulted, on the 4th of July, 1776, in a Declaration, by the Colonies, “that they are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.”

They further solemnly declared that whenever any “form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government.” Deeming the Government of Great Britain
to have become destructive of these ends, they declared that the Colonies “are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.”

In pursuance of this Declaration of Independence, each of the thirteen States proceeded to exercise its separate sovereignty; adopted for itself a Constitution, and appointed officers for the administration of government in all its departments - Legislative, Executive and Judicial. For purposes of defense, they united their arms and their counsels; and, in 1778, they entered into a League known as the Articles of Confederation, whereby they agreed to entrust the administration of their external relations to a common agent, known as the Congress of the United States, expressly declaring, in the first Article “that each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not, by this Confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.”

Under this Confederation the war of the Revolution was carried on, and on the 3rd of September, 1783, the contest ended, and a definite Treaty was signed by Great Britain, in which she acknowledged the independence of the Colonies in the following terms:

“ARTICLE 1 - His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof.”

Thus were established the two great principles asserted by the Colonies, namely: the right of a State to govern itself; and the right of a people to abolish a Government when it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted. And concurrent with
the establishment of these principles, was the fact, that each Colony became and was recognized by the mother Country a FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE. In 1787, Deputies were appointed by the States to revise the Articles of Confederation, and on 17th September, 1787, these Deputies recommended for the adoption of the States, the Articles of Union, known as the Constitution of the United States.

The parties to whom this Constitution was submitted, were the several sovereign States; they were to agree or disagree, and when nine of them agreed the compact was to take effect among those concurring; and the General Government, as the common agent, was then invested with their authority.

If only nine of the thirteen States had concurred, the other four would have remained as they then were - separate, sovereign States, independent of any of the provisions of the Constitution. In fact, two of the States did not accede to the Constitution until long after it had gone into operation among the other eleven; and during that interval, they each exercised the functions of an independent nation.

By this Constitution, certain duties were imposed upon the several States, and the exercise of certain of their powers was restrained, which necessarily implied 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, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people. On the 23d May, 1788, South Carolina, by a Convention of her People, passed an Ordinance assenting to this Constitution, and afterwards altered her own Constitution, to conform herself to the obligations she had undertaken.

Thus was established, by compact between the States, a Government with definite objects and powers, limited to the express words of the grant. This limitation left the whole remaining mass of power subject to the clause reserving it to the States or to the people and rendered unnecessary any specification of reserved rights.
We hold that the Government thus established is subject to the two great principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence; and we hold further, that the mode of its formation subjects it to a third fundamental principle, namely: the law of compact. We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties, the obligation is mutual; that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement, entirely releases the obligation of the other; and that where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure, with all its consequences.

In the present case, that fact is established with certainty. We assert that fourteen of the States have deliberately refused, for years past, to fulfill their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own Statutes for the proof.

The Constitution of the United States, in its fourth Article, provides as follows:

“No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

This stipulation was so material to the compact, that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties held slaves, and they had previously evinced their estimate of the value of such a stipulation by making it a condition in the Ordinance for the government of the territory ceded by Virginia, which now composes the States north of the Ohio River.

The same article of the Constitution stipulates also for rendition by the several States of fugitives from justice from the other States.
The General Government, as the common agent, passed laws to carry into effect these stipulations of the States. For many years these laws were executed. But an increasing hostility on the part of the non-slaveholding States to the institution of slavery, has led to a disregard of their obligations, and the laws of the General Government have ceased to affect the objects of the Constitution. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, have enacted laws which either nullify the Acts of Congress or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from service or labor claimed, and in none of them has the State Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. The State of New Jersey, at an early day, passed a law in conformity with her constitutional obligation; but the current of anti-slavery feeling has led her more recently to enact laws which render inoperative the remedies provided by her own law and by the laws of Congress. In the State of New York even the right of transit for a slave has been denied by her tribunals; and the States of Ohio and Iowa have refused to surrender to justice fugitives charged with murder, and with inciting servile insurrection in the State of Virginia. Thus the constituted compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States, and the consequence follows that South Carolina is released from her obligation.

The ends for which the Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be “to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.”

These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a Federal Government, in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized by giving to free persons distinct political rights, by giving them the right to represent, and burthening them with direct taxes for three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years; and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor.
We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assume the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and to eloign the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain, have been incited by emissaries, books and pictures to servile insurrection.

For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the forms of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that Article establishing the Executive Department, the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that that “Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free,” and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

This sectional combination for the submersion of the Constitution, has been aided in some of the States by elevating to citizenship, persons who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens; and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy, hostile to the South, and destructive of its beliefs and safety.

On the 4th day of March next, this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory, that the judicial
tribunals shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.

The guaranties of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

Sectional interest and animosity will deepen the irritation, and all hope of remedy is rendered vain, by the fact that public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanction of more erroneous religious belief.

We, therefore, the People of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America, is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent State; with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

 Adopted December 24, 1860

Mississippi

A Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union

In the momentous step, which our State has taken of dissolving its connection with the government of which we so long formed a part, it is but just that we should declare the prominent reasons which have induced our course.
Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery - the greatest material interest of the world. Its labor supplies the product, which constitutes by far the largest and most important portions of commerce of the earth. These products are peculiar to the climate verging on the tropical regions, and by an imperious law of nature, none but the black race can bear exposure to the tropical sun. These products have become necessities of the world, and a blow at slavery is a blow at commerce and civilization. That blow has been long aimed at the institution, and was at the point of reaching its consummation. There was no choice left us but submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union, whose principles had been subverted to work out our ruin.

That we do not overstate the dangers to our institution, a reference to a few facts will sufficiently prove.

The hostility to this institution commenced before the adoption of the Constitution, and was manifested in the well-known Ordinance of 1787, in regard to the Northwestern Territory.

The feeling increased, until, in 1819-20, it deprived the South of more than half the vast territory acquired from France. The same hostility dismembered Texas and seized upon all the territory acquired from Mexico.

It has grown until it denies the right of property in slaves, and refuses protection to that right on the high seas, in the Territories, and wherever the government of the United States had jurisdiction.

It refuses the admission of new slave States into the Union, and seeks to extinguish it by confining it within its present limits, denying the power of expansion.
It tramples the original equality of the South under foot.

It has nullified the Fugitive Slave Law in almost every free State in the Union, and has utterly broken the compact, which our fathers pledged their faith to maintain.

It advocates negro equality, socially and politically, and promotes insurrection and incendiarism in our midst.

It has enlisted its press, its pulpit and its schools against us, until the whole popular mind of the North is excited and inflamed with prejudice.

It has made combinations and formed associations to carry out its schemes of emancipation in the States and wherever else slavery exists.

It seeks not to elevate or to support the slave, but to destroy his present condition without providing a better.

It has invaded a State, and invested with the honors of martyrdom the wretch whose purpose was to apply flames to our dwellings, and the weapons of destruction to our lives.

It has broken every compact into which it has entered for our security.

It has given indubitable evidence of its design to ruin our agriculture, to prostrate our industrial pursuits and to destroy our social system.

It knows no relenting or hesitation in its purposes; it stops not in its march of aggression, and leaves us no room to hope for cessation or for pause.

It has recently obtained control of the Government, by the prosecution of its unhallowed schemes, and destroyed the last expectation of living together in friendship and brotherhood.
Utter subjugation awaits us in the Union, if we should consent longer to remain in it. It is not a matter of choice, but of necessity. We must either submit to degradation, and to the loss of property worth four billions of money, or we must secede from the Union framed by our fathers, to secure this as well as every other species of property. For far less cause than this, our fathers separated from the Crown of England.

Our decision is made. We follow their footsteps. We embrace the alternative of separation; and for the reasons here stated, we resolve to maintain our rights with the full consciousness of the justice of our course, and the undoubting belief of our ability to maintain it.

Appendix IV – Constitutional Amendments

Amendment XIII

Section 1.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Ratified by Congress on December 6th, 1865

Amendment XIV

Section 1.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United
States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

Section 3.

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4.

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume
or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the
United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts,
obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

**Section 5.**

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of
this article.

Ratified by Congress on July 28, 1868

**Amendment XV**

**Section 1.**

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the
United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

**Section 2.**

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Ratified by Congress on February 3, 1870
Appendix V: Further Resources


Historic Georgia Digests and Codes. https://digitalcommons.law.uga.edu/ga_code/


North Carolina University: Chapel Hill. Documenting the American South. https://docsouth.unc.edu

Teaching Tolerance: Teaching Hard History https://www.tolerance.org/frameworks/teaching-hard-history/american-slavery